CHAPTER- 3
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

Introduction:
Earlier chapters discussed as to why I carried out this study (chapter one), Understanding civil society in India elaborating on its nature and the evolving role of civil society in India (chapter two). In turn, these chapters prepared ground for the conceptual clarification of the three concepts namely, civil society, networking and good governance. This is the focus of this chapter. In this chapter, emphasis is on, first theoretical and empirical aspects of the concepts. Since this part has already been described in details in introduction, the concepts will be mentioned briefly here. As the chapter proceeds, these concepts are looked into, in terms of their meaning, their historicity, their logical fertility and the multiple connections that they have with other concepts used in this study. Second, it is the identification of indicators. Conclusion drawn at the end is the summary of this chapter.

3.1 CIVIL SOCIETY
To capture the complexity of the civil society sector, it is important to be clear about the theoretical aspect and subsequently, empirical aspects of the civil society.

3.1.1 Conceptual Debates:
The emergence of civil society discourse in contemporary social development is well known. It has three primary roots. The first root is derived from rebellion against the dictatorial and centralized authoritarian state. The second stream of intellectual discourse that has influenced the notion of emergence of civil society in contemporary context is the creation and consolidation of a sphere for collective action, which would be independent of the state. The third source of influence on civil society discourse is based on the theory of free market and modernization.

The word “civil society” emerged systematically for the first time in the eighteenth century. Hegel civil society was subordinate to the state; to Marx it was the reverse. In contrast to Hegel and Marx, de Tocqueville juxtaposes the state with civil society. There were yet others who emerged as a critique of modernity and of its institutions. Theorists such as Max Weber philosophised with considerable anguish the constraints upon human freedom by the iron cages of bureaucratic rationality.

That is to say, just like the state can be democratic or authoritarian, civil society can
be liberating or a coercive agent. Therefore, the issue here is not the state against the civil society but the quality of civil society' (Oomen 1996:193). Indian scholars have turned to the Tocquevillan meaning of civil society to describe the assertion of society against the state. 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 as much as on voluntary social associations and non-government associations 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. 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. The problem here is that 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. In this sense, it comes closer to Habermas' idea of 'lifeworld' (Lebenswelt). It is no surprise therefore, that the contemporary literature's attitude towards civil society is by and large celebratory. Its positive role is often highlighted against the backdrop of a non-performing and an over-bearing state. Conceptualisation like this makes civil

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1 To name a few, see M.N. Srinivas (1972) Social Change in Modern India, and Yogendra Singh (1988) Modernization of Indian Tradition.
3 See Kothari (1988) op., cit.
5 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.
6 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.
society extremely desirable. 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. 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. 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 prime concern here is with one type of civil society agency, referred to as Voluntary Development Organizations (VDOs). In this study, the EVDO and HVDO work on issues of environment and health, respectively.

3.1.2 Identification of Indicators:
The operational definition of civil society is the VDOs.
In the following section, indicators or the operational aspects of VDOs are mentioned. VDOs:
1. Are formed voluntarily;
2. Have to be registered under an appropriate Act.
   • They may engage in income-generating activities solely in pursuit of the organizational goal so as to sustain the organization and run it efficiently.
3. Should have a clear Vision and Mission.
   • Thematic areas of action and the level of its operations,
   • The group (s) it intends to benefit and how it intends to do so
   • The geographical areas of the VDOs.

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All the explanatory notes of the indicators of VDO are taken from the glossary provided by VANI on the Guiding Principles document unless stated otherwise. The term 'voluntarily' means taking up a task to fulfill a moral conviction. It can be the result of inspiration from a person or a thought from outside or out of one's own understanding.

While analyzing the present reality of the economic, political, social and cultural world around us, we imagine a future picture of the world-a reality to be. And efforts are made to work towards this imaginary picture/dream keeping in mind that the vision will be result oriented and shows impact. It is a Goal of any organization.

An immediate objective or a role that an organization will play, if it assists the vision. It is an expression for the action, which gives an identity to the vision.
4. Should have formal membership criteria, rules and regulations
5. The VDO is initiated and governed by its own members on democratic principles without any external control.

As mentioned earlier, the concepts used in this study are interrelated. And understandably, some of the indicators of these concepts are bound to overlap. For example, the concept of VDOs includes the aspect of governance. One of the indicators of the VDOs under study is that they should have an administrative structure and a duly constituted managing/executive committee.

3.1.3 VDOs as Civil Society organization and its relationship with Networking and Good Governance:
Categorising VDOs as the civil society organizations implies that they are different from the corporate/bureaucratic organization. They are different in terms of their autonomy and flexibility with respect to their internal organizational affairs or in terms of their being non-profitable entity established for some social cause. There are two basic paradigms to look at voluntary action in its contemporary form:

The first paradigm conceptualizes the institutions and organizations of civil society as instruments of state or/and the market forces11; the second paradigm conceptualizes VDOs as the functionaries of civil society. Civil society is very much part of democratic constitutional state. Furthermore, he says that there is a sense of fear that in some circumstances VDOs may weaken or damage the spirit of voluntary action. They are called predatory VDOs. The second paradigm views VDOs as functionaries of civil society. In this regard, the post-Marxist scholars have been exploring and analyzing the increasing role of de-class and civil society in social transformation. There has been an advocacy of diverse identities in civil society. Civil society has emerged as one of the three most important autonomous actors in the post-colonial and post-socialist societies, besides the state and the market (Oommen 1996:32).

The importance of a vigorous civil society for democratic stability and performance has been stressed increasingly during the last few years (Hadenius and Uggla, 1996). In the development community, civil society has emphatically manifested itself through the world of VDOs working at the grassroots and activists who voice concerns on issues like gender inequality, protection of environment,

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human rights, cultural diversity etc. (Amalric, 1996). In spite of different identities of civil society organizations, the common aim of these organizations needs to be that of bringing about good governance in society. Networking amongst these diverse civil society organizations and other sectors of the society can be one of the instruments to bring about good governance in civil society, and thus, the broader goal of development of society.

3.2. NETWORKING

Civil society are diverse, occasionally working together, mostly acting alone and diverse in their purposes, composition, style of functioning and performance. They encompass diverse constituencies. It is this enormous diversity within the civil society that prompts the requirement of alternative ways of communication and working together. Network is one such alternative mechanism. Networking is the process that is one of the central concepts here.

3.2.1 Conceptual Debates:

The rationale for network as a tool, as a mechanism of communication and as an influence, arises from the manner in which the various actors of civil society function. Actors in civil society are diverse, occasionally working together, mostly acting alone and diverse in their purposes, composition, style of functioning and performance. It is the enormous diversity within the actors of civil society, which prompt the requirement of alternative ways of communication and working together. Network is one such mechanism. Network is the mechanism that allows linkages between individuals, groups and institutions. This organizational principle involves the idea that diverse and localized social movements in civil society must link together in a shared project of democratic concerns. In other words, network encapsulates the need for a united collective social action, as seen from a Weberian point of view. 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 that dominate the civil society (Chandhoke, 1995: 226-229).

The term ‘network’ has become a common usage in the vocabulary of development in contemporary time. 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 1998:1). Tandon (1998:1) defines a
network as comprising of individuals, groups and organizations essentially created to share information and to communicate with each other in a horizontal and a non-hierarchical manner. While the origin of the word 'Network' comes from electronic engineering, its importance and usage in development has been of much recent origin. 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.

Four distinct purposes of networking, of building and sustaining a network are identified here as follows:

1. Mobilising energies and resources around newer issues and ideas: For example, such issues as violence against women, environmental protection and peace and human rights are able to mobilize individuals and groups throughout societies and networks can produce linkages across them.

2. To communicate: Network provides for free-flow of experience, ideas and views across individuals and groups linked within a network. Communication can be initiated by anyone and received by anyone. Internet is a classic example of this. Communication can also be more directed towards certain actors within the network and communication can also be focused on issues around which the network has been built. For example, International Literacy Task Force set up to promote global awareness around the issues of literacy around the International Literacy Year, 1990, was an example of communication promoted by the International Council for Adult Education and its regional affiliates like Asian South Pacific Bureau Of Adult Education, (ASPBAE).

3. Promote coordination and linkage building: Linkage building requires bringing together, in some way, likeminded individuals, groups and institutions. The purpose of coordination is to promote linkage building. Set up in the state of Uttar Pradesh in India, U.P Voluntary Action Network of India (UPVAN) brings together individuals and groups working on diverse issues of development through voluntary development organizations. The essential purpose of UPVAN is to share information on issues that affect the voluntary sector as a whole, to create opportunities of mutual learning and sharing and to promote voluntary action within the state.

4. Networks are also created to influence public policy: Networks can also be set up such that shared analysis and vision among various actors of Civil Society
becomes the basis to influence a particular public policy. In the contemporary context, a public policy can be made by a local, regional or national government, or a bilateral or a multinational agency or other actors (like MNCs) at the national or global levels which frame the shape of important public issues. Voluntary Action Network India (VANI) was set up as a network, in 1988, essentially to bring together like-minded and concerned leaders of voluntary action in India, to promote voluntarism and to protect voluntary action from state harassment. Through continuing efforts, VANI was subsequently able to influence the Government of India to elaborate the Policy Statement on Voluntary Organisations.

Primarily, a network means being interested in the links and fluxes between objects (Calame 1993:62). Expressed in mathematical terms, a network is a topological structure. The multitude of topological structures in which we live define our closeness to or distance from others: proximity which is either geographical, social, age-related, related to belonging to a particular trade, discipline, nation, institutions, parties, churches.... A network invents other proximities both because technical networks (road, plane, fax...) link and facilitate exchange and because mutual interest in this link and exchange are established, because the community of values and interest is established “despite” the distance separating you in other topological structures: not the same countries, not the same institutions and not the same disciplines etc. The network’s aim is not to substitute this typology for others but to add it to others—it is due to the fact that each person comes along with his different beliefs, different social and professional patterns to which he adheres that participation in a joint venture gives each person an added sense of purpose.

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. Sociologists argued that the network form of organization has a number of distinct efficiency advantages not possessed by pure markets or pure hierarchies, and because of these efficiency advantages, network forms are quite prevalent (Annual Review of

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12 Refer to Pierre Calame’s article in IRED-Development Innovations and Network, Forum, 1993. This definition and the matter about network that follows later is taken from the same reference, until stated otherwise.
Sociology 1998:24. From a purely structural perspective, the trichotomy among market, hierarchy and network form of organization is a false one (Podolny and Page 1998:34). In effect, from a structural perspective, every form of organization is a network, and market and hierarchy are simply two manifestations of the broader type. However, when considered as a form of governance, the network form can be distinctly characterized. Podolny and Page define a network form of organization as any collection of actors (N_2) that pursue repeated, enduring exchange relations with one another and, at the same time, lack a legitimate organizational authority to arbitrate and resolve disputes that may arise during the exchange. In a pure market, relations are not enduring, but episodic, formed only for the purpose of a well-specified transfer of goods and resources and ending after the transfer. In hierarchies, relations may endure for longer than a brief episode, but a clearly recognized, legitimate authority exists to resolve disputes that are among actors. This definition of network form of organization includes a wide variety of joint ventures, strategic alliances, business groups, research consortia, relational contracts and outsourcing agreements.

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 social structure, pattern of units and dynamics of relationships and interactions amongst these units and also, seeks to identify both their causes and consequences. In 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) emphasizes on the analysis of social structure not to be based on (the aggregate of) action, but on the interactions between actions. Giddens (1976:162) introduced in this context the idea of a 'double hermeneutics'. The roles of observers and participants can be combined and/or distinguished; all combinations are possible. For example, actors may have similar positions in a network while not maintaining active relations. 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.

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. However, 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 are violation of human rights, denial of legitimate democratic freedom and systematic discrimination.

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 network with its distinct trusting ethic or value orientation on the part of exchange partners and norm of reciprocity makes it irreducible to a hybridization of market and hierarchical forms, which in contrast, are premised on a more adversarial posture. With these guiding principles of a network form of organization, networking is assumed to be an instrument of bringing about good governance in a civil society organization.

3.2.2 Identification of Indicators:
The operational norms of a Network are:
1) Empower the institutional framework of network through mutual communication:
   • Newsletter, magazines, publications and videos should be the tools to help in the flow, animation and exchange of information, ideas and resources.
   • Other medium of circulating information should also include organizing meetings, discussions, conventions on themes related to either HVDO or EVDO. These tools of a network help not just in circulating information but also, in holding dialogue and building alliance with other sectors of the society.
   • Within organizations, the staff members should communicate with each other personally within their respective groups, with members of other groups working in their organizations and the Governing Board members of their respective organisations. This is possible by holding regular meetings of their units, by informal interactions and also, by celebrating their hobbies with their colleagues in organization.

2) Synergising resources and strength by creating a pool of resources, information, knowledge and skills by sharing and exchange of ideas, resources, information, and perspectives. Hence no centralized planning and implementation:
   • Exchange visits of the organizational staff of the HVDO and EVDO to their partner organizations and staff from these partner organizations to
EVDO and HVDO should be conducted. This would enable not just communication between the staff of both sides but would also increase cross-fertilization of ideas, information, resources and opportunities for mutual learning.

- Valuable contribution of the staff to their respective organizations.

3) Connectedness or system of cooperation: can be learned not automatic, it is practiced over a period of time, it is not dictated. Cooperation (proximity) presumes complement. When system of cooperation exists then coordination comes into being. The purpose of coordination is to facilitate more effective and systematic communication, sharing of information and ideas. With this linkages build. Linkage building requires bringing together like-minded individuals groups and institutions. This process of linkage or unity of information, message and understanding is known as integration. (Process of linkage building) The purpose of coordination is to promote linkage building. And promoting linkage building in itself is a purpose of network. Network tends to seek out individuals and groups working in diverse, unknown settings and links them with each other.

- An active involvement and participation of the staff in decision-making.
- Satisfied growth of staff
- EVDO and HVDO should be working in cooperation with their partner organizations to achieve their respective aims. The different units of the HVDO and EVDO should be working together with one aim and for a common cause. Result could be forming linkages of different kinds within their organization. Responsibility is shared of members and organizations (EVDO and HVDO) for their actions.
- Collective decision-making and to increase the collective bargaining power and influence public policy (mobilize new energies and resources to connect with others for a common cause):
- An increase in member's strength of EVDO and HVDO and to sharpen their skills in their own areas of interest by creating opportunities of mutual learning.
- Capacity building of organizations and the member organizations/individuals through persistent contribution to the network in the form of money, information, infra-structure and training, and receiving persistent contribution from the network.
4) Territoriality: It supposes a control over an area or space that must be conceived of and communicated. Therefore history of territoriality is closely bound to the history of space, time and social organization. I have considered factors by which territoriality as an indicator of networking can be measured. These are:

- Vision and mission/strategy (how give meaning of the social organization)
- Social organization/structure (how EVDO and HVDO organize themselves in space)
- Infrastructure/employees (how people use the land with the available manpower and other skills)
- Space occupied by the VDO
- Formal or informal lines of communication, hierarchy, control, authority and impersonal relations (Configuration)
- Specialisation—which refers to the division of labour
- Standardisation—which refers to the extent of procedural regularity in the organisation
- Formalisation—which refers to the locus of documentation for job definition and communication
- Centralisation—which refers to the locus of authority in the organisation
- Configuration—which refers to the shape of authority and hierarchy and can often be summarized by span of control.

Specialisation, standardization and formalisation are strongly interrelated and are connected to the hierarchical structure of EVDO and HVDO and also, to technology.

3.2.3 Relationship of Networking with Civil society and Good Governance:
Civil society organizations work for the achievement of better quality of life for the people. This primarily is the purpose of good governance in society. Now for trying to fulfill this purpose of the civil society organizations, they themselves have to work together not only because these organizations are big in number but also, because they have enriched experience, ideas, manpower and resources. This is not to say that they loose their identity as independent organization working in a particular field but that they continue working in their respective fields and simultaneously, combine their energies and resources, their experiences. They need to come together in the real sense of working together amongst themselves and with other sectors of
the society also, like the government, corporate sector, media. Most organizations are already doing that. Civil society organizations need to look inside themselves and try to create an environment of good governance and this possible through networking. However, civil society organizations as mentioned earlier are working in isolation. In spite of working alone, the VDOs have reached milestones and have been a boon to the humankind. The quality of life of people has been considerably raised. However, results of the efforts of civil society organizations will be much better when they all work collectively and link themselves for the common cause. In other words, they need to come together for good governance in society. And for this to be able to do, the tool that civil society organizations can be able to use is that of forming networks and enhancing networking amongst them.

3.3 GOOD GOVERNANCE

We live in an era of performance and accountability. Increasingly, citizens, consumers and investors are demanding proof that their taxes, purchases and investments are really effective. Civil society is hardly immune from these expectations. To date, however, the civil society sector has lacked a convincing and reliable way to demonstrate its progress, let alone gauge its impact. Judgements about its health and development have therefore had to rely on sketchy hunches and subjective guesstimates. This section will begin to give insights into the understanding of good governance.

The need for 'Good Governance' is being increasingly felt in every sector of social and economic activity across the world. While the Corporate Sector has attempted, and to some extent, succeeded, in institutionalizing better governance practices, the Voluntary Sector has unfortunately lagged behind. Increasingly however, the need for 'good governance' is also being felt in the Voluntary Sector. Over the past several years, there has been an exponential growth in the number of Voluntary Organizations (VOs) operating across the entire spectrum of development activity in the country. However, despite the increase in the numbers of VOs playing a crucial role in wide-ranging functional areas, there is a conspicuous absence of any plausible framework to ensure the accountability of these organisations. Taking note of this lacuna, the Draft National Policy on the Voluntary Sector 2003 states, "

Accountability and Transparency are key issues in governance, and the voluntary sector is expected to set benchmarks in this regard. Accountability to
funding sources, though important, is not enough, and greater emphasis should be placed on social accountability to the stakeholders. Recognising the diversity of entities comprising the voluntary sector and the undesirability of specifying uniform standards for all, VOs shall be encouraged to evolve their own codes of conduct and governance standards. These should be appropriately notified and given publicity by the federating or network organisations along with disclosure and reporting procedures."

The Steering Committee Report of 10th Five Year Plan on the Voluntary Sector also emphasizes -"To attract corporate funding and partnership with private sector, accrediting or validation of VOs/NGOs and a methodology for that is required. Validation, accreditation of VOs/NGOs would be useful for both private and public sector and international donors. Concerned NGO networks, intermediary organisations and Ministries/ Departments may evolve suitable methodologies for the purpose."

3.3.1 Conceptual Debates:
For democracy to take root, the obstinate collectivism of Asia and Africa be replaced by individualism-the prerequisite of democracy. The second world (produced by proletarian revolution) was modern in that it was technologically sophisticated, rational to a degree but politically authoritarian. 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 (produced by bourgeois revolution) was democratic and free, wherein the differentiation between the state, civil society and market was firmly institutionalized. However, these constructions by the First World (produced by the Bourgeois revolution) were not accepted by the Second World. The contestation crystallized as the Cold War, which was also a struggle to annex the Third World into one of the modernities: the 'natural' modernity of the First World and the 'enlightened' modernity of the Second World (Pletsch 1981:365-90) Apparently, the natural modernity of the First World has triumphed, the Second World has been dismantled and the Third World has disappeared. The world has become one; a 'world society' has emerged through the new project of globalisation. The reader is being alerted to the historical basis of globalisation- colonisation and modernization- because it is imperative to situate the intellectual history of
democratization and good governance. And therefore, it is not surprising that scholars and practitioners started to see good governance not just as a necessary condition for effective reforms but also as fitting with new rhetoric about democratic participation and accountability (Woods 1999:39). Against this background, a whole new literature and set of prescriptions about good governance were unleashed.

In some agencies, the new idea of governance or good governance, borrowing from U.S. corporate language, came simply to mean good quality management (IMF 1997). This narrow definition of governance envisages limiting the role of the state while ensuring it provides the necessary framework of policy and institutions for markets to flourish. Institutions, in this view, exist to iron out imperfections in the market place and to provide a limited range of what economists define as public goods. A slightly broader version of this definition emphasizes the need to strengthen the ‘institutional capacity of the state’ through the enhancement of autonomy, efficiency, rationality and training13. The Asian Development Bank (ADB 1998:16) defines ‘governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of country’s social and economic resources for development’. Governance, here, has both political and economic dimensions. Issues of political governance include ‘the mechanisms by which the public’s political preferences are ascertained and leaders chosen’. These are fundamental governance concerns, which are generally outside the scope of the Bank’s work. But it is the ‘economic governance- identified as the sound “Development Management”- that is at the core of sustainable development’. This narrow definition of governance envisages technical, administrative and managerial issues of ‘governance’ ringing with Weberian echoes, and which is not political in spirit. The idea of good governance has been articulated by the World Bank14. The theme of governance is clearly manifest in the World Bank report of 1989, according to which ‘underlying the litany of Africa’s development problems is a crisis of governance’ (World Bank 1989:55). Failure of its economic policies in the African countries led the Bank to conclude that something was terribly wrong with governance in these countries. The Bank equated

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administrative inefficiency, corruption, lack of transparency, lack of accountability, violation of the rule of law etc., with bad governance. The solution to this was sought in achieving in the Bank’s terminology ‘good governance’ – enhancement in the quality and process of administration (Mohanty, 1999). Critics like Jayal (1997) and Guhan (1998) view the underlying notion of democracy in governance discourse as being too instrumental and severely limited. The Bank also avoided taking any stand on the type of political regime or form of governance as a requisite for good governance and reduced good governance to mere administrative reforms (Guhan, 1998). Nevertheless, it was the bilateral donors who equated good governance with the political regime of democracy. This was done by making the developmental aid conditional to democracy and by granting of civil rights. Around the same time as governance was being thought as problematic in many countries around the globe, the manner of the overthrow of authoritarian regimes in Eastern Europe, Latin America and Africa made civil society the new mantra for achieving good governance.

3.3.2 Identification of Indicators:
The indicators or operational norms of good governance are:

1) Organizational Integrity: This would mean developing and maintaining Voluntary Development Organisations (EVDO and HVDO) that would be public (as distinct from private) in its scope, structure and principles. This will need:

- The case VDOs should comply with all applicable regulations and laws as mentioned clearly under the heading ‘Indicators of VDO’s’.
- The primary motivation for the team members should be values of voluntarism and social commitment;
- The case VDOs should prepare, publish and disseminate its annual narrative and financial reports, as well as reports on particular activities and on results of reviews and evaluations;
- The organization should establish a clear written policy inhibiting conflicts of interests of members of the Board, employees, consultants and volunteers. In this policy, the organization should clearly mention the

15 Before the terms governance and democracy became popular in development vocabulary the need to make governance more humane in the existing democracies like India was emphasized by Kothari. See Kothari (1987 and 1988a and b) for a discussion on the desirability of humane governance.
people/agencies involved and mechanisms by which conflict is resolved. This policy should be reviewed regularly as part of Board self-assessment; and

- The organization should have a clear, enabling, equal opportunity and non-discriminatory employment policy.

2) a) Accountability: According to ADB, effective accountability has two components: answerability and consequences. Answerability is the requirement to respond periodically to questions concerning one's official actions. There is also need for meaningful and predictable consequences, without which accountability is only a time consuming formality. In addition, both internal and external accountability are needed. External accountability: The primary aim of the case VDOs should be its responsibility or answerability to the community of beneficiaries (the target groups for whom the organization is working) and also, to the government and the donors. This is possible through regular response of the case VDOs to their respective donors/funding partners both national and international. This can be done:

- by regularly meeting with the target groups and discussing relevant financial matters with them; and
- by sending them activity and account reports.

b) Internal Accountability in the case VDOs is viewed vis-à-vis

- Its vision and mission;
- Its performance in relation to that mission;
- Guidelines for action (with respect to policies) are developed and adherence to those programmes is monitored (both within the organization and outside the organization);
- The ethical standards; and
- The statutory requirements of the organization.

The accountability can be improved through regular, systematic and open evaluation and monitoring which can assess and strengthen the organization's principles and values, its commitment to people and communities, their ability to change and respond and its cost-effectiveness.

c. Such monitoring and evaluation should:

- involve, wherever possible, inputs from external and independent parties to ensure that it is honest, objective and not self-serving and appropriately critical;
• go beyond simple, as basic financial audits tend to be, and should address social as well as economic factors, as well as examine both intended and unintended impacts.

• evolve organizational practice by which the organization can establish its effectiveness and credibility and resist excessive control by donors and governments. For example, organizations should have written set of criteria and mechanisms on the basis of which projects are taken up.

3) Transparency (of information):
• Making clearly known and available who they are (the identity), what they do (vision and mission) and how they do (the strategy) to the staff and to others outside the organization;
• Publishing and widely disseminating annual report (information about programmes) with financial statement to the constituencies, partners and media;
• Explicitly following and documenting financial norms and staff management policy;
• Adopting participatory decision-making based on functional decentralization;
• Making information available about its constituency, partners as also its sources and uses of funds.

4) Participation in decision-making: Participation comes with the sense of ownership. Members and the staff of the organizations develop this sense of ownership amongst themselves when they are allowed to get involved in the process of translating the take up responsibility. Who are involved in this process and why are they involved become two indicator variables of participation. The context in which participation is held and the level at which they participate are equally important.

5) Quality of life (QOL): Providing a coherent and robust definition of the concept of QOL remains problematic. The difficulty is not a new one. Amartya Sen refers frequently to Aristotle’s comment in the Nicomachean Ethics that ‘wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking; for it is merely useful and for the sake of something else’ (Sen 1999). That ‘something else’ is happiness, produced by living well and doing well. The QOL can inevitably be conceived in different ways according to viewpoint, and the term is likely to remain controversial. I have
considered the following indicators that are considered important to QOL\textsuperscript{16}. These are: health, education and political participation. The qualitative descriptions of QOL were possible by eliciting QOL perceptions via techniques such as focus groups and in-depth interviews. While these techniques did not deliver rigorously measurable results, they offered rich detailed accounts. The primary purpose of the staff to join EVDO and HVDO should be the welfare of the general people and their betterment in terms of their quality of life.

6) Ensuring the rule of law through an independent judiciary (Oommen 1999: 63)\textsuperscript{17}: This independent judiciary is the Governing Board in both the VDOs under study.

- Members of the Board may either be nominated or elected, according to the provisions of the legal structure adopted by the case VDOs.
- The organizations should establish and maintain a Board Manual\textsuperscript{18} and it should be approved, reviewed every one to two years and revised, if necessary. This manual should be provided to the Board at the time of their orientation.

\textsuperscript{16} Two distinctive methods of measurement of QOL can be identified, based on either objective or subjective measures. Objective QOL measures are formed from one or more descriptive indicators that are felt to constitute reasonable proxies for what economists refer to as utility. They are well suited to describing the main features of social change and the development process. They can also be refined to measure the interaction of various factors considered to be important components of QOL (Land 2000). The Physical quality of life index (Moris 1979), based on measures of health and education, was a major step in measuring QOL. It was followed by a number of widely promoted QOL indices produced by the UNDP. The Human Development Index (HDI), introduced in 1990 by Mahbub ul Haq and colleagues, reflects achievements in 'the most basic human capabilities- leading a long life, being knowledgeable and enjoying a decent standard of living' (UNDP 1999). These are measured through life expectancy at birth, educational attainment (adult literacy rate and combined primary and secondary enrollment ratio) and income per capita. However accurate data are often not available and methodological changes resulted in the 1999 HDI being calculated on different basis from that in previous years. According to the UNDP, 'if a country ranks higher or lower on the HDI... that does not necessarily mean that its state of human development has deteriorated or improved' (Bloom, Craig and Malaney)  

\textsuperscript{17} Oommen, T.K. (1999) Reconciling Identity and Equality: Implications for Democratisation and Governance in South Africa and India, In Indian Social Science Review, Sage Publications, New Delhi, Vol. 1, (1) 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 20\textsuperscript{th} to 22\textsuperscript{nd} October 1998; and VANI (1997) op., cit.

\textsuperscript{18} The Board Manual would contain written statements and descriptions of responsibilities of the Board as a whole and of individual board members, functions of the Board committee, guidelines, goals of the organizations.
• The Board may delegate responsibility to others (for example a managing committee or even the paid staff) but must accept timely responsibility for governance over all aspects of the organization. This will include responsibility for:

• Safeguarding the vision, integrity, objectives and policies of the organization, ensuring that its identity, integrity, methods and activities are not distorted, subverted or taken over or corrupted by external or internal vested interest.

• Ensuring high standards\textsuperscript{19} of planning, operation, administration, evaluation and reporting in the organization:

There has to be set criteria in written and documented form for planning operating, reporting and evaluating.

In case of a Board meeting, the Governing Board should circulate the agenda of the meeting to all members of the Board through clear and thorough information materials two to three weeks before each meeting; complete and accurate minutes of the meeting and in particular, the decisions made by the Governing Board should be recorded and approved by the Governing Board and a report maintained; the minutes/report of the meeting should be accessible to the staff of the organization; the information presented should be in relation to significant factor such as goal set by the Board, past performance or a comparative data; it should be clear in the report why this information is important and if possible, some of the information should be presented graphically than in words. Also, importantly, the number of Board members who have brought experience and varied perspectives of their respective organisation's constituencies to the Board would be an important indicator of good governance in EVDO and HVDO, because through the Board, community has a voice in the governance of the organization.

• Ensuring that statutory obligations are met. In other words, the Governing Board should ensure effective financial management and audit of accounts and preparation of Annual Report of its programmes and activities.

\textsuperscript{19} The financial management practices of the organization should be developed in such a way so as to reflect its integrity and transparency. What is essential is that the practices must be based on authentic documents.
• Rotation of the Board members is an important part in the EVDO and HVDO. Also the Board review/renewal should be an ongoing process and not for a limited time service.

• Relationship of the Board amongst themselves and with the organizational staff: The Board should communicate amongst themselves by virtue of both formal and informal interactions. The Board should also have communication with the staff and vice versa.

• Internal Democracy:

• The Board should not be monopolized by a single interest group (for example, members of one family);

• The Board should have identified individuals and not any ex-officio members drawn from outside the organization;

• The statutes/by laws of the organization should provide for a transparent process of taking decisions, election of office bearers and members of the Board.

7) Democracy:

• The VDOs under study should create a broad-based General body and Governing Board. The composition of the Board of the VDOs should be based on proper distribution of gender, age, socio-cultural balances, national and international experience and sector to which they belong and experience. The composition and the structure of the Governing Board should be examined and reviewed periodically. The Governing Board should meet regularly;

• The Governing Board should pursue and adopt a collective decision making process in which all staff should be involved and they should be aware of this. Some of the issues for decision-making would be: new policies, new programmes, new contracts with external agencies;

• The VDOs should have a reasonable compensation package for the staff; and

• The organizations should have a strategic plan that should be reviewed, evaluated and revised, if necessary, on a regular basis

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20 Democracy is the governance system of an organization based on an appropriate involvement and participation of all members including board members, staff, collaborators and the community of beneficiaries. The reverse of democracy is autocracy, a system run by a person through a coterie.
8) Finances: The financial management practices of the organization should be of high standard to reflect its integrity and transparency.

- The organisations should only accept grants or contracts that are consistent with its vision and objectives. This is the legal responsibility of the Governing Board of the VDOs under study. The Board should ensure that the organization is operated according to the laws and within the framework of its mission;

- The organizations should have a clear and documented fund raising policy intended to assure its institutional advancement and financial sustainability. The Governing Board needs to secure appropriate funding to carry out the activities of the organization. In other words, the functions of resource mobilization and discuss and approval of the annual budget are to be carried out primarily by the Governing Board;

- The VDOs under study should ensure, while negotiating with donors that the terms and conditions of funding agreements and the procedures and timetable for reporting are mutually acceptable; and

- The VDOs should provide adequate and appropriate procedures for financial monitoring and review and reporting.

The procedure followed for the selection/recruitment of the staff of EVDO and HVDO should be interview and discussion. The criterion on the basis of which the staff is selected is the technical skill, experience and educational background. The staff should treat their work as worship. EVDO and HVDO membership should include those belonging to different geographical areas, linguistic lines.

3.3.3 Relationship of Good Governance with Civil Society and Networking:

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.
This is the background against which the importance of inter-group equality and the inadequacy of equality anchored solely to individuals ought to be viewed (Oommen 1999:64). 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\(^{21}\) is sustainable only if it is reinforced through political reforms. Governance, for Betielle (1999), is seen in the context of the kind of relationship that the NGOs are likely to develop with the governmental organizations that work broadly in the same field into which they are entering. The relationship could be that of complementary-competition, of mutual help or mutual hindrance or of convergence or divergence. Further continuing, Betielle says that successful NGO tends to extend its operations and in doing so, it has to come to terms with the problems of funding, management, accounting, division of labour and remuneration.

The governance of VDOs, has remained an area of limited study, though it is beginning to gain attention (Tandon, 1999:1). 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. Governance is not synonymous with the government, the latter being endowed only with formal authority. 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, that is, state, civil society and market are the parameters of governance. Thus 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 and entails institutions of government, civil society and market. It is here the link between governance and civil society begins to develop. The central point in this study is that what difference would it make to governance when focus is laid on civil

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\(^{21}\) 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.
society and whether networking can be used as an instrument or a tool in bringing about good governance in civil society or not.

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. 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. Much of this happens, and which needs to be looked into, because of the enormous diversity of interests, style of functioning etc. within civil society. However, the role of civil society (state and the market as parameters of governance) is to enhance the quality of life of people. In order to achieve this, the various actors of civil society need to come together not only amongst themselves but also with other agents and agencies of state and the market, forego the isolation amongst them and develop a mechanism called Network. The process involved in foregoing this isolation would be called networking. In such a situation, networking is assumed to become an instrument for bringing about good governance in civil society.

**Conclusion:**
The conceptual clarification of three concepts used in this study have been presented and discussed. Empirical aspects of these three concepts have laid down grounds for the next chapter, chapter four namely theoretical framework of the study and methods of fieldwork. In chapter four I seek to examine the broad theoretical debates relevant to my study and how different methods pertaining to these theories are used.