UNIT 16   MASS MEDIA

Structure

16.0   OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- explain the meaning and importance of mass media;
- discuss the role of mass media in the process of planned change and also in influencing public policies; analyse the impact of mass media on the people and public opinion; and
- highlight the need for a proper policy framework for mass media.

16.1   INTRODUCTION

Mass media, such as newspapers, magazines, films, radio and television, facilitate "one-way communication from one to many". They transmit a message "from a source to reach a large and often widely dispersed audience". The twentieth century has been blessed with the "trenchant" growth of the mass media. The films and television are most effective as they combine the audio and visual together. To Bertram Gross, television has changed the role of mass media by making non-face-to-face communication as practical and efficient and in many cases a face-to-face relation. The use of satellite brought about a revolution in the field of communication systems. Thanks to this communication revolution, it is now possible "to bring the people from remote corners face-to-face with a new reality".

With the operational success of its second domestic communication satellite, INSAT I-B, since October 1983, and with the corresponding spread of Television to large parts of the country, India has entered, with dramatic speed, the era of the modern communication revolution. "For a country which is still struggling with pre-industrial problems aggravated by the colonial rule", as the Report of the working Group on Software for Doordarshan (March 1985) observed forthrightly, "this technological leap into the post-industrial era offers vast opportunities for solving the stupendous problems of arrested growth in new and more effective ways. But there are also great social costs associated with unplanned and unimaginative expansion of modern communication technologies in a country like India". Thus, the success or effectiveness of mass media as an instrument for promoting change in the society,

influencing public policies and increasing public awareness would depend upon how we use the media and who uses it. In other words, this would depend upon a proper policy framework for mass media. In the light of this, the discussion in this Unit is on the role of mass media in planned change, in influencing policy-making, and in moulding public opinion. Besides, emphasis is also laid on the need for proper policy framework for Mass Media.

16.2 MASS MEDIA AND PLANNED CHANGE

The governments of virtually all developing and under developed countries of the world declare themselves committed to development. Development, in the context of these countries, is seen as "a process of change to be set in motion and guided towards the objective of eradicating the hunger, disease, injustice, exploitation and related ills that afflict vast sections of the population". Some of these countries, like India, have sought to fulfill the developmental objective through regular five-year plans. The developmental potential of mass media in general, and of television in particular, as a powerful aid to planned change and mass education is now universally appreciated. For a developing country like India such an electronic audio-visual medium as television has a profound impact on the millions of illiterate masses. This medium is, therefore, most useful for dissemination of information, diffusion of new ideas and practices, and transmission of developmental messages to illiterate and backward people living in the remotest and most isolated rural areas.

16.2.1 Diffusion of New Ideas and Practices

The scientific and technological revolution exerts a discernible influence on the dynamism of our age. It compels man to constantly develop his knowledge, extend his general outlook and adopt new ideas and practices. This is more so for the people of a developing country as ours. Radio, Television and other types of mass media can play an educational role in helping the people to know and adopt new ideas and practices for their individual and collective well-being. In India, where more than eighty per cent of the population live in rural areas and depend on agriculture, one of the prime ingredients of economic growth is the dissemination of information about new fertilizers, seeds, insecticides, cropping patterns and so on.

According to Vikram Sarabhai, an Indian scientist of international repute, "Mass media are clearly the main component in this system of information transfer".

A micro-level study of the impact of television on the life of a backward village in Bihar clearly reflects the positive role that a medium like television can play in diffusion of new ideas and practices. It finds that the location of the television and its "free" access to everyone helps in breaking the communication barriers related to development, and that adaptation of innovations by various categories of cultivators is possible if infrastructural support is provided. Otherwise, only the rich would take advantage as it happened prior to the arrival of the television. The positive contribution of the television in providing information is in those areas where it suggests 'do it yourself' kind of exercises. For programmes based on such ideas are not dependent only upon the mercies of developmental agencies, but are at the same time within the means of adopters.

Again, in a traditionally land-based rural economy as ours, it is natural that people's economic horizons do not extend beyond land as the basis of economic opportunity and livelihood. Since television is an audio-visual medium, based on the principle of knowing through seeing and hearing rather than knowing through reading, its programmes can educate even the illiterate people to think beyond land and to explore non-land opportunities. To quote the working group for Doordarshan (1985), "A programme of diversification of the rural economy and development of its non-land opportunities is as much a programme of economic growth as of mass education". General instructional programmes on animal husbandry, fishery, family planning, health and nutrition, may also facilitate diffusion of new ideas and practices in respective areas. Even recreational programmes like myth-dramatisations, music, song and dance, and puppet shows containing some instructional messages are no less relevant and useful.

16.2.2 Bringing about Change in the Society

Mass media can play a creative and constructive role in bringing about change in the society. There is no denying that change and development have also negative and destabilising consequences. Newton's Third Law of Motion would appear applicable here. Just as every action has its equal and opposite reaction, every step towards social mobility and change results in corresponding erosion of social stability by the forces of change. A changing and developing society would, therefore, require new institutions and values to replace old institutions and values. In the Indian context, for instance, the process of modernisation and change pose a severe threat to religion, caste, joint family and the village which were the pillars of the old society of a pre-industrial agricultural civilisation. Consequently, the traditional forms of social control have lost their hold while the new have yet to strike roots. Thus, we notice, what the working group for Doordarshan says, "the oscillation between the opposite tendencies of religious fundamentalism or conservatism at one end and of rootless modernisation at another end". Here is a historic opportunity for the mass media to play a creative and constructive role in resolving this deep moral crisis. "The search for values", to quote the working group further, "has to be put in the centre of the stage and people have to be oriented towards the discovery of the new meanings in life through a synthesis of the best of the old and the new values".

Again, in a developing democracy like India, which is facing the historic transition from the Elite Society to Mass Society, and which has yet to learn to live with problems of enjoying freedom with responsibility, of sharing the exercise of power as between classes, castes and ethnic communities, the era of growth is bound to be an era of great promise, but also of great uncertainty. "A value consensus alone", as the Working Group has observed forthrightly, "can serve as an integrating force in a society in transition. Education in the formal institutions but more importantly through nonformal agencies including the media must be tapped for rebuilding such a value consensus".

The promotion of scientific values and temper is another major responsibility of the media in a country like India which is still dominated by the medieval outlook and by superstitions of all kinds. The science programmes of AIR and Doordarshan have already shown vast possibilities of taking the message of science to the millions of illiterate and ignorant masses in India and making it meaningful to them. It is necessary, however, to create public awareness and public pressures so that the forces of commercialism may not exploit science only for consumerism but also for promoting scientific temper and outlook.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.
ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Explain the meaning and importance of mass media.

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2) Highlight the role of television in diffusion of new ideas and practices.

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3) Mass media can play a creative and constructive role in bringing about change in the society. Discuss.

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16.3 ROLE OF MASS MEDIA IN INFLUENCING POLICIES

Goals and policies are "value loaded terms referring to a distant state of things that are intended to be achieved". Removal of poverty, for instance, can be considered a goal which the Government of India wants to pursue. Rural development, urban development and industrial development policies are then geared to the attainment of this broad public goal. Policies, in this context, are "major instruments that are carefully formulated to move the society towards the goal." In a democratic system which recognises freedom of the press and freedom of thoughts and expressions, mass media exert a tangible influence on the formulation of policies.

There are three types of role which the mass media can play influencing policies. These are: informating role; orientation role; and suggestive role.

16.3.1 Information Role

Mass media reflect the real life problems, needs and aspirations of various classes and groups of the society. Such information provides valuable inputs to policy formulation. Mass media enlighten the policy-makers with information relating to latest scientific and technological achievements, and also with their coverage of significant events and processes in other countries of the world. Mass media also present public reactions to government policies. Such information is very useful for the evaluation of policy outcomes. This evaluation may lead to major or minor changes in an existing policy.

16.3.2 Orientation Role

In India, where half of the total population lives below the poverty line, any policy which is not directed towards attacking the problems of poverty is unlikely to have spectacular results. A mass-oriented education policy, for instance, has no meaning if it is not supported by a mass-oriented economic policy. The choice, therefore, lies between elite-oriented policies and mass-oriented policies. Mass media can either assist the former or the later.

In any system of government, the ruling elites, by virtue of their position in the power hierarchy, play a dominant role in the policy-making. It is quite natural that as policy-makers these elites would lean towards elite-oriented policies rather than mass-oriented policies. By lending support to mass-oriented policies, the mass media can play a significant role in bringing about spectacular change in the attitudes and approaches of the elite.

16.3.3 Suggestive Role

Democratic values are essentially pluralistic. Consequently, the policy-makers in a democratic system are always left with multiplicity of choices, and policy decision involves a rigorous exercise of making a particular choice from multiple options. Mass media not only stimulate discussion of the various choices available but also make

specific suggestions in favour of one particular choice or the other. Editorial articles of newspapers, for instance, not only make critical comments on government policies but also suggest alternative policies or measures. Such comments and suggestions make the policy-makers' tasks easier. It enables them to arrive at a particular policy decision and to amend or reverse wrong policy diagnoses and decisions.

16.4 MASS MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION

"Public Opinion", as Charles Steinberg has defined it very aptly, "is the collective expression of the opinions of many individuals bound into a group by common aims, aspirations, needs and ideals". According to him, the power of public opinion, in terms of its social efficacy, acts in two directions. First, the opinions of a group or public are formed and influenced to a large degree by those in authority. They use their authority to maintain and solidify these opinions. The press and other mass media are voices of authority to which the public pay heed. On the other hand, these so called authorities are influenced in a democratic society by the power of public opinion. It reveals, therefore, that the use of mass media for the purpose of influencing public opinion is not unilateral but operates on a system of "healthy checks and balances".

It is against the above background that we shall now discuss the role of mass media in (1) increasing awareness among the people and (2) in mobilisation of public opinion in a democratic society as ours which has its consequences on policy-making.

16.4.1 Increasing Awareness Among the People

For the facts relevant to the formation of public opinion, everyone has to depend on media. If the literate people depend more on newspapers, the illiterate people would obviously depend on cinema, radio or television. Most of these media disseminate news and views of wide variety such as legislative debates, speeches of eminent personalities, announcements of governments, political parties and social action groups, public grievances and current issues and problems. Such news and views help people to increase their political and social awareness. Such awareness, in turn, helps in the formation of public opinion.

It should, however, be noted that the role of mass media in increasing public awareness is not unlimited. Some have argued, for instance, that the mass media such as radio and TV, mainly because of the rapidity with which information is presented, and the impossibility of interruption, questioning, or discussion, tend to frustrate thinking and in a sense to dull the intellect. It is true that there is little time for reflection, appraisal, interpretation, analysis, or testing, as the programmes role relentlessly on. Again, a free press in a democratic system has its limitations in as far as it ceases to become an open forum for the ventilations of all shades of opinion and is transformed into a tool of big business. In both the instances, the solution, if any, can only be found "in the inculcation of the sound education that will enable the people to select the good and reject the bad".

16.4.2 Mobilisation of Public Opinion

The mass media also play a vital part in mobilisation of public opinion. The dissemination of information is not the only function of the mass media. The interpretation and systematisation of information into a particular viewpoint are also undertaken by the media. In most countries, as in India, the radio and TV are under government control and the newspapers are, by and large, owned and controlled by the big industrial houses. It is quite natural, therefore, that the mass media tend to mobilise public opinion not so much in public interests as in the interest of the ruling class. But, the ruling class or its voice, the media, is sometimes influenced in a democratic society by the power of public opinion. For instance, in the 1990 by-election of Meham Assembly Constituency of Haryana, a strong public opinion, a plethora of enlightened independent groups and a powerful media joined together to uphold the sovereignty of the voters.

16.5   NEED FOR A PROPER POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR MASS MEDIA

It is most unfortunate that despite three and half decades of planned development effort, the utilisation of such an extremely powerful resource as communication is negligible. To quote Krishan Sondhi, an adviser to the Planning Commission of India, "There is no such thing as considered policy in any of the Communication systems in our country whether these relate to Film or Television or Telecommunication or Computer Sciences". The Working Group for Doordarshan also noted: "We have development programmes and projects aiming at reduction of poverty without any involvement of communication agencies. We are also rapidly expanding the communication network without providing adequately for its active role in implementing antipoverty programmes". There is no denying that the urgent problems of development and growth require mass involvement and motivation which can happen only through planned communication systems. It is of utmost importance, therefore, to establish dynamic and beneficial linkages between development and communication. As the FAO report has aptly put it, "development and communication are out of gear. On the one hand, we have the media used without a developmental purpose. On the other, we have developmental action without media or communication support. Yet, in an ideal world, the two would work hand in hand". Thus, while appreciating the need for evolving a comprehensive communication systems approach to deal with problems of mass involvement and mobilisation of effort.

We highlight here some of the requirements for a proper policy framework for mass media, as identified by the experts as well as the Working Group for Doordarshan:

i)   To identify the role of various mass media like film, TV, radio and press in the developmental process, and to examine how this role can be promoted and what organisational frameworks are required to make these channels effective for development tasks;

ii)   To provide at least one television set to each village for community viewing with special access to weaker sections of society;

iii) To devise alternative possibilities for community viewing of TV in view of the large proportion of villages being non-electricity areas and even electrified villages having frequent power breakdowns and failures;

iv)   To bring about such reforms in structure and management of Akashvani and Doordarshan as would ensure functional freedom for these two organisations within the framework of accountability to social objectives; and

v)   To ensure optimum utilisation of radio and TV for the promotion of mass education, scientific values and temper, people's participation in development, family planning and child welfare programmes, secular values, cultural exchanges, and national integration.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1)   Discuss the role of mass media in influencing policies.

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2) How can the mass media help in increasing awareness among the people and in mobilisation of public opinion?

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3) Highlight the need for a proper policy framework for mass media.

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16.6 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit, we have discussed the importance of mass media in the context of modern communication revolution. We have also discussed the educational, creative and constructive roles of mass media in the process of planned change. The informative, orientation and suggestive roles of mass media in the process of policy formulation have also been studied. We have examined how mass media can help in increasing public awareness and mobilisation of public opinion. Finally, we have discussed the need for a proper policy framework for the communication systems in general and the mass media in particular.

16.7 KEY WORDS

Consumerism: Belief in high consumption of goods.

Elite Society: A society dominated by a powerful minority group to serve the interests of the few.

Medieval: Relating to or characteristic of the middle ages.

Religious fundamentalism: Blind adherence to religious dogmas and practices.

Trenchant growth: Vigorously effective growth.

16.8 REFERENCES AND FURTHER READINGS

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16.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1) Your answer should include the following points:
   - Mass media include newspapers, magazines, films, radio and television;
   - It facilitates one-way communication from one to many;
   - It has offered vast opportunities for solving the problem of arrested growth in new and more effective ways; and
   - It has promoted change in the society, has influenced public policies and has increased public awareness.

2) Your answer should include the following points:
   - It has made non-face communication as practical and efficient as face-to-face relation;
   - It has brought people from remote corners face-to-face with a new reality;
   - It is a powerful aid to planned change and mass education; and
   - It is a useful medium for dissemination of information, diffusion of new ideas and practices, and transmission of developmental messages to illiterate and backward people living in the remotest and most isolated rural areas.

3) Your answer should include the following points:
   - It plays a creative and constructive role in bringing about change in the society;
   - It resolves deep moral crisis by educating people and making them come out of their fundamentalist shells;
   - It rebuilds 'value consensus' which helps in bringing social change; and
   - It takes the message of science to millions of illiterate and ignorant masses thus making it more meaningful to them. Such a role facilitates the bringing of social change.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Your answer should include the following points:
   - Policies are major instruments that are carefully formulated to move society towards its goal;
   - Mass media exert a tangible influence on the formulation of policies; and
   - Mass media has three types of role to play in influencing policies. These include:
     - i) Information role;
     - ii) Orientation role; and
     - iii) Suggestive role.

2) Your answer should include the following points:
   - Public opinion is the collective expression of the opinion of many individuals bound into a group of common aims, aspirations, needs and ideals;
   - Through mass media people come to know of the development as well as actions of various governmental as well as non-governmental agencies;
   - The news and views expressed through mass media help the public to increase their political and social awareness; and
   - Besides disseminating information, the mass media interpret and systematise the information into a particular view point. This helps in mobilising public opinion.

3) Your answer should include the following points:
   - There is no such thing as considered policy in any of the communication systems in India;

• A proper policy for mass media is required to:

i) identify the role of various mass media;

ii) ensure optimum utilisation of radio and TV; and

iii) bring about such reforms in structure and management of Akashvani and Doordarshan as would ensure functional freedom for these two organisations within the framework of accountability to social objectives.

UNIT 17   SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

17.0   OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- explain the meaning, and given an account of genesis, and theories of social movements;
- understand the relationship between Public Policy and Social Movements; and
- discuss how social movements have acted as determinants in public policy-making in India.

17.1   INTRODUCTION

A social system is a gloss of two or more persons that interact with one another in some patterned way. In its generic sense, social system, may refer to the interaction of human beings on any scale within a small group, a complex organisation or an entire society. Some analysts identify individual human beings, or groups, as the basic element of a social system, that is, a system of human entities. Others speak of actions, interactions, behaviour, or relationships as the system elements, that is, systems of action. Both points of view assume the existence of people and their interaction.

All but the simplest social systems embrace a number of subsystems. These may be conceived as subgroups of different people (families as subsystems of a large society, governmental agencies as subsystems of the larger governmental system). Or they may involve the same people or overlapping groups of people, members of separate subsystems defined by the kinds of interactions in which the people engage. Examples of such subsystems are as such as economic and political subsystems of a larger national social system. A social system, consisting of interaction between people, may be distinguished from a cultural system, which refers to learned modes of behaviour characteristics of a society, and from a personality system, which refers to the organised dispositions within a single individual that lead to characteristic response.

The division of society into classes or states, hierarchically ranked according to differences in wealth, prestige, or other social characteristics is known as social stratification. It reflects the uneven distribution among the population of things that a society values. It is based on perceptions of differences in status between broad groups or strata of people, rather than on individual differences.

The bases of social stratification may differ over time and from one society to another. They include various combinations of such factors as power, property, ownership, income, education, religious inherited position, race, altruism and morality, and associational connections. Movements of individuals from one level to

another or the shift in relative position of a whole stratum or class is known as social mobility. Within a given social system, various groups organise different kinds of movements for influencing the government to formulate particular policies. Depending upon the strength, resources, and ideological standpoint, different social movements adopt varying strategies and modes of actions.

In Unit 3, while referring to the contextual setting of policy-making, we discussed the role of society in policy-making. The major emphasis in the present Unit is on the role and significance of social movements in policy-making. For understanding the working operations and mechanism vis-a-vis its influence on policy making, we will first explain the meaning and important theories of social movements. Besides this, certain specific illustrations of social movements will be discussed for analysing the effects of social movements on policy-making.

17.2 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS : MEANING, GENESIS, THEORIES AND SOCIAL MOBILIZATION

Social Movements, in recent years, have attracted the attention of not only social anthropologists, but also of political scientists, historians, and public administrators Some of the scholars have used the term 'movement' interchangeably with organisation or union. It has become a gimmick of some politicians and social reformers to term their activities as 'movements' without even having a handful of people as its activists. It was in the beginning of nineteenth century when the term social movement was used significantly in the European languages. It was mainly because of the social upheaval prevailing at that time. The focus of these social movements was on the changing society. They advocated improved and better property relationship suiting the interests of the exploited classes.

Though good number of such movements are in existence and equally sizeable amount of research has been already conducted on different social movements, yet there is no precise definition of the term 'social movements' which is acceptable to scholars from different disciplines. Paul Wilkinson in his book, Social Movements, has presented a working concept of the term 'Social Movement'. According to him, 'A Social Movement is a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any means, not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into 'utopian' community. A social movement must evince a minimal degree of organisation; this may range from a loose, informal or partial level of organization to a highly institutionalised and bureaucratized movement and the corporate group. "A social movement's commitment to change and the raison d'etre of its organization are founded upon the conscious voilition, normative commitment to the movement's aims or beliefs, and active participation on the part of the. followers or members."

A 'Social Movement' has the following characteristics:

i)   A social movement is deliberate, intentional, and planned in accordance with the goals and targets it aims to achieve. The efforts are made as per the strategy adopted by the concerned social movement organisation;

ii) A social movement is a collective endeavour and not the resultant of an individual's efforts. It involves collective action as different from individual action. "However, when the collective action is somewhat sustained, as distinct from a sporadic occurrence, it does take the form of a movement. This collective action, however, need not be formally organised, but should be able to create an interest and awakening in a sufficiently large number of people. Hence, a social movement essentially involves sustained collective mobilisation through either informal or formal organisation."

iii) A social movement is directed towards change relating to a specific aspect at hand with the given 'movement' organisation. The change aimed at could be partial or complete in some statutes, norms, traditions, and values;

iv) Most of the social movements have some ideological base. It is the ideology which has been made as a base for attracting people to join a movement and work in accordance with the specified targets and goals;

v)   For running its activities properly, the social movement has an organisation. It

cannot be as formal as a government or private organisation. It is rather a loose, informal or partial organisation. Without having any organisational base it becomes difficult for the social movement to go ahead with its activities; and

vi) Social movements have the active participation of the followers or members. They have voluntarily joined the movement in order to protect their interests. For achieving the purpose of their joining, it is a must that they actively participate in its activities.

A social movement has an innovative trait. It aims at achieving something without having much in the nature of institutionalisation, code of conduct, procedure of membership, etc. Once the working of the movement gets routinised and institutionalised and some of its aims and goals are achieved, the movement either takes the form of a political party having an ideology in accordance with its goals and target group members' needs; or it ceases to be a movement at all. Of course, in some cases, there emerge splinter movements from one movement as a result of some differences of opinions existing within its original members.

In order to have a clearer idea of the various dimensions of social movements, it is better to understand their classification. Some social movements are reformative, attempting to usher in reforms in certain areas of life. These involve changed and new relationships, activities, values and norms. Another kind of social movements are transformative. They are oriented towards bringing changes in "super-oriented and subordinate relationships". The third type of social movements are revolutionary ones attempting to bring to fore changes in related spheres or activities pertaining to life. Furthermore, the social movements could be classified on the basis of the locus of a movement. The movements could be: linguistic, religious, sectarian, caste, workers, tribals, backward, peasants, women, students, etc. Some movements could be spread all over the country, some in particular states, and some may be in a group of states.

The working concept of the social movement, various characteristics of the social movements, and the classification of movements, as discussed above. Of course, make the points regarding the identification and operationalisation of the problem of enquiry of the movements but these do not help us understand the causes of the emergence and later on growth of the social movements. In the present Unit our focus ·is on the activities of social movements as influencing factors on policy-making. In order to see how much different movements have succeeded in influencing policy-making, we would be quoting specific illustrations. But how the movements emerge and what are the theoretical foundations of social movements must be understood. It would help us in analysing the modus-operandi and successes of various movements in India through the formulation of different policies. The pertinent questions, therefore, are: what are the structural conditions under which movements emerge:

● the motivational forces; and

● the different theories which conceptualise the emergence of a social movement.

The structural conditions and motivational forces which give rise to a movement are explained mainly through three major theories. These are known as: theory of relative deprivation; theory of strain; and theory of revitalisation.

The theory of 'Relative Deprivation' was coined by Samuel A. Stouffer. He was the first to use this notion. This theory was later developed by Robert K. Merton. The theory suggests that people mainly experience feeling of deprivation when they compare their own situations unfavourably with those of other individuals or groups. Comparisons can be made both with individuals with whom people interact and also with outsiders. What matters is which reference group the person or group chooses as the focus of comparison. The emphasis on people's subjective frames of reference is a useful addition to the study of deprivation. But the concept itself does not determine at what point relative deprivation becomes objective than absolute deprivation.

Robert K. Merton developed the concept of relative deprivation in relation to reference group theory. The concept was applied by him to analyse social mobility. Social mobility is a concept which is used in sociological investigation of inequality. It refers to the movement of individuals between different levels of social hierarchy, usually defined occupationally. Merton's approach with regard to emphasis on social mobility while working on the theory of relative deprivation was later developed by W.C. Runciman in relation to reference group and problems of social inequalities and justice. "In this approach, relative deprivation is made the basis of a study of social

mobility as occurring through emulation and positive reference group behaviour."

Contrary to the view points of Stouffer, Merton and Runciman, Marx and Aberle developed the concept while laying emphasis on 'conflict' element. Aberle has defined relative deprivation as "a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and actuality". He has analysed relative deprivation in terms of material status, behaviour and worth and has termed the concept as "the bed-rock for a study of social movements". It has been recognised by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels that dissatisfaction with the status quo was not determined by absolute conditions but by relative expectations.

T.R. Gurr in his book, Why Men rebel, has attempted to clarify certain points in the concept of relative deprivation. According to him, relative deprivation is not only to be considered in terms of expectations but also in terms of perceived capabilities. Gurr has defined it as a gap in existence between expectations and perceived capabilities. Economic conditions, political power, and social status are three general sets of values involved in the gap between expectations and perceived capabilities. Such a gap emerges:

- when the expectations are stable but the capabilities decline, it is decremental deprivation;
- or when there is rise in expectations and a decline in capabilities, it is progressive deprivation;
- or when the rise is in expectations and the capabilities remain stable, it is aspirational deprivation.

Relative deprivation theorists conceded that "a position of relative deprivation alone will not generate a movement. The structural conditions of relative deprivation provide only the necessary conditions. Sufficient conditions are provided by preception of a situation and by the estimate of capabilities by certain leaders that they can do something to remedy the situation".

As per the concept of stress and strain a social system is never in a state of perfect equilibrium. There are always inconsistencies among its component parts (role expectations, social institutions, etc.,) producing stress and strain. These strains may be able to hinder the achievement of goals or, in extreme cases, threaten the survival of the system. In order to cope with the strains, social movements emerge to work for the attainment of such preceived goals and targets through which the strains could be either done away with completely or reduced partially: depending upon the situation, gravity or problem, and quantum of strain.

It was Neil Smelser who is in his work, Theory of Collective Behaviour, propounded the strain theory. This theory treats structural stream as the factor underlying the consequences amounting to collective behaviour. At various levels of norms, values, mobilisation, and situational facilities, the structural strain occurs. When the persons are under strain they endeavour to plan out a strategy to come out of it. The situations make the generalised beliefs and the concept of strain provides structural conditions. The structural conditions made available through the strain and the crystalisation of generalised beliefs coupled together require some stimulating and precipitating factors to start a social movement. Basically, Smelser's point of view brings forth the structural-functional framework with regard to the emergence of social movements. Strain has been considered by Smelser as the impairment of relations between different components of a system leading to weak and poor functioning of the system; the deprivation under strain is included in it. Strain theory considers conflict as underlying factor to the system's malfunctions and the theory of relative deprivation lays stress upon the conflict element as productive of change.

With regard to the genesis of social movements, explained in to the theories of relative deprivation and strain, the question is whether the social movements appear on scene because of the negative conditions as propounded in the said two theories. A.F.C. Wallace, in his paper "Revitalisation Movements" has stated that the emergence of social movements is because of the intentional, planned, organised and conscious moves on the part of the members of the sociey to build a more promising and satisfying culture for themselves. Revitalisation is thus, from a cultural stand point, a special kind of culture change phenomenon. Wallace has analysed the revitalisation movement's dynamics in four phases. These include: period of cultural stability; period of increased individual stress; period of cultural distortion; and period of

revitalisation. As per the theory of revitalisation, equilibrium situations are attained through adaptive process. The social movements aim at bringing changes in the society. For this they adopt two pronged strategy. One is to highlight the negativities of a particular situation or activity and the other is to make available the line of action to meet the conditional situations.

All the three theories discussed above with regard to the genesis of social movements have certain positive elements and points. While making a comparative analysis of all the three, M.S.A. Rao in his edited book, "Social Movements in India" has stated that, "the relative deprivation theory offers a more satisfactory explanation of the genesis of social movements for it is pivoted around conflict and cognitive change, motivating people and mobilizing them around certain interests and issues. Secondly, it offers the best explanation for the change-orientation of movements rather than to looking at movements as adaptive mechanism restoring functional unity and equilibrium."

It would be in the fitness of the things to make an attempt to differentiate between social movements and political movements. It is all the more necessary because we are to analyse the role of social movements in influencing the policy-making process, which is political, for all purposes. According to Andre Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes in their article, "Nine Theses on Social Movement", the social movements do not strive for state power. Social and political power has differentiation and the state power is located in the state alone. A basic objective of social movements is social transformation. The members or the participants mobilise for the attainment of social justice. Keeping in view the basic difference between society and state, which has been discussed at little length in Unit 3, social and political power are not one and the same. Though the difference between the state and society and between the social and political movements and power is there, yet in the present day world to make a differentiation between social and political power "is to gloss over reality and ignore the complexities of political processes". Social movements aim at social transformation and for getting social justice. In simple words these look forward to change in the society through policies enacted and executed accordingly. For bringing about social transformation and to struggle for social justice, the requirement is to influence or capture political authority, though not straight away directly but certainly indirectly. To say that the difference between social and political movements is "merely semantic" won't be wrong.

Depending upon the ideology and objectives, the social movements attempt to mobilise people from different parts in the given polity. In case it is to take up the case of a particular group, for example, peasants, backwards, students, women, etc.; then the members from the same group would be attracted to join the particular movement. As said earlier, social movements are basically related to social change and therefore, to the social structure. For bringing as well as for resisting changes also the social movements mobilise the people being directly or indirectly affected by the same. Depending upon the organisational structure, issues at hands, and mobilising mode of operation the mobilisation of the societal components is achieved. The social mobilisation is directed towards bringing or resisting change in the society through various policy interventions. Number of queries, are to be taken note of viz.

- the type and quantum of change being envisaged by the mobilisation;
- the kind of changes the mobilisation tends to resist;
- the conditions under which the people are mobilised;
- the nature and composition of social mobilisation;
- the structural and planned ingredients of mobilisation in terms of bringing or resisting changes. It is required to have clearly in view what the movements could do; how they could do the same; and what effects it will have on the society.

The discussion in the preceding text helps us to understand the relationship between the social movements and public policies. The specific illustrations with regard to some of the social movements would make the impact of influence of social movements on policy-making process more clear.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Mention any three characteristics of social movement.

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2) Highlight three important theories of social movements as discussed in the Unit.

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17.3 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND PUBLIC POLICY

Directed and undirected segments of social movements affect each other. As movements arise, grow, and become recognised, they tend to generate public controversy. Uncommitted portions of the society may be polarised into partisan support on the one hand and resistant opposition on the other. Social movements tend to achieve their goals through public policies or through resisting the applicability of any policy and stressing upon changes to be incorporated in the same. A movement may work toward the goal of effective change in the rules of government or other institutions.

The study of public policy could be conducted with two different aims. Firstly, by attempting to select between good and bad or better and worse policies, and secondly by studying causal relations in an objective manner. Within the domain of social movements and policy sciences, these two approaches coexist. In a number of operational areas of some of the social movements, which ultimately fall in the realm of sociology, these approaches seem to merge as a result of specific dependent variables studied. In such areas, the causal relations between policies as means, and valuative dependent variables as ends or outcomes are studied or taken note of. The culmination of the two approaches, that is, selecting between good or bad policies and studying the causal relations objectively is a trait of sociology at large, which includes social movements also. In the words of Duncan Macrae, Junior, "Many sociological concepts (or their opposites) may plausibly be taken as ends: Social integration, social mobility, intergroup communication, morale, or the reduction of social disorganisation, prejudice alienation, or crime. Thus sociologists have often claimed to seek objective knowledge both for its own sake, and at the same time to provide means to given ends whose valuative aspect is exogenous to the discipline. Such ends may be defined by the judgement that a social problem exists or by clients' support for research. And even though radical critics within sociology have criticised their discipline's cooperation with power clients, the critics themselves often feel that they can combine objective study with the service of given volumes through the study of power".

Social movements are products of social structure which affects policy-making. As discussed in the earlier units policies are made in accordance with the basic objectives of the polity, the problems faced by the components of the social systems, and the thrust on development ultimately for the upliftment of the society. The social movements, brought to the fore through mobilised and aggregated interests and view

points of its members, articulate to the policy-makers to bring changes in the policies already made or for making new policies. In the wake of overall objectives and the objectivity in the demands made by the social movements vis-a-vis other societal sections demands, and overall resources, the policy-makers tend to enact policies as per the issues tabled forth by the social movements. Not only at the time of formulation of the policies but also at the execution stage the social movements act as major determinants. The cooperation or lack of implementation of a policy extended or not extended by the social movements has substantial affect on the policy execution. The relationship, thus, between social movements and public policy is quite close and of significant nature. In order to see how much the social movements have acted as determinants in policy-making, some of the specific illustrations are being discussed in the succeeding text.

17.4 SPECIFIC ILLUSTRATIONS

In order to bring to light the influence and impact of various social movements on policy-making, we are analysing some of the social movements; their impact can be ascertained by examining the policies enacted as a result of the social movement efforts.

Peasants' and Farmers' Movements

India is predominently an agrarian country. Based on the important elements of social movements, viz. collective mobilisation, ideological stand, and change orientation, the agrarian movement in India is a distinct form of social movement. This movement has been collectively organised to bring to the fore certain problems or resist certain changes in the society through policies having impact on agrarian social structure in India. In different parts of the country, various agrarian movements have grown at different times. These are discussed under two separate subsections, that is, Peasants' movements and Farmers' movements. Before analysing the same, it would be better to make a distinction between Peasants' movement and Farmers' movement. Kathleen Gough in her article, "Indian Peasant Uprisings" has defined Peasants as "People who engage in agriculture or related production with primitive means and who surrender part of their produce to landlords or to agents of the State". The Peasants are thus, the small landholders, the subsistence level producers, sharecroppers and agricultural labourers. The Peasants' movement can be defined as an organised and collective endeavour of the section of the society engaged in peasantry for changing the,

● ownership pattern,
● control of land,
● use of land,
● wage structure,
● share of agricultural produce, and
● credit and institutional support system.

Besides, it also aimed at all other allied aspects of social and economic life of society which has deprived them of the basic necessities over a long period of time. On the other hand, the farmer is the one who has relatively large landholding, belongs to the affluent section, and has the power of the commercial crop producing traits which they can bring to bear on their economic interests. Thus, a farmers' movement can be defined as a collective and organised effort of comparatively well placed farmers, in economic terms, for bringing changes in the mode of supply of electricity, supply of water, subsidy for fertilisers and more price for the agricultural produce.

17.4.1 The Peasants' Movements

The Peasants' Movements are described in two subsections:
a) Telangana Movement; and
b) Naxalbari Movement.

a) Telangana Movement

In pre as well as post-Independence era, India has witnessed a number of peasants

uprisings. Of these, the armed insurrection between 1946 to 1952 in the Telangana region of Hyderabad, which was at what time a princely state, has its own importance and significance. It was led by the Communists. Soon after independence, that is, in 1948, the Hyderabad State experienced a forceful outburst of the discontentment of peasantry. The peasants in Telangana region were under the control of the Jagirdars. As a result of the Jagirdari system of land tenure the peasants were under substantive oppression of the jagirdars. The big landowners, whether Muslims or high caste Hindus, used to make the peasants work under compulsion without having any set norms of payment in lieu there of. The peasants, mainly hailing from Reddy and Kamma caste groups and tribes, did not have the freedom to approach the ruler also since the State was Theocratic and Nizam's word was final. The ruler was more close to the rich landowners than the poor peasants. The peasants were facing oppressions in the form of minimal wages, high rate of interest on loans, whimsical work conditions to land owners' interest, etc. In a nutshell, there was utter depression among the peasants and they were fed up with the then existing arrangements which spoke voluminously of their exploitation by the Jagirdars.

The peasants wanted to release themselves from such tyrannical state of affairs. The socialists and communists attempted to mobilise the poor peasants against the Nizam. It took the shape of a movement. In 1948 the movement underwent a shift. A landlord's employee was murdered by a village activist on an issue pertaining to land. This act raised a violent response. The Nizam tried to suppress the movement and this oppression was resisted strongly by the peasants not only by making use of traditional weapons but also by forming armed guerrilla squads. The peasants, and even the women joined the activists, fought successfully against the armed forces of the Nizam. Lands of the jagirdars were seized and liberated zones were formed. Almost two years passed in such a struggle. In 1949 the Indian army overthraw the Nizam of Hyderabad. It became a part of Indian Union. The socialists, who were a major force in mobilising the people for the movement, withdrew from the movement. Slowly, with the passage of time, the movement came to an end. The net result of the movement was the abolition of the jagirdari system.

b) Naxalite Movement

The Naxalite Movement had its operational area in West Bengal. The conditions which were prevailing in the State were not conducive to the uplift of the peasantry. It is a fact that to all appearances there was a decline in the extent of landlessness and an increase in the number of small and medium land cultivators in the State. But in actual fact the socio-economic conditions of the peasants were still largely unchanged. The peasants were still subject to exploitation. Decrease in the extent of landlessness and increase in the number of small and medium peasants did not affect the rich landowners or even the medium landowners in the State. The abolition of large holdings also did not have much consequences as, by foul means, the owners were successful in getting their holdings transferred in the names of their relations, and in many cases also in some fictitious names. Besides, the lack of substantial legal protection led to unrestrained eviction of share croppers, low share of crops to the share croppers, and low wages to labourers engaged in agriculture. It amounted to substantive increase in the burden of indebtedness of the peasants which further became a reason for their exploitation. On the other hand the lazy and inert development of industry, increasingly high pressure on land, thoroughly limited avenues of employment, and large scale migration of people from East Bengal were contributory factors to the overall bad economic conditions in the State of West Bengal. The United Front Government which claimed to support, the cause of peasanty came to power in the State of West Bengal in the year 1967. The suppressed feelings of the peasants, which were mobilised on the basis of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideological frame work, burst out in the form of peasant movement known as 'Naxalite Movement'.

The Naxalite movement, which started in the village of 'Naxabari', in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, adopted guerrilla warfare strategy. It was termed as a radical movement launched by the peasants. The movement, which originated from a small village, soon spread all over the State for protecting the cause of peasants, agricultural labourers and share croppers. It was aimed at removal of exploitation of the peasantry by the landowners and money-lenders.

To begin with, committees of the peasants and Red Guards were formed to bring the

movement into action in some parts of Darjeeling district. It later on spread its activities of forcefully capturing the surplus land of the landowners, seizing paddy from the landowners' godowns, cutting standing paddy crops from the fields of the landowners, and seizing loan documents from landowners, etc., in the whole State. The formation of CPI-ML (Communist Party of India—Marxist-Leninist) by Kanu Sanyal in 1968 and advocating of the "Line of annihilation of class enemies" by Charu Mazumdar in 1969 contributed to the peasants movement launched in West Bengal. The students of various colleges also joined hands with the peasants and started mobilizing people in the rural areas. The Naxalites started their operations in a big way. The landowners were deprived of their goods, liberated zones were declared, some of the landowners left the villages, whereas some surrendered before the Naxalites. So long as the United Front Government remained in power there was no move to repress the movement. After President's rule in 1970 the police force started repressing the movement in a big way and succeeded in crushing the violent movement in a short span of time.

The movement operated in a revolutionary manner. The peasants were united against the landowners and wanted to come out of their clutches. The attitude adopted was definitely hostile. The political parties having leftist leanings were supporting the movement aimed at bringing reforms in agrarian policies and institutional structure. Though the movement was forcefully repressed by the Government, yet it provided enough food for thought to the policy-makers to seriously ponder over the issues of struggle and to make policies on the same. Number of policies as a result of this movement, and also some others, were made. The same would be discussed after briefly mentioning some of the Farmers' Movements also.

17.4.2 Farmers Movements

Farmers Movements: We have started the discussion in the subsection by saying that we would be analysing some of the Peasants and Farmers movements in India. The Peasants movements—a) Telangana movement; and b) Naxalbari movement have been discussed in the preceding text, the focus would now be on Farmers Movements.

The farmers movements started gaining currency because of the fear that the policies of the Congress government under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi were directed more towards the upliftment of industrial capitalist development than for the safeguarding of interests of the farmers. The land ceilings in rural areas were implemented whereas the same zeal was not applied to implementing the ceiling on urban land and property. The farmers agitation primarily on "Price and related issues against the alleged neglect of rural interests—have been a prominent feature of the political scene in several states, particularly in Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, and Karnataka." For the purpose of understanding the dynamics of farmers' movements, we would be discussing the farmers' movements in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu.

a) Farmers' Movement in Maharashtra

It is Sharad Joshi who is considered to be the chief architect of Maharashtra farmers' movement. He gave a fresh, and stimulating turn to the movement started by Dr. M.G. Bokare under the name of the Maharashtra Kapas Utpadaka Shatkari Sangha formed in the year 1972. "Farmers' movements on price issues took place in Maharashtra during a decade when its agriculture had turned the corner from stagnation to growth."

The State of Maharashtra has witnessed the growth of Cotton growers' movement in the last twenty years or so. The cotton growers were paid quite unremunerative prices for their produce for number of years. As a result, the debt on cotton growers kept on increasing at a high rate. Consequently, the cotton growers felt discontended. M.G. Bokare organised the movement for pressurising the government to fix a reasonable price for the cotton. In the State not only the cotton producing farmers were under exploitation but also the union and tobacco producers.

A brahmin by caste and a well placed urbanite, Dr. Sharad Joshi formed the Shatkari Sangathana in Maharashtra with a one point programme of remunerative prices for farm produce. He considered it as "a programme which will set in motion all the required forces towards the removal of poverty in the country". The Shatkari Sangathana mobilised the people and organised 'RASTA ROKO' (blockade of road) in Nasik in November 1980. "The massive response he (Joshi) got from the farmers sent ripples all over the Maharashtra. The agitation relied on blocking of roads, and

some 31,000 courted arrest." The movement started by Sharad Joshi got support from all concerned. As a result of it, the Maharashtra State Marketing Federation started buying onions at 25 to 35 per cent increased prices. Not only this, the state government pressurised the sugar factories to increase the advance amount from Rs. 150 to Rs. 180 per tonne of sugar cane to the farmers.

Besides, Sharad Joshi's Shatkari Sangathana took up the case of tobacco cultivators of Nipani in Karnataka. The tobacco growers were paid some advance before harvesting and in turn for less then half of the price of the produce the tobacco was taken from the farmers. The Shatkari Sangathana in March 1981 organised 'Rasta Roko' in Nipani. The traffic was blocked for 21 days. There was a clash between tobacco growers and the Police. Joshi was arrested in the firing 10 people were killed and hundreds were injured. "The state government avoided the price issue on the ground that only the Centre could fix support price for tobacco but it offered help to growers in forming a cooperative to overcome the exploitation of prime trade and the RBI offered to advance 75 per cent of the total price of tobacco received during the previous year to facilitate the formation of such a cooperative". These measures helped in improving the price for the agricultural produce.

b) Farmers' Movement in Tamil Nadu

Tamil Nadu could be termed as the first state where the farmers' movements started on "non-party lines". Way back in the year 1949, a leading farmer of Tanjavur district, Rajagopala Naidu, formed an association to counter the moves of tenant movements organised by the communists. The association "gradually died out after the suppression of the CPI". With the passage of time it was felt by the people that issues like increase in electricity charges and repayment of government loans were causing hardship to the farmers. The farmers slowly started mobilising themselves and ultimately Tamil Nadu Agriculturists' Association was formed in 1966 in North Coimbatore taluk. It was converted into a district level organisation in 1967 and a state level organisation in 1973.

The issues agitating the farmers were expressed through the Association in the shape of general strikes, mass hunger strikes, and picketing in front of government offices. Not only this, the movement took a violent turn in 1977. The government offices were not only blocked but the officials were stopped from entering their offices. The repayment of loans was stopped. The officials were prohibited from entering the villages without prior permission of the village farmers' association. The government used force to repress the movement. The sensitivity of the issues and the support lent to the same by sizeable number of farmers moved the government to reduce the electricity charges, meter rent, monthly fixed charges and abolition of cess on Cash crops. The government did not yield to the pressure to the extent of loans waivement. It resulted in further intensifying the agitation and finally in the year 1980 the loans of small farmers were waived off. It was an intentional move of the government to cause a setback to the activities of the farmers as a group. But certainly, as a result of this movement, the farmers could get some relief.

On the pattern of farmers' movements in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, as discussed above, there have been farmers' movements in other States also. Some of these include: Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, and Karnataka, etc.

17.4.3 Influence of these Movements on Government Policy

The analysis of some of the peasants' and farmers' movements made in the preceding text has brought to light the mobilisation, efforts, and strategies that were adopted by these movements in particular and by a number of others also aiming at bringing in certain changes and resisting certain others the changes in the interests of socio-economic upliftment of the peasants and farmers. Besides providing some benefits to the members of the distinct movements, as discussed above, the government has formulated different policies from time to time. It becomes evident by looking at the policies formulated that the movements of peasants and farmers influenced the thinking process of the policy-makers and accordingly the policies were made. Some of the important ones' include:

i) Immediately after Independence, the intermediary system of land tenure was abolished in India. The Jagirdari Abolition Act, 1949 in Hyderabad, and the Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Act, 1950 are significant examples of the

same. Likewise, in all States such legislations were enacted. The Madras legislature passed an Act in 1953 to reduce rents in Zamindari areas and also to abolish zamindari as such;

ii) In order to ensure uniformity in land holdings, ceiling legislations were passed in almost all the States by the end of Second Five Year Plan. The legislations to this effect were enacted and implemented in the spirit these should have been. As a result, by the time Fourth Five Year Plan was being finalised, the Planning Commission was directed to formulate policies on land ceiling to ensure greater access to land for the landless. Consequently, some States passed the legislation in 1972, some did not in 1973 but the measures came into force by and large in all the States in 1973. (For details please refer to Unit 23 of this Course.)

iii) Land reforms have been recognised and accepted as an important instrument of economic and social change. Land reform policies were initiated in the country for achieving the twin objectives of increasing agricultural production and ensuring social justice. Legislative measures have been adopted for providing to the tenants security of tenure and for regulating rates of rent payable by them. (For details please refer to Unit 23 of this course.)

iv) Agricultural Price Policy was made to get the farmers and producers the due rate for the agricultural crops. Remunerative prices for the produce are essential in order to increase productivity and to improve the farmers socio-economic status;

v) The Agricultural Price Commission (since renamed as Commission for Agricultural Costs and Prices—CACP) was established in 1964. Its duty is to make recommendations on procurement/support prices in respect of number of important agricultural commodities. It has, over the years, helped in the evolution of a stable and positive price policy for the agricultural producer. While recommending a price for a commodity the CACP takes into account not only a comprehensive overview of the entire structure of the economy of a particular commodity, but also keeps in view the likely affect of the price policy on the rest of the economy, particularly on the cost of living, level of wages, industrial cost structure, etc. In addition, it takes into consideration the available data on cost of production, trends in market prices, demand and supply situation, changes in input prices and tiller crop price policy. It also takes into account the changes in terms of trade between agricultural and non-agricultural sectors;

vi) On the recommendations of the Rural Credit Review Committee, the Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA) and the Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Agency (MFDA) were formed with a view to improve the economic conditions of small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers. It also aims at turning them into surplus producers by (1) helping them to develop the potential capacity of their farms and (2) by organising local resources and market-based agro-industries as an easily accessible secondary source of their income. Local resources are organised through the medium of the cooperative societies of different types, commercial banks, and similar other institutions. In this whole process, the SFDA and MFDA are to serve as catalytic agents. It was expected that these agencies would bring the benefits of modern technology to the small and marginal farmers. The purpose is to raise the living standards of small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers by improved agriculture, subsidiary occupations, and supplementary employment;

vii) For ensuring adequate and timely marketing of the agricultural products and to save the farmers from the exploitative measures of the 'Middlemen', the State governments have established Agricultural Marketing Boards. Ever since the Green Revolution, the problem of agricultural marketing has been engaging the attention of the Government and farmers. The establishment of State Marketing Boards has helped the farmers to some extent;

viii) From time to time the Government has launched special programmes of different types to help the peasants, farmers, and agricultural labourers. Programmes like, National Rural Employment Programme; Drought Prone Area Programme; Desert Development Programme, TRYSEM, etc. have been launched to help the uplift of the rural poor. In 1989-90, the Government launched specific programmes for helping specific categories of peasants and farmers. These include: Special Rice Production Programme in Eastern States; Special

Foodgrains Production Programme; National Pulses Development Programme; National Oilseed Development Project; Intensive Cotton Development Programme; Special Jute Development Programme; and Reclamation of Alkali Soils in Haryana, Punjab and U.P.

The policies and programmes made by the Government from time to time do reveal the measures initiated by the policy-makers for protecting the interests of the peasants and farmers.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.
ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Distinguish between a 'Peasant' and a 'Farmer'.

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2) Mention any four policies or Acts made by the Government for the upliftment of peasants and farmers.

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17.5 THE RESPONSE OF PUBLIC AGENCIES— COERCIVE AND RESPONSIVE

The governmental machinery ought to be responsive to the needs, demands and expectations of the citizens. 'Responsiveness' of policy-makers and implementors is a term which has socio-psychological dimensions. It is certainly not a populist or sloganised term or statement. What the demands and expectations are of the specific section of the society have to be seen by the policy-makers in the over all context. The government aims at making policies in order of priority so that no section of the society is deprived of the benefits to be given to it in a given span of time. How the policies are formulated and what is the role of different governmental and non-governmental agencies has been explained at length in a number of units of this

course. Therefore, we will not be discussing the policy-making process over here. Rather the focus of discussion would be on the role of public policy-making agencies, that is, the government, in formulating policies in response to the social movement activities and demands discussed in the preceding text.

In accordance with the basic objective of the socialistic pattern of the society, the government has from time to time been making policies to protect and uplift the peasants and farmers. The social movements which were launched by peasants and farmers, as discussed in the Unit, did provide the government requisite feedback and thought for action to make policies which could help the specific sections more. In order to ensure peace, and law and order, the government becomes oppressive when any social movement adopts violent means. Whenever the social movements' organisers attempted to disturb peace and to destory and damage public property the government machinery came into action. From this it cannot be inferred that the government had been anti-social movements or anti any demands having been made by the specific sections of the society through any movement. The public opinion mobilised by the social movements has been playing an active role in the formulation of policies conducive to the needs and some of the demands of the social movements.

17.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, the discussion has been on the meaning and important theories of the genesis of social movements. This has provided us necessary information to understand the relationship between social movements and public policy. Social movements act as one of the important determinants of public policy-making. The discussion on the Telangana Movement, the Naxalite Movement, and the Farmers Movements in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu explains the origin of these movements, their basic demands, strategies of action, and the government's oppressive as well as responsive attitude to the same. Besides, the policies which the government has made from time to time as a result of these social movements and the basic objectives enshrined in the Constitution, have also been mentioned.

17.7 KEY WORDS

Agrarian: The term agrarian is understood in relation to land; an agrarian society is understood to mean a peasant society.

Capitalism: An industrial mode of production in which the class of capitalists own means of production, employ labour and make profit through appropriating surplus value.

Evince: To show in a clear manner; to manifest.

Reference Group: The term was introduced into the Literature on small groups by Mazufer Sherif in his book, An Outline of Social Psychology, published in 1948. He has used it in contrast to the term membership group. Whilst the later obviously refers to a group a person belongs to, the former is the one which affects his behaviour. Of course, the two may coincide and it is usually the case that a person's membership groups are also the reference groups.

Tenant: They are a distinct category of the agrarian societies. Tenants use the land in lieu of regular payment, either in cash or kind, to the landowner.

17.8 REFERENCES AND FURTHER READINGS

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17.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1) Your answer should include the following points:
   - It is a deliberate, intentional and planned movement for attaining the goals and targets it aims to achieve;
   - It is a collective endeavour and not the resultant to an individual's efforts; and
   - It is directed towards change.

2) Your answer should include the following points:
   - Theory of Relative Deprivation;
   - Theory of Strain; and
   - Theory of Revitalisation.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Your answer should include the following points:
   — A peasant is:
   - Small Landholder;
   - Subsistence Level Producer;
   - Share Cropper; and
   - Agricultural Labourer.
   — A farmer is:
   - Relatively Large Landholder;
   - Belonging to affluent society; and
   - having traits for protecting economic interests.

2) Your answer should include the following points:
   - Abolition of Land Tenure;
   - Land Ceiling Act;
   - Agriculture Price Policy; and
   - Setting up of Agricultural Price Commission.

UNIT 18   INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

Structure

18.0   OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

● discuss the structure and objectives of some important international organisations;

● understand the impact of international agencies on public policy-making; and

● discuss the role of specific agencies, namely, ILO, UNESCO, WHO, UNEP, IMF, IBRD & TNCs in policy-making.

18.1   INTRODUCTION

The idea of unifying all people at least in symbols and aspirations has been as old as the world-wide mission of medieval empire. It is only during the last century that this idea has emerged in a somewhat concrete shape through the efforts of the new group called international organisations.

Most of the important international organisations are composed of a large number of governments and hence are called intergovernmental organisations (IGOs). These include the Universal Postal Union (UPU, 1874), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU, 1932; successor to the International Telegraph Union, 1865), the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) and others. Somewhat broader functions are exercised by various organisations under the United Nations (UN). The main functions performed by the various UN agencies relate to achieving peace and human rights, justice and respect for obligations, and the economic and social development services.

These UN organisations are open to nearly all the nations of the world. They have a sufficiently strong permanent machinery; stress is placed on making new rules and decisions, and on implementations as well as administrations of policies. However, in actual practice these organisations are observed to be limited mainly to the exchange of views and knowledge, the making of studies, the drafting of recommendations and rendering of technical assistance to governments requesting it. They cannot legislate. Neither do these agencies have the power to tax, nor do most of them have any effective powers of sanctions. Although the old principle of unanimity has been replaced in these organisations by majority voting, their decisions do not bind any individual government until it has ratified them. Only some technical agencies have a

limited rule making power; thus Air Safety Standards set by ICAO, and regulations of World Health Organisation (WHO) to prevent the spread of epidemics, become binding on their member-nations unless they give notice to the contrary within a specific time.

Most of the national elites prefer it just this way. Their members have no desire to weaken their own power over their national societies by permitting the serious promotion of any competing international loyalties by which their own domestic power could be weakened. Thus the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) was refused in 1947, effective powers over food prices and supplies. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), however, limit the freedom of each nation to manage its national currency as each national government sees fit. The Fund even has some powers of sanctions, since, under certain conditions, it can refuse financial support to, and even block the credit of uncooperative governments. However, further extensions of the powers of the IMF to act and to bind its members, at the price of a further cut in their sovereignty, are apt to be quite difficult to accomplish.

Thus the role of the various international agencies in influencing public policy-making by individual governments, including India, is likely to be limited although it cannot be totally ignored.

The focus of discussion in this Unit is to highlight various international issues of policy-making and the role played in this by the important United Nations organisations.

18.2 POLICY-MAKING AND INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

The United Nations came into being in 1945 with the major purpose, as stated in Article 1 of its Charter, of maintaining international peace and security. It has assumed, over time, greater responsibilities which cover almost every aspect of political, social, cultural, economic and humanitarian problems of the people of every nation of the world. Besides acting as determinant in policy-making of the Sovereign nations who are members of the UN, there are some broad areas of policy-making by the international agencies. These can be enlisted as under:

i)   International Peace and Security;
ii) Disarmament;
iii) Economic and Social Development;
iv) Environmental Problems;
v)   Social and Humanitarian Assistance;
vi) Human Rights; and
vii) Independence of Colonial People.

18.2.1   Impact of United Nation's Policies on Formulation of Policies by Member-Nations

In this section we will discuss certain major policies and resolutions which have been enacted and adopted by UN Organisations. These policies and resolutions have significant bearing on the policies formulated to that effect by the member-nations.

i) International Peace & Security

The heart of United Nations' capacity to act in matters relating to peace and security is the Security Council. The Charter speaks of the U.N. Assembly as making recommendations; it empowers the Council to take decisions.

The crucial dilemmas of world politics are realistically reflected in the voting procedures of the Council. The Council has five permanent members (the United States, the USSR, The United Kingdom, France & China), and 10 non-permanent members elected by the Assembly for two-year terms. The functioning of the council hinges on the unanimity of the five permanent members, as each one of these five members has a veto right. It has been manifestly impossible to coerce either the United States or the Soviet Union to do anything important against its will; and it is

also clear that Britain, France and China are similarly uncoercible. But if these five powers can agree they can muster enough force to stop quickly any war or threat of war anywhere in the world. The agecold problem of stopping or controlling the war-like propensities of all people of all states is thus replaced by the much smaller problem of discovering ways of producing coordination among only five countries—a problem which, though still very difficult, seems more manageable. This is one of the major impacts of the UN organisation, although threat of war could not be totally got' rid of.

ii) Disarmament

The concerted efforts made by the UN at both multilateral and bilateral levels, as well as on a regional basis, have led to a body of important agreements, treaties, and conventions committing the parties to various arms limitations and disarmament measures. The important treaties concluded so far include the 1959 Antarctic Treaty which put into practice, for the first time, the concept of nuclear-weapon-free zone, later applied also to Latin America and the South Pacific, 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in outer space and under water, 1968 Treaty on guaranteeing all countries access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, 1972 convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapons and on the destructions of such weapons etc.

Over the same period, bilateral negotiations between the USSR and US have produced a number of agreements between the two countries. These actions are mainly directed towards limitation on testing and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and agreement to formulate policies to guarantee stability and peace.

iii) Economic and Social Development

Since its very birth the United Nations system has an impressive record of promoting the development of poor countries. For example, IBRD has advanced loans, first to the war-devastated countries and later, to the economically poor countries for development of various sectors of their economies. These endeavours were, however, not free from problems. There is a general impression that the Bank is biased in favour of the US and other major contributors, because it seems to be promoting the interests of the multinationals. Moreover it imposes conditions for its loans, which are not always in favour of the interests of the underdeveloped countries.

The WHO had, from the very start, programmes of assisting countries with experts, equipments and training in the field of health development.

UNCTAD, which is another development agency, has, to its credit, negotiated an increase in exports from developing countries through the Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) under which the industrial countries give preferential tariff to products from developing countries.

Another important development agency that has assisted the trade and development of all countries, particularly the poor countries, is GATT. It has helped in reducing both tariff and non-tariff barriers in many cases, but here again, flouting of these rules through new forms of protection by the importing countries could not be totally stopped.

The ILO's development involvement has been through the establishment of improved conditions of work for the world's work force. One of its limitation is that the recommendations are based mainly on industrial conditions in the industrial countries and are not applicable to the work force of the poor countries.

18.2.2   U.N. Development Decades

The principles and goals of the U.N. Development efforts are considered mainly within the framework of the U.N. Development Decade first launched in the early 1960s. The first U.N. Development Decade ended in December 1970. One of its major goals was the attainment of a 5 per cent growth rate for the developing countries as a whole. During 1960-70 the growth rate in total domestic product achieved was only 4.6 per cent with a per capita growth of only about 2 per cent. The Assembly concluded that one of the reasons for this slow progress was due to the lack of an adequate framework of an international development strategy.

The main objectives of the second U.N. Development Decade, in the 1970s, for the

developing countries were to promote a sustained economic growth, ensure a higher standard of living, and to facilitate the process of narrowing the gap between the developed and the developing countries. The progress achieved during the first half of the decade was reviewed by the General Assembly in 1975. The Assembly noted that the gap between the developed and developing countries had increased alarmingly. The Assembly further noted that the net flow of financial resources from the developed countries in the form of official development assistance had decreased in real terms and as a percentage of GNP of the developed countries.

In the new international development strategy adopted by the General Assembly for the third U.N. Development Decade, beginning on first January 1981, the governments pledged themselves, individually and collectively, to fulfil their commitment to establish a New International Economic Order (NIEO) based on justice and equality. They agreed to subscribe to the goals and objectives of the strategy and to translate them into reality by adopting a coherent set of interrelated, concrete, and effective policy measures in all sectors of development.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the unit.

1) Discuss the role of Security Council in making policies regarding International Peace and Security.

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2) Evaluate the impact of disarmament on formulation of policies by the member nations.

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18.3 ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

18.3.1 The International Labour Organisation (ILO)

The ILO founded in 1919 is the only major organisation which antedates United Nations system. This is an organisation not for labour alone, but, judged by its activities, can pass easily as an international organisation for social justice. Furthermore, the organisation's responsibilities have widened over time, and it has given increasing attention to measures designed to help raise general standards of living. Its work now includes activities as remote from the traditional field of labour relations as training courses for management personnel and high government officials in the use of modern methods to improve productivity and efficiency.

The ILO was created as an organisation in which labour, employers and governments were to be represented on an equal footing. As so constituted, the ILO was, and still

is, unique among international government organisations in that it is the only one in which private citizens, namely representatives of labourers and of employers, have the same voting and other rights as possessed by the Governments.

One of the principal achievements of the ILO has been the formulation of an extensive international labour code through the drafting and adoption of various standard-setting conventions and recommendations.

The International Labour Conference cannot pass legislation that by itself is binding on any country. Member governments must, however, report back to the ILO on the measures they have taken to bring the ILO conventions or recommendations before their competent legislative authorities, and they must also keep the ILO informed of decisions made by those authorities.

Once a convention has been ratified and has come into force, every country that has ratified it is obligated to take all necessary measures to make its provisions effective. By ratifying a convention, a country automatically agrees to report every year to the International Labour Office on how the convention is being applied to the territory.

The ILO Constitution provides two other procedures to induce governments to carry out the provisions of the conventions that they have been ratified. Firstly, workers' or employers' organisations may make representations to the International Labour Office, if they believe that any government, even their own, has failed to live up to a convention that it has ratified. If the government concerned fails to provide a satisfactory answer to the allegation, the Governing Body of ILO may decide to publish the allegation and also the answer submitted by the government.

Second, any ILO member government may file a complaint against any other member · for alleged noncompliance with a ratified convention. The ILO Constitution provides that, in this event, it report on its findings, and recommend such remedial steps as it thinks proper.

The ILO considers help to member states, in the struggle against unemployment, to be one of its major responsibilities. Guided by International Labour Standards, and often with the practical aid of the ILO, many countries have taken steps to ease the lot of the unemployed, to organise employment bureaus, and to develop vocational training facilities.

The ILO thus has been successful in building up internationally valid minimum labour and social standards which were initially considered utopian by many. However, the various conventions and recommendations and the machinery of mutual supervision have helped to improve working conditions and management-labour relations, protect the basic rights of labour, promote social security, and lessen the frequency and intensity of labour conflicts in India.

18.3.2 The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)

UNESCO's purpose as a member of the UN family of organisations is "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the people of the world without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the charter of the United Nations."

The UNESCO is to promote, on the one hand, the democratisation of education, science and arts and on the other hand, the progress of all sciences and all branches of intellectual activity which aim to improve material as well as spiritual life.

The UNESCO seeks to stimulate a worldwide attack on illiteracy, raise educational standards, encourage fundamental education, foster scientific research and promote the dissemination of scientific knowledge, provide for the exchange of persons to promote cultural activities, improve facilities for mass communication, and in general, promote international understanding.

A large part of UNESCO's programmes are carried out under contract or through subvention to various non-governmental organisations, such as, International Council of Scientific Unions etc. UNESCO funds many of these organisations, UNESCO also works closely with other UN specialised agencies like WHO, FAO, UNEP etc. in respective matters.

JNESCO and the National Commissions, through meetings, publications, broadcasts ontests, and exhibitions have stimulated public interest in its specific programmes, and achieved substantial progress in education, natural sciences, social and human sciences, study and promotion of culture, and development of communications all over the globe. It amply gets reflected in the various public policies enacted in India as well, for example, the proposed Cultural Policy Statement to be adopted by the Indian government.

18.3.3 The World Health Organisation (WHO)

At its first meeting, in 1946, the UN Economic and Social Council decided to call an international conference to consider the establishment of a single health organisation of the UN. The conference met in New York and on 22nd July adopted a constitution for the World Health Organisation, which would carry on the functions previously performed by the League, and OIHP (Office International d'Hygiene Publique). WHO came into existence in April 1948, and its first assembly was convened in June during the same year.

In feeling the pulse of global health in 1974, WHO member states concluded that despite vaccines, antibiotic drugs, and a host of extraordinary advances in medical technology, the world was far from healthy. There was a "signal failure", the 27th World Health Assembly concluded, to provide basic services to two-thirds of the world's population, particularly to rural inhabitants and the urban poor, who despite being the most needy and in the majority, were most neglected.

That assessment—made two dozen years after WHO's establishment—led to a reorientation of WHO's outlook and to the adoption of the goal of "Health for all by the year 2000" through the approach of primary health care.

The main task of WHO, by the end of this century, is to work to ensure that people everywhere have access to health services that will enable them to lead socially and economically productive lives.

We should keep in mind that WHO is in no sense of the term of World Health Service; it helps governments at their request and, in accordance with the policy laid down by the Health Assembly. The Regional Office has been helping the member states in almost all fields of Public Health promotion. The role of the Regional Office is: i) Provision of expertise; ii) Fellowships; iii) Equipment; iv) Headquarter support to regional organisations. The regional office attempts to provide useful know how through experts to member states to improve the general health conditions.

WHO has clearly demonstrated the catalytic role opened to an international organisation with precise objectives, a clear conception of its own part and consistency in its activity, however limited the resources may be at any one time in relation to the needs. The WHO has always fought for the cause of social development. It can claim credit for the greater awareness which now exists on the social aspects of the development process in a large number of its member nations, including India. Public policies enacted in India regarding control of communicable diseases, providing suitable education and training in health care professions and allied activities and for opening up and development of hospitals, dispensaries, especially in rural areas, and starting of drug addiction centres etc. abundantly reveal the tantamount impact of WHO guidelines on Indian Policy-making scene.

18.3.4 United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)

In the course of the twentieth century, and specially after World War II, the increase in the earth's population and the advance of technology, with concomitant changes in patterns of production and consumption, led to pressures on the environment and threats to its stability that were new in human history. For a long time, the implications of these phenomena were largely ignored. In the decade of the 1960s, however, problems such as soil erosion, air, water, and marine pollution, the need for conservation of limited resources, and desiccation of once fertile zones became quite acute. This awakened the consciousness of governments and people in all parts of the world. The urgency of the situation was particularly felt in the industrialised countries. The UN responded with the decision of the 1968 General Assembly to convene a world conference on the human environment.

The first UN conference on the Human Environment was held in Stockholm in June

1972. The conference was a focus for, rather than the start of, action on environmental problems. At its conclusion, the participants, representing 90% of the world's population, adopted a declaration and a 109 point plan of action for the human environment.

Later, in 1972, on the basis of the conference's recommendations, the General Assembly created the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) with headquarters in Nairobi, to monitor significant changes in the environment and to encourage and coordinate sound environment practices. UNEP is the first global UN agency which started with its headquarters in a developing country.

UNEP's key programmes include "Earthwatch", an internationl surveillance network which comprised three services: the Global Environmental Monitoring System. The International Register of Potentially Toxic Chemicals, and the International Referral System.

UNEP's efforts against marine pollution, begun with a pilot programme in the Mediterranean, now also Acts, extend to in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, the Caribbean, the Asian seas, and the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans.

In 1985, a global convention on the Protection of the Ozone Layer, developed under UNEP auspices, was adopted by a plenipotentiary conference held in Vienna.

UNEP's voluntary Environment Fund has financed over 800 projects concerned with marine pollution, soil degradation and desertification, the ecology of urban and rural settlements, the environmental impact of alternate energy sources, etc.

Rajiv Gandhi, in the foreward to the World Commission on Environment and Development Report, entitled "Our Common Future", has said "Ecological degradation affects developing countries more fundamentally than it does the developed ones. We in India know this only too well. Our heroic efforts to provide our vast and growing population with the minimum needs can be sustained in the long-term only if we protect our ecology from further attacks. India has taken concrete action to do so by creating necessary awareness, legislation, institutions and agencies."

18.3.5 International Financial Institutions and TNCs

In 1944, even while the Second World War was being fought, representatives of forty-four nations met in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA, to discuss the major existing internationl economic problems, including reconstruction of the economies ravaged by the War, and the Conference proposed setting up of:

i)   The International Monetary Fund (IMF) to alleviate the problems of international liquidity (i.e. to help the member countries to meet their balance of payments deficits and international monetary instability).

ii) The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) to help the reconstruction and development of various national economies by providing long-term capital assistance, and

iii) The International Trade Organisation (ITO) to work towards the liberalisation of international trade.

The IMF and IBRD, as the Bretton Woods twins, were established in 1946. However, the proposal for the ITO did not materialise; instead the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), a less ambitious organisation, was formed in 1947.

i) International Monetary Fund (IMF)

During World War II, more and more countries knew that they would be confronted by reconstruction efforts of staggering dimensions. It was also known that the UK would emerge from the war as the world's principal debtor nation and the US, the only major power whose productive capacity had greatly increased during the war, as the world's principal creditor nation.

The UK, the US, and their allies were convinced that international economic and financial cooperation through inter-governmental institutions expressly established for that purpose, was required to prevent a more serious recurrence of the economic and monetary chaos of the 1930s.

Two plans were proposed almost simultaneously in 1943: a US plan for an International Stabilisation Fund, frequently referred to as the White Plan and a

British plan for an International Clearing Union frequently referred to as the Keynes Plan. Both plans were discussed with financial experts of other powers, including the Republic of China, the French Committee for Liberation, and the USSR.

The IMF, as finally constituted in 1945, resembled the US suggested stabilisation fund.

The resources of the IMF come from two sources, namely, (a) subscription by members and (b) borrowings.

a) **Quotas and subscriptions:** Each Fund member is assigned a quota, which determines its financial and organisational relations with the institution. Quotas determine members' subscriptions to the Fund, their relative voting power, their maximum access to financing from the Fund and their shares in SDR allocations.

Every member of the Fund is required to subscribe to it an amount equivalent to its quota. Each member is assigned a quota expressed in SDRs. Up to 25% of the subscription has to be paid in reserve assets specified by the Fund (SDRs or usable currencies) and the remainder in the member's own currency.

As a result of members' payments of subscriptions, the Fund holds substantial resources in members' currencies and SDRs, which are available to meet member countries' temporary balance of payments needs.

b) **Borrowings:** The IMF is authorised, under its Articles of Agreement, to supplement its ordinary resources by borrowing. The Fund may seek the amount it needs in any currency and from any source, i.e., from official entities as well as from private sources.

A member's voting power is important for two reasons.

First, many of the principal policy and operational decisions of the fund require a certain majority of votes.

Second, the voting power of the member has a bearing on the member's representation on the Board. The five members with the largest quotas each appoint their Executive Director. The remaining Directors are elected by groups or constituencies of members.

The facilities and policies through which the fund provides financial support to its member countries fall under the following heads, namely:

i) Tranche policies
ii) Extended fund facility
iii) Permanent facilities, and
iv) Temporary facilities

i) Tranche policies

There are two types of tranche under the tranche policies, namely, Reserve Tranche and Credit Tranche.

a) Reserve Tranche

If the Fund's holdings of a member's currency, not derived from purchases under the Extended Fund Facility, Permanent facilities and Temporary Facilities, are less than the quota, the difference is called Reserve Tranche. A member using Fund's resources in Credit Tranche has the option either to use or retain a Reserve Tranche position. Purchases in the Reserve Tranches are subject to balance of payments need, economic policy conditions, or repurchase requirements.

b) Credit Tranche

Further purchases are made in four credit tranches, each of 25% of the member's quota. In the past, the total of purchases under credit tranche policies was normally limited to 100% of the member's quota, an amount that would raise the fund's holdings of the member's currency to 200% of its quota. However, in response to the structural and deep-rooted nature of the payments imbalances currently confronting many members, the Fund is placing greater emphasis on programmes involving adjustment periods of longer duration, and provision has been made for access above these limits in the Enlarged Access Policy.

ii) Extended Fund Facility

Under the Extended Fund Facility, the fund may provide assistance to members to meet their balance of payments deficits for longer periods and in amounts larger in relation to quotas than under the Credit Tranche Policies.

iii) Permanent Facilities

There are two permanent facilities for specific purposes, namely the facility for compensatory financing of export fluctuations and the buffer stock financing facility.

Compensatory Financing Facility

The Compensatory financing facility was established in 1963 to compensate for fluctuations in cereal import costs. It extends facility to member countries encountering payments difficulties caused by temporary shortfalls in export proceeds.

Buffer Stock Financing Facility (BSFF)

Under this, the fund provides resources to help finance member's contributions to approved buffer stocks. Repayments are made within three to five years or earlier if contributions to balance of payments situation improves.

iv) Temporary Facility

Apart from the facilities described above, the members may sometimes make use of temporary facilities, established by the fund with borrowed resources. For example, during or 1974 and 1975, following the sharp rise in oil prices, the fund provided assistance under a temporary oil facility, designed to help members meet the increased cost of imports of petroleum and petroleum products.

A country making use of the Fund's resources is generally required to implement economic policies aimed at achieving a viable balance of payments position over an appropriate period of time. This requirement is known as IMF conditionality. This has generated into a standard package of hard payments adjustments measures. It contains the following items:

a) Ceilings on government expenditure;

b) The size of budget deficit;

c) Overall credit ceiling;

d) A sectoral credit ceiling on public sector credit with a sub-ceiling on government sector credit;

e) A withdrawal on subsidies; and

f) An exchange rate action with liberalisation of imports.

Technical assistance is a major activity of the Fund. Staff officials are sent to member countries to give advice on various stabilisation programmes of the government.

The Fund has been successful in international monetary cooperation and expansion of international trade, but is currently entangled with a major problem of debt crisis of the developing countries.

ii) International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)

The World Bank, or IBRD, emerged from the 1944 Bretton Wood Conference as the sister organisation to the IMF.

The purposes of the Bank, as laid down in its articles of agreement, are to:

1) assist in the reconstruction and development of member territories by facilitating the investment of capital for production purpose, thus promoting the long range balanced growth of internationl trade, increased productivity, higher standards of living and better conditions for labour;

2) supplement private investment when private capital is not available on reasonable terms by providing financing out of its own resources; and

3) coordinate its own lending with other international loans so that the most useful and urgent projects will receive priority, with due regard for the effect its investments may have on business conditions in member territories.

Membership in IMF is a prerequisite for membership in IBRD. IBRD has two affiliates, IFC and IDA. These three together are known as World Bank group.

At its establishment the bank had an authorised capital of $10 billion. The countries subscribing shares were required to pay in only 1/5th of their subscription on joining, the reminder being available on call.

The subscriptions of the Bank's members constitute the basic element in the financal resources of the Bank.

In its lending operations the Bank is guided by certain policies which have been formulated on the basis of the Articles of Agreement.

i) The Bank properly assessees the repayment prospects of the loans it gives. For this purpose, it considers the availability of natural resources, the existing productive plant capacity to exploit the resources and operate the plant, as well as the country's debt.

ii) The Bank lends only for specific projects which are economically and technically sound and of a high priority nature.

iii) The bank lends only to enable a country to meet the foreign exchange content of any project cost; it normally expects the borrowing country to mobilise its domestic resources.

iv) The Bank does not expect the borrowing country to spend the loan in a particular country; in fact, it encourages the borrowers to procure machines and goods for Bank financed projects in the cheapest possible market, consistent with satisfactory performance.

v) The Bank maintains regular contact with borrowers with a view to checking the progress of projects and to keep in touch with financial and economic developments in borrowing countries.

vi) The Bank indirectly attaches special importance to the promotion of local private enterprise.

c) Transnational Corporations

Since the end of World War II, the role of multinational or transnational corporations in international commerce has been growing, but information on their activities has been fragmentary and often closely held. Some of these corporations command resources greater than those of most governments represented at the UN.

In 1972, the UN Economic and Social Council requested the Secretary General to appoint a group of eminent persons to study the impact of transnational corporations on development and international relations. The group of 20 economists, government officials, and corporation executives from all parts of the world met in 1973 and heard testimony from 50 witnesses in public hearings. In its report in 1974 it recommended the creation of a permanent commission on transnational corporations and an information and research centre in the UN Secretariat.

In December 1974, the Council established an intergovernmental Commission on Transnational Corporations.

An Intergovernmental group of experts on 'International Standards of Accounting and Reporting' reviews issues that may account for the divergent accounting and reporting practices of Transnational Corporations.

The four other priorities for the Commission's programme of work are: Establishment of an information system to advance understanding of the nature of transnational corporations and their effect on home and host countries; research into the effects of their operations; technical assistance; and work leading to a more precise definition of the term Transnational Corporations.

The UN Centre on Transnational Corporations was established in 1974 within the UN Secretariat. The functions of the Centre are:

— to develop a comprehensive information system on the activities of the Transnational Corporation;

— to analyse and disseminate the information to all governments using data from governmental, corporate and other sources;

— to provide technical assistance and strengthen the capacity of host countries in their dealings with Transnational Corporations; and

— to carry out political, legal, economic, and social research, particularly research to help in devising a code of conduct.

GATT and trade protection policies adopted by National Governments are another example of the role of International agencies in policy formulation.

18.4 RECENT TRENDS

UN began its operations towards the close of the World War II in 1945.

The major problems before the members of the UN at that time were how to stop recurrence of deadly world wars and the threat of nuclear annihilation. Soon, a bipolar power structure emerged with two superpower blocks, US and USSR engaging themselves into a cold war.

On the economic and social development fronts, the problem of reconstruction of war devastated countries was tackled first and then the attention shifted to the problem of development of the underdeveloped countries. The success in the under-developed countries was very modest and that too was confined mostly to the few rich. The gap between the rich and the poor nations increased. The expected level of assistance from the developed countries for helping the developing countries reduced in real terms as well as in terms of percentage of GNP of the developed countries. Even the limited finances made available by the international financial institutions to the underdeveloped countries created serious debt crises in most of them.

Thus the UN continued as an organisation of unequal partners. This led to a dominant-dependence relationship among the partners, while the idea was to develop a mutually helpful security and economic relationship.

Recently a number of unexpected development have taken place in Europe and Soviet Russia. The two Germanys have got united. USSR and Eastern Europe have embraced democracy and market economy, signalling the failure of dogmatic socialism. The situation is very similar to market failure and thereby, failure of capitalism, as it happened during the great depression of 1930s. At that time the renowned economist J.M. Keynes diagnosed the phenomenon as a lack of effective demand. His solution was to adopt appropriate fiscal policies to pump prime the effective demand levels. The world was saved from depression; and, capitalism was offered a longer lease of life.

Marx's communist ideology was experimented with for the first time in Soviet Russia in 1917, followed later by the various Eastern European countries, as a solution to uplift the conditions of the world's exploited labour class. Probably excessive centralisation of economic decision making and implementation together with a higher production priority to the production of guns at the cost of bread, led to accumulated frustrations which caused the collapse of that system. It is not yet clear what is the solution to this government failure.

As a result of all these, the erstwhile USSR, has become a competitor of international loan taking and conditions of the developing countries is still worse.

On the political front, the collapse of USSR system has converted the bipolar world power structure into a unipolar one with USA having the monopoly of world political power. This has also halted the cold war situation.

World peace is an important precondition for development. All developing countries are afraid of external aggression for economic exploitation, domination, etc. Therefore substantial amount of resources are deployed in defence in almost all the developing countries.

Development is urgently needed, particularly to tackle the problem of uplifting the substandard living conditions of the world's two-thirds population of the underdeveloped countries. However the major constraints to achieving this are: waste of large chunk of resources in defence, and extreme inequality both across the rich and poor nations, and between the richer and the poorer sections of the population within each nation including the developing countries. Because of all these the strategy of production and the income and price structures so far evolved do not favour the poor. The poor also lack physical resources, education and training, and access to modern technology necessary to improve their productivity. All these issues can only be tackled at the international levels as international cooperation is vital for tackling these major issues. The UN, therefore, will have to have a fresh look at all

these issues and come out with solutions beneficial for all the countries. The poverty alleviation programmes if taken up at the international levels will definitely help to expand the overall size of the markets for industrial goods which will even benefit the developed countries.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Describe the policies and facilities through which the IMF provides financial support to its member nations.

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2) Discuss the functions of the UN Centre on Transnational Corporations.

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18.5   LET US SUM UP

Today UN and its subsidiary organisations, have pervaded almost all aspects of human life covering security, development etc. in the international arena so much so that UN has become synonymous with International agencies. The UN came into existence on 24 Oct. 1945. The UN has six main organs, namely, the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat.

The General Assembly consists of all member countries and is UN's central deliberative body, empowered to discuss and make recommendations on any subject falling within the scope of the Charter. It approves budget and determines, alone, or, with the Security Council, part of the composition of other organs, including the Security Council.

The ECOSOC is assigned the task of organising the UN's work on economic and social matters and the promotion of human rights.

The Security Council has the primary responsibility on questions of peace and security. It consists of five permanent members, namely, US, USSR, UK, France and China and ten non-permanent members elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms. The five permanent members have Veto power. Therefore, the international

security problem hinges on unanimity among these five members.

Maintenance of international peace and security, and, the development of the underdeveloped countries, are the two major areas of international involvement which have been mostly covered here.

UN organisations are open to all nations. They have a sufficiently strong permanent machinery, make limited new rules and decisions and implementation and administration of policies. In actual practice, the major contributions are in the nature of exchange of views and knowledge, and making of studies, the drafting of recommendations, and rendering of technical assistance to governments requesting it. They neither can legislate, tax, nor have any effective powers of sanctions. Most of the decisions are taken by majority voting, unless Constitutions provide otherwise.

The ILO, established in 1919, aims at improving labour conditions and living standards and ensuring social justice.

The WHO, established in 1948, from the very start, began with a small programme of assisting countries with experts, equipment and training of materials in the field of health and development. In 1977, the Health Assembly of WHO launched a programme of 'Health for all by the year 2000'. This was planned to be executed through the development of health infrastructure beginning with primary health care systems.

UNEP is engaged in pollution problems at the international levels.

The IMF, established in 1945, promotes: international monetary cooperation; expansion of international trade; exchange rate stability; orderly exchange arrangements and a multilateral system of payments and elimination of foreign exchange restrictions which hamper world trade.

The IBRD, or, World Bank, established in 1945, was set up to assist in reconstruction and development of member countries, to promote the balanced growth of international trade and equilibrium in balance of payments by encouraging international investment. It also advances loans for productive purposes and so promotes the flow of international capital.

The UN is also engaged in monitoring the activities of Transnational Corporations to reduce their harmful effects, if any, on the various countries.

The economic and social development achieved so far with the efforts of various UN agencies has been very modest. Simultaneously, many of the developing countries are now facing acute debt crises.

The unification of Germany, the progressive democratisation and the trend towards increasing reliance on market forces by USSR and Eastern European countries have substantially changed both the international security as well as the development environment. All these call for reorientation of UN activities.

18.6 KEY WORDS

Economic and Social Council: A major organ of the UN concerned with promoting high standards of living and ensuring social justice throughout the world.

GATT: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). An international organisation that promotes trade among its members by serving as a forum for negotiating agreements to reduce tariffs and other barriers.

Human Rights: Protection for individuals from arbitrary interference with or curtailment of life, liberty, and the equal protection of the laws by government or private individual or groups. Domestic guarantees embodied in national constitutions and laws are supplemented by international protection afforded through the actions of international organisation.

UN Development Decade: A programme adopted by the UN General Assembly for the year 1970s to foster progress toward modernisation in the developing countries. It was aimed at dramatising the need for and mobilising and sustaining support for the measures required by both developed and developing countries to accelerate progress for the latter towards self-sustaining economic growth and social advancement.

18.7   REFERENCES AND FURTHER READINGS

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International Monetary Fund Annual Report, 1990.

Our Common Future, Report of the Word Commission on Environment and Development, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1988.

World Health Organisation, *Eighth General Programme of Work,* 1990-95, WHO Geneva, 1987.

18.8   ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1) Your answer should include the following points.
    — Security Council has the primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security.
    — To maintain international security, the Security Council can negotiate with individual members of the UN.
    — Security Council is to determine the number of members who will participate in any collective actions undertaken.

2) Your answer should include the following points:
    — 1959 Antartic Treaty.
    — 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere.
    — 1968 Treaty on guaranteeing all countries access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.
    — 1972 Convention on the Prohibition of the development of toxic weapons.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Your answer should include the following points:
    — Tranche Policies
    — Extended Facility
    — Permanent Facilities, and
    — Temporary Facilities.

2) Your answer should include the following points:
    — to develop a comprehensive information system on the activities of the INCs
    — to analyse and disseminate the information to all governments using data from governmental, corporate and other sources.
    — to carry out political, legal, economic, and social research, particularly research to help in devising a code of conduct.

UNIT 19 ROLE OF GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION-I

Structure

19.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the policy implementation mechanism;

- discuss the role of legislature in policy implementation;

- explain the role of judiciary in policy execution; and

- understand the relationship between the legislature and the judiciary in relation to implementation of public policies.

19.1 INTRODUCTION

The study of public policy constitutes an important activity in all kinds of political systems. Policy making has been considered as the essence of public administration. Public policy is whatever the government choose to do or not to do. It may deal with a wide choice of substantive areas: like defence, communication, health, education, energy, environment, welfare, social service, urban and rural development, price control, taxation, etc. The policies range from vital to trivial, that is, from the allocation of millions of rupees for a particular programme whether for irrigation or railways, to the designation of an official national bird, is the authoritative decisional output of a political system.

Public policy may be expressed in a variety of forms, including laws, local ordinances, court decisions, executive orders, decisions of administrators, or even unwritten understanding of what is to be done. "Policy", without the modifier "Public", is sometimes regarded as synonymous with "governmental decision". Policy is often treated as embracing a set sequence of decisions used by some to distinguish decisions about a particular governmental action. "Policy" is also used by some to distinguish decisions about goals or preferences from decisions relating to the means of achieving goals. Others, however, may treat policy as embracing both ends and means. Policy in some contexts refers to decisions about long-range objectives or general directions of governmental action, which serve as guide to short-run action in specific cases.

The traditional dichotomy between politics and administration had limited the scope and importance of the study of public policy. As far back as 1887, Woodrow Wilson stated that policy making was the function of the political executive and policy implementation was the concern of the permanent executive. He observed that, "the field of administration is a field of business". A number of scholars held similar views regarding difference in the roles of politics and administration.

In the recent times, the relationship between politics and administration has taken a new turn and interpretation. On the basis of practical experiences, it has been inferred

that there cannot be a divorce between politics and administration in so far as the governmental functioning, reflected through the policies formulated and implemented, is concerned. The new focus of public administration, policy sciences, and political science is on policy making and policy implementation. Public administration is defined as "the enforcement of public policy", having major emphasis on:

- description of the context of public policy;
- analysis of the impact of social, economic and political factors in the context of public policy;
- enquiry into the effect of various institutional arrangements and politico-administrative processes on public policy; and
- evaluation of the outcome of policies on the society.

It could be said that public policies are those policies which are public in nature. They are formulated and implemented by the authority in a political system. These policies aim at the fulfilment of certain specific goals for the betterment of a society. In other words, they may be directed towards either the welfare of the whole society or for the betterment of a particular section living in that society.

Public policies are decisions to achieve certain specific goals for the society. These policies are made through a long drawn process of debates and discussions involving large number of institutions and officials. One of the interesting aspects is that no single agency or individual or group of individuals perform this task of policy exclusively. Formulating or implementing without power and help of other agencies is not possible.

In actual practice, we know, that "power" is always shared by a number of persons, rather than held by one. From this, we can conclude that policy-making is a complex process by which these agencies, persons or groups exert power and influence over each other.

Good policies, as we all know, can only be so if they are implemented effectively and they must fulfil the objectives for which they were formulated.

The institutional approach emphasises the role of governmental structures — Parliament, Presidency, Executive, Courts etc., on policy making and their implementation. A policy cannot become "public" in character, unless it is adopted, implemented, and enforced by some governmental institution. The government provides legitimacy and universality to public policies.

Besides discussing the meaning and significance of policy implementation, the focus of discussion in this unit is on the role of governmental institutions, viz., legislature and judiciary, in the policy implementation process.

19.2 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION : MEANING AND PERSPECTIVES

In the words of Jeffrey Pressman and Widavsky, "the cards in this world are stocked against things happening, as much effort is required to make them move. The remarkable thing is that new programmes work at all". It has been referred to in earlier units that the policies are formulated by the governmental agencies to deal with various problems or issues at hand. The policies made would be of no use at all unless the same are implemented, with all effectiveness and efficacy. The implementation of the policy is as important as is the formulation of the policy. The policy issue, demand, or proposal, once formulated has to be translated into action through implementation. Policy implementation has been termed as the 'great Achilles heel' of the policy process. As per Louis W. Koenig, "From every side come lamentations that government is unable to implement successfully the policies and programmes it produces". Implementation is the process by which the goals and promises of a policy are carried out. It refers to action or activity.

Let us consider policy implementation as a process. In this process there are number of steps involved.

The very first is the study and understanding of the policy statement/document. The implementors and the implementing agencies make indepth study of the said policy

document and seek clarifications on any given point or points of ambiguity. Planning is a step which usually comes before implementation, but it is more true in case of industrial units or projects. With regard to day-to-day implementation of the policies, the implementors analyse the issue assigned to be implemented in the current situation and breaks it down in manageable parts or segments. The detailed study of the policy raises number of questions in the minds of the implementors. These could be:

- Whether they are to go ahead with the task of implementation as prescribed?
- Would the support staff and resources be adequate enough to cope with the quantum of task assigned?
- Would they be able to perform their tasks effectively so that the policy objectives are attained?
- What additional resources and information would be required? and
- What additional resources and information would be required?
- By which criteria the policy outcomes, as a result of implementation, are to be evaluated and assessed?

Unless the policy implementors are well conversant with the details, goals, objectives, and time framework of the policy; and unless they address themselves to the number of dependent and independent variables likely to interact and affect each other vis-a-vis the implementing agency, the task of implementation cannot go ahead smoothly.

Followed by it is the second step in the process of policy implementation — that is, to break down the policy into different segments. For doing so, the target area, the target group, the resources required, the resources available, etc., have to be properly assessed and analysed. The deployment of resources would be done as per the breaking down of the said policy into different segments.

Third step is collecting required information and data regarding the area and the group of people who are to be affected by the implementation of the policy. In some cases, a given policy could have some negative effects also upon some sections of the society. Such affected sections could stand in the way of implementation. Information collected to this effect enables the implementing agency to adopt remedial/action measures and strategy beforehand.

Lastly, for implementing the policy, the agency concerned decide the criteria and norms to be followed for the implementation purposes.

In case the policy implementation process is not put to gear systematically, the goals and objectives meant to be achieved through the formulation of policy could be negated. It can also lead to more serious and grave problems and issues. It is very rare that the policies formulated are self-executing. Often, the policies require some action for execution and implementation. The implementation process has certain activities working within it. These are: issues and enforcement of directives, funds disbursement, loans and grants sanction, roles and duties assigned to personnel involved in the implementation task, inter and intra-departmental coordination, etc.

It is often said that the policies formulated are good enough but don't succeed because of faulty and defective implementation process. Commenting on the vast criticism of the implementation process, Louis W. Koenig says, "Nonetheless, in the hubbub of criticism, the solid long-running accomplishments of implementation should not be overlooked. Men are put on the moon, wars are fought and won. Day after day, mail is delivered, police and fire protection are provided, taxes collected, social security benefits disbursed, pollution reduced, the nation's health improved. Some of the society's ablest individuals work for government and compile enviable records as achieving implementors. The bureaucracies of which they and others are members are highly diverse, and are neither equally efficient nor inefficient. Similarly there are poor as well as able bureaucrats".

Perspectives on Implementation

Implementation, as a process, in a number of respects has nontransparent phenomenon. It is difficult to easily lay hands on such of its characteristics which have far reaching and significant consequences. It has the quality of being pliant as a result of which it undergoes tremendous and rapid transformation. There are several

perspectives on the process of implementation. Some of these are discussed below in order to give us a more understanding about this process.

i) Implementation as Evolution

A policy which is formulated has a set of objectives, goals and ideas which are loosely connected with each other. A causal chain between the multiple goals and objectives of the policy is forged by the implementation process. Changing environmental considerations, vested interests of the political parties and influential groups at times compel the framing of such policies which have rather numerous, contradictory and equivocal goals. At the time of the framing of such policies, the formulators are not in a position to anticipate the possible problems and the constraints to be faced at the time of implementation of such policies. Giandomenico Majone and·Aaron Wildavsky have said that implementation is shaped by the original policy framing from which it springs. Such problems and constraints, in fact, should be thought of and worked upon accordingly at the time when the policy is framed. May be it is impossible to do so at that stage and so these appear on the scene when the policy is put to execution. Consequently, the implementor addresses himself to number of points, viz. which of the different objectives of the policy are to be implemented?; how is it to be done?; which priority order to be made? what resources are to be put to the said task? etc. Besides, number of other problems, like: support or opposition of the target group, contradiction with some other related policies already in existence; and the feedback about the positive and negative points of the policy are also noticed at the implementation stage. It goes without saying that implementation is a critical juncture at which such essentials are included in the policy which at the time of its original manifestation could not be done. As the policy moves across the implementation spectrum new circumstances and problems are realised, and the policy continues to evolve. These must be duly coped with so that the required potentials and facets are incorporated in the original policy idea. Majone and Wildavsky have stated that "Initial policy making is also susceptible to errors, and the evolutionary character of implementation provides experience and learning that permit their correction. In essence, policy implementation is an adventure in discovering and realizing the many dimensions of policy ideas".

ii) Implementaiton : Work Mechanism

Implementation as a process is translated into working through institutions and agencies which are assigned the said task of execution of a specific policy. Besides planning, the hierarchical levels and element of control are essential ingredients of the work mechanism of implementation. Lack of these would make it difficult for the superiors to keep a check on the performance of the subordinates and also the output of the task assigned cannot be measured. The significant imperatives are rather must to be satisfied by the implementation process. Firstly, implementation must, through process and action, submit courteously to the legal contents included in the policy document. Unless, it is insured on the part of implementation agency, the policy execution in desired way cannot be looked for. Secondly, for translating policy intent into virtual action coupled with instrumental rationality, the implementing officials and functionaries' commitment to the task has to be activated and assured. Thirdly, concerted efforts have to be made for having consensus on working regarding implementation not within the said given implementing agency but also a cordiality of relationship between the internal system and the external system, that is, microsystem (the implementing agency) and macro system (the political system). Stress is laid on hierarchical approach in order to control the discretion used by the subordinates thus affecting the implementation process. In the words of Koenig, "The hierarchical approach uses organization control processes as the most dependable means to transmute the purposes of policy into actual accomplishment. Implementation, according to this perspective, also entails administrative learning, an outgrowth of the difficulty of implementing policies through multiple institutional structures with their distinctive interests, fragmented power, and narrow skills that order their efforts and that make coordination both a necessity and elusive function".

iii) Implementation as Politics

The process of implementation, which is followed by the governmental agencies, has elements like bargaining, gaming, accommodating, compromising, etc., thus making it

a kind of political issue. In the words of M. Helen, "Implementation is conducted largely through accommodation and bargaining, with relentless give and take, winning and losing, chronic disjointedness, and pervasive disarray. The policy to be implemented is simply a point of departure for bargaining among the implementors, and what materializes as implemented policy is essentially determined by specific local characteristics, which are unique to each implementation context and which shape the contours of the eventual outcomes".

In simple words, it means that the inclinations of the implementors and importance of the local areas, that is, the target areas and groups play an important role in implementing the policy. It is upon these variables that the success or failure of the policy being implemented depends.

iv) Implementation as Problem Tracing

It has been discussed earlier also that a number of problems which could not be appreciated or anticipated at the stage of policy formulation appear at implementation stage. The implementation process is in fact a problem tracing process. The problems/constraints, the viewpoints of the affected groups, the requirements on count of infrastructural and financial resources are the ones which add to the process of improving the policy further. In their book, Implementation and Public Policy, Mazmanian and Sabatier, have stated that, "Implementation proceeds through several stages, commencing with policy outputs or decisions of the implementing agencies, which included the translation of statutory objectives into substantive regulations and standards operating procedures. A second stage is the target group's compliance with policy outputs, which is influenced by such factors as the relative costs and benefits of compliance, the probability that non-compliance will be detected and penalized, and its members' attitudes towards the legitimacy of the implementing rules".

Implementation is a process which makes the implementors perform the role of linkers between the policy formulators and the target groups. Though mostly the permanent executive has the major role in implementing the policy, yet the role performed by other governmental institutions cannot be minimized or ignored. Therefore, in the succeeding sections the role of legislature and judiciary in policy implementation has been discussed.

Check Your Progress I

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.
ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the unit.

1) Define policy implementation.

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2) Mention different perspectives on implementation.

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19.3 ROLE OF THE LEGISLATURE IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

There has been a great controversy over the relationship of policy and administration

especially in democratic political systems which are based on the principle of popular sovereignty and mass citizen participation. The administrative organisations are most often structured in a hierarchical order having orders flowing from top to down. Such top-bottom arrangements seem to conflict inherently with democracy especially under the circumstances when democratic polity is viewed in terms of wide participation of citizens. Simultaneously, a strong and an effective administrative apparatus is essential for implementing the policies having been enacted by the legislature. It is a fact that no longer now the politics-administration dichotomy is in existence. The administration tries its best to carry out the policies as formulated by the legislators. The relationship between politics and administration has been strengthened further in wake of 'delegated legislation'. Legislators' lack of time, lack of interest, improper information regarding target area, group, and technical problems to be faced increase the responsibility of the administration in implementation of the policies. Most of the policies are not self-executing and the agencies normally assigned the task to do so are the administrative ones. But it does not mean that the legislature has no role to play at all in implementation of the policies. In cases, where the policy initiated in the legislature is described in full details, it leaves little scope or choice with the administrative organs for implementing the same in any different mode. It rather sounds more logical in democratic systems that the policies should be discussed and formulated in detailed manner by the elected representatives of the people so that the same could be implemented in a true spirit. But because of issues viz. shortage of time with legislators, lack of information, conflicting goals, contradictions with other policies, indifferent expectations of the masses, etc., the legislature is left with no choice than to entrust the job of policy implementation to the permanent executive through the political executive who is answerable to the legislature.

The three sides of the triangle are legislature, political executive, and permanent executive. Mostly at the initiative of the political executive the policies are formulated in the legislature. Legislature has all control over political executive but no straight or direct control over permanent executive. The political executive is responsible to the legislature and the permanent executive is answerable and accountable to the political executive. Thus, indirectly, the permanent executive has its relationship with the legislature so far as policy making and policy implementation is concerned. The elected representatives of the people feel much concerned about the implementation of the policies. The forum available to them to exercise check/control for bringing improvements in implementation process is the legislature. There are a number of devices through which the legislature can make the permanent executive implement the policies speedily as well as effectively. The meaning of legislature and its role in policy implementation is discussed in the succeeding text.

The word "Legislature" is a generic term meaning a body which legislates. It is the branch of government, which formulates, amends or repeals the laws or policies for a society. Its authority to enact laws has its source in its representative character. All policies, in a political system, have to be set by legislative enactments, except for such policy-making that has been delegated to administrative branches, and the courts. Legislatures have another name for themselves, the "rule-making department". The bills are moved, debated and then passed with certain or without any amendments. In a number of countries, having a democratic form of government, a bill has to undergo three readings and reference to the committees has to be made, to discuss the positive and negative aspects of a bill in question. But this process varies in a communist country where not the legislature as such, but a small committee, for example, the Standing Committee in China and the Presidium in erstwhile Soviet Russia, adopt a bill, at the direction of their communist parties respectively.

Similarly, in a democratic country, an ordinance passed by the President, has to be ratified by the legislature within a period of six weeks from the date of the commencement of the session.

If the legislature is the official agency for policy making, the Executive is the official organ for executing these policies. But the old formula of policy-making and policy-execution concept has undergone an extensive reform in modern age. Today, the executive plays a much more important role in the modern political system because the political process is subject to dual pressures; public pressure (from below) and effective and powerful leadership (from top). Vast extension of state activity, has made the executive branch also a much more important organ. This has made it necessary to restate the classical doctrine of "Separation of power".

Today, the leadership in a political system, rests with either a Prime Minister or a President who controls his followers through the help of organised party systems, and distribution of patronage, etc. This has diminished or sub-ordinated the role of the legislature to the executive. Or, as H.R. Greaves mentions, "the executive has become in practice the first chamber in our law-making mechanism".

The first and the foremost job of the executive, as its name suggests, is to run the administration of the country. Maintenance of internal law and order, establishing peaceful foreign relations, providing basic needs to its citizens are its major tasks. In the modern age, however, it has assumed policy formulation job as well. Delegated legislation it can be seen, has become an inescapable necessity.

The role of the legislature in the policy implementation process is however indirect. In parliamentary type of government, the political executive or the ministers are the members of the parliament. These ministers work on the principle of collective responsibility. In other words, they are collectively responsible to the parliament if there is any kind of mistakes in the implementation of public policies. The government in such countries is organised into various ministries or departments. Each department is under the control of a minister. He is assisted by the higher as well as lower civil servants in running the organisation. Being an integral part of the ministry the political executive becomes automatically a part of the executive branch of the government.

The relationship between the minister and the bureaucrats revolves around two basic and fundamental principles. They are the principles of neutrality and anonymity. In other words, the ministers are responsible to the legislature for the working of their departments or ministries.

In presidential form of government, the executive is not a member of the legislature and, therefore, legislature's control over the implementation of public policies is not so extensive. However, due to the system of checks and balances, there may be some differences. For example, in U.S.A., the President has the power to execute international agreements, but his action has to receive the previous sanction of the senate.

In totalitarian systems, political control is centralised in the hands of one or a few persons. They are the policy formulators as well as the implementors. To make a distinction between policy-making and policy-implementing is rather a futile exercise in such countries. For example, in erstwhile Soviet Russia it was the Communist Party which was in command of the whole political system.

All legislatures, except in totalitarian countries, exercise control and surveillance over the executive through a number of measures. Though the legislature delegates its task of policy formulation to the executive the latter has to formulate and implement policies within the limits set by the former.

In parliamentary systems, the legislature exercises control over the executive through parliamentary questions, adjournment motions, no-confidence motions, etc. It passes the annual budget. It can withdraw confidence against the ruling party, thus compelling it to resign.

Hence, legislative control over administration is of three types. These are:

a) control over policy,

b) control over implementation and the day-to-day working of the department; and

c) control over finances.

Legislature in democratic political systems exercises control over administration by reviewing, scrutinising and evaluating the actions of the administration.

The legislature adopts a number of measures, in the exercise of its control over the administration for the purpose of implementation of the policies. These are:

i) **Legislative Questions:** When the legislature is in session, every day the very first hour is devoted to the questioning of the executive's functioning in any sphere within the jurisdiction of the government. The minister concerned is supposed to answer the question raised by any member. Anything which is happening in any part of the country could be pointed out. It is considered as the most effective check on the political as well

as permanent executive which have the responsibility of carrying out the policies enacted by the legislature.

It is a fact that a question is asked to seek information but it is a pointer that the things are not being done as required and the administrative action has been inconsistent with the formulated policy. There are supplementary questions also raised for bringing to light what is happening and for ensuring the steps likely to be taken by the government on a particular issue. The issues of immense importance regarding flaws in implementation of a specific policy, and which could not be satisfactorily answered in the Question Hour, could be raised by the member/members of the legislature to be discussed and debated upon in a half-an-hour discussion at the end of the day. In Indian parliament, the provision exists for such discussions on three days in a week when the parliament is in session. The member concerned raises the issue and the minister concerned answers to that. Besides, there exists the provision of the zero-hour in the legislature. The legislators can raise issues which may be agitating the masses in general or a specific group in particular regarding a specific issue. The minister concerned has to satisfy the member/members on the issue in question.

ii) **Adjounment Motions:** "It is a motion for an adjournment of the business of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance with the consent of the Speaker". The major objective of this device is to interrupt the normal business of the House and to seek the attention of the House and political executive towards a sensitive issue. The issue for the Adjournment Motion has to be definite, having sufficient public importance of contemporary happenings, revealing government's failure as having been accepted by the government. Such motion must have support of at least fifty members of the House. Once permitted by the Speaker, the government has to answer the points raised and that too to the satisfaction of the members raising the motion.

iii) **Short Duration Discussion:** A legislator keen to have short duration discussion on any urgent matter of public importance gives a notice in writing to the Secretary of the House clearly indicating the issues and points he wants to have discussion on. His request must spell out the causes for his asking for short duration discussion.

iv) **Legislative Committees:** Other than the standing committees, like Public Accounts Committee, Estimates Committee, Public Undertakings Committee, there are number of legislative Committees. To mention a few: Committee on Government Assurance, Parliamentary Select Committee on Legislation, Committee on Subordinate Legislation, Committee on petitions, etc.; where the government officials have to answer the points raised by the members. There is also provision for Parliamentary Committee of Investigation. This committee can ask for files and documents required in order to assess what is being done and how.

v) **Financial Control:** The legislature exercises its complete check on administration regarding implementation of policies — what has been done, what has not been done, how it is to be done, what is required for doing it — through the budget under discussion. Only after ascertaining the targets assigned and achieved in the preceding year the budget for the next year is sanctioned. Any matter can be raised during the budget debate. Issues of policy, economy, efficiency, efficacy, complaints, grievances, etc., can always be raised and the Minister concerned has to answer to the satisfaction of the House.

vi) Comptroller & Auditor-General's audit of expenditure of public money is also used for controlling administration. This system ensures that the funds sanctioned by the legislature for a particular programme are utilised in the proper spirit by the permanent executive. CAG's Report is placed in the House for discussion. This is quite an effective mean of ensuring legislature's role and significance in policy implementation.

Thus, the legislature plays an important role in policy implementing process by indirectly controlling the activities of the executive. The executive is answerable to the legislature for its acts of policy implementation.

To sum up, in a democratic system of government, the executive has to be careful while implementing the policies. It does play a major role in policy formulation, but it has to do so, within a framework provided by the legislature. Hence, the role of legislature in policy implementation cannot be minimised.

19.4 ROLE OF THE JUDICIARY IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

The judiciary also has a role to play in policy implementation. This normally happens when the policy intent is not clearly worded and different interpretations of the said policy are made. In such cases, the courts give their verdicts and whatever is decided by the Court is normally considered and accepted as final unless the legislature further legislates on the court's decision.

During the process of implementation, the actions of the implementing agency may encroach upon the Constitutional rights of an individual by reasons of error, misunderstanding or deliberate action. The administrative agencies have been given enormous powers for implementing the policies. In order to check misuse of its authority to this effect, the safeguards have been provided through the judiciary. Control of judiciary over administration is rather an essential aspect in a democratic polity. Besides, there is a tremendous increase in the number of controversial issues which need to be sorted out by administrative adjudication.

The Indian parliament, which is the supreme policy making body, does not have as much power as the British parliament has. The policies enacted and implemented must be in conformity with the Constitutional provisions. In case it is not so, the policy is to be declared as void. The judiciary has been empowered to strike down a subordinate or administrative legislation in case it is ultra vires of the Constitution; it violates the Constitution; and it runs counter to the enabling Act's provisions.

There is substantial increase in the volume of agencies for administrative adjudication, such as administrative tribunals in India. The administrative tribunals have been established in India in number of areas to adjudicate disputes and claims coming to light regarding execution of an "Act" or "Policy". The nature of operation of these tribunals is based on 'informalism' to the nature of issue at hand. The administrative tribunals adopt a procedure as per the provisions made in the Statute for their creation. Within the parameters of statutory requirements, these tribunals enjoy the freedom to regulate their procedure of functioning. The administrative tribunals and agencies for administrative adjudication operate to exercise checks on the functioning of implementing agencies and whosoever feels affected can approach these bodies. Though the verdict of these agencies and tribunals is final but the civil courts could interefere in case the agency or tribunal:

- has acted on an issue outside its jurisdiction;
- has overacted which means acting in excess of its powers;
- has acted against any rule of natural justice;
- where the compliance of the provisions of Act has not been adhered to; and
- in its proceedings has been fraudulent and dishonest.

In order to have an effective check on the functioning of Administrative Tribunals, some safeguards have been provided in the Constitution. As per Article 32(2) of the Indian Constitution, the Supreme Court is empowered to issue writs, viz. Habeas Corpus, Mandamus, Prohibition, Quo Warranto, and Certiorari. Any individual feeling that his fundamental rights are being infringed through the implementation of a given policy and has failed to get justice through the administrative adjudication agency or tribunal, could move the court for protection and safeguardings of his rights.

The High Courts, as per Article 227, have been empowered to exercise superintendence over the tribunals and courts falling under their operational areas to check any wrong decision. Article 136(3) grants the persons the right to make a special leave to appeal to the Supreme Court against any decision made by the courts and tribunals throughout the country. It becomes amply clear from the discussion made above that the judiciary, though indirect, yet has a substantial role to play in the implementation of policies. It does so by exercising various kinds of checks and controls over the implementing agencies and by leaving the scope with the citizens the right to take shelter of the Court against any arbitrary decision of the implementors. This in itself speaks volumes for the part performed by judiciary in implementing the policies. Doing an act is one thing but seeing to it that it is being done in a rightful manner is another and rather more

important than the former. The judiciary is undertaking the latter aspect so far as the implementation of policies is concerned. The role of judiciary in various political systems, with special reference to India, regarding implementation of policies is discussed in the succeeding paragraphs.

In all democratic countries, the judiciary, which is otherwise known as the "Rule-adjudicating" organ of the government, upholds the sanctity of the Constitution and protects the rights and liberties of the citizens. Hence, judiciary's role is to provide justice. However, structure, role, and functions of the judiciary of a liberal democratic political system differs from a totalitarian political system. In the former, it is characterised by impartiality, openness, and stability. It is based on the celebrated principle of jurisprudence: let a thousand culprits be acquitted, but not even a single innocent should be punished.

In a totalitarian state, the judiciary performs its tasks in accordance with the commands of party directive. Courts operate to serve the purpose of the executive. The Communists "see the legal system of liberal democracies and non-marxist totalitarian or autocratic states as instruments of class rule, and believe that the main functions of the courts in these system are to legitimise and buttress the domination of the capitalist class".

In liberal-democratic states, e.g. U.S.A., India or U.K., the judges are recruited through a process of selection, or, they are even elected or co-opted by the fellow judges. For example, in U.S.A., the judges are nominated by the President and their appointments are then ratified by the senate. In India, the higher judges (e.g. Supreme or High Court) are appointed by the President who is expected to act on the recommendation of his Council of Ministers. The district judges are appointed through competitive examinations and personality tests.

The nature and structure of judiciary may differ between a federal and a unitary form of state. There is a limited understanding that the judiciary is the upholder of the Constitution and administration of justice. It analyses the legality and validity of particular policies and, in certain cases even provides for stay orders, etc. The redressal of citizens' grievances is also its important task. Therefore, the courts have every right to look into the constitutionality of every kind of public policy that is made from time to time. For example, if an individual thinks that his rights and freedom have been encroached upon illegally by the government, he can appeal to the courts. To cite a few examples, the decisions of the Indian Supreme Court in the context of Mandal issue, or, building of Temple in Ayodhya, etc., are cases in point. In these cases, the court is expected to analyse the policies framed by the government, and then interpret them and finally give its own verdict.

In other words, public policies whether good or bad, need to be evaluated from time to time. Here the role of the judiciary becomes important. Though legislature's job is to legislate, the courts also legislate in a different way. What American Judge Hughes observed, befits the court's role in the modern age. He said that "the judges do legislate". In other words, the judges also in a way formulate policies, by interpreting, by providing guidelines, and by making pronouncements. Legislature formulates, modifies and amends public policies and provides budgetary supports on the basis of judicial pronouncements. In federal systems, the courts play the role of independent and impartial mediator between two sets of governments — the Central and the state. They regulate the relationships of the two governments and upholds the sanctity of the Constitution. They review whether any public policy made by the Government does or does not override the powers set aside to them by the Constitution. For example, in India, the Constitution provides for the division of powers between the Centre and the states. They are incorporated in the Central, State and Concurrent lists. The judiciary in India has to see that the Central government formulates public policies on the items which are allotted to it under the Central list. Similarly, the state government formulates public policies within the limits provided by the State list, etc.

The judiciary not only exercises its control over the legislature through its role of "protector of the fundamental law of the land", it also exercises control over the executive branch of the government. As we know, the executive also performs the task of policy making and policy implementing. The executive has to function within limits set by the Constitution and the legislature. Hence, the judiciary has the right to see that policies made by the executive, do not go against the Constitutional provisions, either

during their formulation or their implementation. According to L.D. White, "The system of formal external control over officials and their acts falls primarily into two main divisions that exercised by the legislative bodies and that imposed by courts. The purpose of legislative supervision is principally to control the policy and the expenditure of the executive branch, the end sought by judicial control of administrative acts is to ensure their legality and thus to protect citizens against unlawful trespass on their constitutional or other rights".

Thus, the problem of judicial control over administration is as important as legislative control over administration. The judicial control over administration is a direct outcome of the doctrine or rule of law and its scope is very wide. It can interfere with administrative orders whenever they interfere with the rights of the citizens or violate any aspects of the Constitution while formulating or implementing public policies. The causes of judicial intervention can be:

a) Lack of jurisdiction;
b) Errors of law;
c) Errors of fact-findings;
d) Abuse of authority; and
e) Errors of procedure.

The civil servants have to be cautious while implementing the public policies, so that their authority and action does not override the provisions of the Constitution. If an official abuses his authority, or becomes partial, or becomes vindictive, the aggrieved party can go to the court of law for protection against the unscrupulous official. If a person feels that an official acted beyond his jurisdiction or area of authority, he can approach the court for review. The acts of officers which lead to liability are: non-feasance, consisting of failure to act when there is a clear duty to act; misfeasance, implying a careless and negligent action, but without malicious or evil intent; and malfeasance, involving an unlawful action with wilful intent to cause injury.

The judiciary also controls the activities of the legislature and executive through its power of judicial review. Through this the courts have the powers to declare acts of legislative and executive branches as unconstitutional. It is based on the assumption that the Constitution is the supreme law and any action or act which is contrary to the Constitution is void. The judiciary is the guardian of the Constitution and is bound to protect the citizens from any misuse of authority by the implementing agencies.

The fourth amendment to the Indian Constitution has barred review or interference by the judiciary with regard to Zamindari abolition legislations. As a result of this amendment, the following aspects have been left out of the purview of judicial review: State's acquisition of any estate or rights therein; extinction or modification of any rights with regard to estates or agricultural holding; exercising ceiling limit on the size of land holding by any person and the disposal of the excess over the prescribed ceiling; property acquisition by the State for purpose of rehabilitating displaced persons and slum clearance; holding management of any property on temporary basis in public interest; transferring any undertaking from one company to another or amalgamating two or more companies in the interest of public; and modification or extinction of any rights of administering of managing agents of companies. Besides, the enforcement of Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution can be put under suspension through an order of the President while emergency is declared.

Apart from the aspects referred to above, the judiciary has the right to review both the parliamentary legislatures and administrative decisions and acts. In spite of the above restrictions the judiciary still has a vast scope for keeping a check on the implementation of the policies. Though it appears to be a little indirect but the role which the judiciary performs in policy implementation is of enormous importance and significance. It won't be wrong to say that there would be a greater misuse of power in implementing the policies, had judiciary not been empowered to keep a vigilant check on the implementors through its pronouncements and judgements made from time to time.

19.5 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LEGISLATURE AND THE JUDICIARY IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Public policy making is a complex process which has a number of not only governmental agencies and actors but also non-governmental agencies and actors playing an important role. This aspect has been discussed at length in the earlier blocks. It has been referred to in the preceding sections of this unit that equally important and significant is the process of policy implementation. Unless and until the policies formulated are executed in a fair, impartial, and effective way, how so ever good the policy intents may be, the expected results can never be attained. The legislature and judiciary have an important role to play in implementation of the policies. The legislature is not only the forum where the policies are enacted but it has an indirect but substantively qualitative part in implementing the policies. The judiciary acts as a custodian of the Constitution and makes it a point that no such departure, in formulating as well as executing the policies, is made which goes against the basic spirit of the Constitution and natural justice.

Legislature and judiciary have an effective inter-relationship with each other so far as policy implementation is concerned. The legislature not only enacts policies but also oversees their implementation. The policies framed are executed mainly by the permanent executive. Their acts and deeds are subject to be reviewed by the judiciary, on the request of any affected person or by anybody else in public interest. The verdicts given by the courts act as a feedback to the legislature for incorporating the 'referred to points' in the policy intent. Further, it provides information to the legislature, through its decisions, to exercise a check on the political executive for controlling permanent executive in a desired manner. The relationship among legislature and judiciary in policy making, policy implementation, and policy evaluation is of crucial significance.

Disagreements may rise from time to time, but there should be attempts to arrive at compromises. For example, the judiciary cannot review each and every policy of the legislature because in such case there will be total paralysis of the system. Similarly, the legislature cannot restrict the power of the courts, which makes them guardian of the Constitution. This will make the political system totally undemocratic.

In a democratic system, the prerequisite is that each organ should have its specific functions and roles to play, and the best way of achieving "efficiency" and "attaining the desired goals" is through the process of "internal adjustment" and "interrelationships" between the different organs which are involved in public policy making. In other words, the principle is not "separation" but "cooperation" among the different kinds of public policy makers — proximate or otherwise — to implement effectively the goal oriented public policies.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.
     ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the unit.

1) Mention the measures adopted by legislature in exercising control over executive for policy implementation.

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2) Mention the causes leading to intervention by the judiciary.

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19.6   LET US SUM UP

This unit discusses about the role of the legislature and the judiciary in policy implementation process in a government. It has been traditionally known that the execution of public policies is the task of the Executive branch of the government. But in modern political systems the legislature and the judiciary too play an indirect but significant role in the policy implementation process. It has been discussed at length what and how these two organs perform in implementing the policies and how the relationship between the two facilitate the smooth process of implementation of the policies.

19.7   KEY WORDS

Certiorari: An order issued by a higher court to a lower court to send up the record of a case for review.

Habeas Corpus: A court order directing an official who has a person in custody to bring the prisoner to court and show cause for his detention.

Mandamus: An order issued by a court to compel performance of an act.

Prohibition: An extraordinary judicial writ, issuing out of a court of superior jurisdiction and directed to an inferior court for the purpose of preventing the inferior court from usurping a jurisdiction with which it is not legally vested.

Quo Warranto: It means 'what warrant or authority'. It has been defined as the "remedy or proceeding whereby the court enquires into the legality of the claim which a party asserts to an office or franchise and to oust him from its enjoyment if the claim be not well founded".

Self-executing Policy: A policy intent having been formulated in such a manner that the mechanism of its implementation is explained in the enactment itself and nothing is left to the whims and implementing acumen of the executive.

19.8   REFERENCES AND FURTHER READINGS

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19.9   ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1) Your answer should include the following points:
    - It is a process;
    - Number of agencies and officials are involved in it; and
    - Activities involved in it are: issues and enforcement of directives; funds disbursement; loans and grants sanctions; roles and duties assigned; inter and intra-departmental coordination; and interaction with citizens.

2) Your answer should include the following points:
   - Implementation as Evolution;
   - Implementation: Work Mechanism;
   - Implementation as Politics; and
   - Implementation as Problem tracing.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Your answer should include the following points:
   - Legislative questions;
   - **Adjournment Motions;**
   - Short Duration Discussions;
   - Legislative Committees;
   - Financial Control; and
   - CAG's Report.

2) Your answer should include the following points:
   - Lack of jurisdiction;
   - Errors of Law;
   - Errors of fact-finding;
   - Abuse of authority; and
   - Errors of Procedure.

UNIT 20 ROLE OF GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES IN POLICY. IMPLEMENTATION-II

Structure

20.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you should be able to:

- discuss the role of policy implementors;

- explain the role of political executive in policy implementation;

- describe the role of permanent executive in policy implementation; and

- understand the relationship between political and permanent executive in policy implementation.

20.1 INTRODUCTION

The state, in recent years, has been expected to assume more and more responsibilities for the transformation of different sectors of society which, until recently, were outside its focus of attention and concern. Citizen's welfare has become its fundamental goal. It works for the development and growth of the society. The state not only ensures democratic participation of the citizens in the political process, but also aims at providing socio-economic justice to all. The increase in the number of areas in which the state operates has led to increase in expectations of the masses in a society. Consequently, in the modern era there has been a great deal of interaction between the government and its people. This has made the administration of a country more responsive towards its people. Accordingly, the government attempts to formulate and implement policies and programmes which are beneficial for large section of the society.

The study of public policy has acquired a significant place in the study of the political system of a country. In other words, study of political process has been equated with a study of public policy in all its aspects. According to Meyerson and Benefield, "Politics is an activity by which an issue is agitated or settled". V.V. Dyke observes, "Politics consists of a struggle among actors pursuing conflicting desires and public issues". The above said definitions clearly point out that politics is a process which involves not only conflict and competition, but it also involves consensus. The consensus is manifested in the form of decision-making and finally policy formulation. In other words, decisions and policies are made to resolve conflicts and debatable issues in order to arrive at certain specific goals.

Public policies are, therefore, those policies which are formulated by governmental or public agencies that make "authoritative decisions for the society". Public policies have the attribute of legal sanction behind them. As discussed earlier, the policies are unable to deliver the goods unless there is proper execution of the same. In Unit 19, the role

of legislature and judiciary in implementation of policies has been analysed. These two governmental agencies play an indirect role in policy implementation process as compared to the part played by the political and permanent executive. In fact, the real implementors are these two. The role of political and permanent executive in implementing policies and the relationship between these to this effect is discussed in this unit.

20.2 POLICY IMPLEMENTORS

It is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between the policy making by governments and the implementation of these policies by professional administrators.

The relationship between policy and administration can be analysed within the framework of the division between politics and administration as such. The classical view is that the two concepts are separate and distinct. In other words, policy making and policy implementing tasks are two different functions. The first is the task of the popularly elected legislature and the second is the function of technically skilled and politically "neutral" civil servants. It is also assumed that whereas "administration involves how to do things", the field of politics is "deciding what is to be done". According to Dwight Waldo, "It was almost as if the two elements, though both clearly related to the common goal of the public interest, operate in separate vacuum chambers. The policy 'cake' was baked in the legislative chamber, and was delivered to the administrative chamber for slicing and distribution. But the bakers and the slicers did not really consult or communicate with each other, except at arms length".

The dichotomy' view is entertained by Woodrow Wilson, in his essay "The Study of Administration" (1887). He observes, "The field of administration is field of business. It is removed from the hurry and strife of politics; it at most points stands apart from the 'dichotomy' view is entertained by Woodrow Wilson, in his essay "The Study of questions. Although politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices".

Politics and administration were thus considered two separate activities — institutionally as well as professionally. Weber's concept of rational bureaucracy, along with its structural features and behavioural norms, further contributed towards a clear-cut distinction between politics and administration.

However, the modern view is that politics and administration are interrelated. This is perceptible at various levels of the public policy process. So far as the policy making level is concerned, it is clear that such an initiative takes place within a political-bureaucratic framework. The initiative comes from both the political leaders as well as the bureaucrats. It will be partially correct to say that politicians are the initiators of policies. This may be true in terms of major blue prints of overall policies (MEGA POLICIES). But, even within these overall policies, there are hundreds of policies needing active part of the permanent executive, which can be grouped as META POLICIES.

Thus, the dichotomy between policies and administration which had started in the 19th century, became more perceptible in the 20th century. The modern view finds its hallmark in the systems approach of public policy.

The political system can be explained as a 'structure' that performs certain functions for the society. Its most important function is — making 'authoritative decision for the society': The capability of the political system refers to the capacity of the policy and the government to meet increasingly heavy demands and challenges, the loads they are able to cope up with, and their outputs in terms of policies, decisions and their implementation.

The administrator plays a dual role of performing the "output" functions of executing policies and programmes, and also the input functions which relate not only to policy making but also in influencing public attitude towards the government. This aspect has been clearly defined by Peter Seif. According to him, "The political process deals with the input of demands and the administrative process with the output of services. The former process moves upwards, embracing the claims through successfully broader constituencies, while the latter process moves downwards, disaggregating laws and

general policies into specific operations. Both processes can be said to have become more "Pluralistic" in the sense that influences and decisions have become more diffused and that (in most western democracies) more contacts occur between the two processes".

Thus, at the formal level, it may seem that policy formulation and policy implementation are two different and distinct tasks of politics and administration. But, at the informal level, such a distinction is diffused. In other words, they overlap to a great extent.

Almond, who subscribes to the approach (structural-functional model), says that output functions of a political system are mainly three in number. They are:

a) Rule-making;

b) Rule-application (that is, implementation); and

c) Rule-adjudication.

It is very rare that the policies formulated are self-executing and are executed by the mere statement. Often the policies require some action for execution and implementation. The implementation process has certain activities working within it, such as issue and enforcement of directives, funds disbursement, loans and grants sanction, gathering and passing on information, roles and duties assignment among the personnel engaged in implementing, etc.

Most of the activity surrounding policy implementation takes place within administrative or bureaucratic agencies. The implementation of policies is largely done by the bureaucrats as they have control over the resources and legal powers of the government. They are passed on directives to implement policies by the three organs of the government, that is, executive, legislature, and judiciary. It is also commonly felt that the political executive who are the elected representatives of the people in democracies, perform the major task of implementing the policies. Commenting on it, Henry Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State said, "the outsiders believe a Presidential order is consistently followed. Nonsense. I have to spend considerable time seeing that it is carried out and in the spirit the President intended." Of course, the ultimate responsibility of implementing policies in proper form is that of the political executive but in actual practice this work is carried out by the bureaucrats. They are heading the full-fledged departments of the government and are in the pipeline right from the top down to the bottom levels. It simply cannot be expected that policy will be implemented at every stage by the political executive. Though the bureaucrats and the officials are supposed to carry out the policies on the lines laid by the political executive, yet there are so many instances when the bureaucrats use their own discretion in implementing a policy decision.

20.3 ROLE OF POLITICAL EXECUTIVE IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

As we have discussed earlier, policy implementation is also as complicated a task as the policy making is in a political system. A policy, however good it may be, its effectiveness depends on its proper application. This is the task of the executive who can be classified into two categories i.e. the political and the permanent executives. The political executive plays diverse roles in different kinds of political systems. In a parliamentary system of government the political executive forms a part of the legislature and, therefore, there is close cooperation between the executive and the legislature in the policy implementation process. Although the administrators or the permanent executive are the real implementators, yet it is the political executives who are responsible and answerable to the legislature for proper application of these policies.

In a presidential form of government the executive is not a part of the legislature and, therefore, it is not responsible to the legislature for effective implementation of the public policies. This is because of the traditional doctrine of the separation of powers.

In totalitarian countries, the entire political process operates under the guidance, supervision and control of the Communist party. In the erstwhile Soviet Union the distinction between the politician and the bureaucrat was more difficult to define at the

top levels of the government. The administration was the party's servant and the party became a bureaucratic machine itself in the effort to parallel other rival power structures. To quote Merle Fainsod, "Soviet public administration is one-party administration. The conception of the politically neutral civil servant who serves his successive political masters with equal fidelity and equal contempt is utterly foreign to the Soviet scene. Soviet public administration is suffused with political content".

The dividing lines between political and bureaucratic executive are confused in the developing countries so far the policy implementing aspect is concerned. In political systems where the development of party systems and other coherent power centres may be lacking, the bureaucrats are less likely to be the passive pawns of political leaders in public policy implementation. This is especially so if there are strong cultural differences between the nationalist politicians and excolonial trained civil service.

The role of political executives in the policy implementation level can be somewhat clear by taking a look at the structure of departmental organisations which are the instruments for the execution of policies of the government.

The President of India under Article 77(3) of the Constitution allocates items of business of a Ministry. A typical Ministry is a three tier structure which includes.

a) the political head, that is, the Ministers who may be assisted by one or more ministers of state, deputy ministers or parliamentary secretaries;

b) the secretariat organisation of the Ministry, with the Secretary, who is a permanent official, as the head; and

c) the executive organisations of the departments comprising a ministry, the official head bearing the designation of Director-General, Inspector-General, etc.

The ultimate responsibility regarding the implementation of specific policy lies with the concerned political executive. It is through the guidelines formulated in consultation with the top echelons of concerned administrative agencies that the task regarding execution of the policy is undertaken. The political executive has overall control over the personnel and agencies engaged in policy implementation. It is obligatory on its part to ensure that the work assigned is not only completed but done so with full justice and uprightness. The political executive has to be particularly careful in the implementation because it is directly responsible to the legislature and can stay in office only as long as it enjoys the confidence of the House. Moreover, being political representatives, the political executive is in the position to have the channel of getting direct feedback from the target group with regard to implementation of any given policy. Such a feedback gets them information and data to exercise checks and control over the permanent executive who has been given the job to implement the policies. The role performed by non-governmental agencies and actors in execution of the policies is also under the control mechanism evolved by the political executive for the same.

As mentioned earlier, the bureaucracy is not directly responsible to the legislature but is both accountable as well as responsible to the political executive which in turn is responsible to the legislature. This makes the role of political executive in policy implementation more prominent. For as if there are going to be any defects in the implementation of policies then the political executive shall earn the wrath of the legislature. This makes the ministers more cautious in getting the policies executed in a proper, fair, effective and efficient manner. The following functions normally undertaken by the political executive highlight its role in policy implementation more clearly:

i) To advise and suggest the permanent executive to adopt a set line of actions regarding implementation of the policies in the spirit in which those have been formulated;

ii) To emphasise upon the masses to extend a cooperative hand to the policy implementors. The political executive being representative of the citizens can do it in a better manner;

iii) To ascertain that the policy is implemented judiciously;

iv) To provide the necessary infrastructure to the implementing agencies for speedy execution.

v) To ensure that non-governmental supplemental channels, wherever necessary

and befitting, are made use of in a positive manner for prompt execution of the policy;

vi) To keep required administrative check on the governmental implementing organisations not only for ensuring effective implementation but also for garnering data for purposes of further improvements in the policy intent, through the legislature;

vii) To keep its communication channels open with the bureaucracy for the necessary strategies to be mutually evolved and put into action for speedy implementation; and

viii) To provide real and genuine leadership to the permanent executive for implementation tasks.

The discussion made above reveals the significance of the role of political executive in policy implementation. The role of permanent executive is analysed in the subsequent section.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for the answers.
     ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the unit.

1) Mention the three output functions of a political system as described by Almond.

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2) Discuss the role of political executive in policy implementation.

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20.4 ROLE OF PERMANENT EXECUTIVE IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Policy making and implementation were said to be the tasks of political executive and permanent executive, respectively, in the earlier days. However, with the passage of time, this kind of strict demarcation between the job roles of political and permanent executive regarding formulation and execution of policies has been done away with. As discussed in the earlier sections of this unit and also in Unit 19, besides permanent executive, the political executive, the legislature and the judiciary also have important roles to play in implementation of the policies. Though the political executive, legislature and judiciary each plays its part in implementation, yet execution of policies is the major task of the permanent executive.

The civil servants are considered to be the agency of government for getting the benefits of legislation to the public through implementation of various policies which have been enacted from time to time by the governmental agencies. The citizens look towards governmental bureaucratic organisations, which are manned and administered by the permanent executive, for the execution of the policies. It is often found that both the' political leadership and the citizens blame the permanent executive for lack of proper execution of the policies. The permanent executive on the other hand, feels that it is not getting the due support and infrastructural facilities from the political executive as well as the citizenry, as a result of which they are handicapped in the execution of the

policies. Whatsoever the case may be, the point that emerges clearly is that mainly policy implementation is the task of the permanent executive.

The important duties of the permanent executive are: (i) to execute policies and orders as prescribed by the government, (ii) to maintain and keep in order the overall administrative apparatus which lies within its official charge, and (iii) to give advice to the political executive regarding rules of procedure, regulations and other matters regarding the implementation of the policies.

From the points stated above, it is clear that the permanent executive is to implement the policies, and in order to do so it should go by some established modes of actions. The civil servants, on the basis of their experience, skills, knowledge and prominence in the job, are in a position to undertake the task of implementation of policies in an appropriate manner. Normally, the permanent executive adopts the following strategies for execution of the policies.

i) Permanent executive and political executive

It has been discussed in the earlier units that the political executive has a major role to play in policy formulation; but the implementation of policies is also its major responsibility. Since it is responsible to the legislature, it is obligatory on its part to see to it that the will of the legislature, expressed through a policy statement, is executed in its true spirit. For getting this task completed, the political executive has to depend ·upon the permanent executive. It may be made clear over here that the permanent executive is under the overall control of the political executive and has to perform the task of policy implementation as suggested by the political executive. By and large, this is the situation in theory. In practice, the permanent executive, though under the control of the political executive, frames its own line of action for implementing the policies. In order to do it in a befitting manner the permanent executive looks towards the political executive for the required resources essential for taking up the policy execution assignment.

The bureaucrats plan out the tasks to be undertaken in a systematic manner and jot down their requirements. They make clear to the political executive whatever is not possible, and try to bring them round to the appropriate procedures to be adhered to in the overall interest of the polity, government, and society. The target of any policy, attained through implementation by permanent executive, brings laurels to the political executive—which is composed of the representatives of the people and is to go to the polls again after a fixed tenure. The implementation of policies by the permanent executive helps in building the credibility of political executive in the eyes of the common people. The drawbacks of the policy which surface during implementation are brought to the notice of the political executive by the permanent executive who takes appropriate action by making suitable amendments in the policy statement.

ii) Permanent executive and citizens

All the policies of the Government are directly or indirectly meant for the benefits to be accorded to the citizens. The citizens are aware of the fact that such benefits are to reach them through the permanent executive. Hence, the citizenry looks towards this organ of the government with all anxiety and depends on it for the fulfilment of all their needs, wants, desires, and expectations. The permanent executive has to take people along with it for performing this task of implementation in an appropriate way. The public gets in touch with the permanent executive on almost every problem being faced by them in regard to the implementation of the policies.

The bureaucrats themselves, and through their subordinates, attempt to make the motives, objectives, and goals of the policy clear to the people so that they could know what a particular policy is about and who are to get the benefit out of the same. This reduces the pressure on bureaucracy by those groups in the society who are not covered by the particular policy. The bureaucracy also persuades the masses to obey the policy because such an attempt of the public definitely smoothens the task of policy implementation. The permanent executive, especially at the cutting edge level of the administration (the level where virtually the policies are implemented), through formal as well as informal ways, tries to be closer to the public being served by it. Such relationship instils trust in the minds of people towards government officials and makes the relationship between the two cordial. The cordiality of relationship is very much

required for implementing the policies in an efficient and effective manner.

Role of Governmental Agencies in
Policy Implementation-II

iii) Permanent executive and interest groups

It has been discussed in the earlier units that the interest groups make use of their strength and resources for influencing the policy implementors. These groups attempt to make the permanent executive undertake the task of policy implementation in a manner which suits their interests. The permanent executive has the obligation of implementing the policies in such a way whereby the benefits reach the clients in the most optimum manner. It does not crack under the weight of the interest groups. Rather the bureaucracy endeavours to manage the interest groups in a way whereby it could get the maximum support of these groups in the implementation of the policies. In a situation where the interest groups attempt to stand in the way of implementors, the permanent executive, on the basis of its strength, authority and power, deals with such groups in a repressive manner. Any such move whereby the implementation activities are jeopardised is suppressed by the permanent executive. The valid points raised by the pressure groups are taken in consultation by the permanent executive and accordingly the policies are implemented.

iv) Permanent executive and non-governmental agencies

Over the years, the government has proliferated in innumerable ways. Right from womb to tomb, all the affairs of the people are managed through one activity or the other of the government. Taking so many works under its hold, has increased the workload of the government substantially. It has further amounted to the increased expectations of the people. The net result is an increasing number of policies of the government are to be executed by the permanent executive. The bureaucracy, in order to cope with the quantum of excessive workload, encourages various non-governmental organisations and voluntary agencies to take up some of its tasks. Of course, the overall control of such organisations and agencies remains with the government and its various organs. There are a number of examples wherein the permanent executive has encouraged the supplemental channels in the non-governmental organisations and voluntary agencies to undertake the task of implementation of the policies or parts thereof. Adult education, children's health, female immunization, informal education to children, etc., are some of the examples to this effect.

For the proper implementation of policies much depends on the personality and inclinations of the implementors in permanent executive. It is not only enough to know what is to be done and how it is to be done, but the implementors must have a forceful wish to execute a policy on proper lines. In case this is missing, the implementation is hampered to a great extent. The officials to carry out the policies must be so trained that they feel it obligatory on their part to carry out the programme in a well-desired manner. The officials are neither directly dependent on the policy-making organ, that is, the legislature, nor are they answerable to it. In such a situation, it amounts to the use of discretionary will of the implementors to implement the policy in the way they deem fit. However, it does not mean that permanent executive has no control over its i own activities. The detailed legislation and the political executive do not leave ample scope for the bureaucracy in all the cases for executing the policies in the manner it desires. Still in a number of cases the bureaucracy uses its discretion.

Some officials assigned the role of implementation, have positive approach towards the goals, whereas some are born with negative approach. When the tasks are totally left to the implementors, the ones with negative inclinations do not go much beyond the expected levels; whereas the officials with a positive approach go beyond the expectations. The policy implementation neither requires going above nor below the required levels, but to work according to the required standards. An implementor not willing to carry out the policy, behaves in a manner which decidedly stands in the way of 'policy goals attainment'. It is possible he may just ignore a few of the specifications made by the formulators or by the senior officials for implementation of the policy properly. He can also take much time for implementing the policy because of the prime reason that he is not much in favour of the policy. Of course, if these lapses on the parts of the implementors are pointed out, they can be put to question and enquiries by the courts, higher officials, political executive, etc. can be conducted. But for bringing such situations to the notice of top echelon of officialdom, the masses need abundant and thorough awareness and knowledge.

From the discussion made above – it is amply clear that policy implementation to a substantive extent is the responsibility of the permanent executive. To this effect, the role of permanent executive, in a nutshell is:

i)   to seek the guidance and help from the political executive and also higher echelons of administration;

ii)   to resist uncalled for pressures of the politicians, social leaders, interest groups and citizens;

iii)   to have clear understanding of the policy statement, its goals and objectives;

iv)   to have thorough understanding of the target area and groups: where and for whom the policy formulated is to be implemented. This would help them to adopt the most suitable strategy for policy execution;

v)   to prioritise the works to be undertaken;

vi)   to list the manpower, financial, and infrastructural requirements for implementing a policy;

vii) to ask for more resources, if required;

viii) to allocate human, financial and physical resources out of the available/provided ones;

ix)   to educate and impart training to the personnel put on different jobs regarding implementation;

x)   to educate the masses regarding policy benefits and agency's limitations in seeking their cooperation;

xi)   to form Public opinion through formal and informal channels;

xii) to ensure effective monitoring and evaluation; and

xiii) to develop a feeling of trust for the political executive, politicians, and citizens.

It goes without saying that most of the points referred to above are adhered to by the permanent executive but still somewhere along the line it is not subscribed to in that fairness in which it should be. Hence, there are delays in policy implementation.

The permanent executive carries the real burden of policy implementation task. They perform under the guidance and control of political executive. This does not, however, mean that these professional administrators are passive order takers only. They do show a greater degree of independence and freedom in their action when the need arises. In fact, the role of the civil servants in policy implementation is immense, from every point of view, but it largely depends on the nature of political system's environment in which they operate.

20.5   RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL AND PERMANENT EXECUTIVE IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

The relationship between the permanent and the political executive is guided by two important principles; neutrality and anonymity. In a parliamentary system of government, a clear line of demarcation exists between the two kinds of executives, each performing separate types of functions. The functions of the political executive are:

i)   representing the governmental policy within the administration;

ii) representing the public opinion while framing the public policies;

iii) providing leadership in the formulation of national policies; and

iv) exercising statutory powers guaranteed under the Constitution.

The functions of the permanent executive or career administrators are:

1) execution of laws and government decisions;

2) providing expert guidance, information and managerial assistance to the political executive, where necessary;

3) maintaining the continuity in administration; and

4) making the political executive aware of the probable consequences of alternative courses of action.

Political executives are amateurs in administration while the career officials are professionals having permanency of tenure. It is the minister who remains constitutionally responsible for his ministry to the parliament. Hence, he has to remain within the sphere of accountability and responsibility to the legislature. This implies that even in cases where he is not personally responsible, he has to take responsibility for any omissions and wrong actions of his subordinates.

However, the traditional concept of civil service neutrality is undergoing a change, particularly in developing countries. If the administration is to work efficiently and the governmental objectives are to be achieved satisfactorily the ministers and his subordinates must act in agreement.

The Administrative Reforms Commission laid down the following norms to this effect:

a) the obligation of every public servant to implement faithfully all policies and decisions of the ministers even if these be contrary to the advice tendered by him;

b) the freedom of public servants to express themselves frankly by tendering advice to their superiors including the ministers; and

c) the observance by public servants of the principles of neutrality, impartiality and anonymity.

There is a need to exercise control over activities of the civil servants in order to prevent them from becoming something like Frankenstein's Monster. This has been emphasised in liberal democratic systems because of representative and responsible aspects of political leadership. Even in totalitarian regimes the party usually possesses more communication links with the mass of the governed than the bureaucracy does; it is the political elements within the system, such as the political leaders, assemblies and parties, which are legitimising forces, not the permanent administrators. The civil servants are everywhere by and large change resistant and conservative in their attitude. They seek to strengthen their position vis-a-vis other agencies and the executive by alliances with the legislature and pressure groups as well as calculated support-building campaigns directed against the general public.

Implementation is bureaucratisation of policy. To become effective, most of the policies require action by the bureaucracies of the executive wing of the government. Undoubtedly, it is true that the permanent executive translates the policies into action but it is done in consultation and under the guidance of the political executive. Both these executives are to move, step by step, along with each other, for speedy implementation of the policies. Their relationship requires absolute cordiality and clarity without even a grain of doubt or mistrust for each other. Such a situation could only facilitate the process of policy implementation.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the unit.

1) Discuss the important functions of the permanent executive.

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2) Mention any five points of the role of permanent executive in policy implementation.

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20.6   LET US SUM UP

This unit emphasises the role and importance of the political and the permanent executive in policy implementation process of a political system. The political executive or the politicians are the non permanent executive because their tenure depends upon the tenure of the legislature. They are members of the representative body and this is why they are amateurs in their experiences. The permanent executive, on the other hand, are experts in their field due to their long association with the government. Their career extends over a period of thirty years or so and thus they are in a position to give advice to the political executive in all matters of policy administration. The focus of discussion in the unit has been on the role of political and permanent executive in policy implementation.

20.7   KEY WORDS

Frankenstein's Monster: A fictional character who destroyed its own creator.

Liberal Democracy: It refers to a form of government which combines the values of "Liberalism" and "Democracy". It includes representative institutions like parliament, political parties, etc. and political values like fundamental rights, equality before law, protection of minorities, etc.

Mega Policy: Master policy, a policy providing guides for a set of discrete policies. It deals with overall goals, assumptions on future risk evaluation, degree of innovation, etc.

Meta Policy: Policy on policy making, the policy dealing with characteristics of the policy making system.

20.8   REFERENCES AND FURTHER READINGS

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Montjoy, Robert and J. Lawrence, 1979. "Towards a Theory of Policy Implementation: An Organisational Perspective", Public Administration Review, No. 5.

Rourke, Francis E. 1976, *Bureaucracy, Politics and Public Policy,* Little Brown and Company: Boston.

20.9   ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1) Your answer must include the following points:
   - Rule Making.
   - Rule Application; and
   - Rule Adjudication;

2) Your answer must include the following points:
   - To provide resources for policy implementation
   - To act as a watchdog of governmental programmes
   - To ascertain that the policy is implemented judiciously
   - To ensure that non-governmental supplemental channels, wherever necessary, are made use of in policy implementation task.
   - To provide real and genuine leadership to permanent executive.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Your answer must include the following points:
   - Execution of laws and government decisions;
   - Providing expert guidance, information and managerial assistance to the political executive;
   - Maintaining the continuity of administration; and
   - Making the political executive aware of the probable consequences of alternative courses of action.

2) Your answer must include the following points:
   - To have a clear understanding of policy statement, its goals and objectives;
   - To have a thorough understanding of the target area and group;
   - To prioritise the works to be undertaken;
   - To educate and impart training to the personnel; and
   - To ensure effective monitoring and evaluation.