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Contents

Role of Panchayati Raj Institutions in Sustainable Development and Inclusive Growth
Nupur Tiwari  

Backward Castes in Panchayati Raj Institutions: A Study of Anantpur District in Andhra Pradesh
Gooru Sreeramulu & Sunita Dattatreya Mohite  

Caste Vs Development: The Case of Gujarat
Shreya Sarawgi & Maria Ann Mathew  

Emerging Political Castes in West Bengal: Rethinking Society & Human Relations
Harasankar Adhikari  

Decentralized Governance of Common Property Resources: A Case Study of Forest Resources of Uttarakhand
Rukmani  

Empowering Women through Micro-finance: A Study of Self-Help Groups Operating in Northern Punjab
Vijayetta Sharma  

Right to Information & Citizen Empowerment: A Case Study of Odisha
Janmejay Sahu  

Cohesive Urbanization in North-East India: Issues & Concerns
Anna Nath  

Impact of Migration on Resources of Delhi
Deepshikha Sharma  

Politics of State-sponsored Development
Vijay Kumar Mishra  

‘Panchtatva’ Sustainability in Socio-Economic Development
Rajni Malhotra Dhingra & Anjna Kapoor  

Impact of Panchayati Raj Institutions on Children with Disabilities
Garvita Mehrotra & Nimisha Agarwal  

Tourism as an Antidote to Insurgency
Samyak Jain
Expanding Dimensions of Good Governance in the Global Age
Deepa Kansra 105

Global Governance: Role of Emerging Economies during Global Financial Crisis
Priya S 116

Openness, Fiscal Reforms & Indian Federalism
Midhun V P 125

Inevitability of Black Money
Subhash N Sonawane 137

Governance Reforms and the Politics of Development: A Case Analysis of Andhra Pradesh
Radhika Kumar 143

Public Administration: A Critique of Responsibility Dimensions
Umajyothi V 150

PESA and Local Self Governance in India: A Study of Odisha
Raj Kumar Khosla 156

Political Impropriety in Governance: The Underpinnings of Political Predicament in Manipur
Ngamkhohao Haokip 161

Implementation of New Public Management: A Critical Perspective from India
Gurukalyana Rout 173

Against All Odds: Success Stories of Women Panchayat Leaders
Jenniffer H Mujawar 180

Democratic Governance and Gender Issues in India
Jyoti 186

Feminist Intervention for New World Order
Angana Chatterjee 193

Panchayat Extension to Schedule Areas Act1996: Road to Self-Governance
Kapil Sikka 197

Impact of Panchayati Raj Institutions on Autonomy of Villages in India
Srividya K Kaimal & Manik Ahluwalia 203
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Panchayati Raj Institutions as a Tool of Good Governance:</td>
<td>Gargi Rajvanshi &amp; Swati Shanker</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Critical Legal Analysis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of Governance in Poverty Alleviation</td>
<td>M Kaliamoorthy &amp; R Mangayarkarasi</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whistleblowers at Risk: Need for Protection of Anti-Corruption Crusaders</td>
<td>Payal Lamba</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instilling Citizen-centric Approach in Civil Services:</td>
<td>Vijender Singh Beniwal</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospects &amp; Challenges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decentralization of Power: Issues &amp; Challenges</td>
<td>Pranati Awasthi</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Service Reforms: A Review</td>
<td>Narinder Singh</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Service Reforms: Issues &amp; Challenges</td>
<td>Anshul Vyas &amp; Gaurav Parihar</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of Political Parties in Governance in India: A Critique</td>
<td>Alpana Sharma &amp; Prachi Choudhary</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalization and Democracy: Lessons from Anna Hazare Movement</td>
<td>S L Pedgaonkar</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linking Democracy with Corporate Governance: Tracing the Root</td>
<td>Anjana Hazarika</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Deficit in the Globalized World: Issues &amp; Concerns</td>
<td>Parag Chandra</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperatives for Transition from Parliamentary Democracy to Presidential Democracy in India</td>
<td>Yogita Sharma</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinking of a Post-Democratic Governance: An Indian Perspective</td>
<td>Chandra Bhushan Prasad Srivastava</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism in a Democratic World</td>
<td>Ch. Venkata Sivasai</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral Reforms: Imperatives for Change in Democratic Structure</td>
<td>Hina Hassan Khaki</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rethinking Parliamentary Ethics: A Study of Privileges and Obligations of MPs</td>
<td>Makhan Saikia</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliamentary Democracy: How Distant is the Constitutional Dream?</td>
<td>Abhi Sharma &amp; Adhish Rajvanshi</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Voters’ Day: A New Era of Electoral Reforms in India</td>
<td>Pratip Chattopadhyay</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral Politics in Meghalaya</td>
<td>Mary Magdalyne Kurbah</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral Reforms: Issues &amp; Concerns</td>
<td>Radhika Raj</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reforming India’s Party Financing &amp; Campaign Financing Laws</td>
<td>Samya Chatterjee</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Ethics and Electoral Practices: Indian Contradictions</td>
<td>Vikas Kumar &amp; Prasun Parasar</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Funding: A Spoof on Election Process</td>
<td>Shobhit Mishra &amp; Sakshi A Goyal</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral Reforms: Imperatives for strengthening Democracy</td>
<td>Prince Prateek Rai &amp; Soumya Singh Baghel</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral Reforms: Ethical Issues in Governance</td>
<td>Sumit Lalchandani &amp; Shubham Jain</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E- Governance through Panchayati Raj Institutions in Karnataka:</td>
<td>Khushboo Chauhan</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues and Challenges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Role of Panchayati Raj Institutions in Sustainable Development and Inclusive Growth

Nupur Tiwari
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Abstract
With the GDP growth rate rising to 7-8 per cent in the last four years, rural-urban divide, regional divide and rich-poor divide became glaring, which brought ‘inclusive growth’ high on the policy agenda. Such unequal opportunity structure weakens the positive role of growth in reducing poverty and making growth inclusive. Large amounts of public funds are spent to address these issues but their implementation and the quality of services delivered leave much to be desired. The existing mechanism for the delivery of services is not effective, efficient or economical. The decentralized local government institutions are eminently suited for service delivery as they can ensure equity and/or equitability in the provision of services (in view of their nearness to the people), inclusiveness (in view of the assured representation available to all sections of the society in the Panchayati Raj Institutions), accessibility, transparency, local participation, accountability and sustainability of services. What is therefore required is that Panchayati Raj be brought centre-stage as the principal governance reform to reinforce economic reform and for delivery of essential social services at grassroots level. Improvement of service delivery by local self governments would vitally depend upon the quality of planning undertaken by these bodies. A key instrument available to Government of India is thus to provide fiscal incentives to state governments that can encourage them to strengthen local governance, in pursuance of the national strategy. Moving from a model of central provision to that of decentralization to local governments introduces a new relationship between national and local policy makers, while altering several existing relationships such as that between the citizens, elected politicians and the local bureaucracy. However, the problem of implementing decentralization is as important as the design of the system in influencing service delivery outcomes. When grass-roots planning processes strikes deep roots, economic empowerment is both strong and sustainable.

Keywords: Growth, inequality, panchayati Raj, Service delivery, grassroots planning, Inclusive Growth, Inclusive Governance

Dimensions of rapacious growth
The Indian Economy is one of the fastest growing Economies of the World and there are signs that it is emerging as the major economic power. However, India represents a paradox where, on the one hand, the GDP growth rate has been rising to 7-8 per cent in the last four years, rural-urban divide, regional divide and rich-poor divide has become glaring. While the world and its financial hubs applaud the country’s impressive annual GDP growth, other indicators such as poverty reduction, employment growth, health and education are less encouraging. The UNDP Human Development Report 2009 highlights the very large gaps in well-being and life chances that continue to divide our increasingly interconnected world and the HDI for India is 0.612, which gives the country a rank of 134th out of 182 countries. According to the Report of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized sectors, August 2007on “Conditions of work and promotion of livelihood in the unorganized sector,” the stark fact is that 836 million people in India live on less than Rs. 20 a day; yet we have the second richest billionaires in the world in dollars and we have the fourth largest
number of billionaires on the planet. The state of food insecurity in the world report of the FAO of the United Nations shows us that in less than five years leading to the turn of the century, India added more newly hungry millions than the rest of the world taken together. Hunger grew at a time when it declined in Ethiopia.

Long before planning commission endorsed the HCR approach, Amartya Sen, after examining the theoretical and practical problems of conceptualization and measuring poverty, held that the head count measure is “quite unacceptable as an indicator of poverty”. Family getting less than two meals a day is probably the most important criterion of poverty. We in India have more than 300 million people still living in deep poverty at less than a dollar a day, while another 350 million live on less than two dollars a day. Nearly two-third of the population is still dependant on agriculture activities and, about 67 percent of the total crop land is rain fed, hence subject of the vagaries of climate.

In Bihar, Orissa, M.P where poverty is acute, growth is not located neither in sectors like Agriculture, where labour is concentrated. Despite impressive advances in human and economic development, regional and inter-state disparities are increasing and natural calamities such as floods, earthquakes, and droughts reverse the development process to a great extent and worsen the situation of the disadvantaged and vulnerable groups.

Among the states, the North-Eastern and the Central regions, which have large tribal populations, are lagging behind. Among sectors, agriculture has fallen behind industry and the service sector. Although some of the poorest states are rich in natural and forest resources, the predominantly tribal population is unable to take advantage of this. Religious minorities, large sections of Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribal (ST) groups, and women still do not have access to many job opportunities and human development. The informal sector has emerged as the largest job creator, characterized by low wages and income insecurity while wage growth is concentrated only at the top end. India’s educational inequality is one of the worst in the world.

India stands at a crucial juncture in its quest for inclusive growth that will bring prosperity across the spectrum. Large amounts of public funds are spent to address these issues but their implementation and the quality of services delivered leave much to be desired. It is well recognized that the programmes to solve these problems are not performing well. They are too centralized, fragmented in concept as in implementation, insufficiently responsive to varying local needs or accountable to ensure efficient service delivery. The existing mechanism for the delivery of services is not effective, efficient or economical.

Over the past four years, there has been an upsurge in central government expenditure on rural and urban development. Yet, these initiatives have suffered from teething troubles, because inadequate attention is given to equip Local self Governments with the authority and capacities to perform effectively. Too small a proportion of these investments are actually planned and implemented by Local self-governments. The existing delivery system for government promoted growth consists of the ‘district administration’, a small group of official and political personalities to whom the State turns to for information, advice and action. Hybridizing the official system with Local government administration only provides scope for patronage and non accountable behaviour. In the absence of proper recording of works undertaken under different programmes, and independent audit of their real content and performance, achievements claimed by official reports are hardly credible. Local self-government provides the essential means of reconciling accelerated growth with inclusive growth, through inclusive governance as the means of empowering the disadvantaged and
enabling them to overcome their poverty. These institutions are the Panchayats, Municipalities, Autonomous District and Regional Councils and other similar arrangements.

The decentralized local government institutions are eminently suited for service delivery as they can ensure equity and / or equitability in the provision of services (in view of their nearness to the people), inclusiveness (in view of the assured representation available to all sections of the society in the Panchayati Raj Institutions), accessibility, transparency, local participation, accountability and sustainability of services. The Eleventh Five year Plan asserts that ‘it is absolutely critical for the inclusiveness of our growth process that these large numbers of elected representatives in our Panchayati Raj Institutions are fully involved in planning, implementing and supervising the delivery of essential public services.’ (para 1.147).The Eleventh Plan also notes “The delivery of essential social services at the grassroots level is also poor and this is a major causative factor in unequal development. Much higher levels of human development can be achieved within the given structure of the economy, if only service delivery is improved.” (para 1.6)

**Governance Reform: Inclusive Governance**

What is therefore required is that Panchayati Raj be brought centre-stage as the principal governance reform to reinforce economic reform and for delivery of essential social services at grassroots level. Panchayats appear to be accepted in the implementation of schemes of line ministries. The most important of these is of course, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme, where the Panchayats at the district, intermediate and village levels have been given major implementation and planning responsibilities. These have been designated as principal authorities for planning and implementation. Under the NREGA, at least 50 percent in terms of value of the works taken up shall be by the Village Panchayats Progress reports from States reveal that 72 percent of NREGA works are being taken up at the Village Panchayat level. In addition, there are several important flagship programmes of the Centre, which are aimed at provisional essential services through the Panchayat level. These are the National Rural Health Mission, the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan for primary education, the Midday Meals Programme, and the Integrated Child Development Scheme. New programmes that are likely to turn round, such as the Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan, the National Food Security Mission, the Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana and the Agricultural Development Programme are all based on the concept of grassroots level planning through Panchayats, culminating in the coming together of the agricultural plan into the district plan developed by the District Planning Committee.

**Initiatives for effective Service delivery**

However, several initiatives are required to be taken to make the local governments really effective in service delivery. These include:

- ensuring participatory local level planning by the Panchayati Raj Institutions to identify needs, levels of delivery and the enhancements desired by the people in each sector;
- assigning clearly demarcated roles to the PRIs through activity mapping;
- confining centrally sponsored and State schemes to a small number of important programmes to achieve declared national and State goals and also providing adequate space for the PRIs to participate in these schemes;
- undertaking a well structured process of administrative and fiscal devolution that matches the resource availability at each level of the Panchayats with functions assigned to it;
- providing capacity to the Panchayati Raj Institutions in the widest sense of the term to perform their responsibilities efficiently; and
• putting in place systems of accountability by duly empowering the Gramsabha, so that citizens, the ultimate recipients of services, are enabled to hold the PRIs accountable for any inadequacies in service delivery.

Moving forward with a well-designed inclusive governance would require aligning the “three Fs”: funds, functions, and functionaries in ways that make it possible to have technically effective services with both “accounting” (the capability to provide reliable budget control and reporting) and “accountability” (the ability of citizens and communities from the bottom up to hold elected officials and providers responsible for outputs and outcomes). This “activity mapping” of the three Fs cannot be done by slogans or ideology, as a functional activity mapping will vary from sector to sector, vary within sectors (e.g. hospitals versus aanganwadi), and even vary by function (e.g. asset creation versus operation), but can be informed by general principles.

However, the inclusive governance will create an opportunity to unbundle responsibilities across tiers of government in order to create checks and balances in the interests of the tiers of government—so that one tier reports on the performance of another—in order to assist citizens in getting the information they need to create accountability for performance. Second, this, in creating new lines of responsibility will also create opportunities to strengthen the “demand side”—the mobilization of communities from the bottom up to demand better performance with better information and greater scope for voice and choice.

V. Ramachandran Expert Groups on Grassroots level planning (March 2006) has suggested a series of sequential steps for building the district plan from the village level upwards. In order to ensure that the benefits of participatory planning accrue to all through an inclusive growth strategy, the Expert Group outlined the following six preconditions that ought to inform the design of decentralization and the grassroots the planning process. These are produced below:

• A clear and unambiguous activity mapping for different levels of Panchayats based on the principle of subsidiarity;
• Engagement of all stakeholders in participatory planning as well as in implementation, particularly of historically discriminated and marginalized segments of the population, including women;
• Devolution of adequate funds, untied to this or that activity;
• Streamlining and consolidation of plans to ensure flexibility and a measure of autonomy;
• Augmenting the existing revenue raising powers, and building capacity of local governments to raise revenues from the sources assigned to them; and
• Maintenance of MIS and a statistical base, to assist local governments to efficiently design and implement plans, raise resources and evaluate programmes.

Since implementation of Panchayati Raj is dependent on policies that cut across several sectors of economic development and social justice, the Government of India will now need to look at how its fiscal relationships with States through Centrally Sponsored Schemes and regulatory interventions pertaining to these sectors can be used to encourage a progress on strengthening Panchayats, across the range of differing state contexts.

A key instrument available to Government of India is thus to provide fiscal incentives to state governments that can encourage them to strengthen local governance, in pursuance of the national strategy. The Panchayat Empowerment and Accountability Incentive Scheme has
been proposed as such an instrument. The outputs of the proposed Panchayat Empowerment and Accountability Incentive Scheme are to provide a well-designed system of incentives, which would provide an effective mechanism for the Government of India to undertake the following measures:

Make a signal and fundamental systemic contribution to the overarching Plan objective of ‘Inclusive Growth’.

- Incentivise and support States to effectively devolve more functions, functionaries and finances to the Panchayats, apart from constituting effectively empowered District Planning Committees to fulfill their Constitutional functions.
- Encourage and facilitate States to restructure the system of self-government at the Panchayat level to achieve the Constitutional objective of making them ‘institutions of self-government’.
- Incentivise Panchayats to be transparent in their transactions and accountable to their respective Gram Sabhas and then to motivate and assist Panchayats to use their newly enlarged responsibilities in an efficient, honest, focused and productive manner so that a much larger share than at present of the vast resources being made available for rural development and welfare reaches the targeted beneficiaries and attains the targeted objectives, including, particularly the Bharat Nirman targets and the National Millennium Development Goals.
- Ensure that Panchayats achieve standards that meet norms set out for public accountability including public financial accountability, both upward as well as downward to the people. This would particularly cover responsibilities and obligations under various legislations such as those relating to Right to Information, Social Audit, and Fiscal Responsibility.
- The Outcomes of the Scheme would be the greater effective devolution of, functionaries and finances by the States to the Panchayati Raj Institutions and making the DPCs and PRIs the fulcrum for the planning and implementation of economic development and social justice. Moreover, the Scheme aims at empowering Gram Sabhas to effectively monitor and exercise vigilance over the work of their elected representatives to secure both effectively gains in service delivery by the Panchayats and promote transparent, responsive and accountable grassroots development through grassroots democracy.

The present pattern of growth has the potential of widening the inequality. Such unequal opportunity structure weakens the positive role of growth in reducing poverty and making growth inclusive. If this inequality increases further, social displacement will result and it will be a major obstruction to higher growth. Active participation of people in grassroots planning and implementation is bringing about the desired transformation of the region by establishing peace and setting in motion the wheels of progress towards prosperity. So to achieve inclusive growth, it is crucial that the poor are integrated with the dynamic sectors of growth. These are not easy tasks but by no means impossible. The solutions are also well-known, however, problems lie in their implementation. So, moving from a model of central provision to that of decentralization to local governments will introduce a new relationship between national and local policy makers, while altering several existing relationships such as that between the citizens, elected politicians and the local bureaucracy. The grass-roots planning processes will then strike deep roots, and economic empowerment will be both strong and sustainable which will then lead to inclusive growth. As a World Bank study rightly concludes the problem of implementing decentralization is as important as the design of the system in influencing service delivery outcomes. When grass-roots planning processes strikes deep roots, economic empowerment is both strong and sustainable.
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Backward Castes in Panchayati Raj Institutions:
A Study of Anantpur District in Andhra Pradesh

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Abstract
Andhra Pradesh Mandal Praja Parishads, Zilla Praja Parishad and Zilla Abhirudhi Sameaksha Mandals Act of 1986 attempted for providing reservations to backward castes in PRIs. The political participation of social categories began after the 73rd amendment Act, and its obligation on the state of Andhra Pradesh passed a subsequent act known as Andhra Pradesh Panchayat raj Amendment Act of 1994. As per the act, 33% of seats are to be reserved to OBCs in all the institutions of PRIs with a definite vision of development of these sections. Inspite of the provisions of the State Legislature, the people belonging to weaker sections are unable to work in the institutions of panchayatraj independently. Among the several factors the social system and the structure of caste in Andhra Pradesh have predominant over the activities of Backward Categories and control over PRIs. The reservation provisions in PRIs have adverse effect on some castes of Backwards. In faction prone district like Anantapur, the people belonging to lower castes within BCs have suffered economically, last their lives, belongings, rivalries within blood relations and facing criminal cases. Thus, the present study intends to analyse the impact of 73rd constitutional amendment act on the participation of backward castes. It also examines role of social status, economic conditions within BCs to capture positions in PRIs.

Keywords: Backward Castes, Political Participation, Agricultural Resources, Reservations

Introduction
OBCs are defined as the producing classes in India either in agriculture or in secondary manufacture through household hand craft production or in guilds of the goods that were of common use for society or specifically for the ruling classes. All these sections of society were made up of dependent 'jatis' whether as peasants or agricultural labour or as artisans upon superior castes: dependence, in other words, were of the collectivities and not merely of the individuals. In other words the direct producers in India were of a 'collective' kind unlike the 'individual unfreedoms of the European serf or earlier of the slaves.

Socially deprived backward castes lived in a social limbo somewhere between the upper caste Shudras and the untouchables. The Other Backward Castes existed all over the country in general and in every village in the State in particular. According to Nomita Yadav "the core of the other backward classes consists of peasant castes of various descriptions. Frequently they occupy a low position in the Varna hierarchy and they have in general been devoid of traditions of literacy. Further, since they have also lagged behind in the pursuit of western education, they are often poorly represented in Government jobs and white-collar occupations in general.

The caste stratification, the occupation division and its hierarchical nature always posed problems in backward castes social mobilization. It is a vicious circle in the sense that stratification cannot be altered without social mobilization and mobilization is a problem due to stratification. It is this enigma that needs to be probed into get at the law of change of these
communities. Thus, it would be appropriate here to discuss the political participation of backward castes in Panchayat raj institutions.

Before the amendment of 73rd act, in Andhra Pradesh the panchayat system was working. The earth while Andhra Pradesh Gram Panchayat Act, 1964 and Andhra Pradesh Mandal Praja Parishads, Zilla Praja Parishad and Zilla Abhivrudhi Sameaksha Mandal Mandals Act, 1986 was in force. Particularly, the attempt made by the act of 1986 for providing reservations to Backward castes in PRIs is the significant in the history of AP. This act is considered as the most significant in the process of political participation of low social categories. The political participation of social categories began after the 73rd amendment Act, and its obligation on the states that the state of Andhra Pradesh passed a subsequent act known as Andhra Pradesh Panchayat raj Amendment Act of 1994.

The state of Andhra Pradesh adopted a uniform pattern of panchayatraj system viz. a three tier system of panchayati raj. 1. Gram Panchatat at Village level 2. Mandal Parishad at Mandal level and 3, Zilla Panchayat at the district level. Further, the act also provided for the constitution of Gram Sabha for every village. Besides, the structure of panchayatraj system, the act also facilitated provision for reservation of people belonging to certain depressed classes. i.e. SCs, STs, OBCs and Women in all the three tiers of panchayat raj institution. As per the act, 33 % of seats are to be reserved to OBcs in all the institutions of PRIs with a definite vision of development of some these sections of the society.

Inspite of the constitutional provisions, the people belonging to weaker sections are unable to work in the institutions of panchayatraj independently. Among the several factors the social system and the structure of caste in Andhra Pradesh in general and Anantapur district particularly has predominant over the activities of Backward Categories. And has control over the political participation of backward castes.

Thus, caste has long been an important dimension of social articulation and political mobilisation in Anantapur district. In the domain of electoral politics, caste assumed an active role as the basis of political grouping and the mobilisation of electoral support in Anantapur district. In terms of caste structure and articulation, Anantapur district display significant variations. The Brahmins, comprising a megar percentage of the population and ritually placed at the top of the caste pyramid, have historically dominated social, cultural and economic life. It is only in the early decades of the 20th Century that we find a serious challenge to their supremacy, manifested in the form of specific caste articulations.

Reddyies and Kammas as the major land-owning communities and occupants of important positions of a village, they have traditionally controlled village political life. Among the other peasant castes, the Baliyas, Yadavs, Kurubas and Valmikis are important communities with considerable political significance only in PRIs in Anantapur district. Although in numerical terms they constitute higher percentage of the population and spatially are confined only to small pockets and subject to the support of dominant castes (Sambaiah, 2009)

Thus, in Anantapur district there are two types of representation of OBCs in PRIs. Firstly, majority of seats in PRIs are captured by higher social categories with in BCs. Though, they are less in number but with better agrarian and economic resources along with the support of Dominant castes. Secondly, rest of representatives is controlled by Reddy, Kamma and Baliya castes. The study has vast significant interims of understanding the political process of Backward Castes (BCs) in Panchayatraj Institutions and the impact of 73rd amendment Act
Anantapur district. The purpose of the study is to understand the impact of reservation provisions for BCs in PRIs and the role of BCs in achieving the welfare of BCs in a caste dominated society.

The review of some of such literature related to the topic are G. Palanithurai’s (Ed.) ‘Empowering People’ throws light on Panchayat Raj system, Panchayat Raj Movement and the status of Panchayat Raj system in India under various stages of innovations. ‘Decentralization and Local Politics’ edited by S.N. Jha and P.C. Mathur, deals Panchayat Raj System in India in general and gives us a knowledge about reforms, development of Panchayat Raj and its governance and the implications in scheduled areas P.C. Mathur in his book, ‘Political Dynamics of Panchayat Raj’, deals in length about Panchayat Raj system in India from 1959-90.

Shymala (2001) conducted study on 594 Zilla Panchayat Members in Karnataka, of which 232 were females and 362 Males. Specific purpose of the study was to know (a) socio-economic, political and cultural background of the members, and (b) their perceptions and aspirations about the working of Panchayats in relation to the expectations of the people and the villagers in general. These are the specific findings. Sharma (1979) hints at the links between the Rural Leadership and the needs of Villagers in Negotiations with the Urban Administrative Centers and Political Powers at Higher level in the Western part of Uttar Parades. When leadership is viewed over a number of panchayat elections, continuity, discontinuity, re-emergence of leaders appear, caste remains the same, only individuals change.

Darshankar (1979) discusses the interaction between Caste and Politics Role of money, Education and Social Rank in the Working of Panchayati Raj Institutions in Marthwada region of Maharashtra State. He suggested that success of Panchayati Raj largely depends on the leaders and they have to be deeply committed to the ideals of Panchayati Raj. The above mentioned studies have their relevance as well as importance, based on the objectives and type of research work they carried out. Besides all these studies, the present study is entirely different from the other studies as it is taken up in order to examine the nature of representatives among BCs are capturing positions in PRIs, in respect objectives, scope and methodology employed in the present study. Hence, the present study is one of the interdisciplinary one and has national and international status.

Objectives of the Study

- To examine the welfare of backward categories through political participation of representatives belonging to backward categories in Anantapur district.
- To examine the pros and cons of reservation provisions to backward categories after 73rd/74th amendment act in the three regions of Andhra Pradesh.
- To examine the factors determines for the involvement of BCS in PRIs in Anantapur District.
- To assess the role of caste, social status and agrarian resources to capture positions in the institutions of Panchayatraj in Anantapur District.

Methodology

The aim of the study is to assess the status of backward castes with reference to the nature of social categories among the BCs. The important focus of the study is to identify the factors affecting the really backward categories in political process in the institutions of panchayatraj. The aim of the study is also to assess the impact of social status (caste) in the
political process of BCs in particular and in the working of PRIs in general. The study is to examine the social, economic and crime status of families of representatives in PRIs in Anantapur district. As the study intends to examine which categories from BCs are capturing the positions in PRIs by the reservation provisions and finally to evaluate the over all benefits of welfare policies whether reached to the needy people from BCs or not. For this purpose an Analytical, Descriptive and Normative methods have been employed in the study.

Data Analysis
It is widely believed that the analysis of age, education, Caste, family structure, occupation, income, land holding, party affiliation, etc., are important in determining the nature of leadership. The data relating to socioeconomic background of elected respondents of Panchayati Raj institutions were collected in the study to get an insight into the emerging pattern of rural leadership in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh.

The socio-economic conditions play an important role in characterizing the social life and behaviour of an individual. In a developing society like ours where forces of caste and kinship influence the social life and acute disparity in the standard of living and sub culture among various groups and regions are existing, a study of the socio-economic conditions of OBC respondents would help reveal sociologically significant dimensions. The socio-economic, educational and political background of the leaders would also enable us to anticipate as to what they are capable of doing, what we should expect from them and how well they are equipped to discharge the responsibilities developed upon them by the electorate (Sashilata, 1978). As Geraint Parry observes, ‘It is a wide spread assumption of political sociology that social background and upbringing of a decision maker will influence his attitudes and policies.

Table No. 1 discusses the opinion wise distribution of respondents regarding reasons for not attending meetings of grama sabhas. Reasons for not attending grama sabha are faction, ignorance, caste system, ignorance and politics. In Anantapur District, from category ‘A’, 37.10% of respondents are not attending the meetings of grama sabhas due to caste system. Followed by 33.87% is due to faction, 19.35% is due to ignorance and only 9.68% is due to politics. It is identified from the table that 33.33% of respondents belonging to category ‘B’ are not attending grama Sabhas due to ignorance. Nearly 38.78% respondents belonging to category ‘C’ are of the opinion that they are not attending due to caste system. Respondents belonging to category ‘D’ are not attending due to caste system and politics.

Table No. 2 discusses the opinion towards exercising franchise. The table reveals that in Anantapur District, the majority of respondents from all categories are exercising franchise in different type of elections i.e., 77.42% belonging to the category ‘A’, 51.85% belonging to category ‘B’, 65.31% belonging to category ‘C’ and 81.08% belonging to category ‘A’.

Table No. 3 discusses the contest of election wise distribution of opinion. It is identified from the table that in Anantapur District, the majority of respondents in highest number are not sting the elections in the institutions of panchayat raj.

Table No. 4 discusses the opinion towards political affiliation wise distribution of respondents. It is observed from the table that in Anantapur District, the highest number of respondents 58.06% belonging to category ‘A’ do not have political affiliation to any political party. On the other hand the majority of respondents from other backward castes have political affiliation to different political parties.
Table No. 5 discusses the opinion towards why dominant among BCs elected wise distribute of respondents in the study area. It is observed from the table that in Anantapur District, the category ‘A’ respondents in majority are of the opinion that due to mobilisation and agricultural resources the dominant castes are being elected and other castes within BCs are neglected. The respondents belonging to category ‘B’ are of the opinion that due to agricultural resources and higher social status the dominant castes are being elected. The respondents belonging to category ‘C’ and ‘D’ are of the opinion that due to agricultural resources and higher social status the dominant caste people are being elected.

Table No. 6 discusses the opinion towards reasons for the non involvement of weaker sections in PRI’s wise distribution of respondents. In Anantapur District majority of respondents from all the categories are not able to involve in the institutions.

Table No. 7 discusses the opinion towards reservation to OBCs is helped for the welfare of BCC’s wise distributions of respondents. In Anantapur District, the category ‘A’ respondents expressed that the reservation provisions in PRIs have not achieved its goals. On the other hand the upper castes within BC’s such as category ‘B’, ‘C’ and ‘D’ are of the opinion that the reservation provision are caused in achieving the welfare of their categories.

Table No. 8 discusses the opinion towards involvement in PRIS led for crime wise distribution of respondents. Majority of the respondents from all the categories are of the opinion that the involvement in the working of PRIs led for criminal charges i.e., respondents belonging to category ‘A’ is 61.29%, 55.50% belonging to category ‘B’, 69.39% belonging to category ‘C’ and 83.78% belonging to category ‘D’.

Table No. 9 discusses the opinion towards whether PRIs caused for the domination of upper castes. In Anantapur District. The highest number of respondents from all the categories expressed that the present system of panchayat raj institutions caused for the domination of upper castes i.e., 66.13% of respondents belonging to category ‘A’, 62.96% belonging to category ‘B’, 71.43% belonging to category ‘C’ and 54.05% belonging to category ‘D’.

Table No. 10 discusses the opinion towards to which caste the forward castes support wise distribution of respondents. It is observed from the table that in Anantapur District, the majority of respondents expressed that the forward castes are supporting the category ‘C’ and category ‘D’ people, who happens to be the upper castes with in backwards.

Table No. 11 discusses the opinion towards whether rich in BC’s capture the PRIs wise distribution of respondents. Majority of respondents from all the categories are of the opinion that the castes with in backwards with high economic resources are capturing the positions in the institutions of panchayat raj institutions.

Table No. 12 discusses the opinion towards as your caste do not represent you are not benefited wise distribution of respondents. The table reveals that except respondents belonging to category ‘C’ and the other categories in the study area are of the opinion that they are not getting benefits of panchayat raj institutions as their caste do not represent.

Table No. 13 discusses the opinion towards who are the most affected castes in your village wise distribution of respondents. Most of the respondents are of the opinion that the castes such as category ‘A’ and category ‘B’ are the most disadvantaged people. On the other hand
the people belonging to category ‘C’ and ‘D’ are the most benefited castes under the reservation provisions in the institutions of panchayat raj.

Findings of the Study

- The most backward castes are affected by caste system and faction and whereas the higher castes within BCs are not participating due to politics and particularly by the involvement of lower castes. The lower castes are able to participate in PRIs only by the provisions of reservation to
- Backward categories in majority are exercising their franchise and there exists the political participation and process of backward castes.
- The majority of the respondents belonging to category ‘A’ are not contesting the election in the institutions of panchayat raj. They don’t have political affiliation.
- Aagricultural resources and numerical strength of the castes and also the social status of the caste within BCs are the important factors to occupy the position in the institutions of panchayat raj.
- The weaker sections are not able to capture the political power due to illiteracy, low income and the dominance of upper castes.
- Reservation provision are not able to achieve the welfare of category ‘A’ and on the other hand able to achieve the welfare of category ‘B’, ‘C’ and ‘D’ people.
- Majority of respondents belonging to most backward categories are facing the criminal charges. The policy makers have to think this aspect very seriously.
- Present system of panchayat raj system has caused for the dominance of upper castes over the lower backward castes.
- The upper caste people are supporting the people with higher social status within backward castes. The lower castes are not getting support from the forward castes and as a result the upper castes within backwards are getting political positions.
- Positions such as, ward member, presidents, MPTC, ZPTC and chairpersons under reserved categories for backward castes are captured and controlled by the rich people within BCs. Though there is a reservation provisions for backward castes, economically poor people with in backwards are not able to enter in the institutions of Panchayat raj institutions.
- Representatives are being elected with the caste composition and as a result they are extending their support to their caste people while implementing various developmental programmes.
- People belonging to category ‘A’ and ‘B’ are the most affected people and from the category ‘C’ and ‘D’.

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Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh, India: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories, Overseas Development Institute, 01-Nov-2002. P. 27


Darshankar, Arjun, Y.,(1979), Leadership in Panchayati Raj: A Study of Beed District of Maharashtra, Panchsheel Prakashan, Jaipur


Kiran Saxena (200), Women and Politics, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, P,87.

**Table No. 1: Opinion wise Distribution of Respondents Regarding Reasons for not Attending Meetings of Grama Sabhas.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>A Frequency</th>
<th>B Frequency</th>
<th>C Frequency</th>
<th>D Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Faction</td>
<td>21 (33.87)</td>
<td>13 (24.07)</td>
<td>12 (24.49)</td>
<td>9 (24.32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Caste system</td>
<td>23 (37.10)</td>
<td>16 (29.63)</td>
<td>19 (38.78)</td>
<td>12 (32.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ignorance</td>
<td>12 (19.35)</td>
<td>18 (33.33)</td>
<td>15 (30.61)</td>
<td>4 (10.81)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>6 (9.68)</td>
<td>7 (12.96)</td>
<td>3 (6.12)</td>
<td>12 (32.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62 (100.00)</td>
<td>54 (100.00)</td>
<td>49 (100.00)</td>
<td>37 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from the data collected from field work.

**Table No. 2: Opinion towards Exercising Franchise.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>A Frequency</th>
<th>B Frequency</th>
<th>C Frequency</th>
<th>D Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>48 (77.42)</td>
<td>28 (51.85)</td>
<td>32 (65.31)</td>
<td>30 (81.08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>14 (22.58)</td>
<td>26 (48.15)</td>
<td>17 (34.69)</td>
<td>7 (18.92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62 (100.00)</td>
<td>54 (100.00)</td>
<td>49 (100.00)</td>
<td>37 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table No. 3: Contest of Election wise Distribution of Opinion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Backward Caste</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>20 (32.26)</td>
<td>20 (37.04)</td>
<td>19 (38.78)</td>
<td>15 (40.54)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>42 (67.74)</td>
<td>34 (62.96)</td>
<td>30 (61.22)</td>
<td>22 (59.46)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62 (100.00)</td>
<td>54 (100.00)</td>
<td>49 (100.00)</td>
<td>37 (100.00)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 4: Opinion towards Political Affiliation wise Distribution of Respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Backward Caste</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>26 (41.94)</td>
<td>29 (53.70)</td>
<td>30 (61.22)</td>
<td>25 (67.57)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>36 (58.06)</td>
<td>25 (46.30)</td>
<td>19 (38.78)</td>
<td>12 (32.43)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>54 (100.00)</td>
<td>49 (100.00)</td>
<td>37 (100.00)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 5: Opinion towards why Dominant among BCs Elected wise Distribute of Respondents in the Study Area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Backward Caste</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Agricultural Resources</td>
<td>20 (32.26)</td>
<td>15 (27.78)</td>
<td>11 (22.45)</td>
<td>10 (27.03)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>More Number of Caste</td>
<td>21 (33.87)</td>
<td>14 (25.93)</td>
<td>20 (40.82)</td>
<td>11 (29.73)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Higher Social Status</td>
<td>11 (17.74)</td>
<td>15 (27.78)</td>
<td>15 (30.61)</td>
<td>5 (13.51)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Part Support</td>
<td>10 (16.13)</td>
<td>10 (18.52)</td>
<td>3 (6.12)</td>
<td>11 (29.73)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62 (100.00)</td>
<td>54 (100.00)</td>
<td>49 (100.00)</td>
<td>37 (100.00)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>
Table No. 6: Opinion towards Reasons for the Non Involvement of Weaker Sections in PRI’s wise Distribution of Respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Backward Caste</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opinion</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Illiteracy</td>
<td>20 (32.26)</td>
<td>10 (18.52)</td>
<td>10 (20.41)</td>
<td>9 (24.32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>20 (32.26)</td>
<td>19 (35.19)</td>
<td>19 (38.78)</td>
<td>12 (32.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dominance of Upper Castes</td>
<td>11 (17.74)</td>
<td>13 (24.07)</td>
<td>17 (34.69)</td>
<td>6 (16.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Conspiracy of Upper Castes</td>
<td>10 (16.13)</td>
<td>12 (22.22)</td>
<td>3 (6.12)</td>
<td>10 (27.12)</td>
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<td>49 (100.00)</td>
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Table No. 7: Opinion towards reservation to OBCs is Helped for the Welfare of BCC’s wise Distributions of Respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Backward Caste</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opinion</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>24 (38.71)</td>
<td>31 (57.41)</td>
<td>35 (71.43)</td>
<td>33 (89.19)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>38 (61.29)</td>
<td>23 (42.59)</td>
<td>14 (28.57)</td>
<td>4 (10.81)</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>54 (100.00)</td>
<td>49 (100.00)</td>
<td>37 (100.00)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 8: Opinion towards Involvement in PRIS led for Crime wise Distribution of Respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Backward Caste</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opinion</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>24 (38.71)</td>
<td>31 (57.41)</td>
<td>35 (71.43)</td>
<td>33 (89.19)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>38 (61.29)</td>
<td>23 (42.59)</td>
<td>14 (28.57)</td>
<td>4 (10.81)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>54 (100.00)</td>
<td>49 (100.00)</td>
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</table>
Table No. 9: Opinion towards whether PRIs Caused for the Domination of Upper Castes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Backward Caste</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>41 (66.13)</td>
<td>34 (62.96)</td>
<td>35 (71.43)</td>
<td>20 (54.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>21 (33.87)</td>
<td>20 (37.04)</td>
<td>14 (28.57)</td>
<td>17 (45.95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>62 (100.00)</td>
<td>54 (100.00)</td>
<td>49 (100.00)</td>
<td>37 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 10: Opinion towards to whom the Forward Castes Support wise Distribution of Respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Backward Caste</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cat-A</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 (16.13)</td>
<td>10 (18.52)</td>
<td>3 (6.12)</td>
<td>10 (27.03)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cat-B</td>
<td></td>
<td>11 (17.74)</td>
<td>13 (24.07)</td>
<td>17 (34.69)</td>
<td>6 (16.22)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cat-C</td>
<td></td>
<td>20 (32.26)</td>
<td>12 (22.22)</td>
<td>10 (20.41)</td>
<td>9 (24.32)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cat-D</td>
<td></td>
<td>20 (32.26)</td>
<td>19 (35.19)</td>
<td>19 (38.78)</td>
<td>12 (32.43)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>62 (100.00)</td>
<td>54 (100.00)</td>
<td>49 (100.00)</td>
<td>37 (100.00)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 11: Opinion towards whether Rich in BC’s Capture the PRIs –wise Distribution of Respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Backward Caste</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>40 (64.52)</td>
<td>31 (57.41)</td>
<td>35 (71.43)</td>
<td>17 (45.95)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>22 (35.48)</td>
<td>23 (42.59)</td>
<td>14 (28.57)</td>
<td>20 (54.05)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>62 (100.00)</td>
<td>54 (100.00)</td>
<td>49 (100.00)</td>
<td>37 (100.00)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table No. 12: Opinion towards as your Caste do not Represent you are not Benefited wise Distribution of Respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Backward Caste</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>48 (77.42)</td>
<td>27 (50.00)</td>
<td>24 (48.98)</td>
<td>15 (40.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>14 (22.58)</td>
<td>24 (50.00)</td>
<td>25 (51.02)</td>
<td>22 (59.46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>62 (100.00)</td>
<td>54 (100.00)</td>
<td>49 (100.00)</td>
<td>37 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 13: Opinion towards who are the most Affected Castes in your Village wise Distribution of Respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Backward Caste</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cat-B</td>
<td>11 (17.74)</td>
<td>13 (24.07)</td>
<td>15 (27.78)</td>
<td>5 (13.51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cat-C</td>
<td>9 (14.52)</td>
<td>12 (22.22)</td>
<td>19 (35.19)</td>
<td>7 (18.92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cat-D</td>
<td>4 (6.45)</td>
<td>21 (38.89)</td>
<td>10 (18.52)</td>
<td>11 (29.73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62 (100.00)</td>
<td>54 (100.00)</td>
<td>49 (90.74)</td>
<td>37 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[All tables based on data compiled from field work.]
Caste Vs Development: The Case of Gujarat

Shreya Sarawgi & Maria Ann Mathew
Lokniti, CSDS, Delhi

Abstract
It is well known that as a country develops, identity politics decreases in salience and short-term factors such as governance, issue politics and economic voting, become more significant for explaining voting behaviour. Out of these, issues related to governance have been increasingly seen to effect election outcomes. Some academics studying elections in Indian states have gone to the extent of suggesting that governance and government evaluation do matter and that caste is no longer relevant for voting (Shah 2010). Other researchers, however, argue that caste continues to be the most dominant force shaping Indian politics (Jodhka 2010; Ranjan and Kumar 2009). In this paper, we examine the case of Gujarat, an Indian state whose chief minister allegedly won high marks in a report by a US think tank for his governance (NDTV story, September 14, 2011). The main focus of the paper is to analyse the relative contribution of caste vis-a-vis governance evaluation by a voter and its effect on his vote choice. To do so, we use data from the 2012 Gujarat elections and use logistic regression technique to determine the role of governance in politics in Gujarat. The results show that although good governance is an important and significant predictor of vote choice in Gujarat, caste-community still holds sway in determining electoral outcomes.

Keywords: Caste, Good Governance, Gujarat Politics

Introduction
Evidence from western countries suggest that as a country develops, identity politics decreases in salience and factors such as evaluation of government performance (good governance), issue politics, economic voting, and leadership effects, become more significant for explaining voting behaviour (Curtice and Holmberg 2005). Out of these, the ability of citizens to hold governments to account for their performance is considered to be one of the most pivotal functions of elections (Fisher and Hobolt 2010, pg. 358). But to what extent does electoral accountability - operationalized as voters’ evaluation of the work done by the government- is relevant in non-western democracies such as India where caste is traditionally considered to be the most relevant factor that explains vote choice. The two key questions that emerge are: Are Indian voters really concerned with the performance of governments? How much influence is exerted by caste identities on an elector’s vote choice? State specific research on India seems to suggest that governance and government evaluation do matter and that caste is no longer relevant for voting (Shah 2010; Sirmate and Chhibber 2012). Other researchers, however, argue that caste continues to be the most dominant force shaping Indian politics (Jodhka 2010; Ranjan and Kumar 2009).

In this paper, we examine the case of Gujarat, an Indian state whose chief minister allegedly won high marks in a report by a US think tank for his governance (NDTV story, September 14, 2011). Gujarat has also reported some of the highest levels of per capita growth in its GDP. Following the framework outlined above, this paper seeks to identify the salience of caste identity vis-a-vis government evaluation in determining the vote choice of people. We look at Gujarat because it is a state in the centre of an on-going debate with respect to caste versus development politics, between academics and media people alike. Past research has shown that caste was an important factor in Gujarat’s electoral politics as reflected in the
Swatantra Party’s PAKSH (an acronym for Patidar and Kshatriya) mobilisation strategy in the 1960s and Congress’ KHAM (an acronym for Kshatriya, Harijan, Adivasi, and Muslim) bloc of the 1980s. However, more recently, researchers have argued that with the onset of Hindutva politics in the 1990s, there has been a seeming change in the relationship between caste and electoral politics in Gujarat. They argue that whilst BJP had used Hindutva to gain initial electoral victory in the State, they have now moved onto focussing on issues of development and governance, which suggests that perhaps caste, and identity politics in general, has become less salient in Gujarat (Jaffrelot 2013, 2008). Most recently, in the run-up to the 2012 Assembly elections in Gujarat, ‘Vikas’ was touted as one of the main planks through which the incumbent government tried to win back its mandate from the masses. The rhetoric of governance and development has become so pertinent that even the challenging party- Congress, took recourse to it by christening its first pre-election document ‘Gujarat PrajaVikasDarshan 2012’ and when the BJP won 115 seats as compared to Congress’ 61, it was hailed as a victory of performance and governance of the BJP over everything else.4

Based on the above account, the general expectation would be that ‘voters in Gujarat are more likely to vote on the basis of government evaluation than caste’. Despite the interest and attention given to this topic, there is very little empirical evidence to support this hypothesis, and the primary aim of the paper is to bridge this gap in the literature. Without a multivariate analysis, which models the effect of both caste and development on vote choice, it cannot be concluded that it was the magic wand of development ‘alone’ that delivered victory for the Narendra Modi led government.

This paper proceeds as follows. First, we discuss the existing literature on the effect of caste and effect of development on voting and we present a set of testable hypothesis. Thereafter, these propositions are tested using data from the pre poll survey conducted by CSDS in Gujarat before the 2012 elections.

Caste, governance and development, and vote choice
The effect of caste on vote choice is best explained by the sociological model of voting, which emphasizes the importance of social characteristics on electoral choice. This model proposes that social cleavages such as caste work through long-term socialization processes to predispose individuals to support one party rather than the other Clarke et al (2004). On the other hand, the reward-punishment model (Key 1968) provides the theoretical framework to explain the role of government performance on voting outcomes. The latter model postulates that voters reward the incumbent party for their performance irrespective of their own partisanship and other political characteristics. In most literature, electoral accountability, which is an important feature of the reward-punishment model, is examined with respect to economic voting. However, following Fisher and Hobolt (2010) and the rhetoric surrounding the Gujarat elections, we look at ‘government performance’. More specifically, we look at the voters assessment of the government particularly with respect to various development activities carried out in the state.

Looking at the media reports and past research on Gujarat, BJP has widely attributed both the victory of 2007 and 2012 to the party's commitment to the ideals of 'good governance and development'. Academic support for this claim has come from the work done by Shah (2010), who analyzed the voting behaviour of the constituency of Modasa in 2007. He concluded that caste and community identities indeed exercised lesser influence on the electorate compared to the previous election years. From this he further concluded that in 2007, it was Modi’s “rhetoric of development” that ultimately influenced the voters more than their community
attachments. In the run up to the 2012 elections, the incumbent chief minister, Narendra Modi, deployed populist campaign strategies like that of distributing cricket bats and volleyballs embossed with slogans of Gujarat’s development among the youth, interacting with people through live video chats on the internet, in order to ensure that his devotion to ‘development’ and ‘good governance’ was not lost on the electorate. Lost in this entire ‘development’ buzz, was the role of other factors, particularly caste identities, and their significance in the political and electoral landscape of Gujarat. This would imply that caste is an insignificant predictor of vote choice in Gujarat. A corollary hypothesis is that ‘good governance’ is a substantial and significant predictor of vote choice in the state. The next section describes the data and methodology used in the paper to test these hypotheses.

Data and Methods

Data: We use the pre-poll survey conducted by Lokniti (CSDS) before the 2012 Gujarat Assembly elections. The survey was done on 3661 respondents.

Dependent Variable:
Vote choice: Our dependent variable is vote intention. Given the mainly bi-polar context between the incumbent BJP and the opposition Congress in Gujarat, we divide the vote choice into 1) BJP (Bharatiya Jananta Party) 2) Congress and 3) Other Political Parties, which includes GPP (Gujarat Parivartan Party). We include the third category to see if the GPP had made any serious indents into the social bases of either the Congress or the BJP by amassing the Patidar vote in the 2012 elections.

Independent Variables:
Caste-Community: One of the documented features of electoral politics in Gujarat in the past years has been the well-defined social (caste) based voting in the state. The KHAM (Kshatriya, Harijan, Adivasi and Muslim) formula adopted by the Congress in the 1980s not only led to the mobilisation on the depressed and marginalised classes on one platform but also ensured electoral success for the Congress. Because politics in some sense is a zero sum game, the Brahmins, Banias and Patidars that were left out of the KHAM coalition, are said to have shifted their allegiance to the BJP in the process. It has been further suggested that because the ‘forward bloc’ was too small in number to ensure a majority to the BJP, the BJP used the Hindutva strategy to break up the KHAM communities and to mobilise the Kolis, Adivasis and Dalits in their favour (Subrahmaniam 2007).

Given the above, we operationalize our caste-community variable in a way that reflects the political history and relevance of the different groups. It is divided into Forward Caste (Brahmin, Baniya etc), Patidar, Koli, Other OBC, Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST), Muslims and Others. For the purpose of the descriptive analysis, some of the caste-community variables are further disaggregated to give a more nuanced overview of aggregate voting preferences.

Good governance (government evaluation)
Based on the work of Burlacu 2012, there are two aspects of ‘good governance’ that this paper tries to focus on. One is the duty of national governments to protect individuals’ property rights and freedom of enterprise, and provide contract enforcement, control of corruption, or rule of law. This duty can be seen as the ‘inputs of governance’ covering general aspects which are less observable in voters’ day-by-day activities. Secondly, there is an emphasis on the government’s responsibility towards assuring basic infrastructure, a good education and health system, or efficient bureaucracy in order to facilitate overall development of its
people- both economic and social. This second aspect represents the outcomes of policy making which go a long way in ensuring the welfare and wellbeing of the citizens of a country. In this paper, we consider, both the inputs of governance and the outcomes of policy making, in order to arrive at electorate's evaluation of the government's performance.

We construct a scale measuring ‘good governance’ based on a battery of questions that ask the respondents to evaluate the government’s performance related to a number of things such as state of road, hospitals, electricity, irrigation, education, drinking water, general development work, transport, law and order and corruption.

The value of Cronbach alpha based on these items is 0.8, which establishes the internal validity of combining these items together. Higher values of this variable imply a negative evaluation of the BJP, the incumbent government. For the purpose of the descriptive analysis in section four, the ‘good governance’ measure is categorized to reflect the vote choice of people who think that in the past five years 1) governance has become better 2) governance has remained the same 3) governance has become worse.

**Gender**
Gender is coded as a dichotomous variable (female=1)

**Age**
Age is taken as a continuous variable. Given that the data is collected for the voting population, the lowest value for age in the dataset is 18 years.

**Education**
Education is coded into four categories 1) Illiterate 2) up to primary 3) up to matric 4) graduate and above (include graduates, post graduates and professionals).

**Social Class**
This is an index made out of the income and asset of the respondent- Upper, Middle, Lower

**Locality**
Locality is coded as a rural/urban dichotomy (Urban=1)

**Methodology:** Methods of survey data analyses in this paper start with the presentation of simple summary statistics and cross tabulations. These provide the clearest indicators of the main associations between the variables studied. The hypotheses are tested using multinomial logistic regressions of the vote choice. For a description of multinomial logistic regressions see Cox (1997). Multinomial Logistic Regressions is very common in the studies of voting behaviour, and it is also suggested that they provide a more accurate characterization of voting behaviour in countries with more than two political parties competing for votes (Whitten and Palmer 1996).

**Results and discussion**
We begin our analysis by simply examining the caste-community voting for the different parties.

From Table 1, we can see that all the caste-community groups voted disproportionately for the BJP except for the SCs and Muslims who voted in large proportions for the Congress.
The dataset has questions on the voters’ evaluation of the government’s performance on issues related to governance (which also includes development). In the next table we look at how evaluation is related to vote choice.

Table 2 shows that voters who evaluate the government favourably vote in higher proportion for the BJP. On the other hand, voters who think that the governance of the state has remained the same or deteriorated, vote disproportionately in favour of the Congress.

Although these initial analyses are a good starting point and show support for the hypothesis that a positive evaluation of the development and governance work done by the BJP in Gujarat was important for their electoral success, we need to control for other factors that affect vote choice, especially caste. This involves estimating a multivariate regression model with vote choice as the dependent variable regressed on independent variables that include caste, governance and other demographic variables as controls.

In the multivariate analysis, we look at the combined effect of caste, good governance and other factors on vote choice for the BJP.

The result of the multinomial regressions (Table 3) clearly shows that both caste and governance and significant for predicting vote choice in Gujarat. More specifically, a dalit, tribal or a Muslim voter is more likely to vote for the Congress than the BJP when compared to a voter from the forward caste groups. A patidar voter, on the other hand, is more likely to vote for the other political parties (which includes the Gujarat Parivartan party GPP) than for the BJP. Furthermore, a negative evaluation of the incumbent on issues of development and governance are clearly associated with a voter being more likely to vote for the Congress or the other political parties. Interestingly, we don’t find a significant effect of urban locality for vote for the BJP, which is against the reports that there was a rural/urban cleavage operating in Gujarat. This could be because locality has a contextual level effect on vote choice and does not work at the individual level. However, we find that a voter from a lower class is more likely than a voter from the upper class to vote for the Congress.

Conclusions
The empirical findings of this paper are easy to summarise. Whilst evaluation of governance is an important factor predicting vote choice in Gujarat, caste continues to be a salient factor determining electoral outcomes. More generally, this paper dispels the myth that it was governance and development alone that ensured a fourth time victory for the BJP. The evidence clearly shows that caste-community still holds sway in the electoral landscape of Gujarat along with people's perceptions of the state of governance and development. So on one hand, whilst the reward-punishment model propounded by Key is a suitable framework for explaining electoral behaviour in Gujarat, it does not mean that the sociological model has paled in comparison. Moreover, what is interesting is that the voters are voting according to their traditional blocs taking into account the disbandment caused by Hindutva of Congress’ KHAM formula. An important question for future research is that are there caste groups that are predisposed to evaluating the BJP favourably and in turn signifying an entrenchment of the effect of caste-community in Gujarat.
Table 1. Caste-community and vote in 2012, row percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste-community</th>
<th>Congress</th>
<th>BJP</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahmin, Baniya</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leuva Patidar</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karwa Patidar</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajput</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kshatriya</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koli</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other OBC</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhil</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other STs</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1177</td>
<td>2106</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>3443</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Figures in bold represent the largest proportion of votes from a particular caste-community group accruing to any political party.

Table 2: Governance and vote choice, row %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governance Status</th>
<th>Congress</th>
<th>BJP</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Governance has become better</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance has remained the same</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance has deteriorated</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Multinomial Regression of voting in Gujarat Assembly Elections 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Congress</th>
<th>Other Political Parties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caste-community (Forward Caste)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patidar</td>
<td>-0.35</td>
<td>1.54***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koli</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>-1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other OBC</td>
<td>-0.36</td>
<td>-0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalits</td>
<td>1.44***</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribals</td>
<td>0.8**</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Coefficient 1</td>
<td>Coefficient 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>1.42***</td>
<td>1.33*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Castes</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good governance</td>
<td>1.68***</td>
<td>0.72**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (illiterate)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upto primary</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upto matric</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grad. and above</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class (Upper Class)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Class</td>
<td>0.378*</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>-0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (Female)</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>-0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Const.</td>
<td>-4.07***</td>
<td>-3.84***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>2180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log Likelihood</td>
<td>-1509.80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudo R-Sq</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001. Notes: Base category for the independent variables is in brackets. Figures in red represent the significant variables. High values of good governance indicate negative evaluation.

Notes
3 Development and Governance are used interchangeably in this paper. The two terms have been conceptualized in Section 2 ‘Governance Versus Development’ of this paper.
4 http://www.narendramodi.in/gujarat-has-won-a-victory-of-people-party-performance/
6 Especially the Leuva Patel vote as Keshubahi Patel belongs to that community

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Emerging Political Caste in West Bengal: Rethinking Society and Human Relations

Harasankar Adhikar
Social Worker, Kolkata

Abstract
Once our father of the Constitution, Dr. B.R. Ahmedkar was a victim of casteism. This history is well known to all. But the origin of castes in Indian society had a long standing history. Basically the implication of division of labour in the society by the so-called rulers was the fundamental cause of the casteism and it was from our pre-civilized society. But the educational progress and Government Policy as well as scope of interaction of people in various employment sectors were input to erase the social stigma of caste differences of people in the society. In West Bengal the caste difference was narrowed due to implication of Panchayat Raj Institution effectively. The people were no longer emerged into the foolish concept and it has resulted in every sphere of the people’s daily life. But the present political scenario after 34 years ruling of Left Front Government has been reminded to emerge a new political caste. The elected members of particular political party of ruling Government are using the political ill-motivation among the people of West Bengal who are also politically unconscious. They are addressing the public to boycott a particular party’s supporters even in their daily activities, social function and so forth. It is a new crisis in human relations and provocative to create an internal conflict in public relation. There is no constitutional rectification to save the human relations and it is not the path of civil development rather a path of civil war.

Keywords: Political Caste, Human relation, political parties

Introduction:
“Do not interact with the supporters of Left Parties. Even socially boycott them. Do not take any risk of attending in personal functions. Do not choose bride/bridegroom from this section.” This was a public address given by a Minister – in-charge of present ruling Govt. of West Bengal led by Trinamul Congress. The print and electronic medias had been recorded it and spread it through their media. Before going to the critical analysis of the above address, there is a need to look after the historical perspective of the social differences and social relation among people in a society.

Individuals are rational components of society. They are under the influence of socially generated restraint and control (Lenzer, 1975). Thus individuals and society bind together with a hierarchy of relations. It becomes more complex and stratified when the industrial society emerges. The division of labour and production relation are the prime factors of social differences (Halls, 1984). Indian society has a long history of social stratification. The caste system is oldest one. There are varied opinions of intellectuals regarding its origin and essence in Indian society. But undoubtedly it is a form of differentiation which ritualizes multiple social practices (Gupta, 1991). The people of India were once submerged with the evil effects of this system. The so-called lower castes were the worst victims of this. This was the prime cause of backwardness and deprivation in many forms. The life history of Dr. Ahmedkar, the father of Indian Constitution tells us the magnitude of the above fact.
After Independence, the Govt. of India has taken various constitutional safeguard with appropriate measures to abolish the caste system (Avasthi & Maheshwari, 1995) through democratic decentralization of power. The political empowerment, rapid urbanization, education and varied employments and so forth are the prime steps for making the bridge regardless of class and caste of the citizen of India (Ghatak & 1999). The changing attitudes and acts like inter/intra caste marriage and other social institutional level relations do not permit to keep rigid in so called caste system.

Politicians of various statures, operating at different levels, play a large role in Indian Society. They serve in intermediary, translational role between the state and society (Fuller & Benei, (ed), 2009). Thus India’s politics and political parties which once rebuilt the human relation in new form without caste difference are now the prime influential factor to generate political caste on the basis of political colour. The Indian Democracy is an example of people’s participation in Govt. from grass root to the upper houses. But the political parties and their representatives (leaders) are abusing the belief of people towards democracy differently aimed to regain their power and authority. That’s why politics refers to as being dirty, means unprincipled (Fuller & Benie, (ed), 2009). The safety and security for captive vote bank is their prime target and for that reason they provoke to reestablish truncated human relations with distinct division. Even they are publicly addressing their supporters to reject their opposition socially and economically.

The present paper would explore how the political parties were making differences in human life and relation in micro-macro level and its future impact in our society.

Methodology
For the purpose of the study Nandakumar (community development block) was selected deliberately. It is an administrative division in Tamluk subdivision of Purba Medinipur district in the Indian state of West Bengal. The block is compromising 12 Gram Panchayats and as per 2001 census, Nandakumar block had a total population of 229,444, out of which 117,859 were males and 111,585 were females. The literacy is quite high estimated to be more than 90% and the female literacy is comparatively well off position. The rural population in this block has been socio-economically in better position. The population depends on agriculture and allied services. Of course a significant portion of this population is engaged in both public and private services. A large number of younger generations after their basic education have been migrated in urban places specially at Mumbai, Surat and Bangalore for jewelry works and other jobs. Over all condition of block is typically progressive in nature.

Methodologically this ethnography study was conducted through regular interaction for 6 months with the people as step of extensive field work to take part in their daily events. The informal interview individual, group and community, participation in personal and community festivals, Gram Sansad meeting were the tools of qualitative data collection. The participant observation was implied to assess the views of people of all corners. The case study had been done to make it more authentic.

Result and Discussion
Interpersonal relation within the family: Indian joint family system is no longer in existence physically. The nuclear family has brought significant changes in the interpersonal relation because separate unit of household has been in function. But the sibling relations or
kins relations was intact when they joined together to solve any emerging problems or they usually enjoyed family celebration or jointly performed some rituals (Kakar & Kakar, 2009).

But factually the political dominance rather than the political empowerment or political sensitization had significantly turned into a different trend. The relationship was truncated and the political colour was the prime focal point of difference. The wrong political conscious which was the cause of creating of political advantaged groups were the determined factor of broken relations. Now the siblings or kins relations were divided. Even the social and economic boycott had been in open operation.

### Case No. 1
In a marginal agriculture labour family there were 3 brothers and 2 sisters. All of them was married and set up their own household. The family belonged to a Scheduled Castes community also. Two brothers were drawn a border line with boycott in all terms to another younger brother because they belonged to different political parties. It was also evident that they strictly settled their distribution of inherited properties. The two groups of three brothers were separately conducted their rituals after their father’s death. The sisters were also maintained a policy of guest hospitality during their visit to their natal family according to their own political colour.

### Intra family relation in a hamlet/village:
The village is generally consisting more than one hamlet (para) according to their some social and religious identity. Their surname is a distinguish feature of identification of their hamlet. The political dominance had been making wall within the family for their intra family relation. The division of groups came into force according to the particular political colour of the families in a particular community. The homogenous political groups were keep their relation with others.

### Case No. 2
In a hamlet, there were 15 families (households). There was a distinct division according to their political affiliation. One group of 5 families was closely related with each other and they had a regular interaction for decision making, problem solving and joint celebration of family’s ceremony from marriage party and so forth. Similarly other groups were in same strategies. There was a social and geographically boundaries they had made in terms of their political affiliation. They were also confronting with each other when any crises arise.

### Hamlet to hamlet relation in a village/community:
It was evident that the political affiliation had been constituted a political homogenous relation within the village. Their acts and function had been determined accordingly. In every village in the study area was usually celebrating a common religious village festival in each year collaboratively. But the political dominance had been made a division to celebrate it separately for each political homogenous group.
Community relation in terms of political differences:
The labor relation had been also determined by the political affiliation. Firstly in a village the job and labour policy were restricted according to their political colour. The daily labourers would generally expect to get jobs from their employers who were belonging to the same political party. Another distinguish feature was that the social gathering of people was congregated at the common place in a bus stand from where the people of different villages were connected with the urban area and there was a small market from where these population used to access their daily needs. There were grocery shops, tea and shop of pan & cigar, readymade garments and so forth in the market. Beyond this the area had a familiarity for weekly market, ‘hat’. The villagers used to meet at the place daily at morning or evening. They did not expect to visit all shops because of a political division. So, the social, economical and cultural relations had got a new shape in this globalized society.

Role and functions of political leaders/public representatives in this Diaspora:
The people and their relations had got new shape in present day society in West Bengal. They had made the division of ‘us’ and ‘them’ only to secure their captive vote banks. The present global world has been deeply rooted to expand the consumerism from rural to urban. The people regardless of their social and economic status had been testified it or they would try to taste the essence of the consumerism. The political parties were usually taking this advantage to make them greedy to share some benefit in a highly unemployed and economic crises. The people had been moulded only to enjoy it in any cost as an interest group. So, they had no sensitization about politics and national policy for progressive nation.

The leaders/public representatives used to follow a principle of acceptance to them who were in their group/supporters and they used to follow the principle of rejection to them who were not their supporters. The developmental activities like installation of tube well for drinking water, maintenance of road, etc would act as conformation to their supports. The supports at personal level had been restricted to their own supporters. The people were closely attached with the local leaders directly or indirectly and the conscious division was done to use the interested group.

Conclusion
A human relation is the key basic pillar of a progressive and prosperous society. Social health is based on social and economic relations of people in our stratified society. The democratic decentralization of power has been promoted through political empowerment of people of all concerns. It helps to form the people’s Government which frames a systematic development planning and policy for all. The political parties and their representation ensure to mediate and mobilize resources and its distribution according to the need of people within their periphery. The political parties either in ruling Government or in opposition make aware the people about different policies and virtually they educate the people about progressive steps taken comparing with global scenario. It brings integration and harmony among people as whole. But the power and authority is the key obstacle to make politicians aggressive. They take advantages of democratic right of people when large section of population is unable to meet their daily needs in this competitive world. So, origin of interest group is obvious according to their political affiliation. They have learnt by hook and cook to encash their voting rights.

When democratization has reduced the social gap among people as caste system through people to people contact in many forms, political colour has further given re-birth of another caste system-political caste. It has variously broken the relation among siblings, kins, within
community and outside community. Even the social gatherings, social functions and common festivals were making division according to the political colour. In West Bengal, this emerging caste system was not incepted during the ruling of present Government led by Trinamul Congress. It was consciously cultivated by the Left Parties during their 34 years rule. But their tactics were very hide and seek. To ensure their captive vote bank they had drawn a ‘Lakshman Rekha’ which was benefitted to their supporters and on the other hand it was the fear of non-supporters. But the political party in Government at present was very much desperate and they were indulging it publicly without any hesitation.

However, this interference has been created a new caste as social identity of people of West Bengal. It has built a new group in terms of political affiliation- it might be considered as ‘politogenous’ group. As sensitive citizen should we bear this kind of human relation? What would be our future? Would we dominant the political parties for our progress as whole or the political parties would fix our future, future of human relation as well as fate of the society.

References
Fuller, C.J. & Benei, V (ed), (2009), The Everyday State and Society In Modern India, Social Science Press, New Delhi.
Decentralized Governance of Common Property Resources: A Case Study of Forest Resources of Uttarakhand

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Abstract
In the era of consumerism the rate at which the natural resources like forests are depleting is as never before. Being everyone’s property, forests have become no one’s property. Management of forest resources as common property is by definition situation specific, therefore, the investigations or the researches in this field have mainly focused on the interrelationship between the resource, the community and its institutions, and other features of local situation. In this paper, through the selected case studies of the local level institutions such as Van Panchayats and Joint Forest Management Committees of Kumaon Division, Uttarakhand, an attempt has been made to analyze the impact of the process of decentralization on forest resources and the patterns of interaction between the institutions created at the third tier of government. The study of Van Panchayats has illustrated questions of overarching bureaucratic influence and ‘the politics of presence’ remain pertinent if decentralization has to achieve its radical potential.

Keywords: Decentralization, Common Property Resources, Van Panchayats, Joint Forest Management Committees

Introduction
The issue of threatened destruction of valuable natural resources, particularly Common Property Resources\(^1\) (hereafter CPR) has become very significant phenomenon after the united nations Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment\(^2\) (1972) followed by various conferences and summits such as the Brundtland Report\(^3\) (1983), the Rio de Janeiro Conference on Environment and Development\(^4\) (1992) and recently the Copenhagen Summit\(^5\) (2009). The over consumption of the natural resources has led to the destruction and degradation of these resources. It has been raised as a major issue of concern, yet there has not been any resolution on how to resolve the problem by those concerned individuals. The issues of how best to govern CPR which are used by many individuals in common, are no more settled in academia than in the world of politics. Advocates of central regulation, privatization, and regulation by communities involved, have given their policy prescriptions in various disciplines.

According to the study done by World Bank in 1999, more than 80 per cent of all developing countries and countries with economies in transition are experimenting with some form of decentralization\(^6\) in managing common property resources so that they can balance the need for economic growth as well as sustainable development and achieve the objective of efficiency, equity and democracy by bringing government closer to people, increasing local participation and government accountability (Manor (2004)). The trends of decentralization have profound impact even on the forests which are profoundly local on the one hand and truly global\(^7\) on the other hand. In fact, decentralized governance has become a crucial issue in sustainable forest management because the quality of governance determines the fate of forest resources in all aspects- economic, social and ecological.
National governments often assert the importance of establishing autonomous local decision making institutions for the management of natural resources within their local jurisdiction. Yet, specific laws governing these resources, and forests in particular, limit this decision making to playing, at best, a supportive role to the central government authority (Bazaara and Larson (2005); Sarin and Contreras (2005)). In other words, authority is rarely transferred to representative and accountable local institutions.

In this paper, an attempt is made to analyze the impact of the process of decentralization on forest resources and the interaction patterns between the institutions created at the third tier of government. The argument which has been defended here is that different types of property rights over resources allocated in different societies powerfully affect how resources will be used and how benefits will be distributed. In this study the underlying argument is that it is the institutions not the population or market forces that form the significant explanation of resource conservation or degradation. This paper is divided into three sections. First is about the field and the local institutions, second section describes the case studies and in the last section analysis of the case studies has been done.

Section 1: The Field
Forests in India are jointly managed by the federal and state governments, but the state governments have the primary responsibility for implementation. States are expected to decentralize the responsibility and certain rights to the third-tier levels of government. The third tier of government relationships is left mainly to the states. National forest policy encourages partnerships with local communities for securing forest raw material supplies.

Uttarakhand is twenty seventh state of India, divided into two regions of Kumaon and Garhwal, with total thirteen districts. It covers 51,125 sq km area out of which 92.57 per cent is hilly area. Forests constitute a significant portion of the Uttarakhand. Around 12.60 per cent of the hilly region is cultivated and 64 per cent is forested (India State of Forest Report (2009)). Forests are a source of livelihood for rural hilly residents and provide resources such as fodder, fuel, green manure, and construction timber. Forests in Uttarakhand are managed by different administrative agencies, with three different categories of forest land:

- Forests under the Forest Department;
- Panchayati or Community Forests under Van Panchayats (hereafter VPs) (Forest Councils); and
- Forests controlled by the Revenue Department.

Of the total forest area two-thirds are under the jurisdiction of the Forest Department and only 4,000 sq km (12%) are managed by VPs or the forest councils and the rest comes under the jurisdiction of Revenue Department (Mukherjee (2004)). (For details see Table 1).

This study is confined to two institutions governing Panchayati or Community Forests, i.e., VPs and Village Forests Joint Management Committees.

Van Panchayats
There are total 12,089 VPs in Uttarakhand. The VPs in Uttarakhand were created in 1931 as a result of protest by local people against the British colonial state when between 1911 and 1917 it transferred more than 3000 sq. km of forest area to Imperial Forest Department through an act of decentralization by the British colonial state (Agarwal, 2005; Agarwal, 1999; Kumar, (2006)). The VPs are elected bodies. The villagers vote to elect between five and nine council members and the council leader. Elections to the VPs are held under the supervision of the forest council inspector who is an employee of the Revenue Department.
The VPs come under the jurisdiction of the Revenue Department. VPs select guards, fine rule breakers, manage finances and maintain records of their meetings, accounts and local rule infractions. The VPs have the ability to harvest firewood for commercial purposes and their accesses to markets for timber are mediated by the forest department (Mukherjee: 2004; Kumar: 2006).

**Joint Forest Management Committees (JFMC)**

There are 1,434 JFMCs in Uttarakhand which stands second to Madhya Pradesh. These committees were formed under Joint Forest Management (JFM) Program, 1990 through the guidelines by Ministry of Environment and Forests which remain the basis for the JFM Program. The JFMCs in the region are introduced in 1997 as an outcome of the conditionality of World Bank’s $65m loan given to the Uttar Pradesh Forestry Project for the period of 1998-2002. The Uttarakhand Government has continued with the same legacy. JFMCs are generally registered under the Forest Departments. The committees formed under JFM are not legal bodies and they turn into legal bodies only when they are registered under the Societies Act or the Co-operatives Acts. Therefore, the legal status of JFMC differs from state to state. The JFMCs are expected to protect their forests from grazing, encroachments, poaching, fire and timber smugglers but they are not delegated any authority to enforce such protection. Only after the successful protection for a minimum of five to ten years, the JFMCs gain entitlement to 25-100 per cent benefits of its produce. Forest Department has the power to cancel the JFM agreement if a JFMC is considered to have violated any of its terms and conditions.

There are spearhead teams in the JFMCs to communicate with and develop micro plans for the selected villages. These teams consist of one Assistant Conservator Forest (ACF), one Ranger or Deputy Ranger, one Forester or Forest Guard, and two NGO members as ‘social motivators’ (Upadhayay: 2003; Kumar: 2006; Mukherjee: 2004).

**Section 2: The Case Studies**

In order to get a true picture of the current functioning of VPs, a primary survey was conducted. A total of four VPs (Satyun, Bajethi, Chauda Falyati and Ranman) were selected from two developmental blocks namely Takula and Lamgara, of district Almora on the basis of stratified random sampling. The main criterion for selection of VPs was the implementation of JFM program and its impact. The district of Almora can be classified into four divisions which manage and protect the forests of the area. These four divisions are: Almora Forest Department, Civil So: Forest Department, Almora; Civil Soyam Forests, Almora; Land Conservation, Ranikhet and Land Conservation, Ramnagar.

The developmental blocks selected here for the survey belongs to the division of Forest Department, Almora and Civil Soyam Forests, Almora because of the forest land area covered by them. The area covered by VPs under the Forest Department, Almora is 26756.230 Ha and the area covered by VPs under Civil Soyam Forest, Almora is 21887.625 Ha which is much more than the area covered by other two divisions (for details see table 2). The VPs selected were Satyun and Bajethi from Lamgara block and Falyati and Ranman from Takula block. Satyun and Falyati were those VPs where JFM program was implemented and in Bajethi and Ranman it was not implemented (for details see table 3).
Section 3: Analysis
The field study showed that the characteristics of the resource – the size, initial quality and the contiguity of the Protected Forest – and the size of the User Group influence the success and failure of the collective resource management. A large resource faces less population pressure but then it also becomes difficult to guard the resource effectively for the small user group. The field study confirms the Ostrom’s (1990) views that there is a relationship between the size of a user group and the resources and the percentage of success and failure of collective action. However, it departs from her argument that as the size of the user group increases, the possibilities of failure of collective action also increase.

Based on the analysis of four VPs in two development blocks, the study confirms the argument of Arun Agrawal that those resources are more successfully managed which have the larger user group. The reason for this relates to the protection of forests from unauthorized users and uses. According to him, a group which is large enough is better able to raise more resources and expend a greater monitoring and enforcement efforts (Agrawal, 2000; 2005).

A second important insight of the field study is that despite the fact that women are more dependent on forests and are the direct beneficiaries of resources from forests, their presence in these local institutions has been negligible. The study of four VPs (Satyun, Bajethi, Falyati and Ranman) and the data provided by the forest department, Almora (for details see table 4) reveals that women’s participation in formal structures of governance has remained a mere illusion. It was also found that all the women members have not contested voluntarily. They are frequently persuaded to contest elections because the seats are reserved for women and because their male relative such as husband, brother, father etc wanted to retain the political power and status within the family. In many cases, women members are treated as mere proxies or surrogates for their husbands.

It was also observed in the field that the greater involvement of women in the institutions like VPs can increase the effectiveness of these institutions of governance. This is because women are more dependent on forests; they spend a large amount of time in forests in comparison to men as they collected firewood, fodder and other non-timber forest products. As compared to men the women possess more knowledge about the particularities of forests such as which forest product should be extracted and when. Whether or not the forest should be open periodically; which products should be promoted in planting effort etc.

Another reason for the increase in effectiveness of institution with the increase in the presence of women is that women when inducted into the executive committee are more likely to follow rules themselves and be able to persuade other village women to act in accordance with rules. Women are likely to be more motivated to actively participate in protection activities by forming a patrol group or will be more vigilant while working in the fields; when involved in the management body.

Third significant observation of the field study is that the emergence of cooperative behavior is very difficult in a socio-economic structure where heterogeneous agents are present. Divergence of interest is likely to emerge when socially and economically heterogeneous groups are sharing CPRs since their interests in resource management may significantly differ from one another. Economic inequality or social heterogeneity among the members of a resource-using group might be associated with different degrees of access to, and control over, the local commons due to dominance of one group over another.
The fourth observation of the field study was that over time the control of bureaucracy over the use of resources has increased. In the case of VPs, the communities earlier had the freedom to use the resources according to their needs on the condition that they used the resources in a sustainable manner. But in present scenario, to use any forest produce they need requires the prior approval of a bureaucrat. The Uttarakhand Panchayati Forest Rules (UPFR) of 2001 and 2005 both provide sensible control of bureaucrats over the functioning of VPs. For instance: Rule 51 of the UPFR of 2005 states that the members of the Legislative Assembly, Adyaksh Zila Panchayat, and Sarpanch of the village panchayat shall be entitled to inspect any van panchayat and its forests within the area they represent.

If one evaluates the pattern of interaction, it is observable that although decentralization is called a bottom-up approach, but in case of the institution like VPs it is very much the top-down approach. Villagers have to look to the officials of district administration for approval of each and every move. Even the Micro Plans - which are the basic plans for the management of the Panchayati forest – are formulated with consensus of the villagers, but require the consultation with the Forest Department. The EC has been provided with the power to formulate bye-laws for managing the panchayati forests but those laws can be implemented only when the consent of DM has been given. Any cheque of an amount over Rs 500 has to be counter signed by the secretary of the forest department. VPs are largely dependent upon government grants and the funds – whatever the meager amount is available – are managed under the overall control of the Van Vikas Adhikari.

Conclusion
In short it can be said that though it is often asserted by the national government that the policy formulation process in the forest sector has moved away from the domain of bureaucracy and experts to consultations with many stakeholders from the public and private sectors and civil society but in reality it is observed that at the grassroots level the domain of bureaucracy has rather increased. Gradually, policy changes have expanded the role of local institutions in terms of functional areas. Communities are increasingly involved in forest protection and the implementation of forestry schemes at the local level. The need to strengthen capacities of local institutions remains. It can be said that the process of decentralization, still, has to cover a long journey to achieve its goal. A lot of changes are required in the rules to move firmly and completely accomplish its object. The approach also requires institutions to strive for the right balance of effectiveness, efficiency, equity and sustainability. The changes in the policy process require problem-oriented forest policy research. Issues which require greater attention are strengthening of community forestry management and resource mobilization.

Notes
1 Common Property Resources are those resources on which all have a liberty right to use, from which no one has a normative power to exclude others and which no one has a duty to refrain from exploiting. In CPR, the right to control is collective rather than individual due to the absence of a complete set of contractual relations that decides which member of the group is entitled or required to do what. For details see Seabright (1993); Ostrom and Gardener (1993); Wills (2007).
2 United Nations Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment was the first occasion when the state of the environment was recognized as a global problem to be addressed by all nations. 114 countries participated in this conference. The declaration was adopted at the conference and the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) was formed to provide
an essential coordinating function, informing and assisting with the work of existing United Nations specialized agencies.

3 The Brundtland report is the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) set up by United Nations General Assembly. This commission was headed by Ms Gro Harlem Brundtland, then Prime Minister of Norway. The WCED focused its re-examination and awareness rising on the issues of population growth, food security, biodiversity loss, energy, resource depletion and pollution and urbanization.

4 Rio de Janeiro Conference was the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). The intention was to consider the developmental issues alongside environmental concerns. It was argued that it is necessary to adopt a new approach which tackles social and environmental problems jointly.

5 Copenhagen Summit 2009 was the United Nations Climate Change Conference. The conference recognized that Climate change is one of the greatest challenges of the present day and that actions should be taken to keep any temperature increases to below 2 C. In this summit we find that the Copenhagen Accord drafted by the USA, China, India, Brazil and South Africa was taken note of but was not adopted.

6 Decentralization is defined as the process in which power is transferred from central government to lower levels in the political administrative and territorial hierarchy (Crook and Manor, 1998; Agarwal and Ribot, 1999). Decentralization takes place in two forms. Either as administrative decentralization in which power is transferred to lower level authorities who are upwardly accountable or as political / democratic decentralization in which power is transferred to the local representatives or to the downwardly accountable actors (Ribot, 2002).

7 Forest resources are considered of global importance because any kind of damage to forest ecosystems has effect in every aspect of the world in the form of climate change, scarcity of water and the loss of biodiversity.

References


Table 1: Statistics of Van Panchayats Area in Uttarakhand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Area (Sq Km)</th>
<th>Forests Area (Sq Km)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Under forest Department (1)</td>
<td>Civil Soyam under Revenue Department (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Almora</td>
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<td>1277.783</td>
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Table 2: Development Block wise Statistics of Van Panchayats

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sl. no</th>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Development Block</th>
<th>No. of Van Panchayat</th>
<th>Area covered by Van Panchayats (Ha)</th>
<th>Area under JFM (Ha)</th>
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<td>797</td>
<td>27116.097</td>
<td>3728.56</td>
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<td>Civil Soyam Forest</td>
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<td>7025.09</td>
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<td>Bhaisiachanna</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>4537.53</td>
<td>444.11</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Land Conservation, Ranikhet</td>
<td>Syaldey</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>5373.03</td>
<td>626.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Land Conservation, Ranikhet</td>
<td>Bhikiyasan</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>3470.54</td>
<td>885.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Land Conservation, Ranikhet</td>
<td>Tarikhet</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>5262.90</td>
<td>1241.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>624</td>
<td>14106.465</td>
<td>2753.646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Land Conservation, Ranikhet</td>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>7102.75</td>
<td>1021.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2199</td>
<td>70212.9322</td>
<td>12059.611</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Forest Department, Almora

Table 3: Description of Selected Case Studies of Van Panchayats

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Van Panchayats</th>
<th>Satyun</th>
<th>Bajethi</th>
<th>Falyati</th>
<th>Ranman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Block</td>
<td>Lamgara</td>
<td>Lamgara</td>
<td>Takula</td>
<td>Takula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishment Year</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area of Van Panchayat (Ha)</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>80.20</td>
<td>55.200</td>
<td>1.394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area under JFM (Ha)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Forest Department, Almora
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure under JFM</th>
<th>09.50 Lacs</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>14 Lacs</th>
<th>-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activities under JFM</td>
<td>20 Ha Protection; 10 Ha Grazing area development; 25,000 plants raised</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30 Ha Protection; 25 Ha Grazing area development; 70,000 plants raised</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last elections held in VP</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Composition of Households</td>
<td>205 Brahmins; 170 Thakurs; 35 SC/STs</td>
<td>45 Brahmins; 22 Thakurs; 05 SC/STs</td>
<td>85 Brahmins; 70 Thakurs; 15 SC/STs</td>
<td>66 Brahmins; 50 Thakurs; 00 SC/STs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition of EC of VP</td>
<td>09 (6 M; 3 F) (7 Thakur; 2 SC/ST)</td>
<td>09 (7 M; 2 F) (4 Brahmin; 3 Thakur; 2 SC/ST)</td>
<td>09 (6 M; 3 F) (2 Brahmin; 7 Thakur)</td>
<td>09 (7 M; 2 F) (2 SC/ST)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of Sarpanch</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Women Members in EC</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey 2011

Table 4: Number of Van Panchayats headed by Woman

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Block</th>
<th>Total Van Panchayats</th>
<th>Van Panchayats headed by Woman</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bhaisiachanna</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bhikeyasan</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chaukhutia</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dhauladevi</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dwarahat</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hawalbagh</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Lamgara</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Syaldey</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Takula</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tarkinhet</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Forest Department, Almora
Empowering Women through Micro-finance: 
A Study of Self-Help Groups Operating in Northern Punjab

Vijayetta Sharma
Panjab University, Chandigarh

Abstract
Empowerment of women is the core issue to bring about transformation in any society. Women are the backbone of society and on advancement of women stands the progress of country in inclusive terms. The concept of empowerment can be perceived in many ways viz; economic empowerment, social empowerment, political empowerment and so on. But most crucial of all is the empowerment of women in their families which would altogether determine their empowerment at the next higher levels such as community, society and country at large. Empowerment of women has direct linkages to their earning capacity or economic status in the family. Microfinance through its group lending approach targets mostly women and ensure them a suitable employment activity matching their skill set. Microfinance clients worldwide have achieved increase in dignity, self-worth and witnessed improvement in their psychological and economic status. This is an exploratory study aimed at analyzing the role of microfinance in empowering women at the family level working particularly in rural non-farm sector. Various indicators have been used to assess the level and extent of empowerment such as increase in confidence at family level after becoming member of Self-Help Group, improvement in decision making capacity and the degree of decision making, freedom in spending income, share of income spend on children and household, independence to purchase and ownership of assets, dominance of husband on income and loan borrowed. The study explicates that microfinance has proved to be a boon in empowering SHG women at family level in Punjab heralding inclusive growth paradigm. The study also indicates substantial grounds and concerns for empowerment of women through self-help groups in Punjab.

Keywords: Microfinance, Women Empowerment, Self-Help Group, Rural Non Farm Sector, Inclusive Growth

Introduction
A woman is the back-bone, not only of the family but of the entire human society. If God is the creator, she is the God’s own instrument for creation. Napoleon once said “give me good mothers and I will give you good Nation”. President Lincoln has said “I am what my mother made me”. All civilized societies therefore accord due honor and respect to women. It goes without saying that no civilization can be great until all the sections of its society are equal share holders in its progress and all get equal opportunity of contributing towards the welfare of Nation¹. Microfinance is an empowering opportunity for women clients. Targeting women for financial services is a good start on the road to women’s empowerment, enhancing opportunities for their individual growth, economic activity, decision-making in the household and the community and many more benefits at a larger scale.

Women and Inclusive Growth
It is absolutely undeniable that the progress of women is directly linked to the progress of any country. The more women have the rights and access to credit, the more say they have in the matters concerning their welfare the more development of nation in inclusive terms will take
place. Not only do loans to women ensure their economic security and increase the stability and viability of their business but they often have a positive effect on their self-esteem, a feeling of self-worth and enlarged opportunities of making decision and participating in the society which ultimately contributes to their empowerment. Studies worldwide; Berger and Buvinic (1989)\(^3\), Linda Mayoux (1997)\(^3\), Hege Gulli (1998)\(^4\), Nitin Bhatt (2001)\(^5\), Mayoux, L (2002)\(^6\), Valerie Khoo (2005)\(^7\), Watson and Dunford (2006)\(^8\), Vasimalai and Narender (2007)\(^9\), Kenday S. Kamara (2008)\(^10\), Mayoux and Hartl (2009)\(^11\), highlighted that access to microfinance have expanded choice and empowered women by way of its novel credit approach.

**Domains of Women Empowerment through Microfinance**

Microfinance empowers women in an assortment of aspects which have been depicted in the Chart 1.

**Objectives of the study**

The major objective of the study is to assess affect of microfinance activities on empowerment of women operating in rural non-farm sector. In rural areas of Punjab majority of the SHGs operate in rural non-farm sector. As women are at better credit risk than men, microfinance services world over are catered mainly to women. The study proposes to check the empowerment of women after becoming member of SHG taking into account various indicators such as increase in confidence at family level, improvement in decision making capacity, the degree of decision making, freedom of spending income, share of income spend on children and household, independence to purchase and ownership of assets, dominance of husband on income and loan borrowed.

**Research Methodology**

The primary data has been collected from 10 Self-Help Groups in Punjab promoted by an NGO, namely, Ambuja Cement Foundation under the SHG-Bank linkage programme of NABARD. These SHGs are engaged in Dairy Farming. For this purpose two structured interview schedules were administered; one to the heads of Self-Help Groups as a unit another to the members of Self-Help Groups. Both the interview schedules were tested on pilot basis before undertaking the process of primary data collection. All the members of the Self-Help Groups were covered in the study, which ranged from 10 to 16, thus making the total respondents to be 126. Secondary data has been collected from relevant books, journals, articles and internet sites. Observation as a method of data collection has also been relied upon to supplement the data collected through other methods.

**Empirical Findings**

The findings of the study are specified hypothesis wise.

**Hypothesis:** Micro-Finance activities have been effective in empowering women members of Self-Help Groups at family level in Punjab.

This hypothesis has been tested by dividing it into the following sub-hypotheses:

- Increase in confidence at family level after becoming member of Self-Help Group.
- Improvement in decision making capacity at family level after becoming member of SHG.
- Improvement in degree of decision making in daily life after becoming member of SHG.
- Spending income as per choice of women increased after becoming member of SHG.
- Maximum share of income is spent on household and children after becoming member of SHG.
Ownership of assets has increased after becoming member of SHG.
Women are independent to purchase assets from their income.
Amount of loan borrowed for husband has increased after becoming member of SHG.
Women hand over their income to husbands under pressure.

**Increase in confidence at family level after becoming member of Self-Help Group**

In order to assess the improvement in confidence of the members of Self-Help Groups they were asked whether their confidence at family level improved after becoming member of Self-Help Group. The responses of the members of Self-Help Groups are reported in Table 1.1 and Graph 1.1 which show that 87.30% members of Self-Help Groups expressed opinion that their confidence at family level has improved while 12.70% expressed no improvement in their level of confidence.

**Improvement in decision making capacity at family level after becoming member of SHG**

In the interview schedule the members of Self-Help Group were asked that whether they exercise more influence in decision making at family level after becoming member of Self-Help Group. The responses to the question are shown in Table 1.2 and Graph 1.2 which reveal that 75.40% members of Self-Help Groups succeeded in exercising more influence in decision making at family level after becoming member of Self-Help Group while 24.60% felt no increase in their decision making capacity at family level after becoming member of Self-Help Group.

**Reasons for Increased Role of SHGs in Decision Making at Family Level**

The respondents gave the following views for increased decision making role at family level: The SHGs women witnessed increased importance in their family as an outcome of their hardwork and have say in all matters in the family due to regular flow of income. They have secured independence in purchasing household goods, spend as per their wish and takes incharge of work at home. Now they do not depend on others for small things. Outside knowledge of SHGs women has increased due to exposure as part of Self-Help Group and thus they exercise right in decision making. Most important reason for improved decision making role of these women is ‘economic security’ as one of the SHG member reported that she takes decisions along with her sons and do not consult her husband as he is alcoholic.

**Improvement in degree of decision making in daily life after becoming member of SHG**

In the interview schedule various options were put before the Self-Help Groups members in order to check their level of decision making such as visiting parents, relatives house, independence in purchase of household necessities, borrowing or lending money, purchase or sale of produce, adoption of family planning, decision in marriage of son or daughter. The responses are analyzed in Table 1.3 and Graph 1.3 which show that 96.82% members of Self-Help Groups exercise discretion in visiting their parents/relatives, 92.86% respondents exercise power in purchasing household goods, 84.13% members of Self-Help Groups decides themselves the borrowing or lending money, 65.08% respondents are consulted in purchase of input and sale of output, 66.67% members resorted to family planning methods and 49.21 % members of Self-Help Groups exercise their acumen in fixing marriage of son or daughter.
Spending income as per choice of women increased after becoming member of SHG.
In order to assess the control of Self-Help Groups’ members over spending their income, a question was asked in the interview schedule that whether they are allowed to spend their earnings as per their choice. The responses thereon are shown in Table 1.4 and Graph 1.4 which show that 77.78% members of SHGs spend their income as per their own will, 7.55% members do not spend their income as per their choice the reason being either they give their income to their household elders or to their husband. 15.87% did not give any response.

Maximum share of income is spent on household and children after becoming member of SHG
In the interview schedule the members of Self-Help Groups were asked whether they spend their income to meet household expenditure or not. The responses are arranged in Table 1.5 and Graph 1.5 which show that 90.57% members of Self-Help Groups spend their income to meet household expenditure and children, while 9.43% members do not spend their income on household expenditure or children, the reason being either they give their income to the household elders or to their husband to spend.

Ownership of assets has increased after becoming member of SHG
In the interview schedule, Self-Help Groups members were asked whether they hold any assets. None of the member of Self-Help Group reported to hold any asset in their name.

Women are independent to purchase assets from their income
During the course of study a question was asked from the members of Self-Help Groups whether they are independent to purchase assets from their earnings. The category of assets being asked are land, house, animal etc. The responses to the question are listed in Table 1.6 and Graph 1.6 which indicate that 29.37% members of the Self-Help Groups are independent in purchasing assets from their income, while 70.63% opine that they have no say in purchasing assets or making big purchases.

Amount of loan borrowed for husband has increased after becoming member of SHG
In the interview schedule, a question was asked from the members of Self-Help Groups whether they took loan for their husband from the Self-Help Group. The responses are reported in Table 1.7 and Graph 1.7 which reveals that 13.49% members of Self-Help Groups took loan for their husbands from SHGs whereas 86.51% did not took any loan from SHGs for their husbands.

Women hand over their income to husbands under pressure.
In the interview schedule, the members of Self-Help Groups were asked whether they give their hard earned money to their husband under pressure to spend as per their will. The responses are mentioned in Table 1.8 and Graph 1.8 which reveal that 3.77% members of Self-Help Groups give their hard earned money under pressure to their husband to spend as per their wish while 96.23% of the respondents faced no such situation.

Findings regarding empowerment of women members of Self-Help Groups in Rural Non Farm Sector at family level in Punjab
- All the SHGs members assert that they feel equally competent and hardworking as male members.
- Majority i.e. 87.30% members of SHGs witnessed increase in confidence level after becoming member of SHG.
A large number i.e. 75.40% members of SHGs exercise more influence in decision making at family level after becoming member of SHG.

Decision making capacity has increased in terms of women being consulted in day to day all general and specific matters, more importance in family, buying goods for household consumption, taking incharge of work, deciding things with their father-in-law, independence in purchasing household goods and spending on children education. They witnessed increase in self worth and a better psychological status. The women have economic independence and hence are consulted in all family matters.

Most of i.e. 96.82% members of SHGs exercise decision making in visiting parents/relatives house. They inform their husband and in-laws and no restricting has been made to them for their wishful but reasonable visits.

A significant percentage i.e. 84.13% SHGs members exercise independence in borrowing or lending money.

Approximate of 66% SHGs members exercise decision making in matters relating to purchase or sale of produce.

Nearly 67% SHGs members exercise decision making in adoption of family planning measures.

Around half of SHGs members exercise their acumen for deciding matters relating to the marriage of their sons/daughters.

Out of 106 members of Self-Help Groups who earn income, 92.45% members spend their income as per their own will while 7.55% members do not spend their income as per their own desire the reason being either they handover their income to their household elders or to their husband.

Out of 106 members of SHG’s who earn income, 90.57% members spend their income to meet the household expenditure and on education of their children.

None of the members of Self-Help Groups have assets in their name stating their status to be inferior to men in ownership rights.

Majority i.e. 70.63% members of Self-Help Groups state that they have no say in matters regarding purchasing assets or making big purchases such as land, house, and animal while 29.37% members gave assertive response.

The Self-Help Groups women are empowered to think of their own needs, have positive psychological status and achieved dignity. Only 13.49% members of Self-Help Groups took loan for their husbands.

Around 4% women of SHGs still give their income to their husbands under pressure after becoming member of SHG.

Matrix Summing Up the Testing of Hypothesis

On the basis of analysis of sub-hypotheses in Matrix 1;
The Hypothesis, “Micro-Finance activities have been effective in empowering women members of Self-Help Groups at family level in Punjab” is found valid.

Conclusion

On the basis of above analysis we can say that microfinance activities have a positive impact on empowerment of women starting from increase in dignity, self-worth, enhanced decision making capacity, increased spending on household and on children and greater importance in their respective families. After joining Self Help Group women not only witnessed improved psychological status they also became more assertive, more confident and became empowered to participate in family and community decisions. Women clients have also
experienced improved gender relations at home. Women’s financial contributions helped them earn greater respect from their husbands, children and in-laws. Women admitted that men should be consulted on all issues but they should have right to take decisions themselves concerning their matters particularly. Microfinance has taken women a long way in realizing their right to make decisions on important subjects in family.

Microfinance schemes remarkably led to empowerment of women which greatly increased their potential and gave them freedom to spend income as per their choice for the welfare of their family and for their personal needs too. Majority of their spending are on household expenditure and on children. It is documented that in some cases loan ends up under the control of husband, however women undertaking microfinance services showed improvement in their behavioural status in the family and understanding with their husbands. The study exhibits that microfinance has proved to be a boon in empowering SHG women at family level in Punjab heralding an era of inclusive growth.

The substantial grounds and concerns for empowerment of women through self-help groups in Punjab are as under:

As noted from the current research an important finding is that in patriarchic and male dominant society in Punjab, after joining the self-help group some women tend to take loan for their husband. Many a times loan from the bank has not been taken by women for growing their activity as part of SHG but it has been taken by their husband for their own aspirations. Many a times loan has been taken showing some purpose but spend on other activities. Thus an account of ‘loan spending for the purpose’ should be carried out by the bank to check loan seepage on other activities and to ensure that purpose of loan should be rightly mentioned. Another striking finding is that though few, women still give their income to their husbands under pressure. Thus there is a need for close networking among the SHG women to protect their fellows from gender abuses. Majority members of Self-Help Groups state that they have no say in matters regarding purchasing assets or making big purchases such as land, house, and animal which shows their lowered status to their male counterparts. Microfinance services through education and literacy programs can help check this adversity.

Notes


Tables and Diagrams:

**Chart 1**

**Domains of Women Empowerment through Microfinance**
Table 1
Improvement in Confidence at Family Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>No. of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>87.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>126</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graph 1
Improvement in Confidence at Family Level

Table 1.2
Changing Profile of Decision Making at Family Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>No. of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>75.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>24.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>126</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graph 2
Changing Profile of Decision Making at Family Level
Table 3
Types of Decision Making

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Type of Decision</th>
<th>No. of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage Out of 126</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Visiting parents/relatives</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>96.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Purchase of household necessities</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>92.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Borrowing or lending money</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>84.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Purchase or sale of produce</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>65.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Adoption of family planning</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>66.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Deciding marriage of son/daughter</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>49.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graph 3
Types of Decision Making

Table 4
Spending Income as Per Choice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>No. of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage Out of 126</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>77.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>No response</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Graph 4
Spending Income as Per Choice

Table 5
Spending Income for Household Consumption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>No. of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage of Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>90.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>106</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Graph 5
Spending Income for Household Consumption

Table 6
Freedom to Spent Income on Purchase of Assets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>No. of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>70.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>126</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Graph 6
Freedom to Spent Income on Purchase of Assets

Table 7
Loan for Husband from SHG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>No. of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>86.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>126</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graph 7
Loan for Husband from SHG

Table 8
Hard Earned Money and Husband

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>No. of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage Out of 106</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>96.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>126</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Matrix 1

Testing of Hypothesis - “Micro-Finance activities have been effective in empowering women members of Self-Help Groups at family level in Punjab”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>Sub-Hypothesis</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Status of Hypothesis:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Increase in confidence at family level after becoming member of Self-Help Group</td>
<td>Majority (87.30%) of SHG women reported to have experienced improvement in confidence at family level after becoming member of Self-Help Group</td>
<td>☑ Accepted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Improvement in decision making capacity at family level after becoming member of SHG</td>
<td>There is noteworthy improvement in decision making capacity among SHG women at family level (i.e. 75.40% of respondents said so).</td>
<td>☑ Accepted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Improvement in degree of decision making in daily life after becoming member of SHG</td>
<td>Decision making capacity of SHG women were explored and substantial evidence of decision making at family level was found with respect to different indicators such as visiting parents/relatives house, purchase of household necessities, borrowing or lending money, purchase or sale of produce, adoption of family planning and decision about marriage of son /daughter.</td>
<td>☑ Accepted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Spending income as per choice of women</td>
<td>The SHG women to a large extent i.e. 77.78% were found to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>increased after becoming member of SHG.</td>
<td>be spending their earning as per their wish.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Maximum share of income is spent on household and children after becoming member of SHG.</td>
<td>Most of The SHG women i.e. 76.19% were found to spent major part of their income for the welfare of family and children.</td>
<td>✔ Accepted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Ownership of assets has increased after becoming member of SHG.</td>
<td>None of SHG women was found to have assets in their name.</td>
<td>☒ Rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Women are independent to purchase assets from their income.</td>
<td>Lesser number of SHG women i.e.29.37% were found to purchase assets such as land, house, animal etc independently from their earnings.</td>
<td>☒ Rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Amount of loan borrowed for husband has increased after becoming member of SHG.</td>
<td>Lesser number of SHG women i.e. 13.49% was found taking loan for their husband or giving their loan money to their husbands.</td>
<td>☒ Rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Women hand over their income to husbands under pressure.</td>
<td>Fewer i.e. 3.28% of women were found to give their hard earned money to their husband under pressure.</td>
<td>☒ Rejected</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Right to Information and Citizen Empowerment: 
A Case Study of Odisha

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Abstract
This paper, based upon an empirical study, deals with how the RTI Act empowers citizens. Information is power and the basis that influences decisions and mindsets of people to achieve their goals. Seeking information enhances the level of participation as a responsible citizen. In a diverse country like India, it is a major challenge for the governance system to provide an easy service delivery to the people which needs the people’s participation by any means however; most of the people in India are unknown to access and use information in various fields for their benefits. The RTI Act, being comprehensive, allows Indian citizens to seek information from a public authority by rendering the government and its functionaries more accountable and responsible. It enables citizens to know about decisions of the government and the basis on which such decisions are made. This could facilitate the citizen exercising his/her judgment to influence the process of policy formulation and decision making. This is a case study in Odisha aiming at exemplifying the functioning of the RTI Act on ground, tries to understand the knowledge of the citizens about accessing information and critically assesses how accessing information and use of information through RTI Act empowers the citizens.

Keywords: Citizen, Participation, Right to Information Act

Introduction
India being the largest democracy in the world, to ensure transparency and accountability in its governance system poses a huge challenge. It has been recognized that every citizen, as and when needed, should have the requisite information regarding government’s policy, programmes and interventions. Literature concerning the Right to Information (RTI) Act validates that the legislation has certainly contributed towards improving citizens’ understanding of their rights and duties. Such a level of consciousness has, in fact, strengthened their fight against corruption and voicing their concern against irregularities and wrong doings in the system of governance. The RTI Act, by making government level information available to citizens in a free and fair way, removes the so called ‘secrecy’ or ‘confidential’ aspect of such information.

As the RTI Act is a potent tool with citizens to ensure transparency and accountability in the governance system, this can be effectively used by the youth, in particular, as a means of their empowerment. This practice in itself could be an experience in strengthening the ‘ordinary’ citizen’s resolve to counter corruption and demand accountability from the system. Given the significance of the RTI Act, the present study attempts to examine the application of it in a select micro region so as to appreciate the nuances of the legislation better. It focuses on the aspect of active participation by citizens in a rural context.

Historical Background of RTI
Globally, Sweden was the first country to allow freedom of information to its citizens as far back as 1766, followed by other Scandinavian countries, but very lately. Similarly, Finland
enacted the Freedom of Information Legislation in 1951 and both Denmark and Norway had made similar legislations in 1970. The USA granted the right to information to its citizens through the Freedom of Information Act, 1966 (Sankari, 2000).

In the Indian context, the Constitution of India has no direct provision expressly conferring right to information to the citizens, although the Supreme Court has been stating since 1975 that the right to information is an intrinsic part of the following two fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution: (i) Right to freedom of speech and expression (Article 19); (ii) Right to life and personal liberty (Article 21). However, the right to information campaign in India began with the Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS) movement that aimed to bring about transparency in village accounts via the demand for minimum wages in rural India. Ghost entries in muster rolls were a sign of rampant corruption in the system which prompted MKSS to demand information recorded in government files from the officials. The movement soon spread across India. From very modest beginning in the villages of Rajasthan, the success of MKSS has been a source of inspiration for activists in India and throughout the world. In 1993, a draft for Right to Information law was proposed by the Consumer Education and Research Council (CERC), Ahmedabad. In 1996, the Press Council of India headed by Justice P.B. Sawant presented a draft model law on the right to information to the Union Government of India. The draft model law was later updated and renamed the PCI-NIRD Freedom of Information Bill, 1997. Unfortunately, none of the draft laws was seriously considered by the union government. Meanwhile, MKSS’ advocacy gave rise to the National Campaign on People’s Right to Information (NCPRI), which was formed to advocate right to information at the national level (Saini and Gupta, 2009).

In order to promote transparency and accountability in administration and with a view to set up practical machinery for securing information, the Indian Parliament passed the Freedom of Information Act, 2002 that was repealed later with a new act, the Right to Information Act, which came into force on 12th October, 2005. This new law empowers Indian citizens to seek information from a public authority, making the government and its functionaries that made the governance system more accountable and responsible. While the right to information is implicitly guaranteed by the Indian Constitution, the Act provides a powerful tool to the citizens to get information from the government, as a matter of right. This law is comprehensive and covers almost all matters of governance and has the widest possible reach, being applicable to government at all levels - union, state and local as well as to the recipients of government grants. The primary power of right to information empowers the citizens for requisition of information. Hence, without the need for forming pressure groups or associations, it put power directly into hands of the citizens, who are the foundation of a democracy.

A Conceptual Understanding
Bell, Robin and Watchers (1998) points out that on the whole, the freedom of information legislations in developed democracies have three fundamental features such as: (i) these make administration more accountable to people; (ii) these act as legal right of access to government records without a demonstrated need to know; (iii) these have specific exemptions to protect national security, personal privacy, law enforcement and the like; and where access is refused, a right of appeal independent of government officials is possible. However, in the words of N. R. Madhav Menon, the then Director, National Judicial Academy and Coordinator National Colloquium on RTI, “the enactment of RTI Act, 2005 is indeed one of the outstanding legislative accomplishments in the democratic evolution of the Indian Republic (Goel, 2007) and according to Jain (2007) the RTI Act, 2005 is a landmark.
legislation for good governance and can help common citizens, especially, the poor and underprivileged, to get their dues from government.

While Verma (2008) found that right to information as a powerful tool in the hands of citizens in a free society and Wadia (2006) has pointed out that it would give access to all kinds of information and will instigate the required publicity of such information by concerned departments. Additionally, the Second Administrative Reforms Commission (2006) has pointed out in its first report that the right to information has been seen as the key to strengthening participatory democracy and ushering in people centered governance. Access to information can empower the poor and the weaker sections of society to demand and get information about public policies and actions, leading to their welfare.

Mander (2003) emphasises that without information people cannot adequately exercise their rights and responsibilities of citizens or make informed choices. Sharma and Krishna (2006) finds that the right of access to information and ideas is vital for any society. If citizens are to participate and make informed choices, they must have access to political, social, scientific and economic expressions. They need access to the widest range of ideas, information and images. Government information is a national resource. Neither the particular government of the day nor public officials create information for their own benefit. Government information is generated for purposes related to the legislative discharge of their duties and for the institutions of government and the government ultimately funds the institutions of democracy and the salaries of officials. It follows, therefore, that the government and its officials are merely “trustees” of this information for the people.

The Centre for Good Governance (2008) in its work A Citizen’s Guide: The Right to Information Act 2005, has emphasised that citizens can seek information about their applications or complaints regarding ration cards, electricity connections, water connections and so on, pending with the public authorities and force them to redress their grievances quickly without any need of paying bribes. This indicates again the positive impact of Information Laws in different spheres of society viz., politics and public administration. Uma (2009) points out that both generating information and disseminating and diffusing information to create awareness and knowledge are equally important. Therefore, information is power and acquiring the relevant information empowers the people to deal with issues effectively. As Rao (2009) has found, participation in nation building presupposes existence of informed, motivated and empowered citizens. By accessing and seeking information citizens are in a better position to guide and direct meaningful implementation of policies and directives. Effective participation in such process is nothing but self-governance.

Kumar (2009) has said that the citizens are not only deprived of information relevant to their own lives and livelihood, but also denied the possibility of acting as citizens to participate in the making of democratic governance of self. ‘Right to know’, therefore, is the basic and fundamental right of citizens without which other rights and citizenship responsibilities cannot be discharged adequately. Hence, exercising the ‘Right to Know’ is at least the essential first step in strengthening citizen leadership and democratic governance. PricewaterhouseCoopers (2009) points out that the study on Understanding the “Key Issues and Constrains” in implementing the RTI Act has been highlighted through various case studies that RTI Act has adequate “teeth” to bring in transparency and reduce corruption.

Interestingly, Agarwal, (2009) in his study has said that exactly five years after it came into force on October 12, 2005, thousands of people have used the RTI Act for securing not just
information but also getting things done. Similarly, for many RTI has also become a weapon with which to fight a system that constantly fails to deliver. Dhaka (2010) has rightly pointed out that seeking information is the citizen’s right and an applicant making a request for information cannot be asked to give any reason for requesting the information or any other personal details except those that may be necessary for contacting the applicant. However, on the one hand, Apte (1995) considered “Power” as the key for the term “Empowerment”, which means having control over material assets like land and finance, intellectuals’ resources like knowledge; information and ideas to generate, sustain and propagate an ideology and on the other hand, Adams (1996) is of opinion that empowerment is the means by which individuals, groups and communities take control of their circumstances and achieve their own goals, thereby being able to work towards the helping of their lives. Lowe (1996) highlights that empowerment emphasizes not only increasing the power of the individual, but also the quality of life for the individual, the efficiency and autonomy of the Individual. Dubhashi (2000) acknowledges that empowerment is the process of enabling or authorizing an individual to think, behave, take action and control work in an autonomous way.

The review of literature points out to the gap pertaining to the role of citizens in using the RTI Act and how they access information through the use of information and get empowered. So, it is desired that a study on Right to Information and Citizen Empowerment is needed to find out how the citizens of the study area empower themselves through exercising the RTI Act in a small area of five select Gram Panchayats of Gop Block of Odisha state in India.

**Study Area, Methodology and Limitations**

This study was undertaken in Puri district in Odisha. The rural population in the district is 1298654 and in the study Block, Gop, there are 29 Gram Panchayats. Five gram panchayats were selected namely Simili, Mahalapada, Sorava, Banakhandi and Andhiraichhapur. The field work was done during January, 2011.

Through a preliminary field visit, it was found that in the Gop Block the intervention of a non-government organization “Young India” had resulted in most of the citizen’s using the RTI Act for their own as well as common needs and concerns. The investigation was also keen to understand the participation of citizens in governance system through RTI Act and its impact to the common citizens of the Gop Block. Two categories of respondents were chosen for the study, the common citizens and elected representatives of the study area. The sample was collected in multiple stages to ensure the consistency of the data. A random sampling method was used for selecting the citizen respondents. To get the randomness of the sample however the purposive sample has been employed for the selection of elected representatives. The total number of sample size selected for the study was 35 including five elected Sarapanchs of selected five gram panchayats. A total of 30 common citizens were selected randomly for the responses including the citizen who have used RTI Act as well as the citizens who have not used.

One of the major limitations of the study is that the selection of the study area was based upon various other reasons such as economic viability of the researcher, proximity of the study and availability of time for completion of the project as it was a time bound academic assignment. However, the inferences cannot be generalised on a larger scale, because the size of the sample is not fully representative of the diversity of population in India.
Major Findings
With reference to the specific objectives of the study to understand accessing of information by the citizens and critically assess how accessing information and use of information through RTI Act empowers the citizens. It is found that majority of the respondents desire to use the RTI Act as the leading instrument to access information. The study also highlights that all the respondents are aware about the RTI Act due to large awareness created mainly by the Community Radio ‘Radio Namaskar’ and ‘Young India’, an NGO however, most of the respondents have not used right to information and some of them do not know its application. Moreover, this study reveals that majority of the respondents have known about the provision of receiving of information within 30 days of RTI application from the concerned authority. However, it is found that out of total 35 respondents, 20 respondents had used the RTI for accessing information.

Further, this study highlights that the high percentage (57.15%) of the respondents has used the RTI Act which is a positive sign. Also, the study finds that the major medium of creation of Right to Information awareness in the study area is ‘Young India’, as viewed by 42.86% of the respondents. Therefore, it indicates a good level of awareness about the RTI Act in the study area. Moreover, the study finds that most of the people are conscious about the community welfare than the personal benefits and use RTI Act as a tool for the community benefits which is a good response towards the use of RTI Act. Further it is a good sign that most of respondent uses RTI Act to reduce corruption practices at the bottom level of the government institutions. It is again revealed from this study where 35% of the 20 RTI applicant respondents are of view that they use RTI Act for many other reasons that indicates variety dimensions of need for use of RTI Act. The study shows that use of RTI Act benefits most people in the study area. Also, the use of RTI Act has increased the personal qualities of the people particularly, they are confident enough to ask the government functionaries about their rights, the government programmes, welfare schemes and about the functioning of government institutions which is a positive indication for the citizen empowerment.

This study reveals that most of the literate citizens take part in the use of RTI however; the illiterate people also use RTI Act and get benefit from the use of RTI Act. This study shows that it is a positive sign where more than half of the respondents confirm about women participation in application of RTI. However, the young women should be encouraged and motivated for further active role in use of RTI Act. Also, this study finds that there are various reasons behind the non-participation of the citizens in the RTI Act, mostly lack of awareness. It is found that the need of more awareness and training on the application of RTI Act at various levels is necessary to increase the more people’s participation of youth in use of RTI Act.

Suggestions
The following suggestions emerge from our study: (i) a proper mechanism with adequate facilities should be initiated for more involvement of rural people for use of RTI, (ii) a strategy should be made that will create awareness at the grassroots level that will increase the people's participation in use of RTI Act, (iii) single window system should be initiated to help citizens to get information easily and quickly without much delay, (iv) several training, orientation programmes, seminars, role plays, etc. and various other modes should be used to increase the citizens participation in the RTI Act, (v) the elected representatives and the Panchayat officials should be given capacity building training on RTI Act from time to time, and (vi) Grassroots organizations must be involved for the effective implementation of the RTI Act.
Conclusion
This study reached in the conclusion that accessing of information by the citizens empowers them. This conclusion may be limited to the scale of the study and may not be generalised. This study finds that the citizens who use the RTI Act to access information for personal as well as community benefit are being empowered through various aspects. It reveals that the RTI Act is a tool for many things as well as a good indicator for the citizens’ empowerment. This study finds out that Right to Information is an opportunity for the people in general; their active participation in application of RTI will bring a change in the society and create a change in the governance process. However, a strategy with appropriate mechanism should be initiated by the government for creation awareness more at the grassroots level about use of RTI Act to encourage the people to ask the government about the right and fight against wrong doings and corrupt practices in the society. Therefore, efforts in various levels should be made by the non-government organisations, community based organisations and civil society about use of right to information which will empower the people for their active participation in governance system.

Acknowledgement
This paper is based upon author’s M.A. project work “Right to Information Act and Citizen Empowerment: A Study of Selected Gram Panchayats of Gop Block of Puri District, Odisha” undertaken in 2011. The author acknowledges Prof. Kesab Das, GIDR for his comment on this paper.

References


Cohesive Urbanisation in North-East India:  
Issues & Concerns

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Abstract
North-East India, a region once claimed as terra incognita by the British featuring legendary folktales and mystical destinations have long lived in penumbra of doubt, which changed with the region playing strategic role in context of the Government of India’s “Look East Policy”. The hallway to the eastern hinterland, and a conurbation, Guwahati today fashions an urban reconstruction plan seeking to revive its economy, commerce and infrastructure for collateral development across the state that would follow suit in other parts of the region. The City Development Plan (CCD) outlines a sustainable development scheme conforming to JNNURM, addressing key issues like population, poverty, water supply, hygiene and environment degradation. However rapid urbanisation of Guwahati and the adjacent state of Nagaland collides with the natural design. As the process of structural remodelling gains strength in these cities, communities are caught between contrasting elements; issues of space management, resource ownership, income gaps, and growth-ecology fracas. This paper is an attempt to study the development process in these two cities, problems associated with it, and how these two livewire cities plan to solve the logjams in the urbanisation process to generate constructive opportunities and growth.

Keywords: North-East, Urbanisation, Sustainable development, Infrastructure, Policy

Introduction
Urbanisation in India, not of recent origin dating back to Indus valley civilisation or to the Aryan influence of 600 B.C. witnessed a transition post-independence taking the nation by storm with the spread of western urbanisation phenomenon in the nineties. The focus towards building centres of economic progress which would offer a breather to wide range of development concerns gradually facilitated the move towards an extended process of metropolitanisation in the country associated with the opening up of economy. This process of metropolitanisation traditionally connected to globalisation and productive system is more than just a synonym for urban growth. In the contemporary times it implies necessary conditions of relevant demographical size, easy accessibility, development of new, digital technologies and economic activities besides strengthening the role of the city capital (Ionescu and Crenicean, 2009).

Earlier the phenomenon of metropolitanisation was the prerogative of big cities or mega cities only. A Mckingsy Global Institute (MGI) research however point out that common misperception prevailed that megacities were driving global growth for the past 15 years. In fact their growth has been sluggish or constant, while several middleweight cities with populations of between 150,000 and 10 million seems to be contributing more than half of global growth to 2025. Today half the world’s population live in cities and over the next 40 years the majority of the population in Asia and Africa will come to live in cities, emerging as critical urban spaces for high density population with diversified economic and social opportunities, and a confluence of entertainment and culture, also housing and commercial activity.
Generally Urbanization identifies a shift of an ever increasing labour force from agriculture to the non-agricultural sector, a change in population distribution from scattered rural areas to more compact towns or cities, often followed by a change of lifestyle (Carter 1975; King and Golledge 1978). Its evolution takes place in three phases: an initial phase, with a low level of urbanization, an acceleration phase, with rapid population concentration in urban areas, and a terminal phase, with slow development or even stagnation of the urbanization process (GOI-UNDP, 2011). India’s urbanisation process has been a dynamic one based on two criteria; (a) on the grant of municipal status to a settlement or urban civic status, (b) on demographic or economic criteria like population, density in contrast to other South Asian countries where urban areas are defined either on population size or civic status (Bhagat, 2011). The Eleventh Five year plan (2007-12) identified urbanisation as the key indicator of economic and social development that would be the locus and engine of economic growth over the next two decades to achieve the ambitious goal of 9-10% growth in GDP.

Also the 2007 India Urban Report, drafted by The National Institute of Public Finance and Policy (NIPFP) highlighted that Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai joined by Hyderabad, and Ahmedabad are entering a ‘metropolitanisation’ phase, evolving into urban corridors where urban population is steadily growing, new employment opportunities, better healthcare, communication and technology, housing, education, entertainment are available. Nonetheless in an urban system an economy is composed of potentially large number of cities of different sizes and types, argues Henderson (2003). The country’s urban policies in the past 15 years has seen polarised growth with attention to metropolitan concentration, regional and interpersonal inequality and, unfortunately with little reduction in poverty. The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), launched Rs100,000-crore 3 fund in 2005 targeting 65 strategic urban centers with strong economic growth potential to make development comprehensive. Of these were 35 metro cities and megacities plus other cities of under a million inhabitants which are either state capitals or cities of particular cultural, historical or tourist importance. Migration of people from rural to urban, also from small and medium towns to metropolises, upward mobility of towns, addition of new towns within the city urban agglomerations, expansion of city limits and emergence of outgrowths around such places is belief to contribute to the contemporary urban phenomenon, Denis and Marius-Gnanou(2011).

**Trend and pattern in North-East Urbanisation**

North- East India has a unique and interesting history of urbanisation which could be attributed to four main factors in British era: a) Army Expedition, b) Steamer Introduction, c) Labour Import and d) Growing Middle Class. In the early nineteenth century when East India Company entered the region with its armed forces mainly comprised of Gorkha Jawans, a wave of modernisation touched the territory with new townships and road communications. Road constructions from Cherapunjee marked the beginning of urban development soon expanding to Shillong in 1886. There were only 14 urban centres in Assam in 1911 and by 1921 the number increased to only 22. The oldest towns to be established by the British are Goalpara, Barpeta, Nowgaon, Jorhat, Dibrugarh, Sibsagar, Golaghat, Silchar, and Karimganj. Until independence and soon after, urbanisation has been very slow in Assam. In 1951 while urbanisation of India was 17.29%, it was insignificantly 4.29% in Assam. However major townships emerged at Guwahati, and many large and small towns due to the introduction of steamer service. Township development gradually expanded to the neighbouring borders of Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh.
Also after the declaration of Guwahati as the capital of Assam in 1972 major structural change took place. New industries came up in the outskirts of the city along with new centres for work, leisure, entertainment, culture, education and intellectual activity carrying recognition, undivided attention and rise in its economic value. Being the nerve centre of the region, the city attracted all kinds of migrants from within and outside the state, and was among very few Indian cities that witnessed growth in population in terms of percentage if not in absolute value from 1971-91. As per Municipal Finances 2001 census, Assam is one of the less urbanised states of India with only 12.90 per cent of the population living in urban areas compared to 27.78 per cent in the country as a whole. The rate of urbanisation in Assam in the preceding decade was 11.10 per cent against the all India figure of 26.13 per cent. The decadal growth of urban population in Assam during 1991-2001 was 36.24 per cent, slightly higher than the all India average of 31.13 per cent. MoDoner & ADB (2006) mention the state capital city Guwahati with an increasing urban population has experienced the faster urban growth primarily due to migration from infrastructure deficient areas.

Geographically North-East has never been an easy terrain to reconnoitre, and geo-politically a sequestered region, the partition added to the misery in terms of administrative isolation, political forsaking and socio-economic distancing. The region shares critical borders with Bhutan, China, Myanmar and Bangladesh that offers unwarranted challenges, and although connected to the India heartland with a slender 22 km Siliguri corridor, acting as the Gateway to the Northeast, the region is viewed as a distant outpost, some kind of land's end, (Planning Commission, 1997). Northeast topographically is also divided into discreet plains regions and encompassed within hills and much of the land in the hills were owned by the community, not the states, with substantial space for privatisation and “enclosures”.

Many of the NorthEastern states joined the planning process much later than most others states, although Assam, Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya presently exhibits an ambitious urbanisation plan. Nagaland along with Guwahati is in the big-league of the urban remodelling plan, in rhythm with the transnational, cosmopolitan and neo-liberal view of the metrocity as a uniquely effective motor of all-round national development, a view favoured by India’s private and dominant public actors. Concurrently Guwahati and Nagaland present similar urbanisation pattern, even though there are mild variations in urbanisation scale. While Assam presents a patchy urbanisation arrangement with maximum urbanisation in the district of Kamrup with a population of 82.09 per cent, Baksa district records minimum urban populace with a count of just 1.28 per cent, as per the 2011 census. Nagaland on the other hand has recorded the highest rate of urbanization in India during the last two decadal censuses 2001 and 2011. During 2001 while the average rate of urbanization at the National level was about 22%, Nagaland recorded 68%. Similarly during 2011, Nagaland recorded 69% against the national level of 21%.

The first experience of urbanisation in Nagaland began with the occupation of British of the Naga hills in the late nineteenth century. With the expansion of administrative settlements, Kohima and Wokha in 1878, Mokokchung in 1888 and Wakching in 1913 as new townsships were established. Emergence of these urban centres, particularly significant due to market and trade and commerce offered several pull factors for internal immigrants. However it was only after the introduction of national policy for tribal development that substantial urbanisation in Nagaland began (GOI-UNDP, 2011). Nagaland also records a tribal population of 89.1% and among the top four states in India in rural-urban migration. Except for Dimapur, all urban areas in Nagaland today are located in the hill districts. Urbanisation in Nagaland is mostly in the two towns of Kohima, the state capital and Dimapur.
Historically Kohima was a battlefield in the World War II, and when Nagaland became a state, Kohima became its capital and major institutions along with market were established. Dimapur was earlier the capital of Dimamsa Kachari Kingdom and was well connected by railways, rail and air services, having significant industries like sugar mill, saw mills, NEEPCO, and more recently the North East India Regional Cultural centre that makes the town a hotspot to purchase land and secure employment. Additionally the towns consist of sizeable non-tribal population who are mostly government officers/employees and in services. Figures disclose that the rate of urban population during 1981-91 was much higher (74.74p.c) than the total population (53.58 p.c). Expansion of the old towns mostly bordering the National Highway No. 39 is taking place in a vast scale and suburbs are coming up in the barren areas and down the hills (Ganguly, 1995).

**Development Concerns**

Development has always remained a challenge in the region added with isolation that prevents the smooth transition of the region from obscurity to contrivance. Primarily composed of tribal population, the region for long remained defiant as a result of the discrimination faced by the residents. However the region’s willingness to go ahead with transformation associated with urbanisation has led to behavioural change breaking the vicious circle of economic stagnation. Income, employment and poverty have been important concerns throughout and stagnation in agricultural sector stimulates continuous rural to urban migration. Assam has levels and rates of growth of income below the average for the country. Due to small land holdings and traditional farming methods combined with low levels of mechanisation productivity has been low throughout with exceptions in between. Innovative agricultural practices are just beginning to take off. Assam also ranks amongst the industrially under-developed states in the country.

As per Vision 2020 document the 1997 North East Industrial Policy (NEIP) led to a substantial spurt in investment in the hill states of North East with expectations that the comprehensive North East Industrial Investment and Promotion Policy of 2007 exclusively meant for the eight North East States, will lead to rapid and widespread industrial development in the North East Region, including not only large but also small and medium industry, as also in the services sector, including the hospitality industry and tourism; IT and ITES; and the health sector. The rise of unconventional employments opportunities in Guwahati and adjacent townships acts as major pull factors. Also to break the fetters of the geo-political isolation of the Region the Minister of External Affairs conceived the 'Look East Policy', where North-East could play strategic role in bridging connections with South-East Asia. Trade and economic exchanges with neighbouring internal and international borders were to be promoted. Northeast would not just act as the periphery in India but as the centre of a thriving and integrated economic space linking two dynamic regions with a network of highways, railways, pipelines, transmission lines criss-crossing the region. This created an opportune moment for both Assam and Nagaland, both being strategically placed and well-connected and urbanised would benefit in freighting goods and building connections with the rest of the country and Far East. But the Lost East Policy, a splendid vision in paper yielded few returns to the region and NorthEast seems to be back to the place it was few years ago.

**Problems of Urban Explosion and Destabilisation**

Statistics confirm that the newly emerged cities and towns (large, medium and small) in North East are thriving in tempo and size due to its emphasis on commercialisation, unconventional opportunities and present-day modular lifestyle. Nagaland’s Minister for
Urban Development, Higher & Technical Education Dr. Shürhozelie Liezietsu in a conference expressed concern with the rapid urbanisation process and asserted that since the condition of towns and cities reflect the will and aspiration of its citizens, there is an urgency to build high class competitive cities with sustainable infrastructure to boost the prospect for economic development. In Nagaland, the phenomenon of migration from rural areas, in search of income and wage employment, better lifestyle, housing and security has led to the swift growth of urban population, rising from 5.6 percent per annum during 1981-1991, to 6.4 percent per annum during 1991-2001.

The Nagaland Human Development Report underlines that Kohima as the State capital and Dimapur as the commercial hub of the State appear to have the highest pull over the rural population to migrate. There is also visible migration from outside, the illegal Bangladeshi immigrants from the adjacent borders of Assam, Tibetans and Bhutanese. The population explosion exerts humongous pressures on housing and space making living conditions unsustainable. Thus the unsystematic and haphazard extension of house structures without following any regulations, rampant encroachment of Government land is also contributing to the growing congestion, leaving hardly any space between houses, straddling the open drainage systems, using footpaths as kitchen sink, blocking and clogging the drainage system that heightens sanitary and health risk(GOI-UNDP, 2009). Guwahati too accounts similar anecdotes, although Assam urbanisation is at snail’s pace, the city capital is progressing by leaps and bounds with its infrastructural redevelopment.

Migration Woes
Migration though is not a new concept in North East, post-liberalisation the phenomenon has raised alarm across the region. The decadal growth rate of migrants in Assam and Guwahati, in the period 1991 to 2001, is estimated at 25% and 36.78% respectively which reflects the growing migration within the state as well as into the city. Significant rise in the percentage of rural to urban migrants at 45 percent is marked for the period 1991-2001. Guwahati is the engine of growth for the entire north eastern region, and several pull factors like employment and business, booming real estate sector, commercial hubs offering modern lifestyle are principal reasons for migration. However unfettered flow of rural migrants from within and outside the region imposes tremendous pressure on the already crowded capital leading to undesirable fallout in the form of unemployment, congestion, slums & squalor, environmental degradation and spiralling crime rate. Pressure on all basic infrastructures is resulting in more discomfort for its residents, heightening tensions among communities. A prominent minister and National Executive Member of the opposition party in Assam in his blog raised concern over the present state of Guwahati which has become a real estate goldmine open to exploitation, a squatter’s city with drainage issues, and absence of clean water and electricity. According to HABITAT (1996) urban wastes have local impacts and create problem of global dimension. In urban areas environment is much more polluted increasing health risks as a result poor people in urban areas are even poorer than they seem to be.

No Piecemeal Approach for North-East
An urban space as defined by Agiurre Adalber in the Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology is the combination of synergistic and structural aspects of space that makes the urbanisation process dynamic. This means paying significant attention to both synergistic perspective of space in terms of population and institutional expansion and structural perspective like social structures and relationships. As Prof. Valentino Castellini, of Italy, 1998 weaves in words “The city is a place where a lot of problems are concentrated; but the city also has the
resources to overcome these problems and be the place of development.” While both Guwahati and Nagaland are concentrating on systematic development of urban centres, creation of job opportunities, infrastructure remodelling ensuing economic transformation and change; sustainable parameters like adoption of pragmatic housing policy, creation of green and open spaces for healthy living, micro level urban planning for reducing conflicts are essential prerequisite.

Guwahati’s City Development Plan (2006) highlights building a natural environment for good quality life, basic services to the urban poor through quality delivery of civic amenities and provision of utilities with emphasis on universal access at an affordable price, with reduction of congestion as vital ingredients for sustainable livelihood. Both the cities are caught in conflict between opulence or scarcity, consumerism or safety, ecology or ecology and need to adopt pragmatic comprehensive urban plan to address core concerns of congestion, unsustainable housing and habitat.

Presently Nagaland is caught in ethnic conflict, and faces migration overflow, along with Guwahati and there is no more scope for complacency. Urgent action to remove stalemates in building sustainable cities and establishing civic agencies are sought to be devised. Last year Assam’s Chief Minister stressed on empowering and activating the functioning of the municipal corporations and councils as key element for cohesive urbanisation in the state. Likewise Nagaland Minister for Urban Development Dr Liezietsu raised concerns over the pressures of over urbanisation on limited infrastructure and called for ‘systematic development’ of cities. As Allen(2009) point out that in an increasingly urbanised world, the built environment needs to be recognised as a central component to the liveability of the earth, to enhance the liveability of buildings and urban infrastructures for ‘all’ city dwellers without damaging or disrupting the urban region environment and support the local economy. A wider approach would be to reaffirm to sustainable practice, policy or trend for healthy living and urban sustainability because cities cannot be expected to become ‘islands of reform’ in isolation from the wider global political economy in which they are produced.

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Impact of Migration on Resources in Delhi

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Abstract
The main objective of the study is to find out the relationship in between migration and the impact of migration on the natural resources as well as artificial resources in Delhi. The analysis of this study is based on the secondary data. After 1993, the population growth rate due to migration is higher than the natural population growth rate, it shows that rate of migration in Delhi is relatively very high. But this type of migration create extra burden on the natural resources as well as artificial resources. This additional burden on the resources is responsible for the degradation of the quantity and quality of the available facilities such as effect on the land distribution, livestock number, medical facilities etc. This additional burden on the health care services shows adverse effect in the form of “scarcity of the health care facilities” and “increasing cost of the health care facilities”. Means migration is making to health care facilities more costly as a result one section of the society cannot afford available health facilities. Since health care services are already in limited number and the migrated people makes extra burden on these services. Means available services are not enough to handle situation so that there is need to make balance in between “requirement of the Health Care Facilities” and “supply of the Health Care Services”.

Keywords: Migration, Health Care Facilities, Degradation, Natural Resources, Artificial Resources

Introduction
Migration is one of the important factors for the continuous environmental degradation especially in metropolitan cities. There are so many theories which support that wage differential is the main cause of the migration such as Harris and Todaro has supported this fact that due to the changes in the wages, people migrate from the rural to urban area usually. But there is a question, is wage differential only single cause of the migration. Than its answer will be no because there are so many push and pull factors which are equally important for the high rate of migration. Push factors means few opportunities in the rural area, poor infrastructure facilities, natural disaster etc. and on the other hand pull factors consist better living slandered in the urban area, better medical facilities, education facilities etc. But this continuous migration is showing extra burden on the resources of the urban area. Since already most of the metropolitan cities are in the saturation stage and increasing migration is showing adverse effect on the available resources which shows results in the form of quality degradation of the available resources. Ultimately this degradation is responsible for the higher morbidity and mortality rate. These increased morbidity and mortality rate will create extra burden on the available Health Care Facilities.

Review of the Literature
The literature which is related with the interrelationship in between migration and environmental factors is mainly divided into two categories. First category supports the fact that environmental damages or environmental degradation is main cause of migration. Means because of natural calamities or any other type environmental problem, people of one area migrate from one area to another area. Second category literature is taking other factors rather than environmental factors as a main reason for the migration such as wage differential etc.
The term “Environmental Refugee “which comes in first category, means migration because of environmental factors. The term environmental refugee mainly explained by the United National Environmental Programme (UNEP) in 1985 by El-Hinnawi as

“Those people who have been forced to leave their traditional habitat, temporarily or permanently, because of a marked environmental disruption (natural and/or triggered by people) that jeopardized their existence and/or seriously affected the quality of their life ‘environmental disruption’ in this definition is meant any physical, chemical, and/or biological changes in the ecosystem (or resource base) that render it, temporarily or permanently, unsuitable to support human life. (El-Hinnawi, 1985).

This definition clears that any type change in the environment responsible for migration that change may be related from social, political, cultural, economical or the natural disaster. Here one thing is very important that is, only economical factors do not leads to the process of migration while other factors are also equally important. Ten years ago, United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP)' Director reported that “as many as 50 million people could become environmental refugees” (Tolba, 1989, Bates, 2009). The concept which is explained by the El-Hinnawi in context environmental refugees has not provided any clear distinguish in between environmental refugees and any other types of migrants.

Later, Bates (2002) has given clear cut distinguished in between environmental refugees and other type migrants. Bates (2002) has give the answer of the some important questions such as “Are all environmental refugees alike” and he has also provided some criteria which helps to differentiate in between “environmental refugee” and other type migrants. The definition which is given by Bates (2002) “environmental refugees includes people who migrate from their usual residence due to changes in their ambient non-human environment” and This definition again necessarily vague in order to incorporate the two most important features of environmental refugees: the transformation of the environment to one less suitable for human occupation and the acknowledgment that this causes migration (Bates, 2002).

Two way relationship in between environment and the migration
Environment and migration shows two ways relationship, means sometimes environmental factors leads to migration and on the other hand sometimes increasing rate of migration responsible for the environmental damages. Both aspects are equally important but this study is focusing to the second aspect means, the condition in which increasing rate of the migration is responsible for the environmental degradation. A brief description of both situations is given below.

Environmental factors leads to migration: One concept environmental refugees is also considered under the category in which people migrates because of environmental problems. Here some questions automatically rose as “what are the main causes of the increasing rate of the environmental refugees?” Some of case studies which help us to answer this question. Means, what are the maximum limit environmental factors, are responsible for the migration. One very important study which may helps to answer this question is done by Mahanta R. and Das D. (2012). The study area for this study was Assam and this study has shown the interrelationship in-between “Common property Resources Degradation” and “increasing Rate of Migration” in Assam. The result of this study has shown that deterioration in the common property resources is one of the major causes of the migration and in this reference he has given very significant reason behind this fact. Since rural people get earning from two different sources: private property and common property. Here common property also plays
very important role as a source of income such as forest is one of the most important source of income and if forest will be decrease than obviously this thing will adversely affect to the life of that area. Means reduction in the common property resources reduce earning of the rural people so, that people of that area are migrating to nearby urban area in search of the livelihood. Evaluate environmental factors as a playing leading role in increasing rate of migration.

The high rate of the migration leads environmental degradation: On the other hand migration is also responsible for the “environmental damages” in different forms, means the high rate of migration is responsible to make extra burden on the natural resources such as pressure on land, water resources etc. This extra burden on the natural resources degrades the quality of the natural resources and ultimately responsible to spread many diseases. At last this whole phenomenon is results in the form of additional burden on the Health Care Services. This additional burden on the health care services shows adverse effect in the following two ways: scarcity of the health care facilities and increasing cost of the health care facilities. Means urbanization is making to health care facilities more costly as a result one section of the society cannot afford available health facilities. And whatever the facilities those are available for the lower income groups are very inferior quality wise. Since health care services are already in limited number and the migrated people makes extra burden on these services.

Debate between supporter of the environmental refugee and critique of this concept
A very important study which is done by Morissary(2012), has provided very interesting arguments. This debate held in between “Proponents” models and “Critics” of the migration in context of “Environmental Refugee”. The people who supports the environmental change as a major cause for the migration, considered under “proponents” and on the other hand, who take other cause means non environmental factors as a major cause of the migration considered under the category of “Critique”. The critique has highlighted some fundamental problem of the proponent models which are related with the migration and developmental issue. The whole discussion is showing very strong interrelationship in between environmental degradation and migration.

Objective of the Study
This study is explaining interrelationship in between migration and the impact of migration on the natural resources as well as artificial resources. The study area for this study is Delhi. Since Delhi is the capital of the country and the rate of the in-migration in the Delhi is very high. This study has two main broad objectives (a) To check the effect of in-migration in the rapid population growth in the Delhi and (b)To check the impact of in-migration on the natural as well as artificial resources in the Delhi.
Since this study is explaining impact of in-migration on the resources, so that this study has covered some specific areas such as impact of migration on the “land distribution pattern”. “Demand Milk and milk product” and effect on the “health care facilities” in Delhi.

High rate of in-migration in the Delhi
Table 1 shows that in the migration is playing very significant role in the growth of the total population. In 1991 total increase in the population is about 3.89 lakhs and out of these 3.89 lakhs, 1.78 lakhs are migrated people. Means the proportion of the migration is very high in the total population. But in the initial years the natural increase in the total population is higher than the migration rate especially during the 1991, 1992 and 1993 but after 1993 net migration population growth has increase faster than the natural increase in the population in
the Delhi. It shows the importance of the migration issue. Means the “natural increase in the population” is lower than the “net migration population growth” in the Delhi. Means here migration is one of the most important factors for the population growth in the Delhi.

In the metropolitan cities migration is one of the major reasons of the increasing population and out of these cities Delhi is one of the most important cities where the migration rate is very high. Table 2 shows that in the 1981, about 48% was migrated population of the total population. Means about approx 50% population is the migrated population. And in 1991, approx 40% population is migrated population of the total population and in the 2001 more than 40 % population of the total population. This data is showing that migration is the major cause of the growth of the total population. So that there is need to analysis the impact of the migration on the available resources in Delhi. Because, the high rate of the migration is playing very important role in the growth of the population. So that there is need to analysis the interrelationship in between increasing population and the impact of this increasing population on the available resources in Delhi.

Impact on the Livestock Composition
As the population of the Delhi is increasing, this is not showing any kind of the major change in the livestock composition. With the help of the table 5 we can draw following conclusion.

- Means livestock composition is almost constant throughout the two decade for the pigs, sheep, and buffaloes. Means these animals have not increased in numbers throughout the two decades.
- Some animals such as camels, poultry, horses and other livestock’s number have decreased during the two decade from 1987 to 2007.
- Only one livestock’ numbers have increased, approx twice during the two decade, which is goat.

The findings of the Table 3 shows that, during two decade livestock number in Delhi is almost constant. Means this is clear, during the two decade only few animals has increased in number otherwise most of animal population has decreased.

Table 5 shows, findings of the table 4. Table 5 shows that Net sown area has decreased from the 1981 to 2011 drastically and fallow land (empty land) has also decreased. In 1980-81, the net sown area was the 35.3% of the total area(excluding forest area) but now in 2011-12, net sown area is only 15.5% of the total area (excluding forest). On the other hand, the area which is not available for the cultivation was 35.3% in the 1980-81 but now in 2011-12, this is 61.6% of the total area .Means these data is showing that area which is not available for the cultivation has increased. The decreasing in the land of the Net Shown Area is showing that because of the increasing in the population peoples need more land for the settlement. As a result fallow land and the Net Sown Area both are decreasing and on the other hand, the area which is not available for the cultivation is increasing. It is showing that because of the increasing population, demand of the land has increased so that land for the cultivation, net sown area and fallow land has decreased.

Impact on the demand and supply of the milk and milk-products
Table 6 shows that the main milk producing animals population has not increased as the supply of the milk has increased in Delhi .Means in Delhi supply of the milk has increased but production of the milk has not increased because the number of the milk producing animals has not increased . During 1985-2012 the supply of milk has increased very significantly. These data of the milk supply are only showing one milk producing agency that
is Mother Dairy. In Delhi so many milk producing companies are working but in this study only mother dairy data is using to show the increasing supply of the milk production in Delhi.

Table 6 is clearing drastic increase in the demand of milk. Means in Delhi demand of milk has increased but Delhi’ livestock is not capable to fulfill the demand of the milk. So there is a question, how milk supply has increased in Delhi? There is a one strong possibility; neighboring states may be supplying milk to Delhi. But this procedure will increase the cost of milk and milk products. Some time because of shortage of supply, people of Delhi purchase milk from unauthorized sources or open milk, which does not sale by any authorized milk company. This type milk is not hygienic or may be toxic, because of the mixing of harmful chemicals. Since Authorized milk and milk products are costly relatively, illegal sources which sale milk, so that poor people purchased that milk because of the lower cost. But this type milk and milk products are very dangerous for the health.

**Impact on “Health Care Facilities”**

Table 7 shows “Growth in the Medical Institutions”

- In 1992 total numbers of the medical institutions were 1125 and in 2002 these were 1596. Means net increase number of the medical institute is 471 during one decade from 1992 -2002. In 1991 population of the Delhi was 95.5 lakhs and in 2001 the population of the Delhi was 139.5 lakhs so that the comparison of the total population with the number of institute availability is showing that in 1992, according to 1991 population per institute availability were 8740.6 persons and in the 2002 according to population of the 2001(data used at the place of 2002) in Delhi one medical institute were available for the 8488.888889 persons. Means per institute 251.7126149 Persons has increased. Means it is showing extra burden on the available medical facilities per institute.
- Table 7 is showing that in 1992 total numbers of the hospitals in Delhi were 82 and in 2005 the total number of the hospital is 86. There is not any type significant change or increase in the number of the hospitals during 1992 to 2005.
- Table 7 is also showing that some medical facilities have decreased from 1992 to 2005 such as Number of Maternity Home, Special Clinics and Poly Clinics.
- Table 7 is showing that in 1992 total numbers of the dispensaries were 656 and in the 2002 these numbers were 972 so that total net increase was 316. Means Total number of the dispensaries has increased during 1992 to 2005 in significant number. So that it is showing that the main increase in the medical facilities is the private dispensaries not the government health care facilities. And the cost of the treatments in these private dispensaries usually higher than the government health care facilities.

**Conclusion**

The above results show that in Delhi the rate of the in-migration is very high. Even in Delhi, after 1993, the increase in the population due to migration is higher than the natural increase in the population. This means in-migration is one of the sever problem of the Delhi because migration is the major factor due to this rapid increase in the population in Delhi. And ultimately, this high rate of the migration is responsible to make extra burden on the natural as well as artificial resources. Because of the extra burden on the land resources, Net sown area, land for the cultivation has decreased from the 1981 to 2011 drastically and fallow land has also decreased. Means these type findings are showing that because of the increase in the population, the demand for the land for the different purposes has increased.
The increasing population also making extra burden on the available livestock. Means population of the Delhi is increasing so that demand of the milk and milk products has also increased, but the number of the livestock has not increased so that it results in two forms either quality of the milk will degrade or the price of milk will increase. Both situation are present in Delhi means the price of the good quality milk is continuously increasing day by day which is produced by authorized company and on the other hand, quality of milk products has gone down because of the mixing of harmful chemical this type milk is produced by authorized sources. One of the reason for the increasing price of milk may be, since Delhi’ resources are not enough to fulfill the milk demand so that there is a one strong possibility; neighboring states may be supplying milk to Delhi. But this procedure will increase the cost of milk and milk products. On the other hand, the people belonging to lower income group purchase unauthorized or unhygienic milk which is toxic and responsible to spread many diseases.

This extra burden on the natural resources will make extra burden on the artificial resources such as this extra burden will responsible for the large spread of the diseases and this large spread of the diseases will make extra burden on the health care facilities In 1992 total numbers of the hospitals in Delhi were 82 and in 2005 the total number of the hospital is 86. Means as the population of Delhi has increased; number of hospital has not increased during 1992 to 2005. Number of the “Public Health Care Facilities” has also decreased. On the other hand the number of dispensaries has increased in the significant amount. Hence two important facts emerge. First: extra burden on the hospitals and second: increasing cost of the available health care facilities because of the increasing number of the dispensaries. Means increasing population is making to health care facilities more costly as a result one section of the society cannot afford available health facilities. And whatever the facilities those are available for the lower income groups are very inferior quality wise. Since health care services are already in limited number and the migrated people are making extra burden on these services. Means available services are not enough to handle situation so that there is need to make balance in between “requirement of the Health Care Facilities” and “supply of the Health Care Services”.

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**Table 1: Population growth in Delhi by Natural Increase and Net Migration Population Growth (Figures in Lakhs)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Natural Increase</th>
<th>Migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>2.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>99.37</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>2.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>103.38</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>107.5</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>111.74</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>116.1</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>2.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>120.57</td>
<td>4.47</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>125.14</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>129.82</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>2.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>134.6</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>2.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001(p)</td>
<td>139.5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>152.79</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Economic Survey of Delhi 2003-04

**Table 2: Contribution of Migration to the Population growth of Delhi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Delhi Population</td>
<td>2989121</td>
<td>3723462</td>
<td>6014458</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Total in Migrants</td>
<td>6220406</td>
<td>9420644</td>
<td>13850507</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>percentage</td>
<td>48.05347</td>
<td>39.5244954</td>
<td>43.42409993</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Density</td>
<td>4194</td>
<td>6352</td>
<td>9340</td>
<td>11297</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Livestock – Number of Castles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Buffaloes</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Horses &amp; Ponies</th>
<th>Pigs</th>
<th>Camels</th>
<th>Goats</th>
<th>Other Live stock</th>
<th>Total Live Stock</th>
<th>Poultry</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>218515</td>
<td>5416</td>
<td>1107</td>
<td>26946</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>12147</td>
<td>5992</td>
<td>326492</td>
<td>300379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>248660</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>11996</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16225</td>
<td>1127</td>
<td>319678</td>
<td>301050</td>
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<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>203054</td>
<td>10674</td>
<td>1131</td>
<td>30534</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>25358</td>
<td>1611</td>
<td>368121</td>
<td>1327885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>230552</td>
<td>3377</td>
<td>1353</td>
<td>29463</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>16779</td>
<td>1589</td>
<td>374778</td>
<td>458682</td>
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<td>2007</td>
<td>266626</td>
<td>5896</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>21019</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21176</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>423319</td>
<td>49550</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Live Stock Census is conducted after every 5 years. Source: Directorate of Animal Husbandry, GNCT of Delhi.

Table 4: Pattern of Land Utilization (In hectares)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Area (Excluding forest area)</th>
<th>Fallow Land</th>
<th>Net Area Sown</th>
<th>Area not available for cultivation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>147488</td>
<td>32707</td>
<td>58551</td>
<td>52077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>147488</td>
<td>12816</td>
<td>56234</td>
<td>71330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>147488</td>
<td>12864</td>
<td>48357</td>
<td>74248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-96</td>
<td>147488</td>
<td>8190</td>
<td>47015</td>
<td>82994</td>
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<td>1996-97</td>
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<td>10575</td>
<td>83482</td>
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<tr>
<td>1997-98</td>
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<td>9811</td>
<td>41701</td>
<td>83714</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998-99</td>
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<td>41495</td>
<td>83714</td>
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<td>41386</td>
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<td>2000-01</td>
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<td>34034</td>
<td>89689</td>
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<td>147488</td>
<td>19427</td>
<td>29116</td>
<td>89689</td>
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<td>2002-03</td>
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<td>18649</td>
<td>29477</td>
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<td>26971</td>
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<td>2004-05</td>
<td>147488</td>
<td>19389</td>
<td>24214</td>
<td>88442</td>
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<td>2005-06</td>
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<td>147488</td>
<td>20043</td>
<td>22124</td>
<td>92700</td>
</tr>
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<td>2011-12</td>
<td>147488</td>
<td>19234</td>
<td>22885</td>
<td>90875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012-13*</td>
<td>147488</td>
<td>19230</td>
<td>23118</td>
<td>91058</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Distribution of Land (In Percentage) (Finding of the table-4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Area (Excluding forest area)</th>
<th>Fallow Land</th>
<th>Net Area Sown</th>
<th>Area not available for cultivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>22.17604</td>
<td>39.69882</td>
<td>35.30931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8.722066</td>
<td>32.78707</td>
<td>50.34172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-01</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7.827077</td>
<td>23.07578</td>
<td>60.81105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011-12</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>13.04106</td>
<td>15.51652</td>
<td>61.61518</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Number of livestock and Supply of milk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year*</th>
<th>Buffaloes</th>
<th>Goats</th>
<th>Total Live Stock</th>
<th>Daily Average Milk collected (in 000' lts) in mother dairy</th>
<th>Bulk Vending Booths (No.)</th>
<th>Shops selling Poly Packs (No.)</th>
<th>Insulated Tanks (NO.)</th>
<th>year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mixed Milk</td>
<td>Skimmed Milk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>218515</td>
<td>12147</td>
<td>326492</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>248660</td>
<td>16225</td>
<td>319678</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>203054</td>
<td>25358</td>
<td>368121</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>848</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>230552</td>
<td>16779</td>
<td>374778</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>6610</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>266626</td>
<td>21176</td>
<td>423319</td>
<td>1185</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>12142</td>
<td>1062</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistical Abstract of Delhi 2012, Government of NCT of Delhi, Directorate of Animal Husbandry, GNCT of Delhi, Mother Dairy, Delhi (Live Stock Census is conducted after every 5 years).
Table 7: Growth of Medical Institutions in Delhi since 1992

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Hospitals</th>
<th>PHCs</th>
<th>No. of Dispensaries</th>
<th>No. of Maternity Home, M&amp;CW Centers &amp; SCs</th>
<th>Poly Clinics</th>
<th>No. of Registered Nursing Homes</th>
<th>No. of Special Clinics</th>
<th>Total No. of institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1233</td>
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<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>460</td>
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<td>2004</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>993</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>86*</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>972**</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1876</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * One health facility under Social Welfare Deptt does not have any indoor beds now hence the total number of hospitals has reduced by 1 as compared to last year.  
** The number of dispensaries has decreased because; school health clinics at 70 locations are being run by 16 functional teams only and existing clinics have closed due to handing over of the scheme to NGOs.  
Source: Directorate of Health Services, GNCTD, Economic Survey of Delhi, 2005-06 p.192.
Politics of State-sponsored Development

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Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi

Abstract
In the contemporary times, development seems to define the world’s agenda, divergent ideologies and viewpoints notwithstanding. Development appears to be the key concept, an eminently attractive idiom of the fast modernizing economies and social systems the world over. Further, it has been believed to be infested with the messianic potential of ameliorating humanity of all miseries and ignorance. The modern concept of development is not very old. It emerged in the lexicon of Economics after the Second World War. However, the enlightenment conceptions of growth, progress and evolutionary change are closely related with this concept. These preliminary constructs laid the basic foundation of the modern concept of development. Politics is the focal issue of the development discourse. The State has power to determine the polices and programs for the development of the country. In developing countries political regimes directly affect development policy in favour of their interest. In the case of India, where politics is fraught with many problems, for instance, regionalism, communalism, corruption etc, the situation seems to be grim. International politics also affects the development agenda. The international institutions and their policies also exert influence on the policies of the developing countries. The present paper shall attempt to highlight exclusionary aspects of State-sponsored development, and also seek to explore linkages between State and market based capitalism. Further, the present paper aims to inquire if there may be an alternative to such a material-centric development, which may be more inclusionary.

Keywords: Development, Politics, State, Naxalism

Introduction
After the Second World War, when the debate on development was in the initial stage, the central focus of this debate was on economic development. This model of development laid emphasis on growth of the GDP/GNP and favoured rapid industrialization as remedial mechanism for poverty and underdevelopment. The prophets of this model reiterated that economic growth is an indispensable condition for development. Many third world countries, including India also vigorously pursued this model for their development. But this model seemed to have become ineffective after some time. The increased GNP benefited only a small section of the society and a huge number of population were largely unaffected from this benefit.

So the charm of economic growth model of development did not last long. The development debate in the early eighties shifted from economic development to social development. The World Summit on Social Development which was held in 1994 at Copenhagen profoundly influenced this debate. This debate on ‘social development’ emphasizes on the “quality of life” as the factor affecting social well being. This model of development laid emphasis on social dimension of life and argued that development polices should give priority to health, education and social services rather than mere economic growth. Further, this debate goes on human development which treats human beings as a resource and tries to develop this human
resource. UNDP, in its Human Development Report 1990, developed the Human Development Index (HDI).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Perspectives</th>
<th>Meanings of Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Classical political economy</td>
<td>Remedy for progress, catching up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Latecomers</td>
<td>Industrialization, catching up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Colonial economics</td>
<td>Resource management, Trusteeship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Development economics</td>
<td>Economic growth, Industrialization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Modernization theory</td>
<td>Growth, political and social Modernization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Dependency theory</td>
<td>Accumulation-national, Autocentric.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Alternative development</td>
<td>Human flourishing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Human development</td>
<td>Capacitation, enlargement of People’s choices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Neo-liberalism</td>
<td>Economic growth, structural Reform, deregulation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Post-development</td>
<td>Authoritarian engineering, Disaster.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
<td>Structural reforms.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Failures of State-Sponsored Development and Counter-Movements against the State in India**

The State has an important role in the development discourse. The nature of State determines the nature of development in that country. Thus different nations have different development policies and mechanisms, according to the political nature of the State. In developing countries, mass of the people are not educated and aware, public spheres are not so developed. There is a lack of full participation in politics and the civil societies are not very active. In this condition, the role of the State becomes more important to determine the priorities of national development. Further, in developing countries political regimes direct affect development policy in favour of their interest. In the case of India, where politics is fraught with many problems, for instance, capitalism, regionalism, communalism, corruption etc, the situation seems to be grim. All the political parties are forming development policy with the hidden objective of strengthening their vote-banks. Thus the issue of development became the political agenda of vote-catching.

All the policies of the successive regimes move around vote-banks and identity politics. The policies seem geared more towards welfare than development as capability enhancement. These welfare policies act like charity which, instead of pushing development ahead, increases the dependency of the haves-not on the State. In spite of the declared agenda of decentralization of power, the power seems to vest with the political and non-political elites. In such situation, the capitalists are able to influence the development policies in their favour. In the wake of liberalization, globalization and the menacing march of market forces, the State in the developing countries is gradually loosing its power to define its development agenda.
It is not enough—international politics also affects the development issue. The international intuition and their policies also exert influence on the policies of the developing countries. It may be inferred that development is deeply connected with international and national politics.

State Intervention in Economic Development
This is a controversial issue that what should be the role of the State in the development discourse. In the 18th century, when this debate was starting, Stuart Mill in his book, "Political Economy" (1767), states that the State has significant role to play in market economy in the social interest. Famous German economist-Fredric List also favoured the State intervention in economic development. But at the same time, some scholars in the influence of Individualism oppose any role of the State in the economic realm. Adam Smith was the most prominent scholar in this group. Smith advocates "Laissez-faire" and invisible hand of the market economy which precluded any role of the State in economic growth.

Herbert Spencer was a prominent supporter of individualism. He also advocated for minimum role of the State over individuals. After some decades, in the first half of the 19th century, a "middle path" emerged which was the mix of both the contradictory notions. Keynes, Myrdal and Lerner were the supporters of this "mixed economy", which called for a qualified State intervention to facilitate socio-economic transformation. The concept of welfare State also advocated for governmental intervention for development with social justice.

Dilemmas of State Sponsored Development in India
India is the largest democracy in the world. The Constitution of India is committed to provide equal rights and equal opportunities to every one in every sphere. But after six decades of independence, the Constitution of India seems to have failed to implement the commitment. Albeit on the one hand, India is one of the fastest growing economies of the world, and have many people in the list of top fifty richest people of the world.

On the other hand, ground reality is different from it. India has the largest population of poor people who are living below the poverty line. Above 40% of child population in India are facing the problem of malnutrition. Neo-natal mortality rate and child mortality rate are higher than many of the underdeveloped countries like-Sri Lanka, Thailand etc. India has also very low rank in Human Development Index. The above discussion shows that the Western model of development which is followed by the government seems inadequate, and irrational in some aspects.

Since India has a lot of diversity- geographical, social, cultural as well as racial and lingual; rather than adopting a single policy for entire India, the government may work towards alternatives. Second problem is the issue of caste, class, and gender, which remains unaddressed by the development policy. For example, in the case of the Adult Education Policy of the Government of India, this policy gives facility to the adults for their education. Under this policy, classes are held in the evening. But in rural India, it is not possible for the women to go out of home for classes in the evening.

Some other issues which need to be focused upon include uneven development- in India, some parts of the country are developed like Gujarat, New Delhi, Karnataka, some parts of Maharashtra, but at the same time; some parts of the country are facing a lot of problems and they are less developed than many of the African countries. These include- Orissa, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, some parts of Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. This uneven development leads to
alienation in those people who have not been able to reap fruits of the development which seems all-pervasive, but in effect is largely lopsided. These people feel victimized by this development strategy. These problems are surfacing because of some important factors

- International institutions and market forces are overtaking the role of the State. New capitalism has hegemonic power upon the global development policies. Capitalism shapes the development policy in its interest. Under the hegemony of capitalism, these development policies serve the interests of small groups of capitalists and exclude the large group of the subaltern.
- In India, with a loose form of democracy, it seems that democratic politics is affecting the process of development. Now development policies seem to be the political agenda for vote-catching. In India, the State has been focusing more on welfare than development which increases the dependence of the subaltern on the State.

**Counter Movements against the State**

A developmental paradigm leaving millions out in misery, translated into policies incapable of dealing with poverty, inequality, deprivation and discrimination; besides divisive forces like the politics of identity; is primarily responsible for the rise of counter movements in independent India. Even before independence, many of the peasant and tribal movements rose against the exploitation of feudal and colonial regime, including the Tebhaga Movement, Telengana Movement, Tanabhagat Movement, Kheda Movement, Naga Movement, Chipko Movement etc.

After independence, India became a democratic nation, but the villages are not free from the remnants of feudalism. Peasants face exploitation even now. The Naxal Movement rose as a response and reaction to such exploitation. It originated in 1967 in the Naxalbari village of West Bengal. This is the strongest counter movement of India which is running till now. Initially this was a simple peasant movement against the feudal lords of the villages who imposed high rate of tax on land. After some time, this movement took a new turn, and started challenging the power of the State by armed struggle. This movement was governed by Marxist ideology which claim to follow the principles of Lenin. CPI (ML) which is a big supporter of the Naxalite movement analyzes the class character of the Indian State’s power and observes that- India is nominally independent but is actually a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. According to them, on August 15, 1947, it was nothing but a replacement of the colonial set-up with a semi-colonial and semi-feudal setup and it was a sham independence.

Naxalite movement started the Annihilation campaign to smash the feudal authorities in the villages and to replace it by the authority of the peasants. Charu Mazumdar, who was the founder member of this movement, states that "The annihilation of the class enemy is the higher form of class struggle while the act of annihilation of class enemies through ‘Guerilla’ actions is the primary stage of the guerilla struggle."¹

By now the mode of Naxalite movement has changed. The issue of unequal development is the prominent issue of current Naxalite movement. Now the Naxalite Movement is spread over 200 districts of India, which is known as the "Red Corridor". All of these districts are facing worst form of poverty. The people of these districts are far away from basic needs of life- food, livelihood, education etc. Many of the MNCs and governmental agencies displaced them from their habitat and exploited the natural resources from their region. Thus Naxalites are challenging the power of the State and also State sponsored development through armed struggle.
It is obvious that the Naxalite movement is the result of unequal development and capitalist hegemony on the State. The State seems to be serving the interest of the capitalists more than subalterns. Ultimately development redefined would be the remedy for the Naxalite movement.

Notes & References

1 Charu Mazumdar, ‘March forward by summing up the experience of the peasant revolutionary struggle in India’, *Liberation*, Dec 1969.
Panchtatva’ Sustainability in Socio-Economic Development

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Abstract
Green development is an assurance for dignified life but the economic growth without human face cannot reduce poverty, improve equality and produce jobs unless it is inclusive. Particularly in India, abject poverty co-exists with the extensive growth in GDP, with record of exclusion and disparities for the majority. It exhibits that spurt of growth is bringing prosperity for the selected pockets only. An inclusive green growth should be people centered, delivering material benefits as well as opening up new horizons, ensuring equal access to them and by explicitly creating productive economic opportunities for the poor. The prime duty is imposed on the State to create an effective social order by eliminating all the inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities. Half heartedly, the State has enacted various statutes to fulfill the constitutional dreams that doomed due to the vested interest of few. Although the state has a duty to ensure financial and social inclusion for all yet every stake holder is under the obligation to strike a balance between environment and development so that the relationship of human race with ‘Panchtatva’ sustains.

Keywords: Environment, Sustainability, Poverty, Inclusive Green Development

Introduction
Development is the assurance of dignified humane existence. In India where 29.8 % (around 350 million people) in 2010–11 are under the poverty line and approximately 68 million Indians are living in slums (Government Census, 2011) despite the various developmental policies framed and implemented by the Indian Government since India embarked upon its path of development, denial of right to development will be an offence. Development is the key to unravel other problems that are linked with the poverty.

The significance of development has been recognised by the Supreme Court in a catena of Judgments by declaring that the difficulty of a small number of people has to be bypassed if the commercial venture would bring results that are more useful for the society as a whole. The comparative hardships have to be balanced and the convenience and benefit to a large section of the people has to get priority over comparatively lesser hardship (K.M. Chinnappa, T.N. Godavarman Thirumalpad, 2003). In Narmada Bachao Andolan it was held that if the benefits are so large that they substantially outweigh the costs of the immediate human and environmental disruption, developmental path will be opted.

It does not means that our judiciary is giving predilection to one over other as although in many judgments Indian Supreme Court pronounced that the development is the answer to bring the desired changes and for that the natural resources have to be tapped but at the same time one cannot forget that tapping of resources have to be done with requisite attention and care so that ecology and environment may not be affected in any serious way. It has always to be remembered that permanent assets of mankind should not be exhausted in one generation.
Conscious of the fact that the development that does not respect the natural world, limits itself (Paul Harrison, 1991, p.345), Supreme Court has down the years, consistently and strenuously opposed not only the interference of large industrial houses with the environment but also the intrusions in the ecology by agents of the State (M.C.Mehta, 1996).

An appropriate balance is maintained by the judiciary to promote and protect the welfare of the human being who is the prime recipient of the both by striking a balance between the eco-friendly approach and dollar friendly approach. In Indian Council for Enviro-Legal Action, it was laid down "While economic development should not be allowed to take place at the cost of ecology or by causing widespread environment destruction and violation; at the same time the necessity to preserve ecology and environment should not hamper economic and other developments. Both development and environment must go hand in hand, in other words, there should be development at the cost of environment and vice versa, but there should be development while taking due care and ensuring the protection of environment." Succinctly we can say that the development of society at large with the cautious use of human resources is the only answer for the problems, which gnawing the humanity (Boer, B W, 1992).

The Supreme Court of India has also elevated the ‘right to healthy environment’ to the status of a fundamental right under Article 21 of the Constitution in the process of progressive enrichment of the environmental jurisprudence with principles like sustainable development, polluter pays principle, public trust doctrine, precautionary principle and intergenerational equity. This extension of constitutional umbrella over environmental issues through dynamic judicial activism has augured well for environmental governance in India.

**Whether Development is an assurance of Dignified Existence?**

Green development, undoubtedly, is an assurance for dignified life but the economic growth without human face cannot reduce poverty, improve equality and produce jobs unless it is inclusive. Particularly in India, abject poverty co-exists with the extensive growth in GDP, with record of exclusion and disparities for the majority. It exhibits that spurt of growth is bringing prosperity for the selected pockets only.

According to the latest official estimates based on the Tendulkar Committee the percentage of the population below the official poverty line has come down from 36% in 1993–94 to 29.8%( around 350 million people) in 2010–11. The rate of decline in poverty in the period 2004–05 to 2009–10 was 1.5 percentage points per year, which is twice the rate of decline of 0.74 percentage points per year observed between 1993–94 and 2004–05. However this is not satisfactory as the rate of decline in poverty has not accelerated along with the growth in GDP. The absolute number of poor people has declined only marginally because of population explosion. This is a clear violation of the Constitutional Rights and Guarantees. Dream of the constitution makers to assure dignified life to all Indians can be fulfilled by reassuring inclusive green growth.

An inclusive green growth should be community specific, delivering material benefits as well as opening up new horizons, ensuring equal access to them and by explicitly creating productive economic opportunities for the poor. The famous Kuznet Curve, which posits that inequality first increases and then decreases with growth of income, is not supported by the evidence. Poverty has increased in various parts of the world. At this juncture the issue that is gnawing all of us is that why despite all the technological advancements, we have failed to
eradicate poverty. For how long the tribal and the under-privileged people will remain in the same condition without ever enjoying the fruits of science and technology for better health and have a higher quality of life style? Why the humanity suffering with malnutrition? Why the conflict between development and protection of environment is steadily increasing? Lastly, what are the solutions of all the developmental and environmental conundrums?

Selfishness of the human being is the reason for all these issues. This attitude of being self-centred leads the human being to adopt dollar friendly approach and this in turn gives birth to the corruption. Corruption in the environmental sector diverts funds allocated for environmental programs to private pockets through embezzlement and bribery. It facilitates trafficking in wildlife and other natural resources and leads to depletion of natural resources and pollution of environment through bribery in environmental inspections and permitting system. Corruption also contributes to the development of environmentally damaging policies and practices and to unfair allocation of environmental resources that contributes to environmentally harmful practices.

Recently, the Comptroller and Auditor General’s final report on allocation of coal blocks between 2004 and 2009 without auction is expected to peg the value of “undue benefits” that the government extended to private entities alone at more than Rs 1.8 lakh crore. The last draft of the report had said the government extended undue benefits of Rs 10.67 lakh crore by giving away 155 mines to 100 commercial entities, including public sector bodies, without bidding since 2004 (The Times of India, May 22, 2012, p. 1).

Another glaring evidence of corrupt practices is evident from the incident of illegal mining in Goa. Recently on the basis of the Justice M. B. Shah Commission Report which estimated a whopping Rs 35,000 crore loss to the exchequer due to illegal mining in the last 12 years, the Supreme Court halted the Mining operations in all the 90 mines in Goa in September 2012.

**Conclusion**

Today, as we walk on the thin line of managing climate change, along with continuing on the path of economic development, all of us must play our part to maintain the balance. Every entity must realize and remain cognizant of the fact that the stake involved in the matter is large and far reaching. The evil consequences would last long. Once that unwanted situation sets in, amends or repairs would not be possible (R.L and E Kendra Dehradun, 1985). Following are the few suggestions both for the companies and the State, if followed can go a long way to grips with the environmental challenges posed by the 21st century.

- As there is a close link between the poverty and the environment degradation, the reasons why poverty continues to be thrived should be addressed first. Poor health and lack of education that deprive people of productive employment, environmental resources that have been depleted or spoiled; and corruption, conflict and bad governance that waste public resources and discourage private investment are the major reasons for the failure of the various schemes and programs launched by the national and international agencies (Millennium Development Goals Report, 2012). Multi-layered conundrum can be solved if we start removing the layers one by one and we have to check corruption first.
- Education should be given to everyone to make them capable to earn the livelihood in a dignified manner.
- The Government should impose stronger penalties for non-compliance of environment Laws, rules and regulations as it is important for the success of any
Law that the laggards should not be forgotten. Any framework needs both sticks, to deal with the laggards, and carrot, to encourage the Law abiders. One should not forget that the compliance with environmental regulations is costly to the companies, and that is why the competitors that are non-compliant must be dealt severely to avoid a situation where noncompliant companies are advantaged over those following the law.

- The benefits should be dissipated to the entire human family by reducing the difference between rich and the poor.
- Like other forms of capital natural capital is also limited one and require accountability, investment and maintenance in order to be properly harnessed and deployed.
- Government should make strategic investment and farsighted policy changes that acknowledge natural resource constraints and enable the poor and downtrodden to benefit from efficient clean and resilient growth.
- The balance between inclusion and growth can be maintained by shifting labour out of agriculture, where it is currently engaged in low productivity employment, into a non-agricultural activity that can provide higher real incomes per head. This must be accompanied by rapidly creating jobs in the industrial and services sectors and by ensuring the improvement in the income-earning opportunities of those who remain in agriculture by raising land productivity. This process would also lead to higher farm incomes and a rise in real wages of agricultural labour whose bargaining power will improve as surplus labour is shifted out of this sector.
- Not only invent technologies to grow cleaner without slow down the speed of the growth, but make them available at the affordable cost to the poor. For that the government should take actions to provide subsidies to avoid long term environmental loss.
- Although the state has a duty to ensure financial and social inclusion for all yet every stake holder is under the obligation to strike a balance between environment and development so that the relationship of human race with ‘Panchtatva’ sustains. The states alone cannot tackle this conundrum. As the corporate sector is the most important pillar of economic development, heavy burden is upon them to perform their responsibility to serve the society. Entrepreneurs and business leaders should demonstrate that almost no problem is too big to be tackled through innovation. They should have a degree of responsibility not only for the economic consequences of their activities, but also for the social and environmental implications. P. N. Bhagwati, J. has aptly remarked in this connection that maximization of social welfare should be the legitimate goal of a company (National Textile Workers Union, 1983).
- The environmental and social concerns should be the starting point for the business activity, as opposed to being factored in at the end. The aim of all their efforts should be to achieve commercial success in such a way that interest of the people and planet should be protected at the same time. Moreover, they have to harness the environment in a sustainable manner so that need of the present generation can be met but without compromising the need of the future generation.
- The NGOs also has become the most important pillar of the society. They can reach those places where even government cannot reach. They have the proximity with the common people. Their responsibility is not less than the corporations. Their responsibility is to disseminate the knowledge among poor and common people not to use obnoxious and harmful substances. They can inform them about the latest technology that is environmental friendly.
• As man is the both creator and molder of his environment which gives him physical sustenance and affords him the opportunity of intellectual, moral, social and spiritual growth, his duty to protect the environment becomes paramount (Stockholm Declaration, 1972). As every individual can make a difference so heavy burden is casted upon the individuals to maintain the balance and respect the nature as human beings are the centre concern for the sustainable development (Principal 1, The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, 1992).

• Entrenched behaviour (to use plastic bags), special interest and government inanity to weed out the wrong practices are the major reason for various type of industrial and domestic pollution. Behaviour of the consumer and the views of the societies should be changed. Environment clearance and not the cost factor should be the guiding force to purchase a product. For this economic incentives along with well framed information should be provided by the government.

• While environment sustainability responsibility can only be taken on by the companies themselves, employees, consumers and investors can also play a decisive role in areas such as working conditions, environment or human rights, in the purchasing of products from companies which already adopted ESR or in prompting companies to adopt socially responsible practices.

• Human beings have to learn to value the gifts of Mother Nature and understand the fact that through ignorance or indifference we can do massive and irreversible harm to the earthly environment on which our life and well-being depend. Conversely, through complete knowledge and wiser action, we can achieve for ourselves and our successors a better life. There are broad vistas for the enhancement of environmental quality and the creation of a good life. The need of the hour is an enthusiastic but calm state of mind and intense and systematic approach towards finding the solutions to the problems.

Notes
1 After the independence of 65 year the dream to give food security to all the Indian has not been achieved. Still the bill is pending, still the common man was reeling under the uncontrolled and escalating price rise
2 The following Acts were passed by the Indian Parliament to protect and improve the environment.

- Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1974
- Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Cess Act, 1977
- The Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1981
- The Atomic Energy Act, 1982
- The Motor Vehicles Act, 1988
- The Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972
- The Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980
- The Environment (Protection) Act, 1986 (EPA)
- The National Environment Appellate Authority Act, 1997
- The Public Liability Insurance Act (PLIA), 1991
- The National Environment Tribunal Act, 1995
- The National Environment Appellate Authority Act, 1997
- The National Environment Appellate Authority (Appeal) Rules, 1997
- Hazardous Wastes (Management and Handling) Rules (1989),
• Manufacture, Storage & Import of hazardous chemical Rules, (1989),
• Recycled plastics manufacture and usage Rules,(1999),
• The ozone depleting substances (Regulation and Control) Rules,(2000),
• Noise Pollution (Regulation and control) Rules,(2000),
• The National Green Tribunal Act,2010.
• The Municipal solid wastes (Management and Handling) Rules, (2000),
• The Batteries(Management and Handling) Rules, (2001),
• Forest (Conservation) Rules,(2003), etc.


4 M.C. Mehta has taken up many environmental issues and has obtained various judgments of the apex court to protect the environment.

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Impact of Panchayati Raj Institutions on Children with Disabilities

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Abstract
The present paper aims at analyzing the alterations that have been incorporated into the impact of panchayati raj institutions. Article 40 of the Constitution enjoins that the States shall take necessary steps to organize village panchayats with such power and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government. My paper will give emphasis on schemes for children with disabilities. It would be important in various activities relating to the education, rehabilitation, awareness generation and training programmes of the disabled. It will deal with the specific role of the Panchayati Raj Institutions in empowering children with disabilities and its role at village level, block level and district level. It will also provide the reservation for women in panchayati raj institutions in India. Reservations of electoral seats may therefore be an effective tool to safeguard the interest of the weaker groups.

Key-words: Panchayati Raj Institutions, Children with disabilities, Village, District

Introduction
The main objective of the Indian government since its independence is the overall development of the country. The 73rd amendment to the Indian Constitution is a landmark in the advancement of Panchayats in India. This growth engraved out the third tier of the Indian political system which is the panchayats at both village level and district level. Even after that, the Government of India has brought forward various strategies, policies and programmes which provide the welfare of the incorporating persons and also for the persons with disabilities through different government and non-government organizations. These welfare programmes provide extensive ranging benefits in different but important fields such as in the field of education, in the economic development process, vocational training and rehabilitation, and financial assistance for specific needs of the disabled. However, successfully implementing such programmes requires sufficient funds, an appropriate policy framework and, above all an effective delivery mechanism. With all these requirements, it is also necessary to involve Panchayats in these programmes because they are the one that serve in the rural areas of our country.

Therefore, the first and the most important step are to equip the Panchayati Raj Institutions with relevant and necessary information which is useful. This is obvious so as to enable their due participation in implementation of these programmes at the grass root level and insure transparency between them.

The empowerment of Panchayati Raj Institutions is intended to facilitate them so as to function as institutions which are self-oriented and are not related to the government and implement programmes of the economic development and social justice in their respective areas. There are also various functions which are assigned to the Panchayati Raj Institutions. These functions which also relate to the health care of the people which includes drinking
water, hospitals and health centres, women and child development, welfare of handicapped and mentally retarded and family welfare.

Article 40 of the Constitution enjoins that ‘the States shall take necessary steps to organize village panchayats with such power and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government’\(^1\). Therefore, the eleventh five-year plan, which has identified comprehensive development as the overreaching purpose and intention seeks considerably empower and use Panchayati Raj Institutions as the primary means of the liberation of essential services that are crucial to wide-ranging expansion and development. Therefore, for the success of any democracy decentralized government plays a very vital role and most importantly the best example for it is the Panchayati Raj Institutions.\(^2\)

**Identification and Early Detection of Disabilities**

Timely identification of impairment in an individual can reduce the harmful impact on the capabilities and the mental level of the individual and thus prevent profound disability.

The Panchayati Raj Institutions have a major role to play in shaping of the environment for the disabled children. The Panchayati Raj Institutions ensure that all the disabled children are identified and the number is kept a track of by them of all those present in the community, school etc. at least once a year. For this purpose the PRI’s make arrangements for appointment and training of personnel who will carry out the job of identifying and detecting the disabilities. They ensure that all the personnel’s involved in this process are well trained and have the requisite knowledge. The Panchayati Raj Institution’s are responsible for any problem in detection and have the option of contacting the Medical Officer, District Education Officer, District Rehabilitation Centre, Commissioner for Persons with Disabilities in the State etc.

The Panchayati Raj Institutions also have a role to play in the initial assessment process of the disabled children which ensure that all the children are assessed appropriately by the specialists who may not be accessible at a single location. They provide guidance to the disabled children about where they can be assessed in different hospitals or institutes. It is even the duty of the Panchayati Raj Institutions to provide expenses to the family of the disabled children who cannot meet the travel expenditures for the purpose of assessment.

**Impact of the Panchayati Raj Institutions at District Level**

A large proportion of the child population of our country belongs to the poor and illiterate section of the society. These children are the ones who are not provided with sufficient food, shelter and clothes. Since they are not provided with proper food, the burden of various diseases, disabilities, under nutrition, and lack of proper physical and mental development is particularly high in them and especially in the rural areas of our society. In rural areas, the illiterate and ignorant do not demand their rights and are exploited by those in authority. To improve these conditions there are various governmental and nongovernmental schemes which are not successful while there are many that comprise of huge impact on the children in the rural areas and also on people with disabilities.

The Panchayati Raj Institutions are the nodal point at the district level. Their specific role is to help while planning, while coordinating, monitoring and wherever it is required to regulate the implementation of various national programmes. The roles of Panchayati Raj Institutions which has an impact on children with disabilities at district level are that these institutions...
involves in the preparation of various schemes which are immensely related to the education and rehabilitation of children with disabilities so that it helps these children in future.

With the help of block level panchayats, they identify delivery systems for the education and rehabilitation of children with disabilities under various programmes and various schemes and ensure convergence of the various programmes which are meant to benefit the disabled children as well as other disabled people. It evolves strategies for mobilising the community for various activities such as surveys, helping the field level functionaries, funds raising, monitoring of the programmes at the field level, etc and also identifies special areas of assistance for different categories of the disabled, as per their needs.

Panchayati Raj Institutions ensures that requisite percentages of funds are allocated to various key programmes such as those catering to the prevention of disabilities and educational needs of the disabled, whereas arranges training of the public functionaries, NGOs and other social workers in handling of the problems concerning disabled persons in cooperation with various specialized centres and launched the programme of early detection of disabilities in which the village and block level panchayats along with gram sabhas are made to play an active role. It also organizes various activities so as to encourage the disabled children to participate in various educational and rehabilitation programmes. It ensures that all the children with disabilities and their parents are aware of the various benefits and their legal rights. This is achieved through provision of information in the form of pamphlets and small booklets, while it develops good linkages between various agencies or different departments such as health department, hospitals, education department or voluntary organizations working in the field of disability.

Village panchayats are entrusted with monitoring of usage of the appliances and whenever necessary, they are arranged for the trained personnel to demonstrate correct application. It oversees the functioning of services, rehabilitation centres and vocational rehabilitation centres for the disabled and promote linkages with their outreach activities. It also identifies non government organizations which demonstrate empathy and have a good track record, and are interested in taking up work for the disabled persons and develops a mechanism for monitoring of the functioning of different non government organizations working in an area, and promotes their accountability to the community. It organizes small groups of disabled persons for viable income generating activities with the help of block level panchayats. Panchayati Raj Institutions promotes required coordination and convergence for setting up of such activities. Panchayats at Block level in conjunction with the village level panchayats takes up the cases of discrimination against the disabled before they are referred to a competent authority under Persons with Disabilities (PWD) Act.

**Education Programmes for Children with Special Need**

One of the top priorities of the Panchayati Raj Institutions is to get every child with disability enrolled into a primary school for their complete evaluation and education. This is done by a team consisting of a qualified physician, clinical psychologist and a special educator. This process of evaluation also helps in determining the best setting of the education system as suited to every child as well as each of the disabled children. Children with mild to moderate disabilities may be integrated into normal schools. Those with severe disabilities would benefit most from the special schools. Children who drop out or have problems learning in the normal school have an option to join either an open or educative school. There are children who only have a learning disability; they are managed in normal schools.
Impact of Panchayati Raj Institutions in Providing Education, Medical and Other Programmes
The role of the Panchayati Raj Institutions is to ensure that a team of a doctor, a psychiatrist and a special trained teacher or a special educator is visiting each school regularly, at least once in a year. It further ensures that the teachers at individual as well as group levels are being trained to manage the children well in the schools to avoid any uncomfortable circumstance for the children and they are being trained for inclusive education. The Panchayati Raj Institutions also ensure that all the disabled children are getting benefits of education with full knowledge of this to their families.

It is their duty to encourage the setting up of special schools initiated by voluntary organisations which can be attached to the formal schools for other educative classes. Before this the main objective remains to make sure that all the children with disabilities are attending the anganwadi centres or pre-primary schools in their area. It is constantly checked that adequate facilities are available in schools, and are being properly made use of by the children. Panchayati Raj Institution’s make arrangements for vocational training programmes of the children with disabilities at their right ages and coordinate with centres of vocational training for providing the right knowledge to the children.

Panchayati Raj Institutions help in laying down of rules and regulations for creating a free environment in schools where in the disabled children are not discriminated against, and are allowed admission in appropriate schools, and so that the normal students of a school should not be allowed to ill-treat or hurt students with disabilities. It ensures that the local schools or health centres treat children with disabilities with dignity and consideration so that they feel as being an equal part of the society.

Role of Panchayati Raj Institutions in Providing Other Facilities
Panchayati Raj Institutions help the families in obtaining disability certificate or identity card by means of providing information and financial help to those who can’t afford travel expenditure for this purpose. They coordinate with the health department for up to date information relating to the issuance of disability certificate or identity card.

The Panchayati Raj Institutions arrange applications requesting financial assistance for aids and appliances to be utilized by disabled and they properly guide or refer them to the concerned person involved in this issue.

Conclusion
The third tier which is known as the panchayats at the village and district levels is the backbone of Indian villages. Every child has the right to gain training and their welfare is of supreme importance. Like every abled child, every disabled child also has the same basic rights and enjoys protection under the law. Every Child with disability shall have the rights to free education till the age of 18 years in integrated schools or special schools and it should be ensured that they are aware of their rights. There are a various set of such rights which protect the basic necessities of the children with disabilities and the Panchayati Raj Institutions protect these very rights to prevent any kind of discrimination against the disabled children. It is easily concluded that Panchayati Raj Institutions play a crucial role in the village and district level i.e. the grass root level of the economy, in protection of basic rights and needs of the children with disabilities so as they can be treated as equals and get the basic requirements in life without worrying about their financial burdens.
Notes

References
Tourism as an Antidote to Insurgency

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Abstract
This paper is stratified into 4 modules; the first module devolves around the concept of ‘insurgency’. The idea of this module is to develop a greater understanding of the various forms of insurgency. The objective of the second module concentrates upon the psychological condition of people inhabiting the insurgency infested area. An overview of this module shall enlighten us with a greater understanding of their mindset & the line of engagement which can be adopted so as to reap the maximum dividends. The third module brings up to date the concept of ‘Tourism’ & various facets of the said concept. The fourth module incorporates the implementation of such theory alongwith the Modus Operandi in furtherance of such object.

Keywords: Tourism, Insurgency, India

Introduction
Have you ever wondered why the insurgency infested areas are always termed as ‘Disturbed’ areas and people inhabiting such areas perennially possess a feeling of delineation coupled with annihilation. The genesis of this paper lies in the aforesaid melancholy. Historically, the term ‘Insurgency’ paradoxically has been a quagmire of the political process. The participants of such insurgencies are always painted as those recalcitrant elements whose avarice has induced them to subjugate the existing political system. With the onset of insurgency, the state usually employs coercive mechanisms to re-establish its writ over the ‘disturbed area’ & its people vamoosed out from its control. During such process, a plethora of gaffes are recurred by the state & its instrumentalities.

The prime question which is being asked by the administrative machinery of the state is, “How can we win back the trust of the people inhabiting insurgency infested areas”. The aim of this paper is to primarily focus upon this question only. This paper implores the concept of ‘tourism’ as a tailor-made solution to the aforesaid question. For the said purposes, tourism is being projected as a ‘First Spark’ towards the ultimate objective of development of the region.

This paper is stratified into 4 modules; the first module devolves around the concept of ‘insurgency’. The idea of this module is to develop a greater understanding of the various forms of insurgency. The objective of the second module concentrates upon the psychological condition of people inhabiting the insurgency infested area. An overview of this module shall enlighten us with a greater understanding of their mindset & the line of engagement which can be adopted so as to reap the maximum dividends. The third module brings up to date the concept of ‘Tourism’ & various facets of the said concept.

The fourth module incorporates the implementation of such theory alongwith the Modus Operandi in furtherance of such object.
Insurgency – A Political Nemesis

Etymologically, the term ‘insurgency’ is derived from the Latin expression, nsurgere, which literally translated means ‘to rise up’. The layman perception of the term is perhaps limited to political & social instability of the territory due to the forced occupation of the same by rebels or revolutionaries, who wish to accomplish certain demands or motives, usually politico – economic in nature, by fighting against the established system or authority. A suggestively broad definition of the term may be used to include all violent struggles against the state, by any group or section of population of any area, trying to establish its independent political control over the population. The United States department of defense [USDoD] defines an insurgency as, “an organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through use of subversion & armed conflict”.

There are roughly 4 broad categories of the Term ‘Insurgency’, for enhanced understanding such forms are depicted on tabular basis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Insurgency</th>
<th>Organizational Structure</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Vulnerabilities</th>
<th>Other Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Politically organized insurgency</td>
<td>Extensive, complex political structure developed before military operations are initiated.</td>
<td>Shadow government created to undermine authority of existing regime; political consolidation precedes military consolidation</td>
<td>Vulnerable to concentrated effort aimed at neutralizing the infrastructure &amp; establishing administrative control in contested areas.</td>
<td>Protracted warfare; tendency towards excessive revolutionary zeal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Militarily organized insurgency</td>
<td>Small, decentralized structure of armed insurgents serving as a catalyst for mobilizing opposition against existing regime</td>
<td>Insurgent groups hope to focus of disaffected population; destruction of regime legitimacy by military action; military consolidation precedes political consolidation of contested areas</td>
<td>Vulnerable to aggressive military action during early stages of rebellion because of undeveloped political structure, relatively vulnerable logistics &amp; communication networks &amp; lack of clandestine network among population</td>
<td>Hope to demoralize regime &amp; attain power without excessive conventional warfare.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Traditionally organized insurgency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basis of distinction</th>
<th>Insurgency</th>
<th>Terrorism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Insurgency refers to protracted political – military activity directed towards partial or complete control over the natural resource of the country.</td>
<td>Terrorism refers to a proscribed form of violence perpetrated upon innocent civilians with an object of cocooning an atmosphere of trepidation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>The insurgency operates upon an objective of control over natural resources.</td>
<td>Terrorism’s sole objective being trepidation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>The participants of the insurgency are predominantly the indigenous people</td>
<td>The participants have no prime determinative factor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area of operation</td>
<td>Insurgency always has a definite area of operation.</td>
<td>There is no specific area of operation pursuant to terrorism.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Urban insurgency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basis of distinction</th>
<th>Insurgency</th>
<th>Terrorism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cellular structure in urban environment.</td>
<td>Threaten regime legitimacy through urban disruptions</td>
<td>Restricted to small area &amp; hide within the population; attrition resulting from police/ military pressure &amp; the psychological stress of clandensity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment on basis of ethnicity exclusively.</td>
<td>Often performed in support of wider insurgency in rural areas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Formulation of Legal System – A Dichotomy between Reason & Emotion

Laws are framed by the state in possession & control over the territory. It is a symptomatic tendency of the state, being inspired by a jingoist public opinion tends to impose its own system of justice over such disturbed areas. The fundamental aspect overlooked by such state being, “Whether the societies plagued by insurgency are mature enough to digest a cocktail of byzantine legislations & a maze of procedures”.

The state strives to dispel the aforenoted aberration by adopting certain straight – jacket solution such as grant of special status to such disturbed areas or formation of an autonomous governing council. However, the initiation of such measures have often boomeranged upon the former, inadvertently fomenting the feeling of delineation & mistrust amongst the insurgency infested population.

Law is conventionally recognized as a bastion of ‘Reason’. It is further conceived as antithesis of emotion. The function of law is said to be understood to neutralize the emotionality that the legal disputes arouse in the participants & lay observers. The ethos of empathy must be embraced by the state vis – a – vis the disturbed society. For such purposes a constructivist approach must be adopted in conjunction with the epithet of benevolence for the purposes of law making. For Instance – Urinating in public is a bad idea only because we have a revulsion against the idea of it. Therefore, majority of our moral convictions equally resist reflection or re-examination because they are embodied in tenacious inarticulable emotions. Many of the non rational convictions are embodied in law & imposed upon people who do not share them, or do not act in conformity with them because they derive utility from the conduct that the rule forbids.

Thus, it is evident that emotion & the basic mindset of the society do have a pivotal role in functioning of the administrative machinery of the state. It is suggested that prior to prescribing a law for the disturbed areas, the state needs to consider four imperative questions inter alia;

- How should an evaluation of the wrongful act precipitated by emotion affect law’s evaluation of the act?
- How should the law use emotion?
- What would be the emotional state of law administrators such as judges?
- What screens or filters must be put in place so as to ensure that the law administrators are in correct emotional state?

Tourism – A Functional Perspective

Tourism refers to travel from home territory to any other destination for the purpose of recreation, leisure or business. World tourism Organization defines tourist as, “a person who travels to a destination & stays outside of where they usually live for more than 24 hours but less than one year.

The concept of tourism can be cataloged into several specifics:

**Adventure Tourism:** Adventure Tourism signifies that Travelers head for remote, exotic and possibly hostile areas to explore cultures or activities outside of their comfort zones. To further break it down, adventure tourism is also called extreme tourism, & includes tourism of native societies, ghettos, jungles and urban areas. It can also include extreme activities such as mountaineering, bungee jumping, rafting, rock climbing, zip-lining and trekking.
**Agritourism:** Agritourism involves travel to a farm or ranch, including farm stays at anything from bed and breakfasts to dude ranches, produce purchase from farm stands, corn mazes, wine and cheese making, and fruit picking. Such tourism is widely promoted in countries such as Canada, Australia & Philippines\(^{10}\).

**Cultural Tourism:** Cultural tourism or heritage tourism involves immersion in a society’s lifestyle, its people’s history, its art and architecture, its religion, and any other elements that have shaped it and its people. It can also include participation in a culture’s rituals or festivals.\(^ {11}\)

**Nautical Tourism:** Nautical tourism combines sailing and boating with vacationing and travel. Many of these types of tourists live on their boats and take port in different areas to explore.\(^ {12}\)

**Religious Tourism:** It is also referred to as faith tourism; this form encompasses people of faith who travel independently or in groups to holy cities or holy sites for fellowship, missionary or pilgrimage. They list a tangible understanding and appreciation of their religion, a feeling of security in their beliefs, and personal connection as the main purposes of faith travel.\(^ {13}\)

**Wildlife Tourism:** Wildlife tourism refers to observation of wild animals in their natural habitats. This kind of tourism increases habitat restoration, conservation breeding, research and financial donations, and also deters poachers.\(^ {14}\)

**Implementation of the Theory**
The theory pursuant to the subject has been examined at length, consequently a mechanism has been sought to be provided wherein the state may earnestly implement such theory, notwithstanding the security situation prevalent in the concerned disturbed area.

The implementation mechanism may be examined at length upon a sequential basis:

- **Prima facie**, the state may adopt cultural, wildlife & adventure models of tourism. Rationale: The disturbed areas are largely unaffected by the contagion of development. Thus, they preserve a sense of rustic fascination evincing interest in tourists.
- Pursuant to adoption of the aforementioned recommendation, the state shall embark the development or progress of the hospitality sector in the disturbed area. Rationale: Tourists always scout for the reception accorded therein. The hospitality sector shall also provide a window for influx of capital into the disturbed area, initiating the adulated process of economic development.
- The state shall initiate a dedicated credit dispersal mechanism for the indigenous population. Rationale: With the spark of development lit, the indigenous people will be voraciously imploring all possible economic opportunities. For such purposes, capital is a pre – requisite. With the onset of employment opportunities the curvature of public opinion may begin a shift towards the state.
- The state shall build the indispensable infrastructure for enhanced tourist activity. Rationale: State can easily push contentious projects under the rhetoric of development, thereby increasing connectivity which will further consolidate the hold of the state over such disturbed area.
- The state shall obliterate any negative media coverage of the disturbed area.
Rationale: Negative Publicity has its own set of negatives. Negative news outflows have an impact upon the morale of the tourists, who may opt for other locations, considered ‘Safe Location’.

- The state shall embark training centers for the indigenous people in order to acquaint them with the core values of the hospitality.
  Rationale: This act has the potential of proving as a “Master – Stroke”. Tourism is widely acknowledged as a potential generator of employment at a substantial scale. Adoption of such an approach shall elicit favorable public opinion in state’s favor.

- The state shall emphasize upon enhanced cultural exchange inter se tourists & indigenous population.
  Rationale: Such cultural exchanges has a positive impact upon the indigenous population, as it provides them with a vent to manifest their grievances to the people at large.
  The state shall expound the scope of religious tourism, provided that there is an adequate opportunity.
  Rationale: Pilgrimage is widely perceived as a highly pious act. Promoting such a form of tourism can bring good repute to the disturbed area.

- The state shall endeavor to promote an atmosphere of security in relation to the tourists.
  Rationale – The tourists must get a sense that the administration is sensitive towards their security, & the same shall be accorded ‘Top – priority’ by the administration.

- The state shall ensure that the moral fiber of the indigenous people is not ruptured by the tourist activity.
  Rationale: Every society has its own set of norms & is composed of different matrix. Any offence to the sensibilities of indigenous people at the instance of tourists shall culminate the entire exercise as Faux Pas.

Conclusion
Insurgencies are one of the most difficult challenges faced by the modern administration. A straight – jacket method in order to ameliorate the effects of insurgency can’t be prescribed. This paper deviates from the path of conventionalism & mirrors the functional impact of tourism as a means to counter insurgency. It is acknowledged that the annihilation of the indigenous people is unparalleled; however, an effort must be made in order to affect a revered future for their subsequent generations and release them from their xenophobic overtures.

Notes
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7 See http://www2.unwto.org/
10 Supra n 9 11 Supra n 9 12 Supra n 9 13 Supra n 9 14 Supra n 9
Expanding Dimensions of Good Governance in the Global Age

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Abstract

Good governance has long been accepted as a fundamental requisite for growth and well being of the citizens and nations. The agenda for good governance over the years has become complex and expanded to include all the structures and processes for determining the use of available resources for the public good within a country. The United Nations has made strong endeavors to promote and realize good governance at the national and international level. The efforts of the UN have been complimented with the local initiatives in several countries of Africa, the European Union and many more. The aim of this paper is twofold; (a) to give concrete meaning and shape to the concept of good governance under international law (b) to highlight the impact of the concept of good governance on national systems, more specifically on issues like that of corruption, judicial governance and public accountability are concerned.

Keywords: Democracy, Efficiency, Governance, Politics, Reforms

Introduction

Good governance has long been accepted as a fundamental requisite for growth and well being of the citizens and nations.¹ The core features of good governance have significant bearing on the success or failure of democracies, the rule of law and development². According to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, governance is the process whereby public institutions conduct public affairs, manage public resources and guarantee the realization of human rights. The true test of "good" governance is the degree to which it delivers on the promise of human rights: civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights³.

As part of the national systems, it encompasses values like that of public accountability, civic participation, institutional responsiveness etc. The Commission on Global Governance defines governance as the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is the continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken⁴.

The agenda for ‘good governance over the years has become complex and expanded to include all the structures and processes for determining the use of available resources for the public good within a country. Good governance is much more than multiparty elections, a judiciary and a parliament, which have been emphasized as the primary symbols of Western-style democracy. The list of other attributes, with the necessary resources and culture to accompany them, is formidable: universal protection of human rights; non-discriminatory laws; efficient, impartial and rapid judicial processes; transparent public agencies; accountability for decisions by public officials; devolution of resources and decision making to local levels from the capital; and meaningful participation by citizens in debating public policies and choices⁵.
The United Nations has made strong endeavors to promote and realize good governance at the national and international level. The efforts of the UN have been complimented with the local initiatives in several countries of Africa, European Union etc.

This paper makes specific reference to a few significant global and regional developments on good governance involving concerns like that of (a) Institutional Corruption (b) Judicial Efficiency (c) Public Accountability (d) Constructive Civic Participation (e) Civil Society Initiatives.

Defining Good Governance
To begin with, Thomas Weiss identifies a few global and local institutions that have endorsed a commitment for promoting good governance:

The World Bank defines governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources. The World Bank has identified three distinct aspects of governance: (i) the form of political regime; (ii) the process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development; and (iii) the capacity of governments to design, formulate, and implement policies and discharge functions.

According to UNDP, Governance is viewed as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels. It comprises mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences.

OECD has conceptualized governance as the use of political authority and exercise of control in a society in relation to the management of its resources for social and economic development. This broad definition encompasses the role of public authorities in establishing the environment in which economic operators function and in determining the distribution of benefits as well as the nature of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled.

The United Nations Millenium Declaration identified good governance as a key to eradication of poverty. In 2012, the Istanbul Declaration on Equitable and Sustainable Development identified good governance at the global, regional, national and local levels as an essential for sustainable development.

In addition, the Global Campaign on Good Governance emphasized upon the duties of Member States of the UN have agreed, in a legally binding way, to certain of the principles of good governance, even if the concept of governance in itself does not appear in the legally binding texts. In 2001, the General Assembly adopted a resolution for promoting and consolidating democracy through good governance and sustainable development.

In 2006, the United Nations Development Programme provided a document on Governance for the Future: Democracy and Development in the Least Developed Countries. The document was referred to as the first report to focus specifically on the challenges of governance faced by the 50 poorest nations in the world, collectively known as Least Developed Countries (LDCs). The report speaks of the deep relationship between political will and good governance by highlighting the following:
The core characteristics of good governance are participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability, strategic vision.

Essential development and governance functions include (a) provision of security and the protection of rights; (b) provision of key basic services that cannot be left to market forces alone to provide (c) Regulatory functions including the formulation, implementation and enforcement of laws and regulations; and (d) performing certain redistributive functions for improving social justice, e.g., furthering gender equality and redressing regional and sectoral imbalances.

Developmental challenges cannot be addressed by the State alone; other non-state agents, including civil society organizations and the private sector, are key stakeholders for sustainable development and democratic governance.

Civil society in many LDCs has been successful in helping enhance civic participation in democratic governance. In many instances, civil society has created awareness about participating in elections, raised issues for election manifestoes, and initiated debates and discussions on issues of public concerns.12

Capacity development efforts need to be oriented to create a public administration that embodies the core values of democratic governance (transparency, accountability, predictability, responsiveness and participation). Capacity is a dynamic concept referring to the ability of people, institutions and societies to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve objectives.

The Brussels Programme of Action (2001-2010)
The Programme was adopted in June 2001 at the Third UN Conference on LDCs, articulates policies and supportive actions to promote the long-term economic growth and sustainable human development of LDCs and their successful integration into the global economy.13 The Programme contains ten cross-cutting priority issues: poverty eradication, gender equality, employment, governance at national and international levels, capacity-building, sustainable development, special problems of landlocked and small island LDCs, and challenges faced by LDCs affected by conflict.

The following five guiding principles lie at the core of the Programme:

- An integrated approach: The development process should be viewed in a comprehensive, coherent and long-term manner by LDCs and their partners, including the multilateral agencies within and outside the United Nations system.
- Genuine partnership: With greater alignment between national policies and strategies in LDCs and the external assistance strategies of their partners, the scope for more effective dialogue between them has expanded.
- Market considerations: While acknowledging the importance of market forces in the sustained process of economic growth and poverty reduction, there is a need to ensure an appropriate mix of public-private participation. However, this cannot be achieved without adequate attention to market weaknesses as well as government weaknesses, and consideration of the preparedness of the private sector. It is necessary to work towards a good balance between public action and private initiative.
- Result orientation: Only positive concrete processes and outcomes can sustain public confidence in the development partnership between LDCs and their development partners. The process of identifying, assessing and monitoring progress on processes and concrete outcomes will be a key aspect of the implementation of the Programme of Action and its success will be judged by its contribution to progress of LDCs
towards achieving international development targets, as well as their graduation from the list of LDCs.

- The implementation of the Programme has led to development and reform in LDC.\textsuperscript{14} Haruhiko Kuroda as President of Asian Development Bank\textsuperscript{15} stated that good governance is the system of rules, rule-making, and rule-enforcement that regulates the behavior of people and norms of society, upholds the law, and delivers timely justice to all – equally and fairly. At a very fundamental level, people need to know their individual rights will be upheld even against the most powerful authorities. An independent judiciary with integrity can do this; apply the law fairly and dispassionately, without regard to the personalities or powers involved. A strong judiciary, with the power to review acts of Government, can protect the citizenry from unlawful acts of Government and hold government officials accountable for their graft, corruption, and abuse of power; and do so in a timely manner.

**Human Development Report 2002\textsuperscript{16}**

The Human Development Report 2002 highlighted the role of politics in national systems and human development. It indicates as to how democratic governance is valuable in its own right. From the human development perspective, good governance is democratic governance. Democratic governance means that: (a) People’s human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected, allowing them to live with dignity (b) People have a say in decisions that affect their lives. (c) People can hold decision-makers accountable (d) Inclusive and fair rules, institutions and practices govern social interactions (e) Women are equal partners with men in private and public spheres of life and decision-making (f) People are free from discrimination based on race, ethnicity, class, gender or any other attribute (g) The needs of future generations are reflected in current policies (h) Economic and social policies are responsive to people’s needs and aspirations. (i) Economic and social policies aim at eradicating poverty and expanding the choices that all people have in their lives.

The report defines accountability as the most important means for ensuring governance with outcomes. Accountability is about power—about people having not just a say in official decisions but also the right to hold their rulers to account. They can demand answers to questions about decisions and actions. And they can sanction public officials or bodies that do not live up to their responsibilities.

In democracies, people can demand accountability in two ways: through action by civil society and through structures of representation and delegation. But apart from elections, most formal mechanisms of accountability are delegated. The most important are the checks and balances between the judiciary, legislature and executive—and specialized and independent oversight entities such as human rights commissions, electoral commissions, public service commissions, ombudspersons, auditors general and anticorruption bodies.

**Indicators of Good Governance**

The UN-HABITAT Global Campaign on Urban Governance has aimed at aimed at increasing the capacity of local governments and other stakeholders to practice good urban governance and to raise awareness of and advocate for good urban governance around the world.\textsuperscript{17} In 2001, the Istanbul+5 led to acceptance of five core principles of good governance; equity, effectiveness, accountability, participation and security. The global Campaign on Urban Governance defined the parameters of good governance as follows.\textsuperscript{18}
Equity: refers to equal access to decision-making processes and the basic necessities of urban life.

Civic Engagement: implies that living together is not a passive exercise: in cities, people must actively contribute to the common good. Citizens, especially women, must be empowered to participate effectively in decision-making processes. The civic capital of the poor must be recognized and supported.

Accountability and Transparency: the accountability of local authorities to their citizens is a fundamental tenet of good governance. Similarly, there should be no place for corruption in cities. Corruption can undermine local government credibility and can deepen urban poverty. Transparency and accountability are essential to stakeholder understanding of local government and to who is benefiting from decisions and actions. Access to information is fundamental to this understanding and to good governance. Laws and public policies should be applied in a transparent and predictable manner. Elected and appointed officials and other civil servant leaders need to set an example of high standards of professional and personal integrity. Citizen participation is a key element in promoting transparency and accountability.

In addition, the Human Rights Centre, University of Essex, issued a major report in 2003 on “Map-Making and Analysis of the Main International Initiatives on Developing Indicators on Democracy and Good Governance.”

In the final report five measures of good governance were identified:

- Civil and political liberties or political freedoms as proxy measures for the rule of law and governance.
- Frequency of political violence as an inverse measure of good governance.
- Expert assessments and opinion of good governance
- Objective measures of good governance
- Mixed measures that combine aggregate data, scales, and expert opinion.

In 2003, the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA Project) was set up to monitor the progress of African states towards good governance. The sample consisted of 28 countries in the five sub-regions of Africa. Six components of good governance were identified:

1. A political system that encourages broad input from all elements of civil society.
2. Impartial and credible electoral administration and an informed and active citizenry.
3. Strengthened public sector legislative and administrative institutions.
4. Transparency, predictability, and accountability in political, oversight, and regulatory decisions by government and public bodies.
5. Effective public sector management with stable macroeconomic policy, effective resource mobilization, and efficient use of public resources.
6. Adherence to the rule of law in a manner that protects personal and civil liberties and gender equity, and ensures public safety and security with equal access to justice for all.

Under the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) several reform initiatives have been undertaken to redesign governance and public administration. A few measures to assess the performance of public administration are as follows:

1. Access to service (how soon and at what cost can the citizen expect to get connected to water supply points, electricity, health facilities, police protection?)
2. Speed/promptness of service (length of time it takes to deliver mail, investigate crime, or apprehend criminals; tonnage of refuse disposed in an environmentally friendly manner in a day)

3. Simplicity of service procedure (number of decision layers and signatures required to obtain service; logic and sequence of operations; range and complexity of form-filling involved)

4. Hosting facilities (atmosphere prevailing in the service perimeter; availability of waiting rooms and toilet facilities; heating/cooling facilities)

5. Courtesy and politeness of service providers (attitude, countenance and general disposition of service delivery agents)

6. Accountability and responsibility for action (credibility of internal fault-reporting and investigation mechanisms)

7. Responsiveness (how quickly broken pipes are fixed, and the length of time it takes to connect household and industrial consumers to electricity)

8. Transparency and due process (measures instituted to eliminate double standards, and open decision processes to scrutiny)

9. Adequacy and reliability of information (are there help desks, information/inquiries centers, office and telephone directories, service delivery flow charts, and guides to procedure?)

10. Equity (are the rules, regulations and processes currently in place fair, or are they loaded against a particular group of clients?)

In context of efficient judicial governance, the Action Program for Judicial Reform (APJR) of the Philippines Supreme Court\(^{24}\) lays down the following parameters of governance\(^{25}\):

- Case congestion and delay
- Inadequate judicial budget
- Politicized judicial appointments
- Lack of judicial autonomy
- Replace obsolete administrative structures, operating systems and court technologies and facilities
- Need to improve public information and civil society collaboration.
- The reform framework is guided by these fundamental improvement principles
- Impartiality, access and speed of judicial processes

The World Bank

The World Bank has been one of the first institutions to endorse good governance as an important facet of its development strategy. Since the late 1970s, the World Bank has taken the lead in pioneering efforts to develop indicators to measure the quality of development policy. Policy quality is measured by an index called the Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA). The index is based on staff assessments of policy quality. These assessments are assigned numerical scores, although the assessments are clearly qualitative and judgmental in character. The CPIA is a confidential document, i.e., seen only by Bank staff.\(^{26}\)

According to Carlos Santiso, the governance agenda promoted by the Bank represents an ambivalent enterprise plagued with both promises and dilemmas. Reforming the systems of governance is a politically sensitive endeavor that has traditionally been considered outside its core mandate. The Bank’s founding charter prohibits it from taking into account political considerations when designing aid programs.\(^{27}\) Santiso also states that the concept of good
governance first surfaced in 1989 in the World Bank’s report on Sub-Saharan Africa, which characterized the crisis in the region as a “crisis of governance”. In addressing governance, the Bank calls into question the ability, capacity and willingness of political authorities to govern effectively in the common interest. There is heightened awareness that the quality of a country’s governance system is a key determinant of the ability to pursue sustainable economic and social development.

According to the Bank’s own definition, governance encompasses the form of political regime; the process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development; and the capacity of governments to design, formulate and implement policies and discharge functions.

**Governance and Corruption**

The General Assembly Resolution on Corruption (1997) emphasized upon how corruption may endanger the stability and security of societies, undermine the values of democracy and morality and jeopardize social, economic and political development. It urged the Member States to carefully consider the problems posed by the international aspects of corrupt practices, especially as regards international economic activities carried out by corporate entities, and to study appropriate legislative and regulatory measures to ensure the transparency and integrity of financial systems and transactions carried out by such corporate entities.

The International Code of Conduct for Public Officials identifies a public office as a position of trust, implying a duty to act in the public interest. Therefore, the ultimate loyalty of public officials shall be to the public interests of their country as expressed through the democratic institutions of government. It enlists the following duties for public officials:

- Efficiency
- Integrity
- Performance of duties in accordance with laws or administrative duties
- Attentive, fair and impartial
- Shall not use their official authority for the improper advancement of their own or their family's personal or financial interest.

In 2002, Sierra Leonean citizens created the National Accountability Group (NAG) to serve as an autonomous civil society organization to combat the widespread corruption that resulted from decades of civil war. NAG is currently affiliated with Transparency International, an international NGO fighting corruption that is also the local contact organization for Sierra Leone’s Campaign for Good Governance. NAG’s mission is to closely watch the conduct of public functionaries and to strive towards the elimination of corruption, fiscal impropriety and injustice in Sierra Leone.

NAG has already begun to cultivate a relationship with the government’s Anti-Corruption Commission, the government bodies and civil society organizations to raise awareness about corruption among the Sierra Leonean public through education, theatre, newsletters and press releases. Educational institutions are encouraged to teach students about corruption and transparency. NAG facilitates broad-based discussions on corruption that are aired on the radio, and take place in person in Freetown, the capital, and in other parts of the country.

NAG also strives to organize a public forum where presidential candidates can debate on corruption related issues. Lastly, NAG has formed a partnership with the Anti-Corruption
Commission to regularly disseminate material on anti-corruption to legislators; these materials are designed to address the detrimental effects of corruption and encourage lawmakers to initiate legislative campaigns to curb and expose corruption.  

The Judicial Systems
The United Nations University in 2003 undertook a World Governance Survey on the Judiciary and Governance in 16 developing countries. Based on the perceptions of experts within each country, governance assessments were undertaken in 16 developing and transitional societies, representing 51 per cent of the world’s population. The aim of the World Governance Survey (WGS) was to generate new, systematic data on governance processes.

To facilitate cohesive data collection and analysis, the governance realm was disaggregated into six arenas:

1. Civil Society, or the way citizens become aware of and raise political issues;
2. Political Society, or the way societal interests are aggregated in politics;
3. Executive, or the rules for stewardship of the system as a whole;
4. Bureaucracy, or the rules guiding how policies are implemented;
5. Economic Society, or how state-market relations are structured; and,
6. Judiciary or the rules for how disputes are settled.

The survey was undertaken on the basis of five parameters for judging judicial efficient governance mentioned below:

- Access to justice.
- Due Process
- Autonomy
- Incorporation of international human rights norms.
- Non-judicial mechanisms for settling disputes.

Conclusion: Significant Reform Initiatives
The values attached with good governance have swept over various other issues and aspects of legal governance. The promotion of good governance has led to an increase in reforms worldover. The following are a few of such attempts: As evident from the various reform initiatives and the international documents, good governance is today the most important goal to be realized by the international community. The deep association between good governance and democracy and rule of law is indispensable for any legal system, and must be safeguarded at all times.

Notes & References
1 The Supreme Court of India in Gobardhan Lal v. State of Uttar Pradesh 2000 (87) FLR 658 stated that “the citizens have a fundamental right to good governance, and this right to have good governance is part of Article 21 of the Constitution”. In context of India, see E. Vayunandan and Dolly Mathew (Eds.), Good Governance Initiatives in India, Prentice Hall, New Delhi (2003); Surendra Munshi and Biju Paul Abraham (Eds.), Good Governance, Democratic Societies and Globalization, Sage Publications India Ltd., New Delhi (2004); Nick Robinson, “Expanding Judiciaries: India and the Rise of the Good Governance Court” Vol. 8 No.1 Washington University Global Studies Law Review 1-69 (2009).
2 Good governance “appears alongside such concept and terms as democracy, civil society, popular participation, human rights and social and sustainable development”. See Sam Agere,
The UNDP in 2006 defined democratic governance. It said that democratic governance seeks, in common with good governance, efficient institutions and a predictable economic and political environment that makes economic growth possible, and for public services to function. However, moving beyond economic growth to human development requires political and economic freedom backed by human rights. Democratic governance for human development embeds that most fundamental of democratic principles: that people should rule themselves through the government they choose.

From the human development perspective, good governance is democratic governance. Democratic governance means that: 1) people’s human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected, allowing them to live with dignity; 2) people have a say in decisions that affect their lives; 3) people can hold decision makers accountable; 4) inclusive and fair rules, institutions and practices govern social interactions; 5) women are equal partners with men in private and public spheres of life and decision-making; 6) people are free from discrimination based on race, ethnicity, class, gender or any other attribute; 7) the needs of future generations are reflected in current policies; 8) economic and social policies are responsive to people’s needs and aspirations. (Economic and social policies aim at eradicating poverty and expanding the choices that all people have in their lives.


The Report highlights the reform initiatives at Zambia. In the early 1990s in Zambia, two NGOs and a group of officials and teachers from the Ministry of Education launched a variety of civic education programmes with the objective of raising political awareness and stimulating civic action among Zambian citizens. The programmes included workshops on civil and political rights that provided training to trainers who would then facilitate grassroots workshops; the creation of a new course syllabus for civic education in secondary schools; and innovative, unconventional civic education awareness-raising programmes such as drama, public discussions, media spots, walks, concerts and video shows. National surveys and other follow-ups to the programmes subsequently revealed that the civic education activities had a significant impact on civic knowledge, the promotion of civic values and skill, the expression of political preferences and civic action (notably voting). For the 1996 elections, 86 percent of the programme participants registered to vote, compared with the national average of 60 percent. It should be noted, however, that the programmes only had limited success with poor people and marginalized sections of the population. Due to a combination of low education/literacy and lack of access to the media, many of these individuals seemed to be less receptive to the methods used in the programme.

For instance, in Uganda, an expenditure tracking survey was undertaken in the mid-1990s to track the flow of public expenditures from release at central levels to receipt at the cost centre. The “Public Expenditure Tracking Survey (PETS) is a quantitative survey of the supply side of public services. The survey collects information on facility characteristics, financial flows, outputs (services delivered), accountability arrangements, etc. If carefully and competently collected, the PETS data can have multiple uses. They can serve as a powerful simple diagnostic tool in the absence of reliable administrative or financial data. They trace the flow of resources from origin to destination and determine the location and scale of anomaly. They are distinct, but complimentary to qualitative surveys on the perception of users to service delivery. They highlight not only the use and abuse of public money, but also give insights into cost efficiency, decentralization and accountability.”

It revealed that only around 15 percent of the annual grant for capital expenditure was reaching primary schools between 1991 and 1995. Upon receipt of these results, the Government of Uganda launched a major campaign to publicize financial flows which included the following measures: publishing inter-governmental transfers of funds in major newspapers, broadcasting on radio information on transfers, requiring district centres and schools to post details of transfers on notice boards, enshrining accountability and information dissemination in law in the Local Governance Act. See The World Bank, Public Expenditure Tracking Survey (PETS). Available at http://web.worldbank.org/WEBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTPCENG/0,,contentMDK:20507700~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:410306,00.html

At the International Conference & Showcase on Judicial Reforms: Strengthening the Judiciaries of the 21st Century, On 29 November 2005, at the Makati Shangri-la Hotel, Manila, Philippines


The campaign identified seven norms of good governance as sustainability, subsidiarity, equity, efficiency, transparency and accountability, civic engagement and citizenship and security. www.unhabitat.org/governance


Article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) deals with public participation which is linked with accountability and transparency. It reads as

Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions: (a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives; (b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors; (c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country.


the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) is another UN agency whose development agenda coincides with that of the World Bank. Since it is an African-based institution, UNECA facilitates working relationships between the Bank and other development agencies situated in Africa. See http://web.worldbank.org/WEBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/0,,contentMDK:20267222~menuPK:538679~pagePK:146736~piPK:226340~theSitePK:258644,00.html

The initiatives have been highlighted at http://www.nepad.org/

The Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines provides that the Supreme Court has “administrative supervision over all courts and the personnel thereof.” In order to facilitate supervision, the Office of the Court Administrator (OCA) was created in 1975. The OCA is responsible for personnel and payroll administration, financial management and budgeting, and procurement and property management in all of the country’s lower courts. The OCA’s supervisory and oversight functions also cover revenue generation, performance assessment of judges, monitoring of case statistics, and preliminary processing of administrative cases over judges.

Over the years the OCA has formulated a calculated vision for efficient judicial administration by:

1) Promoting procedural and administrative improvements of the courts;
2) Conduct continuous and systematic studies of the structure, operations, and manpower requirements of the courts to identify and address the factors that cause docket congestion and case disposition delay;
3) Support continuing judicial and legal education, and court management programs for judges and court personnel;
4) Serve as national clearinghouse for reforms and innovations in judicial administration.

See http://apjr.judiciary.gov.ph/


The National Accountability Group (NAG) is the only civil society membership organisation that is dedicated to achieving greater accountability, transparency and integrity, curbing corruption, and holding local and national government accountable to the people of Sierra Leone. Its initiatives and reports are made available on http://www.accountability.sl/activities.html


Global Governance: Role of Emerging Economies during Global Financial Crisis

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Abstract
The debates on Global Governance came into focus again with the Global Financial Crisis. The initial trigger of Global Financial Crisis has occurred in the housing mortgage market of United States. The closely integrated financial markets led to transmission of crisis across the continents. The crisis has witnessed close coordination among national governments, multilateral institutions, and central banks that has averted the collapse of global financial system. The central banks released abundant liquidity through swap lines, national governments initiated fiscal stimulus measures and multilateral institutions like IMF came with huge rescue packages. The crisis also led to the revival of G20 from a forum of finance ministers and central bankers to that of Country heads and State leaders. G20 became the most important platform where globally coordinated actions, decisions and reform initiatives were undertaken. The global financial crisis has witnessed the rise of emerging economies in to the global economic and political sphere. Emerging economies led by BRICS have managed to establish a strategic bargaining position in the emerging global governance sphere. The paper examines the background of Global Financial crisis that has warranted close coordination and revival of multilateralism. The paper also tries to examine changing paradigm of global governance and the role of emerging economies in the new global governance architecture.

Keywords: Governance, Emerging Economies, Global Financial Crisis

Global Financial Crisis
The Global Financial crisis started as subprime crisis or a housing mortgage crisis in United States. Subprime loans as defined by Federal Reserve Chairman, are loans to borrowers having low credit rating or having high probabilities of default (Bernanke, 2007). Banks and mortgage companies hugely encouraged low income customers with low credit rating to obtain housing loans. The reason for such risky lending was that house prices in US was increasing rapidly and since 1930’s the housing prices have not depreciated (Dodd and Mills, 2008). The financial institutions used complex ‘securitisation model’ to diversify risks by mixing the mortgage loan instruments with other assets and sell the same to other financial institutions, hedge funds, and investment banks. The sudden reversal of trend in housing market due to bursting of housing bubble has quickly transformed into a full blown financial crisis in US. Defects in ratings system followed by credit rating agencies, highly leveraged financial institutions, regulatory and supervisory lapses, have all contributed to the crisis. The securitisation model also had inherent flaws such as information asymmetries, adverse selection, and moral hazard (Roubini, 2008).

The liquidity concerns that followed affected financial institution irrespective of their financial strength and paved way for confidence crisis in wholesale markets. Reputed Financial institutions in the US like Lehman brothers and Bear Stearns became causality of the crisis. The securitisation framework, followed the “originate and distribute model”, was perceived to diversify the risk, later became the prime cause of global financial crisis (Dodd
and Mills, 2008). Though the sub-prime crisis emanated from U.S, the trans-Atlantic effect of the contagion1 was significant. The crisis also quickly spread to Europe, Middle-East, South Asia, Russia, and Australia and significantly affected the financial system as well as the real economy. The global recession that followed led to sharp fall in commodity prices, and real estate prices. The financial institutions facing liquidity crisis had to significantly reduce their credit expansion plans. Investment banks confronted with domestic liquidity problem had to withdraw funds from different stock market and put on hold on any investment decisions. In 2010, the contagion and inherent weaknesses of a Monetary Union in European Union took the shape of a Sovereign Debt Crisis in Europe. European Monetary Union with single integrated market and single currency ‘Euro’ has 17 different fiscal authorities. In fact the success of the Monetary Union largely depended on the price stability and fiscal discipline.

As precursor to entry to common currency Euro, European Union (EU) has framed the Stability and Growth Pact in 1997 to ensure that the budget deficit and external debt ceiling are maintained as set by convergence criteria2. Many Eurozone member nations were able to maintain the fiscal deficit and inflation within the mandatory level of the pact. However, there were many instances like Greece where the deficit as well as inflation limits were continuously breached. The unravelling of the news of unsustainable debt level of Greece and the inability of the country to service the debt triggered systemic crisis in the Eurozone that has rapidly spread to other EU economies. Core economies in Northern Europe like Germany, France, Austria, Belgium, Netherlands have managed relatively well during the debt crisis while the periphery economies in South like Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece, Spain (PIIGS) were in serious difficulty causing systemic crisis in the Eurozone. Cyprus is the latest addition to the woes in European Union.

**Revival of Global Governance Forums in the Context of Financial Crisis**

Global governance has evolved over the years and got re-defined with the dynamic changes in international relations. According to Thomas J Biersteker, “Global Governance is applied to a wide variety of different practices of order, regulation, systems of rule, and patterned regularity in the international arena” (Biersteker, 2009). According to Thomas G Weiss, “Global governance can be defined as the sum of laws, norms, policies, and institutions that define, constitute, and mediate trans-border relations between states, cultures, citizens, intergovernmental and NGOs and the market. It encompasses the totality of institutions, policies, rules, practices, procedures, and initiatives by which states and their citizens try to bring more predictability, stability, and order to their responses to transnational challenges such as climate change and environmental degradation, nuclear proliferation, and terrorism which go beyond the capacity of a single state to solve” (Weiss, 2009).

The Global Financial crisis is considered as the severest and worst financial crisis after the Great depression of 1929. As the financial crisis engulfed all major economies, there was unprecedented level of co-ordination to avert the collapse of global financial system. To ensure ample flow of credit and liquidity in financial markets, currency swap lines between 14 major central banks were established as early as December 12, 2007. Swap Lines also known as reciprocal currency arrangement is a temporary arrangement between central banks to address strains in short term dollar liquidity.3 Many Bilateral and multilateral swap arrangement facilities between central banks continued to be operational and functional till February 2014. In October 2008 central banks also undertaken a co-ordinated interest rate cut. The Federal Reserve, the European Central Bank, Bank of England, Bank of Canada, Bank of Japan and Swiss National bank lowered their benchmark interest rates. This coordination was aimed to calm the market panic and avert the draining of credit market liquidity.
The crisis also saw the resurgence of the informal groups like G20, G77, BRICS. Since 2009 G20 has become the most important platform where globally coordinated actions, decisions and reform initiatives were undertaken. The financial crisis of nineties in Latin America, South Asia prompted the then existing arrangement of G8 members (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, UK, USA Russia) to expand membership representation to include “systemically important countries” to ensure cooperation and co-ordination to avert any further crisis. This gave way to the formation of G20 in 1999 where “informal dialogue in the framework of the Bretton Woods institutional system and discussions on economic and financial policies were held to achieve stability and sustainable economic growth to all” (Kharas and Lombardi, 2012). G20’s long term action plans focuses on development, trade, investment and better regulatory practices.

As a consequence to financial crisis, the G-20 graduated from a forum of central bank Governors and finance ministers to the Heads of state (G20 Washington Summit, 2008). G20 being an informal arrangement gives equal membership status from a set of countries with diverse backgrounds and economic strengths (Saran, 2012) G20 since Washington Summit has been able to chart out a focussed Plan with consensus, coordination and could manage to delegate the plan to specific institutions for time bound execution (Kharas and Lombardi, 2012). Since the crisis aggravated the G20 meetings were held every six months in June and September/November but after 2011, the summit meetings are held annually. The initial summits were concentrated on managing the crisis, later the focus shifted to reforms of regulatory and institutional structures. G20 initiated reform of IMF and structural changes in Financial Stability Forum. The forum also gave input for improving Basel norms for capital framework. The G20 also addressed development goals on infrastructure, food security, Energy Security, Climate change and Green Growth. The different Summit details are charted out in Table 1 at the end of the paper.

IMF, since inception, has been in forefront helping and rescuing its member states during crises. The crisis has forced IMF to broaden the role and since 2007 IMF has been actively coordinating with national governments and central banks in providing liquidity, assisting in policy solution and reforms. This is considered as a deviation from IMF’s role as an institution that provides financial assistance and technical help to debt ridden countries, to an institution that effectively provides macroeconomic policy coordination on the global level (Weiss, 2008). During the course of the Global Financial Crisis, IMF doubled member countries access to its resources and increased (4times) concessional lending. The lending programmes that was used included Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF) and the Exogenous Shocks Facility (ESF). IMF also expanded its technical assistance funds. The expansion of funds was facilitated through multi donor trust funds. As part of crisis mitigation measures, IMF also provided short term liquidity assistance to Morocco and Macedonia through the newly established Precautionary Liquidity Line which was meant to restore confidence in the market. During October 2008 IMF invoked its Emergency Financial Mechanism to provide quick assistance to different crisis ridden economies. The IMF announced an initial agreement on a $2.1 billion two-year loan with Iceland (October 24, 2008), followed by an announcement of $16.5 billion (October 26) agreement with Ukraine and $15.7 billion loan to Hungary. IMF also provided (November 5, 2008) a three month short-term lending facility aimed at middle income countries such as Mexico, South Korea, and Brazil with no conditionalities. IMF is actively involved in the European Union’s debt crisis management and is part of financial stability fund known as European Stability Mechanism.
Emerging Economies and their Role in Global Governance Architecture

The financial globalisation trends in the nineties have brought focus to the developing economies. Developing economies also known as Emerging market Economies started to open up its doors to globalisation in the nineties. Over the years the financial markets of these markets have grown in size. As the industrialised western economies like US, UK, France all slipped into recession, there was an assumption that the emerging markets would be able to “decouple” from the US, Europe down turn (Morris Goldstein and Daniel Xie, 2009). Though there was steady fall in Industrial production, net capital inflows, exports, the emerging Asian economies in particular escaped from falling into deep recession unlike their Western counterparts. Though the overall Global growth according to World Bank Report is expected at 2.4 percent in 2013, developing economies are expected to grow at a rate of 5.5 per cent (World Bank, 2013).

Emerging market economies cannot be classified in to homogenous group as they exhibit different patterns of consumption, investment and financial market growth. Though these economies have followed policies of trade liberalisation, their home country issues and regional conflicts have hindered trade growth among these economies. According to OECD Report (2009) the economies particularly the 6 major economies of BRIICS have contributed significantly to world intermediate inputs, final goods and services markets in the past decade. This signifies their growing share in world export of goods and services. The growing presence of emerging economies led by the BRIICS in the world trade also give them a larger role to play in the multilateral trade negotiating forums like WTO. The earliest round of cooperation and bargaining power among emerging economies was witnessed in the Doha Round of WTO negotiation. The largest growing economies of Brazil, Russia India, China met on sidelines of G20 finance minister’s meeting to coordinate on issues relevant to them. After the G20 Pittsburg Summit(2009) the group has expanded to include Mexico, South Africa, and Indonesia. The emerging economies led by BRICS have committed themselves to bargain for inclusive development for vulnerable WTO members in the Ninth Ministerial Conference of WTO in Bali. This again emphasizes the commitment of emerging economies to support transparent, balanced trade environment and guarantee benefits to all.

The latest BRICS meeting in South Africa on March 26-27, 2013 resulted in led to the ‘eThekwin Declaration’ reaffirming the commitment towards multilateral framework and recognising the central role of United Nations (UN). Emerging economies led by BRICS have called for comprehensive reform of UN. Russia and China have particularly recognised their partners in BRICS—Brazil, India and South Africa’s potential to play an important role in UN. This underscores recognition of other emerging countries like India’s aspiration for a permanent seat in the Security Council. BRIC nations had been successful in turning decisions in their favour as in case of Brazil’s efforts of transferring pricing model on UN Tax Committee and signed Draft Resolution in the UN transfer pricing manual (Hamrawit Abebe, Ryan Dugan et al, 2012). India in 2011 pioneered the amendment on Multilateral Convention on Mutual Administrative Assistance in Tax Matters paving way for transparency and cooperation in the field of exchange of tax information among countries. (Hamrawit Abebe, Ryan Dugan etal, 2012). The BRICS south Africa meeting also emphasized expanding the scope of closer cooperation between non-BRICS in particular rest of the emerging Market economies and Developing economies. Also the proposals of creation of a New Development Bank of its own and a financial safety net of ‘Contingent Reserve
Arrangement is aimed at complementing and supplementing existing international arrangements.

According to World Bank Report on Global Economic Prospects (2013), the developing economies exhibited the decade’s lowest and slowest growth rate of 5.1 per cent. The financial markets of developing economy was also shaken with the capital flows shrinking to 30 per cent (World Bank, 2013). The Balance of Payment crisis and currency crisis experience in the nineties demanded the developing economies to build foreign exchange reserve. This reserve served as a buffer to the developing economies during the initial phase of Global financial crisis. India forex reserves which stood at USD 304.66 billion in 2008 March depleted to USD 295.14 billion (March 2012) and USD 293.50 billion (March 2013). This erosion of reserves was mainly due to capital outflow and fall in export. The capital outflows also impacted the foreign exchange liquidity in domestic market and India Rupee depreciated against US Dollar. The exchange rate depreciated from 39.37 per dollar in January 2008 to 51.23 per dollar in March 2009 and 54.30 in December 2011. (Anand Sinha, 2012). One of the reasons cited for global imbalance was the piling up of reserves and saving glut by emerging Asian economies as opposed to excessive consumption pattern followed by the West. The reform initiatives of G20 (Mutual Assessment Process) is also routed to discourage tendencies of building forex reserves and maintaining undervalued exchange rate. Emerging economies like India has clear policy of not using currency intervention as a trade policy instrument unlike China. (D Rao, 2012) So there will be clear division among emerging economies in following the G20 directives.

As part of reform in IMF governance structure, the developed and developing members states of G20 has 80 and 79 percentage of IMF quota and vote respectively. Fifty Four members including China, Korea, India, Brazil, and Mexico will benefit from IMF quota reform and 135 members will have increased voting powers. To meet the financial requirements of the debt ridden member countries IMF has increased its lending capacity. IMF’s main source of funding is Quota subscription from its member states and temporary borrowing arrangements from members. The Pittsburg Summit of G20 has also committed “to a shift in quota share to dynamic emerging market and developing countries of at least 5 percentage points from over represented to under-represented countries” (Kharas and Domenico Lombardi, 2012). G20 is the platform where IMF Governance and structural reform discussion takes place. According to ADB Report (2011) G20 is in a position to guide the agenda for cooperation between regional institutions and the IMF (ADB Report, 2011). Though IMF quota reform decision took place 2010 on G20 platform, the implementation and completion of quota review is expected only by January 2014.

Conclusion
The Multilateral Institutions like IMF, WTO, World Bank etc have always been branded as institutions managed and dominated by the industrialized West. There is also a criticism that these institutions were not been successful in reducing the inequality between the developed industrialized and developing or emerging market economies. Before the onset of Global Financial Crisis it looked as if the multilateral institutions will lose its relevance and these institutions were struggling to establish legitimacy and acceptance among developing nations. The crisis has renewed hopes of multilateral cooperation. The Global Financial crisis and the events followed ignited strong hopes of revival of multilateral institutions particularly IMF and informal global forum like G20. The crisis also highlighted the fact that the industrialised west can no longer afford to ignore the presence of the emerging market economies with
strong macroeconomic fundamentals. India is one among the top emerging market economies that managed to escape the crisis waves relatively unscathed.

The presence of India along with major emerging economies in major multilateral forums underscores the growing importance of this group in the Global Governance space. Emerging economies lead by BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) along with Latin American emerging powers like Mexico have been in the forefront of initiating coordination and better regulatory practices in the financial sector. India has shown firm commitment to reform the governance structure and create a benchmark for other emerging nations. India along with the members of BRIC nations also has shown greater bargaining power with regard to reforms of UN, WTO and IMF. A concept like a Development Bank for BRICS nations becoming a reality highlights the emerging economies efforts and commitment to direct their resources for growth and development. These developments underscores the fact that the emerging economies particularly BRICS group has the potential to emerge as major global powers and has an important role to play in the Global Governance architecture.

Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G20 Summit &amp; Year</th>
<th>Important Economic Policy Outcome</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Washington, November 2008</strong></td>
<td>In the context of Global Financial crisis the focus was on crisis management Action Plan with a deadline of implementation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Action Plan with a deadline of implementation; regulating credit-rating agencies</td>
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<td>strengthening capital requirements for banks’ structured credit and securitization activities; strengthening banks’ risk management;</td>
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<td>address weaknesses in accounting and disclosure standards for off-balance-sheet vehicles; regular meetings of national financial supervisors;</td>
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<td>the Financial Stability Forum to include a broader membership of emerging economies.</td>
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<td><strong>London Summit, 200</strong></td>
<td>$1.1 trillion program to boost the world economy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>New Arrangements to Borrow (NAB), kept at $500 billion</td>
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<td>to treble resources available to the IMF to $750 billion</td>
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<td></td>
<td>SDR allocation of $250 billion, $100 billion of additional lending by the MDBs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>$250 billion of support for trade finance</td>
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<td>$50 billion to support social protection, boost trade and safeguard development in low-income countries</td>
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<td>to use the additional resources from agreed-on IMF gold sales for concessional finance for the poorest countries</td>
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<td>establishment of a new Financial Stability Board (FSB) with a strengthened mandate including all G-20 countries, FSF members, Spain, and the European Commission;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Pittsburgh, September 2009</strong></td>
<td>the new Framework for Strong, Sustainable, and Balanced Growth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Basel II capital framework compensation practices, improvement of over the counter derivatives, cross border financial supervision and regulation and resolution $500 billion for the IMF’s renewed NEW Arrangement to Borrow increase IMF Quota Broaden voting Rights at World Bank</td>
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<td>Toronto, June 2010</td>
<td>a set of principles for innovative financial inclusion. continuing financial sector reform</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seoul, November 2010</td>
<td>Mutual Assessment Process to promote external sustainability. Financial Sector reforms to reduce the moral hazard risks posed by systemically important financial institutions (SIFIs). Seoul Development Consensus for Shared Growth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannes, 2011</td>
<td>Changes in SDR composition of IMF Effective IMF surveillance Reform of Financial Stability Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico 2012</td>
<td>increase the assets available to the IMF $450 billion dollars. Infrastructure Food Security Green Growth</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: G20 Summits, Homi Kharas and Domenico Lombardi (2012),

Notes
1 IMF gives a broad definition for Contagion, as the cross-country transmission of shocks or the general cross-country spill over effects. It is the transmission of shocks to other countries beyond any fundamental link among the countries and beyond common shocks
2 Convergence Criteria: (a) Inflation rate must not be more than 1.5 percent of that of the best performing countries (b) Interest rate on long-term bond must not exceed by 2 percent average interest rates in the 3 countries with lowest inflation rates (c) Government deficit must not be more than 3 percent of the GDP and government debt to GDP ratio must not exceed 60 percent (d) Applicant countries should have joined the exchange-rate mechanism for two consecutive years and should not have devalued its currency during the period
4 assistance provided to low income countries facing crisis of oil, food, trade disruption, natural disasters etc that are completely out their respective national government’s control
5 Precautional Credit Line is provided to Countries that do not qualify for Flexible credit line but maintains sound macroeconomic fundamentals
7 Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa plus addition of Indonesia to the list by the OECD Policy Brief 2009
Contingent Reserve Management is a self-managed reserve system among BRICS to guard against any short term liquidity crises and to strengthen financial stability.

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Openness, Fiscal Reforms & Indian Federalism

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Abstract
The subject matter relating to the relationship between the Centre and States has evoked considerable attention during last six decades. It includes political, economic and other dimensions of federalism but the present discussion is mainly focusing on the economics of federal finance or fiscal federalism. Openness has distinct effect on structure of public finance and expenditure of governments as it influence the expenditure and revenue side of the budget. In India all layer of governments; Centre, state and local bodies are interacting with foreign government and corporation in the global economy. The paper tries to understand recent dynamics in Indian fiscal federalism by disconcerting interaction among central, state and local government during the reform period. There has been significant improvement in the fiscal ratios of the States in recent years, which coincides with the era of restructuring of finance of the States. However it is also observed that there has been an increase in the disparity in own revenues and thereby the inequality in development expenditure across the States.

Keywords: Fiscal Reform, Fiscal Federalism, Intergovernmental Transfers

Introduction
Recent academic studies on link between openness and public spending have advanced two hypothesis, efficiency and compensation hypothesis. The efficiency hypothesis predicts that increased economic integration is associated with declining public spending. It is argued that increasing integration with international market has a negative effect on the public spending, as the governments loses their monopoly of coercion and find them in a situation of strategic interaction with their counterparts elsewhere. The compensation hypothesis suggests that government expenditure expand as economic openness increases. It means that international integration increases the expenditure of the government by way of increase in spending on social welfare programmes, voluntary redistribution to reduce inequality, investment in human capital to strengthen competitiveness and to mitigate international volatility of income. As the literature suggests, in India, all layers of government Centre, state and local bodies are simultaneously interacting with foreign government and corporation in the global economy, what may be its implications on federal fiscal structure? We can conceptualize that effect of openness on the federal fiscal structure can be two ways, the first affecting Central, State and local government independently - openness will bring changes in the size and structure of public expenditure and taxes at central, state and local bodies. Secondly openness can deteriorate fiscal federalism by disconcerting interaction among the central, state and local government.

The paper is mainly focusing its discussions on second aspect. In this context it needs to be highlighted that impact of openness on the State government’s expenditure would not be uniform across States. It would be safe to assume that the State with higher tax base would be in a better position to absorb shocks of reform-induced reduction in public expenditure due to larger revenue mobilization, which may not be true in the case of low-income States. This in turn can result in widening of disparity in own revenue and thereby government spending
across the States. Globalization could also reduce federal government ability to address inequality in the provision of publicly provided services across States. The paper is organized into two sections. Section I: review of literature on globalization and public spending, Section II: implication reforms on Indian federal fiscal structure.

Review of Literature on Openness and Public Spending
Openness has distinct effects on the structure of public finance and the expenditure of government as it influences the expenditure and revenue side of the budget. Schulze and Ursprung (1999) identified that the entire debate on the effects of openness on government expenditure can be dichotomized into efficiency effects and compensation effects. The efficiency effect mainly captures the influence of openness on the revenue side of the government budget. The contention of compensation hypothesis is that demand for public spending, especially demand for transfer programmes varies positively with reform.

In a liberalised regime, social cost of increasing tax rate not only reduces private income but also reduces capital inflow and thereby national income. This implies that for a single jurisdiction, social cost of increasing tax rate is higher if capital can flow out of the country and therefore the optimal tax rate is lower than if capital was locked in the country. Conversely, low tax rate attract mobile factors such as capital and the government will therefore try to undercut each other in order to attract these mobile factors, which may lead to ‘race to bottom’ phenomenon. If reduction in tax rate does not followed by an increasing tax base it would reduce total tax revenue of the government. The striking result of tax competition literature is that public goods are underprovided [Oates, 1972, Breton 1995]. The structural adjustment measures can also result in reduction of government revenue. In 1960 and 70 trade taxes were important sources of revenue for many developing countries. They account for one-third of tax revenue. Grunberg, (1998) and Zee (1999) estimated that during1975-79 average trade taxes were just 4 per cent of total tax revenue for OECD countries but 30 for non-OECD countries.

Reduction in the trade tariff was a part of broader structural adjustment measures aimed at encouraging the competitiveness of individual countries and at reducing rent-seeking measures. Also, the liberalization of nation’s external account and the regulation governing financial transition can lead to revenue shortfalls. It is observed by Grunberg (1998) that financial liberalization has created a revenue shortfall because, in course of regulating interest rates or steering money and credit to various sectors of the economy, governments occasionally make a profit, or is able to borrow at subsidized rate of interest. Another forgone source of revenue originates from capital controls in the form of multiple exchange rates. If the governments are net sellers of foreign exchange, the sale of foreign exchange at higher than market rate used to be a source of revenue for them. Liberalization and devaluation often lead to a unification of exchange rates, removing yet another source of revenue [Reisen, 1990].

A compensation effect on the other hand comes through the expenditure side of government budget. The argument is that demand for public spending, especially demand for transfer programmes varies positively with openness. Globalization induced increase in unemployment, to mitigate external risk, increased the demand for publicly sponsored goods and services such as social welfare expenditure like education, sanitation, urban and rural infrastructure increases public spending [Rudra, 1998, Rodrik 1998, Garrett 1998]. It is also argued that in a coordinated market economy with highly organized economic actors and inclusive politics, state are embedded in extensive social infrastructures and face potentially
strong resistance to retrenchment [Swank 1999]. Under these condition States tend to maintain or expand their welfare effort producing lower level of inequality and poverty. The studies would suggest that unemployment; income volatility, external risk, voluntary redistribution and political factors like unionization of labour will induce social welfare expenditure of the government in an open economy. Also increased openness requires more public investment in human capital to retain or strengthen the competitiveness in an open economy.

**Openness and India’s Federal Fiscal Structure**

The crucial question here is whether efficiency measures reduce the revenue generating capacity and thereby the public expenditure in India, if so what would be its effect on federal fiscal structure? The conventional wisdom also suggest that less intervention of the state can make sure the free play of market forces and ensure efficiency in the economy. On contrary to this, the literature also provides evidence for huge demand for public expenditure in the form of social welfare programmes and compensation to losers of globalisation. One possible positive effect of lower tax rate may be that it helps to improve the tax base of the economy there by leading to rise in government revenue. But lower tax rate if not followed by increase in tax base and consequent increase in revenue may result in reduction in government expenditure. Reduction in revenue along with rule based fiscal control imposes restrictions on the government by restricting borrowing power, which can also reduce the expenditure of government, both at central and State level.

On the basis of literature review we hypothesize a negative relationship between openness and public spending. In the study, public expenditure is defined as total expenditure minus interest payment. The figure 1 indicate that the expenditure of Central and state government as percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has reduced during the period of analysis. It means that expenditure of centre and state is not growing in parallel with the growth of GDP. The total expenditure of the central government was 15.2 in 1980-81, which increased to 18.9 in 1986-87 thereafter it persistently declined to 11.2 in 1996-97. However there is an increasing trend in the total expenditure of the centre in recent years, so it reached to 14.4 per cent of the GDP in 2008-09. The figure 1 shows that, in general there is declining tend in both total and development expenditure of the centre during the period of analysis. (see Figure 2)

There are several reasons for the decline in Central government spending. Most important among them is the decline in revenue receipts of the Central government during nineties. The trade integration during nineties resulted in reducing the Central government spending due to decline in trade taxes. The decline in revenue receipts, especially trade taxes, results in reduction in the expenditure at the Centre as well as the transfer from Centre to States. Table 2 shows that revenue receipts of the Central government as percentage of GDP has declined from 17.2 per cent of GDP in 1985-90 to 14.8 percent during 1995-00. The reason for reduced revenue receipt of the Centre is due to decline in tax revenue during nineties. The tax revenue as per cent of GDP has reduced from 7.8 per cent during 1985-90 to 6.5 per cent of GDP during 1995-00. But since 2000-01, the tax revenue as percent of GDP has slightly improved because of increased tax base. (see Table 1)

It is seen that within the tax revenue, direct tax as a percent of GDP has increased throughout the period of analysis. It increased from 1.4 per GDP in 1980-85 to 2.8 per during 2000-06. On the other hand the indirect tax has declined from 6.5 per cent of GDP during 1985-90 to 4 per cent of GDP during 2000-06. Both excise duty and customs duty has shown declining
trends. It is also seen that decline in customs duty is higher than that of decline in excise duty. The customs duty has declined sharply from 3.7 per cent of GDP during 1985-90 to 1.3 percent during 2001-05. The analysis shows that tax structure of Central government is changing towards direct tax. But decline in indirect tax as a result of trade liberalization has not been compensated by increase in direct taxes. Therefore decline in trade taxes can explain a part of decline in expenditure of the central government during the period of globalisation.

The development expenditure of the Central government has also declined during the period of liberalization. While the non-development expenditure noted an increasing trends. The non-development expenditure such as pension and interest payment increased during the period. Within the development expenditure, the social expenditure as per cent of GDP has increased from 0.6 per cent of GDP in 1985-90 to 0.9 percent during 2001-05. While, the expenditure on economic services has declined from 4.8 per cent of GDP to 3.8 per cent of GDP during the same period. As mentioned in the literature, the compensation policies of the Central government could be the reasons for increased social welfare expenditure during the period of reform. The compensation hypothesis argues that government should increase its expenditure during the period of globalisation.

It is important to note that the expenditure of central government declined more rapidly than the expenditure of state government. The total expenditure of the state was 16.2 per cent of the gross domestic product in 1980-81, which increased to 17.1 in 1987-88. Then declined to 13.8 in 1997-98 thereafter it slightly improved and reached to 15.9 per cent of the gross domestic product in 2008-09 (fig 1). While the development expenditure of the state was 12 per cent of gross domestic product in 1980-81 and increased to 13.2 in 1987-88. Thereafter it continually declined to 10.1 in 2005-06, except in the last two years (see Figure 2). Table 2 explain that one of the reasons for increased expenditure in recent years, total and development expenditure, is due to increase in the ratio own tax to gross domestic product and increased transfer of resources from centre to states. The reason for improved revenue receipt of the states is because of widening in tax base of the economy.

Still the decline in state expenditure, both total and development expenditure is relatively less than that of decline in central government expenditure. There are several reasons for comparatively less decline in the expenditure of the States governments. One, except during 1995 to 2000, the ratio of own tax revenue to GDP of the States has not declined in the post reform period. Secondly, the transfer from Centre has reduced relatively less than that of decline in expenditure of Central government during the same period. Lastly but most importantly, the compensation policies of the States government could be the reasons for relatively less decline in the expenditure of States government, as more than 80 percentage of the total spending in social services is undertaken by the States government. It can be possible to argue that in a democratic country with inclusive politics, states face potentially strong resistance to retrench social welfare expenditures. Therefore relatively less declines in the state expenditure, especially social service expenditure on education, health and social security, during the period of globalization can be attributable to compensation hypothesis. (see Table 2)

In the point of view of fiscal federalism in India, the influence of openness on State governments can be in two ways; firstly, directly influencing the revenue raising capacity of the States. Secondly, through the changes in nature and quantum of transfer from Centre to States. Various studies have found that in recent years growth performance of states is diverging with relatively developed state grows at a faster rate [Rao 1999, Nayyar 2008 and
Singh and Bhandari 2003]. It is observed that growth in globalised economy is often highly unbalanced as some States are able to take advantages of foreign market and investment more rapidly than others. The States having higher growth in GSDP can have greater scope to mobilise revenue. On the other hand States having lower GSDP growth could have low capacity to mobilise revenue. Therefore the difference in per capita income growth of the States will make further difference in own revenue across the States and thereby the per capita expenditure across the States, unless the transfer system becomes sufficiently progressive to take care of this widening difference in revenue raising capacity due to reform.

On the expenditure side the compensation policies by the government such as social welfare expenditure demands higher expenditure of government at Central and State level. Two issues ensue at this point: firstly, on the basis of theoretical argument on compensation hypothesis we expect a shift in the public expenditure burden from the Centre to the States and local bodies, because most of the social welfare expenditures are constitutionally assigned to them. Given the division of responsibilities between the Centre and States in India, on an average, only 15 to 20 percentage of the total spending in social services is undertaken by the Central government. It can facilitate a change in the structure of Indian federal fiscal relationships by relocating more expenditure burden on the States and local bodies. Secondly, the Central government introduced social welfare measures in the form of direct transfer from the Centre to local bodies and district level implementing agencies bypassing the State budget. In this context, it is has to be highlighted that the Central government has entered in a big way in the social sector spending, bypassing state, which could weaken fiscal federalism in India. Another manner in which the Central government made inroads in to States subject (jurisdiction) is through increasing the conditionality in the transfer of resources from the Centre to the State. (see Table 3)  

Domestic reform policies increases inter-state inequality in the provision of publicly provided services due to difference across the States in mobilizing the revenue to take-up the shifting responsibility as a result of reform. The difference across States in raising revenue is owing to state wise disparity in taking advantages of foreign and private Investment. Therefore the better of States are in advantages position to reap the benefit of reform-induced growth in SDP (State Domestic Product). It is two way related, better off states can be able to attract additional foreign and private investment through providing better public service, which again lead to higher scope for revenue mobilisation for those state government by means of improvement in tax base. (see Figure 3)

If the transfer system is not progressive enough, it increases inequality in public expenditure across States. It is well established in the literature that Central-state transfer has failed to achieve the desired objective of horizontal equity [Gulati 1988, Rao and Singh 2002 and Singh and Vasishtha 2004, Chakraborty 2003]. However, conditional transfer has increased recently to ensure efficiency in the allocation of resources, which can again increase the inequality in public expenditure across the States. The decline in transfer resulting from decline in central government’s ability to mobilise revenue will affect those States, which are depending more on transfer from the Centre. This will also lead to increase in inequality in the public service provision across the States. Changes in inequality are also associated with differences in domestic policies, particularly difference in the policies that affect the States’ ability to take part in the open economy. (see Table 4 & 5)

It has been pointed out that federal government’s ability to use transfer to reduce inequality would decline under reform. There are mainly four factors, which reduce the ability of the
federal governments to reduce regional inequalities in the provision of public expenditure. Firstly, conditional transfer has increased to ensure efficiency in the allocation of resources. Secondly, it can be also argued that the extensive privatization programmes decrease federal governments’ ability to address disparities across the regions. Third, important factor seems to be lacking an effort to use transfer to explicitly address disparity in infrastructure, regulation, and market condition that affect state’s ability to attract growth enhancing investment [Wallack and Srinivasan 2003]. Finally, economic reform also brought structural changes like removal of capital control, disinvestments of public enterprise, which curtail the redistribution capacity of central government. On one hand reform policies is increasing disparity in expenditure and on the other hand it also reducing the ability of federal government to explicitly use the transfer mechanism to reduce increasing inequality in expenditure across the states. Along with other factors it would in turn results in weakening fiscal federalism in India. (see Figure 4)

**Conclusion**

The analyses reveal that expenditure of central government, except in last few years, has reduced during the period of analysis. One of the reasons may be the reduced revenue receipt of the government during 1990s up to 2005, especially the reduction in customs duty and excise taxes at the Central level. The transfer from Centre has reduced relatively less than that of reduction in expenditure of Central government during the period of analysis. The study also finds that there is widening inequality in per capita own revenue and thereby development expenditure across States. The existing literature suggested that private investment; literacy rate and infant mortality rate are positively related with public investment. In this context, the growing disparity in public expenditure, expenditure on basic infrastructure, is a serious issue to be concerned. With higher investment in basic infrastructure, the better States are in advantages position in taking advantages of foreign and private Investment. It is two way related better off sates can be able to attract foreign and private investment through providing better public service, which again lead to higher scope for revenue mobilisation for those state government.

While central government find it difficult to address the growing inequality in public expenditure across the states through transfer from the centre. There was also a clear indication of increase in conditionality on transfer from Centre to States. Conditional part in State plan grant by Planning Commission and non-plan grant by Finance Commission has increased in recent years. Discretionary grants also showed an increasing trend. Distribution of state plan grants and discretionary grants across the States show that the share of high income States in total discretionary transfers is increasing with a corresponding decline in the share of low income States. So it is doubtful that current form of transfer from Centre to States is not able to mitigate the increase in inequity in public expenditure across the States in the context of globalisation.

**Reference**


### TABLE 1: RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT (AS PERCENT OF GDP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total receipts (A+B)</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A) Revenue receipts (a+b)</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Tax Revenue (I+II)</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I) Direct Tax (i+ii)</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Personal Income Tax</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) Corporate Income Tax</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II) Indirect taxes (iii+ iv)</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii) Excise Duty</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv) Customs Duty</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Non Tax Revenue</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) Capital Receipt</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total expenditure (A+B)</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A) Development Expenditure (a+b)</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>7.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>a) Economic</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>b) Social</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>B) Non development expenditure</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>8.9</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Handbook of Statistics on Indian Economy, RBI (Various Issues)

### TABLE 2: RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF SATE GOVERNMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revenue receipt (1+2)</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Own Revenue (a+b)</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Own Tax revenue</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own non Tax revenue</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Transfer From Centre (c+d)</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>c) Share in central tax</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Grants from Centre</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
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Source: Handbook of Statistics on States Finance and Handbook of Statistics on Indian Economy, RBI (Various Issues)

### TABLE 3: DIRECT TRANSFER FROM CENTRE (AS % OF GDP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Ministry / Scheme/year</th>
<th>Ministry of Health and Family Welfare</th>
<th>Ministry of Human Resources Development of which SSA</th>
<th>Ministry of Rural Development of which NREGS</th>
<th>Total Grants</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006-07</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
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TABLE 4: DISTRIBUTION OF TRANSFER FROM CENTRE TO STATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High Income</strong></td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Income</strong></td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>35.5</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Low Income</strong></td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>43</td>
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</table>

Source: Hand Book of State Finance, RBI (various issues)

TABLE 5: FINANCE COMMISSIONS’ CRITERIA FOR TAX DEVOLUTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finance Commissions</th>
<th>Base of Distribution</th>
<th>Tax Effort</th>
<th>Fiscal Discipline</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>11th</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Finance Commission Reports
FIG 1: THE TOTAL EXPENDITURE OF CENTRAL, STATE AND COMBINED (CENTRAL AND STATE) GOVERNMENTS
FIGURE 2: THE DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURE OF CENTRAL, STATE AND COMBINED (CENTRAL AND STATE) GOVERNMENTS

FIGURE 3: CV OF PER CAPITA GSDP, PER CAPITA OWN REVENUE AND PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE
FIGURE 4

Changing Counters of Indian Federalism via affecting interaction among Central, States and Local Bodies

- Increasing inter-state inequality in the provision of public services (Figure 5)
- Entry of Central government in big way in social sector spending bypassing the states budget
- Reducing federal government ability to address inequality in the provision of publicly provided services among the States

Difference among the States in taking advantages of Foreign and private capital (Srinivasan and Jessica Wilack, 2006)

Direct transfer from the centre to states (SSA, NRHM etc...)(see table no: 3)

Conditional element in statutory transfer has increased (Table No: 4)
Conditional element state plan grant has increased(Table No 4)
Lacking an effort to use transfer explicitly to address disparity in publicly provided services across states due to reform
Extensive privatization programmes
Disinvestment of public enterprises

Source: Author’s Own Diagram
Inevitability of Black Money

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Institute of Professional Studies, Pune

Abstract
Generation of black money and its stashing abroad in tax havens have dominated discussions and debate in several public forums and in parliament during last couple of years. Black money is a term used to refer to money that is not fully legitimate in the hands of the owner. The thinking process is going on all over the country to develop a system such that there is no generation of black money at all. However, author insists that everyone must also give a thought whether even the most honest person can do away with black money or survive without black money. There are certain governance related areas which make the transactions in black money inevitable. Two most important of these are elections of representatives of people and transfer of real estate. The paper discusses the causes of inevitability of black money in these areas and suggests practical remedies thereon.

Keywords: Demand side of black money, Election reforms, Real estate transactions

Introduction
During the year 2011, Anna Hazare's agitation against corruption moved the citizens particularly youth of India in favour of this agitation. During almost the same time there have been many 'breaking news' appeared in media that enormous amount of black money is stashed abroad, particularly Swiss Bank. Some people moved a petition to Supreme Court which directed Govt. of India to clarify the position. Initially Government tried to pacify the agitators by entrusting the job of assessing the amount of unaccounted income and wealth both inside and outside the country and to suggest ways and means for detection and prevention of black money and bringing the same to mainstream economy, to three premium institutes. However public anger continued on the issue and ultimately adjournment motion was moved in the parliament on the topic "Black Money deposited illegally in foreign Banks and action being taken against the guilty persons". On 14th December 2011, while replying to the adjournment motion Finance Minister assured the Parliament that “White Paper on Black Money” would be prepared. In compliance of this assurance Finance Minister presented “White paper on Black Money” to Parliament on 16-05-2012

Generation of black money is global phenomenon, however the extent differs from country to country, depending upon economic policy options adopted by the respective Governments. Several economists have studied the causes and consequences of generation of black money and they have suggested remedies also. Tanzi and Schuknecht (1997) found that "with increase in tax rates to finance large Public spending programmers the desire to escape taxes and regulatory restrictions also gained prominence". Empirical estimates demonstrate that underground economic activities have been on rise in India since 1970, when presence of government activities became stronger in the economy. “In a liberalized capital market economy the portion of hidden economy is insignificant” (Schneider 1986).

The white paper on black money by Ministry of Finance, Govt. of India and many other documents, research papers and news paper articles have been aimed at narrating what are the causes of generation of black money and how it is necessary to bring back illicit money
stashed in the foreign banks. Thus all these efforts are directed towards supply side of black money. What must not be forgotten is that there is demand side of black money also.

**What does the demand side of black money mean?**

All the activities which come under ‘Generation of black money’ can be divided into two parts. 

A. Those activities in which there is transaction between two entities – One is supplier (giver) of black money and other one is beneficiary (receiver) of black money. There may or may not be third party involved (government) as a loser of tax revenue.

B. Those activities in which there is no giver or receiver. Simply by manipulation of documents and accounts, tax is avoided, black money is generated and there is loss to Government to the extent that tax is being avoided.

Therefore in case of “A” type of transaction there is demand and supply of black money. The giver of the money is helpless and he needs to have black money with him to complete the transaction. This is termed as demand for black money in this paper. This may also be called as inevitability of black money.

There are several ways suggested by economist and experts as what are the remedies to avoid generation of black money. This paper is not covering all those details and assumes that these remedies are necessary. However author considers these measures as essential condition but not sufficient condition to negate generation of black money. In addition we must have the strategy to plug demand side of black money and then only the measures to combat black money will bring fruits.

**Objectives**

- To study causes and remedies of generation of black money, and to prioritize come amongst the remedies suggested by experts for generation of black money.
- To elaborate the term demand side of black money.
- To suggest remedies to remove inevitability of black money.

**Research Methodology**

The paper is conceptual one and it evolves the concept of demand side of black money.

**What is Black Money?**

Before we discuss on demand side of black money, let us first look at the definition of black money. Several terms similar to black money are in use in literature. These are ‘black money’, ‘black economy’, ‘parallel economy’, ‘black wealth’, ‘underground wealth’ ‘underground economy, shadow economy’ etc. NIPFP (National Institute of Public Finance and Policy) in its 1985 report on ‘aspects of black economy’ defined black income as “the aggregate of incomes which are taxable but not reported to tax authorities and it amounts to biased estimates of national income and output downwards because of deliberate, false reporting of income, output and transactions for reasons of tax evasion, flouting of other economics controls and relative motives.” In the document white paper on Black Money presented by Finance Ministry to Parliament black money has been defined as “assets or resources that have neither been reported to the public authorities at the time of their generation nor disclosed at any point of time during their possession”. Bhattacharya (1999) describes the hidden economy as reflected by the unrecorded unofficial income “calculated as the difference between the potential national income for a given currency in circulation and
recorded national income.” Bagachwa and Naho (1995) consider black money as “a combination of informal (small scale production and distribution units), parallel (illegal production of legal activities) and black market activities (production and distribution of market and non-market goods forbidden by government).”

**Classification of Sources of Generation of Black Money**

In the “White paper on black money” presented by Hon. FM to parliament in May 2012, under the part 2.2 (factors leading to generation of black money), black money has been classified into two broad categories. (1) Black money arising from illegal activities and (2) black money generated through legally permissible activities. It is worth while to reproduce Para No. 2.2.1 and Para No. 2.2.3 of “while paper on black money” to understand these two broad categories.

“2.2.1: Black money arising from illegal activities such as crime and corruption has an underlying antisocial element. The 'criminal' component of black money may include proceeds from a range of activities including racketeering, trafficking in counterfeit and contraband goods, smuggling, production and trade of narcotics, forgery, illegal mining, illegal felling of forests, illicit liquor trade, robbery, kidnapping, human trafficking, sexual exploitation and prostitution, cheating and financial fraud, embezzlement, drug money, bank frauds, and illegal trade in arms. Some of these offences are included in the schedule of the Prevention of Money Laundering Act 2002. The 'corrupt' component of such money could stem from bribery and theft by those holding public office - such as by grant of business, leakages from government social spending programmes, speed money to circumvent or fast-track procedures, black marketing of price-controlled services, and altering land use regularizing unauthorized construction. All these activities are illegal per se and are result of human greed combined with declining societal values and inability of the state to prevent them. Factors leading to their generation are both social and administrative.”

“2.2.3: Significant amount of black money, however, is generated through legally permissible economic activities, which are not accounted for and disclosed or reported to the public authorities as per the law or regulations, thereby converting such income into black money. The failure to report or disclose such activities or income may be with the objective of evading taxes or avoiding the cost of compliance related to such reporting or disclosure. It may also be the result of non-compliance with some other law. For example, a factory owner may under-report production on account of theft of electricity which in turn leads to evasion of taxes. Generally, a high burden of taxation, either actual or perceived, provides a strong temptation to evade taxes and generate black money.”

Both of theses categories can further be divided in two sub categories each.

i. Black Money arising from illegal activities.
   a. Black Money arising from corruption.
   b. Black money arising from all illegal activities other then corruption.

ii. Black money generated through legally permissible economic activities.
   a. Black Money generated through informal sources.
   b. Black Money generated in parallel way to legitimate activities.

Most of the times, the thinking process goes on for avoiding generation of black money in general. However there is need to give thought how we can plug demand side of black money. In fact the priority should be to plug demand side of black money. This demand side involved two types of citizens / persons.
- Those who are law abiding or willing to be law abiding
- Those who are indulging in criminal activities.

The persons indulged in criminal activities are punishable under various Acts of the central and state governments which are administered by various law enforcement agencies. Effective implementation of these Acts is the responsibility of both state and central governments. Therefore activities which are illegitimate either from demand side or supply side and which is classified as 1(b) above has to be curbed by law enforcement authorities. So that cannot form the discussion of this paper. Also we are not very much concerned (considering priority) about group 2 A. Since informal black money as defined by Bagachwaa and Naha (1995) i.e. Money generated from small scale production and distribution units doesn’t need money laundering because that money is already in effective circulation. Thus informal black money is harmful only to the extent that no tax is paid on it and government doesn’t have access of this money for social cause. Otherwise this type of black money is no threat to society because it is already in circulation.

The group 2 B can further be divided into two sub groups

2B1 One way manipulation – Manipulation in such a way that no person or entity is giver
2B2 Two way manipulation – Manipulation in transaction in which one is giver and other one is receiver. In one way manipulation evader of tax is receiver of benefit and loser is govt. so it concerns with only supply side whereas in two way manipulation, it is demand as well as supply side whereby black money is generated and govt. loses the tax.

Thus generation of black money is classified in 5 groups given below -

Corruption Illegal activities Parallel to legitimate
other than corruption Informal Sources Activities
(1A) (1B) (2A) (2B)

One sided manipulation (2B1) Manipulation on both the sides (2B2)

Therefore to consider on remedies for demand side of black money we must pay attention to group 1A and group 2B2. To plug demand side of black money in these two categories there are two most important sources which transact tremendous amount of black money viz. Contesting of Election and Sale / purchase of real estate. Even if we take all the measure to curb generation of black money and do not take care of the above two issues, there is going to be a generation of black money. If you want to do any one of the above two activities, even if you are law abiding citizen, still you will have to generate black money, because you need the same for these two activities, So let us give consideration how to stop it.

It is necessary to evolve a system whereby the candidate or a political party will not have to spend money in election. This is possible if state bears the expenses of elections. This has been suggested by many social scientists and it is the best solution. However, prior to
implementing this suggestion the following actions need to be taken. There must be inner party democracy. Presently it is one of the duties of election commission to see that inner party democracy exists. But there is no progress in this direction. If India has to adopt system of election expenses being borne by state, inner party democracy is a pre-requisite – otherwise party bosses will become dictators and they will not put up right candidates. Rules for allocation of funds will have to be framed prudently so that there is no misuse of funds. Donations from corporates (or individuals) to political parties will have to be banned. Donation to political parties is another way of bribing and corruption.

The common man today firmly believes that only powerful, financially and politically, persons can dare to contest elections. In every constituency there are 2 or 3 giants contest election and only any one of them, alternatively, win the elections. There is no scope to new person. However in spite of state finding it is difficult for the new person to get elected again stalwarts. The person with character does not dare to contest against them so voters have no choice but to elect less evil. If this situation is to change, there must be a provision of “not electing any candidate” i.e. one of the option for voting should be for “None of the present candidates” If the highest votes are casted in favour of “None of the present candidate” then election to that constituency should be declared as “None-elected” and reelection should be conducted for the constituency. During reelection all the earlier candidates should be banned to contest second time. This will help to induct new people in polities.

There is close relation between state funding of election and controlling terrorism. To discourage the corruption, it is extremely necessary to see that honest persons get elected. However, presently state of affair is such that only rich people can contest election. Election expenses for each candidate in assembly and parliament runs into crores. So after getting elected, even honest person turns into corrupt man to recover the election expenses. There is much bigger perspective to this issue. India is facing grave problem of terrorism. Terrorism cannot survive if the sources of income for terrorism are blocked which is possible by strict anti money laundering steps taken by Govt. In the process of turning a blind eye to money laundering in elections little do we realize that the terrorist too thrive. It is often seen that corruption co-exists with terrorism. Once the need for money in election is removed, corruption will be automatically checked. Then next step would come as strict anti-money laundering step and that will chock the throat of terrorist. With these measures inevitability of black money will disappear from election scene.

Now let us turn to inevitability of black money in real estate transaction. Three measures are necessary to achieve avoidance of black money in real estate transaction.

- Stamp duty and registration charges should not be more than 1 % of the value of property.
- Govt. valuation should be at par with the market rates and revision in valuation should be done frequently, may be every quarterly.
- All transactions must be through Bank and no cash transaction to be allowed.

Since real estate transaction tax is a state matter, the issue is very complex. The centre should take initiative to offer to states the compensation in revenue loss, if any. Inflation and black money are counter productive to each other. Because of continuous inflation, there is tendency to generate black money and because of existence of black money, there is inflation. To break this cycle, we should start from getting away from inevitability of black money.
Conclusion
In black money related transactions, whenever one entity is supplier (giver) of black money and other one is beneficiary (receiver) of black money, giver needs to have stock of black money. This may be termed as demand side of black money or inevitability of black money. To eliminate generation of black money, first we must plug the demand side of black money. Once we are able to control the use of black money for two most important issues, elections and real estate, it is comparatively easy to control the same in other areas.

References
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Governance Reforms and the Politics of Development:
A Case Analysis of Andhra Pradesh

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Abstract
The triumph of neo-liberalism within development thinking has not only meant that there is a global acceptance of the benefits of a market economy but also that governance reforms must be accepted by all aid receiving countries. The role of the state is therefore by no means minimal rather it is a redefined state, one that intervenes strategically to aid transition to and maintenance of a market economy. In this context it is then interesting to look at the state of Andhra Pradesh which under the stewardship of Chandrababu Naidu initiated governance reforms at the behest of the World Bank. Naidu who negotiated a World Bank loan for initiating reforms also undertook governance reforms. Apart from various e-governance initiatives the element of government accountability was best displayed when Naidu undertook periodic rounds of the Janamabhoomi program. Janamabhoomi itself marked a shift in state delivery of public services. With its focus on involving stakeholders in the process of development it was an attempt to create a public image of good governance while simultaneously withdrawing from various key sectors of development. This paper then attempts to highlight this particular hiatus between governance reforms and delivery of public services such that more of one may actually be used to camouflage or justify less of the other. The dominant development perspective has successfully changed the terms of discourse from development to governance with political parties/leaders harnessing both for electoral gain

Keywords: Governance, Reforms and Development

Introduction
The concept and practice of governance is linked with the exercise of authority or legitimate power. ‘Good’ governance however is a normative concept associated with certain values. Also there exists a broad consensus regarding these values and the need to promote them for the purpose of achieving good governance. The most often quoted values/principles include participation, rule of law, transparency of decision making or openness, accountability, predictability or coherence and effectiveness (Căluşer and Sălăgean, 2007). Differences arise particularly when one looks at the academic tradition of theorizing about good governance and that which is advocated by donor agencies. For the former the concept of power is central to the context that they are looking at. Therefore the political variable must be factored into any analysis of programs, projects and processes associated with good governance. On the other hand donor agencies do recognize the role that local level power structures and hierarchies play with regard to shaping success or failure of governance initiatives. However they mostly choose to ignore the same on the plea that their ‘aid mandate’ does not extend to getting involved in the politics of the recipient nation.

While donor agencies are thus criticized for depoliticizing good governance initiatives, the fact that they are attaching good governance as conditionality for receipt of aid by developing countries is in itself a political act. Good governance is linked to creating institutions and practices best suited to promote a free market economy. In fact the governance indicators developed by the Bank to measure governance practices in various countries was more in the
manner of appraising international capital about countries with the most conducive business and investment environment (Singh, 2004) With good governance becoming a key conditionality in assessing lending-worthiness of countries the Bank also incorporated the same in its country assistance strategies. An enabling policy environment as well as strong commitment by local governance institutions towards reforms, both administrative and economic was now a pre-requisite to avail of a World Bank loan.

**Sub-national policy based lending and the case of Andhra Pradesh**

In the Indian context second generation reforms were associated with reforms at the level of the states apart from other areas such as banking, insurance and labor sector reforms. Reforms at the level of the states were seen as particularly important to reduce overall fiscal deficit at the national level. The Bank was also keen to do business with reform oriented states making use of the increased economic sovereignty being enjoyed by states following adoption of liberalization at the national level. However sub-national lending was to be prioritized in favor of better performing states. The negotiations between the Bank and the state of Andhra Pradesh are rather interesting in this context because Andhra Pradesh being a middle-income state was not a Bank preferred recipient for a loan. It was Chandrababu Naidu who convinced the Bank to extend a sub-national policy based loan for economic restructuring in Andhra Pradesh. Naidu did the same by initiating various measures to cut state fiscal deficit. On the other hand he used the political leverage that he had in the coalition government at the centre to waive off usual conditionalities imposed by the central government in availing of foreign funded loans. This active pursuit of reforms and economic liberalization by Naidu led the Bank to engage with the state government and unveil the Andhra Pradesh Economic Restructuring Program (APERP) in May 1998.

The APERP had several recommendations to make regarding reducing fiscal deficit. These included dedicated reduction in number of state government/public sector employees on an annual basis, winding up of various loss making Public Sector Units, rolling back of subsidies as well as various rounds of upward revision of tariffs for various utilities particularly water and electricity. While most such reforms may sound politically unpalatable to the ruling party, the Bank had also made provision for increased allocation to education, health and other social service sectors. While the earlier sets of recommendations are typical to structural adjustment programs, it is the latter which requires special attention. Apart from increased allocation in the state budget for social services (APERP recommendations was of an increase from the current 0.9% of GSDP in 1997-98 to 1.8% of GSDP by 2002-2003), the manner of dispensing these services was also to change through the concept of ‘participative management’ by users of various facilities including schools, rural roads, irrigation works and even anganwadis.

**Participation through stakeholder involvement**

‘Participation’ and ‘ownership’ it has been argued (Woods, 2000, p.3) became central to the Bank’s and the IMF’s good governance agenda as their terms of reference did not allow them to directly intervene in the political affairs of the country concerned. ‘User involvement’ in formulation and implementation of programs as well as determining beneficiaries was seen as essential to securing success of various development programs. However in spite of incorporation of such ‘governance conditionality’, the success of the same remained limited. Quoting two World Bank officials Woods writes that, “Participation has often been equated to explaining the project to key stakeholders (individuals and groups who stand to gain or lose from the project), instead of involving them in decision making”. (Woods, 2000, p.4 and 5)
However Naidu in his keenness to appease the Bank embarked on setting up various user committees at the local level. Therefore water users committees, village education committees and other such user committees were set up by passing requisite legislation. Water users committees in particular were hailed as a much celebrated input by the government in the arena of ‘participative management in agriculture’. By the passage of the Andhra Pradesh Farmer Managed Irrigation System Act (1997) water users committees were created to manage and maintain irrigation systems. The funding for the same was provided for under the APERP and elections were held in 1997 to the water users committees and distributory committees. The World Bank funds were to be used to set up these committees and thereafter they were expected to raise their own resources. While the functioning of these committees has been subject to a great deal of critical review, (Jairath, 2001; Reddy, 2003; Manor, 2005) from an ideological perspective they have failed to create a sense of community partnership, involvement and responsibility that the concept of ‘stakeholder’ was expected to embody. Such ‘single-purpose’ committees (Manor, 2005) have rather fragmented the local population and become exclusionary. The onus for conducting the affairs of the committee have become the sole responsibility of the President of the WUA who in turn mostly view the committee as a channel for disbursement of government or foreign funds which in turn are spent on construction activities rather than management of the water systems (Raju, Shashidhara, Reddy and Babu, 2006) Once the funding dries up viability of all such committees becomes questionable as own resource mobilization in the manner of collection of water charges has in most cases either been negligible or meager. Thus while structures and processes are in place delivery of services is not possible.

**The Politics and Economics of the Janambhoomi Programme**

The above discussion limits itself to the experience of establishing user committees in one area i.e. water. However Naidu in imbibing the ‘stakeholder approach to development’ indigenized the same under the much popular Janambhoomi program. Janambhoomi was a development program conducted in a political mode i.e. like an electoral campaign for a week on a quarterly basis. Each round of activity would be organized around a given theme. These themes covered the entire gamut of development activities and were in consonance with the ‘core areas of Janambhoomi’ such as community works, primary education, primary health and family welfare, environment conservation and responsive governance. Community works which involved the entire village as stakeholders were to be executed on the basis of sharing of costs i.e. the community must contribute either in the form of manpower, material or money while the rest would be provided by the government. The community works were further categorized as priority, permissible and restricted. In the case of priority community works people’s contribution was to be 30% while in the case of permissible community works it was marked at 50%. It is interesting to note that people’s contribution was solicited “…to create a sense of ownership (italics mine) of the asset and also to ensure that the proposed work is really responding to the felt needs of the people.” (Planning Wing Department, 1996) The above quoted statement broadly echoes World Bank terminology and its understanding of good governance.

Execution of works so identified was to be undertaken by the Habitation Level Committee (HLC). The composition of the same is also noteworthy. The sarpanch of the panchayat is the committee’s chairman and the mandal parishad territorial constituency member is also a member of the committee. Apart from these two, majority of the other members are essentially heads of various stakeholder groups2 (Planning Wing Department: 1996). With so many groups being represented within the HLC the role of the sarpanch gets marginalized. In fact the guidelines make it clear that in case of works involving irrigation it is the water users
committee which will be concerned with execution of the work. Similarly in the instance of constructing a school building or compound wall it is the village education committee that will oversee implementation of the project.

Therefore while community works were to involve the people at large and encourage a 30% contribution from all, the given work would be supervised only by the concerned stakeholder with the rest of the community remaining uninvolved/unrepresented with no powers of intervention/suggestion. Janamabhoomi therefore reinforced the stakeholder approach to development. Committee activities would escalate particularly during Janamabhoomi rounds as there would also be immediate funding sanctioned for selected works. Decisions regarding which community works were to be undertaken were to be done in the meetings of the gram sabha. However these meetings of the gram sabha were specially called for the purpose of discussing Janamabhoomi related community works and were separate from those organized by the gram panchayat. Through Janamabhoomi Naidu was creating a parallel set of decision making mechanisms bypassing the democratically elected panchayat. The Andhra Pradesh Sarpanchs’ Association in fact launched an agitation in May 2004 against usurpation of its powers on account of the Janamabhoomi programme (Panchayati Raj Update, 2004).

Apart from this hiatus between stakeholder organizations and panchayats the participatory nature of the program was also temporary. The publicity blitzkrieg that preceded the program ensured that there was large scale awareness and participation in the program. In fact the program guidelines also provided for engaging ‘social animators’ (Planning Wing Department, 1996) However after one week of intensive activity, with the end of the program people’s participation/public turnout would also come to an abrupt end. As the program could not create any sustainable mechanisms to ensure people’s participation the purpose of participation remained instrumentalist in nature. It was instrumental in creating the public image of a government strongly committed to the idea of development. Periodic administration of the same ensured that it created a lasting impression.

While core area activities involved ‘groups’ of people, ‘responsive governance’ which was another component of the Janamabhoomi program set up a direct interface between the people and the government. Under responsive governance individual and community needs were sought to be redressed. The three categories included Individual Financial Needs (IFN), Financial Community Needs (FCN) and Non-Financial Community Needs (NFCN). Petitions for the same were collected during various rounds of Janamabhoomi and government action was expected within a month to three months varying according to whether the mandal or district/state administration was involved. Individual financial needs included demand for house sites, ration cards, gas connections etc. Moreover based on data available with the planning department from Kondurg mandal in Mahbubnagar district, for the duration of 18 rounds of the Janamabhoomi program 50% of the IFN demands made had been fulfilled by the government.

Therefore this aspect of the program which involved petitioning of the government for fulfillment of individual needs was very popular amongst the people. The other reason for its popularity was that it created the image of a government which was accountable to the people and could be directly approached for redressal of various grievances. This impression was fuelled by the fact that during various rounds of the program the entire government machinery would be mobilized to make the program a success. All levels of the bureaucratic hierarchy were expected to participate in the program and field visits were mandatory for all, particularly while presenting action taken reports with regard to fulfillment of IFN petitions.
Therefore the government was ‘seen’ to be responding to various demands raised by the people. Demands so made can actually be looked at in two ways i.e. they were either in the manner of grievance redressal i.e. issue of pension cards or ration cards or the demands were in the manner of individual requirements such as a house site or gas connection. The latter set of demands was not unique to Janamabhoomi. Rather these were benefits that were being provided by the state government under various other schemes that were already functional. For example under the ‘Deepam’ scheme free gas connections were given to the poorer section while ‘Adarna’ targeted the artisan community and entailed distributing tool kits to poor artisans. Janamabhoomi provided a platform for all those who had been left out and had not received these benefits to seek redressal of their grievances from the government. Therefore the most popular aspect of the program was actually based on improved accountability of the government with regard to distribution of benefits under various schemes. Perennial development issues such as electricity, education, infrastructure, irrigation all persisted. In fact ever rising numbers of farmers’ suicides in the state reflected the acute crisis facing the agrarian sector.

Janamabhoomi was therefore an example of a well organized public relations exercise i.e. an attempt by Naidu to establish a direct connect with the people on a repeated basis. E-governance initiatives also aided this effort. For instance under APSWAN (Andhra Pradesh State Wide Area Network) which was extended to all mandals there was to be simultaneous transmission of data and voice through video. (C. Ramchandraiah, 2003) Naidu used this facility of video conferencing to monitor officials at all levels across departments. In fact often government functionaries would complain that they were summoned even on holidays to participate in various activities organized by the government. Naidu therefore shook up a rather non-responsive and non-performing bureaucracy which was now constantly accountable to the chief minister as also periodically accountable to the people during Janmabhoomi rounds. However two implications of the same are noteworthy. Firstly as in the case of people’s participation bureaucratic accountability was transient. Once the pace of the program slackened as also its frequency went down particularly during the TDP’s second innings in power, bureaucratic apathy set in. Secondly excess centralization of power in the office of the chief minister meant that once the government changed and the ‘CEO’ left, the administrative set up became rudderless.

However the most important aspect of Janamabhoomi was the political. The program was run predominantly by party cadres who were often in collusion with local contractors to corner most of the community works even though contracting out of works was specifically disallowed under the operational guidelines of the program (Reddy, 2002, p.877). Infusion of huge sums of money by the Bank through various schemes led to creation of many vested interests and party sympathizers were the first to gain from the same.

Conclusion
Coming back to where one started from, initiatives promoting good governance cannot ignore local level politics. Just as development agency ideological biases influence/impede development projects, unequal power relations based on social cleavages as well as party politics must be factored into any analysis of development programs. In Andhra Pradesh party affiliations at the local level gained currency particularly after N.T.Ramarao abolished 330 panchayat samities and replaced them with 1,104 mandal panchayats. Members of these mandal panchayats were to be elected directly under party symbols. Therefore the local population came to be mobilized along party lines both for electoral purposes as also receipt of benefits, another instance where party allegiance was a decisive factor (Powis, 2003,
The setting up of stakeholder groups has accentuated the process of politicization of the local population. However as Powis argues this enhanced political ‘agency’ at the level of the village has actually been limited to a small set of people whom he calls the, “…..political stratum, i.e. an important subset of the electorate who are both key agents in elections and who take a lead role in village political affairs on a day to day basis” (Powis, 2003). It is this ‘set’ of politically active individuals who have come to dominate and control the new institutional structures. Their proximity to the party and its leadership as well as exclusive access to information are instrumental in their dominating what are otherwise meant to be institutions promoting people’s participation.

The political economy of governance reforms in Andhra Pradesh can therefore best be described as one of populism, executed through party cadres, drawing on the language and institutions preferred by the World Bank and dominated by principles of neo-liberalism. Governance reforms are now the new idiom of the political class. Issues of development whether state directed or market based have been relegated to the background. The electoral and political visibility provided by governance reforms saw Naidu through another term of power in Andhra Pradesh. However neglect of basic services featured as an important factor in ousting the TDP from power in the 2004 election. Is it ironic then that another populist scheme, yet this time linked to power i.e. provision of free electricity provided the winning card for the Congress party in the 2004 state assembly election?

Notes
1 This paper is an edited version of an earlier paper presented at the Platinum Jubilee Conference of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) held in February 17-19, 2012 at Mumbai, Maharashtra.
2 These include group leader of the women SHG i.e. DWCRA (Development of Woman and Child in Rural Areas), group leader of the CMEY (Chief Minister’s Empowerment for Youth program), president of Watershed Association (WA), president of water user association (WUA), president of Vana Samrakshana Samiti (VSS), group leader of self-help group of wage seekers under EAS/JRY (Employment Assurance Scheme/ Jawahar Rozgar Yojana) etc.

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Public Administration- A Critique of Responsibility Dimensions

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Abstract
Administration has been evolving to multiple forms, cutting across public and private spaces. Being closer to the lives of people in many ways, public administration has always been subject to normative enquiries on improvements. In the contemporary world of challenges and opportunities, moved by state and non state actors, public administration is on the searches for its own identity. It has been on technical as well as ethical searches for refinements of methods and practices. All along this course, it has also been rediscovering many dimensions within. Responsibility falls in this line. The concept of responsibility is central to the motives and character of public administration. Responsibility runs through all conceptions on public administration. It is integral to genuine practices too. Both efficiency and ethical orientations hold responsibility as significant. Hence public administration can be perceived in terms of the responsibility dimensions within. Theoretical and empirical reflections on responsibility hold several complexities, which could be arranged in orderly discourses for further analytical extensions and improvements. Thoughts in this line directed this paper to its central theme.

Keywords: Public administration, Responsibility, Responsible administration

Introduction
Across the democratic expanses in the world, public administration has been transforming from the technical moulds of rule bound professionalism to the human moulds of value bound welfarism. Its shifts from classical orthodoxy to modern governance imperatives reflect the quests for identity in historical and contemporary contexts. All along, the theory and the practices of public administration have been moving in conjunction with demands of the changing social, political and economic environment. It has also been on evolving through normative dimensions that fit into its conceptual and operational features. Responsibility is a dimension that sets well in the entire progression of public administration.

The word responsibility is multi layered. In the conceptual plains of public administration, it is a distinctive stage, discussed and debated, as a close ally. Responsibility is a structural as well as a functional ingredient in the process of public administration. It is also an outcome of the positive and the normative practices of public administration. The already established and well connected forms of its existence in public administration, suggest the rationale for conceiving it as a perspective. However the concept cannot be left in vacuum with glorifications alone. The complexities and convolutions it brings to the conceptual and practical routes of public administration raise many doubts too. It would be appropriate to go into the responsibility dimension of public administration, with no vague glorification or dismissal of the same. A methodical analysis of the positives and negatives would bring out the concept in more forms, meaningful for public administration. That rationale orientated the central theme of this paper.
It proceeds along twofold objectives—one, locating the conceptual space of responsibility in the existing perspectives of public administration; two, arriving at a conceptual formulation incorporating the prospects and challenges on the way.

**Conceptual Space of Responsibility**
Responsibility is a multidimensional concept, which cuts across several disciplines. It has moral nuances, characterised by structures and functions of obligations, maintained by individuals and collectivities, as agents. In political philosophy, it exists in two forms—positive and negative. Positive responsibility appears when agents carry out activities in morally responsible ways for positive outcomes (Blackmore, 2009). Negative responsibility refers to situations when agents carry out things that harm others, causing negative outcomes (ibid). In both senses, responsibility is related to roles and actions of agents.

When exerted positively, systems of obligations in all institutional types work perfectly with no lapses. However, negative sorts of execution create agency failures and institutional breakdowns. When errors of omissions and commissions happen, corrective forces and procedures become essential. Such correctives could be motivated internally, by own sense of duty or externally, by another regulating or punishing agent. Both are ways to ensure responsibility.

In public administration, the concept has been looked through two perspectives—one, subjective and the other, objective. Subjective responsibility was conceived by the discretionist school, which argued for administrative elasticity and discretion. Friedrich (1940) believed that duties of administrators could be carried out more by moral sense of responsibility. External control would damage originality, joy and creativity of work. Responsibility is not political, but moral. Internal checks, created by technical knowledge and professional standards would solve administrative problems. They need not be responsible to political and elected leaders. Responsibility is towards their colleagues who have the same faculties of technical knowledge and professionalism. By this rational perspective, responsibility demands professionalism.

Finer (1941) came up with faith in objective responsibility. It represented the chain of command school. He defined objective responsibility as “an arrangement of correction and punishment even up to dismissal, both of politicians and officials” (ibid, 335). Public administrators, being servants of the public, cannot decide what is the appropriate action. If external punitive controls are lacking, power of officials would be abused. There would be omissions, wastages and damages and dictatorial tempers. Taking a non-rational position, Finer argued for legislative and political controls of officials. Administrative responsibility moved closer to accountability towards the political agents.

The whole conceptions of responsibility centered on these extreme positions. In between, stand the perspectives which emphasise the need to resolve the conflicts between the subjective and the objective (Harman, 1995). The systematic focus on responsibility itself is a later development in the evolutionary course of public administration. However; the concept has always been there, either as a latent ideal or as a guiding principle.

**Conceptual presence**
The element of publicness in public administration makes it distinctive, no matter whether the focus is on public good or on public interest (Pesch, 2008). Public administration is government in action (Wilson, 1887), for some form of purpose relevant to the public. Being
embedded in the ‘public’, there is a natural norm of responsibility across the structures and functions of public administration. In its most basic form, responsibility connotes an obligation to carry out things for the public, whatever is the locus or focus. This is evident in the obscure as well as the clear locations of the concept of responsibility in the entire theoretical ambit of public administration, broadly categorized as the classical and the new.

In the efficiency orientations of the 19th century and the early 20th century classical theories with assertive calls for politics-administration dichotomy, public administration was regarded as the professional responsibility of well trained officials who were self regulated, rational and apolitical (Peters, 2001). The hierarchical chains tied by rules were supposed to give permanence and stability in functional capacities. Administration, run by efficiency and scientific management techniques, was regarded as superior for its objectivity and expertise. In the entire theoretical scheme, bureaucratic institutions mattered much.

Responsibility was an implied dimension. It was synonymous with a moral obligation towards carrying out policies in good faith, securing maximum efficiency and productivity for providing public goods. It was believed that well operated provisions of public goods were expressions of responsibility. No professional needed any external regulation, as the activities are perfectly rule bound and technical, non comprehensible for amateur political forces. There, responsibility was not towards the political regulators, but towards achieving efficiency goals, measured by accounts on inputs used. The convictions were justifiable in the prevailing needs of the time. Besides, efficiency is a key content of responsible administration, in all ages. However; it is not the sole element. Public administration is not just about efficient provision of public goods. It is also about serving public interests. The concept of responsibility fell short of its width, in the narrow bureaucratic built ups, cemented by excessive faith in self regulations. This was evident in the rigid bureau pathologies as well as in the distance between the public administrators and the public. The practical fields held many evidences for losing publicness in administration. Responsibility had a submerged identity.

The new stream of public administration, which originated to address the broader problems of the 20th century, proposed value laden administration and flexible structures against bureaucratic rigidities. Although many sub streams evolved, the common motivation was to serve larger public interests, quite in tune with the developmental demands of the time. The dimension of responsibility oscillated between the locus of the moral and the political, and the focus on public choice and public interest.

In the early stages of the new trends, the calls for reinventing government led to mission driven administration, with focus on market based solutions. The responsibility of service delivery was viewed as a competition, to be steered by public administrators, who were professional enough to be highly competitive (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992). This was supplemented by the New Public Management, which argued for marketisation of public services (Kamensky, 1996). Public administrators were assumed to take up the responsibilities of creating and maintaining entrepreneurial administration, in collaboration with leadership shared internally and externally. The responsibility dimension was oriented towards securing public choices through top-down methods, driven by self interested agents. Although the quality of service delivery improved along with the opportunities of ‘clients’ to get wider choice opportunities, the results were concentrated among those with better access to power structures and services. Thus responsibility was “steered”, more for those at the top of the ladder. Democratic deliberations had limited scope only. The primary control remained with
the agents, who had wider discretion. Responsibility tilted towards loosening of controls, reflecting beliefs in the subjective sort.

Since 1990s, the new lines of thoughts have been moving towards accommodating the reciprocity between politics and administration, and between citizens and the state and nonstate agents. The New Public Service perspectives arose with focus not on what is going on, but on how people feel about, on who steers the boat and for whom. Its emphasis is on building public institutions marked by integrity and responsiveness (Denhardt&Denhardt, 2003). The thrust is not on steering, but on serving the public, with civic engagements and participation, facilitated by bottom up practices of the state and of the partnering agents across private and civil spheres. Closely associated are the people centered governance structures with ethical motives.

Such formations have given rise to new combinations of obligations. The dimension of responsibility has unprecedented significance in the contemporary drives for public service, which are completely action packed. Public administrators are bound to be responsive to the demands, responses and vigilance of the public. The reconfiguration of many services and even service delivery as rights, take responsibility to neoteric heights, with blurring boundaries between the subjective and the objective. On the one hand, public administrators are obliged to cater to the emerging democratic ethos and to the fastly spreading concerns of development; on the other hand, they are to face the music for lapses and excesses in agency functions. In the integrated plains of the local and the global, certain responsibility executions and aberrations catch the attention even at international levels. Besides the legislative, judicial and extrajudicial accountability systems at the national and federal levels are sensitive to agency failures and distortions of public servants.

Public administration is no longer an ivory tower or a bullet proof privilege. Also, the dimension of responsibility is not confined to the administrators alone. It is a shared sense, involving the agency functions of administrators, political and judicial functionaries, civil society and private sector, and networks like media. Thus the new realities encompassing public administration are responsibility charged. From a mere presence the concept of responsibility has changed over as a binding factor for serving the public.

However the mounting evidences of administrative dysfunctionalities, ranging from bureaucratic apathy to varieties of unholy nexus, suggest the persisting gaps between norms and practices of responsibility. Responsibility becomes a mess due to technical innocence of administrators. It turns as burden, under severe resource constraints. The in fights and fierce buck passings, make battles of responsibility. Uninformed and passive public makes responsibility strainful. Faultfinding legislators and unjudicial judiciary make responsibility fearful. Militant civil society and vengeant media perturbs responsibility. Excessive intrusions from controlling agents misguide responsibility. Policy deficiencies and implementation leakages make responsibility purposeless.

All such operational deviations have been persisting in one form or the other, down the conceptual tendencies in public administration. As a dimension of public administration, responsibility has been on the searches of its own identity. On the one hand, lies the confusion between the subjective and the objective. On the other hand, lingers the inconsistencies between the normative and the practical. The dimension itself looses the deserving weight, if the conceptual and practical issues go on unresolved.
Towards a conceptual formulation

Conceptually, public administration is essentially democratic, with perfect publicness in processes and outcomes. Each administrator is a facilitator, exercising personal moral agency and enabling agency expansions of the public. He or she is guided by the ethical self, where responsibility is to the self. However, the institutional contexts around, make the administrator fallible too. There are chances for unethical agency functions. Then responsibility acquires negative dimensions, with much harm done. The self becomes incapable for the required reflections, corrections and modifications, or for the ethical flexibility. External facilitations are needed. These can be preventive, corrective or punitive, depending on the intensity and level of the negative form. Thus responsibility need not be confined to the subjective or to the objective. Instead of debating on the relative merits and demerits in each, it would be meaningful to arrive at appropriate combinations, on the belief that neither the self nor the outside agents are perfectly ethical or professional.

Responsibility can be conceived as a process ingredient of public administration. It has two dimensions—one, the catalytic, which activates positive actions for serving the interests of the public by being with the public; and two, the reflective, which unfolds the strengths and weaknesses of the inner self, for self improvements and for healthy responses to the multi-natured corrections from agents authorised constitutionally, legally and morally. The former moulds shared agencies, with no otherness. Critical self reflections make public administration flexible and progressive along ethical senses of the right and the wrong. These translate regulations as opportunities for improvements, and interpret regulators as enablers. An enabling system of regulations, incorporate ethical responsibilities in its own ways too, with no scope for being at loggerheads with administrators.

In a system of public administration, with adequate conversion of the normative process component of responsibility, made possible by mutual exchange of obligations, responsible administration comes out as the outcome too. As an outcome, it perpetuates the vitals for sustaining the paths traversed, with teeming possibilities for upgrading, consistent with publicness.

Conclusion

Responsibility courses through the conceptual paths of public administration, in varying degrees of focus. In its genuine associational form, responsibility has subjective and objective sides. Responsibility becomes a contentious issue when divided between these sides. The constitutional and legal principles and provisions of democracies all over the world have safeguards for avoiding trespasses of power. Administration reconceived and practiced as service for public interests, can never turn back the dimension of responsibility. Any system of public administration that neglects or dismisses responsibility is not public. The time is to stop the skepticisms on the extremes, and to arrive at ways towards valid positions.

References


PESA and Local Self Governance in India: A Study of Odisha

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Abstract
The Panchayat (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 was enacted to extend Part IX of the Constitution to Fifth Scheduled Areas. The very objective of the Act is to provide community centric governance in tribal dominated backward areas of the country as well as community’s control over natural resources. The Act also made Gram Sabha a nucleus of all activities and endowed with specific and wide-ranging powers and function in Scheduled Areas. However, over the years the pressure over natural resources in the tribal areas that continued due to large scale development projects leading to displacement of the tribal communities and loss of their major source of livelihood raises larger question of implementation of the Act. The widespread extremist group in tribal areas is another major challenge in implementing the Act. The paper critically examined the implementation of PESA Act in Odisha.

Keywords: Scheduled Area, PESA, Gram Sabha, Gram Nyayalaya

Introduction
The self-governing institution at local level for effective people’s participation in the democratic process of the country is a significant step in the post-independence India. The grassroots of democracy based on small units of government, enables people to feel a sense of responsibility and to inculcate the values of democracy. At the same time, it also offers unique opportunities to every sections of the society to participate in public affairs, including the development work of the nation. On the other side, since time immemorial, the tribals have adopted the nature as their habitat. The symbiotic relation of tribal communities with the forest is closely link to their subsistence pattern, social life, beliefs and practices and more importantly their economy and employment (Sarkar and Dasgupta 2000). In the post-colonial period several development programmes have initiated for economic the growth of nation as well as address needs of every sections of society. The irony of development programmes is that initiated without considering its adverse impact on ecological and human facets and without ensuring a better future for the displaced people. In this backdrop, the paper critically examines the implementation of Panchayat (Extension to the Scheduled Area) Act, 1996 (PESA) in empowering the grassroots democratic institutions in protecting the tradition and custom within the democratic structure of the country. It is also looks the challenges in implementing the PESA Act.

Constitution and Tribal People
In the post-independence India, it was felt to prepare special protection policies and launch development efforts for the tribal population, which were incorporated in the Constitution of India. Certain areas in India are largely dominated by the tribal communities, then known as ‘Excluded Area’, which became redesigned as Scheduled Area and the list of tribal groups, later noted in the Constitution of India, came to be known as Scheduled Tribes as per Article 342 (Behura and Panigrahi 2006). In order to protect the interests of Scheduled Tribes with regard to ownership of land resources and other social issues, various provisions have been
enshrined in the Fifth Schedule and the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. The Fifth Schedule under Article 244 (1) of Constitution defines “Scheduled Areas” as such areas as the President may by order declare to be Scheduled Areas after consultation with the Governor of the respective state. The Sixth Schedule under Article 244 (2) of the Constitution relates to those areas in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram which are declared as ‘Tribal Areas’ (Annual Report 2009-10). As the central argument of the paper is on PESA in Schedule Areas, the following discussion is on the PESA and its role in protecting the rights of tribal communities in Schedule Areas.

The institution of Panchayati Raj was created with a view to extend the decision making process to the grassroots level, that efforts was testified by the 73rd Amendment. The Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1993, came into existence to promote people’s participation, to strengthen the democratic process at the grassroots level of the Indian polity (Upadhayay 2003). Over the years in many cases it was found that the interest of the tribal people has not been addressed, when the state governments started enacting Panchayat laws, they continued with the past practices of not taking into account the needs and interest of Scheduled Areas. (Mukul 1997). In the legal perspective, the Article 243M of the Constitution of India states that nothing in Part IX of the Constitution relating to Panchayat shall apply to Scheduled Areas referred to in Clause (I) of Article 244, i.e., areas included in the Fifth Schedule that today lie in the nine states, i.e., Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha and Rajasthan.

Moreover, the Article 243M(4)(b) goes on to say that ‘Parliament may, by law extend the provisions of this Part to the Scheduled Areas’ and that was done in 1996 when Parliament enacted the provisions of the Panchayat (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA) (Twelfth Five Year Plan – 2012-2017) by the recommendation of an expert committee under the chairmanship Dileep Singh Bhuria. The committee in its report recommended for village governance, participatory democracy, community control over resources and suitable administrative framework for the Scheduled Areas. The Act also made Gram Sabha a nucleus of all activities and endowed with specific and wide-ranging powers and functions. The new law made it clear that every Gram Sabha in the Schedule Area will be competent to safeguard and preserve the traditions and customs of the tribal people, their cultural identity, ownership over resources and customary mode of dispute resolution (Mukul 1997). The Act further directs to all states to amend all existing laws relating to panchayats as per the provision of PESA Act within one year, i.e., by December 1997.

**Implementation of PESA: Case of Odisha**

The hills & forests of Odisha has been dominated by the tribal population which exhibited several cultures and diversity of customs and practices. Forest constitutes about 36.70 per cent of the geographical area of the state (Orissa Development Report 2002) and the tribal population is concentrated close to the forest areas. Orissa occupies a special position in the tribal map of India for its tribal dominance. The Scheduled Tribes constitutes 22. 12 per cent of the state’s total population (Orissa Development Report 2002), are mostly concentrated in the districts of Koraput, Rayagada, Nabarangpur, Malkangiri, Kalahandi, Nuapada, Kandhmal, Bauda, Keonjhar, Sundargarh and Mayurbhanj (Census 2001). The tribals of Orissa have been primitive and secluded that they could not enter into the mainstream life (Shamal 2000). Forest plays an important role for tribal communities in support of fodder, timber, medicinal plants and saleable Minor Forest produce and their life and culture are closely linked with the forests.
Tribal Development Administration

The state of Odisha has taken many legislative measures for welfare of tribal communities. Tribal Advisory Council, as per the provision of Fifth Schedule of the Constitution, has been operational since 1950 in Odisha. The council advises to the Government of Odisha in all matters pertaining to tribals and examines the applicability of central and state laws to Scheduled Areas as well as recommends new regulations or revision of the existed law that suite to Scheduled Tribe (Orissa Development Report 2002). The PESA Act, 1996 was enacted to provide self-rule of tribal population in Scheduled Areas of the country. Following the direction of central Act, the Government of Odisha has enacted all three tier Panchayats Raj Institutions in 1997 (Annual Report 2000-2001) and all provisions of central Act, 1996 are equally applied in Odisha Panchayat Raj system. The Gram Sabha (Palli Sabha) is the important organization in the democratic decentralization system (Behura1996).

Implementation of PESA: A Challenge

The devolution of power at the Gram Panchayat level in letter and spirit is the discourse of social scientist and policy planner since the enactment of PESA Act in 1996. There are several shortcomings have been found in this direction, i.e., state’s control over forest resources, development projects and displacement of tribals and naxal movement and its impact on PESA Act.

State’s Control over Forest Resources

The history of forest policies clearly shows the states control of forest resource of the country. The history also proved that forest resources, i.e., Non-Timber Forest Produce (NTFP) is traditionally been major sources of livelihood for tribal people. Today the depletion forest cover has been found due to diversion of forestland to non-forest uses without ensuring complementary afforestation and essential environmental safeguards and more importantly, the livelihood resource of the forest-dependent people (Orissa Development Report 2002). In the case of Odisha, The fact that the forest policy resolution on 31st March 2000, that the Government of Odisha decided to grant sixty-eight NTFP to Gram Panchayats (GPs) in the Scheduled Areas in terms of ownership and control forest resource in order to make procurement, processing and marketing at the Panchayat level so as to benefit the tribals. However, no Gram Panchayat, whether situated within or outside the Scheduled Area will have ownership over NTFP in Reserve Forest, forest areas under Wildlife Sanctuaries and National Parks, which are outside the limits of revenue villages (Orissa Development Report 2002). Further, under the state confirmatory Acts on Panchayati Raj of 1997, the Gram Panchayat are being empowered to own and manage forest resources but the revenue earned from the resource are still managed under the strict control of the state government.

Development Projects and Displacement of Tribals

The establishment of development projects in tribal inhabited inland areas is associated with large scale displacement of tribal people. These development projects are multi-purpose, i.e., irrigation dams, mines, roads, railways, new townships, refugee settlements and big industries. In Odisha, several development project that adversely affected on the forest resources and tribal life are hydroelectric-cum-irrigation projects like Hirakud, Balimela, Machakund, Sileru, Upper Kolab, Upper Indrabati, Mandira, Regali; mineral based industries, like Rourkela Steel Plant, National Aluminium Company, Utkal Alumina Company, Hindustan Aeronautics Limited; and mining projects on cement, iron, dolomite and limestone. A detailed estimate on the deforestation for various purposes like irrigation, mines, roads and housing, railways, defense, industry, etc., shows that there are 190 projects.
which were established in Odisha till 1999 and 24124 hectares of land have been deforested (Behura 1996).

The southern part of Odisha is known for its rich of mineral resource like Bauxite ore that covers in Rayagada, Kalahandi and Koraput districts and falls in Scheduled Areas. Over the years the southern belt is vigorously mined and it is shows that among the total mining companies, except the NALCO’s project at Damonjodi, all the others are private sector. This is contrary not just to the law of PESA but the Constitution as well, for granting of mining lease in the Scheduled Areas to non-tribals amounts to transfer of land from the government to non-tribal, which the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution prohibits, as held by the Supreme Court in Samatha vs. State of Andhra Pradesh, 1997 (Mishra and Reddy 2010). In recent times, a large number of development projects are coming up in the states of Odisha. The displaced tribal families have by and large failed to restore their pre-displaced living standards in the post-displacement stage and they have become further impoverished as compared to their former standards of living. The large scale development projects are the major challenge in implementing the PESA Act in Scheduled Areas. The table no. 1 shows the establishment of mining company in forest cover areas:

**Naxal Movement and Impact on PESA Act**

The increasing presence of Naxal activities in areas dominated by adivasis is another challenge in effectively implementing the PESA Act. There is geographical reason of it that the hills and forests of central India are well suited to the methods of roaming guerilla warfare, but it also has a historical reason that the adivasis have gained least and lost most from 60 years of political independence. (Guha, 2007). The Naxal movement in Odisha has established its strong support base in nine predominantly tribal districts in Odisha, i.e., Koraput, Malkangiri, Nabarangapur, Rayagada, Gajapati and Ganjam abutting Andhra Pradesh and Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar district that are adjacent to Jaharkhand. These nine districts remain Naxal strongholds, their operation has also grown stronger in different parts of Sambalpur, Kalahandi, Bolangir, Phulbaini, Deograrh, Jharsuguda and Angul. Among the nine Naxal affected districts, the Rayagada, Koraput, Malkangiri and Nabarangpur fall in the infamous poverty-sticken KBK region. The nexus between Naxalism and lopsided development have considerably damaged the democratic values and institutions of the state (Kujur 2006). The fact is that large numbers of tribal youths are participating in the Naxal movement that causing major challenge in implementing the PESA Act. Also the state machineries are not showing keen in this direction stating the factor of Naxal operation.

**Conclusion**

The PESA Act was the most important piece of legislation for the tribal areas of the country. The Act offered radical governance powers to the tribal community and recognized its traditional community rights over local natural resources. It not only accepted the validity of “customary law, social and cultural practices, and traditional management practices of community resources” but also directed the state governments not to make any law that was inconsistent with these. The Act gave wide-ranging powers to Gram Sabha. Despite enacting of Constitutional mandate, the state government has not been capacitated its grassroots democratic institutions to operate as per the provisions of PESA Act. The Constitutional provision on Scheduled Areas needs to be understood and put the institution in operation firmly. The operational framework of PESA needs to be further strengthened by empowering the Gram Sabha. It is equally important to forge linkages between Scheduled Areas governance and forest governance especially in the light of the Forest Right Act (FRA). It is also important that resolving disputes through traditional systems and integrating them with
the recently introduced Gram Nyayalaya (Village level justice system) (Upadhyay 2010). Moreover, the three challenges discussed above need to be addressed firmly and ensure the state machineries to establish the grassroots democratic institutions without undermining the traditional rights of tribal society.

Reference
Upadhyay, Sanjay, Scheduled Areas Need a Fresh Legal Perspective, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XLV, No. 41, Octoe9 2010, pp. 25-26, P. 26

Table No. 1: Mining in Forest Tribal Areas of Orissa (Based on Mishra & Reddy, 2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Major Minerals</th>
<th>Area under Mining</th>
<th>Forest cover (%)</th>
<th>Tribal Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jajpur</td>
<td>Chromite</td>
<td>4,543.2</td>
<td>9.04</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keonjhar</td>
<td>Iron ore, Manganese</td>
<td>31,255.5</td>
<td>38.97</td>
<td>44.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundargarh</td>
<td>Iron ore</td>
<td>20,017.2</td>
<td>41.44</td>
<td>50.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angul</td>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>10,230.5</td>
<td>41.66</td>
<td>11.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koraput</td>
<td>Bauxite</td>
<td>6,297.3</td>
<td>17.68</td>
<td>50.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jharsuguda</td>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>8,865.5</td>
<td>13.89</td>
<td>31.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayurbhanj</td>
<td>Iron ore</td>
<td>5,391.6</td>
<td>38.44</td>
<td>57.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Political Impropriety in Governance: The Underpinnings of Political Predicament in Manipur

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Abstract
Manipur has been politically a hot spot for the last many decades due to various forms of demands for political autonomy. Sustained political problem in the State is because of political improprieties in governance that hampers development. Ethnicity and identity are involved as antecedents of the problems as well as contemporary issues which itself is the result of existing system of political dispensation. The question of majority against minority takes a different nature because of polarization of social, economic and political issues of the state on ethnic and geographical lines. The idea of balkanising the state for three separate political entities has been the vexed issue involving three major national groups of Manipur. Protecting the territorial integrity of the state as well as the valley-base underground movements for sovereignty have been the mixed responses of the Meiteis against the demand for Kuki State by the Kukis and the Nagas’ Alternative Arrangement or Greater Nagaland. The article discusses the political realities that lead to marginalisation and underdevelopment of the tribals which in turn caused the present social and political predicaments in the State. It brings forth possible solutions viable in the context of Indian democracy and modernisation.

Keywords: Politics, Development, Governance, Hill-valley

Introduction
Governance is a Greek verb Kubernáo, which means ‘to steer’. It relates to decisions that define expectations, grant power, or verify performance. ‘Governance’ is what a governing body does. The World Bank defines governance as ‘the manner in which power is exercised in the management of [state’s] economic and social resources for development. According to UN Development Programme (UNDP), governance is the rules of the political system to solve conflicts between actors and adopt decision. The ‘proper functioning of institutions and their acceptance by the public’ is what the UNDP also says about governance. ‘Fair governance implies that mechanisms function in a way that allows the executive to respect the rights and interests of the stakeholders in a spirit of democracy’.1

Legacy of past governance in the region recurring today in the form of political predicament in the state of Manipur is seemed to have been predestined by empirical reality. Manipur, a political unit merged with India in 1949 is geographically divided into two broad divisions of 90% hill regions and 10% valleys dominated respectively by the Kuki and Naga tribes and the Meitei and Meitei Pangal. The tribal people are predominantly Christian while the valley people are largely Hindu-ized Meities and Muslims by faith.

Politically, ‘Manipur’ comprised only the valley expanse before the British annexation while the hill regions and its inhabitants – the tribal people, surrounding the valleys were independent of the political governance of the Manipur Kings. British establishment in Manipur in 1891 had also gradually led to their interference into the affairs of the hill regions. The interference was sternly resisted by the tribal but it subdued with great efforts from the
British. Since Manipur and the hill country being two separate entities then, separate administrative systems were also introduced for the two units under British suzerainty.

After the lapse of the British rule, the Manipur State Constitution Act, 1947 (MSCA) was adopted and brought the hill country within the fold of the ‘Manipur’ by making separate provisions in the constitution for administering the tribal people or hill regions. The tribal people participated in the first democratic election under the new constitution on the ground that their independence and freedom are largely preserved and respected in the new constitution. Nevertheless, before they could settle their political future under the ‘constitution’, Manipur had merged with the Union of India. It so happened that the advice and consent of the tribal people was not sought by the Maharaja before he signed the instrument of accession. No representative of the tribal was involved in the merger agreement (ATSUM, 2000:21-23). Although the merger was strongly opposed by them, their voices have been sidelined again. However, the Kukis opted to be a loyal citizens of the country after the merger and expected that their history would be given due recognition and the integrity of their ancestral lands would be preserved. But they found themselves splintered between different states even within the country. Thus they demand formation of Kuki state within the existing Indian polity (Bhalla & Verman, 2011:276).

Politicization of Manipur started in 1934 when the Nikhil Hindu Manipuri Mahasabha was formed under the patronage of the then Manipur king (Bhalla & Verman, 2011:181). It gave no room for the non-Hindu tribals to come to the mainstream of Manipur politics. It rather planted a different attitude in the Meities towards the tribals. ‘In the complex web of politics that exists in the Northeast, insurgency in Manipur began as an ideological movement for restoration of the pre-British supremacy of the Meitei community. However, owing to the emergence of multiple power-centres with their own agendas, the movement turned into an ethnic conflict’ (Bhalla & Verman, 2011:181). There are various reasons for the polarization between the tribals and the Meitei community but ‘religious divides certainly played a major role’ (Bhalla & Verman, 2011:184).

One most important thing in the governance of the State that contributed to the impropriety in the State politics is the oscillating political tendencies of both the tribals in the Hill Areas and the majority Meiteis in the valley. The Meiteis’ concept of Manipur politics seems not static. The Meiteis claimed that the hill areas are part and parcel of the political territory of the State while the hill areas are nakedly exposed in the sun of under-development and backwardness. Not a scrap of interest is taken to develop the people and the land. The confusion lies in the fact that the Meiteis believe that the hill areas may ultimately go one day. To acquire rights over the land in the hill areas and at the same time sidelining the development of the tribals will tantamount to one of the greatest mistakes on the part of the majority community. Such injustice and violation of human rights have been causing us a lot today. At the same time, as Chaube (2008: ix) advocated ‘aggregation of social goals for any community is a difficult task’, the tribal neither strongly advocated a single political demand nor held strong ideological view. But one thing that shall remain is the persistent struggle against the present system.

**Political Impropriety of Majority against Minority**

Manipur’s tribals population of 9,83,074 accounts for 41% of the state’s total of 23,88,634. However, out of the 60 seats in the Manipur Legislative Assembly, tribals have only 20 representatives which mean that each tribal legislator represents an average of 34,180 as opposed to the average of 25,575 voters only represented by the 40 representatives from the
small Imphal valley (UNC, 2010:2). The 40 Meitei-members in the State legislature represent only 2,238 sq. Km i.e. only 10 percent of 22,327 sq.km while the 20 tribal members represent more than 20,000 sq km of the State’s total geographical area.

‘This wrapped system of representation is the handy instrument used for suppression of the tribal population of Manipur. With the brute majority of 40 representatives from Imphal valley in a house of 60, successive State government of different parties, individuals or groups, have over the years worked invariably in the interest of the dominant community of Imphal valley, undermining the rights and aspirations of the tribals. [Their] fate have been thus chained to the whims and fancies of the dominant community and any democratic movement to secure the rights of tribals have either been drowned out by the voice of the majority or have been projected as unlawful and criminal and brutally put down with force’ (UNC, 2010:3).

The two parliamentary seats for the State are divided into Inner and Outer Parliamentary Constituencies. The Inner Parliamentary Constituency is exclusively confined in the four valley districts. However, 8 (eight) valley assembly constituencies of the Meities with 2,06,016 electors are included arbitrarily in the Outer Manipur Parliamentary Constituency to enable the dominant community to play the inter-tribal group card during parliamentary elections (UNC, 2010:15). While the average population and electorate per assembly constituency in tribal areas is 49,513 and 34,180 respectively, the same in the valley is only 35,139 and 25,575. Aggravating the situation of electoral politics to the disadvantage of the tribals, the Government of Manipur strongly objected the outcome of the 2001 census and subsequently stopped the delimitation exercise base on the census through court injunction. It also conducted census in some tribal dominated sub-divisions, which is not under State lists (Shimray, 2005).

In political arena, the first challenge on the question of majority against minority had happened in the merger of Manipur to the Union of India. Kangujam (2005) stated that the difference of opinion between the tribal elite and the Meitei elite over the integration of Manipur with India was responsible for the rise of a conflict situation in Manipur on ethnic lines. The will of the majority Meitei was imposed upon the hill elites which Kangujam (2005) says is the ‘hegemonic and non-accommodative policy of the Meitei middle-class elites’.

It is necessary to note that although some tribals were represented in the Interim Council that drafted the MSCA of 1947, they were only ‘non-official’. Also when the Dominion Agent handed over all the administrative responsibilities of the State to the Maharaja, no mention of the status of the hill areas was officially made. If this had not been the legal position of the hill people, the merger agreement would not have been ‘hastened’ against the will of the tribals (Chaube, 2008:97).

**Hill and Plain divides**

The tribals in Manipur argued that they, for that matter the hill areas, are not legally in the State of Manipur. Just because of the administrative headquarters of both the hills and the valley being situated at Imphal during the British period for their convinience, it could never mean that tribals and their inhabited hill areas have come within the political jurisdiction of then Manipur (ATSUM, 2000: 5).
When Manipur was integrated with India, the Constituent Assembly was of the opinion that special administrative scheme to protect minorities in Manipur did not arise since the newly integrated state will be ‘under the rigorous control of the centre’ (Chaubhe, 2008:97). That observation is now obsolete considering the new status achieved by Manipur. It is now necessary that minorities or tribals in the State are accorded protection through a stronger constitutional mechanism like the rest of the tribals in other parts of the country. It is necessary to protect the tribals in the State since the protection provisions contained in – (i) MSCA of 1947, (ii) The Union Territories Act of 1963, and (iii) The Manipur (Hill Areas) Autonomous District Council Act of 1971 have not been effective enough to protect them and at the same time to counter the hegemonic attitudes of the majority community in the State under the present democratic dispensation.

Rajat Kanti Das (1985:22) argued that the Meitei-Tribal divide is created by them as they could derive profit out of the division. Nevertheless, Das also maintained that the contradictions in language, religion and customs between them may surface at any time. While the Meitei community is ardent about protecting the territorial integrity by all means, the State administration failed to see that integrity of the state does not lie in the territorial fence (Gangmei, 2012:15).

In the political history of Manipur, the tribals demands more than the Meiteis do. There are occasions when the Government politically out-maneuvered such demands. However, there is no overt disagreement from the part of the Meities to the demands of the tribals. The majority community in the State who holds political and administrative powers have remained silent without offering reasonable political argument against the tribals’ demands. On the other hand, the main contention of the majority Meitei community seems to be a mere jealousy over the sole authority of the hill areas enjoyed by the tribals. It may be categorically put to record that the State government has not been genuinely looking into any of the grievances or the genuine demands of the tribals. This is amply proved when Kangujam (2005) advocated that ‘Naga Integration Movement and Kuki demand for homeland are reactions to the expansion of the Meitei elite groups in the spheres of administration, geopolitics, economy, education, culture, etc, and that ‘monopoly in the power structure of the state’ resulted in the ‘peripheralisation of the tribal elites from Manipur mainstream’.

Many scholars and writers have opined that ‘development’ has been and could be the cause and remedy for the incumbent political problems affecting Manipur. This appears to be correct to some extent. During the 5th round of tripartite talk between the UNC with the State and Central Government held on 12th February, 2013, the State Government ‘has reportedly submitted a list of development projects being supposedly implemented in the hill districts to establish that it has been doing enough in the hill districts or tribal areas with regards to development projects’ (The Sangai Express, 2013). To affirm the correctness of what the State Government claimed is doing for the tribals, ‘the UNC reportedly took up intensive verification on the listed projects and documenting what was the development of the hills that the Manipur Government was talking about’. The UNC wanted to ‘expose the false claim’ and conduct ‘intensive survey’ and at the same time strongly advocated that ‘real development cannot take place in the hills in the existing arrangement’ (The Sangai Express, 2013). On 8th April, 2013, UNC came up with the finding and categorically stated that most of the claims of the State Government happened to be false or exaggerated (The People’s Chronicle, April 8, 2013). This premise indicated that developmental issues have indeed become a great concern in tackling political problems in the State.
In 2008, there was a proposal to set up two hill campus of Manipur University (MU) (The Sangai Express, 2008). After two days, The Times of India (2008) carried a caption that read ‘MU gets UGC nod for two hill Campuses’. The usual ‘cold-storage’ system might have been meted out to it that the tall promises have not yet seen the light of the day. Tribal students of MU undertook a strong agitation, later on supported by different tribal student bodies, against the non-implementation of reservation policy by MU authority. Subsequently, the students demand for establishment of a separate university exclusively for the tribals. The State Government conceded to the demand and an agreement was reached for the same. Later on, it however turned out to be a mere regional campus of Indira Gandhi Tribal University (INGTU) sans any reservation provisions favouring the tribals. After more than five years of opening of the campus, ‘the crisis in the newly set up INGTU regional campus in Manipur is put to a situation of breaking down totally because all the required infrastructures and issues have not been properly attended to by the authority concern’ (The Sangai Express, 2013).

Sidelining all the demands made by the tribals regarding educational development in the Hill Areas, the Education Minister Mr. M. Okendro came up with a statement saying that the process for upgradation of DM College into a deemed university is almost completed (The People's Chronicle, 2013). His announcement came barely three days after All Manipur (Meitei) Students’ Union warned the State Government of launching a strong agitation if the later does not take step to convert the college into a deemed university within 20 days. What a revelation? Manipur Government took only three days to response to the demands of the Meiteis while tribals’ demands are never attended to, forget about time and length. No further proofs or empirical evidences are needed to understand the plights of tribals under the ‘State’ of Manipur. There are 52 colleges in the four valley districts whereas only 18 colleges are there in the five hill districts. The average population per college in the valley districts is 28,160 whereas that of the hill districts is 77,834 (Singh, 2003).

It is also alleged that the hill-valley divide is also due to the faulty policies of the State on language and its development. Only 10 out of 35 tribal languages have been approved as Major Tribal Dialects of Manipur (Gangmei, 2012:21). Referring the report of the Commission of Linguistic Minorities, Government of India submitted to the President for 2002-2003, Gangmei (2012:38) quoted “In brief, the performance of Manipur Government is dismal. They are either not aware of the safeguards for the linguistic minorities or are totally unconcerned about them . . .the State governments are urged to change their attitude towards their linguistic minorities so as to give their due”. To substantiate the point, it is revealed that a mere sum of Rs. 1 lakh is allotted in the budget of Education Department of the State for 35 tribal languages of the State (Gangmei, 2012:41). In violation of the Three-Language Formula, the State Government is imposing the Meitei script upon the tribal students.

The Committee on Welfare of SCs & STs noted in its report presented to the Manipur Legislative Assembly (MLA) that ‘no effective steps appear to have been taken to remove the backwardness of SCs & STs in the State of Manipur’. Another committee on welfare of SCs & STs was formed by the MLA in compliance with the provision contained in Article 16(4) and 16(4-A) of the constitution and in view of Art 335 regarding the claims of SCs & STs. The committee came up with various recommendations to the State Government. But so far nothing tangible measure is taken to uplift the tribals in the State in this regard (Committee , 2008: ii). The latest Committee report of 2009 speaks louder about the negligence and stepmotherly treatment meted out to tribals of Manipur. It is surprising that despite serving notice for furnishing documents or statements regarding then existing staff strength to commissioners and secretaries of various departments by the committee many departments
either had not submitted the required statements or simply had not submitted them (Committee, 2008: i). In this regard, the Committee observed that ‘almost all the departments have violated the reservation rule prescribed for SCs & STs in service, though it is constitutionally guaranteed’ (Committee, 2008: 9-10). The rules of reservation are violated in order to deprive the tribals of the provisions for upliftment and to facilitate them to secure proper place in the society in order to remove economic inequalities among the citizens. During his visit to Manipur, the Chairman of National Commission for SCs & STs noted that the Manipur Reservation of Vacancies in Posts and Services for SCs & STs Act 1976 ‘is not operative’. He pointed out the discrepancies in the reservation to the then Chief Minister and urged him to take ‘immediate steps to enforce the Act for the benefit of the STs & SCs population of the State’ (The Sumkawn, 2000).

The tribals have been consistently demanding the extension of the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution to the Hill Areas of Manipur since 1990. In this regard, their position is that their interest, land and politics had not been jeopardised by the kings of Manipur. Apart from the protections and independence of the tribal during the British period, the MSCA of 1947 that came into force just before the merger agreement also clearly enshrined that no matter concerning the hill people should be discussed in the State Assembly unless it has the support of majority of the Hill representatives in the Assembly.

The demand for either extension of provisions of Sixth Schedule or union territory under the constitution of India in the Hill Areas of the State is based on the above premises. So not to grant to the tribals of Manipur a separate administrative unit, ‘not less than a Union Territory under Articles 239 and 239A of the constitution of India having a legislative council of ministers, consisting all the tribal areas in the present State of Manipur’ would tantamount to un-administered status on the tribals and the Hills Areas (ATSUM, 2000:7).

Three successive state government of Manipur have already recommended the extension of the provisions of the Sixth Schedule in the Hill Areas of Manipur (HAC, 2004:24). The Hill Areas Committee (HAC) also submitted memorandum to the Prime Minister of India in this connection. After agreeing to accord the demand, the Manipur Government however maliciously ‘stonewalled’ the process by inserting a rider that the Sixth Schedule would be extended after ‘local adjustment and amendments’ (UNC, 2010:3). The HAC of the MLA in its sitting held on 22nd April, 2002 had also adopted a resolution for extension of the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution and the same resolution was presented to the House of the MLA on 21st December, 2004 (HAC Report, 2004:1). It is necessary to note that out of 20 members of the HAC who passed the resolution, 14 members were cabinet ministers, the speaker of the House and 5 (five) legislators. However, their common voice had not been heard due to certain undisclosed factors behind. The larger members constituting the then council of ministers could not get the House passes the bill they tabled. Holkhomang Haokip (2004) had also expressed the aspiration of the tribals for implementation of the Schedule in the hill districts in the Lok Sabha and informed the House that ‘all the tribes are united in the issue’. He also informed the Parliament that implementation of the provisions of the Schedule in the hill districts ‘will not affect the territorial integrity of the state’ (Haokip, 2004:13).

In 2012, the tribals of the state represented by ATSUM (2013) began to make another demand. It urged the State Government to set up ‘Manipur State Commission for Scheduled Tribes’ under Article 338A of the Indian constitution, which the student body believed ‘would usher in all round development and progress in respect of tribal people in the eastern
most part of the Indian Union’. The student body also contended that ‘the tribal population is the second largest in the State of Manipur but the pace of development is rather too slow till today comparing to that of the non-tribal populace’ (ATSUM, 2013).

When every demand made to both the State and Central Government have failed, the people have no immediate option but to ask for conducting election to Autonomous District Councils (ADC) in the hill areas which have been stalled for almost 20 years. When pressurized to conduct the election, the Act was amended again by removing almost all the better part of it. Haokholal Thangjom (2001) advocated that ‘relevant autonomy’ which was intended to be ‘Sui Generis’ when autonomy for the tribal people was demanded during 1970s is now treated as a ‘Teddy Bear or Toy’. It is to be noted that the original autonomy contained in the original Act of 1971 is superseded by an Act of July 2000 (Thangjom, 2001). This is followed by the District Council (3rd Amendment) Act, 2008. The amendment is thoroughly ‘doctored and it stripped off of all the provisions that go into self governance and the rights of the hill people over their land and resources and removed the primacy of the traditional institutions of the tribal’ (UNC, 2010:3). The HAC commented on certain clauses and articles of the proposed bill along with its suggestions and comments – for the committee is the final authority on the matter in question, but it was promulgated by the State government. Moreover, the promulgation of the Act was through ordinance of the Governor without it being first discussed thoroughly in the Assembly.

By virtue of being dominant in the legislature, the successive State Governments continue to deny the tribals of the same rights the majority community enjoys. ‘The only explanation for this would be that the majority community of Manipur fear that the dominant position they have been enjoying and exploiting the hill at the expense and detriment of the tribal would come to an end (UNC, 2010:5).

After visiting Manipur during 26-28 November, 2000, the Chairman of the National Commission for SCs & STs in a press release ‘felt that the powers given to the ADC are not sufficient’. He further stated that ‘the legislative powers have not been given to the councils. It appears that the allocation of funds to the councils is also not adequate to take up development projects in the hill districts. The functioning of the Panchayati system is more effective in the valley districts of the State than the ADCs in the hill districts’ (The Sumkawn, 2000). M. Nizote (2013) rightly quoted the Vice President of AICC, Rahul Gandhi who was said to have unequivocally stated ‘that there is no point of electing local bodies [ADCs] if responsibilities and power are not given’. The powers and subjects ‘which the State Government had already devolved to [Autonomous] District Councils are contraditorily [being] interfered by the bureaucrats’ (M. Nizote, 2013).

All demands and grievances of the tribals are responded by successive governments by enacting various controversial and anti-tribal Acts and laws. Firstly, The Manipur Village Authority Act, 1956 was passed. The Act prescribed election, term of office, and power of the village authority which is ‘against the rule of regulating traditional institutions by the customary laws’ (Shimray, 2006). The State Government has been trying hard to introduce the Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reform Acts (MLR & LR), 1960, which initially covered the valley districts only, in the hill districts also. “Several attempts have been made by the State Government to remove the content of the act ‘except hill areas thereof’ through several amendments the latest [of which] is the MLR & LR (Amendment) Bill 2005” (Shimray, 2006). The State government continued to exploit and fool the tribals of the State in different ways and by passing adverse laws. Recently during the Budget Session of the
State Assembly in March 2013, the Chief Minister informed the house that the Government is processing for establishment of a ‘directorate of land records for the hill districts’ without putting the matter with the HAC and through debate and discussion in the assembly. This act of the Chief Minister was in supersession of the constitutional power and legislative authority of the HAC of the state legislative assembly (The Sangai Express, 2013). The assembly also passed another law at the cost of the tribals in state. The Manipur Hill Areas (Acquisition of Chief’s Rights) Act, 1967 which authorised the state government to acquire the rights, title and land in hill areas was also passed. ‘But the Act could not be implemented due to the objection raised by the hill communities’ (Shimray, 2006). In that year, ‘Three hundred Kuki chiefs assembled in Imphal to express their determination to fight the Act’ (Chaube, 2008:213).

In abject contrast to the positions of the tribals, some Meitei intellects lately came up with a new ideology to support their systematic robbing of the tribals of their rights. One such is the notion that ‘categorization of the same people from the same ancestor and same origin into two different classes as ‘General’ and ‘Tribal’ or hill and valley people is the root cause of ... communal politics inciting one ethnic group against another ...’(Singh, 2013).

**Polarizations on ethnic lines**
The dividing line between communities of the state is glaringly exemplified in matters of employments. The State government, which in most formation, is dominated by the majority Meitei community, is alleged to be responsible for marginalizing the tribal people in matters of employment. Tribal civil societies and non-governmental organisations and different tribal student bodies accused the State Government for adopting lackadaisical attitudes towards them in this regard. The HAC which is the highest constitutional body of the tribal legislators in the State Assembly is no exception in alleging the successive State government for negligence in streamlining constitutional provisions supposed to be enjoyed by the tribals in matter of employment. The HAC in its sitting on 26th July, 2003 had held the Government responsible for not framing any rules under the Manipur Reservation of Vacancies in Posts and Services for STs & SCs Act, 1976 till date even after the act had been passed by the House vide Manipur Act No. 1 of 1977. ‘The Committee therefore adopted a resolution urging the State Government to frame necessary Rules under the Act within 4 (four) months from the [date of passing the] resolution’ (HAC, 2004:3). The resolution was responded by the Department of Personal and Administrative Reforms of the State Government of Manipur by requesting for 2 (two) extra months to complete the work. But this issue has remained unattended till today. Aggravating the anguish of the tribal and to the surprise of everyone, the Chief Minister, who is the first non-tribal to hold the post of Department of Tribal Welfare, presented a bill to amend the Manipur Reservation of Vacancies in Posts and Services (For SCs & STs) Act, 1976 in 2006.

The political predicaments have now deeply rooted among the different communities of the state. The Meiteis steadfastly hold ideological views and opinions in contrast to what the tribals think it is. A kind of superiority feeling over the tribals appears in the views of the Meiteis. The view that the tribals and the Meiteis are racially of common origin will holds no much ground unless the present political dispensation is corrected. Without streamlining the governing system of the state, the tribals would only feel of being fooled at the risk of their land if commonality is propagated to work.

While tribal-Meitei strained relationship suffice political hiccup in the State, inter-tribal standoffs and their demands for separate autonomous administrative units added another level
of difficulty for solving problems in the State. Situations in the State have become multi-directional to the advantage of people who veil powers to rule and manipulate. On the other hand, the tribal held two common views. Firstly, only the valley portion comprised Manipur, and the Hill Areas have been independent of the rule of Manipur kings. Chaube (2008:7) noted that ‘the notion of territorial or political authority was unknown in the hills’ until the advent of the British. Secondly, the Meiteis have exploited them socially, economically, politically, administratively, and educationally through legal instruments (Kangujam, 2005). Nevertheless, the Kuki tribes and Naga tribes ‘can neither lend support to [their] competing demands nor cooperate in their respective movement’ despite strong opposition from the majority Meiteis to the demands (Kipgen, 2013:22). Kipgen (2013:34) also pointed out three major issues that led to tension between Kukis and Nagas. Assimilation of some Kuki tribes into the Naga fold; overlapping of lands claimed by them; and unequal treatment of Kukis by the State and Central Government are such issues lingering between the two.

While the Naga tribes wanted ‘to live together as one people under a single administrative unit’ which ‘has remained the foremost desire in the minds of the Nagas’ (UNC, 2010:2), the Kukis wanted to ‘find a proper political settlement’, (Bhalla & Verma, 2011:276) the foremost of which at present is in the form of demand for ‘Kuki State’, which according to Haokip (2013:80) is ‘claimed as the precursor of peace’ in Manipur.

Demands for political autonomy seemed to have been determined by historical antecedents of differences between the tribes and the Meiteis but at the same time, the way political power is exercised by the majority Meiteis must have surely played a greater role for political predicament in the State today. While the only constitutional provision for protecting the tribals in State is with Article 371C of the Indian constitution, the Meiteis are strongly urging the Union Government to remove the Article. In a memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister of India, Organisation for Solidarity and Unity of North East India, Manipur (OSUNEI, Manipur) strongly requested the Union Government to ‘initiate adequate actions for amendment of Article 371C of the Indian Constitution’ (Lisam, 2013). OSUNEI, Manipur also demands, beside other things, (i) declaration of the whole State as ‘Hill State’, (ii) inclusion of the Meiteis under the Scheduled Tribe category of the Indian Constitution, (iii) bringing all the ethnic groups under a ‘single land law’, and (iv) not to apply Article 3 of the Indian constitution regarding alteration of state boundaries to Manipur. It is necessary to note that the new ideology are formulated after thorough consultation with eminent Meiteis including retired judges, lawyers, academicians, civil society organisations (Lisam, 2013).

The Kukis have been trying hard to be compatible with the majority Meiteis on various occasions. They fought side by side with Meitei kings; protected the territorial integrity of the State; advocated statehood (Chaube, 2008: 244); opposed the cease-fire extension; and took side with the Meitei legislators on formations of government. However, all these attempts to enter into the mainstream of Manipur politics proved futile. When ‘quit notice’ to the Kukis was served by UNC through the district administrations of the State, ‘the government in the State as well as in the centre remained deafeningly quite and unconcerned’ (Gangte, 2006). When they were on the verge of being annihilated in hundreds by the NSCN (IM) during 1990s, the State Government took no effort to mitigate the situation. The then Governor simply apprised the President of India that the Kukis could not defend their inhabited areas themselves (KUMHUR, 2009: 13). Whereas, the communal violence between the Meiteis and the Muslims had been immediately solved by using all available resources of the state (Gangte, 2006). Not a single issue concerning the Kukis is forwarded to the Central Government for good. Their demand to upgrade Sadar Hills Autonomous District Council to
the status of a full-fledge district has been manipulated and delayed for more than 40 years. Instead, their inhabited hills surrounding the valley continue to be encroached through legal and non-legal instruments. At the same time, the successive government at the centre has not paid the slightest interest in solving the problems of the Kukis. More than 50 memoranda submitted to the Union Prime Ministers, Presidents, etc since 1993 for instituting a high level commission to study the problems of the Kukis have not been attended to.

The Kukis have also wanted to be amicable with their neighbouring Manipur Nagas. However, their request to settle the ethnic tension of the 1990s without involving any political issue has been flatly turned down by the Nagas. What option does the Kukis have?

Conclusion
It is believed that the operation of governing system in Manipur may be sufficiently brought to the limelight through the discussion done. When governing a political state is one-sided, especially in a democratic one like ours, with multiple peripheries in the form of ethnicity, language, custom and belief systems, and different political background, it is bound to necessitate political predicaments that are expressed in different forms. In such situation, the majority i.e. the ruling executive should decide things expected as a welfare State and distribute power considering the principles of democratic polity. Since governance involves right performance, any outcome whether good or bad should be attributed to the governing body.

Like we noted earlier, governance is the rules of the political system to solve conflicts between actors and adopt decision. It the light of the discussion, it is no doubt that the State Government and other non-state actors which are controlled by the majority Meiteis are immensely responsible either to mitigate at least major ugly political and economic predicaments in the State or allow its continuance on ethnic lines at the cost of ‘State integrity’.

In correctness of things, it would be wrong for the main actors in a democratic government to always subjected manipulation and monopoly of government machineries upon its minorities. Enacting new laws or amending the Constitution as suggested here and there will not be free from being subjected to challenge. Introducing new legal framework will neither work in the present context. The laws, legal mechanisms, and constitutional provisions for the State of Manipur at the time of her statehood are yet to be fully implemented and utilized. If at all new and stronger laws are necessary, it may be resorted to when the statehood-period governing mechanisms are thoroughly executed and utilised without twist and turn.

The demand for Sixth Schedule provisions would have not come up if the budgetary power of the ADCs, which is to be submitted directly to the Governor, had been allowed to take its course as envisaged in the relevant rules. The ‘State Government never passed any legislation’ during the last 40 years (ATSUM, 2005:7) for the welfare of the tribals in the State but instead it has been trying at the highest level to scrap laws providing protections to the tribals. Similarly, it is opined that besides the demand for Sixth Schedule, the demands for ‘Kuki State’, ‘Alternative Arrangement’ and ‘Union Territory’ and other socio-political demands may be considerably subsided should the State Government – (i) Grant full-fledge District status to Sadar Hills ADC. This has been one of the protracted demands of the Kukis for 40 years or so. (ii) Create more districts by bifurcating Churachandpur District into 3 (three) districts and Ukhrul District into two districts in order to add the tempo of developments in the hill areas; (iii) devolve more powers to ADCs as promised by the State
Government and allow it to function as per rules envisaged in the original Act; (iv) Gives full constitutional power to the HAC of the MLA as envisaged by Article 371C of the constitution; (v) withdraw attachment of eight valley assembly segments from Outer Manipur parliamentary Constituency, and (vi) allow delimitation of assembly and parliamentary constituencies according to the latest position of population of the state. The valley that constitutes only 10 per cent of the State’s total geographical areas has 40 legislators whereas the Hill Areas which is 90 per cent has only 20 legislators. This disequilibrium in legislative sphere works against the interest of the tribals. Without having the chance to make legislation favouring the tribals, they are bound to fall back in a democratic set up.

It is now clear that there is no governance in the real sense of the term in Manipur. Zamminlien (2013) suggested that ‘to stop otherising would be the best solution for integrity’ of Manipur. ‘If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprived a minority of any clearly written constitutional rights, in any moral point of view, justify revolution’. (Lincoln, First Inaugural Address, 1861).

Notes

1 I liberally borrowed meaning and definition of Governance from Wikipedia in order to give a general idea of the term in shaping meaningful outcome of the article. http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/governance, last accessed 30/3/2013.
2 The eight assembly constituencies included in the Outer Manipur Parliamentary Constituency are – Heirok, Wnagjing, Tenthra, Khangabok, Wabagai, Kakching, Hiyanglam, Sugnu, and Jiribam.
3 The Committee on Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was constituted by the Manipur State Legislative Assembly vide Notification No. 2/1/2004, dated 10th April, 2008.
4 The three successive governments recommending the extension of the Sixth Schedule in the Hill Areas of Manipur were during the Chief Ministerships of R.K. Ranbir on 13-5-1991, R.K. Dorendra on 17-8-1992, and Radhabinod Kojam Singh on 17-4-2001.
5 The ‘Hill Areas Committee’ is a constitutionally empowered body under Article 371C constituted from all the legislators representing the Hill Areas in the Manipur Legislative Assembly.
6 For detail, see The Second report of the Hill Areas Committee, 2006, presented to the House on 18th September, 2006, Eight Manipur legislative Assembly.
7 See Sanatomba Kangujam, (2005), ‘Ethnic discourse in the Northeast: In Search of an alternative Paradigm’, The Sangai Express, October 14, 2005
8 Article 371C has two clauses. The first clause gives the Committee known as Hill Areas Committee power to modified rules of business of the Government and rules of procedure of the Legislative Assembly and for any specific responsibility of the Governor. The second clause provides the executive power of the Union Government through the Governor of the State in relation to Hill Areas of Manipur.
9 Rules nos. 32,33,34, and 35 of the Manipur (Hill Areas) Autonomous District Council Act of 1972 envisaged that the budgets of the councils should be prepared by district council concerned and submitted directly to the governor who will forward the same to the relevant department of the central government for sanction of the funds.

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Implementation of New Public Management: A Critical Perspective from India

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Abstract
In the post-Wilson and post-Weberian phase of public administration, New Public Management emerged as the new paradigm in the field of public administration with three major characteristics like efficiency, economy and effectiveness. As it focused on entrepreneurial government in the era of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG), India does not need more government; India needs better government and more precisely India needs better governance. This paper analyses the extent to which developing country like India has taken up new public management (NPM) reforms and the causes of non-implementation in the whole scale. It also assesses the problem of corruption from the side of political executives and low administrative effectiveness of the bureaucrats. In this context pruning of bureaucracy, reducing the functional burden of bureaucrats, speedy delivery of service, result orientation and accountability soon become buzz words. Finally the government of India can learn the experiences of other countries who have successfully implemented New Public Management in their local level.

Keywords: NPM, India, Bureaucracy & Governance.

Introduction
At the end of the 20th century, a post-bureaucratic paradigm of public management was firmly embedded in many countries reflecting the outcome of the suite of reforms intended to enact a break from the traditional model of public administration underpinned by Max Weber’s bureaucracy, Woodrow Wilson’s policy-administration dichotomy, and F.W. Taylor’s scientific management model of work organisation. New Public Management (NPM) encompassed the belief that governments were unresponsive, inefficient, monopolistic, and unable to reach the formal goals. New Public Management constitutes a unified, consistent and coherent set of ‘business-like’ or neo-managerial practices, focusing exclusively on aspects of public governance. It is a “continuously monitored management-by-objectives (MBO), with account for results and is considered as a new (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992) and dominant paradigm (Arora, 2003).

New Public Management prescribes ‘contracting out’ and in this context public manager's work consists of identifying the work to be done; stating how it should be carried out; advertising for bids; drawing up contracts; and supervising the work to ensure that it is being performed as per the contract. Due to public hostility to government and the imperatives of liberalization, privatization & globalization, new public management emerges as a new discipline which makes renovation of civil service departments into free-standing agencies or enterprises. Two of the more commonly adopted elements of the NPM agenda are privatisation and downsizing of government structure. In the same way introduction of performance-based accountability is the major feature of new public management. Many countries have experimented with performance management initiatives like the introduction of modern performance-oriented staff appraisal systems.
In the last two decades, although different definitions of NPM have been suggested, in the early 1980s, Garson and Overman defined it as “an interdisciplinary study of the generic aspects of administration and a blend of the planning, organizing, and controlling functions of management with the management of human, financial, physical, information and political resources. Despite divergent and contradictory views, opinions and definitions about the meaning and implications of this doctrine, there is however no doubt that it has become extremely influential in public administration theory and practice since the 1980s. Later on in mid 1990s, NPM was defined as “a normative conceptualization of public administration consisting of several inter-related components: providing high quality services that citizens value; increasing the autonomy of public managers; rewarding organization and individuals on the basis of whether they meet demanding performance targets; making available the human and technological resources that managers need to perform well; and appreciative of the virtues of competition, and maintaining an open minded attitude about which public purposes should be performed by the private sector, rather than a public sector” (Borins, 1995).

NPM as the dominant paradigm (Arora, 2003) in the discipline of public administration, has become a catchword in most countries of the world. It conjures up an image enmeshed with a minimal government, debureaucratisation, decentralization, market orientation of public service, contracting out, privatization, performance management, etc. These features signify a marked contrast with the traditional model of administration, which embodies a dominant role of the government in the provision of services, hierarchical structure of organization, centralization and so forth. Grounded in rational choice and public choice and containing elements of total quality management (TQM), the New Public Management (NPM) seeks to offer more efficient mechanism for delivering goods and services and for raising governmental performance levels (Kelly, 1998).

NPM emerged in response to a number of environmental forces which governments everywhere have faced in the last twenty years. First, heavy and expensive public sectors put much pressure to cut programmes and/or increase efficiency. Second, there have been rampant technological innovations over the years, particularly, the development of information communication and technology. Third, the globalization of economy with soaring competition has become order of the day. Fourth, it has become inevitable to liberalize the economic sector after heavy burden being imposed upon the national exchequer as a result of mismanagement, corruption, inefficiency in resource management, bureaucratic bungling etc. More importantly, increasing efficiency in resource management is also expected as economic recession and competition simply demand it. Fifth, in the competitive world, the people are demanding quality goods and services. They are now keen to compare services of all organizations (Borins, 1995).

**New Public Management and its Features**

There are unique attributes that make up New Public Management a catchword in most countries; both developed and developing countries of the world. Furthermore, it is a response to the inefficiency and often flamboyant spending by the governments, and hence would essentially inculcate the facets of balanced and cogent structural points of reference, as mentioned below:

- The introduction of techniques of business management in public organization, with emphasis on efficiency is the typical feature of new pubic management. The very hammering in this element entails one to understand that public works are not run on a business footing,
and hence the obvious and admitted delays and unwarranted interruptions. Efficiency is the watchword for NPM, a term used to bring in the attitude of doing things right, every time.

- A greater service and client orientedness is lacking in public sector. The basic lacuna in the government system of administration is the lack of accountability to the customers. This has, evidently led to a lackadaisical attitude among the government personnel, who do not value the loss or gain of a customer, because of the monopoly they have over certain aspects of community activity. The NPM system endeavours to bring in the core idea of being answerable to the customers, by endeavouring to incorporate greater service and client orientedness among the public service providers.

- An introduction of market mechanism and competition in public life dominates new public management. Evidences abound about the perceptible expediency of turning to a market-dominated mechanism, ensuring healthy competition and vigorous contests. It is the intention of NPM to ensure that the hassle that garner the sphere of public management, and to eliminate the hurdles while moving to a path of progress and accountability.

- New public management promotes catalytic government which should concentrate on catalyzing the public sector, private sector and civil society organization into action to solve the societal problems and not just on providing service. It symbolises that government should engage itself in steering rather than rowing.

- In the era of new public management the government strengthens and empowers the citizens, families and communities to solve their own problems. From the very beginning in developed countries and presently in developing countries government is taking out various services from the control of bureaucracy. In the same way in the developing countries government is injecting competition among different providers of goods and services by rewarding efficiency and economy which increases performances and reduces cost.

- The new public management represents one kind of reinvention in public administration due to its typical features like mission driven government and goal oriented government. In other words government always finds outcomes/results by encouraging target achievements and mission driven efforts. Simultaneously the governments in developing countries decentralize authority i.e. disperse authority from higher to lower levels and involve a shift from classical pattern of hierarchical control to participatory management and teamwork.

**A Critique of the NPM Process**

A scrutiny of the functioning of the new public management would reveal from the one side that an unblemished system, which might be considered by many to encourage efficiency but from the other side, it is not always looked upon benevolently by all; there are criticism leveled against it. Three view points are articulated by a critic (Harrow, 2002) of NPM:

- New Public Management was hardly intended to incorporate equity and social justice concerns
- NPM is too brash with its business-orientations at the cost of human touch
- NPM ceases to contain core public values.

Another problem with results-based management approaches lies in the search for certainty and predictability (Rondinelli, 1983). For people living in a poor village, changes in their status through the expanded choices that empowerment brings can also lead to more uncertainty and unpredictable outcomes (Kabeer, 1999).

The serious criticism of the public management reforms, particularly those of the new public management, is that they are against the precepts of democracy (Kalimullah & others, 2012). The public management reforms are not responsible for any problem of democratic deficit, rather they are part of the solution. There is to be more transparency, enhancement of the role of elected politicians, while the focus on service quality and consultation increase the
opportunities for public involvement. It is also possible that public management reforms were driven, in some countries, by a desire for greater democracy (Hughes, 2003).

**Implementation of NPM in India**

India as a modern, liberal democratic state, with federal structures and commitment to decentralization and devolution of powers for decision making to local government structures symbolizes as a model state for developing countries for implementation of new public management. Administrative reform has always had a high failure rate, in both developed and developing countries (Caiden, 1991) due to some reasons like such as

- politicians are captured by interest groups and will act in their own self-interest rather than the public interest;
- the bureaucracy does not necessarily carry out political directions because of the self-interest of bureaucrats and

‘Capacity-building’ is a term very commonly heard in relation to governments in the developing countries like India. Administrative reforms concerns with capacity building but still it emphasizes developing countries because it suffers from capacity limitations in many respects as for example one of the factor is low pay. Low pay is not the only factor limiting administrative capacity. Administrative structures are weakly institutionalized, making the public sector prone to ‘penetration’ by party politics and leading to politicisation at all levels in the organizational hierarchy.

Low pay contributes to another manifestation of low administrative capacity, poor organisational discipline and an inability to enforce rules. This problem in many developing countries grew to crisis proportions in those that were hit by sharp economic downturns. In many countries all kinds of public transactions, major or minor, are subject to the payment of bribes which is prevailing in India. Some areas like policing, public works, customs administration are generally more lucrative to staff than others. Once a problem that used to be pushed under the carpet by scholars and practitioners alike, corruption has become a major item on the agenda of public sector reform in developing countries (Klitgaard, 1997) like India.

The third major strand of public sector reform that falls outside the new public management is decentralization. The problem is not decentralization as a major component of NPM reform but the term means different things to different people. For scholars and practitioners of the new public management, decentralization means giving line managers in government departments and agencies greater managerial authority and responsibility. In many developing countries, however, decentralization is usually taken to mean the devolution of political power to lower levels of government, generally elected local authorities.

It is evident that youth is the first victim of the trend toward bureaucratisation. As far as the Indian bureaucracy is concerned, they fall flat on the counts of impersonality and expertise. A recent survey by the Economist found impartiality the most important work ethic of European civil servants. Ludwig von Mises pointed out that there are serious limitations to bureaucracy and he made the specific plea that, while it was the best way for organising some services, like tax collection and policing, it was wholly unfit for the rest of the economy, which should be organised on the principles of management for profit.
Many thinkers argue in favour of introduction of NPM system is not convincing, particularly as it has failed to address the crucial issues of ethics, accountability, non-partisan distribution and administration. More importantly, the fundamental logic of the supremacy of the private sector over the public sector in terms of the efficiency criterion is inconclusive.

Lessons for India: To be succinct, the lesson India could learn from other nations’ experience is; measure the risk and embark confidently. Additionally, three broad areas have been identified for India to emerge as a super-reformer in New Public Management based public service delivery systems: already, there are many cities in India, where privatisation of water delivery is being embarked upon; Bangalore, Pune, Tiruppur and Chennai (Raghavan, 2004), and this privatisation drive have turned out to be contagious. The positive impact of NPM-based reforms will be sighted in India only when participation of people (individuals, private enterprises or Non-profit organisations) prevails in governance and delivery of public services. This would ring the death knell for ‘patronage democracy’ and pave the way for combined growth and progress.

New Public Management is to a large extent based on the assumption that public sector organizations need to learn from private sector and private companies especially in India. Private sector is considered to be more efficient, and by imitating private sector, public administration may become more efficient in its allocation and use of resources. This is considered possible in so far as the difference between private and public spheres is not seen as an obstacle.

**Successful NPM Implementation: A Role Model for India**

Two important countries are the United Kingdom and New Zealand whose experiences seem to be central for understanding new public management and its smooth functioning of its principles. Other relevant countries are Australia, Canada and the USA (Minogue, 1998: 21-30). In UK privatization was extensively pursued by the Conservative governments of Margaret Thatcher and John Major in the period 1979-97. Publicly owned industries (like manufacturing), major utilities (oil, telecommunications, gas, water, electricity, coal) and the service sector (road haulage, buses, railways, airport, steel) were sold out. In New Zealand, a similar process took place and between 1981-94, the number of employees in the public sector was reduced by 26.4 per cent.

Contracting and Market Testing refer to procedures for assessing costs and effectiveness of public organizations by inviting competitive bids from both public and private organizations in certain areas. In the UK, during the Thatcher regime, competitive tendering was introduced to a number of services, such as waste collection, street cleaning, schools cleaning and catering services, personnel services, leisure management and housing management. Also in New Zealand, contracting arrangements became a frequently used method of service delivery, particularly in local government. In 1994, contracting covered almost fifty per cent of the local government service provision in New Zealand (Minogue 2001: 27).

Restructuring of the Civil Service includes the introduction of more autonomous operational units (executive agencies) into the traditional bureaucratic public service structure. In the UK, executive agencies have been created to take responsibility for implementing public policy in a specific area. They have been given more autonomy than what previously has been the case. Objectives and responsibilities have been identified in a strategic plan and through a framework agreement covering a five-year period. In addition, annual business plans have specified financial, service and quality targets, and a performance measurement and reward
system is also intended to control their activities. Chief executives have been appointed to manage such agencies. They have been given considerable independence in day-to-day affairs, including personnel matters, opening up for a private type management style. By 1998, one hundred and thirty eight executive agencies had been established in the UK, and 75 per cent of the civil servants were organized into such agencies.

In 1993, former President Bill Clinton assigned Vice President, Al Gore to create a document for administrative reforms in federal government. This report, ‘Creating a Government that Works Better and Costs Less’, engendered cutting red tape, re-engineering and applying IT. The three media for change were identified to be: economic pressure, ideas and high-level commitment. One unique thing about USA is that there was little public ownership, to engage in privatisation. The success of NPM-based management in the USA arose out of creation of performance-based organisations (PBOs) and reinventing laboratories. The most vital lesson one can learn from such initiatives in the USA is that rather than focusing on major structural reforms, it is more powerful to depend on service delivery mechanism and government’s partnership with private and non-profit organisations.

During this era of liberalization, privatization and globalisation several countries became exemplars of NPM, in particular New Zealand and Australia which undertook significant public sector change to break from the bureaucratic paradigm of public administration (Flynn, 2007).

Conclusion
The New Public Management (NPM) doctrine was proposed as an appropriate mechanism aimed at making the public sector administration more efficient, effective and responsive. A number of measures such as small government, professional management, output orientation, performance-based accountability system, performance measures, strategic planning, quality management, contracting out, privatization, output budgeting, accrual accounting, contract employment and so forth have been suggested for improving the performance of the public sector in both developed countries like UK and developing countries like India. Whereas the NPM is perceived by many as a panacea for the problems of government involvement in the public management sphere, however, many others see NPM in the light of its excess commercial orientation, and ultimate disregard for the underprivileged. Although it has been seen by critics as a market-based ideology invading public sector organizations previously infused with counter-cultural values, it is being recognized by others as a management hybrid with a continuing emphasis on core public service values, albeit expressed in a new way. India has shown some prospects in implementing new public management.

Notes

References


Against All Odds: Success Stories of Women Panchayat Leaders

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Abstract
This paper is an attempt to explore and understand the positive impact of women’s political participation in grassroots governance in Maharashtra. Reservation is seen as an extraordinary act of social and political empowerment that has facilitated the entry of more than five million women in Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs). On the other hand, women are still considered to be back-door entrants who have gained entry because of reservations and therefore not easily accepted as leaders. Similarly, several stereotypes and misconceptions regarding women's leadership still capture mass imagination, making for women's participation a matter of doubt and distrust.

This paper seeks to highlight the challenges women leaders face at the grassroots level and also document the positive experiences and successful experiments by Elected Women Representatives (EWRs). PRIs and women's participation in it is both a site of women's subordination to mass perceptions as well as of their struggles and resistance. The state assumes women to be ‘free agents’, outside the boundaries of caste, class and religion and therefore fails to extend the support women need to exercise their full agency as elected representatives. Also, there are many structural and practical inadequacies that are being addressed through several non-profit organizations and campaigns like 'Mahila Rajsatta Andolan (MRA)' that play almost parallel roles to facilitate, strengthen and support EWRs to change the agenda of development, practice inclusive governance, and empower them to go beyond Panchayats.

Keywords: Political Participation, Panchayati Raj, Women’s Empowerment

Introduction
Historically women have been virtually excluded from politics or political power all over the world. Although women constitute half the population, they form an average of 11.6% of the world legislature (Shukla 2006). Even in Indian context, women constitute nearly 49 per cent of the population of which 80 per cent reside in rural areas. Since ages women have been deprived the opportunities to equally participate in social, political and cultural processes at any level. This is true for ‘Politics, more than any other realm, because of its condensation of power and authority has remained largely a monopoly of men’ (Molyneux 1986 as cited in Datta 2001). Governance is still viewed as exclusively the forte of men, and entry of women in the political domain is seen as disturbing the traditional notions of femininity.

Reservation for women is one of the most crucial issues in the current political discourse in contemporary India. Feminist argument for quotas/reservations for women in politics are based on two main arguments: the justice argument, following Phillips (1995), that democracy requires the inclusion of women and the difference argument that women bring different values and interests to politics than men do (Lovenduski 2001). It advocates the case for creating equal opportunity in order to make real the formal equality given by the Constitution (Menon 2000, 2004). Feminists, in India and internationally, and the
development community have identified the presence of women in representative institutions as an important goal, following earlier attention to economic and social dimensions of women’s empowerment. It has been argued that women have been given power but not seen as political entities. The oppressive dynamics of caste and class hierarchies in combination with gender inequality, work negatively for women. Even today, the women’s role is considered to be in the private domain (e.g., as wives and mothers) associated with household, reproductive work and femininity, while men play predominantly in the public sphere of political authority, decision making, productive work and masculinity. The gender relations are both constituted by practices and ideologies, in interaction with other structures of social hierarchy such as class, caste, religion, ethnicity and race.

In a landmark move in April 1993, the 73rd constitutional amendment made provision for quotas for women, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes that intended to give voice, influence the present structures, solve the problems of lack of uniform structure, dominance of upper castes, vested interests, irregular elections and frequent super sessions. By 1995, states across the nation had implemented requisite changes, and the first round of election saw the creation of 226,188 village Panchayats with 3,198,554 members; 5736 intermediate Panchayats with 151,412 members and 467 district Panchayats with 17,935 members. Thus with the implementation of the act it has brought almost a million women in governance (Jayal 2009).

**Experience of EWRs**

The situation created by the act was so drastic that it brought out women straight from the kitchen into the fray of politics and governance with/ without much training or experience in public life. It has facilitated women’s entry into decision-making structures to provide them with opportunities to transform legal, political, economic, and social systems.

However, it is equally important to understand the context in which quotas were provided to women. The situation in most villages showed that the power was within the hands of a few individual(s) or group(s) belonging to dominant caste/ class backgrounds. There are instance where these individuals have remained in power as Sarpanch/ members for more than 30 – 40 years. The village governance flourished on vested interests and others never challenged them, as they hardly dreamed of taking this place.

In many villages, the Gram Panchayat office was locked for years, even the locks were rusted and the keys long lost. If open, only men power holders and their followers used it according to their convenience. It served as a place for playing cards, gambling, drinking, or even used as a private property for storing food grains by the Patils/ powerful groups. Common villagers hardly accessed it and rarely understood its role in village development. The concentration of power was strong and people followed these male leaders blindly.

GP during that period was so alien to most men it can be understood how women could never feel any sense of ownership towards it. There were very few women who were part of the Panchayats and even they had no say or involvement in governance/ village development activities. Most of these women were then posited for their male counterparts (husband, father, son, father-in-law/ others), who very often attended her duties. As a result women were considered as proxy members, and new appellations like ‘Sarpanch Pati’ were used to describe these men, who worked on behalf of their women.
Majority of the 1st generation EWRs were poorly educated and failed to avail opportunities to seek information that would prove useful in governing the village (MRA 2002). They fought bitter struggles and faced the brunt of the politically dominated society, which was finding it difficult to digest the fact that women are now going to step out of their restricted world and step into the ‘male’ domain. They were kept away from the official meetings, not allowed to express, forced to act as ‘dummy/proxy’ leaders, and the active ones were ridiculed by some and terrorized by others. These women lacked supportive systems and faced endless challenges to assert their rights.

On the other hand the 2nd generation EWRs learnt and organized themselves better in terms of their roles and responsibilities. They had learnt from the past experiences of their own and that of the 1st generation women leaders. While adjusting to the challenging situations they also focused on devising new methods and approaches. They were better in understanding the village needs. However, there was a natural change in the strategies used by the opposition and there were increased cases of incidents of violence, humiliation, character assassination, etc against women leaders. As a result many women have given up hopes of entering politics while a few have emerged stronger and more determined than before.

The experience so far shows how this integration of women into the governance system is a story of endless struggle. Reservation was then introduced in an already complex and hierarchical village scenario embedded in male domination and patriarchy. The state assumes women to be ‘free agents’, outside the boundaries of caste, class and religion and therefore fails to extend the support women need to exercise their full agency as elected representatives. It is argued that mere reservation of seats for women is not an ultimate answer to the issue of women’s political representation, but it is crucial to analyze whether women representatives in political decision making have any ‘real’ power...and what are the efforts required for making them active/ efficient leaders. Though reservation enabled physical presence of women in the local bodies, their real participation in decision-making continues to be made difficult thanks to non-cooperation by other members and officials, patriarchy, caste and class etc. Women are still considered to be back-door entrants who have gained entry because of reservations and therefore are not easily accepted as representatives. At the same time, there is also overwhelming anticipation and they are expected to prove themselves. High cost of electioneering, improper and illegal practices, violence and corruption are some reasons that prevent women from participating in politics. On the other hand there are normative inadequacies of existing social structures whether or not simply reserving seats for women is sufficient to overcome the rigid social and cultural barriers that women face and which disallows their participation in the public sphere.

The state has failed to conceptualize and facilitate rural women’s leadership and make for barriers faced by them and other marginalized communities. Apart from the basic training offered to newly elected women representatives in PRI which being residential in nature fails to enlist women’s active participation, several issues like patriarchy, illiteracy, violence, corruption, caste-class domination, etc were unaddressed and unplanned. The policy makers failed to visualize and evaluate the transformative potential of reservation and plan for the unexpected repercussions that would occur due to the inclusive nature of democratic decentralization.

Role of nongovernmental organizations and development activists
These structural and practical inadequacies are being addressed and highlighted through intervention of several non-profit organizations and campaigns like 'Mahila Rajsatta
Andolan1 (MRA), Maharashtra that attempts to address issues of democratic decentralization, strengthen governance role of several development actors. Activities of organizations/campaigns like MRA that work at both policy & program level is crucial in terms of understanding the importance of their parallel facilitative roles for strengthening women’s governance, making EWRs conversant with the Panchayat laws, procedures, their rights, powers & functioning of the administrative structures. Their experience helps to understand that PRIs and women's participation in it is both a site of women's subordination to mass perceptions as well as of their struggles and resistance.

Several of MRAs initiatives and interventions like policy/media advocacy, training/capacity building programs, crisis support, struggle documentation, publications and information dissemination for EWRs have changed the face of grassroots governance in Maharashtra. For instance, activities like ‘Gram Panchayat Darshan’ – a preliminary planned educational trip for women’s groups and EWRs to GP office helps in multiple ways by acquainting them with the day to day functioning of the Panchayats, enhancing their technical know-how and generate more awareness on the roles and responsibilities of people’s representatives. Or policy demand of Mahila Gram Sabha – a separate women’s gram sabha was initiated based on the field experience and grassroots realities where women were invited to the General Gram Sabha but their views and opinions were not considered important. It was observed that women's participation in decision making was further hampered by an overall negative environment which was non-supportive due to the deeply rooted caste, class and patriarchal structures. Even active women leaders deferred posing their views/ideas in front of their husbands/fathers-in-law or other male counterparts. This adversely affected their ability to participate in, and engage with, decision making processes so Mahila Sabha made it possible to make for these limitations.

These and many other strategic activities like ‘Felicitation and Appreciation programs of newly elected representatives/supportive husbands/families’; Trainings like ‘BOSS Course, Women Leader Workshop, Perspective building Workshop’; awareness building campaigns like ‘Joint House Ownership Campaign’, Campaign on implementation of 10 % & 15% reserved budget, ‘Show us Accounts Campaign’; publication of Savitri Gatha, Karbharni Annual/quarterly magazine; formation of PRI Trainers Collective; Crisis Support Teams or Bi-annual conventions etc have helped thousands of EWRs to effectively work, changing socio-cultural fabric of the society, and helped them to develop confidence to face crises and plan their political careers.

For instance to quote a few of these positive examples2, Mayatai Sorte (a Dalit Gram Panchayat Member, Wadwal, Latur) entered Panchayats in the first term of reservation as an active SHG leader. But with MRAs guidance, support and her own will she has several commendable achievements one of them being lifting the ban on temple entry for Dalit community and fight against other caste based discriminatory practices in her village.

On the other hand, Meeratai Raoolkar (Former Dalit Sarpanch, Yelga, Buldhana) went to the extent of pawning her own gold jewellery to pay the outstanding village electricity bills to solve severe water crises. After the payment of taxes she hired two people on daily wages with instruments and visited the defaulters with a direct approach, “either pay now or I will disconnect your water supply”. This had an immediate effect as people came forward and paid their dues and with recovery she also got her jewellery released from the gold smith.
Janabai Desai (Former Sarpanch, Walunjwadi, Mahableshwar) is honored with a presidential award for her commendable development work as her village received first prize of Nirmal Gram Yojana (Clean Village Scheme). Before getting elected in 2003, there was no election for panch/Sarpanch in her village for last fifty years. For a class III fail woman who could barely put her signature, Janabai shouldered all her responsibilities of supporting the family single handedly due to untimely death of her husband. When her children settled down, Janabai had only one mission and that was to bring about total transformation of her village.

Jyoti Mehshram (Former Dalit Sarpanch, Potgal, Gadchiroli) is post graduate in social work. Within seven months of her tenure, she faced motion of no-confidence only because she was a Dalit woman. She faced a lot of abuse and humiliation on an everyday basis where other Panchayat members refused to cooperate with her. She won her post back and used the strategy of formation of self help groups in her village to develop rapport with women and built a strong supportive base. Presently she aims to contest Panchayat Samiti and Zillah Parishad elections.

Vanita Kirpan (Backward Class Sarpanch, Kirpan, Nagpur) a graduate in Arts, has faced immense challenges in her village to ban liquor/alcohol which made life miserable especially for women and children. She along with other women faced foul abuses, humiliation and hostility/stiff resistance from male members and liquor lobby who even tried to manipulate her husband. Vanitatai handled the situation bravely and believes that the support of family is essential for being successful in politics but beyond that women must raise their visions and aspirations to leave a mark of their contribution on the village administration”.

Anjanatai Amrutsagar (Former Dalit Woman Sarpanch, Shirgao Visapur, Sangli) has not only developed her village through implementation of schemes worth a crore rupees during her tenure but has gone beyond Panchayats and formed a good Lezhim group3, of 12 women in the age group of 25 to 50 belonging to Dalit, Muslim, Maratha, and other caste communities. These women help each other, come together to solve village issues, and even work on issues of violence against women through the formation of Sexual Harassment Committee at the Gram Panchayat level. Taking inspiration from her work, women from her neighboring villages like Dhavali have formed a Zhanj Paathak group (Zhanj a traditional instrumental played in temples), or women from Aamnapur have also started a Lezhim group.

Conclusion
There are endless other faces in MRA like Ratnamalatai, Maltitai Sagne, Vimaltai Agglave, Kushawarta Bele, Latifabhahi, Fulmatai Belsare etc who have redefined women’s leadership and empowerment and changed the meaning of development. These stories show why it is important to look at these struggles from a women’s point of view considering several stereotypes and misconceptions regarding women’s leadership still capture mass imagination, making for women’s participation a matter of doubt and distrust. Each of these empowered women have fought their battles individually and chartered a different course for themselves. Each of them has a different story to tell of hopes, pains, motivations, demoralization and several failures, but still many of them have succeeded in proving their mettle against all odds. They have brought in new values in governance and challenged the traditional stereotypes. They have proved that there is a direct relation between political power and social issues. The biggest contribution of these women is imbibing the feeling that elected representatives have to be committed to improve the living conditions of the people.
The consent and space for women’s entry in politics comes with a long list of ‘conditions apply’ that women have to abide by. She has to sign where her husband directs her to, seek no answers, make no attempt to understand the system and if she is still interested in her work, she has to first take care of her household responsibilities, children and then set out to take care of the society. Many families/ husbands initially support these EWRs, help her but later when she proves her efficiency, their male ego prefers her to be the same old docile woman. This is one major reason why women in village politics continuously dread any action that would set off a negative reaction. It is true that effectiveness of EWRs is not just the contribution of MRA but a combination of multiple factors like their own will, endless efforts and mutual learning processes etc. But spaces like MRA are needed for that extra push, support and motivation to attain their full potential.

Notes
1 MRA was initiated by Resource and Support Centre for Development (RSCD) Mumbai, in collaboration with its regional networks in Maharashtra in the year 2000 to strengthen and support EWRs, to change the agenda of development, practice inclusive governance and empower women to go beyond Panchayats.
2 All the case studies/ narratives are excerpts from “Towards Empowerment” (2008) – compiled by Shubhada Chaukar, Param Mitra Publications.
3 Lezhim - Lezhim is a traditional form of sport/ dance in Maharashtra that is mostly performed by men. It is usually performed in front of the marriage processions. Women are hardly encouraged to play Lezhim.

References
Democratic Governance and Gender Issues in India

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Abstract
Democratic governance seeks to promote greater participation of marginalised groups within political process, through addressing inequalities associated with gender, class, race, ethnicity, caste, disability, and sexuality among other variables, and greater accountability of governments towards those who have traditionally been excluded from political action. When thinking about the relationship between political participation and gender equality, women in various national contexts continue to face a number of barriers to their political participation. Politics always has been considered as a man dominated area. For centuries women in both developed and developing countries have been excluded from political activities. The legacy of such historical exclusions lives on, with women vastly under – represented in local and national governing bodies In India. The paper focuses on the challenges and opportunities associated with women’s participation in national and local policies. It explores not only how women’s participation in electoral politics can be increased but also how transformative gender –oriented policies and programmes can be implemented and maintained. Indeed, gender equality and social justice must constitute one of the core pillars of democratic governance.

Keywords: Gender Equality, Political Participation, Democracy

Introduction
Democracy combines a heightened awareness and community level with demands for the basic necessities of life such as the provision of public services; it is associated principally with people's rule, political freedom, equality of out comes and community right. The normative meaning of democracy derives from the western liberal tradition with an emphasis on its procedural dimensions, namely competitive electoral politics, the rule of law, institutional accountability, the protection of civil rights, and the freedom of speech and information. And the Governance relates to a set of rules, institutions, and values that are involved in the management of state and society. It is a generic term which could mean good government or management, the governance values, types of government, the nature of political process, the political parties and organization. If democratic governance is to be realized in practice, it should combine institutional accountability and transparency with the incorporation of policy measures that address the empirical thought of gender inequality. A citizen centeric concept of democratic governance affirms the ethical principle of gender equality and equalitarian distribution of power between men and women. The idea of gender-just society expands the idea of democracy as a representative participatory, accountable and transparent process involving the active participation of a constituency that has been historically and politically marginalized. Gender equality, accordingly is not an ‘addition’ but an essential condition of democracy.

Women’s leadership and effective participation is increasingly on the development agenda of governments, bilateral and multilateral agencies, and non-governmental organization, including women’s rights groups. Evidence from programmes and research demonstrates the important role women play as key actors and decision-makers in the development process across a wide range of sectors. In the political arena in particular, there is growing
momentum among governments to foster and ensure women's participation and leadership in government structure. Establishing quotas for women's representation at different levels of governance has been a strategic tactic in achieving this goal in many countries.³

Women and Politics in India

The status of women in India has been subject of many great changes over the past few millennia, from equal status with men in ancient times through the low points of the medieval period, to the promotion of equal rights by many reformers, the history of women in India has been eventful. In modern India, women have adorned high offices in India including that of the president, prime minister, speaker of Lok Sabha and the leader of the opposition. As of 2011, the president of India, the speaker of the Lok Sabha are all women. Today, India has some good women leader like Sonia Gandhi, Jayalalitha, Mamta Bannerji and Mayawati etc. Some of them head important and strong regional political parties both outside and in national government. The roots of the Indian women's movement go back to the 19th century male social reformers who took up issues concerning women and started women's organization. Women started forming their own organization from the end of the 19th Century first of the local and then at the national level.⁴ In ancient India, women enjoyed considerable freedom so far as political, social and educational activities, were concerned and these enjoyed a status and prestige participating in the political activities. Scriptures like Rig Veda mentions many women sages and seers like Gargi and Maitreyee. But the rights of women was gradually diminished in the later vedic period. The Indian women's position in the society further deteriorated during the medieval period when sati partha among some communities, Child marriages and a ban on widow remarriages became part of social life among some communities in India. The Muslim conquest in the Indian subcontinent brought the purdah practice in the Indian society. Among the Rajputs of Rajashan, the Johar was practiced. In some parts of India, the devdasis or the temple women were practiced especially among Hindu Kshatriya rulers.⁵ Even in those of social backwardness times, there were few women who were smart and brave enough to showcase the world, their political skills. Some of them were, Razia Sultana, only woman to have ever rulled Delhi; Durgavati, the queen of Gond who ruled for 50 years; Jijabai, mother of great Shivaji; Nur Jahan, wife of Jahangir; Chand Bibi who defended against the mighty Akbar.

Times changes, India moved into the hands of European especially Britishers. The British influence was positive in the direction of women's upliftment. The close contacts with western cultural tradition, literature and education affected very deeply the minds of the Indian leaders. The leaders and the social reformers of significance who were in the forefront of the struggle for women's emancipation were Raja Ram Mohan Ray, Ishwar Chandra Vidhyasagar, Swami Dyanand Saraswati, Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi and such others. These social reformers felt the social evils can be eradicated by raising consciousness and making people sensitive.⁶

An organized independence movement started in India with the advent of Indian National congress (INC) in 1885. The period from 1885 to 1947 produce many great woman political leaders. Some of them were Annie Besant, Sarojini Naidu, Bhikaji Cama, Vijyalakshmi Pandit, Aruna Asaf Ali, Sucheta Kriplani, Kasturba Gandhi etc. The movement for independence also gave rise to the question of women's suffrage. Regarding women's rights, at its Calcutta session in 1917, Annie Besant and few other women met Mr. Montague to demand voting rights for Indian women. With the beginning of the 20th Century a number of organizations exclusively for women approved among high-costs or elite women. The all India women's conference, The National Council for Women, Women's Association of
Madras etc. came into existence. Thousands of women joined the salt Satyagraha, which is generally remarked as the first time masses of India women got involved in the struggle for independence.⁷

Beyond any doubt, the active participation of women in the political struggles for independence consummated in a constitution based on the principle of equality and guaranteeing equal rights to suffrage for women in the year 1947 itself.

Thus, the foundation of political participation of women was laid down during the national movement. The transfer of power from British to India's hand gave women opportunity to participate in democratic process. Large number of legal, social and economic measures has been taken up by the independent government to raise the status of women in India. The constitution of India, one of the greatest documents ever produced came into force in the year 1950 guarantee justice, liberty and equality to all citizens. Specific articles and amendments have been enacted to ensure that women and children enjoy the constitutional rights. The constitutions not only grants equality of treatment to women but also calls upon the state to adopt measures favoring women neutralizing the socio-economic, educational and political disadvantages that they face. The articles of the constitution, which impinge on our subject of enquiry are Article 14,15,16 under part III, Articles 39,42,44, under part IV, Article 51-A (C) under part IV A and Article 246, under part XI are noteworthy.⁸ The constitutions (73rd Amendment Act) enacted in 1992, calls for the reservation of a minimum of one-third of seats for women (both as members and as chairpersons) within all of India's locally elected governance bodies commonly referred to as Panchyati Raj Institution (PRI). In 2007, the government of India approved a 50 percent reservation for women in PRI's any many states including Rajasthan and Odisha have banned similar legislation.

Obstacles to Women's Participation
However, in spite of these constitutional and legal provisions, the ground reality is that women have not obtained adequate and proportionate representation in the legislative and other decision-making bodies. For true equality to become a reality for women, the sharing of power on equal terms with men is essential. But the reality is that women continue to be marginally represented even in the areas where various policies have a direct impact on them. There is still a great gap between constitutional guarantee and the actual representation of women in the political system in India. India may be an emerging economic powerhouse, but as far as the state of women is concerned, India needs a lot of catching up to do with neighbors such as Pakistan and Bangladesh and Nepal when it comes to women's participation in politics.⁹ With only 11 percent of representation of women in Lok Sabha and 10.7 percent in Rajya Sabha, India ranks 105th in the world, according to the largests comparative data released by the inter-parliament union (an international organization that works for promoting democracy in the world). India, the world's largest democracy, has only 59 women lawmakers in the current 543 members Lok Sabha, while there are 27 women MPs out of 240 members in Rajya Sabha at present.¹⁰ Table No. 1.1 and 1.2 present the number of women candidates in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha in 2011.

It is a fact that the real status and the real level of political participation of women cannot be analyzed in isolation. On the contrary it is inter-linked with the socio-economic condition, political climate, and it inequalities inherent in the traditional social structure, its norms and values, customs and rituals. According to Hema Lata Swarup, women's lives in India and the world over are circumscribed by what can be termed as five 'Ps', Patriarchy, Productive
resources access inadequacy, Poverty, Promotion and advancement insufficiency and Powerlessness.¹¹

Women who want to enter politics find that the political, public, cultural and social environment in often unfriendly or even hostile to them. Even a quick glance at the current composition of political decision makers in any region provides evidence that women still face numerous obstacles in articulating and shaping their own interests. The political climate as it exists today continue to be male centered and is therefore perceived to be conducive to male participation. Women are not treated as a political entity in their own right.

They have been treated by political parties and other power groups as a means to further their own interests and gains. This is evinced by the declining number of women candidates fielded during the elections, despite promises made by political parties in their manifestoes to provide reservation of seat for women.¹² Secondly, the masculine model of polities is also another obstacle in the way to political participation of women in India. Men largely dominate the political arena, largely formulate the rules of political game, and often define the standards for evaluation. Furthermore, political life is organized according to male norms and values, and in some cases even male lifestyles. For instance, politics is often based on the idea of 'winners and losers', competition and confrontation, rather than on systematic collaboration and consensus, especially across party line. It may often result in women either rejecting politics altogether or rejecting male-style politics. Thus, when women do participation in politics, they tend to do in small numbers.¹³

Patriarchal ideas that politics is a 'men's activity' (and that women's place remains in 'the Kitchen') function powerfully to prevent women from both running and succeeding as political candidates in India. The socio-economic status of women in society has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected bodies. Women, and especially poor women, often face significant financial barriers to their political participation. Because, in most context, running for election for local, and especially national, government requires that a candidate access substantial financial resources. Besides these, the ideological and psychological hindrances for women in entering parliament include gender ideology; cultural patterns; lack of education; predetermined social roles assigned to women and men; women's lack of confidence to stand for elections; and women's perception of politics as a 'dirty' game etc.¹⁴

Strategies for Change
As the discussion above has shown, the challenges to women's increased participation in formal politics are significant. However, they should not be seen as permanent or insurmountable. Because when the initial distribution of resources is unequal, the society cannot hope that mere existence of an abstract principle of equality will be sufficient to secure equality of reward and the absence of discrimination. Real equality demand the elimination of social disadvantages, the potential of real and equal opportunity and the actual realisation of the opportunity in the form of equal reward. A just society demands non-discriminatory practices and balance in its social and political structure. To redress gender imbalances, society must incorporate women's perspective. Achieving gender-equality on a broader societal scale requires the election of candidates who are specifically committed to transformative gender-oriented goals. It is clear that the positive change will not occur without the will of state. Top-down action on the part of government and political parties is required both to increase the number of women representatives elected to national and local government to ensure that positive gender-oriented policies are developed and meaningfully
Besides these, women have to change their mode of approach to political participation, if they aspire for substantial representation in the legislative bodies. Women from all strata of society should join political parties of their choice and correct the disparity in the male-female ratio in the parties at the grassroots level, as well as in the executive bodies.

**Representation through Reservation**

Various strategies have been proposed to further the political representation of women in India. The women's bill in April 2010, which gives 33.5% reservation for women in all levels of Indian politics, took 14 years after its introduction to finally passed by Rajya Sabha. It is yet to be passed by the Lok Sabha. The reservation bill will ensure 181 out of the 543 seats at the Parliament level, and 1,370 seats out of the 4,109 seats at the state Assembly level. It will create a both for women from lower classes and castes to enter state and national level governments. Through this bill, women's present at the decision making level will not only enhance the status of women but will also strengthen democratic traditions and make democracy more meaningful in fighting injustice and oppression while at the same time help to bring a different explicitly female perspective to the political arena.

But there is a long way to go to for the enactment of the bill. Political parties are using this issue to woo women voters. No political party is seriously committed to the issue of reservation for women. A critical mass of women is perquisite for effective political participation of women.

The limited nature of female participation and representation in national decision-making institutions has important consequences for women and for the legitimacy of the institutions. Where women constitute half of the population in a political system which supports equality and where both women and men are legally eligible for political office, women's participation should be equal to that of men. Because the political participation is the key to democratic system, it is the essence of democracy. Truly representative democracy implies more than the equality of opportunity just as it is more that the right to vote, it requires equality of reward which in not just the potential but the actual attainment of power, position and remuneration. Parity between the sexes with respect to both equality of opportunity and of reward is the ultimate objective of a just political process.

**Notes & References**

5. Ibid
7. Ibid
10 The Indian Express, March 29, 2013.
12 NIAS, op.cit. n. 7, p.10.

Table No. 1: No. of Women Contestants and Women elected in General Elections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Election</th>
<th>Total No. of Women Candidates</th>
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Source: Lok Sabha Website and Wikipedia
**Table No. 2: Women Number of Rajya Sabha and their percentage (1980-2012)**

<table>
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**Source:** *Lok Sabha Website and Wikipedia*
Abstract
The proposed paper would explore the possibility of the role of women to construct a new world order as an area of study. It is worth noticing that in spite of the fact that the human society has undergone a long course of evolution the search for a new world order is still on. This makes it obvious that the existing order is not acceptable to us in all respect. So the attempts are on to theorise the pattern of new society and the feminists also have come forward to contribute in this project. Here, the inclusionist program of liberal feminists engaged in building up a deliberative democratic model depending on experiences derived from women’s lives has been taken up to consider. The new world order would be designed by identifying the areas of social and political discrimination of all sorts and making maximum scope for inclusion of discriminated, marginalised groups of people in the decision-making processes. The liberal feminists reframe the ideals of deliberative democracy in their own terms. The ideals of inclusion, political equality, reasonableness receive new dimensions on their interpretation. The introduction of nurturance as a political ideal makes their political thought quite different from others. They emphasise on the role of persuasion, dialogue, listening to others’ need, emotion in order to construct a successful system of deliberation promoting justice. With such a deliberative democratic polity the feminists hope to achieve the ideal of justice, equality, neutrality in social order.

Keywords: new world order, inclusionist programme, feminist attempt, deliberative democracy, nurturance

Need for a new world order
Any endeavour regarding the construction of a new world order is based on the assumption that the existing order is not properly working, that it is not satisfactorily sensitive to everyone’s need in the society. The feeling that we are not comfortable with the present world order pushes us towards the exploration of the best workable possibilities concerning this issue. If we look at the history of intellectual enterprises of human race we would find that from time to time various attempts have been made to build up an ideal or a model aiming at the construction of a new world order since the very days of Plato. Time and again different theories stating ideal conditions for society vis-a-vis State have been put forward but the social reality has hardly changed. Human history has been found to repeat itself. The dominant order prevailing in the major parts of the world for ages may be characterised as exclusive, oppressive, discriminatory, hierarchical, patriarchal, and as practising centrisn in different forms. Recent studies are engaged to show that such a social order is based on the oppressive trend embedded in dominant conceptual structures of western thought.

Feminist attempts: Inclusionist programme
With the inception of feminist movement in the west the world has started to experience an overflow of endeavours of theory-building with the vision to design a new world order. There have been numerous attempts in this direction that amount to be a heterogeneous collection of blueprints for setting up of the new order. In spite of their differences of opinion about the plan of action to change the existing structure all the feminists unanimously identify the issue
of exclusion of women and other marginalised groups of society from the dominant order both at the conceptual level as well as at the level of practice. Now the question as to how this fault can be rectified has been addressed broadly from two different feminist stances, namely, liberal and radical, depending on their respective philosophical positions.

The liberal camp emphasises on inclusion into an existing social structure without challenging it or aiming at the throwing away of the old system to invoke a new one. For the liberals, feminist theory which is an extension of traditional mainstream theoretical scheme gets reflected in feminist praxis accordingly. The feminists working within the liberal framework identify areas of marginalisation of women and other oppressed groups in society and try to make more and more opportunities to include the so far marginalised peoples into the decision-making procedure. They hope to detect and eradicate all modes of social discrimination including gender difference, and achieve a bias-less world order. So the feminist project as a transient one is about social justice and not only about women. The issue of social justice encompasses the spheres of political, economic, and other social institutions. So one of the necessary conditions for ensuring social justice, following the liberal line, is to achieve inclusion into the political institutions and therefore, feminists put democracy into a different light as to achieve their goals.

Deliberative model of democracy
In the modern trends of political thought democracy is believed to be the best workable political scheme for preventing the abuses of power by the rulers, for providing opportunities, in principle, to all members of a society to influence the decision-making procedure securing their own interests. It is the best political means for confronting injustice and promoting justice. Democratic polity is seen to be the best possible system for maximising the realisation of the principle of justice by minimising unjust conditions in a society. In spite of its high theoretical commitments democracy is often practised as a tool for marginalising some people and groups perpetuating inequalities, injustice in society. But there is a variety of democratic models which are at work throughout the world of which some can promote greater inclusion in decision-making processes to ensure justice at large. The deliberative model, so called by many theorists, offers important ideals promoting inclusive programmes.

According to this model, democratic process is primarily seen as a public discussion of common problems, conflicts, and claims of need or interest. The democratic process resolves, at best, the conflict not only by majority will through coercion or threat but by desilencing and incorporating minority voices through dialogue. The decision-making procedure is not guided by the numerical strength of preferential support but by the soundness of reason supporting the preferences. Thus this model involves deliberation among people and not just a silent counting of individual nods, and entails several normative ideals such as, inclusion, political equality, reasonableness, and like.

The ideal of inclusion claims that a democratic decision should be taken only by a process of discussion and decision-making that includes all those affected by it. “Affected” here means that policies and decisions significantly condition a person’s options for action. As it stands, democratic ideal should normatively imply political equality. All those affected should be included in decision-making on equal terms. The deliberative model should promote free and equal opportunity to speak. This can be guaranteed only by another condition, namely, freedom from domination. All the participants in an ideal deliberative process must enjoy equality in the sense that none of them is in a position to coerce or threaten others in the course of taking decisions. Thus, inclusion in conjunction with political equality provides for
optimum expression of interests, opinions, and perspectives to the problems for the solution of which a public is engaged in a deliberative dialogue. In this context, reasonableness is suggested to refer to a set of dispositions that, participants of a deliberation process, have. Reasonable debaters must have an open mind. To be reasonable is to welcome change, to listen to others, to exhibit deliberative uptake.

**Feminist version of deliberative democracy**

A group of feminists prefers to make use of the deliberative democratic model with its various instruments to bring about a new world order which caters justice, political equality beyond social differences and a bias-free, accommodative system. These feminists attempt to present a deliberative model designed in their terms drawn from women’s experience. Thus they introduce, in the sphere of political discourse, the ideal of *nurturance* as a specific form of making the others’ good one’s own. Women’s lived experience related to their socialisation and the role of mothering shape them in a way that they develop a competence to accommodate diverse even opposite desires of others. They learn how to listen to others, how to identify their own good with that of others. Women build their identities through relationship with others which is capable of providing a broader self-definition needed for a democratic model. Women’s experience of attachment with others and that of subordination seem to teach them to value relationships more than men do. Women speak less in public and listen more. They have, for generations, been trained to be a good listener. The skill of listening helps in a better way to take decisions.

The inclusive project of feminism depends, for its effective implementation, on how the aim of transforming an “I”, an autonomous, independent self into a “we”, a relational self, is achieved. The transformation that is very much in tune with deliberative theory can be achieved only through redefining certain concepts in feminist terms. The theorists suggest that deliberation must be deliberation on the common good. That is to say, in this sense, deliberation must be defined in terms of “we”. Thus by reshaping the concepts of self, other, and self-other (“we”) the feminists reconstruct the ideal of common good so that differentiated interests can be addressed without compromising equality. The feminist theory of self conceives of the nature of self as a relational self where self and other stand in a hyphenated mode of connection. This view replaces autonomous, independent self with a self that is relationally defined in terms of others. In this scheme self and other do not belong to two different realms rather they share a common frame of reference. So the ideal of common good seems to be achieved with much more ease.

When the deliberative model upholds the ideal of common good it is susceptible to the charge of ignoring social differences on the basis of gender, race, class, sexuality, or religion. That is why a feminist deliberative theory must pay special attention to differences of social position, structured power and cultural affiliation in decision-making that is committed to the ideal of justice. The notion of common good should be defined in such a manner as to be responsive and sensitive to differences resulting into various forms of oppression and unjust inequalities. The polity that addresses these social differences should make use of the political claims asserted from the specificity of social group position as a resource for the democratic communication striving for justice.

**Introduction of ‘nurturance’ as new political ideal**

*Nurturance* as feminist political ideal aims at a politics without power, a system devoid of domination. In their discourse of politics the feminists carry over their experiences of motherhood. Many believe that it is possible for women to enrich the field of politics by
bringing out the perspective of motherhood to public domain, by dethroning power and invoking persuasion. A necessary corrective to existing political system may be suggested by providing “win/win” situation that talks about “integration” and not domination. An integrative model does not require anybody to sacrifice anything for others at the same time to curb interests of others. Thus this model takes care of the interests of both self and its other. The interests of minorities and marginalised peoples would be addressed by respecting their different identities from the majority of the society. The ideals of equality and difference would be achieved along with a decentralised, distributive power structure which is supposed to be non-dominant, non-oppressive. By securing non-dominant, non-oppressive conditions in a society some feminists hope to build up a new system which would be non-hierarchical, non-oppositional, non-centric, unbiased in spirit. The social practices perpetuating the old values would gradually be revised and rejected with time and would be replaced by such a liberating and accommodative social order.

The feminist ideal of deliberative democracy putting the ideal of nurturance at the centre naturally emphasises on the critical role of emotion in deliberation or debates in addition to the reasonableness as a norm. A deliberation cannot hope to succeed by keeping emotion out of it. Emotion rather than reason goes better with inclusive, integrative solutions. A communication with the intervention of emotion takes the form of dialogue which is persuasive but not a means of exerting power, and which upholds the ‘talking with’ instead of ‘talking to’ pattern of interaction. Moreover, an inclusive democratic theory needs an expanded notion of political communication empowered by emotional ability in addition to the role of argument. With the presence of emotion a communication becomes sensitive, responsive to all the party involved thereof. Through such a communicative mode, it seems to be possible, to achieve the world order with the desired features.

Thus with the enriched resources derived from their motherly and feminine lived experiences women are in a position to look at the world from a different point of view. By considering the existing world order with a variant outlook they interpret the problems embedded in it in a different language and attempt to resolve the problems with a difference. The feminists and women working on this project aspire to offer an ideal of new world order that would be free from all the possible and predictable shortcomings of the presently dominant social systems.

References
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Panchayat Extension to Schedule Areas Act 1996: 
Road to Self-Governance

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Abstract
PESA, Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 is the most important law meant for the Adivasis (natives of India) that can radically change the socio-political landscape of India, only if it is implemented honestly. PESA was enacted in 1996 which extended part IX of the Constitution to Sch. V Areas, and provided for people-centric governance and people’s control over community resources and their life, with a central role to the Gram Sabha. The pressure on natural resources in these areas continued due to the large projects being set up therein and unscrupulous elements indulging in illegal mining & forest felling. Land alienation and exploitation also continued. This led to dislocation of the communities and loss of major sources of livelihood and also increased vulnerability and disenchantment with governance.

For effective implementation of PESA powers had been conferred to the Gram Sabhas to enable self-rule in these areas. Generally PESA areas and their vicinity, suffer from extremism. The rights, livelihood and habitat of the people in these Areas, therefore, continue to be under stress, leading to disaffection with the system. According to the approach paper to 12th plan, there is a case for creating a special arrangement whereby in the first two years of the Twelfth Plan funds can be unconditionally released for all these districts to facilitate the speedy implementation of PESA.

Keywords: PESA, Self-Governance, Panchayats, Schedule Areas

PESA: The Legislation
The offshoot of the 73rd amendment to the constitution of India, which institutionalized the existing form of local governance in the country, The Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas), Act, 1996 (Hereafter referred to as PESA) was implemented to modify the existing legislation of local governance to suit the needs of the tribal areas as 73rd amendment excluded the areas covered by the Fifth and Sixth Schedules. The areas under Fifth Schedule, as per Article 244 of Indian Constitution, covers the Scheduled and Tribal areas other than the areas of the Sixth Schedule i.e. Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Nagaland and Mizoram.

Enacted on 24th December, 1996, PESA was the key legislation for the governance measures with respect to the Fifth Schedule areas of the Constitution of India. The Act is extended to all the notified scheduled areas located in nine States of the country. (i) Andhra Pradesh (ii) Chhattisgarh (iii) Gujarat (iv) Himachal Pradesh (v) Jharkhand (vi) Madhya Pradesh (vii) Maharashtra (viii) Orissa and (ix) Rajasthan.

Tribal communities make up 8.2% or approximately 8 in 100 Indians an economically and culturally vulnerable and distinctive group. The act provides necessary powers to the tribal communities to safeguard and preserve the traditions and customs of the people, their cultural identity, community resources and the customary mode of dispute resolution. This act was a long awaited relief to the tribal communities which were the most exploited and neglected
class since colonial times, though after independence schedule five and schedule six were incorporated in the constitution to address the governance needs of the tribal areas but in spirit not much was done to address the core issues of tribal areas. “PESA is innovative because it legally recognizes the capacity of tribal communities to strengthen their own systems of self-governance or create new legal spaces and institutions that can not only reverse centuries of external cultural and political onslaught but can also create the opportunities to control their own destiny.”

Genesis of PESA
With the insertion of 73rd and 74th constitutional amendment in the Constitution, the panchayati raj system in the country was institutionalised to ensure the decentralized governance in form of people’s direct participation in the development process, hence the state governments enacted the panchayat laws in a uniform manner across state, without taking into account the needs and requirements of scheduled areas. This move was challenged in the High Courts of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Maharashtra. The courts held the extension of State Panchayat Acts to the scheduled areas as ultra-vires of the Constitution and viewed that Part IX can be extended to scheduled areas only through an Act of parliament. “The judgment created an unprecedented situation as the formal institutions created under the new provisions of the Constitution were declared illegal and the traditional institutions of the tribal areas were unrecognized.”

Hence to cope up with the situation of governance crisis in the tribal areas, the Government of India, in June 1994, constituted a committee under the chairmanship of Dileep Singh Bhuria (then member of parliament) to make recommendations on the salient features of the law for extending provisions of Part XI of the Constitution to the Scheduled Areas. The committee submitted its report in February, 1995. “The report proved to be a benchmark in the tribal governance system of the country, the report made key recommendations on village governance, participatory democracy, community control over resources, suitable administrative framework, etc, for the schedule areas.”

Even after such key recommendations the ruling party was reluctant in giving the much sought relief to the tribal communities. In September, the tribal agitations reached its peak, so finally, Bhuria Committee recommendations, in diluted form, were drafted in to a law in December, 1996. The then minister for rural areas and employment, Kinjarapu Yerrannaidu accepted that "We have diluted the recommendations of the committee and accepted the suggestions from various quarters like ministers, state governments, etc. But in spite of this dilution, almost all the main points of Bhuria Committee remain and they will largely satisfy the needs and aspirations of the tribal people”.

Panchayats as the Institution for change
For effective implementation of the act special powers had been conferred to the panchayats to enable self rule in these areas, whether it be to preserve the traditions and customs of the tribal people, their cultural identity, community resources or it be the customary mode of dispute resolution. Panchayats were made the central figure being the third tier of governance, as the Dileep Singh Bhuria committee was in view that "While shaping the new panchayati raj structure in tribal areas, it is desirable to blend the traditional with the modern by treating traditional institutions as the foundations on which a modern supra structure should be built”.

The exhaustive nature of the legislation can be well noted, as it upholds the customary laws,
social and religious practices and community resource management of the concerned tribes. Constitution of gram sabhas and inclusion of names in the electoral rolls under section 4(c) points outs towards the self governance factor and further ensures the governance participatory in nature. The role of gram sabhas or the local institutions seems to be indispensible as vide section 4(d) the Gram Sabha of the village becomes the focal institution, endowed with significant powers to govern community resources, these powers makes these institutions as drivers of change as they remain the nodal point for identification or selection the beneficiaries of various poverty alleviation and other social beneficiary programmes/schemes.

Under Sec. 4 (m) (vi), the village assembly is empowered to monitor all state institutions within its jurisdiction e.g. schools, health centres etc, with the functionaries under its control. Sec. 4 (i), (j), (k) & (l) mark a departure from colonial laws like the Land Acquisition Act, Forest and Mining Acts, and ordain that communities must be consulted on acquisition of, or access to land and land based resources. They also affirm that the tribal community has the capability and competence to adjudicate on, and act in its wisdom to put an end to all exploitative relations including land alienation, money lending, market relations and alcohol trade. This establishes the supremacy of the gram sabha, whose power cannot be usurped by a superior body.6

Why PESA failed: Legislative Impediment or Implementation Gap
Since its implementation, PESA has provisions, which could have dented the governance pattern of schedule areas but “the state governments of all Fifth Schedule states, whether of the ruling party at the Centre or of the far larger number of parties in Opposition at the Centre, ranging from the communal to the communist, have all been uniformly guilty of denying to their Fifth Schedule tribal populations the full range of PESA rights notwithstanding each one of them having long years ago passed the required conformity legislation. Thus, their failure to sincerely and faithfully implement PESA is a betrayal of not only their respective tribal populations but also a repudiation of their pledges to their respective legislatures.”7

PESA would have moved from development delivery to empowerment; from implementation to planning; from circumscribed involvement to conscious participation (Prabhu, 2004) PESA’s implementation is a concern even after 17 years of its inception, recently the debate on governance in tribal areas intensified when 12th plan showed a deep concern regarding the implementation of the act, the plan paper mentioned “It was expected that PESA would lead to self-governance and empowerment of the people. However, the implementation of PESA is far from satisfactory. Most of the States have not framed rules for implementation of PESA so far”8 The approach paper out rightly blames the concerned states for lag in implementation of the act as its sincere implementation could have made the governance situation in tribal areas much better, as the dominating centralized structures and contradicting laws by the states dilutes the very essence of PESA, which in turn had resulted in “the continued dichotomy between the real needs of a majority of tribal and an exploitative governing structure.”9

Till date many studies had pointed out the operational gap of the PESA act in the scheduled areas:
• “One major impediment in operationalisation of PESA is the absence of a proper administrative definition of the village that is in consonance with the Act. All States, without exception, have continued with their earlier revenue definitions of the village.
Thereby, not only does a village at times consist of 10–12 scattered hamlets, but several revenue villages are clubbed together to form a Gram Panchayat. This effectively precludes the functioning of a ‘face to face’ community as envisaged in PESA and eliminates the likelihood of a functioning Gram Sabha, which could shoulder the responsibilities of a unit of self governance. This calls for some remedial steps.\textsuperscript{10}

- “The success of PESA hinges crucially on the effective functioning of the Gram Sabha. Today, even in tribal areas, there is no automaticity to the functioning of the Gram Sabha and there is a large measure of exclusion of women. With growing socioeconomic differentiation within and across Adivasi communities, there is also exclusion of those who are poorer or whose voice is weaker. To ensure that Gram Sabhas actually meet and become a vibrant fora of participatory democracy, as visualised under PESA, there is a need to facilitate this process by giving energy to it. This requires a dedicated cadre of social mobilisers at each GP level, specifically assigned with the task of mobilising the Gram Sabha and ensuring the effective participation of the marginalised, as also spreading greater awareness of laws such as PESA and Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act and key flagship programmes of the government.” \textsuperscript{11}

- “The another grave issue remains that on one hand various level of panchayats have been entrusted with powers to govern whereas on the other hand the state governments have power to control panchayats, the officers of state governments have power to inspect the proceedings of gramsabhas. Further, the State Government or the prescribed authority has the power to suspend the execution orders license etc. by a Panchayat on certain conditions”.

According to PESA, prior consultation with Gram Sabha or Panchayats at the appropriate level shall be made mandatory before acquisition of land for development projects. Here again the states have diluted PESA provisions. In Andhra Pradesh, Gram Sabhas have no role. Gujarat assigned this power to Taluka Panchayat. Orissa assigned the power to Zilla Panchayat with no role for the Gram Sabha/Gram Panchayat. Similarly PESA lays down that recommendations of Gram Sabha or the Panchayats at the appropriate level shall be made mandatory before grant of prospecting licence or mining lease for minor minerals. Here again Andhra Pradesh gives no role to Gram Sabha. Gujarat does not make any mention of it. Himachal Pradesh retained primacy of Gram Sabha but the term shall be made mandatory’ has been replaced by shall be taken into consideration’. Maharashtra assigns powers to Gram Panchayat, and Gram Sabha has no role in the matter. Orissa gives powers to Zilla Parishad, with no role for the Gram Sabha or the village panchayat.”\textsuperscript{12}

**Will it help?**

A Working Group of National Advisory Council(NAC) on PESA was set up to review the status of the application of PESA in the schedule areas, the Working Group had several rounds of consultations on the subject of PESA with Ministries of Panchayati Raj, Tribal Affairs, Rural Development, officials and various experts and prepared a set of recommendations. The group had come up with certain definitions to overcome the legal ambiguities in the prevailing act. It has inserted 18 subparts to prevailing section 2 of the act. The group, for the very first time has defined the “Access Rights” which gives the aboriginals, a strong hand in exploiting their own resources, moving ahead the draft mentions the ‘alienation of land’ as dispossession by denial of access as well. The draft gives a right of representation, whether it be oral or in writing to the competent authority, to a member of gram sabha. The draft has incorporated ‘prior informed consent’ of gram sabhas
in written form without any coercion as mandatory for all land acquisitions for development projects, this may give an upper hand to gram sabhas in protecting their lands and livelihoods, and in case the consent has been obtained through fraud, force, concealment, inducement or omission of information, Gram Sabhas and Panchayats have right to withdraw. The draft vide section 4 directs states not to make laws inconsistent with right, duties and powers, and empowers every gram sabha to “prepare a perspective plan of 5 years based on development needs and determine priorities of works/programmes to be undertaken., consider and approve plans, programs and projects for socio-economic development of all Government and Non-Government Agencies before they are taken up for implementation at the hamlet/ habitation level”.¹³

The draft endorses the importance of social audits, and provides for regular social audit of works and programs taken up in the hamlet/habitation by any Panchayat, State or any other agency. By this mechanism the amended act intends to involve the stakeholders in development process.

The provision of compensation in case of delays in rehabilitation will act as the deterrent factor for the contractors/agencies and will provide much sought relief to the displaced tribal group, moreover the rehabilitation process should be done in the manner as stated in the amendment draft. Also, if at any point of time after giving its consent, if gram sabha finds that the purpose of consent is being defeated, the gram can withdraw its consent and give in writing, a withdrawal of consent to the state government, upon such writing the gram sabhas are entitled to civil damages and the criminal proceedings are to be initiated against the contractor/agency.

The NAC had incorporated the much required provisions as amendments in the existing law, but the question still at large is will it deliver the much sought justice in the tribal areas, will it change the governance pattern, will it be implemented in the desired spirit, though the provision within the act declares any will full violation to be an offence but what about the case when the state governments becomes the violators or are reluctant play their part. In case implemented, will the functioning be in an impartial manner. Apart from this NAC had suggested, interim measures which need not await amendment to the Act and can be issued immediately for better implementation of the existing law. These pertain to the following areas¹⁴:

- Aligning various laws in conformity with PESA to ensure autonomy of Gram Sabha and Panchayats in Scheduled Areas.
- Notification of list of hamlet/habitations to conduct gramsabha under the law.
- Elaboration on powers of gramsabha to identify beneficiaries, approve plans, conduct social audit and increased accountability of government functionaries.
- Prevention of Land Alienation and Restoration of Illegally Alienated Lands.
- Regulation of intoxicants for storage, manufacture and consumption.
- Control over Usurious Money Lending in the Scheduled Areas.

Apart from the above directions and amendments NAC had suggested the Government of India to ensure justice through various others measures¹⁵:

- Inclusion of tribal habitations hitherto not included under the Fifth Schedule.
- Central Govt. to expedite law on Provisions of the Municipalities (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Bill.
- Constitution of Special Task Force to review functioning of VI Schedule.
• **Areas and to suggest appropriate administrative arrangements for V schedule areas.**

**Conclusion**
The sought amendments by NAC can alter the way schedule areas are governed, if inserted and implemented in letter and spirit. The PESA Act is a boon to the tribal population of schedule areas but the concern remains how to reap its benefit in the most efficient manner. The questions remains same again i.e. how can it be done without the will of governments?

As we can notice that in a recent move the union government informed the Bilaspur High Court, in a reply to a petition by Chhattisgarh-based activist B K Manish, that the Governor has "no discretionary powers" over the formulation of rules, laws and general administration under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution, whereas Attorney General G E Vahanvati had submitted earlier that the Governor's powers under the Fifth Schedule are "discretionary".16

The flipping mood of Union government, upon the governance issues in schedule areas questions the “integrity” and “will to deliver” and leaves the proposed amendments of NAC upon the whims and fancies of respective governments.

**Notes and References**
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid
6 see note 1 above
9 See note 2 above
10 see note 1 above
12 See note 2 above
15 Ibid.
16 In this petition, the petitioner had argued that Tribal Advisory Rules, 2006, formed under the Fifth Schedule by the state government violate the Constitution as the Tribal Advisory Councils formed under the rules gave arbitrary powers to the chief minister whereas the Constitution mandates that the governor exercise his discretionary powers under the Fifth Schedule.
Impact of Panchayati Raj Institutions on Autonomy of Villages in India

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Abstract
Panchayati System in India is one of the essential institutions that evolved in the country since Ancient Times. The word ‘Panchayat’ means governance by a ‘council by people of five’. The term ‘Panchayati Raj’ originated in British administration. It was a decentralized form of government where each village was responsible for its own affairs. This system of Panchayati Raj was adopted by Independent India in its 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 which marked a new era in the democratic set up of the country as it created Panchayati Raj Institutions as tiers of self-governance. It envisages the establishment of a democratic decentralized development process through people's participation in decision-making, implementation and delivery. It was realized in 1990s that the programmes which were formed by the Government for reducing poverty and improving the condition of rural people, though seemed to be conceptually sound did not have the desired effect. In order to achieve the desired result, the Constitution provides for devolution of powers and responsibilities upon panchayats at appropriate levels. 29 Subjects listed in the Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution have been identified for devolution to the Panchayati Raj Institutions. This paper primarily lays focus as to what impact has the Panchayat Raj Institutions have had in the country and to what extent has the government’s decision of giving the Panchayat’s a certain level of autonomy been successful.

Keywords: Panchayati Raj Institutions, Autonomy, Villages, India

History
No matter how much India has progressed over the past six and a half decades the fact remains that still more that 60% of India’s population still lives in the rural areas. Among the various reasons for the same, the primary of it is that India is an agrarian economy with a vast majority of them employed in the agricultural sector. Since the majority of our nation’s population is based in the rural areas, a need was felt for an institution at the village level which would be responsible for the settlement of disputes and to a certain extent the administration of the village and thus the Panchayat System came into existence.

The Panchayat is an indispensable component of the Indian political system. ‘Panchayat’ literally means assembly (yat) of five (panch) wise and respected elders chosen and accepted by the village community. Traditionally, these assemblies settled the disputes between individuals and villages. Since Ancient times, such system often termed as Gram Sabhas and Panchayat were followed which used to perform various administrative and judicial functions. With the advent of British Rule there was considerable change in the Indian society. Panchayati system in India advanced with virtually new meaning. The ‘Panchayat Raj’ originated during the British administration. It was considered to be a decentralized form of governance where each village was responsible for its own affairs.

The task of strengthening Panchayati Raj System fell on the Indian Government after independence. Our country’s due focus shifted towards Agriculture, Industry,
Communication, Education, Health and Allied sectors but soon it was realized that the all-round development of the country is possible only through the development of rural India. It was clear that India being a country of villages had to strengthen village panchayats to strengthen democracy. Mahatma Gandhi who strongly believed in Gram Swaraj pleaded for the transfer of power to the rural masses. Although Gandhiji had sought to make village panchayats the very foundation of democracy in independent India, the first draft of India's constitution included village panchayats in Article 40 of Part IV of the Constitution which contain the non-mandatory Directive Principles of State Policy. According to the Article 40 ‘The state shall take steps to organize village Panchayats and endow them with such power and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government.’

The basic idea behind establishment of Panchayati raj institutions was to ensure the participation of the villagers in local government and to promote the various developmental plans. Though these institutions have been set since British time in India but due to one or the other reason they were not able flourish at a level and a rate that was expected and they did not achieve much. These institutions came to be associated with few major problems. These problems are as follows:

- They lack adequate financial resources and hence could not achieve much in their plans of development. Further the Central and the State government have not provided them with much power.
- The membership of these institutions is confined to the landlords, the upper caste people and some affluent members of the villages. The poor and other needy groups cannot be represented in this institution and hence fail to achieve representation of poor and needy as compared to rich landlords.
- The bureaucracy attitude towards the Panchayati raj institution at different level of management and co-ordination is not very useful.
- One of the major obstacles in the path of success of Panchayati raj institution is that it constitutes mainly of illiterate villagers who lack political consciousness among them.

In order to remove the above defects, parliament unanimously passed the 73rd and 74th Constitutional amendment bills. With the 73rd and the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 a new era in the democratic set up of the country was wrought as it created Panchayati Raj Institutions as tiers of self governance below the level of States in the federal set up. It is a landmark in the decentralized development as it envisions people’s participation in the process of planning, decision-making, implementation and delivery. These Constitutional provisions provide for devolution of powers and responsibilities to different tiers of Panchayati Raj Institutions with respect to preparation of plans and programmes for economic development and social justice and their implementation in relation to 29 Subjects listed in the Eleventh Schedule. This type of decentralized form of governance opened up a new door for democracy and provided for inclusive growth as well as inclusive politics of social categories. The various provisions of 73rd and 74th constitutional bills were as follows

- Constitution of Gram sabhas in villages.
- Constitution of three-tier Panchayat Raj - Panchayats at the village level, Panchayat Samities at the block level and Zila Parishads at the district level.
- Direct election to all seats in panchayats
- Reservation of seats for schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes
- Reservation of one-third of the total seats at every level of Panchayati Raj institution for women.
- Fixing of tenure of five years for Panchayats
Giving representation to the members of Parliaments, MLA’s and MLC’s at the intermediate and district level with full voting rights.

The main objective of the Panchayati Raj has been rural self – government, rural development, socio-economic development of rural India. Panchayati Raj has been designed to encourage the people of rural areas in meeting their needs locally. It develops the habit of democratic living. It strengthens the foundations of Indian Democracy. It secures a sense of self-confidence among the rural people.

Status of Panchayati Raj Institution’s in India
After the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, almost all the States/UTs except Arunachal Pradesh enacted appropriate legislations for setting up of strong, practical and responsible Panchayat System at different levels in their respective States. However, some States mentioned under Schedule VI of the Constitution of India are exempted from the purview of this enactment.

The States are required to devolve adequate powers and responsibilities on the PRIs in order to make them effective institutions of local self-government as per Article 243 (G) of the 73rd Amendment Act. Thus, it has power to make Plans for both economic development and social justice in relation to the 29 subject matters mentioned in the Eleventh Schedule. The State Governments are required to constitute District Planning Committees as envisaged under Article 243 (ZD) of 74th Constitutional Amendment Act to facilitate the process of decentralized planning. District Planning Committees are to be set up in each district to prepare composite plans covering both urban and rural areas. Despite passage of more than seven years, only eleven States are yet to constitute the District Planning Committees. Moreover, Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA Act, 1996) had been formed to extend the provisions of the Panchayat Raj to the Scheduled and Tribal areas falling under the Schedule Five. It by giving large importance to tribal communities has given wide-range of power to the Gram Sabha, which had until then been denied to them by the lawmakers of the country. But even after crossing a decade of the Act coming into force, there is very little awareness about the Gram Sabha being designated as a self-governing body or having legal jurisdiction over the natural resources and forests. Neither is there any support mechanism for the Gram Sabhas to play any significant role.

Role of Panchayati Raj Institutions
The intention of the government was extremely commendable as it allowed by virtue of the amendment to the constitution the power to the Panchayats which it did not have and also the decentralization allowed better checks and balances. The impact that these panchayats have had on the village autonomy is unparalleled. This has allowed the panchayats to take the village for its betterment and reach those echelons of progress which were at some point of time thought to be unachievable.

Through the institutionalization of such system, the rural India witnessed a tremendous development. The terms such as village improvement, rural upliftment, rural reconstruction which had been vogue for many years had become comprehensive through this concept of Panchayati Raj. Panchayat Raj aims at providing ‘good governance’ to rural areas. Good governance is beyond providing mere administration. As one definition by S.M. Vijayanand, Member Secretary, State Planning Board & Secretary (Planning & Economic Affairs) Government of Kerala, “Good governance is, among other things, participatory, transparent and accountable. It is also effective and equitable. Good governance ensures that political,
social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources." Thus, good governance involves not only efficient governance but also provides it in the most transparent and accountable manner. This can be achieved if there are operational mechanisms in the place.

Transparency, accountability and monitoring are important at all levels and are crucial for the success in the functioning of the Panchayat. The ability of Panchayati Raj Institutions to realize its statutory objectives rely on these three inter-dependent components. The Panchayat Raj provides mechanisms to ensure transparent, responsive and answerable village governance. The concept of transparency is attained by issuing a Citizen’s Charter which outlines the task wise roles and responsibilities of different functionaries and the time to redress an issue which is displayed in the villages. Mandatory meeting of all the voters helps achieve the concept of accountability mechanism by the Panchayati Raj Act. The architect of the Panchayat makes it mandatory to hold six Gram Sabhas in each financial year. Such popular village assembly, is viewed as check on executive powers of the elected Panchayati body. Through the Gram Sabha, democratic processes initiated by the Panchayat Raj are deemed to become participatory. Being an inclusive people’s institution it is expected to articulate the needs and aspirations of all sections of village and initiate village level planning and a participatory development process.

Thus it acts as a final adjudicating body for the villagers whose decision is considered to be supreme, final and binding. The role of adjudicator played by such an institute holds an esteem place as they being a part of the village know each other and the custom prevalent there. In this manner, it is believed that the villagers hold great importance and trust to the decision of these bodies. However what started as an initiative of the government to favor the rural population has also started to go against its very own policies. The Panchayats today are exercising an autonomy which is not only going against the basic concept which led to their inception and constitutional recognition but some of them now started to resolve measures by which they resort to taking laws in their own hands.

The biggest example can be seen from what we know as the Khap Panchayats. Khap Panchayat governs the khap formed by same gotra (clan) families from several neighbouring villages. Khap Panchayats are prevalent in Haryana, western Uttar Pradesh and Parts of Rajasthan. The main rule is that all boys and girls within a khap are considered siblings. Due to the concept that the Khaps consider the boys and girls to be siblings, love marriages are considered taboo in areas governed by Khap Panchayats. Those living in a Khap are not allowed to marry in the same gotra or even in any gotra from the same village. Many young couples have been killed in the past defying khap rules. Khap Panchayat imposes its writ through social boycotts and fines and in most cases end up either killing or forcing the victims to commit suicide. All this is done in the name of brotherhood and its honour. It is due to the inherent weakness of democratically elected Panchayati Raj institutions, Khap Panchayats have been powerful. Even the government has not done much to control their power.

The 10-15 men who constitute a Khap settle disputes and control the lives of young people. Many village people also defend these caste panchayats as they deliver the verdict in one sitting whereas court cases drag for years. According to them, in many cases innocent people get harassed in the court and by police. Here as everyone is known so they cross check everything to ensure neutrality. Such reasoning’s cannot defend such acts of the khaps as they
do not have the rights to define as to how a person has to behave. The reason that the procedure of the court is long is sheer nonsense, as the cases for which such offences are not punishable is in fact mere exercise of rights guaranteed to an individual under the constitution of our nation.

Another problem with panchayati system which has been termed as the biggest one is in fact that the ambit of the panchayats lay outside the scope of the judiciary. The legislature while drafting the 73rd amendment kept the same under Part IX of the constitution. By virtue of its being outside the scope of the judiciary, the courts can neither question the validity of the elections of the Panchayat and neither can the courts challenge the validity of any laws relating delimitation of constituencies.

**Article 243O (Bar to interference by courts in electoral matters)**

Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution

a. the validity of any law relating to the delimitation of constituencies or the allotment of seats to such constituencies, made or purporting to be made under Article 243K, shall not be called in question in any Court;

b. no election to any Panchayat shall be called in question except by an election petition presented to such authority and in such manner as is provided for by or under any law made by the Legislature of a State.

Such a provision has tied the hands of the judiciary with regard to some of the arbitrary and sometimes criminal acts of the panchayats. The concept of honor which is constantly advocated by the Khaps has been held by the Apex Courts as acts of gross human rights violation and against the Indian Constitution and Penal Law but due to the restrictions of the courts the same haven’t had the effect as it was expected.

The constitution of the Panchayat remains the same and the rural population remains unaware of the rights available to them. As a result, the entire effort goes in vain. The Panchayati Raj Institutions in India, barring a few exceptions, are growing in size and scale but without the roots. What we witness today is a miasma of cynicism, disillusionment and disappointment. The founding fathers’ intentions are marred by gory killings for gotra, election boycotts in the fear of losing the caste hegemony, auctioning for panchayat positions, violence and pressure to prevent capable candidates from contesting elections for the reserved seats, gross financial irregularities, fraud, corruption, misuse of funds and so on.

**Conclusion**

There is a very famous quote according to which “there is always a scope for improvement”. The fact that the Panchayati Raj Institution’s in India have played a pivotal role has given the villages a level of autonomy which was required but what also need to be taken into consideration that “power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely”. The autonomy which was given for the betterment of the people and upliftment of the rural India has being misused with absolute arbitrariness and without a consideration for law and order.

For efficient resource mobilisation, organic linkages between panchayats, line departments of the state government and the Panchayati Raj Institution’s have to be evolved. They need experts in micro-level planning in such areas as building community assets, social welfare, social justice, environmental conservation and rural development. Maximum decentralisation and transparency will ensure accountability and reduce corruption. The list of beneficiaries, muster rolls, bills, vouchers, accounts, applications for licenses and permits should all be
tabled, examined and approved by the Panchayati Raj Institution’s. If the people are dissatisfied with their representatives, the Panchayati Raj Institution’s should be endowed with the right of recall.

The Panchayati Raj Institution’s can act as watchdogs of a committed and accountable democracy. They can also examine the annual statements of accounts and audit reports of the Panchayats prepared for implementing the rural development schemes. Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen, while speaking on “development with freedom” makes a case for the revival of our old cultural values of good governance and says “the values enshrined in social capital and signifying trust, cooperation, faith, impartiality and justice at the community level need to be reincarnated if India should become a super power”.
Panchayati Raj Institutions as a Tool of Good Governance:
A Critical Legal Analysis

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Abstract
In ancient times, the administration of justice was reliant on the concept of “King is fountain head of justice”. This concept put justice at the discretion of king without asserting right and wrong of fact in issue. With the beginning of the era of welfare state and urgent call for the observance of principles of natural justice, India also relied on decentralization of power. The decentralization of power as a grassroots level has been secured with Panchayati raj Institutions (PRI). The PRI has been established in Indian jurisprudence with the aim for bringing decision-making closer to the people; promote good governance; boost economic development; ensure efficiency in delivering public services, to ensure transparency and integrity in system, to accommodate the interests of diverse groups and alike. Under this backdrop, this paper aims to enquire that how and to what extent PRI can impacts and ensure good governance and to suggest mechanism in making PRI as perfect tool to strive for good governance.

Keywords: Panchayati Raj Institutions, Decentralization, Good Governance

Introduction: A Journey of Panchayati Raj Institutions with an Inherent Purpose of Good Governance

The concept of Panchayati Raj is not a novel to India. It was the Cholas Kings in South India who has experimented village Panchayati system long time ago. The Panchayati concept lost its utility under the British Raj, because at that time, the British rulers want to keep the entire system centralized under their solitary drift of power. Under the hue and cry of the atrocities held under the British Raj in India, Mahatma Gandhi had realized the significance of Gram Swaraj and democratic institutions at the village level. He wanted that every village should be self-sufficient as a unit for producing its own food and clothing.

Gandhi further viewed that because of the geographical vastness our country with “Unity and Diversity” in our country a centralized government sitting at Delhi alone would not be in a position to solve the problems of all villages satisfactorily and efficiently all over the country, hence, when such ‘Gram Swaraj’ will take shape, it would be ‘Rama Rajya’ in our country. It was only after identifying the significance of democratic institutions at the grass-roots level, the Indian Constitution laid down Article 40 in Part IV of the Directive Principles of State Policy, which articulates that state would take steps to organize village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as might be necessary to enable them to function as a competent units of local self-government. The Panchayati Raj institutions became a state subject under the Constitution. At the very first step in the direction the community development programme Central and State governments allotted selected Firkas as centers under Firka Development Officers. The Firka development scheme was not successful in achieving its purpose, due to lack of local participation. In year 1957, the Government of India has appointed the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee to examine the working of Community Development Programme and National Extension Service programmes, with the major focus on assessing the extent of popular participation, and to recommend the creation
of institutions through which such participation could be achieved. The Committee recommended in brief a) the establishment of three-tier Panchayati Raj System with Gram Panchayat at the village level, Panchayat Samiti at the block level, and Zila Parishad at the district level, b) Panchayats should be constituted with the direct elections to ensure transparency and accountability, c) sufficient resources to be allocated to village Panchayats with power and authority to run efficiently, d) Village Panchayats majorly should deal with the development and planning in their jurisdiction. The recommendations of Balwant Rai Mehta Committee came into effect on April 1st, 1958. Rajasthan was the first State to implement the Panchayati Raj system on October 2, 1959 at the village Nagaon. The mid sixties has witnessed the thriving Panchayati Raj System in our country, but after wards a decline in the functioning of Village Panchayats was perceive at large with the increased centralized tendency of control and regulation with local political factors straightforwardly injuring the purpose of Panchayati Raj Institutions. In this backdrop, the Janta Government in 1977 appointed the Ashoka Mehta Committee to enquire into the factors leading to the poor performance of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRI). The Committee suggested: a) two tier system of PRI, b) Reservation of seats for weaker section for women, c) People’s participation in development activities and most importantly d) the requirement of Constitutional sanctions to Panchayati Raj Institutions. Following GVK Rao Committee in 1985 and Dr. L.M. Singhvi Committee in 1986, the 73rd amendment to the Constitution was passed on 22nd December, 1992 with the giving constitutional recognition and statutory status to Panchayati Raj Institutions in India. This way the Indian Government regularize the system of Panchayati Raj Institution to support efficient, effective and a resourceful governance in our country set off at the grass root level towards the crest administration of our Country.

**Panchayati Raj Institutions (73rd Amendment Act, 1992) Vis-À-Vis Good Governance: A Critique**

The rationale behind the establishment and recognition of to Panchayati Raj Institutions was to initiate and promise an effective governance at a grass root level with the proper decentralization of power and increased participation of people in the their governance. Governance simply means the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented). Governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance. With this backdrop, it can be stated that one of major the purpose of Panchayati Raj Institutions is not only to participate in effective governance at local level free from any political color and red tapism, but also to guarantee the good governance in our country at grass root level. Where India is a democracy and people are considered to be the master of the state, at that point of time the leading responsibility of the government is to serve people at their best. To make the move towards the Panchayati Raj institutions and alike ensures good governance which in way serve people at their best and another give them opportunity to participate in government decision making process.

**Panchayati Raj Institution as an Instrument to achieve Good Governance**

**Good Governance:** Good Governance is made up of two words, Governance and Good Governance. Governance is defined at different levels. World Bank (1992) says that “Governance is a method through which power is exercised in the management of country’s political, economic and social resources of development. UNDP (1997) has viewed that Governance is the exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes, and institutions.
through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences.

World Bank has recognized some indicators which put governance to the category of “Good Governance”, they are 1) Voice and Accountability, 2) Political Stability, 3) Absence of Violence, 4) Effectiveness of Government action, 5) Quality of Regulator and Regulation, 6) Rule of Law and 7) Control of Corruption. United Nation has identified 8 characteristics of “good governance”. They opined that Good governance is a term that is often used in political realm more particularly in public administration. In contemporary era this term is closely associated with public sector reforms. Good governance is an essential factor to meet the present as well as the future needs of the society. There are certain characteristics of good governance like: 1) Participation, 2) Transparency, 3) Effectiveness and efficiency, 4) Responsiveness, 5) Accountability, 6) Consensus oriented, 7) Equity and inclusiveness, 8) Rule of Law.

**Good Governance and 73rd Amendment Act, 1992: A Comparison**

In comparing the objectives of establishment of Panchayati Raj Institutions with that of the principles of good governance, we will find that the 73rd Amendment Act which has initiated Panchayati Raj Institutions was enacted with the following aims and objects:

a. There should be a Three Tier System (Transparency and Check and Balances)

b. Direct Elections of the Panchayats (Representation of all)

c. Reservation of Seats for Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribes (Principle of Equality with Reasonable Classification)

d. Reservation of Women (Gender Equality with Reasonable Classification)

e. Village Panchayats will be having tenure of 5 years (Effectiveness, Responsibility, Equal Chances of Representation and Participation)

f. Disqualification of Members

g. Financial Review (Transparency and Scrutiny)

With the firm scrutiny of the objectives of 73rd Amendment Act, 1992 for the establishment of Panchayati Raj Institution, we can frame that objectives of the act strive to achieve for good governance but many of the factors recognized UN are not addressed completely with an efficient framework. For example the “Rule of Law” which includes a) Fair legal framework, b) Impartial enforcement machinery c) Independent judiciary is not effectively addressed in the jurisdiction and functioning of the “Panchayati raj In India.” In Moolchandani v. State of Rajasthan, the Apex Court was of the opinion that good governance in the country cannot be achieved without independent judiciary. To this point though we have Article 50, which talks about the Independence of Judiciary, but the judicial decisions like in ADM Jabalpur poses a serious question: “Is our judiciary actually independent.” Apart from this there are other problems as well like

- Through Gram Sabah has been granted many powers but it is not effective at a grass root level. It is because they are not aware of their constitutional rights. Their functions are more like a formality and completing paper works.
- CAG is not authorized to conduct accounting of PRIs in the whole country. Hence it can be said that Panchayati Raj Institutions in our country are not achieving good governance perfectly and efficiently.

**Conclusion and Suggestions**

Panchayati Raj Institutions are an integral constituent for the development of rural India. It is a well established fact a country cannot develop without the development of rural areas. In
reality the 73rd Constitutional amendment was effected focusing on this objective only. The Role of Panchayati Raj Institutions is integral to good governance in our country as it serves various rewards like

- Panchayati Raj Institutions have been involved in the programme implementation and these institutions constitute the core of decentralized development of planning and its implementations.
- They are important tool to strengthen the democratic structure of the country.
- They are also important to improve infrastructure improve income of rural households and education, health and safety mechanisms.
- Government of India has taken many steps to develop rural India and for this Department of Rural Development has been setup under the control of Ministry of Rural Development. The department through PRIs has launched various development schemes such as Sampoorna Swachchta Abhiyan, Gram Vikas Yojna, Farmer Market & Livestock Market, and Underground Drainage System Construction Scheme and so on.
- They ensure transparency in work, rural administration & development and many others.

Albert Einstein has said once that "Not everything that can be counted counts and not everything that counts can be counted". Hence in the light of above backdrop it can be concluded and suggested that no doubt though the Panchayati Raj Institution under 73rd Amendment Act, 1992 itself serves many the purpose and essential factors of good governance, yet it has to avail perfection and efficiency in its functioning towards achieving good governance in its entirety. Here though it proved that Panchayati Raj Institutions are an Instrument to good governance in our country, yet some correction and improvements can be called towards the perfections, The Researchers suggest that a regulatory body to scan and regulate the actual functioning and enforcement of Panchayati Raj Institutions will definitely make it a perfect instrument to achieve good governance in our Country.

Notes & References
1 The word "panchayat" literally means "assembly" (ayat) of five (panch) wise and respected elders chosen and accepted by the local community. However, there are different forms of assemblies. Traditionally, these assemblies settled disputes between individuals and villages. Modern Indian government has decentralized several administrative functions to the local level, empowering elected gram panchayats. Gram panchayats are not to be confused with the unelected khap panchayats (or caste panchayats) found in some parts of India. Rohit Mullick & Neelam Raaj (9 September 2007). "Panchayats turn into kangaroo courts". The Times of India. Online Available on http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/Opinion/Sunday_Specials/Panchayats_turn_into_kangaroo_courts/rssarticleshow/2351247.cms (Last Accessed on April 5th 2013).
5 Gandhi M.K., (1959) Panchayati Raj, Compiled by Prabhu R.K., Published by Jitendra T Desai, Navajivan Mudranalaya, Ahmedabad, India

7 The sub-division of the “Taluka” is called Firkas in local language of India. See State---->District---->Revenue division---->Taluks---->Firkas---->Revenue Villages


9 Report on Impact of the Tribal Sub-Plan Implementation in Improving the Socio-Economic Condition of the Tribal People with Special Focus on Reduction of Poverty Level covering the States of Assam and Tamil Nadu (December 2003)Submitted to The Planning Commission, Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi, India


13 Rajiv Gandhi introduced the 64th Amendment bill on local government on the 15th May, 1989 in the Parliament, but it failed to get the required support. A second attempt made in September 1990 also failed. In September 1991, a fresh bill was introduced and was passed a 73th Amendment Act, 1992 followed by 74th Amendment Act, 1993

14 See http://blogs.worldbank.org/governance/


17 Graham et al. (2003), Principles for Good Governance in the 21st Century, UNDP Policy Brief no.15, Institute of Governance.

18 Article 243-C, The Constitution of India, 1950: Composition of Panchayats: All the seats in a Panchayat shall be filled by persons chosen by direct election from territorial constituencies in the Panchayat area

19 Article 243-D, The Constitution of India, 1950: Reservation of Seats

20 Article 15 (3), The Constitution of India, 1950


23 2001

24 The Constitution of India, 1950

25 ADM Jabalpur v. S.S. Shukla, AIR 1976, SC 1207
Role of Governance in Poverty Alleviation

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Abstract
'Poverty amidst plenty' is the World's greatest challenge. Poverty is defined as the inability to meet basic needs as measured by income or consumption. Poverty and standard of living are closely linked with each other. Poverty may be visible as shown by several indicators, such as, lack of control over resources, lack of education and skills, lack of access to protected water and sanitation, poor health, malnutrition, bonded labour, violence and crimes. Good governance is the process of translating social demands in to strategic choices resulting in prudent policy formulation and meticulous implementation. As such there are four main pillars of good governance; transparency, accountability, participation and predictability. The meaningful existence and implementation of all these factors will promote 'growth with distributive justice' to alleviate poverty. The role of good governance to alleviate poverty is based on such parameters as projecting a developmental vision, demonstrating a commitment in action to realise the developmental vision and developing a capability to honour and fulfill the commitments. 'Governance’ and 'Poverty' are two predominant terms that have come to the forefront of the developmental agenda in India. The objective of the present study is to find out the basic diagnosis of the poverty situation prevailing in India at all possible angles. The primary purpose of this objective study is to make a meaningful inventory of the anti-poverty policies that are being presently pursued by Government of India and draw the attention of the policy makers and planners to the strategies efforts that are needed to execute a comprehensive poverty alleviation strategy to ensure growth with distributive justice'.

Keywords: Poverty, Good Governance, Developmental Vision, Distributive Justice

Introduction
At the beginning of the new millennium, 260 million people in India did not have income to access a consumption basket which defines the poverty line. India is home for 22 per cent of the world’s poor. Such a high incidence of poverty is a matter of concern in view of the fact that poverty alleviation has been one of the major objectives of the development planning process. Indeed, poverty is a global issue. Its eradication is considered integral to humanity’s quest for sustainable development. Reduction of poverty in India is, therefore, vital for the attainment of international goals. The United Nations Commission on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, in its statement on poverty, defined poverty as ‘a human condition characterized by the sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights’.

Poverty alleviation has been one of the guiding principles of the planning process in India. The role of economic growth in providing more employment avenues to the population has been clearly recognized. The growth-oriented approach has been reinforced by focusing on specific sectors which provide greater opportunities to the people to participate in the growth process. Various dimensions of poverty relating to health, education and other basic services have been progressively internalized in the planning process. Central and State governments have considerably enhanced allocations for the provision of education, health, sanitation and
other facilities which promote capacity-building and well-being of the poor. Investments in agriculture, area development programmes and afforestation provide avenues for employment and income. Special programmes have been taken up for the welfare of scheduled castes (SCs) and scheduled tribes (STs), the disabled and other vulnerable groups. The Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) protects the poor from the adverse effects of a rise in prices and ensures food and nutrition security at affordable prices.

**Poverty—Manifestation of Economic Political and Social Deprivation**

Poverty is an extremely complex phenomena, which manifests itself in a wide range of overlapping and interwoven economic political and social deprivation. These include lack of assets, low income levels, hunger, poor health, insecurity, physical and psychological hardship, social exclusion, degradation, discrimination, political powerlessness and disarticulation. On the basis of empirical research, it has been established that the actual aspirations of the poor are in fact for survival, based on stable subsistence; security, based on assets and rights; and self-respect, based on independence and choice (Chambers 1989). Therefore, policy instruments should be designed to address not only the low income and consumption aspect of poverty, but also the complex social dimensions. The range of affirmative action undertaken by government towards SC and ST is one attempt to address some of these social dimensions.

**Poverty Alleviation and Sustainable Development**

Experience worldwide indicates that poverty reduction and sustainable development require sound macroeconomic policies and increases in human and physical capital. But sustained development also requires a comprehensive framework that includes 1) good governance; 2) sound legal and regulatory frameworks that protect property rights, enforce contracts and stimulate competitive markets, 3) a sound financial sector, adequately regulated and supervised with a basis in internationally accepted accounting and auditing standards; 4) health, education and social services that reach the poor, women and girls effectively; 5) quality infrastructure and public services to promote rural development and livable cities; and 6) policies to promote environmental and human sustainability (J. D. Wolfensohn, Address to the 1998 World Bank-IMF Annual Meetings). As regards poverty alleviation, the Planning commission in its 12th Plan Approach Paper proposed to bring down the poverty ratio by 10 percentage points during the Plan period. At present the poverty is around 30 per cent of the population.

It is estimated that one-third of the world's poor live in India, and there are more poor people in India alone than in the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa. Although official estimates of the Government of India indicate that only every fourth Indian is poor, according to the estimates of internationally recognized poverty line of dollar a day, 44% persons in India are poor, and 86% people earn less than $.2 a day. Even official data indicates that two out of three children are moderately or severely malnourished. Indian poverty is predominantly rural, where landless labourers and casual workers are the worst off economic group. Scheduled castes and tribes, women and female-headed families, old people, and female children face more deprivation than others. The rural poor are primarily those with limited ownership of assets – including land. The vast majority of the rural poor in India are engaged in agriculture (including fishery and livestock) either as agricultural wage labourers or marginal farmers.
Governance - Management of Country's Economic and Social Resources for Development

In terms of the Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 'Governance is the act or the process of governing, specifically authoritative direction and control'. As per the definition of World Bank, 'Governance is the manner in which power is exercised in the management of country's economic and social resources for development. According to UNDP, Governance is defined as the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs. It is the complex of mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences. (UNDP 1997:9).

As elegantly articulated by Jawaharlal Nehru on 14th August 1947, 'the Government should address the primary issues pertaining to poverty, ignorance, disease and inequality of opportunities'. Good governance must aim at expansion in social opportunities and removal of chronic hunger and abject poverty. In short, good governance means securing justice to the less fortunate poor, empowerment, employment and efficient delivery of need-based services. Good governance is a fundamental building block of a just and economically prosperous society and, therefore, is an essential component of action to alleviate poverty. The poor in all circumstances will be ill-placed to take advantage of economic growth unless deliberate interventions are put in place to increase their opportunities and access to the resources, skills and services required for them to rise out of the poverty trap. Even the most well-intended and well-thought-out policies may not have an impact if they are not implemented properly. Unfortunately, the gap between intention and implementation can be quiet wide. Many failures of Governments are often given as the reason good policies cannot be really made to work.

Objectives of the Study

- To analyse the role of governance in poverty alleviation
- To assess the causes which aggravates poverty
- To suggest strategic choices and well-thought-out alternatives for poverty alleviation

Research Methodology

In order to assess the factual position of the various policies pertaining to poverty alleviation, a mixed methodology containing qualitative and quantitative methods have been deployed in the present study. Moreover, authentic primary data and dependable secondary data have been considered to suggest meaningful strategic choices to improve the role of governance for poverty alleviation.

Governance: 'Good' for Whom?

Governance is 'good' only to the extent that it benefits the social groups who are more impoverished and socially vulnerable. In the event of a conflict of interest, if a policy, law or governance practice benefits less fortunate poor section of the population, then only that policy, law or practice would qualify as 'good governance' which benefits sustainable sections of the society which are most poor and vulnerable. But with increasing population pressure on the land, it is equally important to expand non-farm employment in the rural areas. For the poor in urban centres, increased access to employment and self-employment in both the formal and informal sectors will be vital. As female-headed households constitute a significant proportion of the poor, any intervention must be gender-sensitive. All these will require very substantial improvements in infrastructure services and a conducive legal and regulatory environment.
Concept and Content of Poverty
The concept and content of poverty differs from country based on its yardstick and parameters regarding reasonably good standard of living. In California (U.S.A.) a family having less than two cars is considered as a poor family. In India, Poverty line is drawn on the basis of a bare minimum desirable nutritional standards of calorie intake. The concept of poverty is not limited to a person's pure material requirements. According to the UNDP and Amartya Sen, poverty is multidimensional in character.

Income Perspective: A person is considered to be poor when the income level is below the defined poverty line. The poverty line used by the World Bank for international comparison is set at one US dollar a day per person.

Basic Needs Perspective: Basic needs perspective of poverty is based on deprivation of material required for minimally acceptable fulfillment of human needs, including food, basic health care, education and essential services that have to be provided by the Government.

Capability Perspective: Poverty represents the absence of some basic capabilities to function. In the capability concept, the poverty lies not merely in the impoverished state in which the person actually lives, but also in the lack of real opportunities due to social constraints to lead a meaningful life.

Poverty as a Web: Paul Spicker points out that poverty is commonly understood in at least eleven discrete senses. They include need, standard of living, limited resources, lack of basic security, lack of entitlement, multiple deprivation, exclusion, inequality, class, dependency and unacceptable hardship. Human poverty constitutes a denial of human rights to promote social progress and raise the standard of living within the wider concept of freedom. Within the multidimensional perspective, poverty alleviation will have to address not only improvement in livelihoods, but also improvement in access to resources, expansion of knowledge, skill upgradation, and increased empowerment. The diagram-1 explains the process of economic, social and political exclusion.

Poverty in India – A Predominant Rural Problem
In India poverty is predominantly a rural problem. More than 65 percent of the country's population lives in rural areas and approximately 193 million rural people are poor and every three of the four people in India survive less than US $ 1 a day and they live in rural areas. For more than 15 percent of the rural people, poverty is a chronic condition. Agricultural wage earners, small and marginal farmers and casual workers engaged in non-agricultural activities, constitute the bulk of rural poor. Initially, India adopted a development strategy which was based on the trickle down concept. Then the Government realised the need for direct intervention in favour of the poor, since that strategy failed to meet the basic needs of millions of the rural poor. Consequently the Government embarked on the preparation and implementation of comprehensive and coherent anti-poverty programmes.

Causes of Poverty - Unlearned Lessons
Poverty in India is an outcome of many socio-economic factors. If we identify the perils of today and diagnose the causes for poverty, then only we can devise appropriate plans for tomorrow to alleviate poverty.

Low Productivity and Unemployment: Prevalence of widespread unemployment and underemployment are the major contributing factors to rural as well as urban poverty. As per
the available dependable data huge majority of the less fortunate poor live in the rural areas
and are engaged in agriculture working as marginal farmers and landless labourers. The
incidence of poverty is worst among the Scheduled Tribes. Prevalence of unemployment and
under employment are the major contributory factor to rural as well as urban poverty.

_Slow Rate of Economic Development:_ Slow growth rate of the economy is one of the primary
factors for perpetuation of poverty in India. Even when growth rate of National Income
improved to around 6 to 8 percent in the first decade of this century, we have not observed
substantial reduction in poverty due to rapid rise in the population.

(Jobless Economic Growth: The various bonafide initiatives taken by the Government of India
through several schemes to alleviate poverty did not trickle down to the poor. Even though
economic growth is reasonably high, we have miserably failed to alleviate poverty due to
widespread unemployment and under-employment.

Unequal Income and Asset Distribution: In the process on India's economic development, the
trickle-down effect has been negligible as the development process seems to have bypassed
the poor. The process of industrialization based on modern technology incorporating high
level of capital intensity caused considerable increase in unemployment among less fortunate
poor in India. In our country asset distribution is highly unequal. In the rural areas, over 80
percent of assets are owned by top 30 of the population while the lower 10 percent have only
0.1 percent share of the assets.

_Power and Exclusion:_ From a human rights perspective, people are poor because they are
excluded and powerless. The world now produces enough food to feed all its global citizens
sufficiently every day. Millions of people still die from preventable diseases. Having the
means and capacity to alleviate poverty, yet more than 50% of human race living in
poverty(less than US 1$ a day)is the indicator to prove that poverty is a factor of power and
exclusion rather than a factor of production. Social exclusion can be seen not just in levels of
income, but also matters such as health, education, access to services, housing and debt.
Phenomena which result from social exclusion include: resurgence of homelessness, rising
long-term unemployment, persistent high levels of poverty.

_Economic Disappointment:_ Economic expectation has turned into economic disappointment
as the price hike of all essential items including food items has shattered the lives of the less
fortunate poor. According to 2009 Planning Commission report approximately 20 per cent of
the country's 160 million people are living in extreme poverty. Government effort to eradicate
poverty is half-hearted and lacking in vigour and meticulous planning. Micro-credit has not
played any significant role in alleviating poverty and making people self-reliant.

_Lack of Vision and Genuine Commitment:_ It is increasingly accepted that good governance is
among the key ingredients of any successful strategy to alleviate poverty. This paper argues
that the persistence of poverty originates less in the lack of resources for its alleviation than in
the failures of governance. The waste, mis-targeting, corruption and inefficient delivery of
government programmes have contributed to the chronic hunger and abject poverty. The
basic argument about the role of governance in development holds that weak governance
originates due to a sequential failure of the state to: project a developmental vision;
demonstrate a commitment to realise this vision, through putting in place policies and
programmes, as well as calibrating its allocative priorities to realise this vision, develop a
capacity to fulfill its commitments. This includes administrative and technical capacity as
well as political capacity to mobilise necessary support both within civil society as well as in the political arena to translate the vision into reality.

**Mis-governance of Programmes:** Most of the programmes of Government of India remain only in paper for their top–down approach in designing projects and their incapacity in involving the poor. Government of India has made little attempt to promote participation, accountability or transparency in the administration of projects. Even within an electoral system, the poor may not have enough voice to be heard unless they can unite and act together. In such a situation collective action by the poor can at least compel local elected representatives as well as Members of Parliament to be more active and articulate in pressuring policy–makers to attend to the concerns of the poor.

**Environmental Degradation:** Environmental degradation, which was not much of a concern until quite recently, has started to accelerate, particularly in urban areas. Deterioration in urban environment, increase in slum population, and in air, river and water pollution has vastly affected the quality of life of the urban poor. Land and forest degradation in the rural areas, and over-exploitation of groundwater has seriously threatened sustainability of food production, traditional irrigation systems and even availability of safe drinking water.

**Multiple Deprivation:** Multiple deprivation linked to poverty, gender and caste is a deep rooted reality in the countryside, and any comprehensive effort to alleviate poverty must confront that reality and its consequences. The realities are visible in the segregated hamlets where many of the lower castes live on the fringes of rural villages, often distant from community services – schools, health centres, public hand pumps, and shops that distribute subsidised grains – in principle meant to assist the poor.

**Ineffective Anti-Poverty Programmes:** Most of the anti-poverty programmes envisaged generation of massive employment, distribution of subsidized food grains, essential goods, fuel and fertilizers to the poor. Besides mounting fiscal burden they laid on the economy, there has also been a deep rooted resentment that such redistributive programmes have been relatively ineffective, plagued by leakages and the benefits do not reach the poor.

**Corruption:** Corruption not only reduces the net income of the poor but also wrecks programmes related to their basic needs, from sanitation to education and healthcare. It results in the misallocation of resources to the detriment of poverty alleviation programmes.

**Poverty Line to limit Social Spending:** Poverty line statistics are being used by the Government as a tool to limit social spending. Table-2 highlights the different estimates of poverty in India.

**Anti-Poverty Policies**
The Government adopted a two way approach to alleviate poverty in a meaningful manner. In order to alleviate poverty Government of India initiated direct as well as indirect measures. The indirect measures were taken because it was considered that poverty is a multi-dimensional phenomenon and unless development /reforms at all levels are taken in war footing, poverty cannot be eradicated within a specific time frame.

**Progress and Problems in Poverty Alleviation**
Prior to Independence, India suffered from frequent devastating famines. Hence, poverty reduction and agriculture were central themes of India’s founding fathers. Uplifting the poor
and integrating them into the mainstream is a recurrent theme of India's Five Year Plans. Universal access to education is enshrined in the Constitution. India has established a wide array of anti-poverty programs and much of India's thinking on poverty has been mainstreamed internationally. India has successfully eliminated famines and severe epidemics. It has made progress in reducing poverty and in its social indicators, which at the time of Independence in 1947 were among the world's worst. Its vibrant democracy and free press have been major factors in these achievements.

Despite its many achievements, India faces significant challenges and needs to take some difficult political decisions to realize its potential. Concerted policy action is needed to lift more than 300 million poor out of poverty concentrated in the poorer states. Better and more education and health spending is needed to provide better access for the poor, females, and other disadvantaged groups and improve basic services across the board. The urban poor are characterised by extremely poor living conditions – in slums, on public lands, or often on the road itself. They are generally first generation migrants with no security of jobs or housing, and are subject to police and municipal brutalities. They are in occupations where health and safety provisions either do not exist or are widely flouted, such as hawking or rickshaw pulling (or under contractors who are violating labour and factory laws), and therefore become dehumanised and criminalised by the very process of survival. One needs more social control over housing space, a ban on certain types of industrial activity in metropolitan towns, and rigorous implementation of labour laws in favour of migrant population. As urban migrants are pushed to the city because of abject rural poverty and unemployment, any effort to deal with urban poverty in isolation is likely to be unsustainable, as it would bring new migrants in search of jobs and better life.

Mis-Governance of Poverty Alleviation Programme
Despite several meaningful initiatives and huge investment made by Government of India to alleviate poverty and raise the standard of living of less fortunate poor, the programme, could not be delivered as expected due to the under-noted facts and factors.

Top-Down Approach: Instead of adopting a bottom-up approach, while shaping and devising suitable poverty alleviation schemes and programmes, top-down approach is adopted by the concerned authorities. There has been a little or no consultation and involvement of the beneficiaries in general and targeted group in particular while choosing and implementing the poverty alleviation programme.

Lack of Accountability: Lack of accountability and transparency remains the major problem for the failure of poverty alleviation programme. The structure, content, and funding of the poverty alleviation programme remain predominantly in the hands of Central Government.

Problem in coordination and monitoring: There is a considerable overlap amongst the scheme and between the scheme and regular State Government plan. These peculiar features along with rigidity of the guidelines issued by the Central Government pave way for fragmentation and duplication of several schemes. Due to lack of clarity, coordination and monitoring become difficult.

Ad hoc and Piece Meal Approach: All the poverty alleviation programmes are devised in the form of loans or subsidies or provision of current wage employment rather than augmenting the productive capacity for achieving a higher level of employment and income in a sustainable manner.
**Diversion of Funds:** Financial assistance extended to the intended beneficiaries for the exclusive purpose of production often diverted for the purpose of consumption. The Government of India should ensure the bonafide end use of funds by way of appropriate administrative decisions.

**Leakages:** Leakages due to inappropriate works, inefficient implementation and high level of corruption.

**Sub Standard Assets:** Quality of assets provided under the programme is sub-standard. Assets and schemes are not appropriate to the regional and group needs of the society.

**Strategic Realism–Need of the Hour**
Unfortunately, today around half the population of India continues to live in poverty, and the absolute numbers of people living in poverty constitute the second largest reservoir of poverty in the world after China. The planners and policy makers should consider the under noted suggestions with an objective outlook to ensure poverty alleviation.

**Enhance the Productivity of the Poor:** Enhancing the productivity of the poor will also increase aggregate demand in the economy which will not only widen the market for new investment but ensure the sustainability of this market. The poor constitute one of the largest untapped markets of the world today. China’s double-digit growth derives as much from its ability to tap its vast internal market as it does from its booming exports from its coastal areas. India can follow the Chinese experience by way of developing an internal market of the poor while improving their growth prospects at the same time. Increasing the earning and purchasing power of the poor has strong multiplier effects because their consumption patterns tend to be more domestic production-intensive and more appropriate to local technological capacities. Enhancing the economic power of the poor would stimulate local industry, particularly rural and small industry, promote local services and open up a new round of growth opportunities.

**Empowerment:** An empowering approach to poverty alleviation needs to be based on the conviction that poor people have to be both the object of development programmes and principal agency for development. In providing protectionist regulations in Government employment, no special care was taken for the poor students since the constitution only recognized* educational and social backwardness* and not economic backwardness as a norm to be applied in formulation of protective discriminative policies while providing Government employment to poorer sections of the society.

**Employment:** In order to alleviate poverty, there is an imperative need to pay exclusive attention to generation of gainful employment opportunities in agriculture, expand the area of coverage of rural employment guarantee schemes and accelerate the pace of implementation of Bharath Nirman schemes and similar other developmental programmes towards this direction.

**Participation:** Participation of the poor people either direct or indirect in the development and decision making process is one of the corner stone of good governance. The availability of people to participate in social decisions is a valuable characteristic feature of a good society which is capable of improving the standard of life of the poorer sections of the society.
Of Non-Farm Employment: As a result of the increasing population pressure on the land, it is equally important to expand non-farm employment in the rural areas. For the poor in urban centres, increased access to employment and self-employment in both the formal and informal sectors will be vital. As female-headed households constitute a significant proportion of the poor, any intervention must be gender-sensitive. All these will require very substantial improvements in infrastructure services and a conducive legal and regulatory environment. The Table-1 highlights the State-wise position of increasing population and unemployment for objective analysis.

Establish Financially Sustainable Apex Bank: An apex bank should be established as a public-private partnership, on the lines of the Industrial Development Finance Corporation, rather than the old style apex institutions like HUDCO and NABARD. Its governance, organizational culture and operating ethos must reflect 21st century values - striving to serve the unreachable urban masses for their overall economic and social development in a business-like, professional and financially sustainable manner.

Dismantle Out-Moded Laws and Regulations: Dismantling intrusive, restrictive and outmoded laws and regulations in all the productive sectors and creating an effective agricultural advisory service that provides practical, cost-effective extension to the marginal farmers and small farmers is the need of the hour.

Improving Quality of Life: The Government should focus resources on improving the provision of and access to basic social services that are needed by the poor. They are education, particularly primary education, health, and water supply. In all of these activities, Government should seek a closer working relationship with development NGOs, religious organisations, and other private providers to increase the range and quality of provision.

Social security: The objective will be to create safety nets for the aged, retrenched, unemployed, disabled and displaced persons, marginalised sections, and victims of other calamities. The present social security system which caters only for those employed, is inadequate while traditional systems are disappearing due to the break-down of the joint family system, migration, economic hardships and poverty.

Increase the Expenditure on Education and Health: Faster poverty alleviation cannot be accomplished without improving the delivery of health and education services. This will involve more effective spending on elementary education and basic health systems, with better targeting on improving the quality and quantity of services to the poor and with more public funding to address the unfinished agenda. The effectiveness of public education and health services in poverty reduction can be improved by focusing on meeting consumer needs and the holistic needs of children, realigning the role of the State towards primary education and health. The under noted areas are considered the most immediate priorities for Government action:

- Increasing primary school enrolment and completion;
- Enabling more poor children to attend secondary school;
- Providing all public primary healthcare facilities with an appropriate and adequate supply of drugs;
- Making essential primary health care drugs and treatment affordable to the poor;
- Increasing the provision of protected drinking water.
**Improve the Provision of Infrastructure:** Improved infrastructure provision, both public and private, would help accelerate growth. The currently inadequate provision of high quality, reliable, and reasonably priced infrastructure services represents a major barrier to continued growth of the economy and services to the poor.

**Improve the Provision of Urban Micro Credit:** The urban poor are indeed borrowing for the genuine purposes such as housing, health, child-care and education. But the fact that NGO led micro-credit schemes have succeeded where Government schemes have failed is a recognition that the former’s programmes have been better at addressing the problems. While, the success of NGO experiences show that the poor are bankable, interventions by NGOs’ in themselves are too small to make a significant difference in the national context.

**Equitable and Inclusive:** A dignified society's well being depends mostly on ensuring that the entire poorer section's of the society feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of the society.

**Redistribution of Land:** The Government of India should initiate appropriate administrative actions to redistribute the land acquired by way of land ceiling to small and marginal farmers to improve the agricultural productivity.

**Provision of Security Of Tenure:** In order to alleviate poverty at rural areas, Government of India should entrust the job of providing security of tenure to sharecroppers and temporary tenants in the hands of the State Governments.

**Right to Shelter-Need of the Hour:** Shelter or Housing is an integral part in ensuring dignified life to all the human beings. It is pertinent to mention that the emphasis on the Right to Shelter by the Ministry of Rural Development has to be perceived in the prospective of the Government for improving the standard of life of the poorer sections of the society. It goes without saying the agenda of the Right to Life would remain incomplete without the Right to Shelter.

**Direct Benefits Transfer:** The Government of India has announced the Direct Benefits Transfer (DBT) initiative with the aim of ensuring better and more timely delivery of benefits to the poor people. This marks a paradigm shift, where the Government is explicitly taking responsibility to ensure that welfare schemes and basic entitlements reach the intended poor beneficiaries much more effectively than at present.

**Industrialisation of Rural India:** The Government should devise need based programmes to industrialise rural India with more than adequate labour intensive techniques.

**Construction Of Towns Under 'PURA':** In order to provide employment opportunities and develop infrastructure, the Government should develop towns with a population of 15000 to 25000 as growth centres using local labour and available raw materials under ‘PURA’. (Providing Urban Amenities in Rural Areas)

**Overcome Implementation Challenges:** Today most safety net and social security programs in most Indian states are characterized by a range of implementation challenges that reduce their potential for poverty alleviation. There are programs which have wide coverage but are plagued by leakage of subsidies that limit the impact on the poor (e.g. PDS), others which are well-targeted and well-designed but face a range of implementation challenges (e.g., public works - MGNREG), and still others which appear to be well-designed and with systems for
better implementation (e.g., RSBY). However, experience across programs in states like Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan and Karnataka suggests that problems in service delivery can be overcome.

**Strengthen Farm Credit**: Meaningful measures to be initiated to strengthen farm credit and insurance programmes including creation of linkages between crop insurance, crop loans, and farm school training to encourage poor farmers who seek credit at reasonable rate of interest and crop insurance to adopt improved cultivation practices.

**Introduction of Social Auditing**: Corruption is a syndrome that affects poorer sections of the society to a larger extent. In order to protect poor people from corruption, the Government should initiate stringent steps without further delay to introduce social auditing in all the developmental programmes meant for poverty alleviation.

**High Growth Rate of GDP**: It was firmly believed that unless the economy grew at a higher rate, it could not sustain an ever increasing population in India. High growth rate will have a trickle-down effect on the economy and people.

**Population Control Measures**: Unless and otherwise population growth rate is controlled in a meaningful manner, any level of economic growth cannot alleviate poverty. The Government of India should devise a policy to control the population and implement it in a meticulous manner.

**Conclusion**
Both the Poverty alleviation Strategy and the process of its articulation represent Government’s commitment to change. Change in the focus for our national development to a concerted effort to alleviate poverty and change that brings together all our resources to devise better policies and programmes and to mobilise all available resources. It is the Government’s hope that all sectors of our society and our development partners will accept the challenges and opportunities and work with a unity of purpose towards the goal of alleviating poverty in India. The good governance comes out from the strong commitment of the Government where all commitments are made with an intention to ensure a meaningful dignified life to the less fortunate poor. While implementing the targeted poverty alleviation programmes declared public policy and grass root level implementation and practice should not have a huge gap.

In addition, inequalities faced by women in participating fully in the political, legal and economic systems need to be addressed. The decline in infrastructure spending needs to be analysed, to increase the rate and spread of growth and to meet urban needs. Improvements at the state-level, particularly improved service delivery in the poorest states, will be critical in meeting these challenges. Faster poverty alleviation cannot be accomplished without improving the delivery of health and education services. This will involve more effective spending on elementary education and basic health systems, with better targeting on improving the quality and quantity of services to the poor and with more public funding to address the unfinished agenda. Alleviation of poverty in India is a long-term goal. It is incorrect to come to a hasty conclusion that all the poverty alleviation programmes have failed in the Indian context. At the same time distribution of wealth is not all even across the country. Poverty alleviation is expected to make better progress in the coming years than in the past due to the increasing focus and attention on education, health services, empowerment
of women and reservation of jobs to the deserving vulnerable and marginalised sections of the society.

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### TABLE 1

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<tr>
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<td>LAKSHADWEEP</td>
<td>64429</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>AMAN, DUE</td>
<td>247911</td>
<td>20.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>DADRANAGA HAVELI</td>
<td>342853</td>
<td>7.03</td>
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</table>

Source: National Unemployment Growth Ratio - 2012

### TABLE 2

**DIFFERENT ESTIMATES OF POVERTY IN INDIA**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Tendular Committee</td>
<td>40.7 Crore (revised)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Bank Report (2005)</td>
<td>45.6 Crore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arjun Sengupta Report</td>
<td>83.6 Crore</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asian Development Bank (ADB)</td>
<td>62.2 – 74.9 Crore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford University Report (2010)</td>
<td>64.5 Crore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP-HDI(2011) Report</td>
<td>61.2 Crore</td>
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Whistleblowers at Risk:  
Need for Protection of Anti-Corruption Crusaders  

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Abstract  
Democracy is government by the people, for the people and of the people. People have the right to know the functionalities of the government. Accessibility to information on government functioning is a vital component of any democracies. A country will not be completely democratic if the participation of people is restricted to the process of elections alone. The whistleblowers play an important role in providing information on corruption and mal-administration, and their protection is important, for this The Publication Interest Disclosure and Protection to Person making the Disclosures Bill, 2011 which has already been passed by Lok Sabha. The paper critically examines the provisions of bill and further examines legislations of various countries protecting whistleblowers. Public servants working in the same department know better as who in their department is corrupt, but sadly due to pressure from seniors and danger to their life they are not able to forward the information. The paper further examines the standing committee, Law Commission Report and amendments to the bill, to understand the legislative intent and draw a correct analysis. The paper also includes case studies to impress upon the requisite for such a legislation to be enacted.

Keywords: Whistleblower, Law Commission of India, Corruption, Public Interest Disclosure

Introduction  
Good Governance is a tool to help governments, businesses and civil societies to fight corruption. Corruption is a social evil which prevents proper and balanced social growth and economic development. Corruption can be curbed by systematic changes in governance through introducing participation, transparency, accountability and probity in administration. The right to good governance is also considered as an essential part of the citizen’s rights that one expects from the government.

Whistleblowers play a crucial role in providing information about corruption. Whistleblowing is a process by which the insiders go public with their claims of malpractice by, or within the organisation, generally after failing to remedy the problems from inside. They can play a very important role in providing information about corruption and mal-administration. Public servants in departments know better as to who in their department is corrupt but they fear to convey such mal-administration to the higher authorities, reason being fear of threat to their lives. Since, whistle-blowers are not protected under any law, they fear to report instances of corruption and mal-administration. Hence, their protection and safeguarding them against victimisation within the organisation is essential. Therefore, enactment of a law which guards these anti-corruption crusaders is a necessity for any country. In India, to remove rampant corruption the new Whistle-blowers Bill, 2011 was passed by the Lok Sabha with an objective to establish a mechanism to receive complaints relating to disclosure on any allegation of corruption or wilful misuse of power or wilful misuse of discretion against any public servant and to inquire or cause an inquiry into such
disclosure and to provide adequate safeguards against victimization of the person making such complaint and for matters connected.

In this paper the provisions of the bill will be critically analysed, comparing it with laws in various other countries. While doing so, following research questions would be answered:

- Whether the scope of ‘public interest disclosure’ is sufficient in its present form as in the proposed legislation.
- Whether the Bill protects the whistle-blowers passably.

**Whistleblowing: A Concept**

Whistleblowing is a term used for employees raising concerns about mal practices and procedures in their workplace. It enables employees to report concerns in a way that will not be seen as being disloyal to their setting and colleagues. To blow a whistle on someone is to alert a third party that, that person has done, or is doing something wrong. The term ‘whistle blowing’ has its origin in the United Kingdom. The term can be attributed to the actions of the ‘English bobbies’ (police constables) who blew whistle when they noticed the commission of a crime. The whistle blowing is done with an intention to alert the law enforcement authorities as well as the public. This was with an intension to save the public from any harm or injustice. The motive behind the act of whistle blowing ‘then and now’ is similar, that is, for safeguarding the public good.

There have been several attempts to define whistleblowing, but certainly there is no generally accepted definition. However, there are some definitions which are widely-used or often quoted. One of the first ones in the modern history of whistleblowing was used by a consumer activist called Ralph Nader, in 1972, who claimed: *Whistleblowing is an act of a man or woman who, believing that the public interest overrides the interest of the organization he serves, blows the whistle that the organization is in corrupt, illegal, fraudulent or harmful activity.*” United States of America academicians Marcia P. Miceli and Janet P. Near in the year 1982, defined whistleblowing as “the disclosure of organizational member’s (former or current) disclosure of illegal, immoral, or illegitimate practices under the control of their employers to persons or organizations that may be able to effect action.” Therefore, philosophically, whistle blowing is a form of dissent.

**Importance of Whistleblowing**

Whistleblowing promotes accountability by allowing for the disclosure by any person of information about misconduct while at the same time protecting the person against sanctions of all forms. It recognizes that whistleblowing relates to internal and external disclosures and should apply to all organizations, public and private.” In this sense, whistleblowing has to ensure that individuals have the ability to speak out in their conscience and that organizations are more open and accountable to their employees, shareholders and the greater public in their activities” Therefore, whistleblowing could bring into light various instances of corruption in departments and thus expose them.

Whistle blowing encourages members of an organization to place each other under surveillance. It is thus an effective means to control corruption. Irregular behaviour always goes underground, and inexperienced eyes have a hard time detecting it. Members of the same organizational entity, however, can detect corrupt acts more easily because they work in the vicinity of the “crime scene”, the site of the corruption and thus have easy access to compelling evidence. Therefore, one of today’s important government responsibilities is to provide an environment where anybody can reach the authorities without fear or hesitation.
Whistleblowers
A whistle blower is defined as someone who exposes wrongdoings, fraud, corruption or mismanagement. Usually, he is a government employee who would report misconduct or corrupt practices within the offices. According to Starke, “a whistle blower discloses information he or she reasonably believe evidences a violation of any law, rule or regulation, or mismanagement, a gross waste of public funds, an abuse of authority, or a substantial or specific danger to public health or safety. Such disclosure is made in the reasonable belief that the information demonstrates that there has been misconduct. The whistle blowers provide an essential and valuable service to the public by disclosing the wrongdoing which may otherwise go undetected.

Whistleblower Protection in India
“Whistle blower protection is a policy that all government leaders support in public but few in power tolerate in private” –Thomas M Devine

Over the time, there have been many valiant whistle blowers, in India, who lost their lives in the pursuit in bringing closure to the on-going wrongdoing in the society. These valiant heroes are of one the unsung heroes of the present who risk their lives and putting all things at stake try to bring a change in the hapless working of the society. Whistle blowers like Satyendra Dubey, Lalit Mehta lost their life in their fight against the corrupt practices in government undertakings. Hence, protection of these anti-corruption crusaders is need of the hour.

A bill for protection of whistle blowers was first initiated in the year 1993 by Mr N. Vital (the then Chief Vigilance Commissioner), no attention was paid to this draft bill until Law Commission came into picture on his request letter to protect those who disclose malpractices in the government functioning. In the year 2001, Law Commission of India’s 179th Report recommended in order to eliminate corruption, a law to protect whistle blowers was essential and recommended for an Act through a proposed bill on “Public Interest Disclosure and Protection of Informers” and submitted its report on the proposed ‘Public Interest Disclosure Bill, to Mr Arun Jaitley (the then Minister of Law, Justice and Public Affairs) on December 14, 2001. In January, 2003 the draft bill of the Public Interest Disclosure (Protection of Informers) Bill, 2002 was circulated. The murder of Satyendra Dubey in 2003 for exposing corruption in National Highway Authority of India (NHAI) about the quadrilateral project by writing to the Prime Minister’s Office and the subsequent public and media outrage led to the demand for the enactment of a whistle blower’s bill. Supreme Court while hearing writ petition (C) no. 536/2003 on the murder of Satyendra Dubey directed that machinery be put into place for acting on complaints from whistle blowers till a law is enacted. As, 2002 Draft Bill by Law Commission was still under examination. A resolution was notified on 24th April, 2004 enabling the Central Vigilance Commission (CVC) as the designating agency to receive complaints of corruption from the central government employees. Later in 2005, the RTI Act was enacted, to ensure more transparency and accountability in governance. In 2007, the Second Administrative Reforms Commission recommended that a specific law be enacted to protect the whistle-blower. There were no developments relating to the bill until 2010. In 2010, the Public Interest Disclosure and Protection to Persons Making the Disclosures Bill was introduced in the Parliament, The Bill was approved by the cabinet in June, 2011. The Public Interest Disclosure and Protection of Persons Making the Disclosures Bill, 2010 was renamed as ‘The Whistle blowers’ Protection Bill, 2011 by the Standing Committee on Personnel, Public Grievances, Law and Justice. The Whistle blowers’ Protection Bill, 2011 was passed by the Lok Sabha on 27th December 2011 after a few amendments. The Bill was
introduced in Rajya Sabha 29 March 2012 by V. Narayanasamy, Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs and is currently pending there for discussion and further passage.

Since, India on 24th May, 2011 became the 152nd country to ratify the United Nation Convention against Corruption, (which also has provisions relating to whistleblower protection), the ratification is a reaffirmation of India’s commitment to fight against corruption and undertake vigorously administrative legal reforms.

**Whistleblower Protection Bill, 2011- Analysis**

The Whistleblower protection bill, 2011 envisages protection of the whistle blowers from the public sector. There have been major amendments in the Bill before it was renamed and passed by the Lok Sabha with certain amendments. The bill is divided into seven chapters and thirty-one sections. Few chapters requiring analysis have been interpreted as follows:

**Chapter One – Preliminary:** This chapter includes definitions of terms such as competent authority, disclosure, public authority among others. The Bill; exclude the armed forces of the Union, as being part of the Special Protection Group (SPG) constituted under Special Protection Act, 1988. The SPG is an executive agency of the government and has the responsibility of protecting the most important officials of the State including Prima Minister and his family. The reason for exclusion is that these people are associated with the top officials and have maximum access to top notch officials. This would mean that if any SPG personnel would want to disclose any secret information, such person would not be protected. However now that the Prime Minister has been included within the purview of the Lokpal Bill there is no reason why the SPG should be denied the right to blow the whistle on any wrongdoing they come across in the course of their duties.

Therefore, it would be appropriate to include SPG within the purview of the whistle blower Law. Another definition to the examined is that of “disclosure”. Scope of the definition has been broadened by making it lawful for a whistle blower to make a complaint about misuse of power or discretion to cause wrongful gain to a third party. This is a welcome step and would further strengthen the whistle blower law, also abiding by the Standing Committee recommendations; the bill now allows the complaints to be submitted electronically.

However, as stated in the Standing Committee Report the scope of disclosure should be widened to include complaints relating to illegal acts performed by contractors/suppliers directly or through their employees and/or hired persons.

The definition of ‘victimisation’ which forms an integral part of the whistle blower protection is missing and should have been included within the ambit of the bill. 179th Law Commission Report defined “victimization” with all its grammatical variations, in relation to public servant other than a Minister, shall include:-

(A) suspension pending inquiry, transfer, dilution or withdrawal of duties, powers and responsibilities, recording adverse entries in the service records, issue of memos, verbal abuse, all classes of major or minor punishment specified in the disciplinary rules, orders or regulations applicable to such public servant and such other type of harassment;

(B) Any of the acts referred to in sub-clause (A) whether committed by the person against whom a disclosure is made or by any other person or public authority at his instance.

The Standing Committee has also taken cognizance of this fact and advocated the need for an exhaustive definition and also witnesses and other persons who support the whistle blower
should be accorded the same protection. Countries such as UK, US have wider definition of both disclosure and victimisation.

The definition of the victimisation should be broad enough to be in conformity with best practices internationally. This includes comprehensive protection against discriminatory or retaliatory personnel action, direct or indirect disciplinary action, dismissal or discrimination, particularly with regard to remuneration, training, classification and reclassification, assignment, qualification, professional promotion, transfer or contract renewal, as well as exclusion from recruitment or access to internships or training, protection against financial or administrative disadvantages, such as the cancellation of a permit or license, or the revocation of a contract.

Chapter Two- Public Interest Disclosure: Competent authorities, after the 2011 amendment to the Bill include public servants including ministers, elected representatives and members of the judiciary (except judges of the Supreme Court and the High Court). As a result of an expansion of the definition, the disclosure can now be made to various competent authorities now. As per the 2010 Bill, only Central Vigilance Commission and State Vigilance Commission could be competent authorities before whom the public disclosure could be made. This would allow various competent authorities to receive complaints where CVC/SVC could not be instituted. However, official secrets Act has been given overriding effect, thereby promoting secrecy and discouraging the whistleblowers from disclosing anything contained in the Act. This is not a welcome step and no overriding effect should be given.

Also, the major loophole here is that the complaint will be dismissed if it is anonymous, that is, the complaint does not reveal the identity of the complainant. This is not a positive step as there might be complainants wanting to disclose information but fear to lose their jobs and have threat to lives. Hence, anonymous complaints should not be discouraged.

Chapter Five: Protection to the Persons Making Disclosure: In this chapter, the burden of proving that the victimisation of the whistleblower did not occur will be on the public authority. Consequently, the whistleblower would have had to prove that he was victimised by the public authority. The Standing Committee recommended reversal of burden of proof so that the public authority concerned is required to prove that the victimisation did not occur. The amendment also requires all concerned parties to be heard before a recommendation is made by the Competent Authority on the complaint of victimisation. This is a welcome step, however, it is essential to define victimisation also.

Essential points missed out from the Bill
A few provisions which are part of the International Best Standards have been not been included in the Bill. Few of them are –

a) Bill does not cover the private sector, which was a major recommendation of the Second Administrative Reforms Commission.
b) The proposed amendments provide only for one authority each at the Central and State level to receive complaints of wrongdoing. This is against international best practice where multiple authorities are empowered to receive and inquire into public interest disclosures.
c) Where no authority takes credible action against a complaint received, it is international best practice to allow for disclosures to be made to the mass media. The Government has ignored this important standard in its amendments.
Study of Whistleblower Laws in US & UK

In England, the Nolan Committee Report on “Standards of Public life “dealt with the importance and need for whistle blowers. This led to the government passing the UK public Interest Disclosures Act, 1998. The UK’s whistle blower law is a unique piece of legislation providing protection to employees in the public, private and non- profit sectors, including those working outside UK. This law provides power to employment tribunals to ‘freeze’ a dismissal and make unlimited compensation awards. South Africa followed the UK and protected employees of all organisations.

USA passed the Whistleblowers Protection Act in 1989 protecting public interest disclosures by federal employees. The American government created a special cell called “office of special counsel” to encourage whistleblowers in the investigation of their disclosures and prevention of retaliatory action against them. More than 40 US states passed similar laws. U.S. Congress passed Sarbanes- Oxley Act, 2002 granting legal protection to the whistleblowers in publicly traded companies. Retaliation against a corporate whistleblower, imprisonment is for up to 10 years.

Australia, Canada, Russia and several other countries enacted public disclosure laws protecting whistleblowers, though most of them protected whistleblowers from government sectors.

What India Neend To Embibe- Conclusion

“It is time to clean the air, punish the guilty and protect the whistleblowers” –Tony Leon

This quote is apt in light of the debates of the current Whistleblower Bill pending in Rajya Sabha. Even after ratification of United Nation Convention against Corruption, India still does not have public disclosure law. The current bill has a few loopholes but has provisions that passably protect the whistleblowers. With a few more amendments by including more International Best practices, this bill would surely be a historic legislation. Whistle blowers are dying in their fight against mal administration and corruption; hence, it is important to protect these anti- corruption crusaders. The inefficiency of the government to enact standalone legislation, the corruption of the executive and the greed of the bureaucrats for power and money has left the, Whistleblowers in India artists without hands. They are artists that urge to draw a full picture of truth but they are not given their hands or rights to claim protection as they are the cause of insecurities of the wrongdoers.

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Instilling Citizen-centric Approach in Civil Service: Prospects and Challenges

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Abstract
Citizen’s Charter was pioneered in the UK under New Public Management umbrella, has been adopted by the Government of India as a tool to induce client focus in the bureaucracy by accomplishing greater accountability and transparency in service delivery. This paper examines the extent of Citizen’s Charter implementation in India. The charter programme initiatives in essence propose to make public service provision less bureaucratic-dominated and more citizen-led. The performance of charter programme, however, is far away from its rhetoric. In Panchkula Municipal Council case, the charter programme is merely a compilation of earlier programmes. The empirical evidence suggests that even after one decade of its existence, the charter has not made any substantial dent on old bureaucratic service delivery mechanism. To reap the benefits of the citizen’s charter on sustained basis, the government should involve citizens as well as the officials of public organizations. The street level bureaucracy needs both sensitization as well as orientation towards citizen’s charter. Political backing, commitment of the bureaucracy, citizens’ participation and media are others important factors that play crucial role to make the charter initiative more effective.

Keyword: Policy implementation, Citizen’s Charter, Bureaucracy

"A consumer is the most important visitor in our premises. He is not dependent on us, we are dependent on him. He is not an interruption in our work; he is the purpose of it. He is not an outsider to our business, he is part of it. We are not doing him a favour by serving him; he is doing us a favour by giving us an opportunity to do so."
--Mahatma Gandhi

Introduction
The traditional system of administration at present is facing crisis in terms of its failure in delivering goods and services in an efficient, effective and economical manner. The various scholars claim that traditional administrative system is ineffective, insensitive, inefficient, and often hostile to the very people to they are supposed to serve (Peters: 2001; Osborne and Plastrik: 1997; Rhodes: 1997; Osborne and Gaebler: 1992; Hood: 1991; Pollitt: 1990). In an extreme version of the argument, the government is conceptualized as ‘regulating the poor’ rather than actually serving them through social programmes (Piven and Cloward 1993; Squires 1990). The traditional system monopolized the delivery system that breeds corruption, unresponsiveness and wastage of money among others. The steel frame of conventional system-civil services [Weberian] are no more compatible with new environment of governance, as these are seen to be too elitist, inflexible, inadaptable and status-quo oriented.

From the last two decades the fast growing bureaucracy followed by increasing degree of dissatisfaction among citizens and fiscal crises have led to a search for a model of governance which not only promotes efficiency and economy in administration but also treats service delivery to the satisfaction of its user as the central concern. During the last three decades, the
social science literature in general and public administration and management literature in particular, have developed alternative models of governance (Christensen and Lægreid: 2007; Danehart: 2007; Dunleavy \textit{et al} 2005; Peters: 2001).

This study focuses on the implementation of the Citizen’s Charter programme in India. It explores factors that inhibit the effective implementation of the charter programme in India. Particularly the present study intends to answer the following questions - what is the background of initiating the charter programme? What is the extent of implementation of the citizen’s charter? What are the stumbling blocks that impinge on the effective implementation of the charter? The study is carried out at the Panchkula Municipal Council ((hereafter PMC), one of the local government units in the state of Haryana Government in India.

Good governance means competent management of a country’s resources and affairs in a manner that is transparent, accountable, effective, equitable and responsive to people’s needs (Downer: 2000). It emphasizes people as the centre of attraction of administration where Citizens’ satisfaction is the maxim to follow. According to United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) the aim of good governance is to ensure that the three key actors – the state, the private sector, and civil society – are equally represented and valued as partners in the affairs of the country. ‘Good governance’ should focus on making government participatory, accountable and transparent, especially on ensuring that the voices of the poorest and most venerable are heard (Minogue: 2002: 119). It leads to strengthen democratization by incorporating voices of poor, free flow of information, rule of law and human rights.

The Citizen’s Charter is one of the most important ingredients of good governance. In the UK, the citizens’ charter was published in 1991. Citizen’s Charter is a document which spells out the commitment of public service provider towards citizen through clearly specified benchmarks/parameters of quality and standards of service. It facilitates in promoting peoples’ participation in the administration. It emphasizes on empowering citizens by holding bureaucrats directly accountable to them, besides, injecting citizen-centric approach in civil service.

\textbf{Citizen’s Charter in India: Genesis and Evolution}

The Citizen’s Charter (hereafter CC) is a formal document of proclamation which spells out the user’s entitlement and indicates the service provider’s obligations. In other words, CC is a document that outlines the commitment of the service provider towards the citizens through clearly specified benchmarks of quality and standards of service (Sharma and Sharma: 2002; Ghuman: 2000; Tritter: 1994; Doern: 1993; Lewis: 1993). In a nutshell, it is a formal piece of information that represents systematic endeavors of the organization assurance towards citizens with emphasis on standard of services, information, choice, and consultation among other things. Traditionally, the government-citizen relationship has been veered in a donor-recipient mould. In which citizen were completely eclipsed in decision-making, and marked by provider domination. Under the umbrella of ‘good governance’, the CC tends to move the conventionally top-centric government bureau into one that is bottom-up and citizen-driven.

The decision to introduce citizen’s charter initiative was made at a conference of Chief Ministers, which took place in New Delhi on May 24, 1997. Before looking in-depth about charter programme in India, it is pertinent to discuss its genesis, namely, UK and its experience. Not only CC in India has been directly inspired by the UK’s experience but it has also imported many concepts and themes in designing its charter programme. In order to raise...
standards of public services by making them more responsive to the wishes and needs of the users, the then Prime Minister John Major who succeeded Thatcher introduced the strategy known as Citizen’s Charter in June 1991.

In fact Department of Administrative Reform & Public Grievances (DARPG) of Government of India the nodal agency for the citizen’s charter has sought more or less to replicate the UK archetype (Sharma and Sharma: 2002). On 24th May, 1997 citizen’s charter programme was adopted in India and DARPG was made responsible for coordination, formulation and implementation of the charter programme.

The charter programme was adopted on 15th May, 2003 by Panchkula Municipal Council. In PMC, citizen’s charter represents the commitment of the organization towards, standard, quality and time frame of service delivery, grievance redress mechanism, and accountability. It also indicates that the functionaries and citizens can meet to resolve respective matters.

Figure 1 below depicts main features of CC in PMC viz. (i) accountability, (ii) people-participation, (iii) transparency, and (iv) responsiveness. The present study intends to focus on the implementation of these features in PMC.

Does Citizen’s Charter was imported successfully?
The Citizen’s Charter is a clear case of policy transfer. From last two decades or so the phenomenon of policy transfer has increased (Dolowitz and Marsh: 2000: 6). Due to globalization and technological advancement now policy-makers can communicate with each other easily and eventually land up in borrowing many policy reforms. Besides, rapid growth in communications also facilitates exchange of ideas and knowledge much easier. Further international organizations such as European Union, World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, advocate and at times enforce, similar polices across diverse countries.

India’s foray in the CC point to a case of voluntary policy transfer from the UK that was primarily driven by rational response to a perceive process. In other words policy-makers ventured in the charter programme with the intention of the lesson-drawing. But field study revealed that the Indian government handled the process of importing the CC hastily.
First, it is an incomplete policy transfer because the policy-makers failed to transport the crucial elements that made the policy and or institutional structure a success story in the originating country. The union government imposed the CC in India to make administration citizen-friendly. But Indian government failed to recognize how important the preceding reforms especially Next Steps Programme among other were in making the CC a success story in UK.

Secondly, it is inappropriate transfer mainly as insufficient attention was paid to the differences between the economic, social, political, and ideological contexts in the transferring and the borrowing country. India has high power difference and strong uncertainty avoidance in contrast to UK that has very low power distance and weak uncertainty avoidance. Similarly Indian bureaucracy is out-dated, traditional, and classical (Sharma and Sharma: 2002; Maheshwari: 1999 Jain: 1998; Ray: 1998) while bureaucracy in the UK is professional, modern, and up-dated.

The Extent of the Citizen’s Charter Implementation
The findings of the study show that the implementation of CC in PMC is far from reality. This study supports what some other studies have established in some other cases in India (Ghuman: 2000; CCC: 1998a; ….. 1998b; ….: 1998c). The CC is still not embedded in the cognition of the officials. The officials lack seriousness to implement CC. PMC has failed to circulate the charter among street level bureaucrats. Field studies have clearly shown that most of the officials of the public organizations are not aware about the charter programme. The study findings also confirm that the officials at PMC lack commitment and seriousness to implement CC. In addition to this, most of the street level bureaucrats in PMC do not have sufficient knowledge about the charter programme. Further, the discussion with PMC key officials revealed that they have not been marketing the idea of CC because of fear of mounting public pressure to improve the quality and delivery of services.

Access to full and accurate information about services is one of the most important and cornerstone of the charter programme. But in PMC information is not freely and easily available. Control over information and non-sharing with citizens has made the bureaucracy powerful. The Consumer Coordination Council (CCC) team faced problems to get information about the status of services while evaluating charter programme sponsored by the DAR&PG. It is only on the intervention of the DAR&PG, the concerned public organizations supplied information to the CCC (CCC: 1998a).

This study also shows that people were not involved in the charter programme. All the respondents confirmed that what to talk of participation even most of them are not aware about the charter programme. Most of the CCs are drafted over night under the guidance of the government (Sharma and Sharma: 2002; Ghuman: 2000). Therefore, by and large, it was kept out of the public domain.

In the absence of free and accurate information, lack of wide publicity of CC, and no room for their participation of the citizens, the officials are not accountable. The officials of PMC do not get feedback from citizens about their needs, demands and preferences. They hardly offer what the citizens are looking for. At state and local levels, many hurdles are affecting effective implementation of the CC. The bureaucratic commitment towards the CC has receded over time. The programme has mainly been confined to routine meetings of the bureaucracy. The CC in PMC has not made any bearable mark in the old system. Moreover, with the passage of time the effective implementation of the CC has also been eroded.
Factors affecting the Successful Implementation of the Citizen’s Charter
This study has focused mainly on eight independent variables which were perceived to have affected, to different extents, the successful implementation of the CC in Panchkula Municipal Council. Most of the theoretical questions pertaining to this study are based on determining and analyzing the factors that affect the effective implementation of the CC. The following section gives a brief overview of those factors that determine the successful implementation of the CC in PMC.

I. Power Distance
The study revealed that there exists a large power distance in the Indian society in general and PMC in particular. This leads to concentration of authority at the top and paucity at the bottom. In the absence of mandate, the frontline staff cannot initiate and decide nothing but look upwards for seniors’ approval. In a nutshell, the higher echelons lack a stance that treats both subordinates and citizens as equal partners in the governing the affairs, thereby, making the implementation of the CC a non-productive experience.

II. Uncertainty avoidance
The findings suggest that PMC has a strong uncertainty avoidance propensity. This in turn breeds many maladies in the functioning of the PMC. For example, Strong uncertainty avoidance fosters a predisposition for rules and regulations. The officials avoid bending and or breaking the rules. Further, officials usually are averse to experiments, changes and new ideas. They do not promote any type of innovations. Furthermore, this type of culture makes the system closed and thereby tries to minimizing the sharing of resources such as information with citizen.

III. Disposition of Implementers
The PMC has a limited capacity to implement the CC successfully. The old bureaucratic norms and habits are hampering the cultivation of new values and practices to make administration citizen-friendly. Lack of comprehension, lack of ownership are among other factors that is creating hurdle for effective implementation of the CC. Proper orientation and value realignment programmes are the need of the hour to make CC a fruitful exercise.

IV. Inadequate Human and Capital Resources
PMC is lacking adequate resources. Especially its staff have not been updated and modernized through proper training. They are not competent to handle the changes entail in the citizen’s charter. To upgrade their knowledge bases and skills, organized training is the need of hour. In the absence of the adequate capacity the CC cannot make any deep impact on service delivery mechanism. To implement the CC with full strength and vigor it needs more budgets for hiring new employees, training programmes and infrastructure. Without these the fate of CC will meet none but failure.

V. Symbolism vs. Political Will
Notwithstanding the noble intentions of the government for improving the public services, there are serious misgivings that the government lacks the required political will to implement the CC successfully. Alternatively, there needs political determination backed by proper compliance mechanism to control the behaviour of bureaucrats. Without the required political will, government endeavours to implement the CC are simply deemed as a political ritual that is intended only to gain legitimacy for its policies.
VI. Public Support
Public support is also a necessary prerequisite to make the CC a fruitful exercise. Despite the officials claim for wide publicity, the public at large is in dark about the charter programme. The citizens are totally ignorant about the government measures to empower them through the CC. They revealed that the officials have not utilized the popular mass media channels for making the CC initiatives.

The charter programme mainly aim at empowering the citizens through some specified rights and privileges. But in the absence of sufficient awareness and knowledge these rights and privileges are meaningless. In other words, in such as grim the CC will exist but merely in papers.

Future of the Citizen’s Charter in India
From the last couple of decades, new trends and development are added in the literature and theory of public administration. New Public Management is one of the most comprehensive series of reforms that aims to enhance economy, efficiency and effectiveness in public service delivery mechanism. International organizations such as the World Bank, the United Nations, and the IMF have been advocating for NPM. In fact, these organizations are the main driving force behind such reforms in taking NPM agenda to developing countries.

But invariably, the champions of NPM fail to consider that it is not easy to induce product of a developed culture in a developing nation. First, structural contexts play crucial role in deciding the success of new change or reform. Secondly, Culture works as the main screening wall and rejects new changes that are not compatible with it. Last not least, environmental conditions are very important (Olsen: 1972) for furthering reforms and CC is not an exception to this. In a way environmental, culture, structural contexts deny NPM’s claim of universality (Hood: 1991; Pollitt: 1990 March and Olsen: 1989). National culture may resist absorption into a global model (Dunleavy and Hood: 1994).

Similar fortune met with path-breaking device Citizen’s Charter that was introduced in India with lot of fanfare. India imported CC directly from United Kingdom where it has been working effectively and regarded as a ‘success story’ and an example of ‘best practice’. But India is not UK; India has its own culture, institutions and conventions that did not have compatibility with CC. Besides, policy makers in India failed to contemplate prerequisite conditions that were sine qua none to make CC work effectively. If the Indian government would have taken care of necessary pre-exercise before launching CC, then would be the CC did not meet with this fate.

Conclusion
In this study, I have explored the factors that affect the successful implementation to understand the implementation process of the citizen’s charter in Panchkula Municipal Council. The following table concludes the major findings and results of this study along with strategies to make implementation of the CC a fruitful exercise.

Table 1: Summary of the Study

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<tr>
<th>SN</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Ideal conditions</th>
<th>Present scenario (PMC)</th>
<th>Way forward</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Power Distance</td>
<td>Participatory leadership</td>
<td>Authoritarian leadership</td>
<td>Delegation of power</td>
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<td>Interdependence</td>
<td>Closed structure</td>
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<td>Open structure</td>
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<td>Uncertainty avoidance</td>
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<td>Simplification of rules</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Least and flexible rules/ regulations</td>
<td>Un-innovativeness</td>
<td>Trust building</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Innovative environment</td>
<td>Status quo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Result-orientation</td>
<td>Process-orientation</td>
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<th>Disposition of Implementers</th>
<th>Rigidity</th>
<th>Simplification of rules</th>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>High competency</td>
<td>Uninnovativeness</td>
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<td>Positive attitude</td>
<td>Status quo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Incompetent</td>
<td>Process-orientation</td>
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<td>Negative attitude</td>
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<th>Resources</th>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Adequate funds</td>
<td>Uninnovativeness</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Skilled and trained manpower</td>
<td>Status quo</td>
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<td>Access to specialized facilities</td>
<td>Process-orientation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Inadequate funds</td>
<td>Simplification of rules</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Shortage of staff</td>
<td>Trust building</td>
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<td>Unskilled and untrained manpower</td>
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<td>Lack of specialized facilities</td>
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<td>Capacity building</td>
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<td>Proper budgeting</td>
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<td>New recruitments</td>
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<td>Training and refresher courses</td>
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<th>Symbolism and Political will</th>
<th>Rigidity</th>
<th>Simplification of rules</th>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Strong political will rather than symbolism</td>
<td>Uninnovativeness</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lack of backing from politicians to enforce compliance</td>
<td>Status quo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>CC needs to be linked with rewards and penalties</td>
<td>Process-orientation</td>
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<th>Public support</th>
<th>Rigidity</th>
<th>Simplification of rules</th>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Well informed citizenry</td>
<td>Uninnovativeness</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lack of awareness among citizens</td>
<td>Status quo</td>
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<td>Process-orientation</td>
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Decentralization of Powers: Issue and Challenges

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Abstract
As long as our political class keeps prioritizing its short term goal of clinging to power by hook or crook, the long term national interest would get jeopardized. The spirit of democracy lies in decentralization of power which is also emphasized in the federal nature of Indian constitution. The devolution of power to the grass root level has always been considered to be the most effective method for democracy to succeed but some of the measures taken in this direction have failed to yield the desired results. Even the Panchayati Raj institutions are seen afflicted by the same kinds of ills which have created so many problems in devolution of power. The real solution lies in the empowerment of the people at the lowest rung of the society. It requires honest efforts towards decentralization and devolution. This paper aims at providing recent outcomes of decentralization in India with its implementation after the 73rd and 74th amendment act. Role of urban manager have limited whereas elected representative get to hold a power in a wide area. Now the question arises whether the administratartion power with the unskilled politician will prove beneficial by any means. So my paper aims at seeking the clear goal of showing imapct of decentraization and changing role of urban managers in India.

Keywords: Power, Decentralization, 73rd and 74th Amendment Act, India

Introduction
What do we understand by decentralisation? The term "decentralization" embraces a variety of concepts which must be carefully analyzed in any particular country before determining if projects or programs should support reorganization of financial, administrative, or service delivery systems.

Decentralization -- the transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from the central government to intermediate and local governments or quasi-independent government organizations and/or the private sector -- is a complex multifaceted concept. Different types of decentralization should be distinguished because they have different characteristics, policy implications, and conditions for success. (World Bank Group, 2001). It is rational to argue that decentralisation facilitates time-specific and location-specific knowledge to implement policies that influence people’s welfare. Decentralisation in political, fiscal, and economic systems affects development outcomes in a number of ways.

First, decentralised provision of social and physical infrastructures should correspond with the diverse demand conditions in different regions and match their resource endowments better than central provision. Even with regard to the provision of quasi-public goods, identification of target groups of beneficiaries is easier and implementation of policies more effective when undertaken by decentralised governmental units. Thus, even when there is some controversy over the redistributive role of sub-central governments, their desirability in implementing poverty alleviation policies is generally agreed upon.
Second, competition among sub-central jurisdictions may promote innovations and enhance productivity. At the same time, as the decentralised governmental units function within a large nation-wide unified market free from impediments to the movement of factors and products, it can provide a congenial environment for the efficient functioning of the market economy. In reality, the possibility of decentralisation failing to overcome regional and local dimensions of poverty and inequality may not be ruled out, mainly because the decision making power on local developmental initiatives is often highly dependent on state bureaucracy. Further, decentralisation may increase the probability of empowering local elites in capturing larger share of public resources at the cost of the poor. (World Bank Group, 2001).

Decentralization is a popular theme of the modern world. It is being widely accepted as a symbol of good governance and political modernization as well as an indicator of the quality of democratic process. Indeed, a democracy works when all people including the most marginalised ones participate in the process of governance, have capability to ask questions and seek accountability. For Third World countries, it is an indispensable precondition for social, economic and political development, stability and national unity. As such, it is not surprising that most of these countries have embarked on the process of devolution.

The real test of the decentralization lies in its contribution towards people’s empowerment by way of providing them a significant role in decision-making on matters which affect them most. Experience shows that the institutions of local self-government are operating amid a number of negative pulls and challenges in the developing countries.

In a federation the powers and functions of the government are divided among two governments. In India it is the Union Government and the various State Governments. However with the passage of 73rd and 74th amendment act of the Constitution of India, in 1993 the division of powers and functions have been further tickled down to Local Self Governments (Panchayat at Village levels and Municipalities and Municipal Corporations in towns&large cities). As such India now has not two but three tier of Governments in its federal setup. The 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Indian Constitution brought in a Local Government system as the third tier of governance with focus on economic development and social justice.

**History of Decentralized Planning in India**

The highly centralized character of planning in India did not mean that there was no thinking about decentralization. It has figured quite prominently in Indian Plans, committees and working groups, set up by states, Centre and Planning Commission, for a long time. The idea of “planning from below” was advocated even at the time of the formulation of the First Five Year Plan (Community Development: Whose main aim was the promotion of rural development through the provision of essential social and economic services within the framework of a hierarchy of rural centers), and the case for district planning has been advocated since the Second Five Year Plan. The Maharashtra Committee on Democratic Decentralization (1961) opined: “the district body is the best operative unit of local administration as it alone will be capable of providing the requisite resources, necessary administrative and technical personnel and equipment required for a properly coordinated development of the district. In view of this, we conclude that if decentralization is to be real and effective, it would be imperative to establish a strong executive body at the district level”. (Qaiyum, 2004).
The Administrative Reforms Commission (1966-70), appointed during the Third Five Year Plan period, came out with its report which criticised the highly centralized character of Indian Planning and advocated the strengthening of the machinery for planning at the state and district levels. The Third Five Year Plan explained a methodology of preparing State Plan for rural development on the basis of the District and Block Plans. Attempts were also made to develop the three-tier Panchayati Raj system based on the Balwant Ray Mehta Committee recommendations and with it the idea of “planning from below” gained some currency, but did not pick up. The Planning Commission made special efforts to promote district planning by issuing guidelines for the formulation of District Plans in 1969. In November 1977, the Planning Commission appointed a Working Group under the Chairmanship of Prof. M.L. Dantewala to draw up guidelines for Block – level planning. Another Committee on Panchayati Raj headed by Ashok Mehta was appointed in December 1977. Both the Committees submitted their reports to the Government in 1978. In implementation, Block-level planning confining itself to the Integrated Rural Development Programme, tended to become an “isolated exercise” without developing adequate links with higher level of planning.

The Ashok Mehta Committee regarded the revenue district as the first point of decentralization below the state level because it assured technical expertise of the high order required for rural development. It argued: “Technical assistance and organization of a high order is necessary to sustain the momentum. While the state government has the requisite competence in this regard, the work is even now being decentralized at the district level. When a process of administrative decentralization is already taken place, analysis of the changes, and of the ensuing development below the state level so that the entire programme can be effectively implemented, coordinated and supervised. The inescapable conclusion is that the first point of decentralization should be at the district level. District heads of sufficient competence are already stationed here. Their capabilities are also being upgraded both in industry and agriculture sectors. A group of subject matter specialists in agriculture is being stationed at the district headquarters. The District Industries Centre will have a component of experts with different specializations; a district planning unit has been separately suggested with technical expertise in several fields. The district is also traditionally a unit of administration to which all are acclimatized. Further, it is the key planning unit for evolving the overall strategies, resource allocation including credit and the delineation of the different types of projects.

Further, experience show that higher level leadership also can emerge at this level. The establishment of a strong Panchayati tier at the district level appears to respond both to the organizational needs within the district and the demand of emerging linkage with the state”.

The Planning Commission set up a Working Group on District Planning under the Chairmanship of Dr. C.H. Hanumantha Rao, Member, Planning Commission, in 1984 with main aims: (i) to define the precise scope and content of state planning, (ii) to delineate the procedure for decentralized planning at the state level to make the concept of district planning operational, (iii) to devise the various steps in district planning and indicate methodology for each step, (iv) to suggest the methodology for integrating block level planning with district planning and (v) to recommend the procedure for nesting the district plans into the state plans. The Working Group has set up Sub-groups to go into the various aspects of district planning in depth. The deliberation of these Sub-groups, reflected in their reports, formed the basis of the report of the Working Group, submitted to the Planning Commission in 1984. The concept of district planning adopted by the Working Group was akin to the concept of
integrated area planning. This however, was the ultimate goal. The Working Group found that the state were at different stages of progress towards decentralized planning. It had, therefore, advocated a gradual step - by – step approach towards the final goal.

Enactment of 73rd and 74th Amendment

It was the enactment of the Constitution (73rd and 74th Amendment) Acts in 1992 which has ushered in new era of decentralized and democratic process where district is a key unit in the multi-level planning and has also bestowed a Constitutional status on rural (Panchayat) and urban (Municipality) local bodies to enable them to function as effective democratic self-government institutions. A new era, because it related to rural-urban content of decentralized planning, hitherto “accepted as celebrated rule that district and sub-district planning would by and large encompass the rural sector, with the task of urban development invested in other instruments of development and control”.

The 73rd Amendment Act which was brought into force in April 1993, had added to articles which provide for establishment of and elections to Panchayats. They comprise a new part - part IX. By the same Amendment, a new schedule (Schedule 11), has been added which enumerates the functions to be delegated to the Panchayats. The 74 th Amendment Act was passed to establish Municipalities and provides for elections to them. It has inserted Part 9-A consisting of 18 Articles. Schedule 12 inserted by the Amendment mentions the functions to be assigned to the Municipalities. The Act also provides for the constitution in every state at the district level a District Planning Committee to consolidate the plans prepared by the Panchayats and the Municipalities in the district and to prepare a draft development plan. The Amendment came into force on 1st June 1993.

Thus, the Constitution (73rd and 74th Amendment) Acts enjoin upon local institutions like District Planning Committee, Panchayats and Municipalities to formulate district level and sub-district level development plans and implement them

The Acts require that the relationship between the state and local governments with respect to functions and taxation powers of local bodies and revenue sharing between the two are placed on a firm footing. The state legislatures are required, by law, to specify what powers and responsibilities could be given to the Panchayati Raj institutions and to Municipalities in respect of plans for economic development and social justice. The Constitution widens considerably their function area so that they would go far beyond the mere provision of civic amenities. These have been incorporated in the Eleventh and Twelfth Schedules.

The state governments are also required to constitute State Finance Commissions within one year from the commencement of the 73rd and 74th Amendments to review the financial positions of the local bodies. The Commission will recommend the principles governing the distribution between the state government and the local bodies of the net proceeds of the taxes, duties, tolls and fees leviable by the state; determinations of taxes, duties tols to be assigned or appropriated by the local bodies; grants in-aaid to the local bodies from the Consolidated Fund of the states, allocation of share of the proceeds of taxes, etc., between the local bodies at all levels in a state. It will also recommend measures needed to improve the financial position of the local bodies.

However, all these have been mentioned in the Constitution, it’s up to the states to specify such taxes. With the enactment of the Constitution Amendment Acts, 1992, the quest for decentralization of planning on thought - level was over.
Current Status of Decentralization in India

Nineteen years have passed since the coming into force of 73rd Constitution Amendment Act. Almost three rounds of elections for approximately 2 lac 52 thousand panchayats have been completed, making India one of the most representative democracies of the world. A sizeable presence of the representatives of under-privileged class and women in the grass root political institutions is a land mark development in the rural politics of the country. Several State Acts have been amended from time to time to enable PRIs to become genuine structures of local self- government. Process of political socialization of rural India has begun and villages are showing signs of development.

Case of Gram Sabha in Fatehabad, Haryana

Fatehabad is a new district of Haryana, which was earlier a part of Hisar. Fatehabad district has mixed culture and language as it is on the border of Punjab, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. The district has five blocks with 224 panchayats. While gram sabha meeting held the findings were:

i. People in large were not aware about gram sabha meeting
ii. In many places even the sarpanch was not aware about the issues to be discuss during the meeting. Even n gram panchayat’s where the sarpanch was vocal and clear about the proceedings, he/she hardly confronted the other members or gram sachiv
iii. The day allocated by state government for meeting were not suitable to majority of people as this is the harvesting time and everybody leaves for the farm by early morning. They have to miss a day wage to attend gram sabha
iv. The proceedings are focused more at the gram sachiv who is the observer and not sarpanch. It was observed that the gram sachiv took full control over the proceedings
v. The meetings are dominated by men the women who attended are generally in purdah and cannot speak freely in front of other men.

More than a decade after PRIA published Panchayati Raj Institutions: A Balance Sheet in which it raised critical issues for the effective functioning of panchayati raj institutions, the balance sheet is still unfavourable. The issues remain:
- Inadequacy of the gram sabha
- Lack of participation of women and other marginalized sections in the gram sabha
- Delimitation of panchayats
- Puppet candidates in panchayat elections
- Poor representation of women and other marginalized sections in panchayats
- Lack of plan preparation at the gram sabha and panchayat levels
- Economic non-viability of panchayati raj institutions

Nearly two-thirds of the country’s population resides in its 640,867 villages. There are 247,000 panchayats and 30 lakh directly elected representatives to panchayati raj institutions. These institutions and representatives are responsible for the economic development with social justice of this large section of the population. Looking at the condition of panchayats today, what should be done to strengthen panchayati raj institutions so that they can fulfill this role? How can they become more effective players in bringing about equitable socio-economic development? In this context, it is also crucial to look at the formation and functioning of state election commissions, state finance commissions and district planning committees.

However, a review of the working of the Panchayati Raj Institutions so far reveals that in most of the states they are still not working as genuine institutions of the local self-
government. They are disempowered and usually play a second fiddle to the district administration and the state line departments. They have a little say in matters relating to the development of their villages. In the efficacy of the institutions of grass-root democracy depends on three factors – (a) Adequate legal/constitutional provisions, (b) adequate funds, functions and functionaries and (c) conducive socio-political environment. In India, PRIs are facing a number of challenges from all these angles.

Conclusion
The proposed amendments (73rd and 74th), however, touch upon only a part of the requirements and does not fulfil the pre-conditions. For example, we do not see much evidence (concrete evidence) of decentralised planning with strong micro-level planning. Though a large number of committees (such as Working Group on District Planning, CAARD—Committee for Administrative Arrangement For Rural Development, etc) have recommended strengthening of planning process at district and below district levels, very little has been achieved. Even the newly floated Jawahar Rozgar Yojana is not to be integrated with a sound planning exercise at the micro-level. In short, there is no evidence to suggest that government is evolving a comprehensive concept of panchayati raj encompassing economic, political and welfare dimensions. It is also worth noting that the proposed amendment takes no notice of the highly exploitative power structures in our rural areas. It completely ignores the fact that the powers of panchayats today are in the hands of those who have not only no concern about the needs of the poor, but who are also exploiting the poor very badly. It also ignores the reality that the poor and highly unorganised masses are in no position to use their vote for their own benefits. Giving them powers without doing anything about the exploitative structure is surely going to be a futile exercise. We think that the approach adopted in the proposed amendment, is at best partial, which may not serve much purpose.

Reference


Civil Service Reforms in India:  
A Review  

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Abstract  
The present modern civil service of India is mostly followed on the pattern of the Imperial Civil Service of the British India. It was formed after Independence of India in 1947 from the British India. It was Sardar Patel’s vision that the Civil Service should strengthen cohesion and national unity. He wanted a strong and vibrant federal administrative system in which the All India Service would play an important role. True to his conviction, the Civil Service has provided the framework for the administration of the country. The values of integrity, impartiality and merit remain the guiding principles of Indian Civil Services. Since Independence, there have been about fifty Commissions and Committees at the Union Government level to look into what can be broadly characterized as administrative reforms. 2th Administration Reform Commission the first, eighth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth reports have come up with crucial suggestions in the realm of civil service reforms. Civil Services are an essential part of government organization. Lately, the Indian civil services have come under severe criticism. Most people refer to the civil service only negatively. Yet, despite its manifest deficiencies or exposed vices, no government organization can work in its absence. Therefore a need has been felt to reform Indian Civil Service in order to do away with its deficiencies and make it an instrument of delivering public goods and services in an efficient and accountable manner. It is important to recognize that the reform mandate will throw up greater challenges.  

Keywords: Challenges, Civil Service, Legacy, Reforms  

Introduction  
The Civil Service system is the backbone of the administrative machinery of the country. Civil Service is essential for the functioning of government. Civil Service is the executive branch of government. Civil Service refers to the body of government officials who are employed in civil occupations that are neither political nor judicial. Civil services reforms itself encompasses a wide range of areas starting from the recruitment to the civil services, capacity building, system of placements, relationship between the political and the permanent executive and most importantly, the ethical values that the civil services must inculcate. Because of existing systemic deficiencies in these areas, our administration in general and the civil services in particular, are perceived to have become wooden, inflexible, self-perpetuating and inward-looking. While the bureaucracy responds to crisis situations with efficacy and has admittedly made major contributions in strengthening our democratic polity, there is often tardiness and failure on its part to deal with normal situations and with citizens in a sensitive and responsive manner. One of the reasons for this state of affairs is the belief in the civil services that its authority and legitimacy is derived not from the mandate of the people but from an immutable corpus in rules that it has prescribed for itself, without any correspondence to the needs and aspirations of the people it serves and the democratic ethos. That is why the functioning of the civil services is characterized by a great deal of negativity, lack of responsiveness to what the people want and the dictates of democracy. It is sad but true that the civil service in India evokes the metaphors of what Michel Cozier calls
‘bureaucratic behavior’; the normal association that people have with the ‘vulgar and frequent use of the word "bureaucracy"," which as Crazier explains, ‘evokes the slowness, the ponderousness, the routine, the complication of procedures, and the maladaptive responses of "bureaucratic” organizations to the needs which they should satisfy, and the frustrations which their members, clients, or subjects consequently endure.’

**Components of Civil Service Reforms**

Reforms must take into account the role of the Civil Service in the governance needs of the day and the expectations generated from it. The main components of Civil Service Reform should pertain to the following:

![Diagram of Civil Service Reforms Components](image)

**Figure: 1. Component of Civil Service Reforms**

**Committee on Civil Service Reforms in India**

The Fifth Central Pay Commission, 1997 had considerably raised the emolument structure in the Civil Service wanting it at the same time to become more productive, accountable and ethical. The latter objective was not achieved. On the contrary, the popular image of the nation’s Civil Service was becoming poorer. The Government of India wanted to improve the health of the Civil Service by its several interventions in the last decade or so.

In 2001, it set up the K.P. Geethakrishnan Expenditure Reforms Commission, which made detailed recommendations to reduce public expenditure. In August 2000, the Civil Service
Examination Review Committee was set up to suggest improvement in the examination system of the higher civil servants even though this scrutiny was initiated, independently of the executive by the Union Public Service Commission as part of its regular exercise. In 2003 the Surender Nath Committee was launched to suggest reforms in the system of performance appraisal, promotion, empanelment and placement of the higher civil servants in India. Around the sometime, the B.N. Yugandhar Committee was set up to suggest appropriate in-service training to the members of the All-India services at different stages of their service careers. It is this background against which Committee of Civil Service Reforms appointed in February 2004 and mandated to submit its report within a period of six months. Matters like examination system for higher Civil Service, in-service training and performance appraised have been already examined by the above mentioned committees. The Civil Service Reforms Committee was more open ended and subsumed the earlier reports. The Committee consisted of 15 members including its chairman and the member secretary. It was a Committee exclusively of civil servants, either serving or retired. Its chairman was P.C. Hota, a retired member of the Indian Administrative Service. The Second Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) proposed a few changes two years ago like making all papers compulsory and removal of options. A committee was constituted by the UPSC under Arun S. Nigavekar, former UGC chairman, to study the ARC report. Changes in the Preliminary Examination, 2011; in a piecemeal manner, the UPSC first announced changes in the pattern of Preliminary examination in 2011 on the basis of recommendation of Professor S.K. Khanna Committee. Surprisingly, no matching changes were made in the Main Examination in 2011.

Nigavekar Committee (2011) a committee was constituted by the UPSC under Arun S. Nigavekar, former UGC chairman, to study the ARC report. The panel recently suggested revolutionary changes even in the eligibility criteria and number of attempts. It said students should be allowed to choose only those subjects as options which they had studied for graduation. The UPSC did not accept this recommendation in the changes notified on March 5, 2013, though it reduced the optional weightage. Many recommendations were ignored. “We said prelims should be open only to graduates with 50 per cent marks. Right now all pass-outs are eligible. To prevent delayed entry into services we wanted the upper age limit to be 25 instead of 30 and the lower limit of 21 years abolished as students now graduate at 18 years also. The civil service mains must test aspirants for knowledge of their degree subjects and optional papers should test how they apply this knowledge to solve problems.

**Change of Mindset of Civil Servant**
A paradigm shift in the nature of civil service/servants is required to cope up with the emerging demands and the changes in society and economy. The following table summarizes the nature of changes required in this esteemed service for better performance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commitment: to the Civil Service</th>
<th>Commitment: to public service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Core values: Integrity and neutrality</td>
<td>Core values: Integrity, Impartiality and delivery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precedent: Follower</td>
<td>Precedent: Creator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work: Exclusively in policy and ministerial support roles</td>
<td>Work: Various roles between operations, policy, specialist skills and ministerial support</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table – 1: Nature of Civil Servants

### Imperative for Civil Service Reforms in India

Statutory tenure of a few years should be provided to a civil servant in any posting under a new civil service act.

- Transfers of officials before statutory tenures may only be done in the public interest on the recommendation of establishment Board in a state headed by chief secretary.
- If the advice of Establishment Board is disregarded by the Chief Minister, the matter is to be reviewed by a 3 member ombudsman that will award monetary compensation and also send a report to either Governor or president that will then be laid before the legislature.
- Ombudsman should be provided to take up matters for premature transfers of officers under central government.

### Benefits of fixed tenures

- Morale & motivation
- Neutrality
- Accountability
- Specialization
- Commitment

### Performance targets to be created

Annual performance targets of officers enjoying statutory tenures to be drawn up by reporting & reviewing officers. Example 1993-US-Government has for performance of the federal officials. In Singapore, senior officials’ promotion is contingent only on merit and not seniority.

### New Public Management related Reforms

Downsizing of government in a phased manner by limiting recruitment of public servants Policy functions of government to be separated for service delivery functions which are to be measured through citizen charters. Service delivery functions to be hived off to Executive Agencies (as in UK). In UK, executive agencies carry on the function of service delivery.
60% of UK civil servants are in Executive Agencies. Adoption of private sector style of management where performance of targets is the only measure of efficiency in public service

**Institutional arrangement for recognition of excellent work**
Currently in India, good work by officers goes mostly unrecognized unless the officer beats his own drum in media. E.g. Lakhina, Veerappan, Tehar. Good work is not rewarded and bad work is not punished.

**Statutory embargo on appointment of retired civil servants**
They were statutory or constitutional authorities and even to assignments as Ambassadors, Governors. There should be cooling off two years for joining political parties and contesting elections.

**Training of officials**
They should be paid on quality of training of officials. “The more those sweetest in training; the less those bleeds in combat”- Richard Marchinko.

**Concept of Quality Circles**
To achieve Zero defects can be applied to Government offices. Small team of officials engaged in a particular branch of an office may form a quality circle. Can discuss and recommend measures to improve performance through increased speed and efficiency.

**Better Remuneration**
If improving monetary compensation is a not possible, then other facility like rent-free accommodation, reimbursement for electricity, children education allowance can be given to civil servants.

**Tackling corruption with an iron first**
If an official is caught red-handed while accepting illegal gratification, or disproportionate income, president or governor can immediately pass an order dismissing the officer from service and give him post decisional hearing to prove his innocence.

**Appropriate grievance redressal mechanism**
At present, Senior Officials and political functionaries in government have grievance cells but most of them are ineffective as they don’t have any dedicated telephone numbers with voice mail etc.

**Lateral Entry Provision**
This has been favored by ARC-1 and Estimates Committee. Senior professionals from private and voluntary sector should be permitted to enter civil services for manning senior administration posts under the Central Government.

**Need for Specialization (ARC-1)**
ARC-1 had recommended this in the 68’s. It should be provided by letting a person to continue in particular areas for a minimum period of 8-10 years. For e.g. in functional fields like Economic Administration, Personnel Administration, Financial Administration, Defence & Internal Security, Planning etc.
Mid Career Examination
It should be introduced to eliminate inertia of Civil Servants and keep them on their toes to work on their education and training.

Revolving Door
To build up expertise in civil service, civil servants must be provided an exposure of working with private sector, NGOs and academia and to come back enriched with experience gained there.

Rationalization of Performance Appraisal
The process of performance appraisal should be made performance oriented and not punishment oriented.

Transformation of the Pyramidal Structure
Instead of a very wide base and very narrow apex, there is a need to increase the number of officers at higher levels and reduce manpower at lower levels.

Civil Service in India: Issues
- Instability of tenure and frequent transfers
- About 80% of IAS officers are transferred after change of political party.
- Only 6-8% IAS officers under state government remained in their posts for least 3 years.
- Though there are norms for 4-5 years tenures for Deputy Secretary and Joint Secretary, appointment to these posts have become exercise in political patronage.
- Politicization and political interference in Civil Service.
- Irresponsibility of officials- Due to uncertainty of tenure of any post, the officials only bide their time and not put in hard work while posted.
- Lack of performance orientation.
- Low motivation to perform as performances is not recognized.
- Political favoritism for post- retirement postings.
- Lack of focus on training of officials.
- Poor remuneration of civil servants.
- Indifferent and non-responsive administration.
- High degree of corruption.
- Higher status and importance of generalist in civil services.
- Lethargy & inertia of officials in mid career.
- Indian administration culture has been described as (Power + Secrecy- Accountability).
- Status-quo orientation instead of change- orientation, that is required in a developing country.
- Colonial mindset (Mai-baap attitude)

Civil Service in India: Challenges
- Lack of professionalism and poor capacity building.
- Inefficient incentive systems that do not appreciate upright and outstanding civil servants but reward the corrupt and the incompetent
- Outmoded rules and procedures that restrict the civil servant from performing effectively.
• Systemic inconsistencies in promotion and empanelment.
• Lack of adequate transparency and accountability procedures - there is also no safety for whistle blowers.
• Arbitrary and whimsical transfers – insecurity in tenures impedes institutionalization.
• Political interference and administrative acquiescence.
• Gradual erosion in values and ethics.

Suggestion
• Code of Ethics for Civil Servants to be created
• Public Service Values to be defined and made applicable to all tiers.
• Conflict of interests to be comprehensively covered in Code of Ethics & Code of Conducted for officers.
• Serving officials should not be nominated on boards of public undertaking.
• Liability of Corrupt public servants to pay damages
• Public servants who cause loss to state/ citizen through corruption be made liable for damages & make good the loss.
• This can be provided by inserting a chapter in the Prevention of Corruption Act.
• Corrupt Public Servants (Forfeiture of property) Bill:
• As suggested by the Law Commission to be enacted.
• Constitutional protection to Civil Servants- Artical-311
• Constitution of India under Artical 311 and Artical 310 to be repealed.
• Necessary terms & conditions to be Constitution of India provided under Artical-309, to protect the bonafide actions of public servants in public interest.
• Necessary protection against arbitrary action be Constitution of India provided under Artical-309
• Protecting Honest Civil Servants
• A special investigation unit to be attached to the protected Lokpal/ State Lokayukta/ Vigilance Commission to investigate allegation of corruption against investigative agencies.

Conclusion
The preservation of integrity, fearlessness and independence of the civil service is an essential condition of a parliamentary system of Government. Civil service reform is a continuous process in government of India. Though India inherited the British colonial legacy, it has been trying to reinvent itself in the realm of civil services. Civil services reforms itself encompasses a wide range of areas starting from the recruitment to the civil services, capacity building, system of placements, relationship between the political and the permanent executive and most importantly, the ethical values that the civil services must inculcate. Because of existing systemic deficiencies in these areas, our administration in general and the civil services in particular, are perceived to have become wooden, inflexible, self-perpetuating and inward-looking. Promoting public service values and ethics; the traditional civil service values of efficiency, integrity, accountability and patriotism, it is necessary for civil servants to inculcate and adopt ethical and moral values including probity in public life, respect for human rights and compassion for the downtrodden and commitment to their welfare. The Hota Committee on Civil Service Reforms in the four areas of public administration, namely: making the Civil Service responsive, citizen friendly, transparent, accountable and ethical; making Civil Service e-governance friendly, promoting intellectual growth of civil servants; and protecting the higher Civil Services against environmental pressures. Nigavekar panel was set up to identify the desired profile of civil services reforms
aspirants. Changes were suggested in eligibility criteria, number of attempts, age limit and exam format. Finally, as of now, one cannot predict the impact of the new syllabus in achieving the stated goals of the Civil Services Examination.

References
Civil Service Reforms: Issues & Challenges

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Abstract
Civil Service is one of the most prestigious services of India. Beginning right from the time of Britishers which brought the reforms first as in bringing the service of applicants on merit based entry. From the year 1922, examination started to occur in India and Indians were given chance to compete. With formation and evolution of different committees, several changes came in pattern of examination and system of recruitment. Various reports have suggested changes like promoting e-governance, local governance, Refurbishing of Personnel Administration, Strengthening Financial Management Systems, combating terrorism and bringing citizen centric governance. This paper has tried to analyze not only the changes suggested by committees but also the pattern suggested for trainees who are recruited, their promotion and evaluation criteria also. Since the civil services are working at level of National and International level and stand as skeleton for the administration of country, prospective future of country is based on the same only. This paper has tried to analyze the present civil service pattern after several evolutions and suggested future pattern. Its pros and cons along with it paper has tried to analyze where it is carrying loopholes and can be amended upon.

Keywords: Public Administration, Civil Service Reforms, India,

Introduction
Civil Service is one of the most prestigious services of India. Beginning right from the time of Britishers which brought the reforms first as in bringing the service of applicants on merit based entry. From the year 1922, examination started to occur in India and Indians were given chance to compete. In any governance system the quality of its public servants is critical and in this context recruitment of suitable persons is of great importance. Those aspiring to be civil servants must have not only the required skills and knowledge, but also the right values which would include integrity, commitment to public service and above all, commitment to the ideals and philosophy embodied in the Constitution. While designing a successor civil service, the Indian political leaders chose to retain elements of the British structure of a unified administrative system such as an open-entry system based on academic achievements, elaborate training arrangements, permanency of tenure, important posts at Union, State and district levels reserved for the civil service, a regular graduated scale of pay with pension and other benefits and a system of promotions and transfers based predominantly on seniority.

Civil Services: A Typical Profile
Beetham (1987) used this sentence to depict a picture of civil servant in his literature “Surveyors without instruments, admirals without fleets, hospitals without patients, gas filters without tools, images from Parkinson’s Law to Yes Minister come to mind when one thinks of a civil servant.” The flavour of such imagery, from writers as diverse to style is true to life and reflects how user public has viewed civil servants over the years. The term ‘bureaucracy’ referred to a cloth that covered the desks of eighteenth century of French officials. It became euphemism to describe a government ruled by officials. Over the time it
acquired a pejorative connotation used increasingly to describe a hierarchy of functionaries operating in a manner that was seen as inimical to individual freedom. The term bureaucratic system came to be associated with popular perception with cumbersome procedures, red tape, mindless harassment and petty tyranny. Because of the odium and popular concept of modern literature on public administration has popularized the use of term civil servant that hints at a loftier concept of service to the people. The term bureaucrat and civil servant are used synonymously although later also implies a full time carrier employee.²

**Objectives and Expectations**

The key objectives of government in creating the AIS are:

- preserving national unity and integrity and uniform standards of administration
- neutrality and objectivity - non-political, secular and nonsectarian outlook
- competence, efficiency and professionalism - at entry by attracting the best and brightest and throughout the career
- integrity
- idealism

The qualities expected from aspirants of civil services are very high, due to linkage of very high standards associated with it, civil services are holding a very high place in society along with it huge responsibility also.

**Attributes of a Good Administrator**

1. Willingness to assume responsibility.
2. A steadily enlarging ability to deal with more problems.
3. A strong bent toward action.
4. A good listener.
5. Effective with people.
6. Capacity to build his own strength by building the competence of his organization.
7. Capacity to use his institutional resources.
8. Avoiding using power or authority for their own sake.
10. A good team-worker.
11. A good initiator.³

**Initiation of Civil Service Reforms**

The first was the Committee on Indian Civil Services under the chairmanship of Lord Macaulay in year 1854, to suggest the course of study, scheme of examination and other related questions. The committee recommended the replacement of patronage civil service system of East India Company with a meritocratic system. The Macaulay Committee gave India its first modern civil service the structure of which continues even today. Recommendations of Macaulay Committee were accepted with passing of Government of India Act, 1858. Following were the recommendations:

- Recruitment become centralized
- Direct control of imperial authority
- British Parliament recognizing the statutory rights
- Protecting the service from political influence

Then came the Aitchison Committee which might reasonably be hoped to devise a scheme which might reasonably be hoped to possess necessary elements of finality and to do full
justice to the claims of natives of India of higher employment in public service. Its contribution for Indian civil services both for provincial and subordinate civil services are as under:

- Rationalization
- Introduction of limited competition
- Regular cadre
- Uniform grading
- Promotional opportunities and security of services
- Limiting the number to fill control posts and junior posts in order to provide a on-job training to new entrants to ICS

Then came Ishlington Committee, which provided issues relating to organization, recruitment, training, salary and service condition of civil service. It defined and broadened the scope of recruitment for Indian civil services.

- Selection of candidates on results of annual competitive examination held in England
- Selection of results of similar examination held In India for selected Indian Nominees.
- Direct appointment of Indian made by nomination in India

The Ishlington Commission made a significant contribution to Indianization of ICS. It only recommended that there should be increase in ICS posts to be held by Indians and this should be fixed at 33%. Then several suggestions were recommended by Lee Commission, its recommendations were bountiful by any standards so it was termed as “Lee loot”. It made significant contribution towards pension provision, but that arrangement of pension will be done by employees themselves by deducting 4% provident fund monthly. After independence an Economy Committee has been set up to eliminate the unnecessary, wasteful and extravagant expenditure. It suggested following measures for reformations in civil services.

- Creation of new posts or additional staff recruitment
- Well trained staff and well equipped inspection unit
- In case of extraordinary circumstances the power to create new posts and reappropriation within existing budget provisions

Although there has been raise in remuneration package for civil servants but that increase has not paced with rising prices and recommendations has declined in real terms. Administrative reforms Commission recommended several changes in grading, recruitment, training, and efficiency.

The First Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) was set up in 1966. The ARC set up 20 study teams, 13 working groups and 1 Task Force. It gave 20 Reports making a total of 581 recommendations in a period spread over 1966-70. It also recommended on establishment of two special institutions Lokpals dealing with complaints against administrative sets of ministers and secretaries to government at centre and in states and Lokayukts in each state and centre for dealing with complaints against administrative acts of other officials. The major recommendation was that authorities should be independent of legislature, executive and judiciary. It gave Reports on the following subjects:

- Personnel Administration.
- Redress of Citizen’s Grievances.
- Centre-State Relations.
- State Administration.
- Administration of Union Territories.
Machinery for Planning.
Economic Administration.
Finance, Accounts and Audit.
Railways
Post and Telegraph.

Then came second Administrative reforms commission which came recently in year 2005, it suggested the following:
- Organizational structure of the Govt. of India.
- Ethics in Governance.
- Refurbishing of Personnel Administration.
- Steps to ensure effective administration at the State level.
- Steps to ensure effective District Administration.
- Local Self-Government/Panchayati Raj Institutions.
- Social Capital, Trust and participative service delivery.
- Citizen Centric Administration.
- Promoting e-governance.
- Issues of Federal Polity.
- Crisis Management.
- Public Order.

The Hota Committee on Civil Services Reforms, 2004, had recommended that domain assignment should be introduced for civil servants to encourage acquisition of skills, professional excellence and career planning. This paper has already discussed about the practices and measures adopted by various committees in pre-independent and post-independent era, on one hand where there are opportunities for reformation according to the need of decade while on other there are challenges associated with it. The committees considered various basis for defining and differentiating where the reforms are actually required. In services that provide for postings in the secretariat and at the field level, the liability for service all over the country should be reflected in the grading system.
- For services that provide only for field postings or postings only in secretariats but not in both, the grades would have to be related to the duties and responsibilities of these posts.
- The fact that the members of the State civil services are required to work only within the State and not outside, should be reflected in their grades.
- Posts involving higher research should be graded high, even though such posts carry little or no administrative responsibility.7

There has been number of committees which discussed about the efficiency clause. Gopalaswami Ayyangar Committee while recommending restructuring of the Central Secretariat, suggested that a Department should be identified with a Secretary’s charge and a Ministry should be identified with a Minister’s charge. Some of the recommendations to enhance efficiency included, suitable awards such as rolling cup/shield to be given as incentives for timely completion of specific projects, cash rewards for valuable suggestions given for simplification of work that led to economies in expenditure and increased
efficiency, establishing work norms and examining staff strength on the basis of studies by Staff Inspection Units.

Fifth Central Pay Commission (2000) stressed upon the need to optimize the size of the government machinery. The Expenditure Reforms Commission (2001) emphasized on a drastic downsizing of the government staff strength for securing modern and professional governance and also reducing the increasing salary bill of the Government of India. The Committee on Civil Services Reforms (Hota Committee, 2004) emphasized the use of information and communication technologies (ICT) to transform Government by making it more accessible, effective and accountable. It stressed on the need to recognize that e-governance is about discarding old procedures and transforming the process of decision making and that technology is merely a tool and a catalyst for such transformations.  

On accountability also several committees has been set up. The Committee on Prevention of Corruption (Santhanam Committee) made a range of recommendations to fight the menace of corruption. It recommended the constitution of the Central Vigilance Commission, and administrative vigilance divisions in all Departments and major organizations of the Government. The Committee suggested rules to be framed for governing the conduct of civil servants as under:

- Changes were also suggested in Art. 311 of the Constitution of India for conducting disciplinary proceedings against government servants.
- Changes in the Indian Penal Code were also suggested to strengthen anti-corruption measures
- Economic offences, evasion of taxes, profiteering, black-marketing, misappropriation of public properties, trafficking in licenses and misuse of position by a public servant in making contracts and issuing licenses etc., it was suggested, should find a prominent place in the general criminal law of the country.
- The definition of public servant was recommended to be widened under the IPC to include Ministers, employees of PSUs etc. It was also recommended that offering of bribes should be made a substantive offence.
- The Committee further suggested that on completing 25 years of service or 50 years of age, a government servant may be retired without prescribing any reason, if the government thinks it fit. This was subsequently incorporated in Rule 56(j) of the Fundamental Rules.
- The Hotá Committee recommended that Sections 13 (1) (d) and 19 of the Prevention of Corruption Act and Section 197 of the Code of Criminal Procedure may be amended to protect honest civil servants from malicious prosecution and harassment.
- Each department should lay down and benchmark services to be delivered, methods of grievance redressal and public evaluation of performance. It also recommended that a Model Code of Governance should be drawn up benchmarking the standards of governance to be made available to the citizens.

The researchers have tried to analyze the reports of committees and have tried to analyze them and after through reading the researcher has tried to suggest some measures and recommendations for the reformations of administration in Indian civil services. There should be creation of separate department of personnel, which can be entrusted with several responsibilities like:

- Formulation of personnel policies for the Central and All-India Services, and inspection and review of their implementation.
• Talent-hunting, development of personnel for senior management and processing of appointments for senior posts.
• Manpower planning, training and career development, research in personnel administration.
• Discipline and welfare of staff and machinery for redressal of their grievances.
• Liaison with the Union Public Service Commission, State Governments and professional institutions.
• Staffing of middle-level positions in the Central Secretariat.
• Administration of the IAS, IPS and the Central Services should be done by the Ministry of Home Affairs while management of the Indian Economic Service and the Indian Statistical Service should be transferred to the Department of Economic Affairs.
• Incremental reforms-such as creation of a separate Department of Administrative Reforms in the Union and State Governments
• Setting up of the Indian Institute of Public Administration
• Setting up of the Central Vigilance Commission Constitution of Lokayukts in States.
• Strengthening of citizens’ grievance redressal machinery
• Focus on training and capacity building of civil servants
• Restructuring of the recruitment process
• Modifications in the performance appraisal system.

Notes & References

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Role of Political Parties in Governance in India: A Critique

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Abstract
In a democratic state like India, people who share the similar political views and goals come together to form political parties. They do this in order to promote a common set of belief and ideology which helps in simplifying the voting choices, unifying the electorate, translating public preferences into policy, bridging the separation of powers and fostering cooperation among the branches of government. Contemporarily, this is not so there are several crucial issues which are need to be focused like, Whether rights of citizens promoted; Are people participating in political parties; How can rights become integral function to the political parties; and most importantly: To what extent are political parties accountable for their election manifesto or policy platforms. By following the scientific empirical, conceptual, theoretical and reviews of papers, the researcher has tried to draw attention on the above mentioned issues, because it is the role of the political party which will decide the present & future of India. Also the researcher has focused on lacunas on part of the citizens and their impact on governance in country. Finally, the researcher has pointed out various loopholes in the existing laws and probable solutions have been suggested to overcome them.

Keywords: Party Politics, Governance, India

Introduction
"Party system is based upon a paradoxical ideology. It breeds factional elements of disunity, sowing the seeds of diversity while at the same time it strengthens and consolidates the nation. It proves almost a blessing to a nation when it checks the government from becoming tyrannical and autocratic but in its prostituted spirit, it tears a nation into clashing groups leading the country to the worst form of demoralization". —Bryce

The working of political parties in India after independence presents a contrast position of success, shortcomings and challenges. The short comings are due to the gap between what the party leaders profess and practice. The purpose of the party system in democratic country is to work for the welfare of the people and to ensure the growth of the economy but due to the criminalization in the politics their focused has shifted to the self-interest which is prejudicial to the interest of the public. So there is a need of reform in party system. This reform can be done when there is pressure on the parties by the public. Functioning of party system in India is not proper because of their malpractices, corruption and internal disputes, but in our democratic system there is a need of political parties these are the important part of Indian political system for the development and growth of the economy and welfare of the people. The present paper makes an attempt to describe the multi-party system in India with its challenges and prospects, functioning and recent position of political parties.

Development of Multi-Party System in India
The emergence of the political parties in India after Independence can be seen in the different phases and each phase is having its own genesis in the earlier phase and then flowing further. These phases can be categorised as following:
Firstly, Period of Congress consolidation and dominance\(^3\) (1952-67); secondly, parties and emergence of multi-party system\(^4\) (1967-89); thirdly, period of flux (1989-98); fourthly, shaping of coalitional party system\(^6\) (1998-2004). Now in the country like India it has become conventional to begin any political party’s discussion with the emergence of the Congress dominance which arose during the period of 1950s and broke down in 1960s and 1970s. After the partition the main rival of the Congress was the Muslim League, which was removed from the electoral scene and the electoral politics space constricted the Non-congress parties. Consequently the presence of the other parties in legislature was having much less support than that of Congress. As the Congress eclipsed the non-Congress liberal parties, those who aspired to continue in politics had to seek space within the Congress fold\(^7\). Its ability to use the nationalist movement’s organisational network, to mobilise political support and at the same time permit dissenting elements to organise themselves into oppositional factions within the party led to the Congress dominance\(^8\). Congress enjoyed exclusive control over governmental power at the Centre and in most of the States during that time\(^9\).

Thus, one-party dominance model emerged, which was different from one-party system. This consolidation of the Congress led to the weak opposition and also led to the belief that this system was invincible. Alongside of the Congress the second phase sprouts, as the new opposition parties began to emerge in 1950s. Many new parties were like Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party(KMPP), Krishikar Lok Party (KLP), etc. Also there was the formation of the CPM in 1964, which became the ruling party in its early years in Bengal and Kerela. Now in late 1960s and 1970s, this saw the emergence of the consolidation of the non-Congress parties. They forged the alliance and ruled in some of the states, though Congress was at Centre, which gave the vision of a federal government. The Congress for the first time since independence was defeated. According to the Morris-Jones view this was the new situation, which brought opposition parties fully in power and competition was there with the congress which resulted into inter-party conflicts. Now the focus was on the centralisation of power; disintegrative function of the factions; organisational weakness of the Congress after the split of party in 1969.

The agitations by Jayaprakash Narayan and imposition of emergency led to the formation Janta Party in 1977. Now there was hope of two party systems at Centre, but it was fizzled out due to quarrels in Janta Party. After some period of time the non-congress party again came in 1989, as National Front but soon collapsed. However the Janta Party and the National Fronts experiment proved that there was possibility to displace the Congress. In 1980 there was a period of flux which saw the emergence of more new parties, falling apart of Janta Party, new emergence of party as BJP, which gain strength as major opposition. This was the new pluralistic nature of federal polity. Also, the emergence of parties based on the regional was sought after, the time when national parties governed the states leaders and changed the Chief Ministers, now they were sufficient enough to decide who should be the Prime Minister.

The social and political period to which India went through can be termed as “third electoral system” said by one of the author Yogendra Yadav. The awakening of the electorate and decay of parties, generate two tendencies which gave rise to competition: (i) the way the elections were won or lost\(^10\); and (ii) growing divergence between the logic of politics at the national level and the logic of politics in various State-level arenas\(^11\).
In 1989, the dominance of Congress collapsed at National level and the formation of alliances and coalition governments emerged in a new phase and ushered party competition and cooperation. In 1994-2004, NDA government came at centre with coalition, but in 2004, they lost. This saw the Congress forming the government through alliance in the name of UPA. Thus, the alliance effect became crucial in the defeat and victory of parties at the national and State levels.

**Challenges and Prospects**

Political parties in India during the past few decades have raised the aspirations of people by creating a welfare state and participatory democracy. Political parties provide the opportunity to elites of the society to enter into the politics and share their power. But they were unable to keep pace with the aspirations of the upcoming elites or sort out competing leadership claims in an amicable manner. As parties came under pressure they have been splitting again and again, or new parties came to the fore. Indian political system is a democratic system but in political parties the power in the party and government are getting concentrated in one supreme leader. It is a democratic society so they cannot show themselves as autocratic; therefore, they show themselves as working according to the wishes of the people and their party followers. Now-a-days the party system is narrowed down to the family members of the leaders. This is the biggest challenge which political parties are facing. The purpose of political parties is to provide adequate service to the public but in recent situation it is different; they are fulfilling their interest first, rather than that of the public and this leads to the corruption in the society.

There is a criminalization of politics in the sense that the role of money and criminals have been increasing in electoral process. The political parties and leaders are using money and muscle power as a means to win the elections in mass democracy. Political parties use unethical means to ensure their victory. Candidates are chosen on the basis of their money power and capability to spend it in election to allure people to give them votes. In some cases people are pressurized and threatened to give votes to a particular candidate. Political parties and their leaders most of the time attack opposition and involve in resolving their own conflicts rather than to act upon policies and to legislate. In the global economy the political party which comes to power has duty to promote public welfare with their policies. Party leaders are answerable to the people; have to win electoral battles and face people’s wrath.

There is a need of political reforms in Indian party system and can only be achieved through pressure from public, which can be exercised in the form of voting power for public welfare. People should chose their representative and make them responsive, as they have power to remove the bad governance. In order to achieve this purpose there must be awareness among people to understand the importance of their right to vote. There is a need of regulation on the political parties to perform in a democratic manner but there should not be excessive regulation.

**Recent Position**

In contemporary, the rights of the citizen are promoted but exercise of the same does not take place. The citizens of India have lost faith in political parties and government at centre. They avoid giving vote during the poll and therefore sometimes it is misused by the political parties by giving votes on their behalf, which led to the winning of the party who is not the true representator of the people in democracy. Thus, people’s non-participation led to corrupt activities and which further led to the non-accountability of the party towards people and most importantly legislature. The reason behind this attitude is that there is no political party who is adequate to come to power and fulfil their needs.
All this in turn affects the freedom of individual, especially that of a woman who is not safe in her own country. People are not willing to participate in political parties as they have the bad image of politics in their minds and therefore it is continued by only those who either have political background or is a bureaucratic. Though the effort are being made by the social activists who act as a spark and blow off in a short while, without entering into the domain of politics and only challenges the government on different aspects. On the other side the reaction of centre government to these sparked flames social activist is unlawful, stringent, illegal and non-accountability of their action. Consequently, the attitude of the coalition government or political party at centre can only be change through the revolutionary approach. The people have to come out of their house and challenge the government for its wrongful action whether legal or otherwise and making government accountable for it.

Conclusion
Since the time the country became democratic republic the domain of political parties has undergone the transformation. The old parties got metamorphosed and new parties emerged. This has changed the party system beyond the comparison. The time has also come when there were too many parties stampede and jostle for space in the party. This was the natural development, due to the dynamics of democracy in India which is marked by diversity, development and backwardness, and was not desirable. The plural and federal character of Indian polity itself asserts the party domain for quite some time. Many of the parties are being founded after Independence, approximately 44. Till date most of the parties have performed their role as ruling and opposition but none of them proved to be the best. The citizens of a country have lost faith in them. The worst part of it is that the citizens have stopped exercising their voting right which is the basic fundamental democratic right of a citizen.

The political parties in power at centre do not fulfil the wills of people to whom they represent. They frame the policy for their self-interest and implement them according to their whims and fancies which obviously involve corrupt activities. Also the discussions which are held in the parliament are not done in a proper fashion and most of the time the parties instead of having a healthy debate they fight with each other or go out of their main discussion. This ultimately led to public harm and they are the real sufferer of it. Also they are not held accountable for their actions. Now it’s the high time for the people of India to awake and step out of their home to bring revolution in the governance. The social activist should not act like a spark but as fire to abolish the corrupt activities done by government. Citizen should step in the political parties, so that these people can be thrown out. Also, most importantly the democratic right i.e., voting right should be exercised by the citizen of India in order to realise the real freedom, liberty and equality.

Notes
8 Argument taken from the critical analysis done by Myron Weiner in 1951-52
9 In the first three general elections to the Lok Sabha, Congress won three-fourths of seats; and it ruled in all the States, except a brief interlude during 1957-59 in Kerala.
10 Supra 1 11 Supra 1
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Globalization and Democracy:
Lessons from Anna Hazare Movement

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Abstract
Globalization has narrowed the scope of national government, because of the underlying philosophy of neo-liberalism. International organizations like WTO, IMF, WB override the sovereignty of national governments. This has created doubts about the future of democracy. Proponents of globalization see no threat to democracy or to national government. They feel that globalization needs better governance and this can be achieved through a multitude of organizations like NGOS, INGOS, international institutes like WTO, WB and civil society, free press and the multinational corporations. Anna Hazare’s movement against corruption has opened a debate, parliamentary democracy versus civil society. In this paper, an attempt is made to study the transformation of democracy under the process of globalization, with special reference to Anna’s movement against corruption.

Key words: Globalization, Democracy, Civil society, Anna Hazare

Introduction
Globalization is not new. It is a phase in the development of capitalism. It means spread of the market capitalism to every country in the world. Globalization is defined “as a process by which the whole world becomes a single market. This means that goods services capital and labor are traded on a worldwide basis and information and results of research flow rapidly between countries” (Oxford Economic Dictionary). Although there are lots of similarities between the early globalization and today's globalization yet what is new today is the degree and intensity with which the world has been compressed into a single globalized market place and village (R.C. Bailwara, 2010 p 215). Capitalism in its new avatar of neo-liberalism by weakening the welfare state and state power has highlighted the economic disparities between countries and within countries.

New actors, like transnational corporations, and a host of international organizations are shouldering governance functions, which was a monopoly of the state. This has created a feeling of insecurity among the masses that face a host problem like poverty, unemployment, corruption, instability etc. Commenting on the common theme of agitations—Anna Hazare’s ‘Anti corruption movement in India, indigenous movement in Indonesia, and Tea Party movement in the USA,—EPW editorial shows that in all these three countries the anger is borne out of a feeling that representative democracy has been reduced to the working of no more than formal instruments of elections and legislative involvement of large sections of the electorate in a democracy. Politicians of all parties are seen as an elite that thrives on corruption and patronage (EPW, Editorial Aug27-Sept 2, 2011 ).

Against this backdrop an attempt is made in this paper, to evaluate the role of state in the globalized world and the transformation of the state to adapt to new environment viz-a-viz the role of civil society in governance. Anna Hazare movement against corruption is studied as a test case of the civil society movement. After this introduction the paper is divided into the following sections:
Democracy & its Institutions
The term democracy originates from the Greek word “demokratia” rule of people which was coined from “demos” people and ‘krato’s power in 15th century B.C to denote the political systems then existing in Greek city states. There are several definitions of democracy. Democracy is a form of government in which all eligible citizens have an equal say in the decision that affect their lives. Democracy allows an eligible citizen to participate equally either directly or through representatives in the proposed development and creation of laws. It encompasses social economic and cultural conditions that enable the free and equal practice of political self determination. (Wikipedia-democracy)

Several forms of democracy exist but there are two basic forms, one is direct democracy, in which all eligible citizens have direct and active participation in the decision making. In most modern societies, the sovereign power, but political power is exercised indirectly through elected representatives, which is called representative democracy. Democracy is a form of governance. The principles of governance are equality, liberty and fraternity. The people that are represented in the government have a common culture and form a community which is outwardly represented by a territory.

Parliamentary democracy that we follow in India is a representative democracy where government is appointed by representatives as opposed to presidential rule, where president is appointed by the voters, as in the USA. Along with the central and state legislatures the supreme court and high courts are other institutions of democracy (Beteille, 2012 p.13) where there is a violation of the law, courts have to rule against the violators even where they constitute a majority. The true significance of the courts of law in a democracy is that people look to them to perfect the citizen against the arbitrary use of power by the state and its functionaries. Democracy requires institutions to ensure that the rule of law is not overwhelmed by the weight of the numbers. (ibid p. 14).

Yet another feature of Indian democracy is local self government in terms of Panchayat Raj at village level and municipal councils, municipal corporations at the urban centers’. These local bodies strengthened financially through the 73rd and 74 the amendments to the Indian Constitution. Yet another and now powerful institutioner in aid to democracy is civil society. According to Beteille civil society is viewed as a set of institutions that embody the social side is represented by the legislature, the judiciary and other institutions.

There is growing interest in civil society across the globe. This is due to the fact that the state has failed and sometimes failed very badly to deliver what was expected from it. It has been either oppressive or ineffective and often both. (ibidp62). The current interest in civil society is not continued to social scientists, political leaders including heads of government, social activists and public intellectuals all point to its value and importance. Recently a variety of international agencies are promoting the idea of civil society.

According to Kaldor (quoted by Ritzer 2010 p16). Civil society is defined as the process through which individuals negotiate argue struggle against or agree with each other with the centers of political and economic authority while historically civil society was nation state
centered in more recent years it has been associated with more global actors and therefore with different set of organization and community groups. Human right activity is part of civil society.

State of Democracy Today
National democratic institutions are losing their meaning, and with it also their existing jurisdictional boundaries and the jurisdictional boundaries required for the effective regulation of globalized economic matters is increasingly lost. Increasing transnational system of production trade and finance make territorial nation states less adequate as the political form. This does not mean that nation state are disappearing, but that their authority become just one amongst many of the global, national and local level. (Bill Dunn 2009 p. 430). A striking feature of governance in the global political economy is the numerous levels upon which it takes place. (Brieman et al 2010 p430). Foremost among these are the governance at sub national, regional and global level. Dani Rodrik (2011) has discussed many areas where state’s authority is hampered by international institutions like IMF World bank, WTO etc. The international mobility of firms and of capital restricts a nation's ability to choose the tax structure that best reflects its mobility puts downward pressure a corporate tax and shifts the tax burden from capital, which is internationally, mobile to labor which is less so. (ibid p. 193).

The WTO imposes several restrictions so the developing countries cannot pursue independent industrial policies. The WTO agreement on TRIPS impairs ability of developing countries to reverse-engine and copy the advanced technologies used in the rich countries. International institutes like the World Bank and IMF have helped economies in crises but their prescriptions like structural adjustment progrann (SAP) have been painful for these economies. These countries had to follow liberalization and privatization and control on deficit financing which is painful for that and politically undesirable of the national government. It does restrict autonomy of national government. These global institutes are criticized on the ground that they operate as a tool of a few powerful states particularly the USA. Besides their prescription packages do not take care of country diversity and cultural differences.

In addition to state and interstate governments two other actors and realms of activity that are prominent in discussions of global political governance: The Corporation and Civil society. MNC’s are powerful actors because of vast resources that exceed the national budgets of many economies. A key-source of new rules is created and enforced in global economy is the negotiations conducted between states and firms. A good example of how corporations influence global governance is provided by the insertion of intellectual property rights (IPR’s) in the WTO (O’ Brien Williams, 2012). In addition to resource rich corporations voluntary citizen organizations operating in global civil society are playing an increasing role in influencing the principles of global governance (ibid p.435). Prominent civil actors played the role of unofficial opposition to global governance agencies and interstate arrangements. The vast street demonstration of NGOs at Seattle is a case in point.

They stressed an agenda that puts citizen autonomy and security at the center of the governance question. The global civil society is a space where civil actors meet to engage in debate and political activity in an effort to shape the direction of global and national society (Scholte 200 quoted by O’ Brien-Williams2010p436). The global NGOs have been prominent in the areas of Development, women’s questions, environmental issues and human rights.
The proliferation of NGOs and INGOs has given some hope that the voices of the people will matter in global governance. Amartya Sen has rightly endorsed the view that democracy is best seen as government by discussion. (Sen 2009 p.324). He looks at NGOs and the press as people’s voices and a source of global governance. To quote “The point is often made, with evident plausibility, that, for the foreseeable future, it is really impossible to have a global state, and therefore, a fortiori a global democratic state. This is indeed so, and yet if democracy is seen in terms of public reasoning, then the practice of global governance need not be put in cold storage. Voices that can make a difference come from several sources, including global institutions as well as less formal communication and exchanges. These articulations are not, of course, perfect for the purpose of global arguments, but they do exist and actually with some effectiveness, and they can be made more effective” (ibid p. 408). Sen refers to many institutions including the United nations, and the institutions associated with it and also committed work of citizens’ organizations, many NGO’s and the new media active public agitation, news commentary and open discussions are among the ways in which global democracy, even without waiting for the global state. The next section is devoted to a case study of Anna Hazare’s movement of corruption, in order to understand the role of NGO’s in a globalized world.

Foregoing discussion highlights shrinking role of the state in providing the welfare services. But the supporters of globalization do not think so. Economists Jagdish Bhagwati state that there is no significant decline in public expenditure as a proportion of GDP, though it does not mean social expenditure (Bhagvati, 2004 p 98). The decrease in social expenditure is compensated through two routes. One is through the MNC’s under the philosophy of corporate responsibility (CSR). Corporations help the poor and needy under the budget for CSR. Prominent example is Bill Gates initiative in the HIV/AIDS. The second route is the funds from international institutes like UNICEF, WHO. These institutes engaged in conventions such as millennium development goals, which sets targets. The state has to make provision in the budget for this committed expenditure.

**Anna Hazare’s Movement against corruption**

Anna Hazare’s is an Indian social activist, who led movements to promote rural development, increase government transparency and investigate and punish corruption. (www.wikipedia.org/AnnaHazare). After an initial engagement in rural development, Anna Hazare launched the BVJA “People’s movement against corruption”, a popular movement to fight against corruption, in Ralegan siddhi. In 2003 Anna Hazare raised corruption charges against four NCP ministers of Maharashtra cabinet. Two of them had to resign.

In early 2000s, Hazare led a movement in Maharashtra state, which forced the state government to enact revised Maharashtra, Right to Information Act. This Act was later considered as the basic document for the RTI act 2005 of the union government. Anna Hazare started an indefinite hunger strike on 05-April-2011 to exert pressure on the Indian government to enact on stringent anti corruption law, the Lokpal bill 2011, for institutions of Lokpal with stringent powers. The fast led to nationwide protests in Anna’s support and there was wide publicity from the electronic media. The fast ended on 09th April a day after the government accepted Hazare’s demands. Hazare demanded to form a joint committee of the representatives of Government and Civil society to draft stronger Anti Corruption Bill. During the meeting of the joint drafting committee on May 30, the union government members opposed inclusion of prime minister, higher judiciary and acts of MP’s under the purview of the Lokpal in the draft bill. On this Anna Hazare and Civil society members
decided to boycott drafting committee meeting of June 06. On 28-July-2011 union cabinet approved a draft of the Lokpal bill, which kept PM, judiciary and lower bureaucracy out of the Lokpal ambit. Within 24 hours of cabinet endorsement of a weak Lokpal Bill, over 10,000 people from across the country sent faxes directly to government demanding a stronger Lokpal Bill.

Anna Hazare threatened the government that he would go for indefinite fast from Aug 16, to press for his demand of the strong Lokpal Bill. He was arrested four hours before his planned strike and sent to Tihar jail. After his arrest, Hazare received support from people all over the country. Due to millions of protesters nationwide, the government allowed him to begin a public hunger strike of 15 days. On 20\textsuperscript{ad} August Hazare left Tihar jail for hunger strike on Ramlila maidan. Hazare ended his fast on 28 Aug after the Lokpal Bill was passed in the Loksabha. But the bill passed was not the one Anna Hazare demanded. He had to go on another hunger strike on Dec 27, 2011, but to end due to ailing condition. The Lokpal Bill is in a state of suspended animation, as the Bill could not be passed in the Rajya Sabha. Meanwhile, there was strong opposition from the political leader in the ruling as well as opposition parties and also from other civil service activists on the legitimacy of the movement that tries to supersede the properly elected parliamentary system. Some of the charges against the Anna movement may be stated as follows:

1. Two days ahead of Hazare’s fast, the congress attacked him alleging that the moral core of Hazare has been rippled apart by the Justice Sawant commission.
2. Chandra Bhanu Prasad commented that “Anna movement is an ‘anti-social’, manuwadi movement.” The Dalits, Tribals, OBCs and minorities have nothing to do with it.
4. During the parliamentary debate on the Lokpal Bill, a number of speakers from opposition party have criticized the way the Bill is prepared and tabled in Loksabha, on the insistence of a self declared representative of the people.
5. Controversies were raised about prominent leader in Anna camp, by leveling charges of corruption (irregularities) against Kiran Bedi. As the Lokpalbill could not be passed in the Rajya Sabha, Team Anna went through another series of fast and agitation, where in charges of corruption were leveled against the PM and other union ministers by Arvind Kejriwal in the year 2012 (CF wiki 2012 Anti Corruption Movement).

During this period, Anna Hazare and his team realize the weapon of fast had lost its luster. There was a need for alternative strategies. This coincided with Arvind Kejriwal’s decision to float a new party, later named as “Aam Admi Party” after a split in the team Anna. Some of the lessons to be learnt from Hazare’s movement may be summarized as follows:

1. Corruption in daily life is a common problem faced by masses in India. The problem is highlighted by news about a number of scams including Commonwealth games. The public rage is against the corrupt political system.
2. The movement could gather public support due to the clean record and social service done by Anna Hazare, particularly his belief in the Gandhian ideal attracted the masses.
3. The movement could get public support and government attention mainly because of the publicity in the press and electronic media.
4. The movement could get media support because of involvement of the masses, from all quarters, particularly the “dabbawalas” from Mumbai and rural masses from a number of states.
5. The movement could get the support of the masses due to attraction in the public mind about the direct democracy.
6. The movement has raised the controversy of state against the civil society. Practicing politicians and many scholars have supported the parliamentary party system for taking any major decision like Lokpal.
7. What then is the role of civil society? Does it mean that the movement has failed? Apparently it looks that the movement has failed to institute the Lokpal. But the very fact that the government had to table the motion is a great success.
8. The split in IAC and the formation of ‘Aam Admi Party’ shows that there are limitations of the civil society movement and weapons like fasting and demonstrations. There are many ways to remedy the corrupt political system.
9. Role of civil society is complimentary as their demands are to be met through Parliament and the courts.

Summary and Conclusion
The present phase of globalization has put constraints on the power of democracy of nation states as a unit of governance. The governance function is now shared by different institutes at global, national and local levels. There is talk of global governance and global village. But as the discussion in previous sections reveals there is no alternative to state and democracy in spite of all restraints imposed by international institutions. The state works as if the lender of last resort. This is because of the accountability to the voters. Dani Rodrik has rightly emphasized the role of state in the banking crisis of 2008. (CF Rodrick page 203). To overcome the evil effects of globalization, the civil society at the national and international level through a network of NGO, is equally important, though its role is more complimentary rather than alternative one. Civil society activism like Anna Hazare’s movement is the need of the hour to attain justice in the society.

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Linking Democracy and Corporate Governance: Tracing the Root

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Abstract
This paper traces the linkages between democracy and corporate governance. Tocqueville’s hypothesis highlights the idea that democracy eventually prevails in all spheres of organized activity. Corporate Governance being one, the cardinal principles of Democracy are an integral part of its functions. With the crumbling down of business enterprises across the world, because of inadequate and inappropriate system of control within the organization. The call for democratic credentials could be witnessed within and outside these organizations. This paper tries to highlight the importance of core democratic principles in the wake of heighten corrupt practices within the organization. Also this paper tries to bring forth the connection between transparency and accountability in the performance of business organization in the post-globalized era. As all business organization are social organization, henceforth, non-performance or non-observance of appropriate system of governance finally affects the health and wealth of the society. This perspective would also be looked into from an Indian experience.

Keywords: Corporate Governance, Democracy, Corporation, Shareholders

Corporate Governance implies specified rules of business decision making that primarily applies to the internal mechanism of companies. It has certain sets of norms and rules, laws that functions within the companies. These norms and laws actually shape the relations among Board of Directors, shareholders and managers and also solve conflicting situations within the organization. Corporate Governance can be understood as a set of contracts that defines relationships among the three principal actors in the corporations: the sovereign, who in the vast majority of modern legal system is the shareowners; the governed, namely all stakeholders; including owners of the shares; and the governing, who direct and / or control the corporation (Gomez and Korine, 2005).

Now the question is, ‘why did corporate governance arise?’
‘There has been a number of corporate collapses in the last two decades. These corporate collapses have had an adverse effect on stakeholders. For instance, shareholders have seen the investments turned to zero, employees have lost their jobs, suppliers have suffered a lot and the customers or clients have lost their faith in the company. Even the impact of these collapses on the local communities in which they operated is phenomenal. Here, few questions will come to our mind i.e. why have such collapses occurred? What are the preventive measures undertaken to stop such collapses from happening again? How can the stakeholder-investor, customer confidence on the company be restored?

Democracy
Democracy aspires to foster equality and fairness at all levels in society. But what Tocqueville stated still holds true because democracy prevails in all organized activities of our life. Corporate governance is definitely not alien to democracy. But today contemporary western democracies keep facing a tension between the ideal of democracy, the democratic
process or popular sovereignty and the conception of justice or political rightness (Democracy Project, 2011). However a contemporary understanding of democracy must be founded on a emerging concepts of individual autonomy. So democracy must further articulate the dimensions of legality, morality and ethics. Business organisations being social organisations as they exist and function within the parameters of society, they are not alien to the core principles of democracy. Very simply, we can say that corporate governance today is gearing up to the new socio political realities brought by globalization and accordingly inviting more participation of people in all their ventures.

Reassessing Evolution of Corporate Governance
The evolution of corporate governance in terms of the relationship between ownership and control – The first period is characterized by the dominance of the family business and stretches from the Industrial Revolution to the 1920’s, the second period is the period of professional managers and spans from 1920s to 1970s and the third period, characterized by increase in accountability to stakeholders and also to society.

Convergence of Corporate Governance and Democracy
Governance cannot be restricted to a single domain. It pervades over both public and private activities and also to governments, business units and others. But the question here is: does privatization policies and take-overs regularly raise disputed, crucial and fundamental issues that are important for people and their wellbeing? And there are some of the pertinent issues of corporate governance. For example Microsoft, one of the leading IT giants in the world has to face governance issues. One such issue was that, Microsoft’s governance principles are devised keeping in mind the interests of internet users, but it denied equipment manufacturers the option of selling with a browser less version of windows (United State of America Vs Microsoft Corporation, Civil Action Number 98-1232, United States Court for the District of Columbia). Convergence of corporate governance and democracy can be understood within the process of decision making. Well another problem arose, when Microsoft made a strategic decision to charge different prices to different corporates manufacturing personal computers so as to maintain barrier to entry (Branston, Cowling & Sugden, 2001). Such instances show how strategic decision making incorporates corporate governance as a central policy strategy. The impact of the corporations on those it governs and on what basis they make their decisions, is very crucial to corporation also. Decision making is very crucial to the operations of the company. It is also implied that corporation’s strategy will be designed and implemented in the interest of the decision makers. That is why impact of the corporation is very much dependent upon, who makes such decisions?

Modern Corporations are governed by people who have an interest in its activities. It is also found that corporation’s activities serve interest of people in general. The most important problem is, concentration of power in hands of few, and the fallout is the failure of governance. To avoid this, what should be the most viable strategy? The next viable strategy is involving more and more people in the decision making process. And this will lead to the next most important principle of convergence of corporate governance and democracy. Increased participation within a corporation is a sign of democratic governance. In the English legal system, it is reflected in certain shareholders being a company’s members who elect and in theory monitor the board of directors (Farrar and Hannigan, 1998). Again the primary duty of directors in a corporation is to act in the interests of the corporation, and this can be equated with the duty of shareholders. Thus the directors to have duties towards creditors and employees of the corporation, but it are usually secondary. In the U.S. the legal situation is same like the English system. Shareholders participation with the corporation is
not always a uniform process. An English legal system in which directors owe a duty to shareholders does not mean that all shareholders are effectively participating in economic governance (Branston, Cowling & Sugden, 2001). We are all aware that the modern corporation is a complex entity and it has to make many strategic decisions. It is unrealistic to expect that all of these decisions are made with the understanding of the complete shareholders.

This indicates that players without formal control rights actually enjoy substantial control over their organizations (Tirole, 2001, p.17). Shareholders will only be involved (either directly or indirectly) with the most important strategic decisions, which leave senior managers or the board with a high degree of autonomy and de facto control. Another element of democracy that is supposed to be integral to the corporate governance is increased participation. In the U.S, the prospect of senior management’s duty towards all interest groups i.e. the stakeholders has been rejected by the Hampel Committee on Corporate Governance. The Committee concludes that there are no clear yardsticks for judging the performance of the directors. But still it can be argued that a national government is in same sense accountable to a national electorate i.e. an electorate made up of varied and diverse interests. Now, in a company law many directors are bestowed with duties toward all members. It is an imaginative consideration. It would be developed over a time period. Another important factor is to develop an appropriate process i.e. allocation of votes for electing the board of directors. It has to be done in such a way that it enable real power sharing and also ensuring workability. Again, this also needs to take into consideration the possibility of buying votes (Ibid, P.17).

There is another governance dilemma within the company i.e. to identify new members. This is not an easy process. Probably a membership fee might be a significant option. And this fee might be seen as a cost that only those with a significant interest in the corporation would incur. Now, the company shouldn’t be under an assumption that every party who shows interest in the company would want to become a member immediately. There is sector to sector difference and in many cases those few who have a special interest would exercise their right. This might be due to two reasons, one is due to broad satisfaction, and other is low levels of dissatisfaction, with the existing governance system of the company.

One such significant issue is at the policy making level and that is to address the role of company directors. This urgently requires change. In the English system, director within the company are effectively one responsible to shareholders. Then what is required now? The most urgent requirement is that the directors should be responsible to diverse interests. Usually, directors are from an elite group of shareholders and they govern a typical corporation. Rather the control should be in the public interest. And this might involve mediation or resolving conflict and provide arenas for discussion and resolution, compromise and also negotiate agreements (ibid, p.21). The next immediate requirement is regulation. But regulation is not a replacement for policies that introduces a direct and genuine democracy. Democracy as phenomena has been evolving, and Hirschman (1970) identifies a process that cannot be attained via regulation of an undemocratic processes. However, one important way out is that democratically controlled public agencies would monitor the strategic decisions of the companies; would it be possible for the public agencies to constantly monitor all strategic decisions of all companies at all times, and could represent the interest of otherwise excluded from the strategic decision making process. Of course, there can be some degree of increased participation in strategic decision making.
Corporate Governance and Democracy

Private Property or private ownership marked the legitimacy of capitalist form of organization. Private ownership marked the distinction between pre-capitalist and capitalist forms of organization. The birth of new economic order established two dimensions, first the establishment of property right for individual and then subsequently, removal of the requirement of public authorization of incorporations. For e.g. The French Code du Commerce (1808), the American Legislation on General Incorporation (1811 for New York) and the English Joint Stock Company Regulations and Registrations Act, 1844, represent the first step in a fundamental reshaping of the notions of economic sovereignty. These acts of legislation open the right to the ownership of a business and establish that each owner of property has equal right before the law (Gomez & Korine, 2005).

But in 19th and early 20th centuries, corporations were governed by the procedures of democracy – equal rights to ownership and the only established economic enfranchisement. But when we trace the origin of capitalism, i.e. industrial revolution, the most striking characteristics of corporate governance is the dominance of the founding family of the corporations. Except few all over the world, the 19th and 20th century’s family firm represent the model for corporate governance (Bourguignon & Levy – Leboyer, 1998). Since the family owns and manages both the assets of the corporation, there is no separation of power in the corporation. And since the decisions are made in secret family council, there is no representation of stake holders outside the family and no space for public debate or discussion. Even the major upheavals in the late 18th century lead to the political institutionalization of enfranchisement, separation of powers and representation in much of the 19th century America and Europe, business adopts the form of governance that is much closer to aristocracy, (Gomez & Korine).

Familial Governance starts facing competition towards the end of World War I, because firms are growing and becoming bigger. And it is requiring large amount of financial resources to continue its growth and the single families are finding it very challenging. New corporations grew either out of once family business or as an independent business entity and they needed professional management to handle new challenges. Thus there is a large scale transition to managerial governance. In late 1920s, in the United State, France (Levy-Leboyers 1985), earlier in Germany (Stahl, 1973) transition to managerial governance areas observed. The main challenge in family business governance relates to the existence of an additional layer of relationship that the owning/controlling family brings to the business. For shareholders this complexity includes understanding various interconnections among the owning/controlling family members. These roles include:

- Family member/owners
- Family member/director
- Family member/managers
- Family member/employees
- Family members who are not shareholders, but are extended family and heirs.
- Family members who are some combination of these roles.

Typically, family business in the first generation and sometimes in the second generation is managed by the founders and other family members. These businesses often face the challenge of attracting good specialist to assume management positions. They face even more difficulties in retaining such qualified professionals. Relations between the family as shareholders and non-family investors also present challenges. These investors influence over
the shaping of the family business governance. Their views on corporate governance are converging due to economic globalization and emergence of global investors. Given the diverse socio-economic and cultural contexts, it is a difficult situation in India. Although ownership and management are the key concerns of a large number of business families, they do not devote enough attention to the processes involved. Studies (Watts and Yucker, 2004) have reported that families hesitate to address these issues. Succession dilemma is also closely related to the family policy on entry of new generation, retirement of incumbent and mechanisms for resolving conflicts. Another important challenge to the governance of family run business well when the Indian Economy was opened up in 1991. Many firms, particularly those that grew under government protection (Khanna and Palepu, 1997) did not have a strategy to respond and like it as an opportunity rather than threat for a variety of reasons. This created huge tensions even leading to division of assets. Competitiveness to survive and grow depends on the organizational capabilities, which flow from the family directly and from the resources hired from outside. The need to hire non family resources to build organizations is well recognized (Ramchandran).

In the era of managerial governance, laws are enacted and codes are written that favour the separation of ownership and managerial control. For example securities laws concerning the obligation of disclosures in the US , 1933 and 1934 ; Company laws making a board of directors compulsory in France, 1940 and 1943; and laws establishing the two-tier board in Germany, 1947 and 1957. With this type of legislation in place, corporate governance takes on many of the practices of political democracy. These changes cannot be taken as an adoption of democracy as a straightforward process in corporate governance. But it is also true that, the managerial revolution leads to the replacement of the old capitalist aristocracy by a new capitalist technocracy (Stanworth and Giddens, 1974). In practice, the corporate board is often controlled by a managerial technocracy (Galbraith, 1967; Bourdien, 1998. It is also seen that shareowners and other stakeholders are typically excluded from the board in favour of managers from other companies (Jensen & Meckling, 1976). Mass ownership and pension reform have given birth to a new class of institutional shareholders , who are well organized and motivated to take its concern to management. In the US , since the 1970s to protect the individual’s pension fund savings required institutional investors to actively monitor and vote their holdings. Sometimes even engaging in a public debates that engulfed the courts, the legislatures and the press (Davis and Thompson, 1994). United Nation Organizations are becoming actively involved in the governance of corporation and their views are equally important to both the publicly owned and privately held business. In many cases , these stakeholders are reoccupying the space, abandoned by the national governments in the successive waves of trade liberalization and industry deregulation that characterized the half-century following World war(O’Sullivan, 2001).

Convergence of Democracy and Corporate Governance: A Case Study of Infosys
Infosys, one of India’s leading software companies were started in 1981. The company grew slowly through the 1980s almost going under in 1989. The company went public on the Bombay Stock Exchange in 1993, and on NASDAQ in 1999. It became the employer of choice not just in the Indian Software Industries but was identified as the public face of India’s globally competitive software industry and was accepted as Asia’s leading information technology firms (Khanna & Paupu, 1999, p-12). One prime reason behind the Infosys’s success story was the attention paid to corporate governance. The few significant steps taken by Infosys to establish its Corporate Governance System in democratic manner.
Financial Reporting and Disclosures
Infosys was the first Indian Company to follow US GAAP (Generally Accepted Accounting Principle) to value human resources and voluntarily disclose such valuation with the statement of accounts, to distribute audited quarterly reports to all investors, to guarantee publication of audited annual balance sheet very soon after the end of fiscal year to investors and to make the balance sheet available on the internet (ibid, p-13). Infosys also developed an unusual policy in its board composition:

Size & Composition of the Board: There is an appropriate mix of executive and independent directors to maintain the independent of the board, and to separate its functions of the governance and management.

Independent Chairman of the Board: As Chairman, he will be responsible for fostering and promoting the integrity of the Board while nurturing a culture where the board works harmoniously for the long term benefits of the company and all its stakeholders. The chairman takes a lead role in managing the Board and facilitating communication among the directors.

Retirement Policy: The age of retirement for all executive directors is 60 years. The age of retirement for non-executive director and independent director appointed to the board prior to October 15, 2010 is 65 years. The age of retirement independent director appointed to the Board on or after October 15, 2010 is 70 years. An independent board chair is generally permitted to serve in the capacity until the age of 70 years.

Succession Planning: The nomination committee works with the board to plan for an orderly succession of leadership within the board and the company, to maintain contingency plans for succession in case of any exigencies.

Board Compensation Policy: The compensation committee determines and recommends to the board the compensation payable to the director. All board-level compensation is approved by the shareholders and separately disclosed in the financial statement. Remuneration of the executive director consists of a fixed component and a performance incentive. The compensation committee makes a quarterly appraisal of the performance of the executive director based on a detailed performance related matrix. The annual compensation of the executive director is approved by the compensation committee, within the parameters set by the shareholders at the shareholders meeting.

Conclusion
Democracy and corporate governance are intrinsically linked. Engagement with the people in the form of shareholders, stakeholders, investors or customers would continue as long as business organizations survive. Moreover today business enterprises have become more accountable to their stakeholders in the wake of globalization. Transparency and accountability which are the hallmarks of democracy have gone deep inside corporate governance today.

References


Democratic Deficit in the Globalized World: Issues & Concerns

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Abstract
The democratic deficit implies issues that are, or should be, of importance to the ordinary citizens, but to our utter surprise they hardly attract the attention they deserve. Because of the democratic deficit in the way globalization is brought into practice, we have failed to develop the democratic political institutions which are indispensable to make globalization viable and workable, and thus are unable to ensure the right balance between the state and the market, in between collective actions at the local, national and global levels, and between governmental and non governmental action. Doubts apart, only the proper management of globalization under the supervision of the democratic political institutions can ensure the upliftment of the common people of the world in general, not the richest persons of the west in particular. Democratic deficit is immensely a serious problem for the global economic institutions. First, it weakens even democracy within our own country, circumscribing the ability of our national democracy to temper “Economia Americana”. Secondly, it also encourages the human tendency to think locally, in the pursuit of their self-interest maximization and perverse incentives, even while we live in an increasingly global economy. Thirdly, it leads to the management of globalization within the very narrow framework of local politics. It is this incompatibility and disharmony between local politics and global problems, responsible for much of the dissatisfaction with globalization. The only way out to overcome the above stated catastrophic condition is to increase the scope of collective action on account of greater interdependence for globalization. This remedy can only reduce the problem of democratic deficit in the international institutions to some extent.

Keywords: Democratic Deficit, Supranational Institution, Collective Action

Introduction
The international institutions, through the way they pursue the global policy, should intend to promote social justice. But on many occasions, the reforms adopted by them to initiate greater economic integration of the world, appear to be unfathomable. We can hardly justify some of the burning questions with reliable answers. Our haunting queries are: why are American banks flooded by more and more money from the IMF as bailout package, but hardly any money available to poor less developed countries to face the deep-rooted economic downturn or any other crisis and to pay subsidies necessary to overcome the predicament of the poor? Why are the United States Treasury and the finance ministries of some of the other advanced industrial countries themselves able to make their own assessments to have any financial assistance from the IMF, say IMF bail-out packages, but the developing countries deprived of such facilities? Why do the poor countries receive the benefits much less than what has been promised to them from the various rounds of trade negotiations? Why is an independent global judicial body still absent to determine the offense of dumping? Why are the dumping duties imposed by the United States in spite of American prosecutor, judge and jury being accused of involved in a flawed judicial procedure, in assessing dumping duties? Why do the Western countries unethically insist the poor developing countries to eliminate trade barriers, but themselves keep up their own barriers,
and thereby preventing the developing countries from exporting their agricultural products (in respect of which developing countries have both static and dynamic comparative advantage relative to western countries) and thus depriving the later of desperately needed export earnings? In the international arena, not only do we fail to analyze each of the above queries logically, we also almost never argue for a single policy on the basis of its fairness.

The world’s sole superpower- the United States often seems to instigate the policies of trade liberalization, capital market liberalization, and withdrawal of food and input subsidies and so on, in the name of economic globalization, through global institutions (the World Bank, IMF, WTO etc). But in reality, these policies have continuously been undermining the global democracy and weakening the political foundation necessary to make economic globalization work. The main problem associated with the way operation of international institutions, is the unfair monopoly enjoyed by the United States and other affluent countries being blessed with major voting power in the international institutions. In these institutions, votes are largely conducted on the basis of economic power and for it, at the arena of the IMF, the United States remain the single country with an effective veto. IMF and other international institutions implement the unfair economic policies simply to satisfy the perverse interests of a few rich countries of the world. Instead, these institutions have had proceeded democratically, paying attention to the economic policies- policy to reinforce the role of the state in providing social security, in providing health and education, in correcting market imperfections such as adverse selection or moral hazards and so on, they would have played a vital role in the upliftment of the ordinary citizens in major developing countries of the world. This inability on the part of international institutions, to understand what is good for global democracy, is termed as democratic deficit at the international level. The economic motivation behind my paper is the cornerstone of Stiglitz’s book, “Making Globalization Work” (2006).

**The Promises of Globalization**

Economic globalization is supposed to be a culturally and democratically enriching process with the promise of integration of the national economies with the international economy by setting up democratic political institutions and fair trade regime. The promises were the elevation of living standards of the people throughout the world, giving poor countries access to overseas markets so that they can sell their goods, allowing foreign investment that would make new products at cheaper prices, opening borders so that people can travel abroad to be educated, work, and send home earnings to help, their families and fund new business. For instance, according to the standard economic theory, with full global integration through globalization, the wages of unskilled workers should be uniform throughout the world, irrespective of their working places and residences. The unprecedented changes were brought about by globalization in many countries, namely, India and China, which were once desperately poor and economically isolated. But, now they have overcome their economic drawbacks and are increasingly taking part in the global economy. Growth rates in India and China have been two to three times than that of the Industrial Revolution, or of the golden age in America in 1950s and 1960s (Crafts, 2004). Proponents of the theory of trickle-down economics believe that “so long as there is growth, all will benefit” and simply ignore the challenges and accept the growing inequality based on this hypothesis. Their hypothesis emphasizes the underlying strengths of globalization and its ability to work its magic in creating new jobs and strengthen democracy.

Many international institutions such as the World Bank which concerns itself with development, the IMF which deals with stabilization of economies in the grip of financial
crisis, the WTO which oversees the world trading system and its progressive liberalization, bilateral aid agencies such as the U.S. Agency for International Development and so on, are desirable to play their democratic role in the management of globalization. The WTO was founded in 1995, which can make the world trading system transparent and fair enough, with its benevolent set of rules. The proper implementation of these philanthropic rules can be beneficial for both the developed and developing countries, but this still remains a utopia.

**Difference between the rhetoric and the reality**

The advocates of globalization have vaguely promised that the process of globalization will be economically beneficial for all. But to our utter dissatisfaction, there is innumerable evidence from both developing and developed countries which prove the hollowness of the above stated promise. There are many reports and commissions substantiating this uneven and undesirable outcome of globalization. For instance, World Commission on the Social Dimensions of Globalization- created by the International Labour Organization- submitted their report in 2004 and clearly brought out how the current process of globalization has been generating unbalanced outcome, and thus increasing poverty and widening inequality, both between and within countries. These global imbalances are democratically unacceptable and politically unsustainable.

So far, globalization has failed to keep its promise and fulfill our expectations. I regard, the sole flaw in this respect lies in the way globalization is managed. Globalization, boosted by the “rugged individualistic version” of American-style capitalism has given birth to strong incentives and enormous opportunities to shape political process, which in turn have proved to be profitable for a few rich and advanced countries at the expense of the rest of the world. It raises the following concerns: “There is an old aphorism about all politics being local, and, with most people living locally, it is not surprising that globalization is approached within the very narrow framework of local politics” (Stiglitz, 2006). So, framing of policies in the pursuit of narrow politics and perverse incentives of fewer advanced countries and forcing rest of the world to imitate these policies, in the name of globalization, irrespective of their different initial conditions, lead to democratic deficit in the international level. Secondly, it also weakens our national democracy to temper the American-style capitalism, to pursue the power of the market to national interest, to ensure that there are more winners and fewer losers nationally.

The increasing opportunities enjoyed by the U.S. to reshape the global system based on its own self interest and that of its multi national corporations truly manifests the democratic deficit in the international institutions and thus stands in the way of the international institutions to usher their greater concern for both the poor countries and the poor in rich countries. Democratic deficit at the international level is the sole impediment to make globalization work. It creates an imperfect system of global governance. One such imperfection is the limitations imposed upon the power of the international institutions to enforce international agreement and to stop the above mentioned negative externalities. Not surprisingly, these institutions prove themselves to be the exponents of American-style capitalism.

**International Institutions: An Imperfect System of Global Governance with Democratic Deficit**

The international economic institutions- IMF and the World Bank- were founded under the intellectual aegis of Keynes with the noble mission to provide countries with the financial aid necessary to implement expansionary fiscal policy to overcome an economic downturn. But
these international institutions are completely oblivion of their original mission. The international institutions seem to be more interested in pursuing the perverse interests of western financial institutions, than in helping the poor countries to sustain in their economies by increasing the scope of employment. Stiglitz (2003) had explicitly revealed how the global slow down in an imperfect financial system proved to be beneficial for America and served the purpose of the U.S. firms well, but it was not working well for the emerging markets and developing economies like India and China.

Though the World Bank is an international institution with a membership of 184 countries, Europe and the U.S. enjoy the undue privilege to cast majority of the votes. Moreover, the clubby arrangements of the World Bank headed by an American delegate and the IMF being headed by a European one, also reveals the democratic deficit in international apex institutions. It is this democratic deficit at the international level, which curbs our endeavor to develop the political institutions indispensable to reduce current global instability and promote social justice.

The U.S. and the Europe were often found to motivate developing countries to free trade. Certainly, they designed the trade agreements that restricted their imports from developing countries. Then the global democracy is spoilt by the unrealistic contrivances of the affluent countries. To overcome this devastating situation, the only way out is to establish full democracy at the international level. For this, the WTO should frame a rule of the global trade, which promotes the well being of the poor countries and is simultaneously good for the advanced industrial countries. The officials of the WTO should be aware of the fact that, what is good for the U.S., may not be good for India or China, or rest of the world, but more importantly, what is bad for the rest of the world, may not be bad for the U.S. Unfortunately, the current trading system of the WTO unethically allows the developed countries to adopt the “most-favoured-nation” principle of trade on their own whim. This surely proves to be an instance of the democratic deficit in the operation of the above stated international institutions. Moreover, the international institutions devoid of the genuine control of states and their representatives, fail to show transparency in their projects of global governance. The current global process being controlled by an elite few pays no heed to the poor developing countries and thus poses a vital threat to the conceptual core of democracy. This prominent manifestation of the democratic deficit at the international level proves to be a major hindrance for globalization to live up to its promise and makes it an unsuccessful concept.

Responding to Democratic Deficit: Call for Collective Action

When democratic deficit and negative externalities (for instance, one financial policy in the U.S. may weaken the financial sector in India in an integrated world) are prevalent in the international level, tendency to think locally even while we live in an increasingly global economy, often result in non-optimal Nash equilibria. In this circumstance, only the institutional arrangements can restrict democratic deficit in a globalized world. To foster cooperation, the international community has devised institutions. In the literature of political science, this is often referred to as “regime building” (Young 1989, 1991, and 1998). In economics, theses cooperative linkages are referred to as “institution building” (Arce, 1997). At this stage, we are in desperate need of an institutional design that can limit democratic deficit and can prove to be beneficial for the developing countries without affecting the autonomy enjoyed by the competing countries. Arce and Sandler (2001) have made research on how every country gains from self-enforcing institutional arrangements, based on correlating strategies- often referred to as “collective action”. A supranational institution (for
instance, transnational treaties and alliances, global policy coordination) that employs a correlated strategy- collective action- sends costless signals, which allows all the developing and developed countries to condition their activities so as to avoid bad outcomes and correct negative externalities. This only can reshape globalization to make it more nearly live up to its promise.

For instance, after the financial crisis of 2008 in America, the most important issue on the global economic agenda is a coordination challenge per excellence, in curtailing financial market contagion, rebalancing and restoring global demand. The crisis clearly made the free market ideologues and the international institutions like IMF aware of the fact that non cooperation outcome are distinctly sub-optimal in terms of growth, stability and sustainability. To accommodate the needs of the emerging economies as well as the interests of advanced countries, a new system- supranational institution with collective action, as examined by Arce and Sandler (2001) - is needed. The IMF has to change its previous stand to balance the domestic growth of all the countries and bring about global stability. Various models of transnational collective action in response to the absence of market and democratic deficit, are currently making their appearance in the case of transnational public goods, including atmospheric monitoring, cyberspace virus control etc (Cornes & Sandler, 1996; Sandler 1997).

Conclusion
Under this condition of correlating strategies, or collective action, reforming global governance is crucial in order to sustain full democracy in a globalized world. The replacement of the G-7 by the G-20 as the global forum for policy dialogue is definitely an important step in this direction, but it is only a beginning. The European Union (EU) as a representative of the advanced countries should come forward to reform the Breton Woods institutions to check the undue overrepresentation of the advanced countries in terms of voting rights and board seats. The overall decrease in their weight would definitely broaden up the scope of representation of the emerging and developing countries and might increase the level of democracy in the international institutions. Today, global democracy has to face the dual challenge from the model blending political authoritarianism and state-steered capitalism together. In the long run, the most important modifications needed to implement globalization properly, is the incorporation of the reforms to reduce the democratic deficit, by creating an international economic regime in which the well being of the developed and developing countries are better balanced.

Note:
1 I borrowed this term from the book “The Roaring Nineties” of Stiglitz (2003, p.4), where he coined this phrase to describe the new world order created by American-style capitalism. With globalization, this American-style capitalism was hoped to bring unprecedented flow of trade and commerce from developed to developing countries, thereby creating more jobs and growth and hence reducing inequality, by the theory of “trickle-down” economics, throughout the world.

References
Imperatives for Transition from Parliamentary Democracy to Presidential Democracy in India

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Abstract
India is a well known parliamentary democracy. In a parliamentary form of government, it is absolutely difficult to transform. The current parliamentary format for Government in India, nationally and in the states, is overburdening. It requires enormous amounts of money to pay for salaries, security, staff, residences, travels and pensions etc. to the president, prime minister, governors, chief ministers and others. It is often argued that given the nature of our politicians, presidential form of democracy will be disastrous. It is also argued that the Indian constitution is a very strong constitution among all other countries. So instead of practicing any new form of government, efforts should be made to remove the discrepancies of the present form and bring an improvement in it because if we go for presidential form all decisions may go in one hand which may not lead to fruitful results. In this background an attempt shall be made in the present research work to analyse whether India truly needs a presidential form of government. Attempt shall also be made to analyse adaptability of Presidential democracy in the socio-economic conditions prevailing in India.

Keywords: Parliamentary Democracy, Presidential Form of Government, India

Introduction
During British period, the political process in India was relatively simple. Originally, the East India Company combined in itself the roles of business, political authority and bureaucracy. The company, in collaboration with local kingdoms, ruled directly, furthering its own interests. Blatant repression by police and military terror aroused protest from Indians in various forms which the company was either unable or unwilling to appease. This legitimized the government in the eyes of the governed, creating adverse responses.

Democracy and democratic governments have been the subjects of much scholarly attention both in India and elsewhere in the world. This focus on democracy may be due to the success of democracy both as an ideal, and as a set of political institutions in. The Constitution of India sets up Parliamentary government both at Centre and States similar to United Kingdom. The President, in India, has the status of formal or constitutional head of the Government which is again similar to that of Queen or King in United Kingdom. The parliamentary system established by the constitution of India, stands in complete contrast to the presidential system of U.S.A. the framers of the U.S.A Constitution were greatly influenced by the doctrine of separation of powers, propounded by Montesquieu.

A pure parliamentary regime in a democracy is a system of mutual dependence - The chief executive power must be supported by a majority in the legislature and can fall if it receives a vote of no confidence. The executive power, normally in conjunction with the head of state, has the capacity to dissolve the legislature and call for elections. A pure presidential regime in a democracy, on the other hand, is a system of mutual independence- The legislative power has a fixed electoral mandate that is its own source of legitimacy. The chief executive power has a fixed electoral mandate that is its own source of legitimacy. These necessary and sufficient characteristics are more than classificatory. They are also the constraining
conditions within which the vast majority of aspiring democracies must somehow attempt simultaneously to produce major socioeconomic changes and to strengthen democratic institutions. Pure parliamentarianism, as defined here, had been the norm in the democratic world following World War II. However, so far, in the 1980s and 1990s, all the new aspirant democracies in Latin America and Asia (Korea and the Philippines) have chosen pure presidentialism. For the last two decades, a debate is going on in India that whether the present parliamentary system should be replaced with the presidential system, under which the President elected directly by the people for the fixed term, will function as Nation's executive head unhindered by legislatures in taking administrative decisions. An attempt is made in this research work to discuss this debate.

Parliamentary versus Presentational Form of Government

India has parliamentary and not presidential form of government. Parliamentary government works by the interaction of Four essential factors: the principle of majority rule, the willingness of the minority for the time being to accept the decisions of the majority, the existence of great political parties divided by broad issues of policies, and finally the existence of a mobile body of political opinion, owing no permanent allegiance to any party. The presidential form of the government on the other hand is based on the doctrine of separation of powers between executive and the legislative organs. An implication of Doctrine of separation of power is that each of the three branches of the government ought to be composed of different people.

In a parliamentary government the opposition serves an interesting role. It primarily functions as a feedback mechanism. The unrest and dissatisfaction of the masses are more quickly and effectively reflected by the opposition parties in parliament. They give a forewarning of the impending danger of instability which helps bring about reformist ameliorative measures. Reformist trade unions constitute another form of parliamentary opposition: by organizing the working class and reflecting its hardships in the parliamentary set-up they diffuse unrest and prevent discontent from getting out of hand. The opposition, by swearing loyalty to the constitution and accepting the parliamentary system, mainly diverts the unrest in riots, strikes, campaigns, and so on. The parliamentary politicians enjoy apparent autonomy. Their main object is staying in power which entails catching votes, and retaining the support of capitalists and landlords who control the national economy. Political power derived from this support gives them status and money. Their actions are therefore aimed at votes, power and money. The bureaucrats, too, are out to stay in power and enjoy the benefits. Promotions and rewards are granted to them, especially the top officials, by politicians in recognition of the former's loyalty.

The major drawbacks of the parliamentary system can be in two situations. The first situation arises if and when the parliamentary system backfires and an attempt is made by a left political party to use it as a means of bringing about structural change. For example, if an attempt is made to abolish private property rights or to develop total workers' control in industry, ipso facto the purpose of the parliamentary process as a legitimized and stabilizer of the status quo is defeated. The second situation arises when it is not possible to control instability. This may happen due to various reasons: hardships may not be ameliorated at fast enough a pace; a natural calamity such as famine may increase the dissatisfaction beyond 'acceptable' levels; frustrated hopes and broken promises may lead to disenchantment with the parliamentary process; or the left parties may organize effectively enough to pose a real threat to the system which it may not be possible to overcome within the confines of parliamentarianism.
Characteristics of Parliamentary Systems
i. Consists of only one elected body, a parliament of representatives and the bills passed by it are the laws.
ii. Executive power is housed in a cabinet. Cabinet members typically are MPs who perform executive duties (foreign relations, etc.) in addition to their legislative duties.
iii. Cabinet only serves as long as there is parliamentary confidence. A “Vote of Confidence” can be called at any time, and a majority vote can unseat the existing cabinet and call for a new one to be formed.
iv. But the cabinet can also hold the parliament in check. The leader of the cabinet, Prime minister can disband a parliament and call for new elections.

Advantages of Parliamentary Government:
i. It always provides for a unified government.
ii. Has a greater party discipline in comparison to presidential system.
iii. There is no provision of veto power.
iv. Provides the voters the opportunity to know who to blame or reward.
v. Provides for a responsible government as the government is answerable to the legislatures as regards its achievements and failures.

Disadvantages of Parliamentary Government:
i. Divided government may seem good thing in certain situations.
ii. Judicial review and veto power are important and might be beneficial.
iii. Minority rights get washed away in a parliamentary system.
iv. What if there’s no clear majority? Then coalition governments must be formed between the main parties, and cabinet positions are divided up accordingly.
v. Strong committees in a parliamentary system would weaken central unity, consequently, in Britain, for example, there are no standing committees per se, but ad hoc committees for each bill. No permanent staff and no open hearings, etc.
vi. Often leads to multiplicity of political parties.

Characteristics of Presidential Systems
i. In presidential system there is strict application of the doctrine of Separation of Powers and checks and balances as in U.S.A.
ii. The president of the country is the head of the state as well as head of the executive.
iii. The President has under him Secretaries of state in charge of different executive departments who are appointed by him and who are his personal advisors. He however is not bound to accept the advice tendered by them and thus enjoys ultimate power of decision.
iv. The president is able to dominate his cabinet to an extent which would be almost impossible in case of prime minister.

Advantages of Presidential Government
i. The chief executive in Presidential system is free from sectional and party disputes.
ii. The term of the president is fixed and thus it ensures stability of the government.
iii. The President is free to choose his team of ministers from the best talent available within the country and his choice is not restricted to elected representatives.
iv. The presidential government discourages the disease of defection and maintains discipline among the members of a political party.
Disadvantages of Presidential Government
i. The formal means of coordination between the Executive and the legislature are lacking in a presidential system.10
ii. The executive is not directly accountable to the legislature as in the parliamentary system of government.
iii. Legislative-executive conflict and friction often arise in the presidential form of government.
iv. The decision making process is dilatory and cumbersome as it requires the Head of the state to act with the advice and consent or approval of the legislature, or else enable him to veto the bills passed by the legislature.11

Adaptability of Presidential Form of Government in Socio-economic Condition Prevailing in India
The framers of Indian Constitution preferred the parliamentary system of government mainly because of two reasons. Firstly, the system was already in existence in India and people were well acquainted with it and secondly, because it provides for accountability of ministers to the legislature. Several other factors which induced the framers of the Constitution to adopt parliamentary system are- it ensures harmony between the executive and the legislature, it can provide for effective leadership in emergencies and finally the daily assessment of responsibility of the Executive was considered necessary in country like India.12

It is sometimes argued that, going to the past experiences, the parliamentary system of government, does not suit to Indian conditions, and it should be replaced by some other system, such as the presidential system of America. In Indian context it appears that the parliamentary system has an advantage over presidential system in that it is amenable to quick decisions as in the latter case the decision making process is dilatory and cumbersome. B. R. Ambedkar, a leader of the lower-caste groups, argued that villages in India were oppressive for many groups, and believed that parliamentary politics would best meet the needs of people in rural India.13 Merely the briefest glance at India's social ecology reveals the vast diversity of languages, religions, regions and castes that make up the country. It is, as any number of foreign observers have remarked, as if all of Europe with its manifold diversities were somehow within a single nation-state. Indeed, the art of just keeping the country together as a unit had to be an act of considerable pluralistic skill. In addition, India had maintained since independence in 1947 a full-blown parliamentary democracy with regular elections and had as its major political organization in the Indian National Congress an umbrella party much like the Democrats and Republicans in the United States. Furthermore, India had introduced a federal constitution in 1950 which enshrined civil liberties and devolved significant powers upon the state units.14

In actualizing the ends of democracy, political institutions play a pivotal role. In most post-colonial societies like India, the process of social change and transformation has been initiated through institutions. Political institutions are thus both agents and representatives of societal transformation. As such, institutional composition and functioning provide a good indication of the extent of democratization. In this context, three aspects of democracy – permeability of institution, representativeness and efficiency need to be understood as separate categories.15

The framers of Indian constitution thought that an infant democracy could not afford to take the risk of perpetual cleavage, feud or conflict or threatened conflict, between the executive and the legislative organs. They preferred a system where the executive being part of the
The legislature is in position to give guidance to it and where both cooperate with each other. There is confusion of responsibility and not clearly a clear direction of policy in the U.S.A, but this is not so in a parliamentary system.\textsuperscript{17}

India is presently undergoing a phase of coalition governments at the centre because no single party has a majority in Lok Sabha, and a number of disparate parties have to come together to form a coalition to form the cabinet. With the advent of the phase of coalition governments, the trend of governmental stability has set in. A coalition government is intrinsically unstable because of the contradictory policies of the parties coming together to form the coalition. Frequent elections are also not possible in the context of India with its huge population. In this context it has been suggested by many that India should adopt for presidential system. In view of the multi-party coalition governments at the centre, leading to frequent no confidence motions and fall of governments because of change of loyalty of the coalition partners, resulting in fresh parliamentary elections, suggestions\textsuperscript{18} have been made for fixed term of the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies as well as constructive vote of no-confidence.\textsuperscript{19}

It is indeed very difficult choice as both the systems have their advantages and disadvantages. The presidential system as prevalent in U.S.A might have many advantages, but it has its own problems. The major problem being lack of co-ordination between Executive and Legislature which might result in fragmented policies. Also, in a parliamentary system different interests may have an opportunity to participate in the government. The national commission while reviewing the constitution observed that there is no need to consider any change in the parliamentary system of government keeping in view the Indian conditions and also observed that so far the parliamentary form of government seems to be working well in its place and setting an example of its kind.\textsuperscript{20}

**Conclusion & Suggestions**

The general public opinion in India by and large does not favour a change from parliamentary to presidential system. If India seeks to adopt the presidential, the system will have to be so devised as to promote better co-ordination between Executive and Legislature than what exists in the U.S.A. this means that the system has to incorporate some features of both the presidential and parliamentary systems. Thus before any change can be thought of, there are many delicate issues that need to be considered. A thorough study must be made of the various models of presidential system functioning in U.S.A, France, Switzerland and Sri Lanka. The touchstone should be to promote better, more effective and moral government, but less afflicted by narrow and parochial vested interests.\textsuperscript{21}

The analytically separable propensities of parliamentarianism interact to form a mutually supporting system. This system increases the degrees of freedom politicians have as they attempt to consolidate democracy. The analytically separable propensities of presidentialism also form a highly interactive system, but they work to impede democratic consolidation. In order to be able to mobilize and educate the masses, some elementary freedoms of speech and organization are essential. In their absence, political work becomes restricted and difficult. Thus a total rejection of the parliamentary system may not be at all times helpful. One has to use it to protect the available freedoms which are pre- requisites for organizational and educational tasks.

Democracy usually includes the cultural values in the non-Western countries. In this light, the Western liberal democracy is not suitable for the Third World countries. Many arguments
presented by different scholars and political leaders indicated that the democracy as it is currently practicing in the West, cannot be applied in the Third World.  

Notes & References
5 ibid
7 Supra note 2
9 Schwartz, American Const. Law, (111)
11 Ibid
16 Austin, The Indian Constitution(116).
18 Law Commission of India, 170th report, 1999
19 Costructive vote of no-confidence means that the existing government will continue in office until the parliament will be able to elect a new leader by majority vote.
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Thinking of a Post-Democratic Governance:
An Indian Perspective

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Abstract
A coordinated approach for widening the sociological base of governance across the world essentially demands post-democratism that incorporates sensitivity to duties. While democratic governance focuses primarily on rights with an inbuilt component of ‘taking’, post-democratism centres around a penchant for ‘giving’. It seeks an alternative approach to development, that is, a system which shall be based not merely on rigid rules but also on maximization of values. In a post-democratic society, rights and duties must coalesce which could serve as the bedrock of administrative ethics. Global socio-economic and political changes are very rapid which signify not only a transition from totalitarianism to libertarianism but also from democracy to post-democracy, where every individual is actively involved and where accountability and responsibility come to the centre stage of development. When you think of a post-democratic governance, you actually create a politico-administrative and judicial-legal construct of social and economic justice. This is possible only when a duty-bound approach is adopted and the state makes decisions considering the entire sociological perspective both in theory and practice. Post-democratism believes in proactive means of justice delivery. Here lies the importance of constructive interpretation of constitutional provisions and laws and statutes in a society where the state and the citizenary both are concerned about performing their duties instead of claiming for rights only or predominantly. This concept assumes greater significance in religiously, linguistically and ethnically diverse societies like India and makes the social systems complex. Therefore, it requires all such steps to ensure a delicate balance between the authority of the state and liberty of the citizens. The balancing of their rights need to be limited to prevent any kind of over exercise and the limitations so imposed may be the ground of defining their duties and responsibilities.

Keywords: Post-Democratism, Duty-Bound Approach

Growing Needs of Post-Democratism
Today’s world is seeing unprecedented opportunities and challenges for humanity. These opportunities and challenges require us to learn from the tragic mistakes of the past and thereby, require governments to reassert their responsibilities for and to their peoples. As a global community comprising regional communities and national governments, there needs to be renewed emphasis on the ties that bind humanity together and on the need for international cooperation to meet the challenges humanity faces, and to fulfill humanity’s potential. The universally accepted principle is that it is the governments that are responsible for the realization of the right to development and thus for realization of civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights. This can only come about through the meaningful participation of all sectors of society, especially those whose rights are denied. The challenge is to generate greater understanding and awareness of the human rights-based approach to development domestically and globally as well.
However, understanding and awareness is not enough because realization of human rights calls for cooperation and coordination among nations and systems and also the correlativity of rights and duties. A person may be said to have a right when another or others are bound to oblige by law to do or forbear towards or in regard of him. In other words, fulfillment of duties can only protect, respect and fulfill a right. This correlation was clearly highlighted by the Supreme Court of India in *Minerva Mills Ltd v. Union of India AIR 1980 SC 1789* case where the Court held that the Fundamental Rights and Directive principles of the State Policy enshrined in Part III and part IV of the Constitution of India respectively have a delicate balance hence precedence shall not be given to either of the two over the other. It is mainly because Directive Principles are active obligations of the State, the implementation of which are the essence of protection of rights. This necessitates that we must enter the era of post-democratism which transcends from political democracy and gets consolidated in the form of social and economic democracy. In the post-second World War period democracy did escalate but was founded mainly on the principles of liberty and demands for rights. These demands have been increasingly growing to reach the level where a wide gulf has been created between people’s aspirations and administrative complexities. In this backdrop, a sense of responsibility needs to be developed among masses, communities and governments with a view to making them coordinate for protecting the interests of the society.

**Defining Post-Democratism**

In a demand-driven politico-economic system, democratization of Gross Domestic product (GDP) and decentralized public policy making construct the edifice of what I should call the post-democratic governance. By democratization of GDP I mean equitable distribution of resources down to the grassroot level. On the other hand, decentralised public policy making means involving those who are generally secluded from it considering that they do not possess required expertise for policy making. However, it is the commoners who should be regarded as the best source of informational inputs for the policy makers in order to give better outputs and outcomes. Post-democratism is a shift from ‘outlay’ to ‘outcome’ having an approach of not only inclusive but intensive development. Thus, post-democratism may serve as one of the means to create larger social capital reducing the gulf between administrative complexities and peoples’ aspirations.

Post-democratism is directly linked and intimately attached to administrative ethics as well as ethics in administration. A basic difference between the two is that while the former believes in efficient service delivery, the latter is concerned with an administration free from corrupt practices. Further, post-democratic ideology may also be visualized from an international perspective. As we know, the world is transitioning from bilateralism to multilateralism, hence it is the right opportune for the nations to understand each other’s position and approaches to global development and to take initiatives. The present international situation characterized by politico-economic power struggle, need to create a new financial architecture, the issues of climate change and sustainable development, all need to be addressed with a duty-bound approach, that is, post-democratism.

**Correlativity of Rights and Duties**

Among the questions that still divide philosophers who are concerned with problems about rights, *inter alia*, include most importantly whether, or to what extent, rights and duties are logically correlative. Despite divergence of opinions, in legal context or under jurisprudential norms there may be a few considerations establishing their logical correlation, such as, (i) a positive *in personam* right, that is, a right against one specific person requiring him to perform a positive act, and (ii) a class of duties of commitment which should be more
properly called obligations. In case of obligations, in most of the cases, it is the state that has to ensure that these obligatory commitments are fulfilled so that rights of diverse nature of the people of that state are well protected and respected. In this backdrop, let us once again refer to the idea of post-democratism which is not be confused with the notion that it demands a departure from the much-talked about rights-based approach, rather it prefers to give precedence to the duty-bound approach. However, these duties need to be obligatory in nature. In such cases sensitivity towards duties leads to self-assessment of the contribution one makes to the society as a whole. This self-assessment invokes accountability and a sense of responsibility in him and he becomes answerable to himself. This further leads to a better understanding and awareness of his own rights as well as of others.

**Legality of Rights and Duties**

While right is a legal claim, duty is a pre-requisite of social solidarity and political stability. A duty-bound approach to development is thus based on the principles of diversity and stability. Working with this approach will lead to greater integration of society and will widen the scope of conflict resolution too. On occasions critics may point out that duties are not legally executable as these are morally bound. Certainly it is true. But, duties once codified as active obligations, they are coordinated with rights and thereby, become executable through laws or statutes. As referred earlier, the Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in Part IV of the Constitution of India are morally bound in the form of principles, however, they could be well coordinated with the Fundamental Rights because under Article 37 of the Constitution they have been incorporated as the guidelines for the state to make policies and take decisions for ensuring equitable distribution of resources. In this context they are self obligatory and binding upon the state.

**Significance of Duties**

Internationally, rights-based approach to development was rooted in the international human rights system which is guided by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948. However, violations of rights continued to increase despite a number of steps taken under the auspices of the UN. The most recent examples have been in the Middle East region. Realizing the importance of duties the UN adopted the Declaration of Human Duties and Responsibilities (DHDR) in 1998 (also known as Valencia Declaration). Under Article 1 of the Declaration (General Provisions), ‘duty’ and ‘responsibility’ have been defined. Duty means an ethical or moral obligation, and responsibility, on the other hand, is an obligation that is legally binding under existing international law. The Declaration recognizes that exercise of responsibilities is highly complex and tedious. Therefore, the Declaration says that both state and non-state actors have to be mutual supportivebearers of duties and responsibilities with a view to promoting universal observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Duties are not always moral codes of conduct or a set of unachievable goals, rather, they should be codified as value-based social code of conduct which could be legally supported and hence could be made executable. It is also a fact that rights inherently present in the socio-economic milieu need to be pulled up to be made explicit for converging individual and social interests, however, for democracies to be founded on the principle of delivery of justice, it is essential to make the mechanism proactive instead of being re-active.

**The Indian Perspective**

India is the seventh largest by area and the second most populous country in the world having a population of about 1.21 billion according to 2011 census. It is the third largest economy at purchasing power parity (PPP) in 2011 having a size of US$ 4.45 trillion and in terms of
nominal GDP it is the tenth largest economy with US$ 1.848 trillion size. The size and status of Indian economy places India strongly in the international community and is rightly considered as one of the Emerging Market Economies (EMEs) along with China, Brazil, Russia, South Africa forming a group like BRICS.

On the socio-cultural front, again it is a great civilization with tremendous social, cultural and ethnic diversity. According to the Census 2011 India houses over 2000 ethnic groups. This extent of diversity along with caste stratification makes Indian society highly complex. Similarly, in political terms too, India shows a complex structure due to multi party system where over 350 political parties work. It has seen an evolution of coalition politics in the last four decades and now coalition politics has emerged as the order of the day. In a country with such a complex structure democracy has been thriving despite being considered a hub of paradoxes. The second fastest growing economy after China and the third largest economy in the world also houses over 47 percent malnourished children below five years of age which is nearly double that of the Sub Saharan countries. Likewise, despite consistently increasing per capita income India still has about 37 percent of its population below poverty line.

These paradoxes signify that Indian democracy faces plethora of challenges. Truly speaking, at times it is also said that Indian democracy is a ‘pseudo-democracy’. However, the reality is different. In fact, it is the democracy only that has kept India intact and has made it grow at such a fast rate. This is seminally because, in a democratic society interests of every community or group or individual can only be protected by protecting their rights. This is the basis of cultural integration. The framers of the Constitution of India did realize the importance of democracy hence they institutionalized all such democratic principles, be it social security, religious tolerance (secularism) etc. The socialistic pattern of society based on the ‘Doctrine of Distributive Justice’ has been our strength. All these made India move rapidly on the growth path but of late, it could not achieve the social development goals as expected. The awareness and demand for rights have also grown at least in the last couple of decades of market economy which has influenced almost every aspect of Indian socio-economic fabric and has widened income gulf between the rich and poor. With the increasingly growing disparity at every level, violent socio-economic or political movements have surfaced posing serious threats to internal security and law and order.

In this context, it is the post-democratic ideology which could serve as the foundational principle of governance so that the services could be delivered on time and in sufficient quantity protecting the rights of the people so enshrined in the legal texts. In this backdrop, a study was recently conducted covering students, teachers and academicians to find out people’s perception about governance in India. About 37 per cent respondents feel that governance in India is poor and the rule of law, though strongly established inside the constitution, needs lots of improvement. It is really unfortunate that awareness about human rights is very low however, a ray of hope is that most of us are able to differentiate between duties, responsibilities and accountability. The study suggests that less than 50 per cent of the respondents were aware about human rights, hence were not able to understand the rights-based approach to development. However, as about 84 per cent of them could understand duties, it is the right opportune to think about taking steps to put in place the duty-bound approach. The most important step would be to make the duties binding for which duties should be included in various laws providing rights in the manner to make them practically correlatives. As regards the constitutional rights it is required that the implementing laws should contain such a correlation with duties. In the study about 50 per cent of the respondents were of the view that binding nature of duties should be ensured through new
legislations or amending the existing ones. It may appear that in a democratic country like India, if duties would be made binding, perhaps it would prove detrimental to the liberal features; however, it is extremely important to find out a model making the duties legally binding in order to achieve the socio-economic goals set out in the constitution.

**Concluding Remarks**

In order to realize human and other rights in India and the world, it is pertinent to address immediately the plight of those who are excluded from the mainstream of development and whose rights are most acutely denied. It is the high time to ensure meaningful participation of the people in decision making. Though communities have started raising their voices demanding services, the time has come to pay heed to such voices. Since the subject of development is the human person who is entitled to the benefits of development and to participate in the process of development, it is crystal clear that the state is required to adopt a strategy based on responsibility and accountability considering that they are obliged to do so. A strategy for inclusive and intensive development demands such active obligations to be fulfilled both by the state and non-state actors. These obligations include issues of public expenditure management, the provision of basic services and related infrastructure, regulation of market and economy and above all redistributive measures. This duty of fulfilling the obligations comprises all such active and proactive measures necessary for guaranteeing opportunities for people to access their entitlements. All such commitments are integral components of post-democratic ideology. Thus, the prime focus of the ideology or a duty-bound approach is on prevention of violation of rights proactively not re-actively.

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Buddhism in a Democratic World

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Abstract
Buddhism is a way of life. It is also an attitude. From these two features stems the uniqueness of Buddhism in the world. What is that way of life and how does it integrate itself in the modern world? Buddhism is not thinkable without the towering figure of the Buddha. Let us consider this first and find some clues there as to the adaptability of the way of life he preached to what we call a democratic outlook. Though the Buddha was the founder of the way of life we call Buddhism, he never put his own person into the foreground. Instead, he put there the insight he had won in the shape of the Dhamma. He was a teacher, but such a one that will not make the acceptance of the thing he taught dependent on the fact that it was he who taught it. He never asked anyone to follow him, personally. He asked people to think with him and, having thought, prove their findings reasonable to themselves. He left the personality of the pupil intact. Thus we gather from the attitude of the Buddha himself that in Buddhism personality is respected above all else. Teaching and expounding of the Dhamma is carried on in the most ideal way, with no trace of indoctrination, without coercion. The pupil gives his free assent; if he so decides, with his own mind left in complete Integrity. This is the ideal education we have been striving for all along. Education is a growth of the mind and personality. But just as the garden needs a gardener, so the pupil needs a teacher. The gardener can do no more than to hoe and weed and water. That there shall be flowers and fruits is dependent on the inherent qualities of the plants themselves. In the democratic society we recognize these fundamentals of education. Of late they have been called progressive. Yet we know they are very ancient. We find them practiced by every teacher worthy of the name.

Keywords: Buddhism, Democracy, Dhamma, People

Introduction
Buddhism is a way of life. It is also an attitude. From these two features stems the uniqueness of Buddhism in the world. What is that way of life and how does it integrate itself in the modern world? 1. Buddhism is not thinkable without the towering figure of the Buddha. Let us consider this first and find some clues there as to the adaptability of the way of life he preached to what we call a democratic outlook. Though the Buddha was the founder of the way of life we call Buddhism, he never put his own person into the foreground. Instead, he put there the insight he had won in the shape of the Dhamma. He was a teacher, but such a one that will not make the acceptance of the thing he taught dependent on the fact that it was he who taught it. He never asked anyone to follow him, personally. He asked people to think with him and, having thought, prove their findings reasonable to themselves. He left the personality of the pupil intact. Thus we gather from the attitude of the Buddha himself that in Buddhism personality is respected above all else. Teaching and expounding of the Dhamma is carried on in the most ideal way, with no trace of indoctrination, without coercion. The pupil gives his free assent; if he so decides, with his own mind left in complete Integrity. This is the ideal education we have been striving for all along. Education is a growth of the mind and personality. But just as the garden needs a gardener, so the pupil needs a teacher. The gardener can do no more than to hoe and weed and water. That there shall be flowers and fruits is dependent on the inherent qualities of the plants themselves. In the democratic society we recognize these fundamentals of education. Of late they have been called progressive. Yet we know they are very ancient. We find them practiced by every teacher worthy of the name.
fruits is dependent on the inherent qualities of the plants themselves. In the democratic society we recognize these fundamentals of education. Of late they have been called progressive. Yet we know they are very ancient. We find them practiced by every teacher worthy of the name.

The Buddha, thus, in keeping his own person in the background, centred attention on the Dhamma. He set up the Dhamma like a road-sign by the way which may be heeded or not, which is there, whether thousands pass this way or only a few. No wayfarer is compelled to read it and benefit from its message. Of course, he will do so for his own benefit. Likewise the Four Noble Truths are there to accept or reject as man chooses. The Eightfold Noble Path is there, objectively, once it was announced. It is now, as it were, independent of its author.

So thoroughly did the Buddha eschew personality cult, that the first centuries of Buddhist history allowed to him only in symbols—in the wheel, the column, the tree, the empty throne, so that the symbol came to stand for the Buddha as well as the idea he preached. The Buddha, thus, was a leader in the sense of an explorer whose discovery anyone may imitate, once given the clues. His leadership continues, but he is a gentle leader, not riding on a prancing horse, but sitting or standing, perchance walking, not with beckoning or threatening gestures, but with gestures that are reminders of his teaching and his way of love, which was gentle and illumined by an inner light.

The Orient respects the teacher. It thus shows that knowledge and wisdom are prized above position and wealth. For the sake of knowledge Prince Siddhartha left home; for the sake of expounding the wisdom he had acquired he renounced all. It is a commendable practice of the Thai people to have their sons spend at least three months out of their lives in imitation of the Buddha, renouncing pleasures, wealth and all attachments, by taking the yellow robe. Thus at least once in a lifetime it is brought home to the individual that in humbleness wisdom grows, and insight, if not enlightenment, comes with detachment.

The reverence which is paid to the Buddha in his images is not worship as such. It is respect for the personality of the greatest teacher, who, having explored the highest reaches, did not withdraw to enjoy his salvation, but labored hard to put his wisdom into simple words, restate it in many ways and phrases, so that all men, intelligent and lacking in intelligence, may understand. This is thinking which is not selfish but is social in the highest sense. Even in the unspeakable bliss of Nibbāna, the Buddha thought of his fellowmen compassionately. It is in this attitude that Buddhists reverence the Buddha, with eyes closed and an ethereal smile on his countenance. The conqueror, Jinā, not of armies but of the baser elements of human nature, draws the Buddhist to the temple. It is not Prince Siddhartha in all his splendor he bows to, but that mature person under the Bo Tree, the receptacle of wisdom. The implications for a life of reason and a peaceful attitude are patent. With this the Buddhist community should make solid contributions to the democratic way of life.

Though rank and splendor were not reverenced by the followers of the Buddha to the superlative degree that wisdom was, the Buddhist vocabulary does contain the concept of nobility. Not only are the Fourfold Truths and the Eightfold Path to Nibbāna noble; he is noble, ariya, who follows in the Path. In other words, the life you lead, the thoughts you think, ennoble you, not the clothes you wear, or the title and position you hold. The monks are the real ariya Sangha, the company of Nobles. All this goes to show that in Buddhism the real value is shifted from the material and worldly to the spiritual, but without denouncing wealth and prowess as an evil. There is a recognition, therefore, that all these things are
necessary so long as we have not reached the highest level of thinking. Kingship and worldly pomp are accepted; however, true nobility is denied them. The Buddha consorted with the people, the lowliest sometimes, and he felt no compunction to avoid the princely caste. In fact, he recognized caste in the sense that it represented a classification of society according to occupation. He recognized a king, he recognized a Brahman. He did not recommend a false equalization in society, for he knew that true equality could never be in the world of appearance. A true Brahman, a true Prince, was he who, apart from appearance, had that inner worth, that nobility of thought and character. Buddha, thus, was no reformer, least of all a revolutionary, although he has often been portrayed as such by Western scholars. He is supposed to have had in view the reconstruction of Hindu society and the elimination of caste if as a consequence of his teaching, a relaxation of the restrictive forces in Hindu society took place that was coincidental.

To say that the Buddha set out to reform society is a gross misstatement of the facts. His aim was enlightenment and the elimination of sorrow and suffering, no matter where it occurred, not of suffering of those alone who were low in the social scale. The Buddha’s problem concerned the very nature and principle of suffering and death itself, not merely the sufferings due to social ills and inequality. In fact, the Buddha has advanced, unwittingly, to his teachings, the best refutation of the justification of class struggle. His method is peaceful, does not require the conversion by force or otherwise of those who think differently, but implies setting one’s own thinking in order. Salvation, *vimukti*, was not to be attained by outward means. It is an inner reformation of the spirit which thereupon is to find its outward expression in ethical activity. One cannot do the good without having an idea or notion of the good.

It is one of the basic assumptions of democratic society that it is made up, and should be made up, of a variety of individuals whose individuality is guaranteed. This is also the meaning and intent of Buddhism. In the *Milinda-panhā* it is stated that as the trees differ depending on the nature of the seed, so the character and destiny of man varies with the different deeds whose consequences are earned. This is the doctrine of kamma, action, which is so universal in Indian thinking. A man becomes good by good action, and bad by bad action. The West calls it the doctrine of individual responsibility. There is only this difference: Buddhism carries it beyond the present life span of a man into his past and future. Essentially, however, there is agreement. An individual must be held fully responsible for his thought and action, for otherwise any action of his can be excused and laws would be futile. Society would disintegrate, just as nature would, were the laws of causality not universal. Man is by no means regarded perfect in a democratic society. In free association with his fellowmen he practises self-reliance which is allied to belief in kamma. It is the Buddhist view that man can and must perfect himself by shaping his own kamma. Yes, there is a national kamma, and the citizens of free communities believe in it, for no despot is permitted to tamper arbitrarily with justice. We are the heirs of the sins of our forefathers, but also of their virtues.

It follows from the kamma theory that man must have freedom to make his own decisions. Whether a man wants to head toward *vimukti* and Nibbāna is his personal concern in the thinking of the Buddha. He, therefore, must imply that society also is such that it provides the necessary conditions for the attainment of Nibbāna. In other words, freedom must be guaranteed in the world. Freedom, in fact, is the very life-blood of religion, in whatever form it may occur. Any society which believes in strict determinism will eventually ensnare man in
a world of thought and action in which he can no longer move about freely. *Vimukti* then becomes impossible through individual effort.

It was Emerson, the American, who said, “Civilization depends on morality.” With this every Buddhist would agree, for *sīla* is basic to human life. Perfect speech, *sammā vācā* perfect comportment, *sammā kammanta*, and a perfect occupation or livelihood, *sammā ājīva*; these are three important items of the Eightfold Path. If they break down, if, for instance, truth and sincerity are not in the word, which is the very cement of human relationships, for without language man cannot be man, society breaks down and with it civilization goes by the board. The same holds true if we behave socially by harming our fellowmen bodily or taking from them what does not belong to us, or engage in activity which does not make them happy and content.

In a democratic society and one that believes in spiritual freedom there is room, then, for those virtues which we prize in the West and which we include in the phrase “the milk of human kindness.” In Buddhism, likewise, both bhikkhu and layman are encouraged to move and have their being in the Divine Abodes, the *brahmavihāras*: *mettā*, *karunā*, *muditā* and *upekkhā*. *Mettā* is good will—and friendship. With it the true Buddhist should permeate all quarters. The same with *karunā*, compassion with all living creatures, for all are heirs to sorrow and suffering. Scholars have not yet agreed on the meaning of *muditā*. They call it disinterested love, as if love could ever be disinterested. Perhaps sympathy is the English equivalent. *Upekkhā* has been given as “hedonic neutrality or indifference,” yet equanimity perhaps is the correct translation.

A society which incorporates the concept of freedom rather than repression and suppression, and a religion which permits the unrestricted exercise of the human will to perfect itself, will inevitably be characterized by tolerance. There are two kinds of tolerance, one that just bears with the dissenter, and the other that as a genuine interest in the heterodoxy though it does not subscribe to it. The right to dissent is jealously guarded by all democratic nations. For man must realize that he does not possess the ultimate truth, that he is groping in opinion, however well founded, so long as he has his human limitations. The same right is implied in Buddhist thinking. For the ultimate reality, Nibbāna is indefinable and inexpressible. If, thus, either you or I start out in search of it, we do so to the best of our knowledge and intent. It would be illogical if not unethical to fight because of any differences.

**Democratic Values**

The recognized prerequisites of democratic cultures are:

- A productive economy to raise man above the level of poverty and misery.
- A progressive society with security and opportunity for all.
- A literate society with universal education.
- Personal liberty and self-reliance.
- A system of ethics based on moral law.
- Deep-rooted respect for the system of values and institutions that helped each culture to evolve into great civilizations.

These values were respected in the ancient Buddhist civilization of Asia, particularly in the Asokan period from the 3rd Century B.C., the golden period of Indian history. These conditions exist today in highly industrialized Japan where there is a predominantly Buddhist civilization, and in the newly emerged Buddhist States of Asia. These technically backward nations are rebuilding their economies to raise the standard of living of their people. Among
these, Ceylon has an almost fully literate society with free education from kindergarten up to university. Buddhism has given each man or woman sturdy independence, rather than dependence on the mercy of a Creator God to better themselves. The Buddha taught man the gospel of self-help in his efforts to lead a noble life. To achieve the highest conditions of mind and heart, the Buddha said man must work out his own way. He asserted that man’s own deeds would make him noble and advised him to guard against deeds that would make him low.

Further, the Buddha stated that all beings, including man, are suffering, and through his Noble Eightfold Path he gave an efficacious prescription how to make an end of that suffering. Since that Path is a road of gradual progress it is intelligible and practicable by all, even on the lowest rungs of human development. None is excluded from reaching final deliverance if only he takes resolutely one step after the other on that road. Thus we see that the Buddha conceded equality to all human beings—a cardinal principle in a democratic society. Thus, the Buddha founded the clarion-call of human liberty. He said. “Take ye refuge unto yourself; be ye your own salvation. With earnestness and high resolve work out your own salvation.”

The Buddha pointed out the absolute folly of artificial distinctions between man and man. At the time of the Buddha there was a rigid caste system in India. It determined and fixed man’s place in the social order by the mere fact that one’s father was of such and such a descent and had such and such an occupation. The low castes were denied an education and were placed low on the social ladder, and this with such a rigidity that a low caste man could hardly break out of his situation. The Buddha revolted against this injustice and asserted the equality of all men as far as their basic rights are concerned. The Buddha unhesitatingly admitted to his Order of Monks also people of the so-called low castes—barbers, butchers, sweepers, and the untouchable—along with the members of the noble and priestly castes. He made absolutely no distinctions between them in the ranks of the monks. All received equal homage, reverence and respect. Some members of the nobility were upset by these actions of the Buddha and one of them dared challenge the Buddha to define a nobleman. It was then that he declared:

“No man is noble by birth,
No man is ignoble by birth.
Man is noble by his own deeds,
Man is ignoble by his own deeds”

Commenting on the Buddha’s discourse, the Sigālovāda sutta,1 which is based on social ethics, the world famous British scholar, Professor Rhys Davids, chairman of the Department of Comparative Religion, Manchester University, England, says: “Happy would have been the village or the clan on the banks of the Ganges, when the people were full of kindly spirit of fellow feelings, the noble spirit of justice, which breathes through these naive and simple sayings.” He adds: “Not less happy would be the village on the banks of the Thames, today, of which this could be said.”

He continues: “The Buddha’s doctrine of love and good will between man and man is here let forth in domestic and social ethics with more comprehensive details than elsewhere … And truly we may say even now of this Vinaya or code of discipline, so fundamental are the human interests involved, so sane and wide is the wisdom that envisages them that the utterances are as fresh and practically as binding today as they were then, at Rajagaha (India).”
The Buddha strongly condemned all sacrifices performed in the name of religion, particularly those involving animal sacrifices. It was believed at that time that sacrifices atoned for sin and protected against evil spirits. The Buddha said that these sacrifices were cruel and useless, as it is only through a noble life that man can elevate himself and be secure against evil. The Buddha’s compassion extended also to those who were ailing. Once he said to his disciples:

“Whoever, monks, nurses the sick, will nurse me.” And in that spirit hospitals for both animals and men were later established during the reign of Asoka in 3rd century B.C. The Buddha condemned slavery in any shape and form. He laid down golden rules for the right manner of earning one’s living in a way not harmful to others, and this included also that any trafficking in human beings was out of bounds for a Buddhist. The temperance movement owes its beginnings to the Buddha who asked his followers to abstain from using or selling liquor and other intoxicants.

**Gospel of Tolerance**

The Buddha also preached the gospel of tolerance, of compassion, loving kindness and non-violence. He taught men not to despise other religions and not to belittle them. He further declared that one should not even accept his own teachings unless one found them to be in accord with one’s personal reasoning, according to the Kalama Sutta.

During the Buddha’s time there were a number of great kingdoms in India such as Magadha and Kosala, and some of them were established on the democratic form of government. The Buddha favoured the democrat form over the oligarchical form of government as it was the best form of government which is conducive to the stability of society. The Buddha showed great admiration of the Vajjis or Licchavis. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* he likened the Licchavis to the Thirty-three Gods (*Tāvatiṃsa-deva*). He also warned Vassakāra, minister of the parricide king Ajātasattu that the Vajjis would remain invincible as long as they adhered to the seven rules of a nation’s welfare (*aparihāniya dhamma*), namely:

- Frequent meetings for consultation.
- Concord in action.
- Adherence to injunctions and traditions.
- Respecting elders.
- Respecting women, who shall never be molested.
- Reverence to places of worship within and outside the territory.
- Protection of worthy saints in the territory.

The Buddha continued: “So long as the Vajjis meet frequently in council, assemble and disperse in harmony (and observe the other rules of welfare), their prosperity is to be expected, not their decline.”

**Asoka’s reign**

The Emperor Asoka worked with ceaseless energy for the propagation of Buddhism and transformed it into a world religion. The Asokan period from 325 to 288 B.C. is of special significance to mankind, as it is one of the most illustrious liberal democratic periods in history. In his time Asoka established public gardens, medical herbs were cultivated, trees
were planted along roads, hospitals were established for both men and animals. He sank wells for public use, and educational and religious institutions grew up all over the country.

The late H. G. Wells writes in his *Outline of World History*: “Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousness’s, and sovereignties and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines and shines almost alone a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserves the traditions of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than ever heard the names of Constantine and Charlemagne. It is claimed that Asoka was one of the first to grant gender equality by sending his own son and daughter to Ceylon for missionary work. In this vast empire, Asoka treated all his subjects with equal justice and admitted no privileges of caste or class.

**Conclusion**

I think, it is now easily drawn as to the place of Buddhism in a democratic world. Its place is firmly anchored therein. Buddhism is bound to make a major contribution to the freedom loving, democratically governed nations which cannot be otherwise than profound. The Buddhist’s way of life is secure as long as the spirit of the Buddha’s words is alive. The overt enemy is easily recognized, but the subversion of thought is subtle, indeed. Hence, it is paramount to be grounded not merely in action and know Buddhist philosophy also. We glibly say “right” action, “right” thought, “right” determination, meaning that they should be perfect, not merely correct. Yet it takes not merely intuition, not merely habit, to do the right or perfect thing. It takes thought, for how can the “right,” the *sammā* or perfect, be determined otherwise than in thought? Shall we settle the question by action; shall we use the stick or the gun? Man must be a thinker, and only as a thinker is he man. Buddhāsana is based on thought. It stands or falls with the grand and simple ideas that the Buddha has given us and which he has won for us in his profound *dhyāna*. The enemies of Buddhism are enemies of its ideas. While outwardly they fawn on Buddhist ways and practices, they pervert the thought by subtle dialectic. The gravest danger to the Buddhist community consists in that it may not recognize the intellectual attack, and is unprepared by logic and fundamental thinking to repel the onslaught. Let us, therefore, recapitulate the main ideas on Buddhāsana which form the sure foundation of a democratic world and a democratic way of life:

- True leadership,
- Respect for personality,
- Teaching without domination,
- Nobility of thought and character rather than of wealth or station,
- Reconstruction and rehabilitation of the inner man rather than revolutionizing society,
- Individual responsibility,
- Self-reliance,
- Freedom of choice and action,
- Morality as the basis of society,
- Good will,
- Kindness,
- Peacefulness and tolerance.

There is no finer list of virtues than that. All men of high purpose will agree with Buddhists in their aim to perfect the person, in order to make the world a better place to live in equality before the law. No man can be called free unless he is able to pursue his calling unhampered by barriers of caste, class, or special privilege. In a deeper sense no man is truly free until he
can without fear or pressure from authoritarian coercion, unfold his innate potentialities and perfect himself by shaping his own Kamma or destiny. It was the Buddha who for the first time taught and realized these values through his Dhamma. It has led to a flowering of a civilization that, to this day, stands as a marvel in the history of mankind.

Three centuries later it led, for the first time in the annals of mankind, to establish hospitals for both men and animals and organize universal education which culminated in establishing international centers of learning, known today as universities. With the spread of Buddhism in greater Asia from the 3rd Century B.C. it stimulated the formation of new civilizations depending on the national genius of the inhabitants in each State. These civilizations produced a fascinating array of art and dance forms, literature, and social and economic institution based on the Dhamma.

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Electoral Reforms: 
Imperatives for Change in Democratic Structure

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Abstract
“Democracy is a form of government which may be rationally defended not as being good, but as being less bad than any other –William Ralph Inge
India is the largest and one of the most vibrant democracies of the world. It is true that we have been able to run a democratic system for more than six decades and we should be proud of it because the very few developing countries have actually been able to cover this complex transition from a colonial state to a democratic nation. One of the most important features of a democratic polity is time bound, independent, free and fair elections. Elections constitute the signpost of a democracy. These are the medium through which the attitudes, values and beliefs of the people towards their political environment are reflected. Elections grant people a government and the government has a constitutional legitimacy to govern those who elect it. Elections are the central democratic procedure for selecting and controlling leaders. Elections provide an opportunity to the people to express their faith in the government from time to time and change it when the need arises. Elections symbolise the sovereignty of the people and provide legitimacy to the authority of the government. Thus, free and fair elections are indispensable for the success of democracy, but if the electoral process becomes anomalous and maligned, the whole edifice of democracy will get infected and crumble. Unfortunately, elections infested with all sorts of anomalies and maladies have become common in India. One may even go further and call India ‘a functioning anarchy’ rather than ‘democratic republic’. Many people fear that the anarchic element has multiplied to such an extent that Indian democracy might soon find it impossible to function in accordance with the rules of the concept. This paper explores what are the imperatives for change in democratic structure so as to ensure good governance.

Keywords: Democracy, Electoral Reforms, Democratic Structure

Introduction
India is the largest and one of the most vibrant democracies of the world. It is true that we have been able to run a democratic system for more than six decades and we should be proud of it because the very few developing countries have actually been able to cover this complex transition from a colonial state to a democratic nation. One of the most important features of a democratic polity is time bound, independent, free and fair elections. Elections constitute the signpost of a democracy. These are the medium through which the attitudes, values and beliefs of the people towards their political environment are reflected. Elections grant people a government and the government has a constitutional legitimacy to govern those who elect it. Elections are the central democratic procedure for selecting and controlling leaders. Elections provide an opportunity to the people to express their faith in the government from time to time and change it when the need arises. Elections symbolise the sovereignty of the people and provide legitimacy to the authority of the government. Thus, free and fair elections are indispensable for the success of democracy, but if the electoral process becomes anomalous and maligned, the whole edifice of democracy will get infected and crumble. Unfortunately, elections infested with all sorts of anomalies and maladies have become common in India. One may even go further and call India ‘a functioning anarchy’ rather than ‘democratic republic’. Many people fear that the anarchic element has multiplied to such an extent that Indian democracy might soon find it impossible to function in accordance with the rules of the concept. This paper explores what are the imperatives for change in democratic structure so as to ensure good governance.
extent that Indian democracy might soon find it impossible to function in accordance with the rules of the concept.

Indian democratic system has been marred by the allegations of scandals and rigging in the electoral processes. Some allege that the battle for ballots has turned into the battle for bullets with the entry of money, mafia and muscle power in the electoral fray. In addition to this many controversies marked the last Lok Sabha elections where it was visible how small parties held big ones at ransom over issues of seat sharing and ministerial births. Some of these evils which have crept into our electoral system can be briefly discussed as follows:

i) Due to large number of candidates, the winner candidate very often wins by minority votes. The percentage of votes polled by the political parties also does not correspond to their percentage of the seats. The majority party generally wins with minority votes.

ii) The mounting expenditure on elections, incurred both by government on organising them and more particularly, by the parties and candidates on fighting them. The political parties and their candidates mainly rely on the business contributions which are mostly in cash and from unaccounted money. Another source is the wealth amassed by the gangs of anti-social elements – smugglers and industrial mafias. Also there is use of muscle power to aid the candidates belonging to dominant castes and communities in a constituency. Often the administrative machinery is hand in glove with these elements.

iii) The abject dependence of the Election Commission on the central and state governments for the conduct of polls is another serious defect in the existing electoral system.

iv) Criminalisation of politics is a very grave problem. In the past, criminals were content with supplying funds and muscle power to politicians in return of some guarantees about their security. Now the crime lords have become VIP’s: a new culture has developed on the basis of gun and bomb. The criminals have come out into the open, freely contesting elections and, in more and more instances, sitting in legislatures and in the Parliament. From the ‘criminalisation of politics’ we have moved to the ‘politicisation of crime’. One can imagine the situation when law breakers become the law makers.

All this has necessitated the urgent need for electoral reforms, so that electoral process does not become a mere voting exercise and fulfils its meaning. Now the question arises what Electoral Reforms mean? Electoral reforms may be defined as the change in electoral systems aimed to improve the responsiveness of electoral processes to public desires and expectations or in other words it refers to the change in the systems of election process in order to improve on the desirability of the public in the election results. One of the prime factors in electoral reforms is the change in the process and procedure of voting System. For any democratic system to succeed people need to maintain their allegiance to democratic institutions based on rule of law. More the transparency and fairness in elections, stronger will be the allegiance of people towards democratic institutions. Electoral system should support and strengthen the empowerment of people to exercise the system to guarantee an equitable framework of economic and social justice. Thus the electoral reforms and other measures have become imperative to overcome the threat to democracy and carry on the democratic process forward.

So to improve the drawbacks and loopholes in the electoral system I propose that following set of recommendations, most of which have been widely discussed and deliberated in various policymaking forums and committees and have also found acceptability.

- Abolish the first-past-the-post system: This has been amongst the most widely discussed electoral reforms in India. Multi-cornered contests have become a rule in India rather than an exception due to the increase in the number of smaller and regional parties. There have been cases in the state assembly elections where a candidate has been declared winner with the victory margin of less than 100 votes.
Apart from this anomaly, in most cases, a candidate wins the election by securing just 30-35 per cent of the total number of votes polled. Hence he or she cannot be deemed to be a choice of majority of the electorate. To overcome this limitation, the first-past-the-post system should be replaced with a two-stage electoral process. In this, a second round of election will be held if none of the candidates in the fray is able to get 50 per cent of the total number of votes polled in the first round. The two candidates who have obtained the maximum number of votes in the first round will fight in the second round. Whoever between the two gets more than 51 per cent of the total votes polled in the second round is declared the winner.

- Ban on publication of exit/opinion polls results till voting is over for all phases: To ensure free and fair elections in India, the election commission holds them in different phases so that the available security staff is effectively deployed. Publishing the result of opinion poll on the earlier phases will have an impact on the voting pattern in the subsequent phases. Similarly, the opinion polls that are conducted before the election also influences the voting pattern. Hence there is a need to put a ban on the publication of the results of the exit/opinion polls conducted by various media agencies till all the phases of elections are over.

- Not allowing candidates to contest from more than one constituency in an election: This is necessary to curtail the unnecessary expenditure that election commission has to make when a candidate contests election from more than one constituency and wins from all the constituencies he has contested from. The bye-election that is necessitated by the candidate choosing one seat and vacating others seats he has contested from will no longer be needed.

- Increase the amount of security deposit: This move is necessary to put a check on the number of non-serious candidates contesting union and state assembly elections. Such a move has been taken in the past and has shown desired results. However in recent times, the number of candidates fighting elections has shown an increasing trend and hence there is a need to review the amount of security deposit.

- Strengthening provisions for registration and de-registration of political parties: The party system is an essential feature of parliamentary democracy. However, there is no direct reference of political parties in the Constitution of India. The statutory law relating to registration of political parties was enacted in 1989 which was quite liberal. As a result, a large number of non-serious parties mushroomed and got registered with the Commission. Many of them did not contest elections at all after their registration. It led to confusion among electors as to whom to vote. To eliminate the mushrooming of parties, the election commission should be given powers to de-recognise smaller political parties on the basis of their performance. Another move to achieve this goal would be to increase the minimum number of primary members that are needed to form a political party.

- Rule making authority to be vested in Election Commission: The rule making power should be vested with the Election Commission independently. It should not be a puppet in the hands of central and state government.

- Checking Criminalisation of Politics: This menace began in Bihar and gradually spread to every nook and corner of the nation. In 2003, a law was introduced to prohibit the election of criminals to the legislative bodies. However, persons with criminal background continue to hold seats in Parliament and State Assemblies. This leads to a very undesirable and embarrassing situation when law-breakers become law-makers and move around under police protection. During the 13th Lok Sabha elections candidates having criminal cases against them numbered 12 in Bihar and 17...
in Uttar Pradesh. Thus serious concern should be shown by the Election Commission to check the entry of anti-social and criminal persons into the electoral arena.

- Disqualification and punishment: Disqualification section should be made more stiff by including offences under various laws and steps should be taken to simplify the provisions to disqualify the persons found guilty of corrupt practices. Moreover the punishment for causing disturbances at election meetings should also be enhanced.

In order to effectively implement these electoral reforms and make it functional there are certain changes that have to be implemented by the Election Commission. The first thing is the amount of money and muscle power that is involved in elections has to be very closely monitored and stern steps should be taken against people involving in the malicious use of money and muscle power. Secondly the people of a constituency should be accorded the power to recall. In order to avoid illegal use of money in promoting one’s candidature and party for election, annual audit of the representatives from various parties should be regularly conducted. There should be a close monitoring on people’s participation. In this age of technological advancement effective use and role of technology is very important. If the process of voting instead of visiting the polling station with the help of technology can be made through the internet where one can visit the website and cast one’s vote then the voting percentage might be on higher side unlike the contemporary poor percentage of voters turning out to cast one’s vote. Besides this, the political parties should also function democratically with periodic elections, well defined code of conduct and subject to a stubborn anti defection law.

The beginning of electoral reforms should be first of all implemented at the student’s union level because it is the nursery of political parties where various students’ unions follow various political parties and is also supported by the political parties in various ways. Like strong roots is the major reason behind a huge tree standing tall and facing all the natural atrocities, in that same way electoral reforms should be implemented first from the roots i.e. the student’s union. At the end I would like to conclude by saying that a thousand miles journey begins with a single step and as a first step we must try to rectify the errors present in us so as to behave as the law abiding and sincere citizens of the society.

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Revisiting Parliamentary Ethics:
A Study of the Privileges and Obligations of MPs

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Abstract
This paper tries to examine the relationship between the privileges and obligations of the MPs’ in ensuring ethics in their conduct in and outside Parliament. A set of high standard of ethical codes is a sine qua non of parliamentary democracy. As our Constitution provides a specific set of privileges to the MP’s, it is worth examining at this juncture whether these privileges are hampering on maintaining their obligations to the nation and finally in performing their duties within the existing ethical codes. The MPs’ perceived irresponsiveness, various forms of upcoming misconduct and corruption scandals have eroded public trust on politicians and political institutions like Parliament. This paper tries to find whether we actually need a more stringent new set of code of conduct or we can still regulate the MPs with the existing codes. The paper looks into the MP’s role as an elected representative of a constituency, a member of the party he belongs to, at times as a Minister of the Government and as a responsible citizen of the country. How difficult it is to reconcile the obligations towards these roles would also be analyzed in the wake of upcoming demands of transparency and accountability in their actions. The paper concludes with probable solutions about the utility of such codes in maintaining parliamentary ethics and provides suggestions for improving the same.

Keywords: Privileges, Ethics, Parliament, Freedom, MPs

Introduction
Democracy is built on trust, that is to say the trust which voters place in fellow citizens whom they elect to represent their interest and concerns in the various bodies which make up a democracy. That trust must be earned everyday by politicians as they perform their legislative and control roles (OPPD, 2011). In all types of representative forms of governments, when the trust starts lacking, the gap between the governor and the governed slowly increases. Furthermore, the trust on the institution which they represent lessens in the eye of public. The voters, as a part of their precious rights, in most of the democratic countries ‘put higher demands on the responsiveness and accountability of the public sector, the conduct of politicians have come under increasing public scrutiny (OPPD, 2011). To set the ethical standards of the people’s representatives, the democracies have enlisted a code of conduct.

Ethical codes are as old as human civilizations. Codes used to be foundations in regard to religious traditions and civic cultures. ‘The Mosaic Decalogue (Ten Commandments) is the keystone for Judaism, Islam and Christianity. Pericles made the Athenian Code the underpinning of ancient Greek Politics and culture (Gilman, 2005). Thus codes are generally treated as general obligations, but they are far more than that in reality. It has been observed that the use of codes of conduct or ethics is a part of international anti-corruption agreements. The Organization of American States Inter American Convention Against Corruption was the first such documents to highlight the importance of ethics or codes of conduct. In 2003, the UN Convention Against Corruption included a public service code as an essential element in fighting corruption. Thus the role of the ethics codes plays a very crucial role in the
institution building and its sustainability in future in the eyes of the public. With the crumbling down of the core standards of parliamentarians, the ethics codes came to light, more prominently in the 20th and 21st centuries. In fact ‘there has been a decline in the effectiveness of Parliament as an institution of accountability and oversight’ (Kapur and Mehta, 2006). Thus, by creating ethics regimes, parliaments (a) establish a standard for Parliamentarian’s behaviour and (b) clarify what forms of behavior are acceptable and what forms are improper and (c) create an environment that is less likely to tolerate misconduct and other forms of unethical behavior, and by doing so, (d) create an environment in which Parliamentarians are less likely to engage in corrupt practices (Pelizzo, 2008).

The Constitution of India provides privileges to its MP’s. Article 105 (3) of our Constitution says, “The powers, privileges and immunities of each House of Parliament and of the members and committees of each House, shall be such as may from time to time be defined by law, and, until so defined, shall be those of that House and of its members and committees immediately before coming into force of section 15 of the constitution (44th Amendment) Act,1978”. These privileges and immunities enjoyed by our MP’s need to be analyzed in the context of performing their constitutional duties, through ethical norms. The existing privileges of our Constitution can be divided into the following heads:

a. Privileges specified in the Constitution

- Freedom of speech in Parliament: Our Constitutions states ‘subject to the provisions of this Constitution and to the rules and standing orders regulating the procedure of Parliament, there shall be freedom of speech in Parliament.’
- Immunity to MP’s: The Constitution says, “No Member of Parliament shall be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in Parliament or any Committee thereof.”
- Our Constitution also prohibits the court in regards to proceedings, which says, “The validity of any proceedings in Parliament shall not be called in question or the ground of any alleged irregularity of procedure.”
- “No officer or Member of Parliament in whom powers are vested by or under this Constitution for regulating procedure or the conduct of business or for maintaining order, in Parliament shall be subject to the jurisdiction of any Court in respect of exercise by him of those powers.”

b. Privileges specified in the Statute

- Freedom from arrest of members in civil cases during the continuance of the session of the House and 40 days before its commencement and 40 days after its conclusion.
- Immunity to a person from any court in respect of the publication in newspapers of a substantially true report of any proceeding of either House of Parliament unless the publication is proved to have been made with malice.’

c. Privileges specified in Rules of Procedure

- Right of the House to receive immediate information of the arrest, detention, conviction, imprisonment and the release of a Member, when a Member is arrested or a criminal charge or for a criminal offence or is sentenced to imprisonment by a Court or is detained under an executive order, the committing judge, magistrate or executive authority, as the case may be, shall immediately intimate such fact to the Chairman indicating the reason for the same.
- Exemption of the Member from services of legal process and arrest within the precincts of the House.
- Prohibition of the disclosure of the proceedings or decisions of the secret settings of the House.
d. Privileges based upon Precedents

- Members or Officers of the House cannot give evidence or produce documents in courts of law, relating to the proceedings of the House without the permission of the House.
- Members or Officers of the House cannot attend as a witness before the other House or a committee thereof or before a house of state legislature or a committee thereof without the permission of the House and they cannot be compelled to do so without their consent.

Limitations on Parliamentary Privileges

Freedom of speech conferred by Art. 105 is subject to two restrictions: Clause (i) does not provide unlimited or absolute right to speak anything within the Parliament. The freedom conferred by this article is subject to the other provisions of the constitution, such as Art. 19(i) (a), 118 and 121. But the difference is that when an MP speaks in Parliament, the restriction under Art. 19(i) can be imposed by the Speaker through Art. 118 and not by the Court. This freedom is ‘subject to the provisions of the constitution’ which implies subject to the provisions of the Constitution that regulates procedure of Parliament i.e. Art. 118 and 121 (Sharma Vs Krishna, 1959). The restrictive words ‘subject to the provisions of the constitution’ have been deleted from clause (I) (Yogendra v state). At the moment, the freedom of speech within the House is subject to the restriction under Art.19 and 121 or relevant rules made by the House. Secondly the freedom of speech mentioned in Art. 105(i) can be exercised in Parliament in Parliament and in procedures relating to the same. So, it implies that Art. 15 (i) cannot be invoked unless a session of Parliament has commenced.

Fundamental Rights and Parliamentary Privileges

The Fundamental Rights mentioned in Part III, Articles 12-35 provides one of the most elaborate chapter or rights covered by any constitutions of the world. These Fundamental Rights substantially cover all the traditional civil and political rights enumerated in Articles 2 to 21 of the Universal Declaration (Kashyap, 2011). The freedom under Article 19(i) (a) is included in the list of fundamental rights and in case of any violation of the same, can be informed by invoking Art. 32 i.e. while the freedom mentioned in Article 105 (i) is not included in the list of Fundamental Rights and the enforcement of this Article solely rests with the Speaker of the Lok Sabha or the Chairperson of the Rajya Sabha wherever the infringement takes place. Thus Articles 19(i) (a) guarantees to every Indian citizen the right to freedom of speech and expression. Though it does not specifically refer to the freedom of the press, this right has been held to be included in the right to freedom of speech and expression (Kashyap, 2011). But freedom mentioned in Art. 105 (i) is made available to the only the MP’s i.e. to a selected group of Indian citizens. Thus, the scope of Art. 19 (a) is much broader than of Art. 105(i). The freedom under Art. 19 (i) is subject to reasonable restrictions by the legislature on any of the grounds mentioned in the Constitution. Whereas the freedom under Art. 105 (i) cannot be restricted by any grounds specified in our Constitution in Article 19(20-(6).

Judiciary and the Parliamentary Privileges

Under Article 19, the right of free speech is subject to reasonable restrictions. For instance, the law of libel. An ordinary person who speaks something libelous is liable to the proceeded against but a Member of Parliament speaking in the House or in one of its committees is immune from any attack on the ground that his speech was libelous or defamatory (Kashyap, 2011). This means that the freedom of speech guaranteed to our MP’s is absolute freedom because it is not subject to legislative restrictions at all. The Constitution provides, therefore that no action can be taken against a Member of Parliament in any Court or before any authority said on a vote given by him in Houses of Parliament or any committee thereof. It
has been held by the Supreme Court that provision of the Tenth Schedule in regard to disqualification on ground of defection are not violative of Article 105 (i) (Kihoto v Zachillhu, AIR 1993 SC 412 (CB). ‘It has been held by the Supreme Court in the Searchlight Case that freedom of speech conferred on Members under Article 105 is subject to those provisions of the Constitution which regulate the procedure of Parliament and to the rules and standing orders of the House, but is free from any restriction which may be imposed by any law made under Article 19 (2) upon the freedom of speech by an ordinary citizen (Kashyap, 2011). If a speech delivered by an MP in Parliament amounts to contempt of court, no action can be taken by the concerned court because it is an outside agency or institution. Article 122 of our constitution specially forbids any inquiry by any court into the matters of proceedings of Parliament. The privileges granted by Art. 105 (i) (2) (3) to the MP’s do not mean that they can speak anything or everything in Parliament. Henceforth, the breach of privilege or contempt is referred to a Committee of Privileges to take appropriate action against an erring member. This committee has the power to summon MP’s or strangers before it and refused to appear or to knowingly to give wrong answer itself in a contempt. Finally, the committee recommendations are reported to the House which discusses them and take the ultimate decision in regard to an MP or MPs.

Significance of the Privileges
The origin of the parliamentary privileges can be traced back to institutional development of Parliament in England. The executive branch of the govt. in England was separated from Parliament and it was the House of Commons which continuously strangled to come out of the interference of the King and the House of Lords. ‘By 1688-89, during Hanover Period, Britain had become the limited monarchy and Parliament established supremacy over the royal prerogatives’ (Qamar). May writes, “Parliamentary privilege is the sum of the peculiar rights enjoyed by each house collectively as a constituent part of the High Court of Parliament, and by Member of each House individually without which they could not discharge their functions, and which exceed those possessed by other bodies or individuals. Thus, privilege, though part of the law of the land is to a certain extent an exemption from the general law. Certain rights and immunities such as freedom from arrest or freedom of speech belong primarily to individual members of each House and exist because the House cannot perform its functioning without unimpeded use of the services of its Members.’ It means that these special rights are conferred on the Members of the House of Commons to discharge their functions efficiently and effectively. Unlike the British Parliament, Indian Parliament is not sovereign. In India, it is the Constitution which is supreme and Parliament will have to function within the limitations earmarked by it. This is the most peculiar distinction between our Parliament and the British Parliament. Thus, the privileges and obligations conferred by our constitution on the MPs are specified and limited by the same unlike the British privileges.

Linking Parliamentary Ethics and Privileges
As we have observed that ‘Privileges in practice give rise to certain powers, immunities and exemptions’ (Kashyap, 2011). But today, the continued reporting of misconduct of the MP’s in India has put a big question mark on their special privileges because mostly they are misused to influence the process of law making or procedures in Parliament. This has led to the erosion of public trust on Parliament. In this context, the question arises whether we need a more stringent code of conduct or the existing codes are sufficient. The frequent upsurge of corrupt practices of politicians in India has seriously eroded the legitimacy of Parliament and its Members in public. As soon as corruption emerges, two problems appear; ‘The first is that those citizens who have more financial means at their disposal and use these
to corrupt elected officials acquire additional influence over the political process. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy: that citizens should exercise equal power on the political process (Pelizzo, 2008). The second problem is more menacing because corrupt politicians could utilize illicitly obtained resources for their electoral campaigns’ (Pelizzo, 2008), which can help them getting an additional advantage over other candidates and finally they can easily get elected. However, it is not only corruption, which undermines the legitimacy of Parliament in public eye, but also the misconduct of MP’s equally contributes to the declining of the democratic system today. As Lipset (1959) pointed out more than four decades ago, the single most important condition for making democracy survive is that democratic systems legitimacy. ‘Survey around the world show that legislatures around the world are facing a ‘democratic deficit’- that there are low and generally declining, levels of public trust in legislatures (Pelizzo, 2008). Thus internally, an ethics regime can improve the ethical standards and performance of elected representative i.e. MP’s. On the other hand, from the external front, an ethics regime can help regain the confidence of public on the political system which is eroding very fast today.

Difference between Codes of Ethics and Code of Conduct

All ethics regimes are either guided by codes of ethics, codes of conduct, ethics rules or all of them. Hence there is an urgent need to distinguish between codes of ethics and codes of conduct. As Bruce (1996) states codes of ethics “….. for those in government service challenge employees to identify with shared professional values that describe appropriate actions about acting rightly in the service of the public good”. On the other hand the codes of conduct are quite different. Bruce again defines that codes of conduct “….They contain a list of the kinds of behaviour required in a given set of circumstances and provide direction to those whose conduct they govern. Codes of conduct contain minimalistic prohibitions to unquestionably subversive or criminal acts.”

A comprehensive ethics regime generally comprises three components:

1) A general code of conduct outlining expected behaviour of legislators.
2) Formal and specific ethics detailing requirements necessary to fulfill such a code, including financial disclosure guidelines;
3) A regulatory institution to enforce those rules and advise legislators on conduct issues. (NDI, 1999).

Most of the ethics regimes across the world are centered on a commitment to principles of ‘integrity or a code of conduct, whereby legislators pledge to conduct themselves in manner befitting their position as bearers of the public trust’ (NDI, 1999).

Emerging Challenges

In India, there is a customary code of conduct for the MPs. It is widely argued that the Constitution of India and the principles enshrined in it are not failed at all but our representatives who form the govt. have failed to implement the letter and spirit of this sacred document. In reality, it is seen that the MP’s work more for the party than for the govt. Also most of them, remain as party men even after becoming minister for the Govt. of India. Recent corruption cases at all levels have been a cause for serious concern in public and it has directly helped in the emergence of anti-govt. protest movements, civil society action groups, public forums, RTI activism etc. against total inaction of the govt. in power at both at national and state levels. On the backdrop of these growing negative politics, privileges enjoyed by the MPs are openly questioned in public. Today politicians at all levels- grassroots, regional and national, are viewed hardly as a man of trust and integrity. Thus, as Kohli (1991) argues that democracy is fast engulfing with rising discontent at all levels of governance. Therefore the very
essence of parliamentary ethics has been questioned in India. When the MP’s enjoy extraordinary privileges, do they perform their duties guided by standard ethical codes? It is high time; parliamentary ethics should be codified so that it can be applied uniformly at all levels.

**Conclusion**

This paper would suggest that to enhance parliamentary ethics i.e. accountability and transparency of MPs, first work ethics should be developed instead of promoting unruly and meaningless debates in Parliament. The MP’s must behave like excellent professionals and all public works must be finished within a particular time. The PM being the first among equals must discipline the Members of the Govt. and erring Members should be punished in such a manner that they can’t leave the Govt. The opposition parties should not simply oppose in all aspects of the Govt., they rather should remain as watchdog in and outside the Parliament. Democracy is a universal value which does not belong to any country or region (UN World Summit, 2005). But in practice there has been a considerable disillusionment developing with the democracy at work. ‘What the Italian political theorist Norberto Bobbio has termed its broken promises- the contrast between what was promised and what has actually come out.’ (Beetham ed. 2006). At this juncture, most importantly a culture of working with the MP’s instead of discarding them as dishonest or a separate class of citizens should be promoted by all starting from the individual to the media. However individual propriety remains as the final yardstick of parliamentary ethics to the survival of democracy in India and across the world.

**Notes**

Section 15 of the 44th Amendment act 1978 came into being from 20th June, 1979. Prior to this date, clause (3) of Art. 105 provided that in other respects the powers, privileges and immunities of each House of Parliament and of the Members and Committees of each House shall be such as from time to time be defined by Parliament by law and until so defined shall be those of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the UK and of its Members and Committees at the commencement of the Constitution i.e. on the 26th January, 1950.

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Parliamentary Democracy:
How Distant is the Constitutional Dream?

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Abstract
It was a historical occasion when India witnessed a break from the past by agreeing to be bound by Constitutional supremacy within a democratic set-up. The paramount nature of the Parliament is undeniable, but whether the progress of the evolution of democracy was in the manner intended, is an assertion that requires scrutiny. Today it seems that we are in a situation where "the structure of a social system allows fewer possibilities for problem-solving than are necessary for the continued existence of the system". Where people desire change but are unable to initiate or attain it. There arises a perception of crisis. Crisis is not a situation—it is incapacity to act. Among various crises, the first and foremost is the crisis of legitimation of Parliamentary Democracy. Authors attempt to highlight some issues viz., lack of political resilience to bring homogeneity or to eradicate heterogeneity in the society, erosion of parliamentary conscience by an increase in the power of non democratic institution and decline in parliamentary culture. Finally it concludes that the prospect of Parliamentary democracy in India will depend on how the political leadership evolves the principles and practices suited to our constitutional traditions i.e. unity in diversity, integrity with variety, marked by the wisdom and experience of creating a harmony between the centrifugal and centripetal forces.

Keywords: Parliamentary Democracy, Constitutional Supremacy, India

Introduction
The parliamentary model owes its popularity to its capacity to combine centralised political authority with responsible, representative democracy. The system privileges an ideology, that of majority rule, which is realised through legislative supremacy and its corollaries. But even though parliamentary systems have progressively empowered their citizens, they rarely feature much direct popular governance. Not only do citizens typically not make most policy decisions themselves, they often do not even select or instruct the actual decision-makers, but delegate in ways that can be indirect. What makes parliamentary and other regimes democratic is precisely the mechanisms by which citizens, the ultimate principals, can select and control their representatives. It is not without reason that the people of India are called the ‘driving force’ behind the Indian democracy. Our forefathers chose to incorporate the representative form of democracy as during that time human rights protection had become an international matter and the protection of human rights was considered to be closely linked with the process of democracy. Democracy is an excellent form of government but for two difficulties – no means exist for securing the entire expression of public opinion, and if secured, the opinion would not be adequately valued. We being a country with a population of 1 billion and a low literacy rate then it would be wrong on our part to expect the general public to make an informed choice about everything which is of public concern and therefore, we need MPs who on behalf of the people of India take decisions in the interest of all.
Ingredients of Parliamentary Democracy

In the Constituent Assembly a plea was made that India should opt for the U.S. Presidential model of democracy. This plea however could not prevail and ultimately the country adopted a Parliamentary Democratic system after a ‘purposive and elaborate’ debate. The fact that India had already experienced the parliamentary system under the British rule was another reason it was adopted. Montesquieu holds that there are three types of governments and that in a democracy, the people are said to be sovereign. They may govern through people but they must have the power to choose who they wish to be governed by. He further states that the principle of democracy is political virtue, which includes its democratic constitution. In his view, the virtue required by a functioning democracy is not natural and requires a constant preference of public over private interest. The ambition of those at the helm should be of doing greater service to the country than to fellow countrymen. A democracy must also educate its citizens to identify their interests with the country’s interests. The Supreme Court has recently defined ‘parliamentary democracy’ to envisage in itself (1) representation of the people (2) responsible government (3) accountability of the Council of Ministers to the Legislature. The essence of this is to draw a direct line of authority from the people through the legislature to the executive. The character and content of “parliamentary democracy” in the ultimate analysis depends upon the quality of persons who man the legislature as representatives of the people. The members of legislature, thus, must owe their power directly or indirectly to the people. Whoever believes that parliamentarism guarantees the best selection of political leaders remains convinced of that, at least today, not because of idealistic belief, but rather as a practical-technical hypothesis constructed on the English Model, which one could reasonably discard if it did not succeed. Nevertheless, this conviction can also be linked to belief in discussion and openness, and then it belongs to principled arguments for parliamentarism.

Constitution – Vision of Parliamentary Democracy

Sir S. Radhakrishnan (1946) in his address to the Constituent Assembly after the selection of the permanent chairman, highlighting the importance of the Constitution said that a constitution is the fundamental law of the nation. It should embody and express the dreams and passions, the ideals and the aspirations of the people. It must be based on the consent of all, and respect the rights of all people who belong to this great land. It is essential for any constitution which is drawn up to make all the citizens realise that their basic privileges—education, social and economic are afforded to them; that there will be cultural autonomy; that nobody will be suppressed; that it will be a constitution which will be democratic in the true sense of the term, where, from political freedom we will march on to economic freedom and equity. Every individual should feel that he is proud to belong to this great land.

Since the word ‘democratic’ in our constitution is used as an attribute of ‘Republic’ it may seem that it refers only to political democracy or a form of government. But following the words of the Preamble, it becomes evident that it does not refer merely to a form of government, but to a democratic state in which social, economic and legal equality and justice prevail. Even though the expression ‘democratic’ has been used in varying senses across the world, in our Constitution it refers to denote what it literally means, that is, “people’s power”. It stands for the actual, active and effective exercise of power by the people in this regard. Moreover, by the word ‘democratic’ the makers of our constitution envisaged not merely political but also social and economic democracy is evidenced by the other parts of the Preamble itself. This cannot be elucidated in a better manner than it was by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (1949) in his concluding speech in the Constituent Assembly where he stated, “what we must do is not to be content with mere political democracy we must make
out political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it a social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. They form a union, a trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. Liberty cannot be divorced from equality, equality cannot be divorced from liberty. Nor can liberty and equality be divorced from fraternity. Without equality, liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many. Equality without liberty would kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty and equality could not become a natural course of things. It would require a constable to enforce them.” (Ambedkar, 1949, p. 975)

**Decline in Parliamentary Culture**

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (1949) understanding the importance of the parliamentary culture and not undermining the importance of the Constitution in any manner, stated, in his concluding speech on the 25th November, 1949, “I shall not enter into the merits of the constitution. Because I feel, however good a constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad lot. However, bad a constitution may be, it may turn out to be good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot. The working of a constitution does not depend wholly upon the nature of the constitution. The constitution can only provide the organs of the state. The factors on which the working of those organs depend are the people and the political parties they will set up as their instruments to carry out their wishes and their politics.” (Ambedkar, 1949, p. 975)

The authors have made an attempt to show the decline in the parliamentary culture of India with the help of a few parameters which, in the opinion of the authors, are of importance to vividly illustrate the decline.

**Corruption Scandals**

India faired lowly as it was ranked 94th out of 176 nations scoring 36 on a scale of 100 (least corrupt) in a survey carried out in 2012. The Lower House of the Parliament (read: the political parties), in total, has spent enormous amounts of money, going into thousands of crores, during the election process was being carried out. It is common knowledge that a portion of this money has gone to the purchase of votes. The survey conducted in 2009 by the Centre for Media Studies (CMS), a Delhi based think-tank, has revealed that nearly one-fifth of the voters across the country had stated that candidates or party workers offered them money to vote in the past decade. Further, two of the most ‘glorious’ examples in the Indian context would be the 2G Spectrum scam and the CoalGate scam.

**2G Spectrum Scam:** It was amply demonstrated between September 2007 and December 2008 that its demand in view of its scarcity was at its peak and thus would have fetched the market determined price at a much higher level than that of the 2001 entry fee. If price is calculated at 3G rates which can also be taken as one of the indicators for assessing the value of 2G spectrum allocated to UAS licensees in 2008, the value works out to 1,11,512 crores against 9014 crores realised by the Department of Telecommunication. Similarly, for spectrum allotted under the dual technology, the value would have been 40,526 crores, as against the 3,372 crores collected. The total difference in value worked out to 1,39,652 crore.

**CoalGate Scam:** Government auditor CAG in its report on allocation of coal blocks said that delay in introduction of the process of competitive bidding had rendered the existing process...
beneficial to the private companies. Audit had estimated financial gains to the tune of Rs. 1.86 lakh crores likely to accrue to private coal block allottees.  

**Breach of Parliamentary Etiquettes**

The Chairman of Rajya Sabha, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (1955) in the year 1955, observed:  
“We want to maintain the good name and dignity of this House. I do not want it to be said that sometimes these discussions suggest that we are not behaving like serious, responsible Members of Parliament but rather like irresponsible professional agitators.”

There is now not a single session of the parliament held that can be said to have passed without any blame-game played or an adjournment of proceedings that could have been avoided. News reports are galore confirming how one party disrupted the proceedings by its unparliamentary behaviour in-House. Arvind Datar, has observed that, “the hallmark of an effective parliamentarian now seems to be the ability to shout and disrupt proceedings, preferably from the well of the House.” And, he added further that, “paralysing House proceedings does not solve any problem. In the long run, it will only affect the credibility of the Parliament as an institution”

**Decline in Quality Debates**

Parliament is in any case only “true” as long as public discussion is taken seriously and implemented. “Discussion” here has a particular meaning and simply does not mean negotiation. One should not dissolve concepts and ignore the specific qualities of discussion, which means an exchange of opinion that is governed by the purpose of persuading one’s opponent through argument of the truth or justice of something, or allowing oneself to be persuaded of something as true and just. The time taken for the debate and the number of members who participated in the debate would fairly indicate Parliament’s effectiveness as a responsive democratic institution at the apex level. Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha met for an average of 127 and 93 days in the 1950s respectively. This has decreased to 73 days for both Houses in 2011. During its span, the fourteenth Lok Sabha devoted 1736 hours and 55 minutes to transact various kinds of business in 332 sittings spanning 15 sessions and the First Lok Sabha held 677 sittings of about 3,784 hours duration during its 14 sessions.

**Role of Opposition**

In 1994, the then Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao sent Mr. Salman Khurshid and Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the then BJP leader and leader of opposition at that time, to argue India's case at the United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) in Geneva. Vajpayee's eloquence and Khurshid's arguments proved to be astonishingly effective, resulting in the withdrawal of the Pakistan-backed resolution against India. Incidents like this rarely happen in the Indian Parliament these days. The opposition has forgotten its role of the Devil’s Advocate where it had to make sure that whatever the government was proposing was practical and rational and in the interest of the general public.

**Criminalization of Parliament**

The trend of criminals getting elected to the Parliament seems to be on the rise. It is definitely not by choice that the people are electing them to represent them in the Parliament, but due to lack of options. It is nothing but mockery of the system when these criminals are passing legislations to punish criminals who are walking around scot-free. There are 76 MPs, including 13 Congress and 19 BJP MPs, in the 15th Lok Sabha (14% of its total strength) who have serious criminal charges framed against them by a Court of Law. These are not
politically motivated charges. They include, as per affidavits filed with the EC, ‘murder, rape, kidnapping, extortion, forgery, bribery, dacoity and causing grievous hurt by dangerous weapons’. Therefore in effect we have 14% of our lawmakers who could fulfil the job of a lawbreaker with better efficiency.

Crisis of Legitimation
A democratic constitution, to be valid, must be based on the constituent power of the people. Only the political decision of the people endows the constitution with legitimacy. The legitimacy of government depends on the consent of the governed. To become legitimate, the rule of law would seem to need democratic accountability, procedural fairness, and even perhaps substantive grounding. Now given the prevailing scenario, how can it be deduced that the people of India have given consent for such conduct, of our elected members of Parliament, in the Parliament. Until 1977, i.e. for the first 30 years of Independence, the Opposition though small in number was more effective and had greater impact potential because of the high quality and character of membership on both sides and a stable government and secure leadership could show greater magnanimity and accommodate opposition viewpoints without losing face. Legislatures having members with criminal records, role of money and muscle power in politics are the most common topics of popular discussion today. This raises a question towards the legitimacy of our whole structure of parliament.

Analysing the Drift from the Critical Path
It can be safely said that India’s parliamentary democracy has stood the test of time and is here to stay, even though some people might have reservations against the system and would like to bring about reforms. India, the largest democracy on earth, has the credit of conducting 15 general elections successfully, and further, ensured peaceful transfer of power from one party to another party/alliance under all kinds of pressures and strains. Inspite of the multi-party system and the coalition governments, a reality in today’s times, a good deal of political stability has been experienced.

But then, the journey all along has not been so smooth as it seems to be. The ‘dark period of emergency’ (1975-77) cannot be forgotten because of the efforts made by some to undermine the country’s democratic structure. It was then that the onset of coalition governments, which have a built-in-element of fragility, and the fact that no single party has been able to attain complete majority since 1989, is equivalent to moving in the opposite direction of parliamentary democracy. The setting in of desperateness of the members of the parliamentarian system when their affairs are not so smooth-sailing and in addition to this, the change in the motives of the members whereby which they particularly undertook some responsibility. For instance, the members of the opposition actively participate to somehow break the democracy rather than to constructively criticize it keeping in mind the good of the nation. Short term political interests have overtaken the larger interests of the Indian democracy. Catering to the short-term political interests, the spirit of parliamentary democracy further faded when the representatives of the people, somewhere down the line, stopped representing the collective will of the people – the job for which they were elected and put in place.

Suggestions
In order to have a better faction of people who could ensure better governance, the foremost thing which can bring about a mammoth change is the attitude of the opposition in parliament. A meaningful dissent is one of the most important feature of a democracy, but
when this dissent is used just to cause encumbrances, nothing constructive can be sought from the process in place to deal with national matters. Data elucidates that there is decrease in number of hours spent on discussion on topics concerning public importance, thereby showing that there is less engaging in constructive debates. This needs to be changed. More time needs to be spent on law-making, rather than the current trend of law-breaking, and overseeing the government’s functions and activities rather than dealing with corruption scandals. A strict code can be laid down which prescribes the required conduct of the representatives in the House, so that the not-so-interested MPs can be reprimanded and brought back to track.

**Conclusion**

It is by the Constitution which mandates India to follow a parliamentary democratic system of governance. When India adopted this system, sceptics were found saying that this is a system which would not be fit for India keeping in mind the extensive poverty, appalling poverty, huge multi-cultural population. The parliamentary system standing the test of time, has proved everyone wrong. India’s vast electorate has exhibited to the world their dedication and commitment to the democratic system revealing the required sense of responsibility which was unexpected by those who were bent upon undermining the structure of the Constitution. Whatever be the problems that our parliamentary system is facing, they are not something that cannot be dealt with. Hurdles on one’s path are a way to improve oneself more efficiently. The Constitution is a lifeless being, brought to life by the elected agents who also control it. Hence, the need of the hour is nothing but an ‘assembly’ of honest men who would put the interest of the country before them.

**Acknowledgement**

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**Notes & References**

3. Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu, more commonly known as Montesquieu, was a French social commentator and political thinker who evolved his theories in the 17th and 18th century.
The official spending of the parties: The Congress Party spent Rs. 1500 crores, BJP Rs. 1000 crores; BSP and NCP Rs. 700 crores each; DMK Rs. 400 crores and AIADMK Rs. 300 crores.


This data is collected from the website of the Parliament of India. Retrieved from http://164.100.47.132/estudy/duration.pdf


National Voters’ Day:
A New Era of Electoral Reform in India

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Abstract
As a thriving democracy India has acclaimed fame mostly for its ability to hold continuous free and fair elections since 1951 at national, state and local levels under the supervision of the Election Commission of India. Electoral reforms refer to the changes and suggestions made by the Election Commission to ensure conditions for peaceful polling. The electoral reforms in India have mostly been directed to the political parties and candidates like ensuring model code of conduct, filling of assets, formalizing EVM for polling, etc and are thus political in nature aiming at procedural and technical changes. Dinseh Goswami Committee and Indrajit Gupta Committee reports are considered milestones in these variants of reforms. From 2011 the Election Commission has started to celebrate National Voters Day on 25th January to create awareness among voters, mainly the youths for necessities of voting. NVD has stepped into its third year and registration of new voters is on the rise. Thus this paper tries to view NVD as a new phase of electoral reform that is societal in nature aiming for structural changes where the citizen is placed at the heart of the reform measure.

Keywords: Election Commission, National Voters’ Day, Electoral Reforms, India

Introduction
Election is a process whereby the relation between the political parties and the citizens get formalized and it acts as a linkage mechanism. While democracy clearly involves things other than voting - such as a free press and civil rights - elections are still its fundamental and defining feature. In the case of India, there is perhaps little need to argue why one should take interest in elections. Since her independence in 1947, parliamentary democracy has been the central political mechanism governing India. Elections are conducted at the various levels of the federal structure in India. There is a nation-wide election that returns representatives of the people to the Lok Sabha and a state level election for the State Legislative Assemblies and at the grassroots level there are elections for local bodies like the three-tiered Panchayati Raj system in rural areas and municipal governments in urban areas. One level of election is related to other level of election. As a whole this constitutes a network of election politics in contemporary India and is a basic framework of India’s democratic regime. Any research related to the politics of India necessitates study of the electoral process in one way or the other.

A Brief History of Existing Electoral Reform Measures
The Election Commission of India is one of the pillars of Indian democracy. Electoral reforms as envisaged by the Election Commission have a long history. Initially, the Commission used to make its recommendations for amendments to election law and procedure through its reports on general elections brought out after the completion of each general election. It is interesting to note that no major or vital changes were proposed in the basic provisions of Election Law till 1970. The Commission sent along with a draft bill to give effect to these proposals. These proposals were considered by the Joint Committee of Parliament on amendments to Election Law constituted for that purpose in June 1971. The committee prepared a comprehensive report in two
parts together with a draft bill to give effect to its recommendations. Therefore, the Central government prepared to amend the Representation of the Peoples’ Act, 1950 and 1951 and introduced the same in the Lok Sabha in December 1973. The bill lapsed on account of the dissolution of the House in January 1977. It is also worthwhile to note that the said Bill did not incorporate many of the important amendments suggested by the Commission which were accepted by the Joint Committee. For the first time in 1977, a review of all recommendations made by the Commission earlier was undertaken and consolidated recommendations of the commission in electoral reforms, including both the unimplemented recommendations and fresh recommendations were sent to the government of India on 22 October 1977.

Since 1980, these recommendations have been reviewed time and again and new proposals were added to the earlier ones and sent to the government of India. For example, the general elections to the new Lok Sabha should be held a week prior to the completion of the term of the existing House. In the event of dissolution of the Lok Sabha it may be stipulated that the mid-term election must be held within two months of the dissolution. In case of by-elections, they may be required to be held within three months of vacation of seats. Similarly, Article 356 needs to be amended to ensure that in the event of the imposition of President’s rule in a state and dissolution of the legislative assembly; elections must be held within two months of the dissolution of the House. So far, Dinesh Goswami Committee Report on Electoral Reforms (May 1990) remains a milestone on electoral reforms. Some recommendations of the Committee have already been implemented. For example, (i)EC has become a multi-member commission, (ii)A model code of conduct is observed by all the candidates and political parties, (iii) A candidate cannot contest from more than two constituencies, (iv) The names of the candidates on the ballot paper is printed in the order of recognized national political parties, recognized state parties, registered parties and independent candidates, (v)The amount of the security deposit of the candidates has been increased, (vi) Audited Accounts are compulsorily maintained by political parties, (vii) Voter list with photo identities and the voter photo identity card have been introduced throughout the country.

The following recommendations are, however, yet to be implemented by the Government of India- (a) Revision or the delimitation of the constituencies, (b)Setting up of a separate independent Tribunal or Appellate Authority to settle election disputes, (c) Prohibition on funding the political parties by the Corporate Houses. To consider the issue of state-funding the general elections, the government of India formed a committee under the Chairmanship of Indrajit Gupta, formerly, Home Minister, Government of India. The recommendations of Indrajit Gupta Committee are still under the consideration of the Government of India. The 15th Law Commission submitted its report to the Law Ministry in May 1995. The report provides a road-map to discuss and decide ‘what reforms do we need.’ National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution, headed by Justice Venkatchaliah in its report (Jan 8, 2001) recommended that “no major constitutional amendment is required” for electoral reforms. However many recommendations of NCRWC have already been implemented by this time. Its important recommendation which deserves attention now is to empower the Election Commission to identify the “Office of Profit”.

The Supreme Court of India in May, 2002, directed the Election Commission to make all information about the contesting candidates available to the voter. In the context of this verdict of the Supreme Court of India in May, 2002 on enforcement of the Right to Information Act in knowing the details of the profile of the contesting candidates in the elections, the Parliament passed an amended People’s Representation Act compelling the contesting candidates to submit an affidavit regarding the details only of his/her property.
including the property of his wife/her husband before submission of nomination paper. T. S. Krishnamurthy, the former Chief Election Commissioner wrote a letter to the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on July 5, 2004. Vide D.O. No.–3/ER/2004 in which he emphasized the following proposals for electoral reforms: Anyone charge-sheeted at least 6 months before election should be barred from contesting elections, Affidavits to be filed by Candidates on Criminal Antecedents, the security deposit of the candidates to be increased, Independent Secretariat for the Commission is to be set up, expenses of Election Commission to be treated as “Charged” and there will be Ban on Transfers of Election Officers on the eve of Elections, Appointment of Appellate Authority in Districts against Orders of Electoral Registration Officers, Negative/Neutral Voting.

In view of the suggestions mentioned above, it can be said that broadly two objectives need to be stressed in connection with electoral reforms: (i) to enlarge the Commission’s independence and enable it to ensure free and transparent elections more effectively; and (ii) to guard against the possibility of the abuse of powers by the Election Commission.(Chattopadhyay, 2006, p. 117-19). The range of these existing electoral reforms is directed mainly to sanitise the political parties from within. These measures got fillip from the time of T.N. Seshan as Chief Election Commissioner in the early 1990s. These reforms are legal (to change or amend existing laws), structural (to enhance the quality of the structure of the EC and of the political parties and their candidates), and systemic (to modify the prevailing order of the society to create a milieu for free and fair voting).

**National Voters' Day: New Agenda of Election Commission**

Every year National Voters’ Day (NVD) is observed on 25th January, a practice that was initiated in 2011 to commemorate the foundation day of the Election Commission of India and also to enhance the participation of the voters, especially the youth, in the democratic process. The Election Commission’s objective behind National Voters’ Day is to increase enrolment of voters, especially of the newly eligible ones, by using this occasion to make universal adult suffrage a complete reality, and thereby enhance the quality of Indian democracy. The Commission’s objective through NVD is to increase enrolment of voters, especially of the newly eligible ones, to make universal adult suffrage a complete reality. The day is also utilized to spread awareness among voters regarding effective participation in the electoral process. In order to effectively deal with this problem, the Commission has decided to take up a vigorous exercise to identify all the eligible voters attaining the age of 18 years as on 1st of January every year, in each of the 8.5 lakh polling station areas of the country. This process is expected to give the youth a sense of citizenship, empowerment, pride and participation and also inspire them to exercise their franchise, when the occasion comes.

The Commission is also running special campaigns to involve as many women as possible in the democratic mechanism. In keeping with the objectives of the National Voters’ Day, a countrywide special campaign has been taken up to reach out to the newly eligible (18+) electors, and to register them in the electoral roll. The Chief Electoral Officers (CEO’s) of all states and UT’s have been instructed by the commission from time to time, to enroll every youth who has attained the age of 18. The Commission has specially been impressing upon the fact that as many women voters as possible need to be enrolled. Without the participation of women, a significant proportion of our country’s population remains on the fringe of democracy. The occasion has been surely turning out to be momentous thereby bringing home the point that democracy is the government of the people, for the people and by the people. All the major issues relating to elections such as corruption, casteism, communalism, and the like ultimately crop up because of the lack of participation of ordinary populace in
elections. National Voters’ Day, in essence, is aimed at reaching out to the people, learning the reasons for their disillusionment from the popular process and helping them in realizing the fact that democracy is not complete until everyone is part of it. Certainly the message from the Commission is loud and clear: it will not relent until every single eligible voter is able to- and is willing to- vote.

The National Voters’ Day is now the flagship programme of the Election Commission of India. It is so not only in terms of the large-scale empowerment of citizens, especially the youth, by giving them their Voter identity cards and bringing them into the electoral fraternity, but also on this day, country-wide activities are undertaken for spreading voter education and awareness. As we have gathered here today, millions others across the country are also involved in National Voters’ Day activities: men and women, boys and girls, the young and the old, the educated and the illiterate, the rich and the poor, the urban and the rural and those in remotest areas. Other than the national elections, this is one of the largest mobilization and involvement of people in any democracy related exercise, which has no parallel in the entire world (Sampath, 2012).

The National Voters’ Day is dedicated to the Constitutional Rights of adult suffrage granted to every India citizen, irrespective of religion, race, caste, community, language, region or socioeconomic considerations. Citizen’s participation in democratic elections starts with the registration and culminates with voting on the polling day. The endeavor is to ensure that everyone eligible, should be enrolled and those enrolled should participate in the elections. While this day has been fully dedicated to the empowerment of voters and strengthening of India’s participatory democracy, it is also a day to remember the precious gift that founders of the Indian Constitution gave to the people by the name of Election Commission of Indian 63 years ago. The Commission has delivered election to the Indian people each and every time it was called upon to do so. All this has been accomplished through the laudable efforts and sustained hard work of the election machinery right from Chief Electoral officer in the state down to the Booth Level Officer and with the sustained SVEEP campaign, which stands for ‘Systematic Voters Education and Electoral Participation’. The focus of the campaign this year has been ‘Inclusion’ directed at addressing the gap in electoral registration among various categories and groups like Tribals, marginalized sections, differently-abled, and other excluded groups and communities. Election Commission of India is committed to have every eligible citizen of the country on the electoral rolls and to facilitate everyone on the roll to exercise her or his franchise. (Sampath, 2013)

It is important for every Indian voter to vote and exercise his or her franchise. The enlightened voter can suggest to the parties to include constituency development plans as a part of the overall macro manifesto of the party with time bound targets which will empower the local voters to make their own individual judgments based on the developmental needs and deliverables of their regions. Youth want to see elected members as their role models in performance in the Parliament or State Assembly, and also in their way of leading the life with integrity and succeeding with integrity. The youth, definitely, expect the elected representatives to ensure that the performance of the Parliament and State Assemblies are never disturbed or halted and youth consider this action of non-performance as a crime and a wasteful process. The citizens expect that availability time in the Houses is fully utilized for drawing up vision for the nation, making laws and discussing and finding solutions to our national and regional problems. Above all the youth of the nation, desire their representatives to follow the mission of developmental politics as against political politics.(Kalam, 2012)
The fact that National Voters Day is a programme centered around the ordinary citizens of our country marks a shift in the emphasis of the Election Commission – from ‘cleansing’ the political parties to ‘bringing’ the new generation of voters within the system – from systemic emphasis to sub-systemic emphasis.

**Conclusion**

In India, though not explicitly expressed, Republic Day has been the only day commemorating her citizens. Now National Voters Day can also claim to shoulder that privilege. It is not enough to dedicate a day for the citizens but more important is to work for their cause but surely dedication is the beginning of involvement. Such a formalized attempt on the part of Election Commission of India must have a hidden agenda – to start social reform as an addition to electoral reform measures. The very slogans of the NVD for the past three years is worth noting – ‘greater participation for stronger democracy’, ‘proud to be a voter-ready to vote’ and my vote my right my vote my might’. They create both an emotional aura and provide weightage to individual voter going beyond the standard approach of the political party’s - the vote bank approach of our society.

Thus moving beyond the legal framework of standard electoral reform, the Election Commission is making inroad into the social framework with a new agenda of electoral reform – to register every citizen of India as a voter. India off late is seen as a psephocracy (perverted form of democracy with emphasis on vote based politics) and the celebration of National Voters’ Day is very much in tune with present nature of Indian politics and this effort must be encouraged by academicians, mass media and policy framers by more discussion and promotion of this effort. While at one extreme a growing apathy towards politics is growing fast among the new generation with demand for inclusion of ‘none of the above’ choice in the Electronic Voting Machine, at other extreme this apparently innocent measure of the Election Commission is to create a fresh and new awareness and interest in political process among the citizens particularly the youth.

**References**


Electoral Politics in Meghalaya

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Abstract
Electoral politics in a participatory democracy assumes great significance since it is regarded as an index of popular consciousness, articulation and participation of the electorate in the decision making process. The ideas and actions behind the process of choosing by vote among candidates to govern the state is a vital part of the democratic functioning of the state. From 1952-67 there were nine territorial constituencies in the then United Khasi Jaintia Hills. After the formation of the state of Meghalaya, 60 assembly seats were assigned to it during the elections in March 9, 1972. Carved out of Assam in 1972, Meghalaya has seen 23 chief ministers in a span of 41 years barring the first government of Captain Williamson Sangma which completed its full term. Williamson Sangma was the first and last to head a single-party government. Since then, Meghalaya has seen fractured mandates, leading to volatile coalition governments. The formation of these coalition ministries provided more instability in the State. It is interesting to examine the reasons behind the fractured mandate in Meghalaya.

Keywords: Electoral Politics, Meghalaya, India

Introduction
Electoral politics in a participatory democracy assumes great significance since it is regarded as an index of popular consciousness, articulation and participation of the electorate in the decision making process. Electoral politics is the primary mechanism of citizen mobilization in most democracies. The regular public choice of political leaders through elections is one of the bases of representative democracy, and the rationality of the public choices is a measure of the meaningfulness of the democratic process. Electoral politics, the ideas and actions behind the process of choosing by vote among candidates to govern the state is a vital part of the democratic functioning of the state (Grover, 1982).

Elections in a democracy can be defined as a process through which the political opinion of the public is shaped (Narayana, 1984). Election is one of the important components of democracy. It forms the substance of democracy. It is a mechanism reflecting popular will. It is through elections that the authority of the Government is clothed with legitimacy, peaceful and orderly transfer of power to new rulers is ensured and effective control by the people over the Government is exercised. Much, however, depends upon how the electoral system operates in practice that is whether election is in fact conducted efficiently and impartially by competent and honest administrators free from political bias. If there is an absence of general confidence in the verdict of the ballot box, it may destroy the faith of the public in the democratic process and otherwise tend to bring it into discredit. The electoral administration is the foundation of representative democracy (Bhalla, 1973).
Elections play an important role in democracy. It is election that decides who the rulers are going to be and how long they may continue in office. Election serves not merely as a mechanism of safeguarding continuity but also as an instrument of change and of re-distribution of political power (Ray, 1972).

Election is an attribute as well as the safeguard of democracy. It is an attribute because it is inseparable from such other attributes of democracy as majority rule, equality and popular sovereignty. As the safeguard of democracy it enables the citizens to determine who will come to power and carry on the Government and to have an effective control over the government. It makes the rulers feel that unless they do not evolve and implement the policies as demanded by public opinion, the chance of their being re-elected is doomed (Sachchidananda, 1976).

The study of elections tries to reveal the process where the community, association, group, ideology, resources, language, symbols, communication, mobilization and issues assumes significance as mediating factors which integrate the individual choice into a collective expression (Mohapatra, 1996). Elections open up channels between the polity and the society, the elite and the masses, the individual and his government. They are the major agencies of political socialization and political participation (Palmer, 1976).

**Elections in Meghalaya**

From 1952-67 there were nine territorial constituencies in the then United Khasi Jaintia Hills. After the formation of the state of Meghalaya, 60 assembly seats were assigned to it during the elections in March 9, 1972. Carved out of Assam in 1972, Meghalaya has seen 23 chief ministers in a span of 41 years barring the first government of Captain Williamson Sangma which completed its full term. Williamson Sangma was the first and last to head a single-party government. Since then, Meghalaya has seen fractured mandates, leading to volatile coalition governments (The Shillong Times, February 21, 2013). The formation of these coalition ministries provided more instability in the State. It is interesting to examine the reasons behind the fractured mandate in Meghalaya.

Presently Meghalaya has 11 districts. In Jaintia Hills there are two districts namely; East Jaintia Hills District and West Jaintia Hills District. In Khasi Hills there are four districts namely; East Khasi Hills District, West Khasi Hills District, South West Khasi Hills District and Ri – Bhoi District. In Garo Hills there are five districts namely; East Garo Hills District, West Garo Hills District, South Garo Hills District, North Garo Hills District and South West Garo Hills District.

Meghalaya is inhabited by various ethnic groups, the Khasis, Pnars, Wars, Bhois in the Khasi Hills and Garos in the Garo Hills. English is the official language and medium of instruction in all educational institutions. In Shillong, most of the Indian languages are in use because it is a cosmopolitan city. The main regional languages in this State are Khasi and Garo (Rao and Pakem, 1984).

Meghalaya emerged as a full-fledged State on 21st January 1972. From the time of its inception till date, Meghalaya had experienced nine Assembly Elections. The First General Elections to the new 60–member Meghalaya Legislative Assembly was held on March 9, 1972. This time there was pre-poll alliances between the All Party Hill
Leaders’ Conference (APHLC)) and Congress in Garo Hills and Khasi Hills but not in Jaintia Hills. In this election, the APHLC won 32 seats, the independents won 19 seats and the Congress Party won only 9 seats. The ministry was formed by the APHLC all by itself. Technically, it may be said that in spite of the single party ministry of the APHLC, there was a coalition between the APHLC and the Congress. This understanding led to the break-up of the APHLC at the Mendipathar (Garo Hills) Conference of the APHLC on November 16, 1976. The APHLC group led by Capt. Sangma merged itself with the Congress and formed the single party ministry of the Congress for the first time in Meghalaya, on November 22, 1976 (Pakem, 1999).

The Second General Elections to the Assembly was held on February 25, 1978. In this election, the Indian National Congress (INC) won 20, the APHLC 16 seats, the Hill State Peoples Democratic Party (HSPDP) 14 seats and the independent won 10 seats. Since no party obtained an absolute majority, coalition became inevitable. It took more than a week for the regional parties to come to an understanding to form a coalition ministry. The three regional parties; APHLC, HSPDP and the Public Demands Implementation Convention (PDIC), came together and formed the Meghalaya United Legislative Party (MULP). As it was a three-party coalition it is popularly called the ‘Three Flag Government’. But the MULP coalition government could not last long.

On February 21, 1979, the HSPDP partners were thrown out, and the ‘Two–Flag’ coalition government of the APHLC and PDIC was sworn in. But even this Two–Flag coalition government suffered a downfall. It was then that three parties, the APHLC, HSPDP and the Congress came together and formed the United Meghalaya Parliamentary Democratic Forum (UMPDF) on April 17, 1978. In May 17, 1978, the UMPDF coalition ministry was formed by B. B. Lyngdoh of the APHLC as Chief Minister for two years only. It was also provided that after two years, Capt. Sangma of the Congress would take over as the next Chief Minister for the next two years. The HSPDP would continue to hold the post of Deputy Chief Minister for four years. Thus Meghalaya had the distinction of having a lottery government among the coalition partners, and a 50:50 sharing of power in the coalition government during the tenure of the 1978 Assembly Elections.

The Third Assembly Elections was held on February 17, 1983. In this election, the INC won 25 seats, the APHLC 15 seats, the HSPDP 15 seats, the independent candidates won 3 seats. This time again, no party could obtain a majority in the House. The three regional parties, APHLC, HSPDP and PDIC formed the Meghalaya United Parliamentary Party (MUPP). But because of dissidence and defections within its camp, the MUPP lasted only for 29 days. After the fall of the MUPP coalition ministry, another coalition ministry called the Meghalaya Democratic Front (MDF) under the leadership of Capt. Sangma (Congress) took over power on April 2, 1983. The MDF coalition government, which was a Congress dominated government, continued till the 1988 General Elections.

The Fourth Assembly Elections was held on February 2, 1988. With the regional parties in political disarray, the Congress as the ruling party under the MDF coalition had expected to reap a rich dividend. But it proved to be the continuation of another spell of coalition governments in the State. The result of the election was that the INC won 22 seats, the HSPDP 6 seats, the Hill People Union (HPU) 19 seats, the PDIC 2
seats, the All Party Hill Leaders’ Conference (A. Marak Group) [APHLC (A)] 2 seats and the independent candidates 9 seats. Regional parties could have managed to form a coalition. But again because of disunity, defections and differences in the opposition camp, the Congress as the single largest party could capture power and was able to lead the United Meghalaya Parliamentary Forum (UMPF). The UMPF was a three party coalition; Congress, APHLC (A), HPU and Independents. In early 1990, the Congress led UMPF coalition government was reduced to a minority because half of its members deserted it. The split in the UMPF enabled the regional parties to form the Meghalaya United Parliamentary Party (MUPP) coalition ministry. This ministry was dismissed and President’s Rule was imposed in the State on October 12, 1991. By then the Congress led UMPF coalition ministry was sworn in on February 6, 1992.

The Fifth Assembly Elections was held on February 15, 1993. In this election the INC won 24 seats, the HPU 11 seats, the [APHLC (A)] 3 seats, the HSPDP 8 seats, the PDIC 2 seats, the Meghalaya Progressive Peoples’ Party (MPPP) 2 seats and the independent candidates won 10 seats. During this election, fragmentation of regional parties continued to exist. Meghalaya once again could not return any majority party to the State Assembly. A coalition ministry led by the Congress under Salseng C. Marak took the oath of office and secrecy with the help of the split in the HSPDP (L) and APHLC (A) as well as the support of some Independents. In spite of a small margin of majority in the initial stages, this coalition which was called the Meghalaya United Front (MUF) could complete its full term in office.

The Sixth Assembly Elections was held on February 16, 1998. The result was that the INC won 25 seats; the United Democratic Party (UDP) 20 seats, the HSPDP 3 seats the Peoples’ Democratic Movement (PDM) 3 seats, the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) 3 seats, the Garo National Council (GNC) 1 seat and the independent candidates won 5 seats. This election had again produced no majority party. The Congress as the single largest party had staked its claim for forming the government, and Salseng Marak formed the Congress led government on February 27, 1998. But it was the government with the shortest tenure of 12 days only, as it could not muster an absolute majority. The second coalition ministry called the United Democratic Front (UDF) under the leadership of B. B. Lyngdoh then assumed office on March 10, 1998. Due to defection and re-defection there was instability in the UDF coalition ministry. B. B. Lyngdoh, the Chief Minister of the UDF coalition resigned on July 27, 1998; and on the same day a new UDP-Congress coalition called the Meghalaya Parliamentary Forum (MPF) was installed on a 50:50 basis of power sharing in the coalition of duration of about two years each. Thus, within five months after the February 1998 Assembly Election there was three coalition ministries in the state of Meghalaya.

The Seventh Assembly Elections was held on February 26, 2003. In this election, the INC won 21 seats, the UDP 9 seats, the Meghalaya Democratic Party (MDP) 4 seats, the BJP 2 seats, the HSPDP 2 seats, the Khun Hynniewtrep National Awakening Movement (KHNAM) 2 seats, the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) 14 seats and the independent candidates won 5 seats. No party could obtain a majority in the House. Another coalition government named Meghalaya Democratic Alliance (MDA) was formed in Meghalaya. It was headed by the Congress party which was the party with the highest number of seats. Apart from the Congress Party, many regional parties namely the UDP, MDP, KHNAM, HSPDP and Independent candidates were included

334
in the coalition government. The Congress led MDA formed the government under the leadership of D. D. Lapang. By 2006, Lapang faced revolt within the Congress party and the party took the decision to replace him as Chief Minister. On 15th June 2006, Lapang resigned and J. D. Rymbai was sworn in as the new Chief Minister. However, the conflict within the Congress party did not end and both Lapang and Rymbai continued to claim majority support among the Congress Legislative Party (CLP). After eight months in control of the government, Rymbai was asked by the Congress High Command to resign. Lapang was re-elected as the leader of the CLP and was re-installed as Chief Minister on March 10, 2007. This time Lapang held onto the post until the completion of the term of the Seventh Meghalaya Legislative Assembly.

The Eighth Assembly Elections was held on March 3, 2008. The result was that the INC won 25 seats, the UDP 11 seats, the NCP 15 seats, the KHNAM 1 seat, the HSPDP 2 seats, the BJP 1 seat and the independent candidates won 5 seats. No party could obtain a majority in the House. A coalition government by the name of Meghalaya Progressive Alliance (MPA) was formed in Meghalaya. It was led by the NCP and UDP who are the second and third largest parties in the elections. The MPA was formed soon after the 2008 Elections when it emerged that the Congress did not have sufficient members to form the government. All the non-Congress parties in the state decided to join hands and formed the MPA in a bid to keep the Congress out of power in the state. Despite being the largest party, the NCP gave up the Chief Minister post to UDP in order to achieve stability in the government. There are some reports of a power sharing agreement between the UDP and NCP to share the Chief Minister position for two and a half years each. However in March 2009, Meghalaya was put under President’s Rule. By May 2009, the UDP and HSPDP had left the MPA, and the Meghalaya United Alliance (MUA) came to power with D. D. Lapang as Chief Minister. In 24th April, 2010, the MUA government continues to remain in power but the post of Chief Minister went to Mukul Sangma and D. D. Lapang became the Chief Adviser of the MUA government.

The Ninth Assembly Elections was held on 23rd February 2013. In this election, the INC won 29 seats, the UDP 8 seats, the NCP 2 seats, the HSPDP 4 seats, the GNC 1 seat, the National Peoples’ Party (NPP) 2 seats, the North East Social Democratic Party (NESDP) 1 seat and the independent candidates won 13 seats. In this election too, no party was able to obtain a majority even though the Congress managed to win 29 seats but it could not form the government on its own. A coalition government by the name of Meghalaya United Alliance-II (MUA-II) was formed in Meghalaya. It was led by the Congress, NCP and Independent candidates (*The Shillong Times*, March 2, 2013).

**Meghalaya’s Chief Ministers**

Meghalaya has seen 23 chief ministers in a span of 41 years barring the first government of Captain Williamson Sangma which completed its full term. We will have a look at the list of Meghalaya Chief Ministers over the years. Captain Williamson Sangma was the Chief Minister from 22.11.1976 to 03.03.1978. D. D. Pugh was the Chief Minister from 10.03.1978 to 21.02.1979 and again from 21.02.1979 to 06.05.1979; B. B. Lyngdoh was the Chief Minister from 07.05.1979 to 07.05.1981. Again Captain Williamson Sangma was the Chief Minister from 07.05.1981 to 24.02.1983; B. B. Lyngdoh was the Chief Minister from 02.03.1983 to
31.03.1983. Again Captain Williamson Sangma was the Chief Minister from 02.04.1983 to 05.02.1988; P. A. Sangma was the Chief Minister from 06.02.1988 to 25.03.1990. Again B. B. Lyngdoh was the Chief Minister from 26.03.1990 to 10.10.1991. Meghalaya was under President’s Rule from 11.10.1991 to 05.02.1992. D. D. Lapang was the Chief Minister from 05.02.1992 to 19.02.1993; S. C. Marak was the Chief Minister from 19.02.1993 to 27.02.1998 and again from 27.02.1998 to 10.03.1998. B. B. Lyngdoh was the Chief Minister from 10.03.1998 to 08.03.2000; E. K. Mawlong was the Chief Minister from 08.03.2000 to 08.12.2001; Dr F. A. Khonglam was the Chief Minister from 08.12.2001 to 04.03.2003. Again D. D. Lapang was the Chief Minister from 04.03.2003 to 15.06.2006; J. D. Rymbai was the Chief Minister from 15.06.2006 to 18.03.2007. D. D. Lapang was the Chief Minister from 10.03.2007 to 04.03.2008 and again from 04.03.2008 to 19.03.2008. Donkupar Roy was the Chief Minister from 19.03.2008 to 18.03.2009. Again Meghalaya was under President’s Rule from 18.03.2009 to 12.05.2009. D. D. Lapang was the Chief Minister from 20.04.2010 to 05.03.2013. At present Dr Mukul Sangma is the Chief Minister of the State (The Shillong Times, March 6, 2013).

Conclusion
Ever since the state was carved out of the composite state of Assam, in 1972, unstable coalitions and governmental instability have been the rule rather than an exception in the electoral politics of the state. Barring the first elections, the electorate has never given a clear verdict. It is also being observed that from the Second Assembly Elections till date, Meghalaya could not avoid coalition ministries whereby not a single party was able to form a government of its own.

Notes
1. Meghalaya was a part of the State of Assam till 1970. From 2nd April 1970 to 21st January 1972, it was an Autonomous State under the state of Assam. It became a full-fledged State on 21st January 1972.
2. The headquarters of the East Jaintia Hills District is at Khliehriat; West Jaintia Hills District is at Jowai; East Khasi Hills District is at Shillong; West Khasi Hills District is at Nongstoin; South West Khasi Hills District is at Mawkyrwat; Ri – Bhoi District is at Nongpoh; East Garo Hills District is at Williamnagar; West Garo Hills District is at Tura; South Garo Hills District is at Baghmara; North Garo Hills District is at Resubelpara and South West Garo Hills District is at Ampati.
3. A number of regional political parties were formed in Meghalaya during the periods of elections. Some of them are; the All Party Hill Leaders’ Conference (APHLC) in 1960, the Hill State People’s Democratic Party (HSPDP) in 1968, the Public Demands Implementation Convention (PDIC) in 1974, the Hill People Union (HPU) in 1984, the United Democratic Party (UDP) in 1997, the Meghalaya Democratic Party (MDP) in 2002, and the Khun Hynniewtrep National Awakening Movement (KHNAM) in 2002.
4. Captain Williamson Sangma was the first Chief Minister of Meghalaya.

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Electoral Reforms: Issues & Concerns

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Abstract
The paper briefs views on elections and politics inheriting criminalization. The misuse of money power, mafia power, muscle power giving rise to corruption, criminalization, communalism and casteism has been discussed. The inadequate working of the legislature in resolving issues, particularly criminalization in politics fragments the introduction. The paper emphasises on electoral reforms and basics of electoral system i.e. manufacturing of electoral rolls, foolproof voter ID to deal with rigging and impersonation issues. Transformation such as introduction of electronic voting machines, lowering of voting age has been enumerated. The minimization of possibility of nexus of politicians and government officials in organised crimes has been stated. Powers of Election Commission, issues and challenges before it and methods of free and fair elections, lowering of heavy cost of elections and election campaigns are included. Politicians with criminal charges are named. In the ultimate analysis, the objective of all electoral laws is to provide the Nation with a true and a corruption free representative who provides good governance. A short assessment on the current situation along with suggestions are described in the end. The purpose basically is to generate a National debate and a discussion agenda through the paper.

Keywords: Electoral Reforms, Party Politics, India

Introduction
Electoral Reforms imply enacting fair electoral systems for conducting fair elections. The elections which are held at regular intervals are the most important feature of our democratic structure. Basic to democratic polity is the concept of sovereign powers vesting in “the people”. It is the citizens who have the sovereign power to elect the government and the government is answerable to the people for their work. Free and fair elections is the utmost requirement of the country but elections are critical to the maintenance and development of democratic tradition because at one level they are influenced by the political culture. India has a robust Parliamentary democracy. Parliamentary democracy implies that the citizens of the country have the sovereign power to elect the representative whose primary duty will be the eradication of problems of social, economic and political agenda but we have a Parliament that does not discuss out issues that require serious attention and debate. Just because we have elections every year does not mean that we have an effective democratic structure and there is no more job to be done. Indian political system has become a hub of crime because of the politicians misusing their offices, money power and hence politics has become like a game in which one is concerned only with his personal profits and losses. The need of the hour is to remove the dreadful things such as mafia power, misuse of money power which wrong use gives rise to corruption, criminalisation, casteism and communalism and “we the people” of the country should become more responsible for the same.

Electoral Reforms in India
A general election in India is a gigantic exercise. Elections are the standing pillar of Indian democracy in which the representatives are elected by the people. The formal legal framework for all these elections rest on certain provisions of the Constitution such as the Representation of the People Act 1950, Representation of the people Act 1951.
Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections Act 1952 and various other rules and regulations under these statutes. In addition to it other acts are framed to provide punishments and disqualification of candidates and members of various houses. The Election Commission is the body which conducts the Elections in India. India has both general and state elections. Both the general and state elections are held according to the rules prescribed by the Election Commission. The Election Commission is independent in its functioning and even the Judiciary has no right to intervene while the electoral process is on. There are malformations in our electoral systems which have given rise to numerous problems such as criminalisation, corruption, casteism, communalism. Elections which are the most strongest pillar of an efficient legal framework must be free from corruption and criminalisation. Statistically, the number of voters in India is in excess of 600 million (60 crores). Some of the electoral reforms are introduced to eradicate the corruption and criminalisation from the elections such as the Introduction of the electronic voting machine, the reduction of the voting age from 21 years to 18 years. The people of India have also extensively contributed on the need for electoral reforms. There are significant number of articles by the citizens published in the newspaper and journals creating a sizeable literature on the subject. The Commission proposes to accept the suggestions received from the public.

**Elections in India**

Elections are the central democratic procedure for selecting and controlling leaders. In India elections are held for electing the President, the Vice President, the Lok Sabha, the Rajya Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies. For the Local bodies such as the Municipalities, the Municipal Corporations and the Panchayati Raj institutions elections are held from time to time. Elections in India and the elections procedure has become adversely corrupt with the malpractices of the politicians. There are heavy amounts spend on these elections when they are conducted. If one party spends money then the other party spends more money in order to win the elections. The very ancient thought that subsist till today in the minds of our politicians the concept of “Saam-Daam-dand-bhedh” which means anything and everything is fair to win. Whenever required any kind of illegal activity should also be done without any fear because only one thing is important, winning. This thought of politicians gives rise to various kinds of atrocities during the elections such as killings, booth rigging and capturing. Elections symbolize the sovereignty of the people and provide legitimacy to the authority of the government. Thus free and fair elections are indispensable for the success of democracy.

**Atrocities in the Elections of India**

The elections in India are subject to various problems. The problems which are generally recognised and debated are as follows:

- Criminalisation of the electoral process-increasing number of contestants with criminal background.
- Booth capturing.
- Fraudulent voting by booth rigging and impersonation.
- Technical mistakes in counting of votes.
- Use of muscle power in the form of forcing the voters not to vote at all, and if vote then only in the favour of the party using the muscle power, thus taking away the right of voting freely from the society.
- Involvement of officials and local administration in subverting the electoral process and many more problems.
Electoral Transformations

Electoral Rolls And Voter Id: The beginning of the electoral system is the preparation of the electoral rolls. By now it is very well understood that the electoral rolls in India are immensely corrupted. One of the solution can be stringent punishment incurred on the people responsible for the branch of duty in connection with the preparation of electoral rolls but punishment only cannot be the ultimate solution. To deal with this problem we should have a reasonable foolproof method of preparing electoral rolls at the lowest constituency for the people at the lowest level would contribute to clean up the process and evolving impersonation and rigging issues.

Reduction in the Expenditure on Elections: Reductions must be made in the heavy cost of elections. The Election Commission has adapted various methods in this regard. The Commission has fixed legal limits on the amount of money which a candidate can spend during the election campaign. The contestants are also required to submit the details of expenditure within 30 days of election results. Besides this, the Election Commission has Lok Sabha and the assembly elections simultaneously and the commission has also reduced the period of campaigning from 21 days to 14 days which according to the Commission will trim down the heavy election expenditure.

Eradication of Criminalisation of Politics: Crime and Politics cannot go hand in hand. Politics should be free from all sorts of crimes. For this purpose the major requirement is to stop the selection of the people with criminal background as the representative of the government. In 2003 a Law was introduced to prohibit the election of criminals to the legislative bodies. Also the political leaders already functioning in the government, committing illegal acts must be removed from their posts. For example Mr. Manoj kumar Paras, minister in the state government of Uttar Pradesh is charged with taking part in the gang-rape of a local women but six years since Mr. Paras was charged, his case was neither been prosecuted nor dismissed. This ignorance on the part of the government motivated the politicians to misuse their power further more and exploit the people. Removal of such criminals can only provide a good legal system. The Election Commission has also directed all the political parties that a person with a criminal background will not get the ticket of the party. The candidates are also under an obligation to submit an Affidavit declaring their criminal records, if any, and the same shall be furnished to the public and media.

Free and Fair Elections: The elections and the election procedure must be free and fair. There should be no involvement of any kind of malpractices like booth capturing, intimidation on the people to vote for a particular party against their will and thus abusing their fundamental right. No use of mafia or money power should be made. During the elections police protection should be provided for every voter voting.

Introduction of Electronic Voting Machine: The Election Commission has not lagged behind in making use of the Scientific and Technological advancements. The introduction the Electronic voting machines is the best examples in this regard. The motive behind its introduction is to reduce the malpractices in the elections and improving the voting process. In 2004 Lok Sabha elections the machines were used all over the country. The major benefits of the machine are saving money, also contributing to the conservation of the environment through saving paper and due to this saving the life’s of the animals especially cows who die mostly on the consumption of plastics in the garbage. Also the counting of votes have become fast and accurate.
A Corruption Free Representative: For the smooth functioning of the government and fair elections, a representative who is free from any and every kind of criminal charges is required. The representative of the government is bestowed with enormous powers and hence must know the right use of the power. The representative derives his prime sanction from “the people” and therefore his prime concern and duty must be the welfare of the people. Candidates who have a criminal background must not be eligible to compete in the elections. A corruption free representative means a corruption free government, elections and every activity of the legal system.

Electoral Reforms: Issues & Challenges
It is the responsibility of the Election Commission of India to ensure free and fair elections but to achieve the same it faces numerous issues and challenges. Use of money power by the politicians during elections is a serious issue. The politicians collect money from the corporate and business houses and use the money to influence the voters to vote in their favour. Bribing, impersonation, distribution of liquor in rural areas to attract the voters is a common strategy of the politicians. Fake scandals and controversies during the elections is another way to attract the attention of the public. Violence during elections such as bomb blasts is another example of mafia power. Consideration of only those members taken into account who are financially strong and can fund and bribe the party with resources in abundance, whether with criminal background does not matter. Speeches given by candidates and political leaders in favour of one religion, sect, community and exploiting the other. For example, Raj Thackeray hatred speech against the non maharashtrians. Repitions and duplications can also be found in electoral rolls. Mismatch of the photographs and identity of the electors are also quite often. Personal allegations against individuals and defamation of one party by the other.

Current Situation
One of the most grave problems in our legal system is the inadequate working of the Legislature who is responsible to make laws and the Executive who execute laws made by the Legislature. Both fail to accomplish their jobs. The entrance of unsatisfactory candidates in the government is the reason behind it. The laws made by the legislature are not executed well because of which the criminals also get access to the highest government offices. The lethargic and inadequate working of the Police is the major drawback of the country. The Police itself is corrupted and involved in criminal activities and still in their term of office. If the protector itself becomes the destroyer then the collapse of the legal system is inevitable. However the changes made by the Election Commission in strengthening the laws have reduced the crimes and made the government work efficiently. But still we need a fundamental political reform and a political system far more transparent and accountable.

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Reforming India’s Party Financing and Campaign Finance Laws

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Abstract
The essence of any democratic system is the healthy functioning of political parties and, consequently, free and fair elections. The conduct of fair polls require not only a legal institutional framework and a transparent electoral process, but a campaign finance institutional structure that adequately ensures a level playing field for political parties. The role of money power in elections has been a standard concern in recent debates on electoral reforms in India. The exorbitant costs of contesting elections at the state and national level has led to a lack of equal access to participate in the political process since candidates with financial might increasingly dominate the political process. This has led to the practice of elected legislators favouring individuals and companies funding their election campaigns by changing government policies which are often detrimental to the larger public good. This paper analyses the legislations governing campaign finance in India, different forms of financing (debates on the efficacy of state, quasi-state funding and corporate funding) and challenges faced by the institutional structure overseeing campaign finance, the Election Commission of India.

Keywords: Campaign Finance, State Funding, Corporate Funding

Introduction
The essence of any democratic system is the healthy functioning of political parties and, consequently, free and fair elections. In turn, the conduct of fair polls requires not only a legal institutional framework and a transparent electoral process, but a campaign finance institutional structure that adequately ensures a level playing field along with the upholding of the cardinal principles of probity and transparency in public life. Such principles are true not only in India but in any other democratic country as well. The challenge for India is how to achieve political equality while society is deeply mired in economic inequality. De Tocqueville may well have been right when he wrote thus: "Democratic institutions awaken and foster a passion for equality which they can never entirely satisfy." Yet the integrity of these institutions demands that control of economic resources does not permit domination of the political process on the simple expedient of unrestrained liberty for all in the political arena. If political equality is to mean anything in practice, the political machine must not be the preserve of the few who are ready, willing, and able to exploit private or personal economic resources.

Legislations Governing Campaign Finance in India
Campaign finance in India—and on a broader scale, the funding of political parties—is governed by the following laws: Representation of People Act, 1951, Conduct of Elections Rules, 1961, The Companies Act, 1956, Foreign Contributions Regulation Act, 1976, Income Tax Act, 1961; and, Indian Penal Code, 1860. During the Constituent Assembly debates (December 9, 1946 to January 24, 1950) there was no specific discussion about the role of election funding or party finance. The first major laws to govern election funding were the Representation of People Act, 1950 and Representation of People Act, 1951. The 1950 Act...
created a structure for the Election Commission, allocation of seats and delimitation of the constituencies as well as creation of the Electoral Rolls. The 1951 Act, meanwhile, dealt with the technical processes of the conduct of elections.

**The Representation of People Act, 1951**
The Representation of People Act (RPA), 1951 imposes no limitations on the expenditure incurred by leaders of a political party in disseminating messages under transportation expenses. Other expenses incurred to support a particular candidate are eventually added to the expenditures incurred by the candidate. A similar scenario emerges when a third party is involved in supporting a particular candidate, even when he is responsible for disseminating the message of a political party. According to this Act, while individual candidates are required to lodge an account of the election expenditure incurred by them, political parties and their leaders are exempt from maintaining accounts of expenditure for propagating official programmes and messages.³

**The Election and Other Related Laws (Amendment) Act, 2003**
Section 29C of the Representation of the People Act, 1951 as inserted by the Election and Other Related Laws (Amendment) Act, 2003 makes it mandatory for the treasurer of a political party to prepare a financial report every year, stating the following:

(a) The donations received by the political party from any person in that financial year in excess of Rs. 20,000.

(b) The donations received by the political party in excess of Rs.20,000 from companies other than government companies in that financial year.⁴

**The Companies Act, 1956**
The Companies Act, 1956 has provisions dealing specifically with the funding of political parties by corporations. According to Section 293-A of the law, corporate contributions to political parties are capped at five per cent of the company's average net profits during the three immediately preceding financial years. The Act expressly bans foreign contributions to candidates or their parties. This provision is likely to be replaced by the new Companies Bill, 2011 which might increase corporate contributions to political parties from five to 7.5 per cent of the company's average net profits during the three immediately preceding financial years.

**The Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act, 1976**
The Foreign Contributions (Regulation) Act, 1976, as amended in 2010, prohibits all organisations of a “political nature” from receiving any foreign contribution. It gives the Central Government powers to classify any organisation but does not provide any guidelines in defining “political nature”. Besides, Section 29C of the Representation of the People Act, 1951 prohibits all political parties registered with Election Commission to accept any contribution from a foreign source, as defined in Section 2(e) of the Foreign Contributions (Regulation) Act, 1976.

**Income Tax Act, 1961**
Under the Income Tax Act, 1961 all contributions made by individuals and companies to political parties will be deducted while calculating their income tax. Section 13A of the Act, however, orders all political parties to submit their annual audited accounts to the Income Tax authorities before a stipulated date.
Election Commission of India
The Election Commission (EC) of India has been the custodian of free and fair elections in the country since the first general elections in 1952.\(^5\) Till the fourth general elections of 1967, the Indian polity was relatively immune to excessive expenditure during elections and the Election Commission of India had a relatively easier task of conducting and managing elections. It was during the Fifth General Elections of 1971 that, for the first time, the electoral system showed signs of becoming corrupt.\(^6\) Since then—and particularly through the '80s and '90s—corrupt practices in financing elections have only become worse. The dominant features of the current electoral system include the all pervasive pernicious influence of black money, charges of corruption, nepotism, and excessive expenditure. To better illustrate the link between money power and the number of candidates elected to the Lok Sabha, a report by the National Election Watch (NEW), a coalition of 1,200 civil society groups working across the country on the 15th Lok Sabha, makes for an interesting reading. Candidates with assets of more than Rs. 5 crore constitute around one-fifth of the Lok Sabha: 106 members in a house of 543. The number of crorepatis in the 15th Lok Sabha is 306 or almost double that in the 14th Lok Sabha (154).\(^7\) In recent years, there has been evidence of black money being injected into the electoral system through a nexus between the politicians and the real estate industry. It is in the context of such pervasive influence of money power in elections that the role of the Election Commission must be considered. Since 1971, the Election Commission has played a major role in laying down a Model Code of Conduct (MCC) for candidates and political parties.\(^8\) With respect to campaign financing, the present code of conduct prohibits Ministers and other authorities from doing, among others, the following: Making announcements about any financial grant; Laying foundation stones of projects or schemes of any kind; Making promises about the construction of roads; Issuing advertisements at government cost; Carrying out any appointments in governments and public undertakings which may have the effect of influencing the voters in favour of the ruling party.\(^9\)

A Parliamentary Standing Committee on Personnel, Public Grievances, Law and Justice in May, 2012 considered giving legal status to the MCC, arguing that it had come to enjoy a quasi-legal status since some provisions attracted penal punishment like suspension or withdrawal of official recognition if the political party is found to have violated provisions of the MCC. Even the current government, the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) II, has been keen to “look into the aspects where executive instructions of the Election Commission of India [are] required to be given statutory shape.”\(^10\) While the Election Commission of India was earlier in favour of giving the MCC legislative teeth, it has recently expressed reservations about the same issue on two primary grounds: (1) The Election Commission fears that the growing chorus for giving the MCC statutory backing by the present government is in fact intended to take out of the Election Commission's purview any and all violations of the MCC; and (2) The Code's true power stems from the EC's active, interventionist role in real time during electioneering and polling, and not from successful prosecution in cases of violation. While the legal process is necessary in the long run, the political parties and candidates fear the Election Commission's warning that serves both as a moral weapon and makes the public aware of the misdeeds of the candidates and the political parties. Another area which needs to be seriously considered is setting up a “legal cell” within the Election Commission, with statutory backing if necessary. The “legal cell” could hear cases along the lines of the different tribunals in the country (Administrative Tribunal, Electricity Tribunal, and others) and appeals could be brought directly to the Supreme Court. This would reduce the time required to pursue election-law-related cases through the lengthy process of approaching first the lower courts, then the higher courts, and so on.
Provisions Regarding Advertisements Related to Elections: Role and Challenges before the Election Commission of India

Section 127A(1) of the Representation of the People Act, 1951 clearly states that an election pamphlet or poster will not be printed or published in any form of print media without the disclosure of the name and address of the printer and publisher. It has been often noted that surrogate advertisements appear in both traditional print media and other new, electronic media. Such advertisements must be included under election expenditure, according to Section 77(1) of the Act. Surrogate advertisements, by their very nature, defeat the purpose of the relevant sections of the RPA, 1951 and the Election Commission has suggested that the relevant provisions be amended to include any political advertisement in favour of a candidate/political party or against a candidate/political party to curb the practices of surrogate advertisements which spread false information and distort the essence of democracy. The author is of the view that in any future amendments expected to be brought about as part of electoral reforms, it is necessary that surrogate advertisements be banned from being published, with appropriate penalties for violations.

Another area of concern is with respect to government-sponsored advertisements which appear particularly before elections in the guise of public information. The ruling party at the state or central level is often responsible for issuing these advertisements. Such advertisements, commonly perceived to influence the electors, have been expressly prohibited by the Election Commission's Model Code of Conduct since they also utilise finances which belong to the public exchequer. The EC, in a 2004 paper proposing large-scale electoral reforms, stated that government-sponsored advertisements highlighting achievements of the ruling party must be banned six months prior to the date of the expiry of the term of the House.11 With respect to political advertisements on television and cable network, the Election Commission has noted that this is another area which needs strict regulation since the provision banning advertisements on cable TV under The Cable Television Network (Regulation) Rules, 1994 has been overturned by a state High Court and was settled by the Supreme Court in favour of the previous provision for one particular general election.12 The issue is yet to be settled. The Election Commission is in favour of amending the relevant provisions of the Act in question to ensure a “suitable advertising Code and monitoring mechanism”.

Corporate Sector and its Role in Campaign Finance

During the general elections of 2009, over 36 corporate donors contributed more than Rs. one crore each to political parties across the spectrum, with at least three corporate donors contributing more than 10 crores to the principal political parties.13 The current trend of donations to political parties is based on the model of the electoral trusts first started by the Tatas in 1996. This model is an adaptation of the German model of funding political parties wherein funds are contributed by the particular business house on a non-partisan basis; it is a formula-based model of contribution to the electoral trust. The funding is applicable to all political parties above a certain representation in the Parliament, and legislative assemblies. This form of election funding has recently come under the scanner as both business houses and political parties have failed to adopt some measure of transparency in their contributions and receipts. As mentioned earlier, according to provisions of the Companies Bill, 2011, funding from corporate companies is set to rise from five to 7.5 per cent of the net average profits preceding the last three years. The Companies Bill, 2011, while in favour of a resolution passed by the Board of Directors vis- à-vis corporate funding,14 fails to highlight the role of shareholders or what is referred to as the “shareholder approval” in other countries, such as the United Kingdom.
State Funding of Elections

Public funding of political parties was an unknown phenomenon across the world during the first half of the 20th century but gained currency in the second half, not only in established democracies but also in new ones that began to adopt some form of public funding. State funding of political parties and elections—the most popular form of public funding—is based on the argument that speaks of the “public functions” performed by political parties. All political parties in a democracy perform important public functions: depending on affiliation, either informing and educating the citizens about the policies and programmes of the government or pointing out their shortcomings and deficiencies. The mechanism of funding elections from the finances of the state has been proposed in India on various occasions, as a response to two primary issues: (a) As a measure to curb corruption and the pernicious influence of black money in the electoral process; and (b) In order to reduce the exorbitantly high costs of elections and create a level playing field for all political parties.

Various government reports in the past have considered this form of election funding, including the Indrajit Gupta Committee (1998); the 1999 Law Commission of India Report; National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution 2001; and the Report of the second Administrative Reforms Commission 2008 (Ethics in Governance). The Indrajit Gupta Committee Report unequivocally supported state funding of elections on constitutional and legal grounds as well as in the larger public interest. The rationale was to establish a level playing field for parties with fewer financial resources. This endorsement of state funding came with two caveats: state funding should only be provided to national and state parties (independent candidates will not be included); and in the initial phase, state funding should only be provided in kind (facilities like free telephone, rental free accommodation) to the recognised political parties and their candidates. The recommendation that state funding should only be provided to recognised national and state parties, however, contradicts the aim of a level playing field for elections. State funding for only established political parties (state and national) may create a bias against new (and thus presumed to be) weaker political parties as well as serious independent candidates who do not wish to affiliate themselves with any political party. Moreover, it would strengthen the position of the entrenched political parties by their uneven access to resources and thus defeat the purpose of state funding, which is to strengthen democracy by enabling fair competition.

The 1999 Law Commission of India Report, while largely in consonance with the Indrajit Gupta Committee Report, added that if state funding is introduced as a form of election funding, it must be ensured that all other forms are banned. The report further noted that state funding of elections must only commence if an appropriate regulatory framework for the functioning of political parties can be introduced (i.e. ensuring internal democracy of all political parties, internal structures and maintenance of accounts as well as auditing and submission of all accounts to Election Commission).

While the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution (NCRWC) 2001 did not give unconditional support for state funding of elections, it did back the creation of a regulatory framework to monitor the functioning of political parties. As a Consultation Paper to the NCRWC noted, “The campaign expenditure by candidates is in the range of about twenty to thirty times the legal limit”. It further recommended that state funding of elections must be made conditional on two grounds: (a) greater transparency in the receipt and spending of election expenses; and (b) deletion of explanation 1 to Section 77 of the Representation of Peoples Act, 1951. The Second Administrative Reform Commission (ARC), meanwhile, categorically held that partial state funding of elections must be introduced for the purpose of reducing “illegitimate and unnecessary funding” of elections.
One of the biggest criticisms against state funding has been that it will reduce the necessity of the political parties to maintain their social base and generate funds through social mobilization and active work amongst their constituents. Such theory is proven in countries like Germany and Spain, where analysts have observed an inverse relationship between state funding of elections and social mobilisation efforts of political parties. While state funding of elections is not a reality in India, the RPA, 1951, in accordance with the recommendations of the Election Commission of India, has provisions for quasi-state funding.\footnote{1}

**Conclusion**

Any change in the electoral reforms vis-à-vis funding of political parties can only be a gradual process. A single piece of legislation is unlikely to solve the problems for the long term. Moreover, experiences of other countries teach us that campaign finance reform is a continuous and evolving process that is unlikely to be addressed by a specific legislation or major reforms. What can go a long way in improving the electoral process are strengthened institutional structures—“legal cells” within the Election Commission which are appointed bodies to track disclosures by political parties (similar to the Federal Election Commission in the United States tasked with tracking disclosures). This could also be a specific yardstick against which present and future challenges can be adequately addressed.

**Notes & References**

1. Inequality in earnings has doubled in India over the last two decades, making it the worst performer on this count amongst all emerging economies. The top 10% of wage earners now make 12 times more than the bottom 10%, up from six in the 1990s. Moreover, wages are not smoothly spread out even through the middle of the distribution. The top 10% of earners make almost five times more than the median 10%, but this median 10% makes just 0.4 times more than the bottom 10%. For more details refer to “Special Focus: Inequality in Emerging Economies (Ees),” Divided We Stand: Why Inequality Keeps Rising, OECD 2011, available at [http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/40/13/49170475.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/40/13/49170475.pdf), last visited on June 26, 2012.


3. Political parties are, however, under obligation to disclose to income tax authorities, contributions received from individuals or companies in excess of Rs. 20,000. They cannot receive donations/contributions from government companies or from any foreign source as defined in the Foreign Contribution (Regulations) Act, 1976.

4. The treasurer has to submit a copy of the report in a prescribed form to the Election Commission before the date of submission of the audited accounts of the party to Income Tax authorities. Noncompliance with the statutory requirement will disentitle the party from any tax relief under the Income Tax Act, 1961. This provision is significant as it regulates the contributions of political parties every year, rather than only during election period, which comes every five years.

5. The Election Commission of India is a permanent constitutional body which was established in accordance with the Constitution on January 25, 1950. To better appreciate the role of the Election Commission, it is necessary to briefly underline the historical perspective of conducting elections in India. India adopted for the parliamentary form of democracy in tradition with the British form of governance followed during the pre-independence era.

6. Indira Gandhi’s election in Allahabad being a case in point wherein the Allahabad High Court found her guilty of abusing the government machinery for election purposes. For details of the case, see Smt. Indira Nehru Gandhi vs Shri Raj Narain And Anr. AIR 1975 SC
The assets of MPs and candidates in even some of the poorest and most troubled parts of India have increased astronomically between 2004 and 2009. In Vidarbha, the net worth of candidates rose by 160% between 2004 and 2009 whereas in Wardha district during the same period, the net worth of candidates rose by an incredible 1157%. The Kalahandi-Bolangir-Koraput areas in the state of Orissa alone—perceived as perhaps the most deprived zone of the nation—had seven multimillionaire candidates. See more, Sainath P., The Age of the Everyday Billionaire, Counterpunch, June 24, 2009, available at http://www.counterpunch.org/2009/06/24/the-age-of-the-everyday-billionaire, last visited on July 5, 2012.

The MCC is a voluntary agreement between the parties for regulating the conduct of political parties and candidates during the process of elections to Assemblies and Parliament. It does not enjoy legal status under the Representation of the People Act, 1951. The code has been in existence since 1971, periodically being revised to keep in tune with the times.

In such cases, it is not the direct form of campaign financing that has been legally restricted, but rather the abuse of state power to divert finances to win elections. As far as the law is concerned, the appropriation of state finances for developmental projects which are announced prior to elections is a form of indirect quasi-state funding that must be prohibited.

The Supreme Court of India has now banned the telecast of all political or surrogate advertisements on cable networks and television channels which violate "the law of the land, morality, decency and religious susceptibility of viewers and are shocking, disgusting and revolting." For more on this refer to “Supreme Court bans surrogate ads on electronic media”, Venkatesan, J., April3, 2004, available at http://www.hindu.com/2004/04/03/stories/2004040306930100.htm, last visited on June 28, 2012.

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For instance, the government supplies candidates of recognised political parties copies of the electoral rolls and other prescribed materials for elections to the Lok Sabha and other state assemblies. The EC, in consultation with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, allocates broadcast time on cable television network and other broadcast media for campaigning purposes proportionately among the recognised political parties on the basis of their electoral performance in the last elections at the national or state level.
Democratic Ethics and Electoral Practices: Indian Contradictions

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Abstract
At the time of independence, we chose to have parliamentary form of democracy. Through all the adversities and complexities it has survived and evolved into a ‘competent’ democracy. As per the definition of democracy given by Abraham Lincoln “Government of the people, by the people, for the people”, which means if democracy is meant to be government of the people-it was to be ‘elected’; but does the spirit of democracy permit a right to reject within the purview of right to elect? The idea is subject to discussion. If our answer is in affirmative then it comes with a big question mark that why we need it at this stage of our political development. Even after 65 years of successful tests of public will, producing governments by consent, when we start talking about a ‘right to reject’ to ensure that we only have competent people as political contenders from whom we must choose, doesn’t that negate the ‘success’ of democracy itself? It suggests a failure of representative government, which functions through political parties and is based on popular mandate. If we need to have a say about the kind of people fielded in an electoral battle, be it in the long term or in contemporary relevance, much of the reforms have to proceed through political parties and not through the Election Commission. This is because the power of the Election Commission ceases as soon as the elections are over but the political parties, once elected, hold and exercise state power. In an era when electoral politics has evolved to assume a form of coalition government, it suggests a failure of majority mandate. Besides, with the lack of inner party democracy and public participation, party mechanism presents elements of growing nepotism. Accordingly, the paper would be arguing that political reform must precede and form the basis of electoral reform.

Keywords: Democracy, Constitution of India, Political Parties, Parliamentary Institutions, Electoral Reform, Right to Reject

“So act as to treat humanity, whether in your person or in that of any other, in every case as an end, and never merely as a means” –Immanuel Kant

Introduction
Neither democracy nor democratic institutions are new to India. Ancient Indian history demonstrates with evidence the existence of an institutionalized democracy. To take an example the Shantiparva of the Mahabharata refers to the benefits of democracy. Further the concepts of sabha, samiti, gana, vidhata, ganatantra, ganarajya, ganapat and the reference to Uttaramerur inscriptions demonstrate the flourishing of democratic politics and its institutionalized forms in India. In addition democratic institutions at the village level and the concept and ideals of pancha parmeshwara, indicate the presence of participatory democracy. A pure democracy presupposes many things difficult to combine- a small state, simplicity of manners, considerable equality in rank and fortune and many others.1 With the complex evolution of society, economy, and public consciousness the village republics in India survived. The form of direct democratic participation was bound to get modified, but the spirit continued in itself. Over such continuing spirit one may note what Pandit Nehru
said as: “No people, no races remain unchanged. Continually they are mixing with others and slowly changing; they may appear to die almost and then rise again as a new people or just a variation of the old. There may be a definite break between the old people and the new or vital links of thoughts and ideals may join them”.2

These vital links of thoughts and ideals never fade away, one gives space and modifications to others. No ideology dies, it may go in to a slumber or hide beneath the ordinary courses of life but they are bound to come to the surface again. Every ideology is a perversion from those ordinary courses of life, refuses to accept the established modes and is an extreme sought to answer the question of the day and find out newer patterns. Modern democracy was one such ideology propounded as an answer to the sufferings of the ordinary man at the hands of the Orthodox Church and the despotic monarch. It was an institutionalized attempt over integration of people in the decision making process. This was the objective sought by many medieval thinkers including Rousseau as he explained in his General Will. Democracy has not only evolved itself as a form of government and a type of state but has always signified a desired order of society. Such a society implies the spirit of equality and fraternity but it may not be a democratic state or government always. The community on the whole possesses sovereign authority and maintains control over affairs.

Parties precede democracy, in the wider sense of the term. When some ideology is used to capture power, it takes the backing of a party. Ideally speaking a political party is an institution which propounds and proceeds upon some ideology to capture power. The support of the factions was a material fact for the monarch to hold and sustain power. As the will of the Monarch gave way to the will of the people, the methods of attainment and sustenance of power changed. The sword gave way to electoral ballots. The pillars of the democracy are the political parties, the foundation lies in to the people and the sanctity resides in to the electoral process. No government can afford to ignore the urges of the common people. As Pandit Nehru commented on the sanctity of elections: “The fact that one party happens to be in charge of governance does not entitle it to any privilege during the elections. It is a basic requirement of the electoral process that the officers of the government must function impartially, the ministers must not utilize their official positions to further their own election prospects in any way. They must try to separate as far as possible their official duties from their electoral and private work. Electoral propaganda by speech or in writing should not be personal but should deal with policies and programs. In a democracy we have to know how to win. Those who win should not allow this to go to their heads; those who lose should respect the mandate.”3

Parliamentary institutions are ultimate projections of people’s character, thoughts and aims. The importance of elections lies in giving the people the sensation of participation in the governance of their country. Political parties in democracy act as essential institutions for free organization of opposing opinions. Organization of opinions does not refer to the ways to control propaganda by the intimidation or other methods and must not maintain political orthodoxy and suppress criticism. It merely refers to the ways in which opinions find political expression through a system under which opinions are elicited, registered, channeled and brought to bear on government. These mechanisms include the devices by which government is made responsive to the trends and tides of opinion.4 Outlining the importance of difference of opinion in a parliamentary democracy the Supreme Court has observed: “It has been realized that for a strong vibrant democratic government, it is necessary to have parliamentary majority as well as parliamentary minority, so that different points of view on controversial issues are brought out and debated on the floor. This can be best achieved in the
party system so that the problems of the nation may be discussed, considered and resolved in a constructive spirit”.  

Political party is an organization that seeks to control the policy of the government. How a political party can further a policy measure is best illustrated by Maclver: “(A)n association organized in support of some principle or policy which by constitutional means endeavors to make the determinant of government. Without such party organization, there can be no unified statement of principle, no orderly evolution of policy, no regular resort to constitutional device of parliamentary election, nor of course any of the recognized institutions by which a party seeks to gain or maintain power.”  

A political party is a link between the ordinary man and the democratic system of governance. It is a voluntary association of voters who are desirous of promoting a common political end or carrying out a certain line of public policy. It is a platform that enables citizens to play a role in policy making and is the principal means for the representation of electors in both national and local government. The participation of people in the electoral process is the ethical basis of democracy and the method to sustain it. But a successful participation requires a popular education and a state of awareness as per the rights and implications of actions that we undertake. Accordingly, political education is a two-way process. While citizens need to be aware of the nuances of the electoral process, political parties should tell people what they stand for. Ideological awareness ensures informed participation of citizens based on freedom of choice that reduces the chances of manipulation caused by caste and communal affiliations, to which Indian society is very much prone. Interests and ideological coherence knows no limits of a caste or a community, so it should be used to counter them. Popular education should be a mandatory part of the election campaign, as the written word of a party is as important as the spoken word, and is bound to effect public opinion.  

Healthy electoral practice must ensure most efficient public participation and gives democracy a political status, an ethical concept and a social condition. It means faith in the common man. A.D. Lindsay looks at it as a process that implies that all beings have a worth in themselves. That’s why Dicey defines it as a form of group in which, “the governing body is a comparatively large fraction of the entire nation”. All the problems that arise in the Indian democratic system are related in some way or the other to the two basic challenges, namely: a. to ensure better participation of people, and b. to ensure some check over the political parties as an inclusive platform among people and not above people.  

Various ways and methods are suggested to counter the problem of voter apathy in the country and ensure integration of more and more people into the electoral process such as the celebration of National Voters Day as the day of youth empowerment on 25th January every year, introduction of UID System etc. Besides these, the Systematic Voter Education for Electoral Participation (SVEEP) is a far sighted step to ensure informed participation. However, much needs to be done to evolve a mechanism for public representation in the inner party decision-making. The right to reject is looked at as one such tool to ensure public participation and to leave an impact over the decision-making process of the party. In the ethics of indirect democracy the actual administration of affairs is taken from the hands of the people and is vested in delegates. In the theory of a representative form of government the whole electoral process is aimed at giving recognition to the opinion of the people and culminates into the election of a person to represent them. A right to reject negates this spirit. By talking about a right to reject, we mean a refusal to elect a representative to represent
public will before the state. Where the aim of the electoral process is to elect public representatives and the chances of manipulation are very high, the right to reject once included in the purview of right to elect can have serious consequences. Pointing out one of them the Election Commission of India says that it may be misused to put out an unintended political message, especially in places such as Kashmir and North-Eastern States where people already feel alienated. A record of fact under 49-O rule of the Conduct of Election Rules, 1961, which describes the procedure to be followed when a valid voter decides not to cast his vote, is not a solution. It will make the mandate volatile to the menace of repetitive elections and hence are bound to cause cost and logistical constraints.

Political reforms must precede electoral reforms. Reforms are a never-ending process and the reform-process has to often unfold itself to include within it newer aspects of the cumbersome process. But no electoral reform is meaningful without political reforms ensuring political democracy. Political reforms go hand in hand with social reforms i.e. they are interlinked, irrespective of which comes first. Indian society cannot be expected to rise above the parochial considerations of caste and regionalism in a short run; and hence we have a particular conservative political discourse, but with an ample scope of reform. If the objective is to ensure the quality of the contender being fielded in an electoral campaign, why not ensure better integration of the electorate with the political process? It is supposed that reform in the party system is the most desired reform. This is because the general consciousness of the people identifies government and the ruling class in the form of the political parties.

But two of the greatest problems that negate the idea of peoples’ mandate are regionalization of politics and the menace of dynastic politics. In India no regional factor can be ignored. One of the primary arguments furthered for adopting a multiparty democracy is to give representation to the regional considerations. The recent UP elections are significant for several reasons for the development of the Indian political system. They confirm the regionalization of politics of the country as power has been passed from one regional party to another with strong local roots. Some analysts suggest that localization of politics may bring an end to India’s politics of dynasties. But they fail to note that no new dynasty can be an answer to the old one in a democracy. More regional representation is helpful only when it leads to referral of more power to the people at the local level, and parties ensure more faces from the general mass of population in the inner-party decision-making process.

In view of the above, the people’s mandate looks frustrated. The politics of seat-sharing is not a viable solution for it results in aberration of representation. Participatory democracy must not base itself on blackmail mechanism. Delhi has the responsibility to rule and give representation to each and every section of the diversity that India enshrines. If that rule is to be the rule of an alliance, why don’t we go for such alliances at the pre-poll stage? A proper and systematic alliance formation based on negotiations between the parties will result into a clear picture in front of the mandate. Unified fronts will result into unified manifestoes that will reduce confusion at the pre-poll stage and the scope of political manipulation in the post-poll stage. In an era when lack of competent alternatives as a public face is a vital menace to the poll process that reduces choices, such institutionalized mode may come up with newer solutions. Unification of representation will give more say to the regional parties at the national level through a better and unified platform and also lead to better interaction over policies amongst themselves. Pre-electoral alliances reflect the will of the people, not opportunistic post-electoral arrangements. Voting rights are meant to simply elicit that will.
In a representative electoral system the struggle for power is the struggle for the hearts and minds of the people. Dynastic rule is a perversion (even subversion) of democracy. The basic question still remains: why do we need godfathers to sustain ourselves in the Indian political system? The political history of India in the post independence period shows a history of dynastic rules. The philosophy of Total Revolution in the 70s was a counter philosophy aimed at ensuring better participation of the masses in the political process. It saw a solution to the dynastic politics in university politics. Though the Junta government could not survive for long, it must be credited to give the first unified opposition in India. More and more referral of power to the bodies like university, Bar Association and Gram Panchayats may be seen as a solution and a mechanism to bring out new faces in politics and to affect the dynamics of party politics in India.

It is to be seen that the right to reject can be evolved as a filtration-mechanism rather than being a rejection mechanism, and can turn out to be a great instrument to curb the dynastic menace. Control on the quality of contenders is the key to all the other political and electoral reforms. There is a need to introduce a referral system at the pre-poll stage of the short-listed candidates to all the public platforms e.g. universities, Bar Associations, Panchayats etc. In the electoral process generally there is no mechanism to ensure first-hand information to the people in general. If such a list is circulated with all the particulars of the candidates without any specification of any particular constituency from which that candidate is to be fielded, it will eliminate the regional considerations while ensuring a public say into the selection of the candidates that are to be fielded. This list must contain all the charges against the candidate and his performance in the previous term, if he had served any. Besides as a part of the popular education this must contain his stand on particular issues. The candidate once elected will be forced to be more responsive to the popular consciousness and will not be only occupied with the privileges... but also the responsibility. This responsibility is the responsibility of the representative towards the ‘spirit’ of “We, the people of India” as enshrined in the Preamble of the Constitution of India, not only as a means but also as an end.

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Public Funding: A Spoof on Election Process

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Abstract
The essence of democracy is a free and fair election and election funding plays a decisive role in electoral results. In India election funding is dominated by Black Money. Funding is predominantly done by corporate bodies, which in return receives favouritism from Government that fills the coffers of these bodies. This paper is also endowed with alternative of private funding i.e. Public Funding that will lessen political parties’ reliance over corporate money and also decrease the incentives of corruption. It aims to elucidate and surface up the advantages and disadvantages of Public Funding. It presents a comparative analysis of the conditions of different countries where political parties are funded by Public Funds. The solution of these problems in public funding could be dealt with provisions such as allocation of funds from income tax or rationing and quota fixation of public funding etc. The paper is focused towards detailing the amendments and policies required for making election funding, a corruption free affair.

Keywords: Election, Public Funding, India

Introduction
Function of Democracies without political parties is not possible. Concerns of citizens, project a vision of a society and develop policy options, aggregate and mediate diverse interests are expected to be reflected by the political parties. Political parties are supposed to attract and inspire supporters to their cause, their devotion being of key importance in their claim to represent citizens. Parties may well not live up to expectations regarding their services to citizens or quality of leadership. Expectations of citizens may not be well lived up by the political parties regarding their obligation towards citizens. They nevertheless continue to be entrusted with what is perhaps the most strategic responsibility of modern democracy – to prepare and select candidates for parliamentary and presidential elections and then to support them into positions of leadership and government. For running Political institutions and for their electoral campaign political parties need to generate the income. Their problems of fund-raising are causing deep anxiety not just to politicians but to all those who care about democracy. Fund raising problem of political parties are not only distressing the politicians but also those who care about democracy.

Funding of Political Parties
Any attempt to regulate the capital of political parties must be made with an acknowledgement that money can have positive and negative aspect on politics. By private funding there is always a risk of undue influence of corporate over political parties and corruption. It is not possible for any political party to function or to campaign for election without funds. To reduce the possibility of corruption and undue influence, according to me provision of Public Funding to political parties or election candidates may work out. In most cases where provision of public funding is provided, the intention is to enhance the positive
role played by political parties and to help curtail overindulgence of money in politics. This provision of public funding is already in practice in many democratic countries. This provision of public funding came to be introduced during the 20th century when the waves of democratisation were at hype. This was introduced firstly in Uruguay in 1928, but basically it spread after second world war. The Annexure-I illustrates how this practice is been introduced by many countries after scrutinizing its effects.

**Execution of Public Funding**

How does the public funding system works? Lets take instance of elections of Australia. Public funding of political parties means that parties or candidates receive, from the taxpayer, a dollar amount for every vote they attract at elections—provided that vote is more than four per cent of the formal (first preference) votes cast. Australia has public funding for political parties (and candidates) for federal elections and elections in three of the six States —New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria — and one of the two Territories, the ACT. Every electoral office or commission has its own jurisdiction over some area to run elections, and these also administer election financing where and when applicable. The actual amounts, and the method of calculating the amount per vote, vary from state to state but they are in the order of two dollars per vote. If we consider that at the October 9 2004 election almost twelve million Australians registered two votes — one for the House of Representatives and one for the Senate. Total AEC public funding for the 2004 federal election is estimated at $41.9 million (up from $39.6 million in 2001).

**Issues to Consider While Designing Public Funding System**

While designing the public funding system some criteria has to be setup to regulate the funding of political parties and for smooth working of this system.

**Merits & Demerits of Public Funding System**

Democracy is fundamental important to our community, and we all have an interest in preserving its integrity. Public funding is a natural and necessary cost of democracy. Political parties and candidates need money for their electoral campaigns, to keep contacts with their constituencies, to prepare policy decisions and to pay professional staff. With public funding the State can encourage, demand or force the political parties to undertake reforms, hold internal elections or even field a certain number of women candidates, youth or persons from ethnic minority on their ballots. Public funding also lessens parties’ reliance on corporate money which in turn decreases the incentives for corruption. Not only this public funding also limits the influence of interested money and increases transparency in party and candidate finance and thereby help curb corruption. If parties and candidates are financed with only private funds, the economic inequalities in the society might translate into political inequalities in the Government. So it is necessary to keep a balance within the society.
Public funding gives the smaller parties at least some resources with which to circulate their messages, it helps them in meeting the growing costs of campaigning; this has great implications for the health of our democracy. But no public funding system is perfect. If there are advantages of public funding in elections there also carries disadvantages along with like public funding increases the distance between political elites and ordinary citizens as when political parties and candidate do not depend on their supporters neither for monetary contributions nor for voluntary labor, they might be less likely to involve them in party decisions or consult their opinions on policy issues. It so preserves a status quo that keeps the established parties and candidates in power. Through public funds, taxpayers are forced to support political parties and candidates that they would never choose to vote for. Instead they should be made free to decide if and when they want to donate money to the parties or even candidate. The biggest disadvantage of public funding is that the parties and candidates take money away from educational institutions and hospitals. The reason of this is that public funding is not popular among the public. The political parties should stand or fall on their own merits, and the extent to which they can attract financial support from community.

Approach of different countries for funding of political parties
This public funding system is followed by many countries of the world. (ANNEXURE-II) There are many different approach for dealing with “funds in politics” as a political issue. Starting from their own specific experience, many democratic countries have endeavoured to deal with some of the issues referred here. Different problems have led to a variety of approaches which can be summarized by identifying two groups of issues and two types of solutions favoured by legislators. There are regulative as well as distributive public policies. “States may affect political financing in two different ways, by regulation and by financial subsidies”2
• If interested money and incidents of corruption have spurred regulation, the emphasis has been on rules for the financial conduct of parties, candidates and their supporters.
• If lack of funds and a desire to level the playing field have stimulated distributive measures (direct or indirect), public support has often been the cure applied to deal with shortcomings.

The extremes of the legislative approaches to political finance are typified by Malaysia and South Africa. In Malaysia there is no public subsidy but no shortage of regulations – among others a ban on foreign donations and on paid political broadcasts, as well as a ceiling on candidates’ campaign expenses. By contrast, South Africa concentrates on subsidies rather than on regulatory measures. Although there are various public subsidies, South African parties are not required to disclose their funds to the public3. In most countries the means of regulation and support are combined in current political finance regimes. Distributive policies provide public support in different ways. Although they were launched early by some countries, the worldwide spread of cash subsidies—direct state funding—to parties and candidates is recent. In a democratic country like Spain and Portugal, cash subsidies are widely provided to the political parties from the starting of transition process. But the same was not followed in the new democratic countries of Central & Eastern Europe. Even in Latin America, trend public subsidies can be seen because private funding are mostly related to scandal.

Conclusion
After studying about the effects of public funding this can be clearly derived that the impacts of public funding have been studied for few countries only.Nassmacher also pointed out the same. Some more research is needed for the same. In some countries the public funding
system has shown some positive effects. This public funding system may reduce the dominance of corporate over political parties if it is made applicable in India. Although the dominance of Corporate may not be removed directly but the weightage of dominance may be reduced. By applying this practice in India the political party which is in majority may work smoothly. Even the presence of black money during election can be removed and the percentage of corruption & undue influence may be reduced.

Notes
1 At time of publication, the AEC figures for 2004 election formal votes were: House of Representatives 11,714,835; Senate 11,953,795.

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ANNEXURE - I

Introduction of public funding around the world

![Graph showing the introduction of public funding around the world from 1954 to 2009.](image)

- Number of countries
- Years: 1954 to 2009
ANNEXURE – II

Direct public funding of political parties in Asia

- Does have public funding
- Does not public funding
- Data not available

The map does not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of IFES concerning the legal status of any country, area or territory or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its borders.
Electoral Reforms: 
Imperatives for Strengthening Democracy

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Abstract
India stands as a model for many emerging democracies around the world. Political parties and election campaigns are the core of the democracy but with the changing time parties needs certain changes for the best management. India also invest huge amount as election expenditure and party funding. Limitation use of money or putting a certain quote on election funding is practically impossible and its increase the use of “black money” in election which certainly result in increase of corruption in the country. The election procedure is also debatable in new era because the with the changing time citizen demands more effective, qualified and uncorrupted elected members and more clear election procedure for election. For all these purpose some reforms is needed in election producer the paper deal with these reforms. Paper deal with these key points: State funding elections, Reducing the cost of political expenditure, Disclosure and audit of assets and liabilities of candidates and parties, and Proportion representation system.

Keywords: Democracy, Electoral Reforms, Political Partices, India

Introduction
“The principle of free and fair election is an essential postulate of Democracy which in turn is part of the basic structure of the constitution of India”1,2

Till the middle of the twentieth century most countries of the world had installed the democratic form of government. It’s a mode of government where governing power is determined by the people’s mandate. Abraham Lincoln elaborates it as “government of the people, for the people and by the people”3. Democracy embraces the relative principles of popular control and political equality, where people take part in decision making by electing their representatives directly or indirectly, irrespective of their caste, creed, sex, race and colour. After the long period of struggle which started in 1875 India got independent in August 1947, and adopted the democratic system of government. After long course of discussion which started in 1946.

The constituent assembly came to conclusion and adopted the past the post representative democracy as a system of government, where the popular government formed on the basis of people’s mandate and the determination of mandate for forming government depends upon free and fair elections which are a basic postulate of modern democracy. Thus they put their faith in the hands of citizen a huge number of which were illiterate. Critics of this form of government often argument that Most of the leader, who fight for the independent were in legal profession and after independence they were in different law making committee so they choose British type of system because in that time Britshers was very powerful and many of the person studied law in U.K. & Ivor Jennings described the British Constitution as one of the strongest if not the strongest in the World. The election is the most important pillar of democracy. The requisites of free and fair election were given under Article 327 and 328 of constitution of India and equal opportunity for everyone to participate in democratic process.
is confronted in Article 325 and 326. The subsistence of democratic government can be assumed only by free, fair and equitable election process. The founding fathers of the India constitution had this realization and thus constitution has provision for central institution to ensure impartial, permanent and independent elections which is known as Election commission. Also there is Representation of People Act 1950 and 1951 which ensures mandates of democracy.

India is reorganized as the world’s largest democracy. Among the nations liberated after the Second World War, Barring the Indira Gandhi emergency period India has a unique record of successive elections and stable and peaceful democracy. But this was scenario only till 1967, when for the first time the ruling party of India Congress lost its mandate and recognition as a party of social welfare and institutional change. The working of the India democracy shows some distorted patterns in 1971 and thereafter in the successive elections. The Sixth Lok Sabha elections in 1977 led a major setback to India electoral system, when congress lost election and Janta Party was about to resume the position. Election was suspended and internal emergency was imposed without any legible grounds. Non-congress elected legislators and member of opposition party were detained without charges and denied trial due to suspension of civil liberties and Habeas corpus. Opposition political parties had no access to media and freedom of press was also suspended. Lok Nayak Jayprakash Narayan called it as the ‘Blackest Hour’ in Indian democracy. The first case of election fraud came before the court, when Raj Narian logged it against Indira Gandhi. She was found guilty by High Court of Allahabad of using state machinery for campaigning elections, bribing voters and availing services of government officers. 1975 elections were beginning to electoral fraud and after that series of episodes were witnessed.

Farooq Abudlla’s government in 1984 in Kashmir, unsetting of NTR’s government in Andhra Pradesh in 1995, Jagdambica Pal’s government in U.P. in 1998 and JMM’s bribery case are some of the exemplary cases of electoral fraud and corruption. The incidences of flawed electoral polls, vote buying, booth capturing, irregularities in enrolling voters, use of black money in campaign funding, use of muscle power during elections and criminalization of politicians severely questioned the legitimacy and credibility of elected government. There has been overall increase in the criminalization the politician. In the current Lok Sabha, nearly quarters (23.2%) of the MPs have reported criminal cases against them. One out of two among them (over 50%) has cases that could attract penalties of imprisonment of five years or more. Voters have lost their faith and thus there is reduction in the number of voters participating in elections process. The electric media is usually controlled by the government of the day and the paid news system further hampered the faith of the voters.

In India there are 1200 registered parties out of which only 150 are working and have some amount of recognition. There is substantial increase in the literacy rate and political awareness of people since Independence. Thus accountability of the government is questioned form time to time. The accountability of election commissioner Mr. T.N. Seshan was questioned by people, when date of election after Rajiv Gandhi’s death was postponed. There has been a considerable stress put on the need for electoral reform in India. All the mature democracies of the world have at some point of time has favored electoral reforms. In 1996 there was a controversy about Chinese government funding of Presidents Clinton’s electoral efforts and recent controversy of ex-chancellor Helmut Khol of Germany electoral fund misappropriation. In India the need for reform is taken seriously and the Law commission along with other committees has appointed to study all the issues relating to malpractices in election. The first such committee was Tarkunde committee in 1975, and
after that a series of committees were appointed focusing on electoral reforms. Like Goswami committee for electoral reform (1990), Indrajit Gupta Committee on State Funding of Elections (1998), Law Commission Report on Reform of the Electoral Laws (1999). All these committees examine the major issues pertaining to electoral system in India and made a number of recommendations. Few of the recommendations such as reduction of age of voting, increase in the amount of security deposits, use of electronic machine for voting and mandatory disclosure of criminal record of person contesting election were implemented. But many of the recommendations made remained dormant for want of parliamentary action. The electoral system from selection of person contesting election to the outcome of results needs significant changes. Some of the key areas which need reform are discussed below

**State funding of elections**

Significant amount of money is required by the political parties in order to reach people effectively during election campaign. After winning elections they need more money in order to fulfil the promises they made during campaign. Traditionally these parties finance themselves from private donations and membership dues. With change in time Corporate Contribution to election fund were also given recognition with certain restrictions and on the basis that it has to be mentioned in the company accounts. The latest trend was developed that the elected party favour the policies of the corporations with maximum contribution to their election campaign. The Representation of the People’s Act, 1951 put a ceiling on the amount of campaign expenditure and candidates exceeding the limited were declared disqualified. This invites the use of Black money in fund raising.

The black money pumped up in the political system was identified in the reports of the Santhanam Committee on prevention of corruption, 1946. Further in 1968, Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi banned the corporate donations to political parties. This ban on donation was not accompanied by the state funding as substitute, resultant more use of black money for fund raising. The National front government setup Denish Goswami committee in 1990. It recommended some amount of state funding for elections and made unauthorised spending a penal offence. It also recommended a ban on corporate funding, but the committee does not made any recommendation about how to fulfil the gap caused in the financial requirements as maximum percentage of funding was from corporate only.

One of the major concerns of the huge expenditure done by the parties is that the parties with moderate fund could not compete with their claims. State funding of election is proposed as a solution to all these problems by the Indrajit Gupta Committee formed in 1998. It recommended only partial amount of state funding in form of certain facilities to the reorganised parties. The report of law commission in 1990 recommended total state funding but on the basis that no fund rising should be allowed form any other source. Further the report of election commission in 2004 recommended that expenditure to the commission from the consolidate fund from India. State funding is reorganised as need of an hour and possibly the only solution to the problem of black money. But for that purpose it is required that the expenses in political campaign have to be reduced.

**Reducing cost of political expenditure**

In the beginning of 1970’s it is observed that election expenditure are all time high. The National Commission to review working of constitution, 2001 recommended ceiling of Rs. 25 lakhs for a Lok Sabha seat and Rs 10 lakh for an Assembly seat. But the parties always found extending this limit with audacity. Currently an approximation shows that Parliamentary election expenditure has reached crores and state assembly election half of it.
In this case it became very important for the state to put a ceiling on the expenses. It is the only way to prevent the parties with the big money having advantage in elections and to secure the interest of the independent and honest candidate. In Kuwar Lal Gupta vs. Amar Nath Chawla & others.\textsuperscript{11} Supreme Court held that expenses incurred by the political party in favor of a candidate should be treated as expenses authorized by the candidate and be subject to the ceiling laws. But the guidelines were never followed and the expenses remain all-time high. It is found by the election commission that the parties does not disclose their full accounts, but the issues has not taken very seriously and thus the huge investment in elections become part of election system. In a country were still huge number of people has only one time food the election cost remain all high.

**Disclosure and audit of assets and liabilities of candidates and parties**

Supreme Court in the *Peoples Union for civil liberties and Others vs. Union of India\textsuperscript{12}* held that *Representation of the People (3rd Amendment) Act, 2002 (Amendment Act)* as null and void because it made the disclosure by the candidate arbitrary. The court recognized that citizens have the fundamental right to know the antecedents of candidates for elective office, as part of freedom of expression guaranteed under Article 19(1) (a) of Constitution of India. The judgment of this case added section 33(B): disclosure of personal assets and liabilities of candidate as compulsion. Already existing section 33(A) makes it compulsory for candidate to disclose all accusation and convictions. Tarkunde committee report in 1974 recommended that proper audited accounts of the parties should be maintained with details of all the assets and expenditure and made false account details a punishable offence. Also Election Commission of India in its report Proposed Electoral Reforms 2004, recommended imprisonment of minimum two years and disqualification from contesting election if one found guilty of giving wrong information. In present, parties were found disclosing their funds but the source of their fund is still unknown and hence there is anticipation that they only covert their black money as white in their accounts. For example Mayawati’s government in U.P. disclosed that they have crore INR only through donations\textsuperscript{13}. It’s is very hard to believe that a party of dalits, for dalits and by dalits can have such huge donations and when questioned about the source the party remain silent and the issue also got disposed in the bundle of old newspapers.

**Proportional Representation System**

India has adopted the First-Past-the-Post as system of popular representation under which candidate with majority vote wins the election. It’s not necessary that the winning candidate should have majority of votes. So, for example in a direct election through constituency, if there are four candidates polling got 15\%, 20\%, 30\% and 35\% of total votes casted. The candidate with 35\% of votes wins the election although 65\% of people do not vote for him or her. There are even cases where parties are able to secure considerable seats in parliament but only or sometime less than 30\% of votes. In the decade 1989-99, India had seven governments at the Centre. These minority governments have not been able to provide a stable government and stable policies. Thus political parties and independent candidates has spent huge money for vote buying and perks before election in their local constituencies, because the only motive they have in mind is to secure considerable percentage of votes. The democratic ideology along with election platform get weakens due to this. Proportional Representation system can be the solution to this problem. It is adopted by many democracies of the world such as Scotland and Italy. In this system any party can gain only in proportion to the total number of the votes cast. This allows the party with maximum voter’s support to come to power not with maximum vote or seat. This is called as democracy in real sense and because it represent the will of at least the half of total number of voters.
Conclusion

‘India is a country of poor people with rich political parties and politicians’. One will doubt the statement if assess the campaigning cost and assets accounts of political party. The top parties of the country have assets in crores. The electoral fraud and malpractices are inherent in the system that now people accepted it as something very natural. The increased criminalization in politics emphasize on mandatory implementation of that right to reject and recall so that the candidates with criminal record will not get into power. Jayaprakesh Narayan rightly said that “There is no dearth of solutions, but all efforts at reform have been stymied for want of parliamentary action”. Suggesting the reforms is not new to India electoral system. From time to time committees were formed and they suggested reforms but if we see how many of them implemented or properly executed than will find that parliamentary unwillingness in execution. In fact unwillingness is very obvious because these reforms affect the party of the day, whose maximum members constituting the part of parliament. All these reforms that are already suggested and are re-emphasized by this paper need only actual will and effective legislation. If at all we need the democracy to continue subsist in India, unless that day is not far when our country will be sold out in the hands of corrupt politicians.

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3 A Thinker’s Diary, December 23, 2012, OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE
4 No person to be ineligible for inclusion in, or to claim to be included in a special, electoral roll on grounds of religion, race, caste or sex There shall be one general electoral roll for every territorial constituency for election to either House of Parliament or to the House or either House of the Legislature of a State and no person shall be ineligible for inclusion in any such roll or claim to be included in any special electoral roll for any such constituency on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or any of them.
5 Elections to the House of the People and to the Legislative Assemblies of States to be on the basis of adult suffrage The elections to the House of the People and to the Legislative Assembly of every State shall be on the basis of adult suffrage; but is to say, every person who is a citizen of India and who is not less than twenty one years of age on such date as may be fixed in that behalf by or under any law made by the appropriate legislature and is not otherwise disqualified under this constitution or any law made by the appropriate Legislature on the ground of non-residence, unsoundness of mind, crime or corrupt or illegal practice, shall be entitled to be registered as a voter at any such election.
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Electoral Reforms: 
Ethical Issues in Governance

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Abstract
“No Office in this land is more important than that of being a citizen”. –Felix Frankfurter

The word ‘Democratic’ enshrined in the Preamble of Indian Constitution is enough to substantiate the power of elections in India. Country’s administration should be governed not by the bullet but by the ballot, which is necessary for the betterment of the country. The scandals and controversies that marked the 14th Lok Sabha and the recent events after the general elections in India were announced, where smaller and regional parties have held bigger parties to ransom over various issues like that of ‘seat-sharing’, have once again highlighted the urgent need of electoral reforms in India. Some of the recommendations discussed in this paper are heated topics of discussion of various forums and have found acceptability among various policy-making organizations including the Election Commission of India. It is now high time that they are implemented in the earnest. The purpose of this paper is to provide background information on issues in our electoral process and outline some electoral reforms that have been pen down in the past, in order to serve as a platform for a renewed national dialogue on electoral reforms.

Keywords: Democracy, Election Reforms, Constitution, Politics, India

Introduction
“Democracy' and 'free and fair election' are inseparable twins. There is almost an inseverable umbilical cord joining them. The little man's ballot and not the bullet of those who want to capture power is the heartbeat of democracy. Path of the little man to the polling booth should be free and unhindered, and his freedom to elect a candidate of his choice is the foundation of a free and fair election.” –Justice Arijit Pasayat, Supreme Court of India

Webster's dictionary defines 'election' as "the act or process of choosing a person for an office, position or membership by voting". According to Black's law dictionary 'election' means choice of persons to fill public office means the expression by, vote of the will of the people or of a numerous body of electors. Hence it can be interpreted that election in law is when a man is left to his own free will to take or do one thing or another, which he pleases; it is more frequently applied to the choosing between two rights by a person who drives one of them under an instrument in which an intention appears that he should not enjoy both. The word 'election' is also commonly applied to the choosing of representatives. Free and fair elections are the hallmark of a well functioning democracy. While we are justifiably proud of our democracy, there are a number of areas which need to be strengthened for us to realise the true potential of a well functioning democracy. The Constitution does not prescribe any qualifications, academic or otherwise, for appointment to these offices. However, by convention, only senior civil servants, either serving or retired, of the rank of the cabinet secretary or secretary to the Government of India or of an equivalent rank have been appointed as the Chief Election Commissioner and election commissioners so far. In Bhagwati Prashad Dixit Ghorewala v. Rajiv Gandhi, it was contended that as the Chief Election Commissioner is placed at par with a judge of the Supreme Court in the matter of
his removability from office under the Constitution, for his appointment also he should possess qualifications similar to that of a judge of the Supreme Court. However, the Supreme Court rejected that contention. Our election system, from the selection of candidates, to the manner in which funds are raised and spent in election campaigns, are in dire need of significant changes.

In continuance of the British legacy, India has opted for parliamentary democracy. Since 1952, the country has witnessed elections to the legislative bodies at both the national as well as State levels. The electoral system in India is hamstrung by so many snags and stultifying factors. Such maladies encourage the anti-social elements to jump into the electoral fray. Our system was largely free from any major flaw till the fourth general elections (1967). The distortions in its working appeared, for the first time, in the fifth general elections (1971) and these got multiplied in the successive elections, especially in those held in the eighties and thereafter. [Dash 2006: 50] Many a time, the Election commission has expressed its concern and anxiety for removing obstacles in the way of free and fair polls. It has had made a number of recommendations and repeatedly reminded the government the necessity of changing the existing laws to check the electoral malpractices. The Tarkunde Committee Report of 1975, the Goswami Committee Report of 1990, the Election commission’s recommendations in 1998 and the Indrajit Gupta Committee Report of 1998 produced a comprehensive set of proposals regarding electoral reforms.

The scandals and controversies that marked the fourteenth Lok Sabha and also the recent events when all over again elections in India were proclaimed, wherever smaller and regional parties have control larger parties to ransom over varied problems like that of seat-sharing, have once more highlighted the imperative would like of electoral reforms in India. a number of the recommendations given below are wide mentioned in varied forums and have found satisfactoriness among varied political organizations as well as the committee of India. It’s time that they're enforced within the earnest. There has been a growing concern over the years in India about several aspects of our electoral system. The Election Commission has made changes in several areas to respond to some of the concerns. There have also been a number of committees which have examined the major issues pertaining to our electoral system and made a number of recommendations. But there remain some critical issues that might need legislative action to bring about the required changes. A number of new initiatives have been recommended to cleanse the electoral process in India. The important among these are being discussed here:

**Model Code of Conduct**

A provision was made under the Code that from the time the elections are announced by the Commission, Ministers and other authorities cannot announce any financial grant, lay foundation stones of projects of schemes of any kind, make promises of construction of roads, carry out any appointments in government and public undertakings which may have the effect of influencing the voters in favor of the ruling party. In June 2002, the EC on the direction of the Supreme Court, issued an order under Article 324 that each candidate must submit an affidavit regarding the information of his/her criminal antecedents; assets (both movable and immovable) of self and those of spouses and dependents as well; and qualifications at the time of filing his/her nomination papers for elections to the Lok Sabha, the Rajya Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies. But political parties believed that the Election commission and the judiciary were overstepping their powers. At the all-party meeting, held on July 8, 2002, representatives of 21 political parties decided that the Election
The commission’s order should not be allowed to be implemented. The Supreme Court again came out as a guardian of the citizen’s right to information.

The Apex Court gave its judgment on March 13, 2003, basically asserting its previous June 2002 decision, which required full disclosure by all candidates. The order made it clear that failing to furnish the relevant affidavit shall be considered as a violation of the Supreme Court’s order and as such the nomination papers shall be liable to be rejected by the Returning Officer. Furnishing of wrong or incomplete information shall result in the rejection of nomination papers, apart from inviting penal consequences under the Indian Penal Code. The 2004 General Elections were conducted under these rules. The above order is an effective step to make democracy healthy and unpolluted. Citizens have every right to know about the persons whom they prefer as their representatives. The EC has directed all Returning Officers to display the copies of nomination papers and affidavits filed by candidates to the general public and representatives of print and electronic media, free of cost.

**Abolition of the first-past-the-post system**

This has been amongst the foremost wide mentioned electoral reforms in India. Multi-cornered contests became a norm in India instead of associate exception owing to the rise within the range of smaller and regional parties. There are cases within the state assembly elections wherever a candidate has been declared winner with the ending margin of less than a hundred votes. Except for this anomaly, in most cases, a candidate wins the election by securing simply 30-35 per cent of the entire range of votes polled thus he or she can't be deemed to be a selection of majority of the voters. To beat this limitation, the first-past-the-post system ought to get replaced with a two-stage electoral method. In this, a second spherical of election are going to be command if none of the candidates within the fray is in a position to induce fifty per cent of the entire range of votes polled within the initial spherical. The two candidates who have obtained the utmost range of votes within the initial spherical can fight within the second spherical. Whoever between the two gets over fifty one per cent of the entire votes polled within the second spherical is said the winner.

**Simultaneous elections for Union and state legislatures**

Presently 3-4 states in India opt for elections each year. This undermines the operating of the union government because the regime in power cannot take robust selections because of the concern of a backlash within the next spherical of assembly election. Therefore co-occurring elections won't solely make sure that governments at the centre and therefore the states do their responsibilities in an exceedingly sleek manner however also curtail surplus election expenditure. The arrangement of co-occurring elections may be extended to the elections for the municipal companies and alternative Panchayati Raj establishments.

**Fixed tenure of electoral legislative bodies with no-confidence motion followed by a confidence motion**

This is often another move which will curtail the redundant election expenditure and at identical time guarantee stable governments at the centre and within the states. just in case none of the parties or coalition is in a position to make a government on its own, the members of the house ought to along elect associate degree government head among themselves and type a cupboard that has illustration from members of all political parties on the idea of the amount of seats they need secured within the elections.
Increase in the amount of security deposit
This move is critical to place a check on the amount of non-serious candidates contesting union and state assembly elections. Such a move has been taken within the past and has shown desired results. But in recent times, the amount of candidates fighting elections has shown associate increasing trend and thus there's a necessity to review the number of down payment.

Use of common electoral rolls within the union and state elections
This move can place a check on the cases of individuals finding their names missing within the electoral rolls. This happens as a result of completely different lists square measure ready by the commission of Asian nation for general elections and also the state election commissions for the elections of the state assemblies and native bodies. the hassle and expenditure that's concerned in creating 2 lists for similar purpose are going to be greatly reduced.

Deterrence against making false declarations in election affidavits
This can be done necessary to make sure transparency concerning the profile of candidates contesting elections, several of whom have criminal cases occurring against them on charges of grievous offence like kidnapping and murder. Anyone giving false info within the affidavits ought to be debarred from contesting elections for a minimum period of 5 years.

Allowing negative/neutral voting
This may permit a elector to precise his dissent by rejecting all the candidates contesting in his constituency if he finds none of them appropriate to be elective. Presently an oversized range of individuals don't attend the stall attributable to their disillusionment with the candidates place up by the political parties. This can be mirrored within the falling poll percentages. Democracy in India is reinforced if individuals participate in giant numbers within the electoral method and have a option to reject all the candidates rather than being forced to pick one who they assume is not capable than the others within the fray.

Registration of Political Parties
The party system is an essential feature of parliamentary democracy. However, there is no direct reference of political parties in the Constitution of India. The statutory law relating to registration of political parties was enacted in 1989 which was quite liberal. As a result, a large number of non-serious parties mushroomed and got registered with the Commission. Many of them did not contest elections at all after their registration. It led to confusion among electors as to whom to vote. To eliminate the mushrooming of parties, the EC had to take some rigorous steps. The Commission now registers a party which has at least 100 registered electors as its members and is also charging a nominal processing fee of Rs 10,000 to cover the administration expenses which it will have to incur on correspondence with the parties after their registration. In order to ensure that the registered political parties practice democracy in their internal functioning, the Commission requires them to hold their organizational elections regularly in accordance with their constitutions. The measures taken by the Election commission to streamline the registration of political parties have shown effective results. These have lessened the headache of the administrative machinery, as well as confusion of the electorate.

Checking Criminalization of Politics
Criminalization of politics is a grave problem in India. This menace began in Bihar and gradually spread to every nook and corner of the nation. In 2003, a law was introduced to
prohibit the election of criminals to the legislative bodies. However, persons with criminal background continue to hold seats in Parliament and State Assemblies. This leads to a very undesirable and embarrassing situation when law-breakers become law-makers and move around under police protection. During the 13th Lok Sabha elections candidates having criminal cases against them numbered 12 in Bihar and 17 in Uttar Pradesh. It has been rightly observed by J.P.Naik: “Power is the spoiler of men and it is more so in a country like India, where the hungry stomachs produce power hungry politicians.” The EC has expressed its serious concern over the entry of anti-social and criminal persons into the electoral arena. From time to time, it has set down norms and made recommendations to the government to curb the menace of criminalization of politics. The Commission has urged all political parties to reach a consensus that no person with a criminal background will be given the party ticket.

**Limits on Poll Expenses**

To get rid of the growing influence and vulgar show of money during elections, the EC has made many suggestions in this regard. The Commission has fixed legal limits on the amount of money which a candidate can spend during the elections campaign. These limits have been revised from time to time. During 2004 elections, the ceiling limits for Lok Sabha seats varied between Rs 10, 00,000 to Rs 25, 00,000. For Assembly seats, the highest limit was Rs 10, 00,000 and the lowest limit was Rs 5, 00,000. The EC, by appointing expenditure observers keeps an eye on the individual accounts of election expenditure made by a candidate during election campaign. The contestants are also required to give details of expenditure within 30 days of the declaration of the election results. However, political parties do not adhere to the financial Lakshaman Rekha (limits) as huge amounts are spent by parties under the garb of their supporters. Apart from this, the EC is also in favor of holding the Lok Sabha and the Assembly elections simultaneously, and to reduce the campaign period from 21 to 14 days. This, they feel, will lead to trim down the election expenditure. The Election commission’s attempt to impose these measures has been a move in the right direction.

**Conclusion**

Over the years, the Election Commission has conducted a number of laudable electoral reforms to strengthen democracy and enhance the fairness of elections. These reforms are quite adequate and admirable. Undoubtedly, the election machinery, under the aegis of the EC, deserves credit for conducting elections in a free and fair manner. However, our system is still plagued by many vices. To win votes, political parties resort to foul methods and corrupt practices. Such maladies encourage the anti-social elements to enter the electoral fray. The problem is not lack of laws, but lack of their strict implementation. In order to stamp out these unfair tendencies, there is a need to strengthen the hands of the EC and to give it more legal and institutional powers. The EC must be entrusted with powers to punish the errant politicians who transgress and violate the electoral laws.

Our election commission tries its best to weed out the virus of malpractices. It is optimistic of strengthening and improving the working of democracy through free and fair elections. It has always devised better systems and is using advanced scientific technologies for maintaining the high reputation of the Indian elections. However, the success of reforms will largely depend upon the will of the political parties to adhere to and implement such reforms. An independent media and an enlightened public opinion have no substitute in pushing through reforms. If people vote according to their convictions and punish those who infract the rules, corrupt practices will automatically disappear. And this will go a long way towards enabling democracy to flourish and grow to its full capacity.
The Commission has taken several new initiatives in the recent past. Notable among these are, a scheme for use of State owned Electronic Media for broadcast/telecast by Political parties, checking criminalization of politics, computerization of electoral rolls, providing electors with Identity Cards, simplifying the procedure for maintenance of accounts and filling of the same by candidates and a variety of measures for strict compliance of Model Code of Conduct, for providing a level playing field to contestants during the elections.

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E- Governance through Panchayati Raj Institutions in Karnataka: Issues and Challenges

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Abstract
The fundamental objective of e-governance in India is to provide — S.M.A.R.T government; SMART being an acronym for — Simple, Moral, Accountable, Responsive and Transparent Government. The Government of India wanted to bring about improved service delivery through the Panchayats and enable greater accountability to the community through the use of ICT. The rural development programmes in India thereby Karnataka are executed and monitored by the 3-tier Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). The objective of these rural development programmes can be achieved only if the execution and monitoring can be done in more effective manner, which is possible only through the use of Information Communication Technology (ICT). The state government further believes in bringing in transparency, making need based, good quality and timely information available to all citizens and providing all services in an efficient and cost-effective way and identifying services on an online basis. The paper sets out to examine the different dimensions of the e-governance that the state government is trying to provide to the rural population through its various methods of e-participation. This paper tries to bring forth the issues and challenges being faced by the state government, the Panchayati Raj Institutions and the rural population in participating and governing through these e-tools of governance and will also assess the position of these tools by the different sections involved especially the implications of e-governance on the standards of transparency and accountability of the state in governance.

Keywords: E-Governance, PRIs, Karnataka

Introduction
The Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) in India are not only a legal recognition of the village institutions that have been in existence for ages in the country but are also a symbol of the existence and functioning of the democratic principles at the local rural level in the country and provide the local population with an opportunity to participate in the decision making process. In order to improve the managerial effectiveness and promotion of the democratic values and mechanisms in such a highly populated and vast country like India, intensive use of information technology for the provision of public services through E-Governance has been a huge asset (Gil-Garcia & Prado 2005). According to Abramson (2003) the governments at all the three tiers i.e. the centre, the state and the local bodies like Municipalities and PRIs are now leveraging information technology (IT) for governance.

Panchayati Raj Institutions in Karnataka
Karnataka is a pioneer state in decentralisation boasting of a fairly long and impressive history of decentralisation. It holds the distinction of institutionalising the democratically elected local government structures and providing political space for marginalised groups long before the parliament of India enacted the 1992 constitutional amendment act. The Karnataka Panchayat act of 1983 not only introduced a two-tier elected sub-state level governance structure but also provided 25 percent reservation for women in both these tiers. Due to the enactment of the 73rd and the 74th constitutional amendment acts which not only
provided a constitutional position to the PRIs but also introduced the three tier structure at the Gram, Taluk and District levels. It further which provided 33 percent reservation for women and brought about considerable changes in the existing act of 1983 and thus a new act was passed in 1993. The first elections to PRIs in Karnataka had already been held in the year 1987.

**E-Governance**

E-Governance is a “form of e-business in governance and refers to the processes and structures needed to deliver electronic services to the public (citizens and businesses), collaborate with business partners and to conduct electronic transactions within an organisational entity” (Backus 2001). The objective of e-governance is to support and simplify governance for all the parties involved i.e. the government, the citizens and the businesses. The use of ICT not only connects all the above mentioned three parties but also supports processes and activities. In other words, e-governance uses electronic means to support and stimulate good governance. The three main target groups in e-governance are government, citizens and businesses/interest groups.

**E-Governance in Karnataka**

The importance given to e-Governance in the state of Karnataka can very well be ascertained by the fact that a separate department for e-Governance was created in 2003, within the Department of Personnel and Administrative reforms (DPAR). The main aim behind the move was to plan and leverage the ICT for the benefit of common man of the state. Creation of this department as part of administrative reforms is a result of the strong conviction of the state government that e-Governance is a necessary tool to bring about administrative reforms. The department draws a policy framework, hence setting the vision and guidelines for e-Governance projects in the state. It is also tasked with the creation of administrative framework for approval of e-Governance projects of the entire department; technical assistance to other departments for taking up e-Governance projects; creation and maintenance of core e-infrastructure that can be used by departments for planning and implementing e-Governance initiatives and development and promotion of common standards in designing of e-Governance projects throughout the state of Karnataka.

**Advantages of E-Governance**

- It offers speediness in administration work.
- It provides efficient and effective documentation of each step in administration / government services.
- It provides transparency in administration.
- It creates a strong bridge between public and government there by reducing the existing gap between them.
- It provides the people a friendly and comfortable environment for interaction with the governmental agencies anytime and anywhere with minimum effort.
- It ensures accountability in administration.
- It reduces corruption in administration.
- It provides paperless offices and hence saves resources and money.
- It maintains consistency and integrates decision making.
- It plays a vital role in policy making.
- It enables the government to work better, yield higher revenue growth with less costs.
Various E-governance initiatives of the Government of Karnataka pertaining to the local rural population

Samanya Mahiti: This project is a general information system on the basic amenities available in the villages of Karnataka. It is running at the National Informatics Centre (NIC) of the state government under the Department of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj. It provides data pertaining to 400 parameters categorised into 21 sectors.

Aasthi Terige (Property Tax): This project provides a system for computerisation of the property tax calculation and collection in the Gram Panchayats. It has been implemented. Under this project an authorised person can fix the Annual Rental Value which results in calculation of the property tax automatically based on pre-defined rates of each property. It also provides computerised printing of demand notes and notices. The tax collection is also done through cash counters. It provides local language support and is a transparent system.

There are various other e-governance projects related to different aspects of governance under various departments like eman, Mukhyavahini, Ahara, Bhoomi, Sarathi and Vahan, etc. also running in the state.

Nemmadi: It is an E-governance Project to deliver government services to the citizens at the Village level i.e. creating Virtual Offices of Government at Village Level. Its an Initiative by Government of Karnataka with Public private partnership, by creating a network of Telecentres at Village, hobli level. It will deliver Government to Citizen (G2C) and Business to Consumer (B2C) services. The objectives of the project are firstly, to provide efficient and smart virtual offices of state government in all the villages. Secondly, provide copies of land records and other citizen centric services of the revenue department in a convenient and efficient manner through village Telecentres across rural Karnataka. Thirdly, operations to cover all other G2C services of all the departments. Fourthly, to enhance the accountability, transparency and responsiveness of the government to citizen’s needs. Fifthly, to provide government departments and agencies means of efficient and cost effective methods of service delivery to citizens. Sixthly, to manage the delivery of services through PPP model. Lastly, to enable government departments and agencies to focus on their core functions and responsibilities by freeing them from the routine operations like issuing of certificates, land records, collection of utility bills of citizens and thereby enhancing the overall productivity of the administrative machinery. The services provided are: Some of the G2C services like Land records, caste, income, residence, birth and death certificates. B2C services like Utility payments of Private companies...ESCOM bill payments, etc. to name a few. The benefits of this project are: Single Window System which covers all the Government services to citizens. There is no need for written application to be submitted for any service. The service charges to be uniform and minimal in order to cater to the economically backward strata. It plans to cover all the taluks and Villages so that citizens can avail services at doorstep.

Issues and Challenges faced by the state government, the PRIs and the local population

Role of politics: In a country like India where various regional and national parties fight it out for political power specially in politically significant states like Karnataka due to their huge number of seats both in the state assembly and the Lok Sabha it becomes a cause of concern when even good e-governance initiatives either tend to not take off or fall a victim to the ever present need among political leaders to take all credit for the success of a good e-governance initiative.

Lack of IT education in the rural areas or the “Digital Divide”: Regardless of Karnataka doing really well in e-governance, a vast number of the local population in the villages lacks knowledge in IT. For the success of e-governance knowledge about ICT is necessary and as the above mentioned e-governance projects cater to the local population of gram panchayats
where forget IT knowledge even the basic literacy rate is low too. Hence, it poses a huge challenge and problem to the government to get people ready to avail to e-governance. And even in the above mentioned rural population it is the senior citizens and the women who are the most lacking in IT knowledge mostly either due to lack of opportunities to learn IT skills or their fear of technology. These two backward groups still need a lot of working upon to make e-governance successful in the true sense.

Lack of awareness regarding e-governance: For the success of any projects run by the state government under e-governance it becomes highly essential that the population it caters too should have awareness about it. One of the biggest challenges faced by the government is to create awareness among the masses so that they not only avail the tools provided to them under e-governance but if a large part of the local population avails these tools the government also benefits by coming to know the short comings of their projects and programmes. Financial burden: Introduction of e-governance tools not only brings about ease of access to the common man regarding various administrative works but also gives them a chance at transparency and accountability. But this ease is very expensive. The finances needed for successfully running these e-governance programmes are very high and many times due to budgets crunch these projects suffer and many of them either don’t see the light of the day or end abruptly. And if eventually they do run the government needs to keep on pumping money into them forever due to the technological upgradation that is needed from time to time and the costs also add up due to the regular servicing of these services as they are used by a large number of people.

Security of Information: Due to the advancement of technology with time, it is fast becoming a boon and a bane. All these e-governance projects contain a lot of confidential information which if made public has the ability to jeopardise not only the lives of individuals using these services but even the very existence of the administration and the government. Hence, in this era of hacking and online scams the issue of security of information poses a huge challenge. Any breach of security at any level of the e-governance can ruin not only the project but the credibility of the government including the PRIs in the eyes of the common people. Lack of research support and skills: E-governance needs a lot of research support in order to firstly run and secondly run successfully. In addition to standard IT delivery and programme/project management skills, transformational e-Government programmes require a rich mix of broader skills like in change management, process mapping and redesign, channel management and marketing and communications. The failure to identify and manage these special skill requirements is a key programme risk and many times due to the stubbornness of the administrative officers involved in the running of these projects people with these special skills are either not hired or if hired not allowed to work properly.

Skills updating and focus on reorientation of existing employees: The capacity building of skills becomes highly essential for the success of e-governance today. The whole intent behind using the tax payer’s money for automating service delivery and enhancing government processes will be questioned by the tax payer if it does not turn out to be successful. The reason which ultimately leads to this question is the way that the government departments operate and the capability of the departments to absorb the complexity of managing these technology decisions i.e. the making and execution of these decisions. This actually calls for a major re-look at the reorientation and capability building of the skillets of the employees in different government departments under which the various e-governance projects are being run to ensure an easier change management. In a scenario where a large number of government employees still are not techno savvy from the lowest levels of PRIs s
to the highest level of administration rolling-out of successful e-governance programs is a major challenge.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, we can say that though Karnataka has been courting huge success in the arena of e-governance as compared to most of the other Indian states but there is no dearth of issues or challenges facing the successful run of e-governance in the state. E-governance brings governments and citizens closer together by eliminating/reducing various levels involved in providing services and information and improving the delivery and quality, besides bringing transparency (Bedi & Srivastava 2002). The state government and the PRIs have to take care that the right kind of projects are initiated and the welfare of the common man should be the principle that drives these initiatives, only then can Karnataka keep its success rate in ICTs stable in future.

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