CHANGING CONTOURS OF DISTRICT COLLECTOR IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN INDIA

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Abstract
One of the notable contributions of the British to the Indian administration is the creation of the office of Collector and District Magistrate. Some eminent administrators of the past have described administrative apparatus that not only covers essential elements but also emphasizes that district administration comprising both regulatory and development as organic process. Thus the main thrust was in the unity of entire administration by covering various laws, rules and regulations under the general heading of the governance in India. It may be mentioned that law and order and development, which includes activities relating to social welfare form the main theme of district administration. On the whole, it also encompasses the nature and scope of good governance. Authors like Sastry and David Potter had emphasized some of these aspects in addition to the providing the historical provision, growth and development of district administration. Also, there is good amount of information on the district administration, in which District Collector and his supporting staffs plays an important role in collecting land revenue apart from attending the work related to the development, welfare and since 1959 by administering panchayati raj system. In this article an objective analysis is attempted on the changing contours of District Collector in local governance in India based on the relevant available literature.

Keywords: District Collector and District Magistrate, Panchayati Raj, Regulatory Administration, Development Administration, Zilla Parishad

One of the notable contributions of the British to the Indian administration is the creation of the office of Collector and District Magistrate. Some eminent administrators of the past have described administrative apparatus that not only covers essential elements but also emphasizes that district administration comprising both regulatory and
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The system of local governance in India today retains continuity with its glorious past. Founded on the super structure of the Mughul administration, its hierarchical structure was built by the British during their rule. Since independence it has been retained after the refinement by the farsighted Indian leaders to suit the requirements of modern body politic. The major unit of local administration is the district. According to Alok Ranjan( 1994) “the cutting edge of the functioning of the government is the district.” at present, there are over 500 districts in the country, generally varying in size and population from state to state and more often than not even within state. On an average the area of district is roughly 3000 sq miles, with a population ranging 25 to 30 lakhs.

Under the British raj a single officer positioned at the district headquarters, commonly called the Collector, was assigned the responsibilities of the maintaining, law and order, peace and harmony, collecting revenue and administering justice in the district. For a majority of villagers in India, the Collector symbolized the “government.” In the words of Alok Ranjan(1994): “the focal point of district administration is the Collector and District Magistrate. He represents the government at the district level and it is his job to solve the grievances of the people and also to take the policies of the government to the people and ensure that the policy does remained on the paper alone. He has to lead, coordinate, push and harmonize various departments and diverse aspect of the government functioning at the district level.” These responsibilities amply justify his pre-eminence in the Indian administration.

Even after attaining independence the Collector continues to be the most important as well as most sought after government official in local administration. In fact, the District Collector is the kingpin of district
administration. However, his role has gradually changed from that of an able coordinator to that of a facilitator in the implementation of various development programmes. (Sweta Mishra, 1996: 98-111 & Ajay Singh Yadav,2001) As the government made great strides in rural development and social welfare, the Collector’s responsibilities have been greatly enhanced, besides carrying an enormous work load on his shoulders. Due to these developments his role has become increasingly ill-defined as both power and responsibilities in local governance have been decentralised. This has resulted in his becoming more subject to intervention not only from political leadership but also his superior officers. However, he will continue to play an important role in the district set up, notwithstanding the transfer of the developmental function to the zilla parishad in recent times. (Majumdar, A.K and Bhanwar Singh, 1996: 272)

As is well known, the Collector is appointed by the state government from the Indian administrative service (IAS) cadre. He is responsible for all governmental action in the district as the agent of the state government. It is truism that the powers conferred on him are extensive and to some extent discretionary in nature. For instance, it is specified in the Bombay Revenue Department Manual that “nothing can or should pass in the district of which Collector should not be kept informed.”(David C Potter, 1964:68) By undertaking extensive tours, he should be both accessible as well as responsive to their felt needs.

In the fame work of local governance, the district is divided into taluks or tehsils, which are headed by tehsildars, who collect revenue and supervise land records. The representative of government in the village is the village accountant, known as patwari, who is considered to be the ‘eyes and ears of the Collector”. The patwari’s mainly responsible for the maintenance of the land records; as a result of which, he holds an important position in lower level bureaucracy operating at the grass roots. This provides him an opportunity to become susceptible for corruption and at the same time making his position difficult to resist temptation of making a quick buck. The village is also served by headmen by tradition, whose position generally hereditary in nature.

From a very long time, the village committees were left to govern themselves, through a council of five elders, called the panchayat. However, under the British the importance of panchayats eroded considerably. Again, the British were responsible for the revival of panchayats as units of local self government. In fact, Lord Ripon’s Resolution of 1882 gave a new lease of life to the local bodies. It must be stated here that it took another hundred odd years (1882-1992) to accord formal recognition to panchayati raj institutions (PRIs) via 73rd Constitution Amendment.
Though there was some discussion on revitalising the panchayats during the freedom movement, nothing tangible had happened towards this ideal. Due to Gandhiji’s perseverance, the Constitution of India (Article 40) directed the States “to organize village panchayats and to endow them with such powers and authority, as may be necessary to enable them to functions as units of self-government”.

**GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT:**

As is well known, the Government of India introduced a three-tier system of Panchayati Raj (PR), following the recommendations of the committee on plan projects, headed by Balwantray Mehta. (Government of India, 1957) The three tiers, i.e. at the village, the block (Panchayat samitis) and district, were organically linked by indirect election. This system was more vigorously pursued in states like Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, and Gujrat and from 1978 onwards in West Bengal. Recently, states like Kerala and Madhya Pradesh have made notable progress in the rejuvenation of PRIs.

The Ashok Mehta Committee (Government of India, 1978) gave a new dimension to panchayati raj, movement by suggesting various methods to revitalise these bodies. Besides it appended model legislation, which ultimately led to the 73rd Constitution Amendment in December 1992, which become operative from April 24, 1994 throughout the country. According to the Ashok Mehta committees findings, Panchayati Raj passed through several ups and downs which were categorised into the following four distinct phases:

1. Ascendancy (1959-64)

It is germane to add that during all these phases, the importance of Collector’s nodal role was never in doubt although the position of local government institutions became vulnerable. Only after 1993, when legislation was enacted by various states for the revival of PRIs, the situation has slightly changed without altering much of the importance of the Collector as the pivot of District Administration.

**Collector and panchayati raj: views of various committees**

Balwantray Mehta committee, which gave a concrete shape to the concept of democratic decentralisation, which later came to be known as panchayati raj, envisaged that the Collector should function as the chairman of District Level Body, i.e. Zilla Parishad. However, a different a view point emerged gradually, opposing the primacy of the Collector in panchayati raj.
set up, which, it was feared, would jeopardise the spirit of decentralisation. Pursuant to this, the Rajasthan Panchayati Raj Act adopted a cautious approach by making him an associate member of the Zilla Parishad, without giving any voting right or holding office. In Andhra Pradesh, the Collector was made chairman of the standing committees of the Zilla Parishad. In the mean time, the Naik Committee on Democratic Decentralisation (Government of Maharashtra, 1961) noted that the Collector had hardly been able to supervise or guide existing local bodies in respect of which he has considerable responsibility and authority. It therefore recommended that the Collector be kept out of the scheme of PR in Maharashtra State.

Perhaps to reconcile these conflicting viewpoints, the third five year plan document stressed that “the Collector of district will continue to have a large share of responsibilities in facilitating the success of PRIs.” (Government of India, 1962) Also it was recognised that the Collector has the duty of coordination at the district level between the Zilla Parishad and the technical officers in various fields, establishing close links between technical officers and panchayat samitis as well as the extension officers at the block level and a continuing flow of technical advice and guidance from various departments at the state level. (Sweta Mishra, 1996:100) It was also underlined that a significant aspect of Collectors work will be to assist the fledging democratic institutions and public services in evolving right conventions in routine works and in administrative relationship based on recognition of their distinctive contribution in meeting the common objectives of development. (ibid: 100)

While reviewing the administrative arrangements for rural development, a committee under the chairmanship of GVK Rao (Government of India, 1985) recommended that at the district level, a post of District Development Commissioner be created and an officer with a minimum service of 11 to 16 years, invariably senior to the District Collector should be appointed. He should also function as Chief Executive Officer of the Zilla Parishad. The Collectors as a separate entity should look after law and order, revenue collection, etc. In point of fact, Karnataka under the Janata Government 1987 took up these suggestion with the utmost seriousness they deserved the government of Karnataka appointed the chief secretary of district who is a senior officer to the district Collector. Many impartial observers felt that these types of innovations were necessary to make PRIs as real units of Local self government. However, the reform was short lived as the succeeding government again reverted back to the old system of Panchayati Raj in Karnataka.

A subcommittee headed by P.K.Thungon (Government of India, 1988) considered the type of political and administrative structures needed in the district. It recommended that Collector should be pivotal point for both
regulatory as well as development administration. He also should function as the chief executive officer of the Zilla Parishad. The State Government should appoint officers of the rank of Additional Collector to assist the District Collector both in development and in regulatory administration, respectively.

A committee headed by V.N. Gadgil (Indian National Congress, 1988) under the auspices of the Indian National Congress recommended that the Zilla Parishad should have as its Chief Executive, an officer from the IAS cadre. He should have equal seniority with that of the District Collector and all the development works should be assigned to the Zilla Parishad.

On the basis of initiatives taken by the former Prime Minister, the late Rajiv Gandhi, workshops for Collectors and District Magistrates were conducted by the Department of Personal and Training, Government of India, during the December 1987 and June 1988 at Bhopal, Imphal, Hyderabad and Jaipur. The district heads interacted freely with the former Prime minister and as a result, a consensus emerged in favour of strengthening democratic institutions at district and below levels. The official’s opined that if genuine responsive governance could be operable it should be responsible, representative and responsive to the urges of the people. Needless to add that there was insufficient devolution of powers and functions at the district and below levels of our polity. Finally, these four workshops facilitated the crystallisation of ideas highlighting the need for a constitutional buttress to ensure periodical and timely elections to the self-government institutions like PRIs and urban local bodies. Since the consensus was arrived by the district Collector/ magistrates themselves, it became easier for the Government of India to move in the direction of arming the local self-government institutions. These developments led to the abortive 64th Amendment which tried to create a stronger Panchayati Raj system in first place. On the basis of consensus arrived at by all the political parties on the need for establishing Panchayati Raj system throughout the country, the 73rd Constitutional Amendment bill was passed December 1992.

**Changing role of Collector during 1947 to 1999**

One can easily discern that great changes have taken place in the social and economic fabric of India with regard to district administration since independence. The changes envisaged after 1947 were different from the ones in the previous decades. Several major changes have taken place with regard to the structure and methods of administration at the district level in post independence era. It would be appropriate to quote S.R. Maheshwari in this context” in the first place, democracy... itself generated forces causing certain rearrangement of the colonially established hierarchies and processes,
both governmental and administrative, where in district Collectors office could not remain completely unaffected. (Maheshwari, S R, 1990: 469-73) In the colonial period the real power was vested in Governors of the provinces who were responsible to the Governor General. But in the post independence era it was vested in the Council of Ministers which derives its strength and sustenance from the Legislature, it naturally became more dependent on the elected representatives of the people, i.e. MP’s, MLAs, and leaders of PRIs.

However, after country’s independence, there has been a substantial increase in the powers and functions of the district Collectors. As for implementation of policies of the government, not withstanding their decision making powers, of the elected representatives depend to a great extent on the bureaucracy. In addition to maintaining law and order and revenue administration, the District Collector became the lynchpin of overall development both at the district and grass roots level. He became the numero uno of the district administration both in the sphere of maintenance and development for the simple reason that he is seen as the nerve system of the state government. With the introduction of Community Development Programme and National Extension Services (CDP & NES ), during years 1952 and 1953 his sphere of jurisdiction over development and has increased leaps and bounds and has complicated beyond comprehension. During the period of CDP & NES (1952-59), the Collector was supposed not merely to look after the development of administration with the help of officers of the sub district/ the divisional levels, especially the Block Development Officer (BDO), but also he was charged with the responsibilities of several kinds of different departments like education, health, agriculture, animal husbandry, industries, public works, etc having the heads of line departments working under him at the district headquarters. These additional responsibilities gave all together a fresh impetus to his standing and authorities. He has been required to oversee the arrangements in connection with the visits of VIPs like ministers and foreign dignitaries, besides he himself has to perform functions like chairman and chief guest at several social development and academic activities in the district.

**Regulatory administration**

The main work of the District Administration is the management of public affairs with a clearly demarcated jurisdiction for that purpose. The common man comes into picture in the scheme of things at this level. Moreover, the district became fulcrum of activity for administering several different departments of state government; thus making it a multiple unit of convergence, having an assemblage of officials for looking after the various facets of governance. However, the maintenance of law and order comprises
its core function; and lately, some aspects relating to responsive administration, have added lustre to district administration.

The function of the Collector and District Magistrate, as the head of district administration, can be classified as: 1) Revenue 2) Magisterial 3) Developmental (especially subsuming Panchayati raj) 4) Agent of the state Government 5) General. Except, for the third item in the aforesaid list, the rest fall under the sphere of regulatory and maintenance administration. Despite several attempts to de glamorise his position, it remains intact because he is still seen as the number one official in the district in enforcing control over various major departments operating at the district headquarters. In point of fact, only the District Sessions Judge, dealing with civil and criminal jurisprudence has independent status. This has become imperative since the government has realised the importance of separating the functions of executive from the judiciary at the district and above levels. In nutshell, it can be said that barring few experiments in states like Gujarat, West Bengal (from 1978 onwards) Karnataka (for a brief period, i.e. during 1987-92 when a senior officer was posted as chief secretary of the district to oversee Panchayati Raj administration) and in Kerala (during January-June 1991, due to creation of district councils by making the Collector subordinate to the chairman of district council, but his position was restored later in the wake of 1991 general elections, which brought United Democratic Front back to power), his importance has never been threatened. Although the present emphasis is on the responsive administration, the Collector’s image as the most important functionary, representing the state government at the district, has not been questioned. In recent times, there has been an increasing emphasis on streamlining activities at the districts which include: decentralisation of administration and planning especially in decision making, simplification of rules, regulation and procedures, accountability of officials to the elected representatives, transparency in administration and effective machinery for redressal of grievances concerning public affairs, etc. It may be added to the credit of the office of the Collector and District Magistrate, the officials designated have conducted themselves with decorum and dignity, despite a few aberrations here and there. Thus it can be said that the nodal role of District Collector has come to stay despite vicissitudes witnessed in the political landscape of the country over the past 60 yrs or so. The general feeling is that for achieving coordination among various departments, agencies (including NGOs) officials, he is considered as the key functionary, best equipped to bring about synergy in the whole gamut of district administration. With creation of panchayati raj via 73rd Constitution Amendment Act 1992, there has been general debate to downsize or even de-link his function in development administration. But it
remains to be seen how this could be realised without affecting his initiative, integrity and importance.

**Departments at the District Level**

As a consequence of the gradual expansion of governmental activities, especially in the field of development, the number of departments at district level has increase from 1947 onwards. In most of the states, various departments are represented by their own office at the district level, thereby giving the semblance of mini-state functioning at the district headquarters. According Maheshwari (1990) the number and nomenclature of such departments represented at the district vary from the state to state. Generally, the heads of departments are located at the State headquarters. Most of these departments have their regional level officers represented at the divisional level in larger state like Uttar Pradesh and at the state capitals in smaller states like Haryana. Besides, there also exist in districts some special organisations, viz., Small and Marginal Farmers Development Agency, Tribal Area Development agency, etc. The District Collector is ex-officio head of these organizations besides having a Chief Executive Officer in charge of development administration. In addition, several state public Sector Corporations, State financial corporation, State Agro Industries Corporation, State Diary Development Corporation, etc., have their functionaries represented in some districts. Viewed from this angle, the district organization depicts a more comprehensive as well as complex picture now, than in the past. In the capacity of the principal officer and coordinator at the district, the Collector becomes a hub of activity forging relationships with a large number of officers operating at the district headquarters.

**Nature and Duties of the Collector and District Magistrate:**

1. Head of the District Administration with control over nearly 100 Acts (for example, the National Security Act, the Crime Control Act, etc.).
2. District Magistrate and Head of Law and order.
3. Ensuring effective transparency and accountability in Administration in local self-government bodies.
4. Assisting the Government in the planning and implementation of development activities in the district.
5. Organization urgent rescue, relief and rehabilitation assistance to the various disaster affected population groups and make assessment of damages caused.
6. Heads of the Development Administration in the district, in most of the States.
7. Chairman/secretary of the following agencies
• District Rural Development Agency
• District Red Cross Society
• District Industries Centre
• District SCs/STs Development Corporations
• District Backward Castes Development corporations
• District Cooperative Central Bank
• Irrigation and Drainage Board
• District Women Development Corporation

8. Chairs the District Selection committee, which recruits personnel for various categories of posts in the district.
10. Coordinating activities regarding dispute/conflict resolution between various agencies.
11. Managing officers and staff, as the head of District Administration.

It may be added that some of the above functions are statutory, derivative as well as in inferred, which makes him a very important functionary in the scheme of governance in India. These responsibilities make his job very challenging, because he has to serve several different kinds of actors and keeping all of them in good humor at the same time.

**Development Administration**

As referred to earlier, the introduction of Panchayati Raj (PR) system in 1959 has provided a platform to launch the rural local self government system for the entire country. Panchayati Raj can be described in simple terms as the politico-administrative (bureaucratic) arrangement for rural development having a wider coverage of institutions like the Gram Sabha, Gram Panchayat at the grassroots level. Block Panchayat (Panchayati Samiti) at the intermediate level and the District Panchayat (Zilla Parishad) at the district level. The raison d’être of panchayati Raj has been economic development and social change through the system of local self governance.

It may be noted that during pre-Independence period, the village was the far flung cut off point regarding the association of people with the administration in the district. However, with the growth and development of PR, there emerged a new elite class of political leadership at the district level, having independent channel of communication with the upper rungs of administration located at the state headquarters. This has also brought in its wake a change in the profile of the District Collector since he no longer remained to be the ultimate decision maker, as in the past, in matters appertaining the distinct, rather he has become more a coordinator par excellence in the new situation.
In a way, the new relationships forged overtime pervade the whole of district administration also subsume new modes of communication and lines of control and guidance, and at the same time, involve new concepts of accountability and transparency. Due to rapid changes, these relationships and administrative linkages cannot be depicted by the organizational chart of the district administration. All the same, with the increase of activities of the government in various fields of maintenance and regulatory administration, the Collector’s responsibilities have enormously expanded in the areas of development and welfare activities, and the later require a different approach when compared with administering maintenance and regulatory administration. And these developments led to a shift in the style of his functioning. Now-a-days he has been called upon more often than not to explain, convince, cajole and persuade people that matter especially the people’s elected representative and seek their active cooperation and participation in the execution of various programmes beamed at people concerning their welfare and development.

In spite of the changes that have been taking place over time, the Collector has continued to be the principal chief executive officer and representative of the State government at the district level. It would be germane to quote B. Sivaraman in this context: “The role of the Collector and the emphasis on the type of work he has to do at a certain period of history have changed from time to time. But all along he has been the head of administration in the district and he has been the representative of government at that level”. (Sivaraman B, 1965:624) By and large this situation has not altered even during the 1980s despite the fact that a plethora of poverty alleviation measures like IRDP, NREP, RLEGP and JRY were introduced, where there was an imperative need to enlist the support of PRIs in envisaging popular involvement for the success of the rural transformation. Such development has brought in its wake the creation of various new implementing agencies, which have become part of district administration, during the last nearly three decades, i.e. the 1980s till date. Since a three tier Panchayati Raj became a reality from April 1994 onwards due to passing of 73rd Constitution Amendment (December 1992), a new type of structure and thrust to the district development administration in the near future is discernible. Consequently, the role of District Collector is expected to undergo some quick transformation to meet with the new challenges.

**The Collector vis-a-vis Panchayati Raj Bodies**

The Committee headed by Balvant Rai Mehta felt that: “At the district level the Collector/Deputy Commissioner should be the Captain of the team of officers of all development departments and should be made
fully responsible for securing the necessary coordination and cooperation in the preparation and execution of the district plan for community development. Where he is not already empowered to make the annual assessment of the work of the departmental officers in regard to their cooperation with other departments, their speed in work, their dealings with the people and their reputation for integrity, he should be invested with such powers”. (Government of India, 1957)

The above trend continued for a considerable time and found expression in several different kinds of forms in various Acts of State Government for the creation of PRIs. In Tamilnadu (then Madras) and Karnataka (then Mysore) and Himachal Pradesh, the Collector is the Chairman of the District Development Council/Zilla Parishad and in Andhra Pradesh, besides being a member of the Zilla Parishad, he is the Chairman of its Standing Committees; in Assam the Deputy Commissioner is a member of the Mahkuma Parishad, in Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan the Collector is a member of the Zilla Parishad without voting right. In Gujarat, he is an Associate Member and in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, he may attend the meetings of the Zilla Parishad, of course without the right to vote, and in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, the Collector is outside the purview of the Zilla Parishad”. (Sweta Mishra, 1996:103) Practically, in almost all the states the Collector is bestowed with certain emergency powers to suspend any resolution of the Zilla Parishad. And in some states, he will also direct the implementation of any work falling within the jurisdiction of Zilla Parishad, which, in his opinion, is necessary for the execution of development plans, for the safety of the public etc. (Dave, P K, 1965:378)

The position of the Collector in relation to PRIs varies from State to States and in this respect, the following broad picture emerged.

1. Some State feels that the Zilla Parishad needed his expertise and guidance, for providing the coordinated effort between official and non official agencies. Therefore, his primary has been well known in States like Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Haryana.

2. Taking a view that he is over burdened with multiplicity of functions, besides limitations of time to do justice to developmental work, some States like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Kerala and Karnataka have kept him out of Zilla Parishad; and

3. Taking a middle path, a number of States such as Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, West Bengal feel that he need not be made the Chairman of Zilla Parishad, it would still be useful to have him with Panchayati Raj set up as he would
be in a position to make an effective contribution to the deliberations as well as for coordinating various activities.

Again, the pattern of relationship between the Collector and the PRIs can be examined under four heads, namely:

(i) Control over the staff of PRIs;
(ii) Powered to suspend the resolutions of PRIs;
(iii) Powers to remove office bearers ; and
(iv) Powers to suspend or dissolve PRIs; (Pande, H. C, 1965:38)

In addition the Collector acts as an effective link between the PRIs and State Government. He can bring to the notice of the State Government the people’s felt needs and aspirations and be can endeavor to ensure that these are given due attention by different departments and are reflected in the action taken by the State Government. (Biju, M R, 1998:137-39). In general, the Collector is expected to see that the priorities and targets set by the State Government are met but the PRIs through people’s active participation. Thus, he needs to do much advocacy with the State Government on behalf of PRIs. At the same time, he has to play a coordinating role between the District Level Officers and their respective heads of departments. From the above, it is clear that the perceptions about the Collector’s position in the context of Panchayati Raj differ from State to State; and in some States his position has been strengthened and in other States it has declined over time.

In the wake of the Constitutionalisation of PRIs in December 1992 the relationship between PRIs and the Collector is expected to alter substantially. The 73rd Amendment gave enough scope to the State Governments to reformulate the equations between the Collector and PRIs. As a follow up, some States have created the post of Chief Executive Officer (CEO) and some others opted of for District Development Officer (DDO) or Deputy Development Commissioners (DDC). Likewise, some States have kept him out of Panchayati Raj theatre, especially the District Planning Committee (DPC), whereas, some other States have made him a functionary like the Secretary of the DPC(as in Kerala.

To conclude, as khera had rightly observed in 1979, administrative leadership is more necessary in the fields of economic and social development rather than in the more routine, traditional law and order and collection of revenues. (Khera, S S, 1979:352) In the changing scenario, Collector’s role has become more proactive due to the demands on the consolidating the gains of a welfare state which has been the main thrust of the Indian Policy.
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