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### UNDERSTANDING COMMUNITY GOVERNANCE: A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

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#### ABSTRACT

*Since the global financial crisis of 2008, government institutions have had to change their approaches to community governance. Over recent years there has been much discussion on the impact of community governance within local communities. The aim of this paper is to critically explore the contemporary debates on community governance. Two case study examples, namely: the United Kingdom and India have been examined with regard to the changing delivery of community governance. In this paper we argue that similarities can be drawn from both case studies regarding how community organisations function and the facilitation of their resources.*

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**Keywords:** United Kingdom, Community governance, India, Global governance.

#### INTRODUCTION

The current recession is having a major impact on public services and society around the globe. In Europe, for example, the countries of Southern Europe, Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece are faced with huge budget deficits. Greece, in particular, has resorted to draconian cutbacks that have led to riots and ongoing civil unrest. Three of the authors (Halsall *et al.*, 2013a; Halsall *et al.*, 2013b) have explored the origins and impact of the 'Big Society' concept on public health services in the UK. The Big Society concept has been presented by UK Prime Minister David Cameron, with the aim of highlighting and building upon the experience of the voluntary sector in British society (Crines and Halsall, 2012). There is, however, to say the least, considerable scepticism concerning whether the agents of the State, perhaps especially the Local State, can be readily replaced by

voluntary and community groups, which often operate on a constrained budget in an ad hoc and piecemeal fashion. (Halsall *et al.*, 2013a; Halsall *et al.*, 2013b) have shown that, at least in terms of public health, the concept is of limited application, although there are elements of the concept that do have a long and worthwhile history. There is also the link to community development, which is being tried in many countries as a means of poverty remediation.

In this follow-up article, to clarify the evaluation of such ideas of voluntarism and community governance, we focus on the following themes:

- Community empowerment
- The role of civil society in development
- The shrinking role of state post liberalization i.e. since the 1990s

We examine such ideas across the contrasting societies of Britain and India. We shall explore theoretical aspects of community concepts and then assess theoretical applications via case studies of Britain and India. In the process, concepts such as ‘sociability’, ‘voluntarism’ and ‘social capital’ will be evaluated in order to determine the current and future potential of community governance in each country, and the wider potential for other countries around the world. Some years back there was much talk of a ‘Third Way’ of governance, led in particular by sociologist Anthony Giddens. We seek to discover whether there is indeed the possibility of a Third Way as an alternative to the State on the one hand and Capital on the other.

### **Theorising Community Governance**

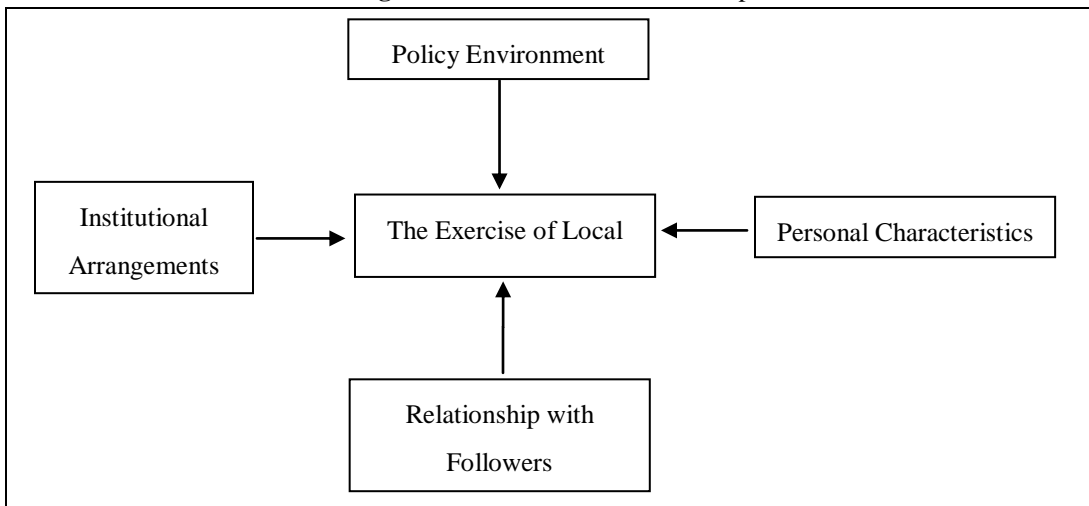
“A community is a group that perceives itself as having strong and lasting bonds, particularly when the group shares a geographical location. One measure of community is regular participation by individuals in its activities. Another is the strength of identification among members with the perceived social bond of the group. A third is the specific physical space and location that is commonly understood as the group’s territory. This space provides its own set of material markers to which community has strong emotional ties” (Gottdiener and Budd, 2005).

As the above citation demonstrates community is central to our lives. Historical changes have seen communities change over time. These social changes, such as migration and the increasing emphasis on individualism have had a contemporary impact on how communities work. One occurring feature of a community is how that community functions within society. The key function of how a society works is its institutions. It has been recently noted by certain scholars that the impact of institutions, whether it be at local or global level, has an impact on communities (Giddens, 1987; Massey, 1995; Boddy and Parkinson, 2004). Over recent years social scientists, especially business, geography, sociology and political scientists, have become interested in the importance of community governance (Banner, 2002; Herrschel and Newman, 2002; Bradford,

2003; Sancino, 2010; Halsall, 2013). Community governance has been defined as ‘the combination of rules, processes and structures in operation to secure ‘order rule’...in complex and fragmented societies, including the determination of key policy goals, and the design and delivery of related policies, programmes and services’ (Smith *et al.*, 2007). This has become apparent by the impact of the globalisation agenda and the effect of this on global society. At the centre of globalisation is the importance of global governance. According to (Sinclair, 2012) ‘globalisation has altered the context in which technocrats conceive institutions of global governance.’ Furthermore, global governance, as a concept, cannot be ignored because, as Sinclair (2012) notes:

“Global governance is a difficult idea to get away from these days. As a concept, global governance seems to capture something very important about our world in the second decade of the twenty-first century. It represents a yearning of some sort, but whether that yearning is for peace and justice, or mere maintenance of the status-quo order, is less clear.”

**Figure-1.** The diamond of leadership



**Source:** Adapted from: Sweeting *et al.* (2004)

Throughout the 1990s debates surrounding global governance have created a new emphasis on the process, which has had an impact at an institutional level. These institutions, within the context of community governance, fall in respect of central and local government. Wilson and Game (1998) have highlighted that community governance is a key feature in central and local government because this approach can offer a strategic approach to individual communities. Further to this, Goodwin and Painter (1996) have argued that the idea of governance within the context of British institutions is broader than that of government, as:

“It recognizes that it is not just the formal agencies of elected local political institutions which exert influence over the pattern of life and economic make-up of local areas. Within the political processes which affect the fortunes of any local area are a wide range of actors.

These include the institutions of elected local government, to be sure, but also central government, a range of non-elected organizations of the state (at both central and local levels) as well as institutional and individual actors from outside the formal political arena, such as voluntary organizations, private businesses and corporations, the mass media and, increasingly, supra-national institutions, such as the European Union (EU). The concept of governance focuses attention on the relations between these various actors. A substantive shift from government to governance implies not only that these other influences exist but also that the character and fortunes of local areas are increasingly affected by them.”

Coupled with the idea of governance having an impact on institutions is the importance of leadership (see figure 1). Overall leadership in governance is central because strong leadership can make fundamental changes in an organisation. However, at the same time leadership can cause power struggles in an institution (Mattson, 1997).

**Figure-2.** The Four contextual shifts in community governance

1. The challenges and problems we face as a society are increasingly becoming the responsibility of local and regional communities;
2. There are, and in all likelihood will continue to be, fewer and fewer public sector dollars available to deal with the critical issues facing our society;
3. Power has become more widely and thinly distributed within the community;
4. The demographic composition of communities has become increasingly diverse, with a concomitant increase in the potential for polarization.

Source: Gates (1999)

This then begs the question: what is the purpose of community governance at a local level? Sullivan (2001) has argued that the main purpose of community governance is that it creates a framework for securing success in a local area by attracting funding from central government. However, when an economic crisis develops in a country this has an impact on community governance at a local level. In an article published before the millennium Gates (1999) argued that there are four contextual shifts in community governance (see figure 2). Having discussed the theoretical context of community governance the paper moves on to examine the concept at case study level: Britain and India.

### **Community Governance in the United Kingdom**

Over the past decade, the UK has seen significant changes in the nature of local governance. These significant shifts have been surrounding the diminishing power base of local government and corresponding shift in the power base to central government in determining funding priorities and spending powers (Goodwin and Painter, 1996). These changes pertain to the disposition of the other players in the system while accompanying the changes in the role and nature of local government (Stoker, 1989; Clarke and Stewart, 1994; Leach, 1996).

The UK government published its White paper, *Strong and Prosperous Communities* (2006) to outline its priorities in setting out the future approach of the communities and local government. The Sustainable Communities Act (2007) intended to improve the development and coordination of support for citizens and community allowing councils, in consultation with local people, to present proposals for government action that will help local communities to be more sustainable and offer better quality of life. It is aimed at giving people the power to change the environment that they live in.

Many commentators (Harvey, 1989; Goodwin and Painter, 1996) characterise these changes as a shift to 'local governance' from 'local government'. Johnston and Pattie (1996) refer to these changes as encompassing a "wide range of other actors, institutional and individual, private and voluntary and public sector, which are involved in regulating a local economy and society." This 'hollowing out' of the state has led to a new restructuring of local government towards new local governance underpinned by wide ranging shifts in policy objectives and styles (Cochrane, 1993; Jessop, 1994; Stoker, 1996; Imrie and Raco, 1999) as alluded earlier in this section.

### **Key Trends and Changes**

Clarke and Stewart (1994) have detailed six key trends in analysing the changing patterns of community governance in the UK. They include:

1. *Fragmentation* due to the creation of new special purpose agencies such as Housing Action Trusts, Urban Development Corporations, has removed responsibilities from the local government. The process of competitive tendering, increased use of providers of local authority services including the devolved management has further exacerbated this fragmentation.
2. *Emphasis on appointment* rather than elections has seen an increase in which appointed members rather than elected representatives are seen to control local affairs especially in the case of special purpose agencies.
3. *Reduced local choice* is seen as a consequence of the first two factors which is particularly the case in resource allocation decisions. The government policy and legislation on local finance has significantly reduced the scope of choice in those areas which are central to the function of the local authority.
4. *Multiplicity* in provision is another hallmark of the changed systems. Contrary to the earlier ideas of self-sufficiency, the Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCTs), the purchaser-provider distinction and the voluntary involvement of third parties in service provisions has dented the power and influence of the local authorities adding more complexities to community public provision.
5. *Management by contracts* is a direct consequence of the CCTs and contract culture in delivery of the community provisions by the local authorities. This is leading to

development of government by contract within the working of the local authority. Service-level agreements (SLA) are now a key to the internal working of the authority thus replacing other forms of organisational relationships.

6. *Innovations and change* within all levels of government has led to search for new and different ways of working. For example, executive agencies have been created at the national level to discharge significant business within a policy framework but outside the direct control of departments. The current economic recession has necessitated massive cuts in the public spending including local government budgets throwing a massive challenge to make substantial savings while still providing good quality of service.

The transformation of local government to local governance is not without problems of theorisation and definitions. It has been argued that in context of welfare cuts coupled with increased demands for services along with competitive tendering and involvement of multiple agencies has resulted into fragmented local government (Cochrane, 1993; Clarke and Stewart, 1994). This is seen as a new reality in the governance of British cities. Imrie and Raco (1999) apply a range of contrasting characteristics to draw out the differences between the old and new forms of local government (see Figure 3). One key contrast is the transformation in local government from being a central player in the development and delivery of the policy to being a ‘strategic enabler’ (Imrie and Raco, 1999). This implies a supportive or service role rather than a direct policy function.

**Figure-3.** Characterizing UK local government and local governance

<i>Local Government</i>	<i>Local Governance</i>
Bureaucratic	Flexible and Responsive
Democratic	Post-democratic
Centralized	Decentralized
Municipal	Entrepreneurial
Pursuit of social/welfare goals	Pursuit of market goals

Source: (adapted from (Imrie and Raco, 1999))

### **Implications of These Changes and Democratic Deficit**

There are strengths and weaknesses within this emerging system of community governance. The creation of units catering to specific purposes allows a concentration of efforts bringing a form of specialism to the task (Clarke and Stewart, 1994). The quest for innovation (though often driven by budgetary cuts) can provide a basis of accountability given the plurality of provisions and contracting out. The real strength thus can be seen more in judging the individual parts of the system. The key challenge however lies when one judges the overall system and each of the tasks is defined. It is further argued that emphasis on specific purpose and contracts is best when geared to evaluation of defined and limited tasks (Clarke and Stewart, 1994). In recent times, capacity for local change has been reduced and mainly driven by central government and setting of national standards. This often delays response to local problems community governance. Such a

transformation in local government in the British cities has been characterised by extension and emergence of 'quango' state (Imrie and Raco, 1999). This democratic deficit was seen in a way where large number of decisions impacting local communities is taken by un-elected officials heading executive agencies, quangos and voluntary bodies. This was seen in the various regional development agencies established to spearhead economic growth and regeneration.

Notwithstanding this fragmented picture, which emerges in respect to the community governance in the UK, we would like to argue that local government still remains a critical player in the policies and politics of local economic development (DCLG (2010, 2011)). This view is further supported in the literature (Lowndes and Wilson, 2001). The current arrangements provide new opportunities for public participation through the diversity of local political institutions in supporting a range of service delivery and decisions making platforms (Stoker, 1996). The development of new institutional structures is also creating new ways for community groups to influence decision making processes as a consequence of a new localism (Skelcher, 1996; Raco and Flint, 2001).

## COMMUNITY GOVERNANCE IN INDIA

In the sixty five years of self-government equitable and inclusive growth is still a distant dream for India. The community practitioners are getting more vigorously involved solving community issues to fill in the gap of the lackadaisical government organs (Moffat *et al.*, 2009). Strong social relations are valued in many developing economies especially as a distinct entity in the space between public sector (government) and the business (markets) – often called the third sector or non-profit sector. India has been using participatory tools to enable communities to become the primary architects of their own development.

Arnstein (1969) defines citizen participation as 'the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future'. However, Chogull and Gauraldo (1996) argues that the Arnstein ladder needs to be modified when applied to underdeveloped counties, because the constraints are much greater. The expectations in the developing world are not only for a voice in decision making but also for access to a minimum level of basic services to which communities may be willing to contribute (World Bank-OED, 2002).

While the idea of citizen participation in the developed world is characterised by the processes of 'partnership,' 'delegated power' and 'citizen control', community participation in developing countries is characterised by the processes of 'conciliation,' 'partnership,' and 'empowerment' (World Bank-OED, 2002). It can be seen that here, too, that the emphasis on community participation in developing countries has very little to do with democratic empowerment, i.e., an empowerment that strengthens the citizen entitlement process. These tools bring into play a

participatory approach to mobilize communities and enable local communities to help themselves. The result is the creation and implementation of an action plan that find solutions to the community's highest priority problems.

In the current model of economic growth, the voluntary sector has come to stay as a key player in achieving equitable, sustainable and inclusive development goals. Both the State as well as the market-led models of development has been found to be inadequate and there is an increasing realisation that active involvement of the voluntary sector is needed in the process of nation building. They are now viewed as partners in progress. Community governance organisations function outside the conventional space of both State and Market, but they have the potential to negotiate, persuade and pressurise both these institutions to make them more responsive to the needs and rights of the citizens.

Participatory community-based governance tools help to:

- Build consensus on public issues using conflict mediation techniques;
- Create action plans based on community consensus about highest priority needs and ways to address them;
- Assist local institutions to mobilize their own resources to focus on these priority needs;
- Form partnerships with government, NGO, and private sector agencies;
- Instil community ownership and pride in the projects they implement.

Using participatory tools creates an environment where all members of the community – men, women, the young, the elderly, the poor and the more affluent — can come together to openly discuss the future of their community.

India has a rich history and tradition of voluntary actions, community governance as well as of cooperatives formed to promote the social and economic welfare of its members. While many of these traditional institutions declined substantially under colonial rule, the Independence struggle saw a revitalization of importance in these Voluntary Associations and Bodies under the influence of Gandhi who was an enduring campaigner of voluntary action and small government, much before this became a paradigm espoused by leading economists in the West. During the struggle for Independence the whole emphasis of the Gandhian movement was on self-help, community involvement and cooperation. The cooperative movement gained momentum as a part of such self-help ethos became embedded in the independence movement. To Gandhi the swadeshi (self-help) movement was “the greatest constructive and cooperative movement in the country”. In propagation of khadi and village industries and local self-governance he found “the panacea for India's growing pauperism” and “an object lesson in cooperation”.



Post-Independence, the Indian Constitution provides a distinct legal space to social capital / civil society institutions (a) through its Article on the right to form associations or unions – Article 19 (1)(c); (b) through Article 43 which talks of States making endeavour to promote cooperatives in rural areas. With liberalisation of the economy and globalisation, there has been a phenomenal growth in the number of non-governmental organisations across the world in the last few decades. Research indicates that India has at present roughly more than two million voluntary associations or Non-Governmental Organisation involved with diverse aspects of mobilisation, engagement and development activities. The presence of these associations of community organisation ensures depth and resilience in civil society. It gives expression to citizens' voices. It enables them to take responsibility for how their community is performing and allows them to negotiate with formal governmental agencies in organised ways. In India community participation and governance is finding its legitimate space after being wiped out during the colonial period and in the initial years of independence with highly centralised planning and top down model of development was adopted.

Two major voluntary action initiatives, which caught the attention of people across the country, were led by Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan and Jai Prakash Narain's Sarvodaya movement, The landmark of this development is the upsurge, on the socio-political front, of community involvement during the 1970s and the 1980s.

These movements were based on a large network of selfless and dedicated volunteers, who were reacting to lop-sidedness of development and deprivation of marginalised communities who continued to suffer post-independence. The emergence of economic liberalisation fuelled ideals of equity, human rights and expansion of economic opportunities. The environment of liberalism led to a recognition that people needed to be empowered through community action network. This led to the emergence of fresh grouping of charities and voluntary action groups in India.

On the whole these organisations continued to be active in sectors of social and community advancement; promotion of human rights, public health, maternal and child health care; expansion of education; scientific promotion, culture, arts and heritage; amateur sports; environmental protection; child rights and improvement of service delivery in urban and rural areas. These organisations have made a constructive impact on all aspects of citizen-government interface in the country.

The Union Government in its National Policy on the "[Government of India \(2007\)](#) stipulates that "Voluntary Organisations (VOs) mean to include organisations engaged in public service, based on ethical, cultural, social, economic, political, religious, spiritual, philanthropic or scientific and technological considerations. VOs include formal as well as informal groups, such as: Community-Based Organisations (CBOs); Non-Governmental Development Organisations (NGDOs);

charitable organisations; support organisations; networks or federations of such organisations; as well as Professional Membership Associations”.

However, in India, caste and class segmentation as an important contextual variable in determining development of trust and social capital between different groups needs to be recognized. This makes the growth of Voluntarism and Social capital, in the context of India altered and unique. It refers to the norms and networks that make it probable for collective action with the consent to the poor and marginalised people to increase their ‘right of entry’ or access to resources and opportunities and participate in the process of governance.

It is felt that similar groups have a higher propensity to bond and bind together. They do this by establishing close ties with others who share the same characteristics as themselves. Such bonding helps them to cope with their disempowerment. Occasionally, the groups to which marginalised belong, may bridge social capital by instituting ties with groups unlike themselves also, but these ties are often asymmetrical, tending to result in patron-client relationships. When underprivileged sections associate with organisations of the State, civil society or the private sector, they are in a position to mobilize additional resources, and are able to partake in the societal processes and development trajectory. Social capital especially in developing countries like India is considered to be coupled with cooperative social problem solving, effective government and inclusive economic development.

Furthermore, non-profit sector organisations in India do not have any apex organisation (a Federation or a Union) for collection and dissemination of information; it is quite difficult to assess the scale of their operations in terms of their number or the range of their activities. As already stated, there are more than two million such organisations registered under the Societies / Trusts Acts in the country. This includes a wide diversity of local youth clubs, mahilamandals (women’s organisations), private schools, old age homes and hospitals. How many of these are actually functional is hard to approximate.

In recent years, government organisations like the District Rural Development Agency and the District Health Society have been registered as Societies. From the data maintained by the Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB), Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC), Council for Advancement of People’s Action and Rural Technology (CAPART) and Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment it emerges that these departments have been supporting an estimated 10,000 different voluntary organisations and forms of community governance in the country. A government survey in 1994 (Economic Census), estimated that sixty per cent of these organisations were concentrated in the four States of West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh. It is equally difficult to estimate the quantum of resources being used by voluntary sector. Departments of the Union and State Governments have initiated number of schemes which fund voluntary work (Report on Voluntary Sector for the 10th Five Year Plan, Planning Commission,

2002). In India the voluntary sector receives a large sum from these government departments and agencies including large development projects funded by bilateral and multilateral agencies which facilitates community governance.

In the context of India, the key institutions that chip into the development of social capital and community governance range from grass roots level community based initiatives like Residents Welfare Associations and Self-Help Groups, and Cooperatives of diverse types to Voluntary Organisations, Charitable Societies and Trusts as well as Self-Regulating Professional Bodies such as the Medical Council of India, Bar Council etc. With the changing role of State since 1992 it has also been acknowledged that Public service delivery can be efficiently administered, if social network groups are in operation and they mobilise people around common issues. Women's Self-Help Groups / Micro-Credit Institutions in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu and Kudumbashree in Kerala are fine examples of collective participation and community governance which have led to enhanced performance of development programmes in these States.

### **The Success Story of Some States**

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has been successfully implementing poverty alleviation programmes in the State through extensive social mobilization. Women have been placed in the fore-front of the development agenda through formation of women's Self-Help Groups. Multi-level SHG federations formed at the block and district levels have further benefited the growth of SHGs and institutionalized this mobilization. The State Government assists the groups by providing Revolving Fund / Matching Grant under various programmes. Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty (SERP), a registered autonomous Body, is playing a key role in this process by providing facilitation support to groups and by sensitizing line departments of the government, Banks and insurance companies towards the needs of the poor.

### **Self-Help Groups for Rural Development: the Tamil Nadu Experiment**

In Tamil Nadu, the Department of Rural Development has taken initiative to organise the rural poor into Self-Help Groups which collectively work for securing livelihood employment for the members. The members of the group agree to save regularly and convert their savings into a common fund known as the group corpus. This fund is used by the group through a common management strategy.

### **Kudumbashree Mission in Kerala**

The State Poverty Eradication Mission - Kudumbashree was launched by the State Government of Kerala in 1998 with the active support of Government of India and NABARD. The objective was to eradicate absolute poverty in 10 years under the leadership of Local-Self Governments.

The motivation for launching the project was the successful experimentation of the community based approach of poverty alleviation in Alappuzha and Malappuram districts, through Urban

Basic Services Programme. Kudumbashree emphasises that all developmental programmes relating to Nutrition, Poverty Alleviation, RCH, SC/ST Development, DPEP and SGSY should be run by community based organisations with support of Panchayati Raj/Local Governance Institutions.

### **Development of Grass Roots Level Community Based Organisation (CBO)**

Women are organised into Neighbourhood Groups, (NHGs) consisting of 20-40 women with 5 functional volunteers - Community Health Volunteer, Income Generation Volunteer, Infrastructure Volunteer, Secretary and President. These groups are coordinated at the Ward level through Area Development Society (ADS), by federating 8-10 NHGs. The coordinating Apex Body at the Panchayat level is the Community Development Society (CDS), which is a registered Body under the Charitable Societies Registration Act.

The structure of the SHG is meant to provide mutual support to the participants in saving money, preparing a common plan for additional income generation and opening bank accounts that would help them in developing credit relationship with a lending institution. It ultimately supports them in setting up micro-enterprises e.g. personalised business ventures like tailoring, grocery, and tool repair shops. It promotes the concept of group accountability ensuring that the loans are paid back. It provides a platform to the community where the members can discuss and resolve important issues of mutual concern.

While some of the SHGs have been initiated by the local communities themselves, many of them have come through the help of a mentor body (either government or an NGO) which provides initial information and guidance. Such support often consists of training people on how to manage Bank accounts, how to assess small business potential of the local markets and how to upgrade their skills. In the end, it creates a local team of resource persons.

### **The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)**

India's national policy framework on urban water and sanitation has begun to emphasize community participation, demand responsiveness, decentralization, and financial responsibility as basic principles for sectoral reform. The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), which will invest US\$12 billion in leading Indian cities by 2012, emphasizes the development of urban water and sanitation service together with governance reform centring on a formal role for citizen participation in investment decisions and the monitoring of service delivery.

To summarize, the case of India's voluntary initiatives of community governance indicates that the growth of voluntary associations lead to evolution of a healthy civil society manifesting as a distinct entity in the space between public sector (government) and the business (markets) – often called the third sector or non-profit sector. Local community governance capacity is the ability of people to work together, to trust one another and to organise themselves to solve problems, mobilise and manage resources, resolve conflicts and network with others. When people cooperate

and work together, they can overcome problems related to risk, information, and skills. There are two elements, which are critical to local community governance. First, groups have to develop rules for self-governance. Second, the groups need to be embedded in the existing social organisation. Since the marginalised especially in the context of India rarely have strong organisations to make their voices heard, projects that aim to reach the poor must invest in strengthening the Self Help capacity of local groups.

But, what is clear is that the application of social capital, facilitating collective action by community groups will remain a critical component in poverty alleviation strategies in India. The challenge for India is to formulate policies and the framework of rules that will allow and facilitate collective community action that is instrumental in generating and managing local resources, and create conditions to support participatory decision-making and organisational capacity, especially among the underprivileged masses.

## **CONCLUSION**

We have seen in the research discussed above that there is a healthy variety in the type and level of community alternatives in both the UK and India. In Britain, the third sector is helping to raise a concern for ‘governance’ rather than mere ‘government’; in this, broader concerns of society beyond those of narrow political issues can be incorporated into local institutional structures via a process of localism. However, there can be a danger of fragmentation via the multiplicity of agencies that deal with local concerns, and, somewhat paradoxically, a potential lack of accountability via the unelected community leaders or those appointed to quangos by central government. Local government, therefore, with its democratic base, albeit somewhat fragile due to low electoral turnouts and consequent concerns over legitimacy, not to mention current concerns over budget constraints, still retains an important role in the locality. Communities in the UK, therefore, should ideally complement, rather than supersede, the other local state or central state agencies engaged at the local level.

In India, the voluntary initiatives of community governance indicates that the growth of voluntary associations lead to evolution of a healthy civil society manifesting as a distinct entity in the space between public sector (government) and the business (markets) – often called the third sector or non-profit sector. Local community governance capacity is the ability of people to work together, to trust one another and to organise themselves to solve problems, mobilise and manage resources, resolve conflicts and network with others. When people cooperate and work together, they can overcome problems related to risk, information, and skills. There are two elements, which are critical to local community governance. First, groups have to develop rules for self-governance. Second, the groups need to be embedded in the existing social organisation. Since the marginalised, especially in the context of India, rarely have strong organisations to make their voices heard,

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