

as an alternative/supplement to the state" (Sharma 1996:32). Moreover, Kothari explains: "As a system of managing the affairs of societies, this 'top-down' model has failed. It is against this failure that the rise of new actors and levels, new forms of political expression and new definitions of the content of politics acquire significance" (Kothari 1984:402). Other actors beyond the state have entered the development field—one of the most significant groups of actors being NGOs.

## **STATE-NGO "PARTNERSHIPS"**

One can deduce that state-NGO partnerships will increase due to the slow realisation that both actors possess complementary strengths.

According to Riker (1995) and Farrington (1993), development NGOs' key concern is to maintain their autonomy; they fear being co-opted by the state. This would defeat the objectives of several NGOs which measure government accountability and attempt to form close ties with the rural poor. It is argued here however that with more collaborative efforts between development NGOs and the state, many more NGOs can keep a more watchful eye on the state and therefore increase the latter's accountability

Fowler (1997) and Tandon (1989, 1991) claim that governments, on the other hand, would like to maintain their power and control over the development of their countries as well as financial resources. Moreover, in a democracy like India they are legitimately accountable to the electorate in contrast to the NGOs. Governments will have to expand the political space of NGOs but in a manner which does not compromise their capacity to protect the common good. In order for this to happen, NGOs must maintain public accountability as well as evaluate their approaches under a national regulatory system. Also, Governments should recognise the unique characteristics that NGOs bring to the field of development and be aware of their complementary role to that of the state.

Sanyal (1997) claims that it is a common misassumption that because NGOs are seen as having distinct operational structures and unique philosophies that they should avoid working closely with the state. Instead, he argues that this separation hurts NGOs. NGOs working towards poverty alleviation should not be detached from the state (Sanyal 1997). "To say it another way, just as development does not trickle down from the top, pushed by the state alone, it cannot effervesce from the bottom, initiated by NGOs alone" (Sanyal 1997:31). Co-operative efforts between these two actors can work to alleviate these issues by keeping each other in check.

## **GUJARAT**

Gujarat (see Appendix A) is a state located in the western extremity of India and has a population of 42 million people which is about 5% of the total population of the country (Hirway 1995). Gujarat is one of the richest states in terms of per capita income of the country and is aggressively pursuing industrialisation (Guha 1995). Ironically, the poor Gujarat to which Patel