CHAPTER - 1
INTRODUCTION

Introduction:
In this chapter I explain first why I conducted this study, namely "The Role of Networking in Good Governance in Civil Society: A Comparative Study of Selected Voluntary Organizations working in the field of Environment and Health in the city of Delhi". In other words, I explain the rationale for the study. Second, I describe major theoretical debates involved in the conceptual clarification of the three concepts, which are, civil society, networking and good governance. Third, Scope, Objectives and Research questions are highlighted. Fourth, Synoptic view of the methods used in this study is put forward. Lastly, I present the chapterisation of this thesis.

1.1 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY
This study examines the link between civil society and good governance in India. The aim here is to understand the role and contribution of networking in bringing about good governance in civil society. But before explaining the rationale of this study, I have put forward the context for this rationale. It has been done by mapping out a broad understanding of civil society discourse, both in the global and the Indian context.

(a) The Post 1989 Global Context: The Centrality of civil society discourse in the post 1989 context
(b) Post 1989 Indian Context: India's new vision and the centrality given to civil society; and
(c) Response of Sociology and Social Science to the post 1989 Global context and post 1989 Indian context: Trends and Gaps

1.1.1: The Post 1989 Global Context: The Centrality of civil society discourse in this context
The debate about 1989 is much more than a debate about the events of that year and subsequent occurrences, important as these are. For it is also a debate about the character and form of modernity itself: the constitutive processes and structures of the contemporary world. However, in the post-1989, civil society acquired global
importance. Civil society as a concept developed from the 17 onwards century indicating it has larger history than limiting itself to the post 1989 era. However owing to space constraints civil society in only post-1989 era is discussed.

In the period stretching from the end of the 17th century to the beginning of the 19th century (from Locke through Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, Rousseau to Hegel and de Tocqueville) civil society was an inclusive umbrella concept. It included the capitalist market and its institutions; and encompassed private and public societies and organisations, the social network of voluntary co-operation, as well as legal rights and political parties. This altered dramatically in the beginning of the 19th century, the era of the expansion of industrial capitalism. In Marx's analyses of capitalist and bourgeois society the two concepts of "civil" and "bourgeois" (bürgerliche) merged and gained a pejorative meaning. Lacking in positive content the concept gradually faded out of usage from the middle of the 19th century, only to reappear in Gramsci's *Prison Letters* in the 1920s. The concept of civil society was fashionable at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, after a long gap and great theoretical detour. That time it articulated a peaceful alternative to an eroding dictatorial system in crisis. Communism along with its society was a moral pathology. Circles of opposition and alternative social movements identified themselves in opposition to this moral pathology and regarded themselves more and more consciously to be the representatives. Shifts in strategic thinking in the Kremlin were the proximate cause of the East European revolutions, alongside the gradual erosion of communist power in the civil societies and economies of the Soviet bloc (see Lewis, 1990a and 1990b). Three sets of pressures can be mentioned as to why the changes took the direction they did. *First*, the Soviet economy's lack of integration into the world economic system protected it in the short-term from the pressures and instabilities attendant on achieving the levels of competitive productivity. In the *second* place, there were renewed geopolitical pressures from the intensification of the Cold War. A new arms race and sophisticated weapon-systems put great burden on the financial, technical and managerial resources of the Soviet Union. The costs were particularly draining to the crumbling organizations and infrastructure of the Soviet economy. *Third*, significant conflicts had emerged in the Soviet bloc during the previous few decades, leading to massive acts of repression to contain dissent in Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1963) and Poland (1981). These acts were not a permanent obstacle to the spawning of dissent, social movements and autonomous
organizations in civil society (Hall 1992:19). The formation of the trade union Solidarity, were by no means typical of what was happening in Eastern Europe as a whole. The events in Poland were shaped by ethnic and national unity, the power of the Catholic Church and a strong sense of a foreign enemy on Polish soil. Nevertheless, they were indicative of a certain growing democratic pressure to 'roll back the state' and to create an independent civil society. In this society, citizens could pursue their chosen activities free from immediate political pressure. The trade union, Solidarity sought to foster such a society throughout the 1980s by creating independent networks of information, cultural interchange and social relations. In so doing, it recast and expanded the meaning of what it was to be a democratic social movement while drastically weakening the appeal of state-dominated political change. (Hall 1992:19) The struggle of civil society was oriented primarily towards the democratisation and the pluralism of their local societies. Thus their strategy was defined by the expected or unexpected reactions of a supranational power centre. The desire for civility was not constrained to elite intellectual movements. The discourse of civil society evolved almost simultaneously with the discourse about Central Europe. In addition, a number of alternative Eastern European peace groups also co-operated with the European peace movements from the very beginning in the early 1980s. This was as a result of incorporation into the official ideological dictionary, the threat of nuclear war across the whole of the continent, the extraordinary degree of mobilisation, desire for dialogue in Western societies. Understandably, in the second half of the 1980s, it did not seem like an illusion that East-West dialogue might lead to the sustained co-operation of civil society. This in turn would lead to the strengthening of autonomous, democratic social space in the East and to a revitalisation of democracy in the West. After the 1989 transformations, however, the situation changed fundamentally. With the disappearance of the bipolar logic of the Yalta world order, the common foundation for wide social mobilisation also disappeared, and opinions on the unity of Europe were too

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1. The "Yalta peace" world order—that is, the political system created by the Great Powers after the defeat of Nazi Germany—ceased to exist when the Soviet empire disintegrated. The dynamic balance that it had created was supported by a well-developed system of restraints and counterbalances between the two superpowers, USA and USSR. NATO and the Warsaw Pact were but military tools of the geopolitical interests of the superpowers, not humanistic organization. There was some space at the perimeter of those spheres of influence for other subjects of the Yalta system, in relations of semi dependence or neutrality.
divided. Once the main political and ideological barriers fell down, economic, welfare and security concerns came to the forefront. The western half of Europe began to turn its attention inwards and cautiously closed itself off, while in the eastern half fragmentation and disintegration became the main feature. Bottom up initiatives and movements were gradually replaced by civil organisations and NGOs that were becoming increasingly professional. From the 1980s, civil society either became incapacitated against nationalist tyranny, as in several republics of the former Yugoslavia, or it was pushed into the background and hardly ever heard, as in Hungary and the one-time Czechoslovakia. A new world was created by the middle of the 1990s: the world of professional NGOs, civil organisations and foundations. Most of these NGOs take over some of the responsibilities of the state, and they do not have particularly warm feelings about the civil ethos or new forms of co-operation. Those civil organisations, however, which carry out their work in the fields of human rights, minority questions, education, culture and the protection of the environment, have every right to regard themselves as institutions of civil society. Most of these have integrated into international - predominantly Eastern or Western European - networks. As a result of this, their weight and ability to survive have increased considerably. Towards the end of the decade the symptoms of fragmentation and inward-lookingness also seem to have diminished. The idea of Central European co-operation has once again gained modest influence in the civil sphere, just as we are witnessing similar signs in political life, too. Finally, though rather cautiously, the issue of eastern European Union enlargement seems to have been set in motion as well. This new interpretation of the concept of civil society attempts to remain more limited in scope than that of the 18th century. It pays more attention to informal networks, immediate social relations and the transforming public institutions. The horizontal organisational forms of civil society, its networks, as well as the great plurality of voluntary associations carry out their activities in the public domain. They struggle, debate and campaign; therefore their operation is not always necessarily polite. The potential of protest, the initiation of critical discourse and the social control of the functioning of state authorities are the three main possibilities that may set out the future tasks of voluntary associations, networks and social movements. Social democratisation is in reality a process, and not a cake that we have no other responsibility for other than to share it and eat it when it is done. Therefore, we might find it easier to grasp the essence of the concept of civil society
in the interaction between its pluralities of forms than in one specific organisational form (Keane 1988b: 72).

A wide circle of social scientists and thinkers believe that the solution to the problem of dangers threatening freedom is to be found in the realm of civil society. Jeffrey Alexander voices an idea: "Civil society should be conceived as a solidarity sphere in which a certain kind of universalising community exists, it is exhibited by ‘public opinion’, possesses its own cultural codes and narratives in a democratic idiom, is patterned by a set of peculiar institutions, most notably legal and journalistic ones, and is visible in historically distinctive sets of interactional practices like civility, equality, criticism, and respect. This kind of civil community can never exist as such; it can exist only ‘to one degree or another’. ”(Keane 1988b:89) If we wish to map out the possibilities of civil society in the 21st century, and especially if we are interested in the possibility of an efficient civil society with scope of influence that crosses international boundaries, we need to examine a phenomenon, or more precisely a sentiment, a sense or value that usually escapes the focus of sociologists. The former Czech foreign minister, the one-time spokesman of Charter'77 2 was in fact right in that there was indeed a great stream of former ‘dissidents’ towards the positions of power that were left vacant. With the emergence of political parties, however, civil society lost its moral constituting power to a significant degree, and it ceased to be a centre of gravity. The new political elite believed that moral civil society, along with its movements, had fulfilled its destiny, and should now stop stirring up the waters. Some even stepped forward openly against the idea of civil society. For example, Vaclav Klaus went as far as calling it a perverted idea, seeing in it the ideology of collectivism and an ambiguous third way.

As Elemer Hankiss concisely observes: after a short-lived upheaval of trust, co-operation and solidarity the societies of democratising East Central Europe are

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1 Charter 77, in Czech and in Slovak, was an informal civic initiative in Czechoslovakia from 1977 to 1992, named after the document Charter 77 from January 1977. Charter 77 criticized the government’s violations of human rights and for failing to implement human rights provisions. The movement took its name from the title of a document initially circulated within Czechoslovakia in January 1977. It was signed by 243 Czechoslovak citizens representing various occupations, political viewpoints, and religions. The document by the mid-1980s had been signed by 1,200 people. Charter 77 included people who had a wide range of opinions, and, after reaching their common goal, the group’s presence faded. An attempt to make the group focal point of an all-encompassing political party (the Civic Forum) failed and in 1992 the organisation was officially dissolved.
once again characterised by distrust and atomisation. The presence of trust on a social scale fulfils universal requirements, those of order, of the ability to depend on an accepted pattern of events, of efficiency, of correctness. The only effective remedy against the epidemic of distrust is continuing social democratisation, the persistent repair of democratic mechanisms and institutions, of the contradictory laws and rules of the game that had been put together in haste, and the fine-tuning of all these to achieve harmony in an ever-changing world. This is the only way to gradually replace temporality with a sense of credibility, the uncertainties of institutional functioning with accountability, secrecy and in transparent chaos with transparency, monocentrism with plurality, inefficiency with integrity, etc. In other words, the civil society was trying to strive for good governance. (One can indeed see the shades of the relationship between civil society and good governance!) It is the interplay of these internal and external conditions which determines whether or not the chain of mutual loyalties and interdependencies will exert a civilising force, and whether this will lead to a civil society that crosses frontiers.

Having said this, the focus now shifts to the understanding of civil society in India in the post-1989 era.

1.1.2: Post 1989 Indian Context: India's new vision and the centrality given to civil society

Before talking about the post-1989 India context, it is significant to mention India's new vision. This is so because this new vision provides a background for understanding the civil society in the post-1989 era.

Free India's state was committed not only to usher in and sustain political democracy but also to foster economic development. Understandably, a large number of giant high-tech ventures were sponsored and financed by the state. Jawaharlal Nehru's allusion to them as the 'temples' of modern India and his vision of a heavily industrialized and technologically developed India are examples of this. The agenda of nation-building by Nehru was essentially modern. During this time, Liberalisation of the market, spurred by the free movement of capital and technology in pursuit of labour and customers, created new wealth and optimism throughout the world. The rapid movement of people and information accentuated the grossly unequal political and material conditions. These conditions stimulated a widespread demand for greater political and economic equality as well as a broader sense of our
economic, political and moral interdependence. Increased vulnerability to powerful economic forces was shaping not just India but also the world. Most of them resulted in environmental degradation and some of them led to the uprooting of millions of individuals from their habitats.

In an earlier period, resistances to the state were often in the shape of class based movements (worker's or peasant's movements) or national movements (anti-imperial struggles). This period marked beginning of what are termed as new social movements along with the persistence of old social movements. The inability of the state to offer much protection, movements arose to provide some kind of collective response to the changing circumstances. The prominent new collective actors are women, oppressed classes, tribal groups, religious minorities' rural poor, urban slum dwellers, environmentalists and so on. This gave birth to a large number of political actions by environmentalists who were invariably unattached to any political party and are antistate. The process of autonomization of the different spheres began with the challenge posed by the civil society to the state. In this context, the state was accused of 'destructive development' or reckless development. But liberalization left those at the bottom of the economic and social ladder vulnerable to exploitation even when things were going well. They heralded a new beginning and manifested a new stirring—the emerging vibrant civil society. The centrality given to civil society can be traced in the following manner.

Despite continued poverty and the undeniable influence of caste and communities on political choice, the democratic system in India has functioned with vitality. The Five-Year Plans initiated by the Indian Government recognized the role of non-governmental organizations in the implementation of the Plan programmes like poverty alleviation, ensuring greater participation of the people. However, the Seventh Plan document insists that the office bearers of voluntary organizations should not be elected members of any political party and that they should declare that they will adopt constitutional and non violent means in order to be associated with the formulation and the implementation of plan programmes. In the early post-independence period (1947 to the late 1950's), the nonprofit organizations in this

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3 Rajni Kothari argued ingeniously that traditional Indian culture was based on religious pluralism and could thus form a cultural base for the functioning of democracy (Kothari 1970)
period were development and empowerment, while those of the religion based organizations were welfare and empowerment. Policy makers felt the need to formalize social work, with the state providing technical and financial support (Sen 1998: 216). The government in the first two decades after independence adopted policies of working with VOs for the welfare of the people. The First Five Year Plan (1951-56) Document states that: "A major responsibility for organised activities in different fields of social welfare falls naturally on private voluntary organisations. Any plan for social and economic regeneration should take into account services rendered by these agencies and the state should give maximum cooperation in strengthening their efforts". However, the national state, which succeeded the colonial state, started with adequate legitimacy as an agent of economic intervention and development. To achieve this objective, the Indian state initiated a series of measures. The first measure was the instituting of the Planning Commission in March 1950 to initiate the process of long-term economic development (Oommen 1996: 1993) and the second measure was passing of the Industries Act of 1950 intended to curb the monopolistic tendencies and to avoid wastes emanating from undesirable competition between private industrial houses (Panini, 1995: 35). The period from 1960s to 1970s was of increased differentiation and politicization. Welfare-oriented NPOs emerged in the 1960s and, to a certain extent, early 1970s, nonprofit organizations known as nonparty political formations or action groups. Community based organizations were formed in the early and mid-1970s. Many Indian industrialists supported the freedom movement and efforts of Mahatma Gandhi. NGOs formed by the India government were also development-oriented. They were formed to develop appropriate technology. Since independence until the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85), however, there were little efforts on the part of the government to define the role of voluntary organisations or to recognise the importance of VOs in the development process. Realising the importance of participatory development, the Sixth Plan Document emphasised the promotion of voluntary organisations in order to secure people's participation in its various programmes. With a view to translate the concept of social justice as laid down in the Indian Constitution, the Sixth Five Year Plan focused on a comprehensive Minimum Needs Programme to provide certain basic social services to the poorest section and distribute justice through programmes of redistribution of assets, as in the rural development programme. During this period, ideas of conscientisation and people's
participation began to emerge. Also sectoral specialization in health, agriculture, education, literacy etc., began to gain momentum in this period. Concurrent with these trends, older types of nonprofit organizations continued to exist in the sector. There was predominance of NGOs and the special interest organizations (1980s and 1990s). Recognizing the important role of voluntary agencies in accelerating the process of social and economic development, the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90) had placed a great deal of emphasis on people's participation and voluntary action in rural development, stating that: "The tasks involved in the implementation of antipoverty and minimum needs programmes are so vast that the government alone can not perform everything. Efforts by VOs will be necessary as expertise of a different kind is required, strategies of a different nature need to be designed and personnel with different attitudes and orientation will need to be mobilised to reach the target groups". The role of voluntary agencies was defined "as providing a basis for innovation with new approaches towards integrated development, ensuring feedback regarding the impact of various programmes and securing the involvement of the total community particularly those living below the poverty line." The Eighth Plan Document aimed at further broad basing and strengthening voluntarism. (1992-97). During this plan, the approach of people's participation was included in programme. The Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) Document also conforms to this policy. The approach paper to the Ninth Five Year Plan envisaged a major role for voluntary organisations in organising and empowering the poor and marginalised sections of society. The Plan Document reiterates the need for people's participation in the process of development which can be achieved by the strengthening of institutions such as cooperatives, self-help groups, associations of workers or small producers and other forms of institutions. It further states that the "government will seek active partnership with the voluntary sector in organising and promoting these institutions". However, a gradual and growing interdependence between VOs and the government in India is marked in the post-independence era, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s as shown.

1.1.3: Response of Sociology and Social Science to the post 1989 Global context and post 1989 Indian context: Trends and Gaps

Since these three aspects are related to each other, they are described simultaneously. More importantly, they explain the rationale of the study.
This section discusses the response of sociology, Indian and Western, as an overarching theme after Independence. Nationalism and independence awakened in the middle class elites of the Third World, an intense interest in the development and modernization of their own societies. It often translated into state support for research, or at least into willing cooperation with externally sponsored research efforts. Although it soon came to be dominated by development economics and allied fields, the thirty year boom (1950s-1970s) in modernization studies affected several disciplines including sociology (especially rural sociology), area studies, political science and social psychology. Sociology played a particularly prominent role both because it provided the most commonly invoked theoretical framework—namely, the highly abstract (hence apparently context-free and cross-culturally portable) taxonomic syntheses of Talcott Parsons — and because of the inevitable importance of rural sociology in studying predominantly rural Third World societies. The major themes taken up by modernization studies included development, the transition from traditional to modern social forms, the aids and obstacles to the emergence of modern political institutions, and the inculcation of (or resistance to) modern values and norms in the individual personality. While it is, of course, strongly affected by this global background, the history of modernization studies in India is also rather distinctive. Unlike in most other Third World countries, American modernization theory did not dominate the study of social change in India, although it was a prominent and influential presence in the realm of state policy. This difference is due to the combined effect of three factors: the prior involvement of other Western scholarly traditions; the presence of a small but relatively well-developed indigenous research establishment; and the hegemonic influence exerted by a long-standing nationalist movement. The production of systematic knowledge on Indian society of a recognizably modern kind developed very rapidly from 1760 onward, based on the pioneering work of Orientalist

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4 Ratna Datta (later Ratna Naidu) has attempted to tackle the special vulnerability of sociological categories to the problem of ethnocentrism in her critique of Parsonian modernization theory; her book may well be the only one of its kind by an Indian sociologist (Datta 1971). The heavy involvement of American rural sociologists in modernization studies was not without its ironies, as William Friedland notes ‘the “demand” for rural sociologists to “explain” events in the Third World,’ created a paradoxical situation where ‘U.S. agricultural social scientists know more about land tenure arrangements and agricultural social relations in Malaysia, Bolivia and the Philippines than they do in Wisconsin, California and Mississippi.’ (Friedland 1989: 11).
Indologists, colonial administrators and missionaries, as Bernard Cohn has shown (1987:141-171). By the early decades of the twentieth century these varied traditions had already produced a considerable body of works on the arts, sciences and cultural-religious practices of classical Hinduism; the cultural coherence of Indian/Hindu or aboriginal communities; and regional inventories of castes and tribes detailing their 'customs and manners'. To this must be added the later work of Western and Indian scholars trained mainly in the British tradition of social anthropology, as well as some American anthropologists, consisting largely of ethnographic monographs on village, caste or tribal communities. However, this diverse body of largely anthropological work on India did not show any deep or sustained interest in social change, except in the form of enquiries into the decay or degeneration of traditional practices, institutions and communities. With independence, of course, the search for social change became an important item on the agenda of social anthropology in India — so much so, in fact, that some scholars worried that it would eclipse other issues. But even when it did get taken up, this search was conducted largely independently of American modernization theory as such, in keeping, perhaps, with the relative indifference towards this theme in anthropology.

In India, as in most of the non-Western world, the themes of modernization, development, growth and progress were part of the much wider canvas of the colonial encounter, particularly since the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were woven into colonialist narratives of the white man's burden and also into emergent nationalist narratives of the desire for development thwarted by colonial

5. Apart from Cohn's essay overviews of early work on Indian society and culture are to be found in Kopf 1969, Mandelbaum 1970, Madan 1995 (Ch.5:'Images of India in America Anthropology'), Srinivas and Panini 1973, and Saberwal 1982.

6. For example, Louis Dumont felt that the strong desire for change and the state sponsored drive towards it may force researchers to be less vigilant about the continuities (or lack of change) in society (Dumont 1964a:10). Similar sentiments were echoed by Ramakrishna Mukherjee in his complaint that the "modernizers" among Indian sociologists neglected the "null hypothesis" of "no change" (Mukherjee 1979:52). An interesting early discussion of the links among, and the implications of, the community and village studies research; the state sponsored tendency towards social engineering; and the heavy involvement of Western, particularly American, researchers and institutions is to be found in Saran (1958:1026-32).

7. Though it is widely recognized that the nation-state is the implicit unit of analysis for modernization theory (for example, Appadurai 1997:9) thinks it has 'ethical' and not just methodological salience), the asymmetrical changes produced by reversing perspective — that is, looking at modernization from a particular national context — need more emphasis.
oppression and economic drain. In the heady aftermath of Indian independence, the idea of modernization took on the dimensions of a national mission; it became an integral part of the Nehruvian 'tryst with destiny' that the nation had pledged to keep. While Indian nationalism in itself was hardly an aberration (though older than most others in the Third World), India's colonial inheritance of a viable nucleus of Western-style academic institutions was unusual, possibly even unique. Like other social institutions of the time, Indian universities and research institutes were also eager to participate in the agendas of the nationalist state, and provided another site for the emergence of modernization studies in India, one marked by an ambivalent attitude towards Western scholars and institutions and by a bias against basic research and towards policy-oriented studies.

The social sciences (especially Sociology) are themselves products of and responses to modernity in the specific sense of 'modern' that invokes the era inaugurated by the Enlightenment in seventeenth century Western Europe (Hawthorn 1987). Unlike other attempts to distinguish a modern present from its pasts, modernity is not content with establishing a merely relativistic difference but claims fundamental superiority. Once claimed, such normative privileges preposition modernity in a profoundly asymmetrical relationship to all other epochs and cultures. These claims have, of course, been much more than abstract

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8 George Rosen speaks of the Indian government alternating between 'great sensitivity' and 'undue respect' for foreign scholars and provides useful details (Rosen 1985:52-54). For example: Douglas Ensminger (the American rural sociologist and Ford Foundation consultant in India in the fifties and sixties, closely associated with the Community Development Programme) had the kind of direct access to Prime Minister Nehru and the Planning Commission that would have been envied by Indian sociologists, though some economists enjoyed similar status. And A.K. Saran points out that after independence, local scholars may, on the one hand, be enabled to ask uncomfortable questions about the desirability of foreign collaboration; but, on the other hand, they may also become much more hospitable to foreign influences once freed of the moral burden of subject status (Saran 1958:1028-9, 1031-2).

9 Srinivas and Panini have been very critical of this trend: 'The kind of research that appealed to the administrator was one where he determined the problems to be studied and the scientist was only asked to find clear answers to them in an absurdly short period of time. Social scientists unable to adjust themselves to their newly discovered importance competed with each other for projects. The result was a mass of survey research quickly carried out under the threat of deadlines. It is flattering to think that it answered the administrator's questions assuming, of course, that they had the time, and the inclination to read it.' (Srinivas and Panini 1973: 38). On the other hand, sociologists like S.C. Dube supported the trend and associated themselves with it.

10 Arjun Appadurai has written that modernity 'both declares and desires universal applicability for itself. What is new about modernity (or about the idea that its
assertions, having had the status of self-evident truths for most of mainstream social science. Whether in terms of a contrast with the world of tradition (another critical keyword of modern times), or in terms of the coherence of its own multifaceted achievements, there is uniqueness of post-Enlightenment Western-European modernity. This description here offers a useful entry point into the history of scholarly engagement with modernity. Indeed, if we revert from the broader question of the India-West interface to the more conventional meaning attached to modernization, then the entire literature on the subject – certainly everything written after 1947 – is directly or indirectly influenced by the notion of national development. Given a strong and enduring (but not necessarily unchanging) traditional social system, the modernization question seems to allow for only three elementary outcomes: a) tradition prevails over modernity, absorbing or obstructing it successfully; b) modernity triumphs over tradition, undermining and eventually supplanting it; or c) tradition and modernity coexist in some fashion. One could therefore categorize the literature in terms of these outcomes, and there have been attempts to do so. However, this categorisation also proves to be lopsided because the first two possibilities were very quickly marginalised in post independence India: the massive impact of modernity could not be ignored, nor could the continuing resilience of tradition. The bulk of the Indian literature on modernization is thus concerned with characterizing the nature of the interaction between tradition and modernity, and the long term trend of this relationship. Since there is no obvious classificatory scheme available, the following survey of literature is based on an

newness is a new kind of newness) follows from this duality. Whatever else the project of the Enlightenment may have created, it aspired to create persons who would, after the fact, have wished to have become modern'. (Appadurai 1997:1).

Beyond this crude preliminary division there is, of course, considerable scope for distinctions within zones and for overlaps and combinations across zones. For example, A.K. Saran classifies the positions taken by scholars vis-a-vis tradition and modernity: ‘those who totally reject Western Civilization and want a return to the traditional principles’; those who ‘want a synthesis of the two’, further subdivided according to whether they wish this synthesis to be oriented towards modernity or tradition; a final criterion is the basis of the synthesis, leading to a split between those who interpret/justify ‘in terms of modern rationalistic-positivistic ideas’, and those who adopt a ‘value-neutral scientific attitude’ (Saran 1958:1013-4). Milton Singer uses the prognosis of scholars for producing a schema essentially the same as that given here. The differentiation is among scholars who believe: a) that tradition will block modernization; or b) that modernity will eliminate tradition; or c) there will be some form of coexistence (Singer 1972:245). Compare also Madan’s slightly different classification of modernization theories as belonging to either the ‘big bang’ or the ‘steady state’ school of thought (Madan 1995:21).
eclectic mix of criteria such as theoretical perspective, and value orientation. Even so, the field to be covered is vast, given the variety of disciplines (including social anthropology, sociology, social psychology, politics, and political economy) and theoretical perspectives (such as structural-functionalism, behaviourism, structuralism, Marxism or evolutionism, not to speak of combinations of these) represented. Moreover, modernization is such a broad theme that almost every author and every work on Indian society can be seen as addressing it in some sense or the other. This overview is therefore limited only to work in and around sociology and anthropology that has had a significant influence on the analysis of social change in post-independence India — somewhat imprecise and arbitrary criteria, but unavoidably so.

Civil Society

Studies on civil society explore and construct its theoretical framework in relation to the state where as empirical studies focus on the operational definitions of civil society as VDOs or the NGOs. Theoretical studies on civil society make use of extensive theoretical formulations and present circumstances in the society. Chandhoke (1995), Mahajan (1999) and Kothari (1999) analyse, the debate centered around state-society relations in modern Indian political discourse by drawing on vast outpouring of democratic activities in the Third world. A review of the literature shows that majority of studies on VDOs are speculative in nature. Oommen (1998) primarily explored and analysed the relationships with the agencies of the state, market and civil society. Few studies on VDOs have employed survey based quantitative methods. They aim at causal explanation of variations in the dependent variables. Narayan (1992) for example, used the survey method to explain the extent of bureaucratization with the organizational and personal background characteristics as the independent variables. The respondents were drawn using stratified random sample and a structured interview schedule was administered to collect data. For analysis, statistical techniques like multiplier linear regression analysis, t-test and ANOVA were used. To develop further understanding on methods employed in studying similar kinds of voluntary action, studies conducted on voluntary associations were explored. McPherson et al. (1992) developed and tested a theory of dynamic behaviour of voluntary groups. They analysed the event history data set constructed from interviews using the life history calendar method. The information
on ego centered social networks was developed from the general social survey network module. *Sample survey* method as a qualitative method restricts the scope of the data and information to be generated. It does not provide an in depth and holistic understanding of the social phenomenon. Pandey (1991) puts emphasis on the intensive qualitative methodology. He states that qualitative methods are more appropriate to develop a comprehensive understanding about the internal dynamics, structural location and transformative potential of the VDOs.

Empirical studies on VDOs have generally preferred case study method. The methodology involved in the study about the nonprofit sector in India, by Siddhartha Sen (1998) involves *survey* of the available data on different types of voluntary associations, its history and relations with the government and corporate sector. Chander (1996) used *case study* method to understand the modus operandi of three locally active NGOs in Central Himalayan region of Uttar Pradesh hills. The focus in this study was on people’s participation. The target groups were farmers, women and artisan groups to generate data. *Participatory Rural Appraisal* method was applied to generate data. Chander raised the research question on how much and how far the NGOs are able to ensure participation of the people. Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development (AVARD, New Delhi) conducted case studies of two NGOs from India to analyse the government–NGO cooperation. In a pioneering study on the role of the NGOs and the state in sustainable agriculture development, Farrington and Lewis (1993) used *case study* method to generate data, adopting a flexible methodology.

Synthetic Overviews: Among the various attempts to synthesise different perspectives on modernization in India, the most comprehensive and best known is Yogendra Singh’s Modernization of Indian Tradition. Singh’s ambitious theoretical project is to overcome the ‘partial focus on social processes’ and the ‘limitations of the analytical categories used’ in previous treatments of change in India, which have rendered them ‘narrow and inadequate’ (Singh 1973:1). He identifies commonalties in the earlier perspectives and uses them to fashion his own overarching taxonomic synthesis based on ‘unilinear evolutionism in the long run’ (Ibid. p.23) which distinguishes: a) the micro and macro contexts in which change-producing processes begin and materialize; b) internal (orthogenetic) and external (heterogenetic) sources of change; and c) the structural and cultural substantive domains in which phenomena are undergoing change. This is said to yield a ‘comprehensive as well as
theoretically consistent' synthetic theory into which social change in India from Vedic times to the present can be fitted, including such major epochal changes as the advent of Muslim rule, British colonialism, or independence. S.C. Dube's general survey is notable for bringing together the literatures on modernization and development, and for the fact that it was written well after disillusionment with modernization had set in (Dube 1988). Dube's emphasis is on 'the search for alternative paradigms' (the subtitle of his book), among which he includes 'conscientization', 'affirmative action' and 'institution building'. His survey is oriented towards the practical issues of social policy, like his two earlier works relevant here, namely the famous 1955 book Indian Village (although it does not explicitly address modernization) and the later edited collection India's Changing Villages (1958, associated with the Community Development Programme), both significant studies of social change in rural India.

Social Anthropological Perspectives: Though he refuses the term 'modernization', M.N. Srinivas is among the first and easily the most influential scholar to have written extensively on the question. The locus classicus of Srinivas' approach is his book Social Change in Modern India, published in 1966, although the major concepts in it had already found mention in his 1952 work on Coorg. Acknowledging the enormity of the enterprise, Srinivas deliberately takes an 'all-India' view of social change, though he relies heavily on the insights garnered during his own field work in Coorg (1940-42) and Mysore (1947-48). Singer's main work on modernization (Singer 1972, especially Parts 4 and 5) is based on innovative fieldwork — done in three stints in 1954-55, 1960-61 and 1964, in middle and upper-class urban settings in south India, mainly Madras — and helps complement rural-based perceptions on social change. He focuses on the specific strategies used by urban Indians to manage the simultaneous presence of tradition and modernity in their everyday lives. Thus, compartmentalization refers to the strict spatial and temporal segregation of traditional and modern contexts/institutions; ritual

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12 Though it was originally published in 1966, the 1971 University of California Press (fifth printing) edition is used here; subsequent references to this work in the text will be by page number alone.

13 'The subject of social change in modern India is so vast and complex, and an adequate understanding of it will require the collaboration, for many years, of a number of scholars in such diverse fields as economic, social and cultural history, law, politics, education, religion, demography and sociology. It will have to take account of regional, linguistic and other differences.' (Srinivas 1971a:1).
neutralization is a sort of prophylactic gesture to contain the threat of pollution or other forms of transgression of traditional values in modern contexts such as the workplace; and vicarious ritualization is a kind of division of labour in which householders unable to perform religious rituals (because of conflicts with their modern occupations) get their wives or professional priest to perform them on their behalf.

The main contributions of Marriott relevant here are two concepts developed from field work in a north Indian village, namely, 'parochialization' and 'universalization'. The latter is a process whereby elements of the 'little' tradition (customs, deities and rites) circulate upward to enter the 'great' tradition and thus acquire a more universal status, while the former refers to the opposite process of elements from the 'great' tradition becoming confined to particular local 'little' traditions (Marriott 1955). The core of the specifically social-anthropological work on the theme of modernization consists basically of the 'Srinivas-Chicago' body of work and its many critics, elaborators and interlocutors. Sanskritization in particular has generated a large literature and is the most prominent (some would say the only) concept from the Indian literature to have made an impact on the larger discipline. Numerous studies have appreciated, extended or criticised the concept, mooted the notions of re- or de-Sanskritization, or examined its regional spread. Similarly, the notions of 'great' and 'little' traditions have also elicited further transformations on the basic model, the most important being the presence of multiple traditions (rather than just two) whose importance and modes of interarticulation are context dependent (Singh 1973:13-16).

Political science has perhaps been the most active discipline in modernization theory (along with rural sociology) and has produced numerous studies on 'political development' around the world, largely in response to the intense interest in the politics of Third World countries during the cold war. In India, the best known examples (from the perspective of sociology and social anthropology) would be Rajni Kothari and Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph. Kothari's classic work adopts a functional approach towards modernization and focuses on the mutual interaction of tradition and modernity, the specifics of their relationship, the process that it is part of, and

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14 The list of works dealing with Sanskritization would be too long to quote here; the best known overview of early work is that of Yogendra Singh (1973: 5-16; 22-24; 52-59; 194-201), and a recent reassessment has been made by Simon Charsley (1998).
their functionality for each other (1970). The Rudolphs famous study attempts to show how modernization in Indian politics changes traditional institutions such that they begin to take on modern roles, the most prominent case being that of caste (Rudolph and Rudolph 1967). Political economy and Marxism would be next in importance from a sociological perspective. But the work here is very diverse, ranging from (for example) the historical emphasis of Daniel Thorner (1980), through the economics-oriented overview by Pranab Bardhan (1984), to the political theory of Kaviraj’s (1988) essay on the ‘passive revolution’.

Civil Society and Governance

Voluntary Development Organizations and the studies on VDOs have focused on two aspects: (a) The nature of their relationships with other agencies of state, market and civil society. (b) The impact assessment of VDOs in bringing social change and development. Studies in this category have focused on intra-organizational dynamics, its impact and implications on the performance and effectiveness of the VDO. It may be noted that studies in this category have analysed the intra-organizational processes basically in the Weberian framework of organization. Following Weber (1961a), the corporate organization may be defined as an associative social relationship characterized by administrative staff, devoted to a system of continuous purposive activities. However in case of VDOs, associative social relationships cannot be characterized solely by the administrative staff. They include wider network of relationships outside the administrative structure. “Developing an understanding about VDOs has so far ignored their overall structural and transformative potential” says Sheth and Sethi (Sheth and Sethi 1991:23). These sociological studies have examined various aspects of VDOs. However, they do not examine organizational processes of the voluntary sector in a broad structural framework. Neither do they go beyond the Weberian framework of organization. This study intends to look into the nature of VDOs under study, that is, EVDO and HVDO. In doing so, this study marks a departure from the formal theory of Organization and Firms and focuses on the Network forms of organization. In other words, this study marks a shift from the conventional organizational mechanism to networking mechanism by tracing the career of the process of networking in the case VDOs.
There are studies that link civil society and governance together seeking to establish a framework that would yield overviews of their relationship. Empirical studies like that of Kohli (1988) and Frankel and Rao (1990) have conceptualized civil society in terms of its discontents in the context of India. Kohli's analytical study is at the proximate level of causation. The study aims at exploring the causes of India's increasing political turmoil. Four interdependent factors were identified as independent variables in the empirical analysis only in so far as one is not reducible to another. These variables are first, changing role of political elite, second, weak political system, third, mobilizations of new groups for electoral reasons and fourth, growing social unrest including class conflict. Frankel and Rao's study is a regional and state level analytical study in which dominance and the power relations are the main focus. Governance of VDOs had remained an area of limited study. But now it is beginning to gain attention. Much of the literature on this comes from development thinkers/organizations. Development activists like Tandon (1999) and Billis and Harris (1996) have undertaken studies in which governance mechanisms of different types of VDOs function. From a preliminary study of dozen such cases from different parts of the country, series of workshops and discussions were held with founder leaders of the VDOs. Papers and presentations have been written as a result of those studies and discussions held. Empirical studies on foreign aid include study by Gupta (1999). He analyses perspectives on foreign aid. He reviews donor support to southern civil society organizations, has sought to analyse the thinking and motivations underlying this form of assistance rather than providing a detailed examination of different programmes and projects devised by multilateral and unilateral donors. The study seeks to provide assessment of the role of foreign aid donors in strengthening the capacity of civil associations to promote democratic governance.

 Networking

Studies like Podolny and Page (1998) and Luhmann, Habermas and the theory of communication (2000) deals with the network structure of an organization. Studies like Ingram (1993) are mostly theoretical studies with some empirical examples. There are empirical studies as well like Rogers and Kincaid (1981). He uses network analysis technique to draw data from a Korean village primarily to ascertain the communication structure in the village. The main method of this technique used is
the identification of clique boundaries, network analysis computer programme called NEGOPY. Development activists have written articles on networking in the voluntary sector. Most of the papers/studies analyse networking as a process of communication and influence. These are put forward by the activists on the basis of their experience in the sector Tandon (1998), Mukhopadhaya (1997) and Singh (1997).

Review of the literature shows that studies rely exclusively upon survey questionnaires and statistical analysis or use only qualitative methodologies such as in-depth interviews. Any single method (quantitative only or qualitative only) has strengths and weakness. In this research, I have used both the qualitative and quantitative methods to provide a complete picture of the issue being addressed in this study. The combination of methods has focused on their relevant strengths. Making use of mixed method is not to suggest that the particular method is the only suitable method for this topic but rather it is appropriate and desirable. Presented below are the strengths and weakness of quantitative and qualitative methods in Social Research.

**Strengths:**

**Quantitative methods**

- allow flexibility in the treatment of data through comparative analysis, statistical analysis and repeatability of data collection. This is done in order to verify reliability. Reliability and validity may be determined more objectively by quantitative methods than qualitative techniques.

- are most appropriate for conducting needs assessment or for evaluations comparing outcomes with the data. Hence, quantitative research addresses correlation between variables.

**Qualitative methods** adopted in this study are: fieldwork, informal interactions and discussions, in-depth interviews, observation, use of questionnaires and interview schedules. These methods describe

- Perspective of target audience members through immersion in their culture or situation. Through direct interaction with the people in this study, I was able to understand the meanings that people assigned to social phenomenon and the mental processes underlying the behaviors. Cognitive components are explored in greater depth through qualitative than quantitative methods.
• Describe rich and detailed data that leave the participant's perspectives intact and provide the context for human behaviour.

Despite strengths of qualitative and quantitative methods, these methods have weaknesses also. Quantitative methods suffer from the following weakness. They:
• fail to ascertain deeper underlying meanings and explanations, even when these are significant, reliable and valid.
• measure variables at a specific moment in time. EVDO and HVDO (case studies of this study) are evolving over a period of time. They are affected by changes like performance of the organisation, quality of its members, and influence of the other sectors in the society. Therefore, this study cannot be identified with a single quantitative study.
• measure human behaviour “from outside” without accessing the meanings that individuals give to their measurable behaviour. This study contains psychological as well as sociological dimensions then emphasis should be rather on gaining understanding of how the subjects themselves view their own particular situations. A qualitative research design allows these understandings to be investigated from the informant's point of view.

Weaknesses of the qualitative methods are:
• Data collection and analysis may be labour intensive and time-consuming.
• Difficulty in determining the truthfulness of the research findings. The relatively low sample numbers often encountered may also lead to claim of findings being unrepresentative of the population.

1.1.4: Relevance of the study
• This study has been taken to provide an understanding of the process of development and social change, in terms of the process of autonomisation of State, Market and Civil society. These three are the parameters of Governance. None of these actors are considered in isolation. An Organic Analogy (framework of socio - historical or structural, relations among people) has been developed between these three actors. This is the major relevance of this study. The debate on VDOs in civil society is relevant in this context of mobilizing for change and social development.
• Indeed one of the attractions of this study is that it can assist VDOs and others to situate their activities within the wider society, clarify effectively their roles, be specific about their target groups and allies; and build stronger alliances and coalitions.

• Issues of identity and culture of VDOs are explained in this study. It is hoped that this study propels further research in this area.

1.2 CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION OF THE THREE CONCEPTS: CIVIL SOCIETY, NETWORKING AND GOOD GOVERNANCE:

For the three concepts to be meaningful, it is pertinent to mention the historical significance of these concepts. Therefore, the historical emergence of the three concepts has been presented here briefly. Concepts are not seen in abstraction. They are related to each other, each of them with historical embeddedness. Not mentioning the history would be presenting an incomplete picture of civil society, networking and good governance.

*Historical Emergence of civil society in the West:*

There were three discourses that influenced the notion of emergence of civil society in contemporary context. *First* root is derived from rebellion against the dictatorial and centralized authoritarian state. The uprising that led to the overthrow of centralized regimes was characterized as the phenomenon of civil society. The *second* stream of intellectual discourse that has influenced the notion of emergence of civil society in contemporary context is that of Marxism. Marx analyses the mechanisms of capitalist's production and exchange, and deciphering of the forms of class domination and exploitation. Promises of Marxism are participation, control from below and freedom to protest and reform (Callinicos 1991:108-109). Marxism faces problems. It seeks to understand the political by reference to economic and class power and by rejecting the notion of politics as a form of activity. By doing this it tends to exclude from politics certain types of issues: essentially, all those issues which cannot be reduced to class-related matters. Important examples are ecological questions or issues raised by the domination of women by men or of certain racial and ethnic groups. The *third* source of influence on civil society discourse is based on the theory of free market and modernization. In this approach, free market is seen as the vehicle for economic development where entrepreneurship, creativity and talent
are rewarded. The European concept of industrialization, capitalism, rationality and intellectual advancement was seen as modernization of their societies. Only liberal democracy, along with market principles of economic organization constitutes developments of 'truly world historical significance' (Fukuyama, 1989/90:23). Liberalism cannot be treated simply as a unity. There are distinctive liberal traditions set down by such figures as Adam Smith, John Locke and John Stuart Mill.

Historical Emergence of civil society in India:

Broadly speaking, there were two competing models of society when India attained political freedom. One model was that of the capitalist democracies of the West. These democracies had evolved gradually on the principle of separation between the state, market and civil society\textsuperscript{15}. In the West, these spheres emerged successively and each of them acquired a certain level of autonomy. In contrast to the separation principle of capitalist democracies, the socialist societies functioned on the principle of fusion of the state, market and the civil society\textsuperscript{16}. Most of the colonial states became politically independent by mid-twentieth century and took over the agendas of the socialist and the welfare states\textsuperscript{17} in different combination. Inevitably, post-colonial societies became substantially state-centric, and India is no exception to this. Independent India opted for what came to be referred to as the 'third way', combining political democracy, one of the distinctive features of capitalist states, with a planned economy, the hallmark of the socialist states. The state in India

\textsuperscript{15} In the West, the differentiation between the state, market and civil society was firmly institutionalized. The underlying assumptions of this separation were the following. First, the state is an agency of coercion and is motivated by power. Therefore the process of acquiring and exercising power should be well defined and checked through legal mechanisms. Second, economic activity is motivated by material incentives and is to be regulated by the market mechanism in terms of free exchange. Third, civil society is the space for free voluntary activity for the citizens, between the state and the market, where a variety of political actions could be initiated to moderate the potential authoritarianism of the state and the likely rapacity of the market.

\textsuperscript{16} The authoritarianism of the socialist societies fused the state, the market and civil society into one, sapping the latter of their autonomy and rendering the polity utterly state-centric. Here, the party-state monopolized all powers and regulated the market and civil society. The market disappeared from the socialist state's command economy and civil society was absorbed by the state. The conjoint activities of the one-party system and its numerous front organizations came to be christened as people's democracy.

\textsuperscript{17} In the beginning, capitalist democracies were only concerned with creating congenial conditions for their citizens to pursue their preferred pattern of life, protect them from external aggression and provide them with internal security. But the emergence of socialist states, which attended to the economic welfare of their citizens, posed a major challenge to the capitalist democracies. Understandably, twentieth century capitalist states have tended to become welfare states.
wanted to retain its centrality not only in initiating planned economic development but also, in launching and sustaining the civil society. In doing so, it attempted to fuse state, market and civil society. The 'national' state and civil society emerged together in Independent India. The civil society and the state have not always been at daggers drawn.

The historical sources of the Indian democratic thought were several and it was also a history of considerable complexity. The intellectual following of democratic ideas was historically uneven. Indian writers and political groups were quick to discern the internal differentiations and complexities of the democratic ideas in the West. The encounter with the European world was an experience to modern notions of democracy and also, a realization of 'self' sub status as the colonized. Administrative and cultural practices of colonialism contributed to the growth of democratic ideas in some ways. The meticulous institutionalization of private property in various spheres, like landholdings, introduces crucial ideas about individual ownership and assisted individuation with regard to economic practices in the elite Indian culture. Familiarity with the history and the institutions of the West enabled Indians to desire more perfect forms of such institutions and helped them to criticize British authority on the basis of the principles which the British could not morally reject. Democratic ideas emerged more powerfully and circulated more widely after the rise of the nationalist movement, particularly after it assumed mass character with the coming of Gandhi in the 1920s. Middle class dissatisfaction with British rule assumed the form of constitutionalist-liberal agitation against the colonial government. It was sought to prove the Indian middle class was capable of governing. But since this agitation was confined primarily to the new colonial middle classes, it had little support outside the colonial cities. Democratic politics in India during the Nehru years (1946-64) followed the rules and conventions associated with western democracy. Formal rules of cabinet government were also carefully observed. In contrast to Nehru, Indira Gandhi re-established the control of Congress over the Indian political system by entirely abrogating the internal democratic functioning of her party. She would also try to extend this behaviour to state institutions as well. As opposition to her government intensified and slowly turned into an unprecedented nation wide movement which she was unable to control, she eventually resorted to The Emergency (May 1975-December 1979). It had a very thin legality. The Emergency violated the spirit of Constitution. It was evidence of a
dissonance between participation and procedure. The fact that Indira Gandhi faced a rebellion in much of the country only three years after she had won majority showed a disconnection between the elective procedure and popular opinion. The declaration passed of with much popular protest, with major political groups watching with caution a situation which was entirely without precedent. But when they were allowed some minimal freedom to organize, the other political groups reasserted themselves and set up a single party to oppose the Congress in 1977. Indira Gandhi’s excessive centralization resulted in major outbreaks of regional discontent, because of her abrasive handling, into immediate militancy and eventually insurgency. Consequently, the Congress’ slow fragmentation and irreversible decline left a huge decline in Indian politics. Two different forces have tried to fill in recent years. One group supports a strong, territorially integrated powerful nation-state. The other group of political force is a congeries of regional groups which have no national perspective or vision and bargain with other regions for maximum regional advantage.

The state was an active actor in the affairs of the Indian economy from 1947 until 1990. The two earliest measures were the instituting of the Planning Commission in March 1950 and the passing of the Industrial Policy Resolution Act of 1950. The first was an instrument to initiate the process of long-term economic development and the second was intended to curb monopolistic tendencies and to avoid wastes emanating from undesirable competition between private industrial houses (Panini 1995:62). The rural economy was molded by the state basically through land reforms and the ‘green revolution’. The former sought to abolish absentee landlordism and intermediaries between the landowner and the actual tiller of the land, the idea being to make those who worked on land its real landowners. The ‘green revolution’ provided for the subsidization of agricultural inputs and ensured the marketing of agricultural produce at agreed and often agreeable prices. The announced aim of this involvement was to bring about economic development and distributive justice. But neither of these goals has been achieved. According to the Economic Survey of 1994-95, the rate of return from the public sector enterprises remains a measly three percent. Public sector firms not only failed to be profitable, but also became consumers of government subsidies and were often sustained through protective tariffs (Weiner 1987:176). Nor did the restrictions put on private companies’ produce the intended results, as licensing favoured the big business
houses. On the other hand, in spite of the emphasis on distributive justice, not only did the disparity between the rich and the poor increase, but even the absolute proportion of the population below the poverty line increase because of the Structural Adjustment Programme of the IMF. The 'green revolution' was criticized on the grounds that it remained geographically uneven, confined to regions with assured irrigation while hardly touching the dry regions. Nor were the economic gain evenly distributed as between smaller and larger farms and as between cultivators and agricultural labourers (Weiner (1987:177). These developments prompted the liberalization of the economy, thereby conceding autonomy to the market. The assumption of 'free choice' and 'free trade' imbibed in capitalist development was inhibiting the realisation of a vibrant and democratic civil society. For instance, it engenders displacement, dispossession and marginalisation of millions of people. In India alone, over half a million people per year are forcibly displaced by planned development projects. Even if the displacement was justifiable, most do not even get adequate cash compensation (Kothari 1996:8).

Indian scholars have turned to the Tocquevillian meaning of civil society to describe the assertion of society against the state. Most theorists see civil society in India, as a fluid association of social groupings, which are based on caste linkages. They perform a bridge-function between tradition and modernity and operate as intermediate structures between formal organizations on the one hand and traditional ascriptive structures on the other 18 or on religious mobilization 19 as much as on voluntary social associations and non-government associations (Kothari 1988) in the social arena that allow individuals to participate directly and manage their own affairs. However, the problem with this kind of formulation is that it fails to distinguish between movements such as religious fundamentalism from associational life based on voluntary and revocable membership. Society, in this perspective, is collapsed into civil society (Chandhoke 1995). In corollary, what 'A' calls 'fundamentalism' may be 'reformism' to 'B'. One cannot settle the issue unless one agrees on 'universal values' and there are hardly any. The way out is to insist on democratic / non-violent means.

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18 To name a few, see Srinivas (1972) Social Change in Modern India; and Singh (1988) Modernization of Indian Tradition.
The conceptualizations on civil society make it an independent, non-political realm between the family and the state or a sphere different from the state and the market. Conceptualisations like these fill the space of civil society with a variety of actors - movements, trade unions, and non-governmental organizations. The objective of these collectives is to counterpose the state in order to curb its power or they may collaborate with the state to enhance its performance and in that process reform or transform the state. The problem here is that first, this kind of framework generally defines civil society through a principle of exclusion - that which is neither state nor market. Civil society however, is not always conceptualized vis-a-vis the state. It is often seen as a domain of self-regulating activities, which is defined by inter-subjective communication and solidarity (Cohen and Arato 1992). Its positive role is often highlighted against the backdrop of a non-performing and an over-bearing state. Conceptualizations like this makes civil society extremely desirable. This is so because it reflects on the strength and responsibility of ordinary people to evolve their own conceptions of suitable life, the kind of society they would like to live in and the kind of polity they would like to be governed by. What these conceptualizations fail to capture or ignore is that civil society is equally capable to be undemocratic, discriminatory and exclusionary. Civil society is as much susceptible to be corrupted by the inequalities in society as the state. Civil society is attractive to people because it is informed by values of egalitarianism and that it is emancipatory. But that should not blind us to the power struggles in this sphere or the conflicts and contestations, which mar the democratic values of civil society. Second, problem with this conceptualization is that in locating civil society as a realm between the family and the state, or as the third realm different from market and the state, civil society is organically de-linked from the state and market. In their overzealousness to emphasize on the autonomy and

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20 Conceptualisation of civil society as a non-political sphere does not mean that civil society remains unaffected by the structures and dynamics of power or that there can always be a distinction between civil and political. Civil society initiatives can take a political turn, but they are not equivalent to political actions in the sense that neither they are initiated by party politics nor they form a part of state structure.

21 Taylor 1991; Hanneth 1993; and Issac 1993 view civil society as different from the state. See Cohen and Arato 1992, for the conceptualization of civil society as the third sphere and for the relational aspects between the state, civil society and market see Oommen 1996.

22 For Keane, John 1988 (a), ed. 1988 (b); and 1998; and Chandhoke, Neera 1995, civil society performs the important task of reforming the state. Tocqueville 1900 finds civic associations working as watchdog in a democratic state and Putnam 1999 find a strong linkage between civic associations and democracy.
independence of the third sphere, the theorists of civil society ignore the fact that in
country like India, where the governance is in the hands of a constitutional
democratic state, however inadequate or formal that may appear to be, the state in
fact, on one hand provides the framework in the form of rights, freedom and laws to
enable people to come together for collective action, and on the other, inadvertently
conditions the initiatives in civil society. People assert their collective strength in civil
society when the state deviates from its role or becomes overbearing. And if the
essence of the state and civil society is captured, on the basis of their ultimate goals,
notwithstanding the deviations, they share the same vision - the vision of universal
freedom and universal rights (Mohanty 1999: 13).

For the purpose of this research work the focus is on civil society as a space informed
by values of egalitarianism and it is emancipatory. But that should not blind us to the
power struggles in this sphere or the conflicts and contestations, which mar the
democratic values of civil society. This work seeks to articulate civil society as a
space autonomous of state and market but at the same time is linked with them. The
hero of civil society is the individual, irrespective of gender, religion, race and class.
The three most important actors are state, civil society and the market, each of which
is asserting its dominance in the respective fields of activity. Other emerging
independent actors are environmentalists, media, feminists etc and agencies are
NGOs, Voluntary development organizations, social movements etc. These are
perhaps better viewed as sub - arenas within the civil society. The prime concern
here is with the civil society agencies, referred to as Voluntary Development
Organizations (VDOs) that focus on issues like health and environment. The cut off
point of this study is that it marks a departure from the formal theory of
organization and firms and focus on the network forms of organization. In other
words, what I am suggesting here is that this study marks a shift, a transition from
the conventional organizational mechanism to networking mechanism. This is done
by tracing the career of the process of networking in the EVDO and HVDO. The
concept of networking has been briefed upon in the next section. Details about the
processes of change in the organizational capacity, the mode of interventions, nature
of interactions among the diverse collectivities and the attitude of the management of
the voluntary sector will be discussed subsequently.
Networking

It is very crucial to know how members in the civil society interact with each other and with other sectors of the society. In other words, the networking pattern in a civil society organization is an essential criterion. A system that recognizes these values, in Amartya Sen’s words 'has a constructive importance in that society, forms its values, clarifies its needs and priorities through public discussion and exchange of information' says Sen (1999). In corollary to this, Robert Putnam writes: 'Social capital refers to features of social organization such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action' Putnam (1993:49).

Origin of the word 'Network' comes from electronic engineering. Nearly 15-20 years of existence in practical terms, network has come to be identified as a potential mechanism for communication and influence in promoting people-centered development (Tandon, 1998). A ‘network’ means being interested in the links and fluxes between objects, (IRED – Forum 1993). Analysis of a network is certainly not a recent development, although the main emphasis it has received from social scientists has occurred primarily in the past few years. For a long time initial sociological interest in network forms of organization was motivated in part by a critique of economic views of organization. Sociologists' sought to highlight the prevalence and functionality of organizational forms that could not be considered hybrids of markets or hierarchies. Rather network forms of organization represented a unique alternative possessing its own logic (Powell, 1990). Sociological interest in networks experienced a powerful impetus from Mill’s celebrated work, “The Power Elite” (1956). The network perspective portrays society as a system of participants - people, groups and organizations joined by a variety of relationships. Not all pairs of participants join directly and some join through multiple relationships. Network analysis examines the structure and pattern of relationships and seeks to identify both their causes and consequences. In the sociological literature, the network approach is reflected in the concept of stakeholder and the resultant concepts of boundary - management, effectiveness, social and system integration. While both Parsons (1937) and Giddens (also Habermas, 1981 and Munch, 1982) had attributed actions to actors / or aggregates of actors performing via institutions, Luhmann's social systems theory (1984) stresses on the analysis of social structure not to be based on (the aggregate of) action, but on the interactions between actions.
Luhmann's theory sided with symbolic interactionism by defining human action in terms of its interactive meaning at the network level (Blumer 1969).

When action is attributed to communication at the network level, this system of reference is expected to have its own dynamics. The dynamics of the interactions are assumed to 'self-organise' the roles that are attributed to the actors. The actors carry the network at the nodes while the links of the network span an architecture, which develops additional complexity in terms of its recursive interactions. The architecture of relations can be considered as a structure containing the expected information of the network's further development (Leydesdorff, 1993:49). The German sociologist Georg Simmel (1922) was one of the first to recognize the theoretical significance of 'networks' in understanding behaviour change followed by Durkheim (1925), and Mannheim (1946) to name a few, it was Jacob L. Moreno who provided the basic methodological tools to measure network variables. Moreno's sociometric measurement techniques and the sociograms that resulted from his data-analysis afforded the first graphic realization of Simmel's call for 'geometry of social relations'. Where as Homans, restricts Social Exchange as limited action that is contingent on rewarding reactions from others and that cease when these expected reactions are not forthcoming, Blau was interested in the emergence of power structures through exchange relationships (Timasheff, and Theoderson 1976). These relationships are inherently based on the principle of reciprocity, where common values and norms provide the symbolic media for indirect system of exchange. There are always values in society, he maintains, that are not institutionalized into the exchange structure. Moreover, exchange relationships are never in a perfect state of equilibrium: as some relationships are brought into better equilibrium and others are thrown into dis-equilibrium. This dis-equilibrium combined with the opposing values, presents a potential source of challenge to the established structure, resulting periodically in change and reorganization. In this way, Blau has attempted to bring together elements of functional analysis, conflict dialectics and symbolic interactionism in his discussion of individual exchange relationships. In elucidating functions, sociologists are prone to neglect constraints that underlie the formation of a network form of organization, problems that arise in their governance and boundary conditions on their functionality. There is little understanding of the reasons why variance exists in the utilization of network forms of organization or why a given focal actor would pursue one network partner and not another, all of
which gets highlighted in this study. Development activists insist on the need of network in the voluntary sector where there is violation of human rights, denial of legitimate democratic freedom and systematic discrimination. 'This organizational principle' says Chandhoke (1995:226) 'involves the idea that diverse and localized social movements in civil society must link together in a shared project of democratic concerns. It encapsulates the need for a united collective social action,' as can be seen from Weberian social action perspective. This organizational principle is needed not only to position civil society against the state, but also to position democratic groups both against the state and against those classes, which dominate civil society (Chandhoke 1995:226-229). This process of collective voluntary action should be looked upon as autonomous space of social interaction in civil society, outside the sphere of the state and the market. The exchange partners in a network have a distinct trust ethic or value orientation. Norm of reciprocity makes the network irreducible to a hybridization of market and hierarchical forms. In contrast, this hybridization is premised on a more adversarial posture. With these guiding principles of a network form of organization, I have assumed networking to be an instrument of bringing about good governance in EVOO and HVDO. 'Networking is the process of exchanging information in appropriate forms, which will assist the achievement of the objectives of a group and their organizations that come together with a common goal' (People's Action 1998:32)

**Good Governance**

The idea of governance has been articulated by the World Bank reports of (1989, 1991, 1992, and 1994). The World Bank report of 1989 says that 'underlying the litany of Africa's development problems is a crisis of governance' (World Bank Report 1989: 55). The solution to this crisis was sought in achieving by using the Bank's terminology of 'good governance'. This meant enhancement in the quality and process of administration. The Bank's use of governance envisages technical, administrative and managerial issues of 'governance' ringing with Weberian echoes, which is not political in spirit. Critics like, Jayal and Guha, view the underlying notion of democracy in governance discourse as being too instrumental and severely limited (Jayal, 1997 and Guha, 1998). The authoritarianism of the second world (produced by proletarian revolution) fused the state, the market and the civil society into one, sapping the latter of their autonomy and rendering the polity utterly state -
centric. In contrast, the first world was democratic and free, wherein the
differentiation between the state, civil society and market was firmly
institutionalized. The major aid donor countries accept the idea of governance as a
prerequisite for effective economic development of the poor countries. The
prescription of 'good governance' for aid receiving countries is based on the belief
that the economic content of structural adjustment program 23 is sustainable only if it
is reinforced through political reforms. The chief elements of political reforms or the
useful indicators of good governance are greater accountability, transparency and
efficiency in public service, participation in decision-making, protection of civil and
human rights and ensuring the rule of law through an independent judiciary 24.
Governance is not synonymous with the government. The government is endowed
only with formal authority. However, Governance refers to activities backed by
shared goals, which may or may not derive their legitimacy from the government.
Other sources of legitimacy for activities and goals are civil society and the market.
These three actors' namely state, civil society and market are the parameters of
governance. And therefore, the concept of governance encapsulates government, but
goes beyond it and encompasses non-governmental mechanisms to meet the needs
and aspirations of citizens. In other words, governance goes beyond the government.
The government is endowed with and entails institutions of government, civil
society and market. It is here the link between governance and civil society gets
focused. The focus in this study is that what difference would it make to
governance when civil society comes in and whether networking can be used as an
instrument in bringing about good governance in civil society or not. With good
governance comes the ability of a VDO to be able to represent public interests and
pursue goals with transparency, accountability and problem-solving nature. What
needs to be seen through this study is whether networking will be able to bring or
facilitate good governance in EVDO and HVDO.

23 Structural Adjustment Program is the strategy adopted by Bretton Woods institutions such as
the IMF and the World Bank. The aim of such institutions is to restructure the macroeconomic
policies of those states that borrow funds from them for economic development. The thrust of
SAP is to bring about de-regulation of the economy by the state and to render the market
truly global.
24 Oommen, T.K. (1999:63) this paper, by the author, was originally presented at the ICSSR –
HSRC (South Africa) joint seminar on 'The Dynamics of Social Identity in India and South
Africa: Its Implications for Democratisation and Governance', held in Bangalore from 20th to
22nd October 1998.
The intellectual origin of the idea of good governance is liberal theory, wherein conservative governments and organized business interests are in unison. This makes the advocacy of good governance suspect. In this rendition, not only are the notions of the welfare state and socialist state relegated to the background, the state itself is to be rolled back and should remain minimal (Oommen 1999: 64). The role assigned to the civil society is subordinate to the role given to the market. In fact, the central role of the state in the paradigm of governance is to promote competition in the market. In this 'New World order' only the fittest are able to survive and the acceleration of inequality between and within the countries is bound to be magnified.

*The linkage of civil society and good governance* rests on the assumption that a vibrant civil society, the collective engagement of people with governance structures, will result in the ushering of a liberal – democratic political environment and make the administrative agencies efficient and responsive to people's needs. The emphasis on good governance therefore is sought to provide congenial political and administrative conditions for the growth of the market and also to reform the state in the badly governed developing countries. This is possible by making civil society the vanguard in promoting liberal – democratic ideals. The problem with the conceptualizations of governance is that they are not embedded in the wider social context in which inequalities and diversities of various affect the governance structures and the celebratory status bestowed upon the civil society hides the conflict and the contestations taking place in this sphere. The governance of VDOs has remained an area of limited study. In the contemporary socio-political context, VDOs are not being looked merely as an agent or organization of development or welfare. They have emerged for achieving the broader goal of strengthening the civil society. In such a situation, networking can be assumed to become an instrument for bringing about good governance in civil society, the conceptual understanding and the framework of which is given below.

1.3 OBJECTIVES, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SCOPE

The focus here is on the objectives of this research study. What are the issues that I want to look into through this study is spelt out under Research questions. My efforts and the time spent on this study have led me to talk about the scope of this study. The scope tells us about the future avenues that this research is going to open.
1.3.1: Objectives:

- To examine the factors which led to the emergence of civil society as a space between state and market; and in particular of VDOs, as a civil society category, in the Free Indian history;
- To examine the link/s between civil society and governance. In other words, analyse the impact of civil society, in this case VDOs, on the quality of governance within a VDO, at all operational levels.
- To examine the size, scope, internal structure, role and the nature of VDOs in civil society in the city of Delhi, India; its relations with government, media, corporate sector, target groups, other VDOs; and in the process gain an understanding of the nature of evolving role of VDOs in India;
- To examine the process and the context of the emergence of network and networking structure in EVDO and HVDO;
- To compare EVDO and HVDO by examining several patterns and dynamics of interaction and linkage between their leadership, professional staff, and the workers with other sectors in the society. In other words, identifying the contours of role of networking, its nature, level of mobilization, people involved in this process, its purpose as an instrument in bringing about good governance in civil society, the context in which it occurs and its implications;

1.3.3: Research Questions:

- What is the relationship between civil society and good governance? What difference will make to governance when civil society is the focal point?
- Does the existence of civil society ensure good governance in civil society?
- How does civil society cope in bringing about good governance, under its conditions of diversity and pluralism? What kind of mechanism would help in mediating and linking different civil society organizations?
- Can 'Networking' be one such mechanism or tool?
- Is networking an acceptable and a constructive tool for bringing about good governance in civil society or not? If it is, why?
- How does a network develop in EVDO and HVDO? What is the process involved in the formation of a network in these organizations? What ideas, values and circumstances inspire these voluntary development organizations to become a 'network'?
• What are the structure, nature and characteristics of this 'Network'?
• What is networking? What is the style, level, the role and the nature of networking?
• In what context does networking take place in EVDO and HVDO? What are the reasons of a specific kind of networking in these organizations? What are the reasons for variance of network forms of organization or why a given focal actor would pursue one network partner and not another? Who are the people involved in the process of networking? What and how do they communicate? What is the purpose of networking? Who listens in the process of networking? In other words, networking for whom?
• What are the cultural and non-cultural forces that hold a network together and give Networking, stability?
• What are the obstacles and constraints that underlie the formation of network structure, problems that arise in their governance and boundary conditions on their functionality?
• Is networking a viable tool/mechanism for bringing about good governance in EVDO and HVDO? If yes, how? And if no, can it be made into one?
• Which existing institutions, associations, self-help groups, and social movements extend help to EVDO and HVDO in promoting good governance in these organizations? How is this possible?
• Do EVDO and HVDO use 'Networking' as an effective tool to tap the State, Market, Media, Trade Unions and Voluntary resources to promote good governance?
• Can a particular type of Networking be termed as the preferred model for good governance in EVDO and HVDO?
• What are the prospects for sustainable, effective and value-oriented Networking in civil society?
• Under what conditions sustainable and value-oriented Networking in civil society is possible?

These research questions are intended to build an understanding and give an in-depth analysis of the role of networking; its viability as a strategic tool for communication and influence; the reasons for its success and also, its failures; the challenges and opportunities it poses in the contemporary context; its costs and benefits; its sustainability as well as potential for its expansion and replication.
1.3.2: Scope:

• The points in common and differences in the structure and process of networking, between EVDO and HVDO will help develop a model of communication. This will depict the degree of networking within the organization, with VDOs working on the same lines and with other actors in society like the government, media, donor agencies, target groups and the corporate sector.

• This study intends to develop an insightful framework in the understanding of the voluntary sector in India. One reason concerning the significance of this debate for development agencies and VDOs is, in terms of the way in which their goals and agendas are set and partners are identified for collaborative work and strategic alliances. Another reason concerns funding implications for VDOs (donor agencies may be more inclined to channel funds to agencies who they define as important actors in civil society).

• I hope this study will spur others to improve on what I have done as well as leading to improvements in the basic data on which we can all rely. No doubt, my study will not be the last word on how to measure the progress of civil society in India. On the contrary, I am hoping that by attempting to evolve the progress of civil society over time in a coherent and reliable way, we can focus more attention on its status and encourage its development. That, at any rate, is our wish.

1.4 SYNOPTIC VIEW OF METHODS

Phases in Research

This is an exploratory study which looks into the secondary sources. It describes the contours and nature of Civil Society in India, its implications for governance. This study is mainly a qualitative study with adequate quantitative inputs. The three concepts, namely civil society, networking and good governance, have been applied at the micro level and analysed. Criteria on the basis of which the concepts have been measured have been developed by taking the help from the literature and also, my own inputs. The matrix of positive and the negative pointers and the mapping of the weak and the strong links of EVDO and HVDO in the concluding chapter have been entirely developed by me.
First Phase:
I read literature on Civil Society, Networking and Governance. The success and failures documented over the years by academicians, activists, voluntary organizations and others sensitive to the issue facilitated theoretical understanding of the concepts and the complexities involved.

Second Phase:
My theoretical understanding complemented with empirical findings of the research. I have done comparative analysis of two case studies. The case studies are two VDOs working in the field of Environment and Health, both located in the city of Delhi. For the purpose of this study, the Environment VDO is referred to as EVDO and Health based VDO is called HVDO.

- Environment VDO serves as a networking channel between various actors in the field of development. EVDO works towards sustainable development by means of research and action through protection of environment.
- Health VDO networks with other associations working on health issues. HVDO networks with government for policy interventions to create a sustainable rational and dynamic health programme management system in India.

I have used two typologies in this thesis:
1. Typology between a network form of organization and a non-network form of organization. EVDO is a non-network form of organization and HVDO is a network form of organization; and
2. Typology between two issues: Environment and Health. Both these typologies have been combined. One case has been chosen from each of these typologies. EVDO is a non-network organization and HVDO is a network form of organization. Reasons for selecting these two VDOs are:
   - The assumption that 'networking' takes place to a large extent in these organizations which is aimed for bringing good governance in civil society;
   - The assumption that there is different kind of internal structure administration / management in these organizations. EVDO is a non-network organization with an informal management structure and HVDO is a network form of organization with a bureaucratic set up; and
Methodological relevance of the issue of environment lies in its reflection of contestation between nature and deployment of technology. A consequence of 'destructive development' leading to ravaging of the environment has implications for health, which affects every segment of the population.

Data for this study was collected in several stages and tools and techniques were used for data collection. These are:

- I identified two VDOs in the city of Delhi. Their profile was collected through their records.
- Informal interactions with employees.
- A questionnaire was administered to selected informants, regarding the vision, mission, and strategies of the organization and linkages with various actors in the society.
- Another questionnaire was developed for the respondents to obtain their socio-economic profile.
- An interview schedule was administered to selected partners of the organization under study.
- Permissible observation and participation was carried out

Third Phase involves the articulation of the opinion in a particular context through my understanding, observation, experiences, belief and findings.

Data Processing

This study will be presented primarily in a descriptive, argumentative and tabulated form. It is a qualitative study. However, wherever required the data from the organisations would be presented in graphs and pictures (for example, depicting the nature of networking and the various linkages the respective organization has at its various levels of activity).

1.5 CHAPTERISATION OF THE STUDY

This thesis contains eight chapters including the introduction and conclusion. Each chapter is preceded by an introduction. The introduction is designed to familiarize a person to the principal ideas developed in the text that follows. Thus the reader will find that equipped with this overview, the details in the chapter become more meaningful. At the end of each chapter, brief conclusion is highlighted to reinforce the material just read. However, reading only the introduction and the conclusion of
the chapters is no substitute for reading the chapters in their entirety. Many ideas are overlapping and common in the chapters. They are 'blended'. I would suggest the reader to consider this significant overlapping but at the same time, also consider that each chapter has its own importance. Each of them is significant in pursuits, dedicated to make a difference in development both at the individual and the societal level.

Chapter 1: Introduction. It states rationale of the study. The Post 1989 Global and global Indian context, with respect to centrality of civil society, are discussed. Relevance of the study also figures here. What follows after that is the Conceptual clarification of the three concepts namely civil society, networking, and good governance. Scope, Objectives and Research questions of this study follow thereafter. Briefly considered are the methods adopted in this research. Lastly, the chapterisation of this study is presented.

Chapter 2: Civil Society in India. This chapter begins with an introduction to the chapter. Various contentious issues involved in understanding voluntary sector are discussed. This chapter presents historical background of the civil society in the post independence era. Part of this is the description of the characteristics, evolving role, functions, types, value framework, and legal framework of the civil society institutions in the country. Relationship of voluntary sector with government, the corporate sector, media, academics, target group or the beneficiaries, funding agencies and international organizations comprise the later portion of this chapter. The chapter nears ending with the challenges facing the VDOs in India. With conclusion, I end the chapter.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework. It focuses on theoretical and empirical understanding of Concepts of this study. The concepts of this framework are: Civil society, Networking and Good Governance. Along with this, I have pointed out the theoretical and the empirical aspects of three concepts considered in the study.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework of the Study and Methods of Fieldwork. In this chapter, the relationship between theory and method is discussed. In accordance with this, the theoretical framework of the study is highlighted and then the methods of fieldwork are presented. Quantitative and qualitative methods adopted in this study are put forward. The study area of EVDO and HVDO, the sample size of the area and the personnel are part of the methods adopted in this study. I have shown how I
have used these methods in the fieldwork. The steps for data analysis and procedure and the technique of data analysis follow after. This chapter concludes with the methodological problems I faced during research.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 concentrate on the findings from the EVDO and HVDO. It has been done by drawing a comparative analysis between the two voluntary development organizations (case studies) working in the field of environment and health in the city of Delhi. The discussion of this comparison is based on the three themes, that is, civil society, networking and good governance, respectively. Examples from EVDO and HVDO illustrate strengths and weakness of the two VDOs. For the purpose of this study, the Environment VDO is referred to as EVDO and Health based VDO is called HVDO. Chapter 5: Environment VDO and Health VDO: Civil Society Structure, Process and Dynamics, linkage of civil society with various other sectors of the society; Chapter 6: Environment VDO and Health VDO: Networking Structure, which traces the career of networking and discusses its role and contribution in bringing about good governance in civil society, specifically in these two VDOs and Chapter 7: Good Governance in EVDO and HVDO that examines whether networking in EVDO and HVDO results in good governance or not. It needs to be seen when with civil society and networking as inputs, the output will be good governance or not. It is important to note here that the argument in each of these chapters proceeds in an evolutionary manner, reflecting the linkage between the civil society, networking and good governance. At no point of time they are thought of as separate entities. The chapters conclude with the logical and empirical findings and consequences on civil society, networking and good governance respectively.

Chapter 8: Conclusion of this study. It develops link between the assumptions put forward in the beginning and that of the findings.

**Conclusion:**

What needs to be highlighted here is the fact that civil society, networking and good governance are three interdependent concepts in this study. Their relevance depends on the relationship between state, civil society and the market. Hence, the post-1989 global and the post-1989 Indian context were discussed. Various arguments depicted the relationship between the three concepts. We know that EVDO and HVDO are to be compared with respect to these concepts. This chapter intends to be a guide to the chapters that are going to follow. The next chapter focuses on the civil society in India.