**Class: B.A Semester 6 Course No. 1POLDE0602**

**Subject: Political Science Credit: 6**

**DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE IN INDIA**

**Course material created by Dr. Harmeet Singh (NET, JRF, M.phil, P.hd)**

**The syllabus of this course includes 5 units out of which 3 units completed earlier. The last two unit’s syllabus is mentioned below and all this material is updated on GCR with code 4yn2xvg**

Unit IV Regulatory and Lobbying Institutions

4.1 Role of SEBI and TRAI in Indian Democracy.

4.2 Role of Pressure and Interest Groups: Chamber of Commerce and Industries and Trade Unions.

4.3 Role of Farmers’ Associations and Student’s Organizations in Indian Democracy.

4.4 Impact of RTI Act of 2005 on Indian Democracy.

Unit V Dynamics of Civil Society

5.1New Social Movements in India: Environmental and Feminist Movements in India.

5.2 Civil Society, Market and State in India since 1991.

5.3 E-Governance in Indian Democracy: Role, Functions and Limitations.

5.4 Transparency and Accountability in Governance, need and significance.

**4.1 Role of SEBI and TRAI in Indian Democracy**

**SEBI – Securities and Exchange Board of India**

SEBI plays an important role in regulating all the players operating in the Indian capital markets. It attempts to protect the interest of investors and aims at developing the capital markets by enforcing various rules and regulations.

This article on SEBI covers the following:

1. [What is SEBI?](https://cleartax.in/s/sebi#what)
2. [Structure of SEBI](https://cleartax.in/s/sebi#str)
3. [Functions of SEBI](https://cleartax.in/s/sebi#fun)
4. [Authority and Power of SEBI](https://cleartax.in/s/sebi#auth)
5. [Mutual Fund Regulations by SEBI](https://cleartax.in/s/sebi#mf)
6. [SEBI Notifications](https://cleartax.in/s/sebi#sebi)
7. [Mutual Funds and SEBI](https://cleartax.in/s/sebi#mfse)
8. [SEBI Guidelines on Mutual Funds Reclassification](https://cleartax.in/s/sebi#guide)

**1. What is SEBI?**

SEBI is a statutory regulatory body established on the 12th of April, 1992. It monitors and regulates the Indian capital and securities market while ensuring to protect the interests of the investors formulating regulations and guidelines to be adhered to. The head office of SEBI is in Bandra Kurla Complex, Mumbai.

**2. Structure of SEBI**

SEBI has a corporate framework comprising various departments each managed by a department head. There are about 20+ departments under SEBI. Some of these departments are corporation finance, economic and policy analysis, debt and hybrid securities, enforcement, human resources, investment management, commodity derivatives market regulation, legal affairs, and more.

The hierarchical structure of SEBI consists of the following members:

* The chairman of SEBI is nominated by the Union Government of India.
* Two officers from the Union Finance Ministry will be a part of this structure.
* One member will be appointed from the Reserve Bank of India.
* Five other members will be nominated by the Union Government of India.

**3. Functions of SEBI**

* SEBI is primarily set up to protect the interests of investors in the securities market.
* It promotes the development of the securities market and regulates the business.
* SEBI provides a platform for stockbrokers, sub-brokers, portfolio managers, investment advisers, share transfer agents, bankers, merchant bankers, trustees of trust deeds, registrars, underwriters, and other associated people to register and regulate work.
* It regulates the operations of depositories, participants, custodians of securities, foreign portfolio investors, and credit rating agencies.
* It prohibits inner trades in securities, i.e. fraudulent and unfair trade practices related to the securities market.
* It ensures that investors are educated on the intermediaries of securities markets.
* It monitors substantial acquisitions of shares and take-over of companies.
* SEBI takes care of research and development to ensure the securities market is efficient at all times.

**4. Authority and Power of SEBI**

The SEBI has three main powers:

**i. Quasi-Judicial:** SEBI has the authority to deliver judgments related to fraud and other unethical practices in terms of the securities market. This helps to ensure fairness, transparency, and accountability in the securities market.

**ii. Quasi-Executive:** SEBI is empowered to implement the regulations and judgments made and to take legal action against the violators. It is also authorized to inspect Books of accounts and other documents if it comes across any violation of the regulations.

**iii. Quasi-Legislative:** SEBI reserves the right to frame rules and regulations to protect the interests of the investors. Some of its regulations consist of insider trading regulations, listing obligation, and disclosure requirements. These have been formulated to keep malpractices at bay.

Despite the powers, the results of SEBI’s functions still have to go through the Securities Appellate Tribunal and the Supreme Court of India.

**5. Mutual Fund Regulations by SEBI**

Some of the regulations for mutual funds laid down by SEBI are:

1. A sponsor of a mutual fund, an associate or a group company, which includes the asset management company of a fund, through the schemes of the mutual fund in any form cannot hold:
(a)10% or more of the shareholding and voting rights in the asset management company or any other mutual fund.
(b)An asset management company cannot have representation on a board of any other mutual fund.
2. A shareholder cannot hold 10% or more of the shareholding directly or indirectly in the asset management company of a mutual fund.
3. No single stock can have more than 35% weight in the index for a sectoral or thematic index; the cap is 25% for other indices.
4. The cumulative weight of the top three constituents of the index cannot exceed 65%.
5. An individual constituent of the index should have a trading frequency of a minimum of 80%.
6. Funds must evaluate and ensure compliance to the norms at the end of every calendar quarter. The constituents of the indices must be made public by publishing it on their website.
7. New funds must submit their compliance status to SEBI before being launched.
8. All liquid schemes must hold a minimum of 20% in liquid assets such as government securities (G-Secs), repo on G-Secs, cash, and treasury bills.
9. A debt mutual fund can invest up to only 20% of its assets in one sector; previously the cap was 25%. The additional exposure to housing finance companies (HFCs) is updated to 15% from 10% and a 5% exposure on securitised debt based on retail housing loan and affordable housing loan portfolios.
10. As per SEBI’s recommendation, the amortisation is not the only method for evaluating debt and money market instruments. The market-to-market methodology is also used.
11. An exit penalty will be levied on investors of liquid schemes who exit the scheme within a period of seven days.
12. Mutual funds schemes must invest only in the listed non-convertible debentures (NCD). Any fresh investment in commercial papers (CPs) and equity shares are allowed in listed securities as per the guidelines issued by the regulator.
13. Liquid and overnight schemes are no longer allowed to invest in short-term deposits, debt, and money market instruments that have structured obligations or credit enhancements.
14. When investing in debt securities having credit enhancements, a minimum of four times security cover is mandatory for investing in mutual funds schemes. A prudential limit of 10% is prescribed on total investment by such schemes in debt and money market instruments.

**6. SEBI Notifications**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Date** | **Title** |
| **August 2, 2019** | [Streamlining issuance of SCORES Authentication for SEBI registered intermediaries](https://www.sebi.gov.in/legal/circulars/aug-2019/streamlining-issuance-of-scores-authentication-for-sebi-registered-intermediaries_43783.html) |
| **August 1, 2019** | [Database for Distinctive Number (DN) of Shares – Action against non-compliant companies](https://www.sebi.gov.in/legal/circulars/aug-2019/database-for-distinctive-number-dn-of-shares-action-against-non-compliant-companies_43776.html) |
| **August 1, 2019** | [Rationalisation of the imposition of fines for false/incorrect reporting of margins or non-reporting of margins by Trading Member/Clearing Member in all segments](https://www.sebi.gov.in/legal/circulars/aug-2019/rationalization-of-imposition-of-fines-for-false-incorrect-reporting-of-margins-or-non-reporting-of-margins-by-trading-member-clearing-member-in-all-segments_43775.html) |
| **July 26, 2019** | [Streamlining the Process of Public Issue of Equity Shares and convertibles- Implementation of Phase II of Unified Payments Interface with Application Supported by Block Amount](https://www.sebi.gov.in/legal/circulars/jul-2019/streamlining-the-process-of-public-issue-of-equity-shares-and-convertibles-implementation-of-phase-ii-of-unified-payments-interface-with-application-supported-by-block-amount_43703.html) |
| **July 26, 2019** | [Staggered Delivery Period in Commodity futures contracts](https://www.sebi.gov.in/legal/circulars/jul-2019/staggered-delivery-period-in-commodity-futures-contracts_43702.html) |
| **Jul 26, 2019** | [Guidelines for Liquidity Enhancement Scheme (LES) in Commodity Derivatives Contracts](https://www.sebi.gov.in/legal/circulars/jul-2019/guidelines-for-liquidity-enhancement-scheme-les-in-commodity-derivatives-contracts_43699.html) |

**7. Mutual Funds and SEBI**

Mutual funds are managed by Asset Management Companies (AMC), which need to be approved by SEBI. A Custodian who is registered with SEBI holds the securities of various schemes of the fund. The trustees of the AMC monitor the performance of the mutual fund and ensure that it works in compliance with SEBI Regulations.

The firm must be established as a separate AMC to offer mutual funds. The net worth of such parent firm or AMC must be Rs.50,000,000. Mutual funds dealing exclusively with money markets must register with the Reserve Bank of India (RBI); all other mutual funds must register with SEBI. Recently, a self-regulation agency for mutual funds has been set up called Association of Mutual Funds of India (AMFI).

The AMFI is focused on developing the Indian mutual fund industry with professional and ethical qualities. The AMFI aims to enhance the operational standards in all areas with a view to protect and promote mutual funds and its stakeholders.

Till date, there are 44 Asset Management Companies that are registered with SEBI and are members of AMFI. Some of them are Aditya Birla Sun Life AMC Limited, BNP Paribas Asset Management India Private Limited, Edelweiss Asset Management Limited, and Quant Money Managers Limited.

A sponsor of a mutual fund scheme, a group of the company or an associate, which involves AMC of the fund, cannot hold the following in any form:

* 10% or above of the voting rights and shareholding in the AMC or any other mutual fund scheme.
* An AMC cannot have representation on the board of any other mutual fund.
* Shareholders can’t hold more than 10% of the shares both directly and indirectly in AMC of the mutual fund.

**8. SEBI Guidelines on Mutual Funds Reclassification**

* Funds must be named based on the core intent of the fund and asset mix. It should specify the risk associated clearly.
* SEBI has suggested 16 for debt funds, 10 classifications for equity funds, 6 classifications for hybrid, 2 for solution funds, and 2 for index funds.
* SEBI has reclassified large-cap, mid-cap, and small-cap based on market cap relative rankings rather than absolute market cap cut-offs.
* The debt fund classification is prescribed based on the duration of the fund and the asset quality mix.
All categories except index funds can only have one fund per classification, i.e. an AMC can have a maximum of 34 funds other than index funds.

**II. What is TRAI?**

Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) is an independent regulatory body established by the Telecom ensuring the orderly growth of the telecom sector while protecting the interests of both telecom service providers and consumers. It encourages technological improvements and makes recommendations for how providers can improve efficiency and technical compatibility. To that end, TRAI establishes standards for quality of service (QoS) and supervises how service providers share revenue. TRAI also conducts periodical surveys to ensure that telecom service providers are acting in the best interest of consumers and are operating in compliance with universal service obligations.
Notwithstanding anything contained in the Indian Telegraph Act,1885,the functions of the Authority shall be to-
(a)make recommendations, either suo motu or on a request from the licensor, on the following matters, namely:
(i) need and timing for introduction of new service provider;
(ii) terms and conditions of license to a service provider;
(iii) revocation of license for non-compliance of terms and conditions of license:
(iv) measures to facilitate competition and promote efficiency in the operation of telecommunication services so as to facilitate growth in such services.
(v) technological improvements in the services provided by the service providers.
(vi) type of equipment to be used by the service providers after inspection of equipment used in the network.
(vii) measures for the development of telecommunication technology and any other matter relatable to telecommunication industry in general;
(viii) efficient management of available spectrum;
(b) discharge the following functions, namely:-
(i) ensure compliance of terms and conditions of license;
(ii) notwithstanding anything contained in the terms and conditions of the license granted before the commencement of the Telecom Regulatory Authority (Amendment) Ordinance,2000, fix the terms and conditions of inter-connectivity between the service providers;
(iii) ensure technical compatibility and effective inter-connection between different service providers.
(iv) regulate arrangement amongst service providers of sharing their revenue derived from providing telecommunication services;
(v) lay down the standards of quality of service to be provided by the service providers and ensure the quality of service and conduct the periodical survey of such service provided by the service providers so as to protect interest of the consumers of telecommunication services;
(vi) lay down and ensure the time period for providing local and long distance circuits of telecommunication between different service providers;
(vii) maintain register of interconnect agreements and of all such other matters as may be provided in the regulations;
(viii) keep register maintained under clause (viii) open for inspection to any member of public on payment of such fee and compliance of such other requirement as may be provided in the regulations;
(ix) ensure effective compliance of universal service obligations:
(c) levy fees and other charges at such rates and in respect of such services as may be determined by regulations.
(d) perform such other functions including such administrative and financial functions as may be entrusted to it by the Central Government or as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act:
Provided that the recommendations of the Authority specified in the clause (a) of this sub-section shall not be binding upon the Central Government:
Provided further that the Central Government shall seek the recommendations of the Authority in respect of matters specified in sub-clauses (i) and (ii) of clause (a) of this sub-section in respect of new licence to be issued to a service provider and the Authority shall forward its recommendations within a period of sixty days from the date on which that Government sought the recommendations:
Provided also that the Authority may request the Central Government to furnish such information or documents as may be necessary for the purpose of making recommendations under sub-clauses (i) and (ii) of clause (a) of this sub-section and that Government shall supply such information within a period of seven days from receipt of such request:
Provided also that the Central Government may issue a licence to a service provider if no recommendations are received from the Authority within the period of specified in the second provision or within such period as may be mutually agreed upon between the Central Government and the Authority.
Provided also that if the Central Government having considered that recommendation of the Authority comes to a prima facie conclusion that such recommendation cannot be accepted or needs modifications, it shall, refer the recommendations back to the Authority for its reconsideration, and the Authority may within fifteen days from the date of receipt of such reference, forward to the Central Government its recommendation after considering the reference made by the Government. After receipt of further recommendation, if any, the Central Government shall take a final decision.

**4.2 Role of Pressure and Interest Groups: Chamber of Commerce and Industries and Trade Unions.**

**Introduction**

* A pressure group is a group of people who are organized actively for promoting and defending their common interest. It is called so, as it attempts to bring a change in public policy by exerting pressure on the government. It acts as a liaison between the government and its members.
* The pressure groups are also called interest groups or vested groups. They are different from the political parties, as they neither contest elections nor try to capture political power. They are concerned with specific programmes and issues and their activities are confined to the protection and promotion of the interests of their members by influencing the government.
* The pressure groups influence the policy-making and policy implementation in the government through legal and legitimate methods like lobbying, correspondence, publicity, propagandising, petitioning, public debating, maintaining contacts with their legislators and so forth.

 **Techniques Used By Pressure Groups**

Pressure groups resort to three different techniques in securing their purposes.

**Electioneering**: Placing in public office persons who are favourably disposed towards the interests the concerned pressure group seeks to promote.

**Lobbying**: Persuading public officers, whether they are initially favourably disposed toward them or not, to adopt and enforce the policies that they think will prove most beneficial to their interests.

**Propagandizing**: Influencing public opinion and thereby gaining an indirect influence over government, since the government in a democracy is substantially affected by public opinion.

**Characteristics of Pressure Groups**

* 1. **Based on Certain Interests**: Each pressure group organises itself keeping in view certain interests and thus tries to adopt the structure of power in the political systems.
	2. **Use of Modern as well as Traditional Means:** They adopt techniques like financing of political parties, sponsoring their close candidates at the time of elections and keeping the bureaucracy also satisfied. Their traditional means include exploitation of caste, creed and religious feelings to promote their interests.
	3. **Resulting Out of Increasing Pressure and Demands on Resources:** Scarcity of resources, claims and counterclaims on the resources from different and competing sections of the society leads to the rise of pressure groups.
	4. **Inadequacies of Political Parties:** Pressure groups are primarily a consequence of inadequacies of the political parties.
	5. **Represent Changing Consciousness:** For instance the increase in the food production or industrial goods does bring a change in the way individuals and groups look at the world. The stagnation in production leads to fatalism but increase in production leads to demands, protests and formation of new pressure groups.

 **Types of Pressure Groups**

1. **Institutional Interest Groups:** These groups are formally organised which consist of professionally employed persons. They are a part of government machinery and try to exert their influence.These groups include political parties, legislatures, armies, bureaucracies, etc. Whenever such an association raises protest it does so by constitutional means and in accordance with the rules and regulations. Example: IAS Association, IPS Association, State civil services association, etc.
2. **Associational Interest Groups :** These are organised specialised groups formed for interest articulation, but to pursue limited goals. These include trade unions, organisations of businessmen and industrialists and civic groups. Some examples of Associational Interest Groups in India are Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Trade Unions such as AITUC (All India Trade Union Congress), Teachers Associations, Students Associations such as National Students Union of India (NSUI) etc.
3. **Anomic Interest Groups:** By anomic pressure groups we mean more or less a spontaneous breakthrough into the political system from the society such as riots, demonstrations, assassinations and the like.
4. **Non-Associational Interest Groups**: These are the kinship and lineage groups and ethnic, regional, status and class groups that articulate interests on the basis of individuals, family and religious heads. These groups have informal structure. These include caste groups, language groups, etc.

**Pressure Groups in India**

**Business Groups** – Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), Associated Chamber of Commerce and Industry of India (ASSOCHAM), Federation of All India Foodgrain Dealers Association (FAIFDA), etc

 **Trade Unions** – All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS), Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS) **Professional Groups** – Indian Medical Association (IMA), Bar Council of India (BCI), All India Federation of University and College Teachers (AIFUCT)

**Agrarian Groups**- All India Kisan Sabha, Bharatiya Kisan Union, etc

**Student’s Organisations**- Akhila Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), All India Students Federation (AISF), National Students Union of India (NSUI)

**Religious Groups** – Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS), Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Jamaat-e-Islami, etc.

**Caste Groups** – Harijan Sevak Sangh, Nadar Caste Association, etc

**Linguistic Groups** – Tamil Sangh, Andhra Maha Sabha, etc

**Tribal Groups** – National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), Tribal National Volunteers (TNU) in Tripura, United Mizo federal org, Tribal League of Assam, etc. **Ideology based Groups** – Narmada Bachao Andolan, Chipko Movement, Women's Rights Organisation, India Against Corruption etc.

 **Anomic Groups** - Naxalite Groups, Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), Dal Khalsa, etc.

 **Functions, Role & Importance of Pressure Groups**

 **Interest Articulation:** Pressure Groups bring the demands and needs of the people to the notice of the decision-makers. The process by which the claims of the people get crystallized and articulated is called interest articulation.

**Agents of Political Socialisation**: Pressure groups are agents of political socialisation in so far as they influence the orientations of the people towards the political process. These groups play a vital role as two-way communication links between the people and the government.

**Pressure groups play a vital role in the legislative process,** not only as important structures of interest articulation, but also as active agencies engaged in lobbying with the legislators for securing desired laws or amendments in laws and policies of the government. Right from the time of preparation of election manifestos of various political parties to the passing of laws by the legislators, the pressure groups remain associated with the process of rule-making.

**Pressure Groups and Administration:** Pressure Groups are actively involved with the process of administration. Through lobbying with the bureaucracy, the pressure groups are usually in a position to influence the process of policy implementation.

**Role in Judicial Administration**: Pressure Groups try to use the judicial system for securing and safeguarding their interests. Interest groups often seek access to the court for redressal of their grievances against the government as well as for getting declared a particular decision or policy as unconstitutional.

**Pressure groups play a leading role in the formulation of public opinion**. Each pressure group is continuously engaged in evaluating all such laws, rules, decisions and policies which have a direct or indirect bearing on the interests it represents. It always places the pros and cons not only before its members but also before the general public for eliciting popular support as well as for catching the attention of the government. They try to gain public support and sympathy for their goals and their activity by carrying out information campaigns, organising meetings, file petitions, etc. Most of these groups try to influence the media into giving attention to these issues.

**Pressure groups help in improving the quality of government** Consultation with affected groups is the rational way to make decisions in a free society. It makes government more efficient by enhancing the quality of the decision making process – the information and advice provided by these groups helps to improve the quality of government policy and legislation. Freely operating pressure groups are essential to the effective functioning of liberal democracy. They serve as a vital intermediary institutions between government and society; They assist in the dispersal of political power; They provide important counterweights to balance the concentration of power. Pressure groups enable new concerns and issues to reach the political agenda, thereby facilitating social progress and preventing social stagnation. For example, the women’s and environmentalist movements.

 **Pressure groups increase social cohesion and political stability by providing a ‘safety-valve’ outlet for individual and collective grievances and demands**. Pressure groups complement the work of opposition political parties by exposing the bad policies and wrongdoings of the government. Pressure groups thereby improve the accountability of decision makers to electorates. Pressure groups help to educate people, compile data and provide specific information to policy makers, thus they work as an informal source of information. Active constructive participation of numerous groups in polity helps to reconcile general interest with individual group interests.

**Shortcomings of Pressure Groups**

**Narrow selfish interests**: Unlike the pressure groups in the developed countries of the West, where these are invariably organised to safeguard economic, social, cultural interests, etc. in India these groups are organised around religious, regional and ethnic issues. Many a time factors of caste and religion eclipse the socioeconomic interests. The result is that instead of serving a useful purpose in the political administrative process, they are reduced to work for narrow selfish interests.

**Misuse of power:** Instead of the pressure groups exerting influence on political process, they become tools and implements to subserve political interests.

**Instability**: Most pressure groups do not have autonomous existence; they are unstable and lack commitment, their loyalties shift with political situations which threatens general welfare. They many a times resort to unconstitutional means like violence. Naxalite movement started in 1967 in West Bengal is one such example.

**Propagating extremism**: Pressure groups can allow too much influence over the government from unelected extremist minority groups, which in turn could lead to unpopular consequences.

**Conclusion**

Pressure groups are now considered as an indispensable and helpful element of the democratic process. The society has become highly complex and individuals cannot pursue their interests on their own. They need the support of other fellow beings in order to gain greater bargaining power; this gives rise to pressure groups based on common interests. Democratic politics has to be politics through consultation, through negotiation and some amount of bargaining is also involved. Thus, it is very essential for the government to consult these organised groups at the time of policy formulation and implementation.

**4.3 Role of Farmers’ Associations and Student’s Organizations in Indian Democracy.**

<https://www.drishtiias.com/pdf/farmer-producer-bodies-need-help.pdf>

<https://www.slideshare.net/facegopi/farmers-organizationsfarmers-associations-in-india> go through these links.

**Farmers Association**

Introduction• Extension system has the major responsibility of Transfer of Technology (TOT) generated from research system to farmers system• The TOT was going on at the expected speed right from the inception of Community Development Project and National Extension Service followed by Training and Visit system• In the recent years, serious observations have been made from many eminent personalities and they felt that the extension system has failed to achieve remarkable results. Excluding the leave period, holidays, an extension worker attends office for about 250 days in a year Source: Gautam et al, 2006. Agricultural Extension in India: A Journey since 1952 .¬ At least 50 percent of the time goes for administrative work, official correspondence, reports and travel to reach villages ¬ At least, 25 percent of extension workers are administrations /supervisors.• Real problem is decline in the manpower engaged in carrying out the extension work across the country more so in the public extension systems• The extension worker: farmer ratio is very wide in India i.e. 1: 1000.

 Impact of climate change and many related issues17/11/2012 5♣ Exploitation by middlemen in market ♣ Market issues i.e. price variation ♣ Non availability of labour and costly wages ♣ Non-availability and untimely supply of agricultural inputs (seeds, fertilizers, pesticides etc. ) ♣ Delay in dissemination of technology and obtaining feedback from farmers ♣ The problems faced by farmers are: ¬ The per acre income from majority of crops and enterprises is continuously decreasing due to steep increase in cost of production¬Problems Faced by Farmers in India

Farmers Organizations• The purpose of establishing Farmers’ Organization (FOs) is to internalize extension services for its members and provide: – Backward linkage (input, credit and technology) – Forward linkage (production facilities, market and value addition).• The FOs provide an effective channel for both dissemination of technology to large number of small and marginal farmers and feedback to research and extension.

Hardly 5-10% farmers are Progressive, Educated, Self-Moving and innovative¬ Around 60 per cent of people depends on agriculture in India¬ Agriculture is the largest unorganized sector in India¬Why to Organize Farmers into groupszin India > Farmers don’t have any vibrant model to organize themselves and link with the market(SOURCE: NSSO-2010).¬40% Rural Youth is out of Farming

Previous Attempt to Organize Farmers During 1970s, India has introduced “Dairy Cooperatives” and it is successful 60 per cent of milk produced in the country sold through organized milk producers cooperatives. Provides supplementary income to over 70 per cent of rural and urban households.

Current Attempts to Organize Farmer in India• ATMA Organize farmers into groups (FIGs and CIGs)• Innovation in Technology Dissemination (ITD) and NATP evaluating success stories and replicating the models• NGOs, PRIs organizing farmers groups• NABARD organizing farmers into SHGs and farmers clubs• Line departments forming producer groups through different commodity boards• SAUs through KVKs

Objectives of Seminar • To understand the concept of Farmers’ Organization 1 (FO). • To study the role of extension in promotion of FOs 2 • To know the steps in establishing FOs 3 • To review case studies related to FOs

Concept of Farmers Organizations (FOs) Farmers Organizations Farmers’ organizations are groups of rural producers coming together based on the principle of membership, to pursue specific common interests of their members and developing technical and economic activities that benefit their members and maintaining relations with partners operating in their economic and institutional environment (Anonymous.2004).

(FAO,2006) Farmers’ Organizations (FOs) are essential institutions for the empowerment, poverty alleviation and advancement of farmers and the rural poor.

[.](https://image.slidesharecdn.com/gopaly-mseminar-130110125628-phpapp01/95/farmers-organizationsfarmers-associations-in-india-13-638.jpg?cb=1357822766)National Commission on Farmers (NCF), 2004. “Farmers’ organizations should be promoted to combine the advantages of decentralized production and centralized services, post-harvest management, value addition and marketing”

International Fund for Agricultural Development-2004 (IFAD) • In rural areas, farmers’ organizations (FOs) are the nearest and often only institutions providing essential goods and services to the rural poor and helping them to break out from the poverty cycle • FOs reduces the risk - individual farmers face during seasonal shocks. FOs also helps to mobilize capital and contribute to the growth of the local economySource: IFAP. 2004., IFAP Recommendations for eliminating rural poverty and achieving food security, 36th Worald 17/11/2012 14 Farmers’ Congress, 29th May – 4th June 2004, Washington DC.

Farmers Organizations• Farmers’ groups• FIGs• CIGs• Cooperatives• Farmers’ associations• Federations• SHGs• Farmers’ unions• Agricultural cooperatives owned and controlled by the members• Chambers of agriculture with a general assembly elected by farmers17/11/2012 15

 Welfare services etc.¬ Education services (business skills, health, general)¬ Technology services (education and extension)¬ Financial services (savings, loans and other forms of credit),¬ Marketing services (input supply, output marketing and processing, market information)¬The services provided by farmers’ organizations

Social support system Generation and Management of financial resources¬ Improving members economic and social situation¬ Space for participation¬Benefits of Farmers Organizations

**Types of Farmers Organizations (F**Os) According to CHAMALA and MORTISS (1990) Farmer organizations can be grouped into two types:1. Community based and resource-orientated organizations 2. Commodity based and market-orientated organizations

1. **Community Based and Resource-Orientated Organization**; This type could be a village level cooperative or association dealing with inputs needed by the members, the resource owners, to enhance the productivity of their businesses based on land, water, or animals.Ex. 1. Agriculture Cooperative society 2. Farmers Club 3. Self Help Groups 4. Farmers interest groups

2**. Commodity-Based, Market- orientated Farmer Organizations** These organizations specialize in a single commodity and opt for value-added products, which have expanded markets. They are designated as output-dominated organizations. Not specific to any single communityEx. 1. Jack growers association 2. Grape growers association 3. Onion growers association 4. Rural Biofuel growers association etc

**Role of extension in promotion of Farmers Organizations**

The role of extension vary with the role of the FOs, the sectors in which the organization operates, the services offered, and the organizational form used. The role of Extension in promotion of Farmers Organizations (Chamala, 1990) : (1) Empowerment Role (2) Community-Organizing Role (3) Human Resource Development Role (4) Problem-Solving and Education Role.

1**. Empowerment Role.•** The role extension is to help farmers and rural communities organize themselves and take charge (empowerment) of their growth and development.• The idea here is Releasing the latent energy hidden in the community and building collective actions for the common good, rather than from merely redistributing power from the haves to the have-nots.

2. **Community-Organizing Role.•** Extension workers must learn the principles of community- organizing and group management skills• Understanding the structure of community will help extension worker to plan, implement, and monitor their programmes• Skills required for extension worker are – Conflict resolution – Negotiation – Persuasive communication help to develop FO leaders and members.

**3. Human Resource Development Role.•** Development of technical capabilities of members and it must be combined with management capability• The idea is – Encouraging rural communities to understand their personal and group styles of managing themselves – To improve their planning, implementation, and monitoring skills17/11/2012 24

**4. Problem-Solving and Education Role•** Role is prescribing technical solutions to empowering FOs to solve their own problems• Education role is training farmers on learning by doing approach.

**STEPS IN ESTABLISHING FARMER ORGANIZATIONS**

1. Understanding the village community-(need and problems)

2. Identifying potential leaders in the community

3. Talking to the identified leaders and seeking cooperation from others

4. Helping local leaders to call community meetings

5. Establishment the FO (selection of leaders in group)Source: CHAMALA, S., 1990, Establishing a group: A participative action model. Brisbane: Academic Press. P. 13-38

6. Developing an organizational structure for the FO (selection of management)

7. Developing the FOs management through education and action learning

8. Gearing up for action (planning)

9. Implementing selected activities (actual start of activtities)

10. Monitoring and evaluating the FOs progress.

**CASE STUDIES OF SUCCESSFUL FARMERS’ ORGANIZATIONS IN INDIA**

Farmers interest groups

Onion growers association etc¬ Grape growers association ¬ Jack growers association ¬ Rural Biofuel growers association ¬ Commodity based and market-orientated organizations ¬ Agriculture Cooperative society ¬ Innovative Farmers Club ¬Selection of case studies Types of farmers organizations (Chamala, 1990)1. Community based and resource-orientated organizations

Now 144 farmers clubs have been established in 144 villages with 3168 volunteers (farmers).¬ Initially started with of 60 farmers (members) in three villages¬ Financial assistance from NABARD¬ The Innovative Farmers Club was established during 1996 by KVK, Babaleshwar, Ahmednagar district in Maharashtra¬Innovative Farmers Club

**Functions of the Farmers’ Club** Interface with subject matter specialists of various fields of agriculture and allied activities Coordinate with banks to ensure credit flow among its members and forge better bank borrower relationship Liaison with Corporate input suppliers to purchase bulk inputs on behalf of members Organize/facilitate joint activities like value addition, processing, collective farm produce marketing.

Capacity Building of Group• 50 master trainers on different commodities were trained by KVK• Presently there are resource persons for 15 crops like fig, grapes, organic farming, guava, tomato, sugarcane, rose, pomegranate, etc• The mobile number of the master trainers will be given to the Farmers Clubs so that the master trainer can be contacted wherever need arises17/11/2012 34

**Use of IT services** Financial Empowerment¬ Farmers Club Prepares Village Action Plan¬ Self-employment Generation through Club¬ Diversification in the Existing Enterprise¬ Improving Productivity through Technology Transfer Clubs (TTC).¬Achievements of Farmers Clubs

**Achievements of Farmers Clubs**

 Collective purchases and marketing done by 18 farmers clubs on vegetable, flowers, fruits with the brand name of SRIRAM • Saving 10-15 per cent in input cost and getting 20-25 per cent more in market prices• Export quality production of pomegranate and grapes by 20 farmers clubs• Messaging system through cell phones provided by 30 farmers clubs.

**CASE STUDY II COMMODITY BASED ASSOCIATIONS ESTABLISHED UNDER RBRC, UAS, BANGALORE.**

Rural Bio-Resource Complex (RBRC) Model, UAS, Bangalore April 2005 to March 2010 Number of families :8340Number of Villages : 75, Tubagere HobliGeographical area : 13990 hectares Cultivated area: 9469 hectares Enhanced Net Income : 3 foldsAgricultural Growth Rate: 11 percentMandate: To increase farmers’ income and living standards by 17/11/2012 38 way of addressing end-to-end issues.

Special Features of the Project Profitable and Sustainable Technologies Information Support System Providing Quality Critical SPECIAL FEATURES Inputs OF THE PROJECT Effective Functional Linkage Marketing Support Start of Commodity Producers Associations.

Finally, it was decided to form commodity based producers associations to address the marketing issues.♣It was not a viable proposition to many small and marginal families most of them belonged to nucleus family.¬Transportation and handling of smaller quantity to market resulted in increased overhead charges. ¬Earlier the farmers were linked to market their produce through HOPCOMS, SAFAL, APMC and RELIANCE to get better price. ¬NEED FOR STARTFOR STARTING COMMODITY REASONS OF COMMODITY BASED ASSOCIATIONS BASED ASSOCIATIONS• Before the RBRC project ,the farmers in the project areas were getting low price for their produce.

Commodity Producers Associations1. Rural Biofuel Growers Association, Hadonahally2. Chawki Rearing Centres (Two Numbers)-Gulya, Gangasundra3. Organic Farming Farmers Association, Karnala4. Flower Growers Association, Hadonahally5. Jack Growers Association, kachahalli6. Corn Growers Association, Hadonahally7. Federation of Women SHGs, Tubagere8. Fish Farmers Association, Tubagere9. Fruits & Vegetables Growers Association, Hadonahally10. Agro Processing Centre, Melekote .

Supports indirectly the landless labours and others17/11/♣ Provide opportunities for all categories of interested farmers♣ Accommodate gender concerns♣ Direct marketing / marketing with minimized intermediaries♣ Resource sharing including equipment and infrastructure♣ Autonomy / flexibility inbuilt in the system♣Commodity Based Associations v/s Cooperative Societies.

**CASE 2 RURAL BIOFUEL GROWERS ASSOCIATION, HADONAHALLY**

Loan from Corporation Bank -Rs.6.00 lakhs17/11/2012 44

♣ Seed money by RBRC – Rs.2.00 lakh.

♣ Biofuel growers -120 members - Rs.500

♣ Each Director Rs.10,000/- as membership- cum-deposit

♣ Members: 49 MPCSs - Rs.2, 000/- each.♣ Registered - January 2007

♣Rural Biofuel Growers Association, Hadonahally (R)

 Procurement

♣ Procurement of seeds – 49 MPCSs in 75 villages

♣Functional Linkages of Association & Major Bio fuel species – Pongamia, neem and castor

♣ The initial cost of establishment of extraction plant is Rs. 7 lakhs

 ♣processing – March, 2008

**Phases in the model**

1. Promotion and production of biofuel feed stock

2. Procurement of seeds from farmers

3. Processing of seeds and oil expelling

4. Marketing of oil and cake.

Functional Linkages of Association• Corporation Bank• Karnataka State Department of Agriculture• Karnataka State Road Transport Corporation• Indian Institute of Plantation Management• Karnataka State Forest Department• Local Krishi Vigyan Kendra• University of Agricultural Sciences, Bangalore.

Increased area under biofuel plantation (2.10 lakh seedlings)¬ Availability of biofuel seedlings in each panchayat limits¬ Reduction of overhead charges¬ Availability of high quality cake to the farmers locally¬ Availability of fresh and quality oil locally¬ Direct procurement ensured correct measurement and assured price (2.5 times more)¬Direct Benefits: Rural Biofuel Growers Association (R)

Economic Analysis of Biofuel Extraction Plant (From 3.3.2009 to 25.8.2010) Seeds Cost of Yield (kg) Income (Rs.) Bio Fuel crushed seeds Net Plant Oil Cake Oil Cake Gross (kg) (Rs.) incomePongamia 39,025 5,85,375 9756 27,317 4,03,436 3,47,742 7,51,178 1,65,803Neem 100 1000 8 70 480 1400 1880 880Castor\* 350 7000 7500 500 5,61,728 9764 27,387 4,03,916 3,49,142 6,31,053 1,67,183 Other operational cost (electricity, labour, Bank Interest, etc.) 1,02,183 Net profit 65,000 \* Castor seeds were procured @ Rs.20/kg & sold the seeds by keeping Rs.500 as profit

**CASE STUDY-3Tubagere Hobli Jack Growers Association, Kachahalli**

A total of 15,956 seedlings were raised and sold and generated an income of Rs. 2,39,34017/11/2012 51

♣ Byelaws formed and related activities have been taken up

♣ Organization of Jack Melas

♣ Total members : 65

♣ The office bearers includes six Directors

♣ Jack Growers Association was mooted during April 2007

♣Jack Growers Association

Model for Tubagere Hobli Jack Grower’s Association Milk Producers Cooperative MARKETING HOPCOMS Societies SAFAL Direct Marketing PROCUREMENT UAS RBRC– KVK Empowerment JGA Jack Value Addition Growers Flakes, Seeds, Pulp Scope for Corporate interface17/11/2012 52

Emphasize♣ The procurement of fruits were done through MPCSs♣ Never realized the multi-utility of jack trees / fruitsAfter the formation of Association♣ The farmers were selling jack fruits @ Rs. 30-50 per fruit♣ 5000 jack fruit trees in the project area♣Benefits of Jack Growers AssociationBefore the formation of Association The income realized by individual farmer varies from Rs.3000 to Rs. 71,800 thus earning more than 100 per cent more. 17/11/2012 53♣ Promoted value added jack products♣ Selling price rose up to Rs. 800 per fruit♣d for grading and quality of fruits

**JACK FRUIT MELA – 2011 AT LALBAUGH**

Income derived from the sale of Jack Fruits in different Jack melas organized by Jack Growers Association (5 years) Jack Melas (8) No. of Quantity of Cumulative participants fruits sold Income realized (tons) (Rs)2007 (SS.Ghati) 12 15 23,5002008 (Hadonahally) 15 11 18,5002009 (Lalbagh, Bangalore) 22 18 53,0002010 (GKVK, Bangalore) 20 12 23,7002011(Lalbagh, Bangalore) 25 30 1,69,4402012Lalbagh, Bangalore 30 35 3,45,300Hebbal, Bangalore 13 8 35,800Total 129 6,69,240 17/11/2012 55

Income derived from the sale of jack seedlings in 3 years Name of the farmer Village 2008 2009-10 Total No.of Amount No.of Amount Amount plants (Rs) plants (Rs) (Rs) Muniyappa Kachahalli 1700 25,500 - - 25,500 Narasimhamurthy Kachahalli 1306 19,590 19,590 Miniyappa Kachahalli 500 7500 7500 K.Narasimiah Kachahalli 1000 15,000 - - 15,000 Ravikumar M.G Melekote 1200 18,000 1050 15750 33,750 Ambareesh Bachahalli - - 1000 15,000 15,000 M.Nagendra Tapasihalli 2000 30,000 - - 30,000 Sadananda Tapasihalli 1500 22,500 400 6000 28,500 K.Marappa Karanala 1500 22,500 2300 34,500 57,000 K.Nanjegowda Karanala 500 7500 7,500 Total 8,900 1,33,500 7056 1,05,840 2,39,34017/11/2012 56

JACK FRUIT MELA – 2011 AT LALBAUGH

PACKING & BRANDING OF JACK FRUIT FLAKES17/11/2012 SALE OF JACK SEEDLINGS / GRAFTS 58

**CONCLUSION**

The vast majority of small and marginal farmers in India lack an effective voice in influencing research and extension priorities• A key factor in empowering them is through organizing farmers into functional groups such as Self Help Groups (SHGs), Farmer Interest Groups (FIGs), Commodity Associations (CAs) and other types of farmers’ organizations.• The public and private sectors should indentify the existing farmers associations and support them to develop their organization• Government extension services and NGO staff need to receive suitable training to act as group facilitators.

**Student’s Organizations in Indian Democracy.**

*April 13, 2018 - Kolkata, West Bengal, India - All India Students' Association (AISA) and All India Progressive Women's Association (AIPWA)protest against the brutal rape at Kathua and Unnao. Saikat Paul/ Press Association. All rights reserved.At a time when Narendra Modi's Hindu supremacist leadership of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government in India is moving towards full-fledged fascism with its rampant attacks on Muslims, Dalits, and critics of the regime, the question of what it means to be a citizen in India today is complex, and the answers frightening.*

But on a recent visit to India, I had the opportunity to interview several student activists about the main issues currently facing students across the country as a result of the changes implemented in universities by the government. How are students challenging the regime?

The fundamental change they told me about was a nationwide move towards so-called [‘greater autonomy’ for universities](http://cpiml.org/commentary/modi-governments-intensifying-assaults-on-premier-institutes-of-higher-education/), which has affected 60 institutions so far, and is set to continue. This essentially involves cuts to government funding of universities much like the austerity UK students have been experiencing on a wide scale since 2010. Under the pretext of 'autonomy' a host of measures are being imposed which are likely to transform, and even threaten, well-known universities with a progressive reputation like Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) in Delhi.

JNU has a long history of left-wing activism, primarily due to the strong presence of AISA (All India Students Association), the student wing of the CPIML (Communist Party of India – Marxist-Leninist), in the university. Chintu Kumari, a student there and a leading member of AISA, told me about the resistance to the dismantling of the Gender Sensitisation Committee Against Sexual Harassment (GSCASH), which was set up in the late 1990s and includes representatives from different political organisations across the university.

What made GSCASH so effective, Chintu explains, is that it worked on a number of different levels: not only did the body serve as a support system for survivors of gender violence and sexual harassment, it also held well-attended, public talks which aimed to raise awareness of the complexities of sexual harassment, and give students a much-needed clearer understanding of how it could operate.

But these initiatives have faced hostility from JNU’s recently appointed pro-BJP Vice Chancellor, who is also a member of the BJP’s parent organisation, [the openly fascist RSS](http://www.sacw.net/DC/CommunalismCollection/ArticlesArchive/casolari.pdf). Last year, the Vice Chancellor replaced GSCASH with an Internal Complaints Committee (ICC), which has been framed as a resource for victims of harassment to report their experiences. In reality, however, the ICC is neither effective in this respect, nor does it cater towards students’ needs on any wider level. The members are solely appointed by the Vice Chancellor and are thus all affiliated to the BJP and/or the RSS – organisations with [a blatantly patriarchal ideology](https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/RSS-chief-Mohan-Bhagwats-remark-on-rape-has-to-be-understood-in-entirety-BJP/articleshow/17894925.cms). Chintu describes the ICC as a ‘puppet body’ for the Vice Chancellor, a way for him to maintain maximum control over the students’ response to harassment.

But the students are not taking this lying down. Two days before I spoke to Chintu, a major protest - in which [the police used water cannon and baton charges to attack and disperse the students](http://www.newindianexpress.com/cities/delhi/2018/mar/23/delhi-police-fires-water-cannons-lathicharge-at-jawaharlal-nehru-university-students-1791509.html) – took place at JNU around a range of related changes which are severely affecting students’ lives.

Beyond these structural changes, individual cases of harassment involving university staff are rife. Chintu tells me about the shocking scandal around Atul Johari, a professor of life sciences with close links to the BJP. Recently, nine female students – all in the final year of their PhD – filed a joint complaint against him for sexual harassment. All these students were members of the ABVP (Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad), the student organisation affiliated with the BJP – indicating that this abuse of power in universities takes place within such Hindu rightwing circles as well as across political divides.

## ****‘Saffronisation’****

The ‘saffronisation’ of education – the imposition of the BJP’s ‘Hindutva’ ideology upon the syllabus – is another phenomenon which is negatively impacting on student experiences across the country. Chintu tells me how this has particularly affected arts and humanities students, ­­­­­­as their fields of study are often deprioritised and – more importantly – seen as a threat to this ideology. One example of this is an entrance exam for an MPhil course at JNU, which included a question on the [recent, highly controversial feature film, Padmaavat](https://www.ndtv.com/opinion/bigotry-and-islamophobia-in-bhansalis-padmaavat-by-rana-ayyub-1808938). The film openly embodies Hindutva values through its denunciation of marriages between Hindus and Muslims, amounting to blatant Islamophobia. Students were asked to give their opinion on this film – a clear indication that they were being judged on their political leanings rather than their aptitude and passion for their subject.

Another key aspect of the move towards so-called 'autonomy' is the government’s attempt to undermine the hard-won system of 'reservations', which reserves places at top universities like JNU for students from deprived and underprivileged sections of society, including Dalits, Adivasis and oppressed caste students, and those from remote and backward regions. [Only 20.75% of places were reserved at JNU in 2017-18, compared with the constitutionally mandated 50%.](http://cpiml.org/commentary/modi-governments-intensifying-assaults-on-premier-institutes-of-higher-education/) It is no surprise that most of the student activists at the forefront of the current wave of resistance are from these backgrounds, and many are the first in their families to go to university.

JNU is, of course, not the only university in which tensions are running high between student activists and RSS-backed administration. Sunny Kumar, a student activist who is also currently teaching at Delhi University (DU), told me about the cuts there. ‘The best institutions in India today are government funded,’ he tells me. But this funding is rapidly decreasing. Since the BJP came to power in 2014, government funding towards DU has dropped from 90-95% to only 70% in the guise of granting the university more freedom.

But the situation at DU is not entirely negative. AISA, the most prominent Left students' organisation on campus, organises, among other things, study groups on Marx and [Bhagat Singh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhagat_Singh), the Indian Marxist and atheist revolutionary hanged by the British. At a time when the government is desperately trying to prevent students’ access to such progressive thinkers in fear that this will mobilise them politically, this type of activity is a crucial aspect of resistance and self-empowerment.

However, at DU too, AISA does not simply function on this educational level. Practical gains have been made especially around gender issues. Last Valentine’s Day saw them organise the ‘Love without Fear’ protest, which challenged [the government’s Islam phobic ‘Love Jihad’ ideology](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/a-muslim-and-a-hindu-thought-they-could-be-a-couple-then-came-the-love-jihad-hit-list/2018/04/26/257010be-2d1b-11e8-8dc9-3b51e028b845_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.2fcbd4fdd2de), and the physical attacks on couples openly expressing affection – all-too commonplace in university settings – have been significantly curbed since AISA gained prominence in DU’s last students’ union election.

Talking to these students leads me to think about the connections between student experiences and the wider political climate in India and the UK. The issues faced by students, namely those stemming from austerity and neoliberalism, have been festering for several years now in the UK too – the crucial distinction is that, in India, they have escalated under the current far-right, Hindu-supremacist government and been characterized by open ideological warfare.

* 1. **Impact of RTI Act of 2005 on Indian Democracy**

<https://cic.gov.in/sites/default/files/Impact%20of%20the%20Right%20to%20Information%20Act.pdf>

<https://cic.gov.in/sites/default/files/Impact%20of%20the%20Right%20to%20Information%20Act.pdf>

 THE RIGHT TO INFORMATION ACT

# Introduction

The enactment of the Right to Information Act, 2005 is a landmark in the history of administration in India. The new legislation has brought sensitivity, responsibility and accountability to the development process. RTI Act is path-breaking in controlling corruption and delays in the implementation of government-sponsored programmes and in the functioning of public authorities. The act provides impetus for development process and remedy to combat corruption in public authorities. Though the RTI Act is contradictory to Official Secrecy Act, 1923 and not free from pitfalls, it is an important instrument for strengthening democracy, accelerating economic development of the country in general and rural areas in particular.109

# Evolution of RTI Act

Although since early seventies the Supreme Court of India held the right to information was included in the freedom of speech and expression, the right needed to be spelt out in detail. Fundamental rights cannot become operative without a law laying down who can obtain information, who is liable to give information, what is the procedure for seeking information and for giving it what kind of information is immune from disclosure, to whom an appeal will lie if the request for information is refused, and what penal sanctions exits against breach of the right to information. Since 1989, there has been a talk of such legislation.

However, the establishment was not eager to bring such a law. Consequently, several people‟s movements grew in support of the right to information, which showed that the right to information was related to the problems of survival of the people at the grassroots. The secrecy regime bred corruption and abuse of power. As pointed out by the late Prime Minister Rajeev Gandhi, out of one rupee that was earmarked for welfare of the people, hardly ten paisa reached the targeted people, and the remaining was swallowed by red tape and corruption. The politicians and bureaucrats took full advantage of the secrecy in administration to deceive the people and hijack the resources meant for their selfish ends. Transparency in administration was, therefore, perceived to be a lethal weapon against corruption and abuse of power.

A notable example of the people movements is that of „Rajasthan Mazdoor Kishan Shakti Sangathan‟ (MKSS), which is an organization comprising peasants and workers, was formed under the leadership of Aruna Roy, who had resigned from the Indian Administrative Service to work with the Social Work and Research Center (SWRC). She was joined by Sankar Singh, a local young man and a barefoot worker of the SWRC and Nikhil De, a young graduate who had recently arrived from the United States. Three of them established contacts with the villagers. In one case, a landlord call Harisingh who had retained a large chunk of land despite the land ceiling legislation, fined villagers, who trespassed on his land for grazing the cattle or for collecting fire- woods. The MKSS decided to place their grievance before the sub-divisional magistrate who was going to hold court in one of the panchayats under a developmental program.

However, this could be done only on the basis of the plot number, and other details, which were obtained with the help of a patwari. The grievance of the villagers was placed before the sub-divisional magistrate, who ruled in their favour, and held that the land did not belong to the land owner. The land was thereafter vested in the local people. This incident proved that possession of correct information can go a long way in successfully fighting against feudalism.

This was followed by a struggle for minimum wages in another village. The MKSS arranged jan sunwais (public hearings) in which all such malpractices were exposed. The bureaucrats threatened to go on strike if such information was disclosed. All this convinced the MKSS that they could expose such cases of corruption and abuse of power only if all developmental and other governmental works were done openly and transparently. All such acts could be made public only if the authorities were made liable to give information about how money was spent, how materials were purchased, and how contracts were executed for carrying out public works.

In Maharashtra, Anna Hazare, a social activist, who had practiced indigenous model of rural development in Ralegaon Siddhi, a village near Pune, realized that development works suffered from corruption, and the only way to combat it was to obtain the right to information. In his struggle against corruption, he went on fast unto death to secure the law on the right to information. The Maharashtra Legislative Assembly passed the law in 2000, but Anna Hazare was not satisfied with the law because the law left too many loopholes. He pressed for an entirely new law in its place. The Government of Maharashtra had to concede that demand, and ultimately pass a new

Act in 2002. Similarly, several other states passed laws to provide for the right to information.110

Some other movements have also contributed to the making of the Right to Information Act. In the 1980s, various movements gathered momentum, which challenged the establishment‟s paradigms of developments. For instance, the resistance of women in the chipko movements (the women hugged the trees to prevent their slaughter) to tree cutting in Uttarakhand (now Uttaranchal); the opposition to the Silent Valley project in Kerala; and the groups fighting for the rights of the victims of the Bhopal gas tragedy, have raised issues regarding the marginalized people. The Narmada Bachao Andolan fought against construction of big dams in general had asked for greater transparency in their cost-benefits analysis. It insisted that people should not be deprived of their habitats without giving them alternative land and further insisted that there were other ways of development at much less cost in terms of human suffering that big dams contemplated. It asked for a free and open discussion about the desirability of the development strategies adopted by the establishment.111

Essentially it is a movement for transparency of the development strategies, and accountability in terms of benefits that accrue from such developmental programmes. These movements espoused the power of the people against the power of the state and they were non-violent struggles against misinformation. The right to information was, therefore, considered vital for good governance. The reverberations of this struggle led to a nationwide demand for a law to guarantee the right to information to every citizen. In the year 1996, a meeting was convened at the Gandhi Peace Foundation in New Delhi

110 Sathe S. P., “Right to Information”, 1st ed., Lexis Nexis Butterworths, New Delhi, 2006.

where the „National Campaign for Peoples Right to information‟ (NCPRI) was formed. It had as its members, activists, journalists, lawyers, professionals, retired civil servants and academics.

National Campaign for Peoples Right to Information (NCPRI) and the press council of India formulated the initial draft of the law under the guidance of the chairman of the press Council, P. B. Sawant, a retired judge of the Supreme Court. The draft was then presented to government of India, which set up another committee under the chairmanship of H. D. Shourie. That committee submitted another draft. That draft became the basis of the bill introduced by the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government as the Freedom of Information Bill 2000. The bill was referred to the select committee, which had invited comments form the people. The bill was passed by parliament without any amendment and came to be known as the Freedom of Information Act, 2002.112

However, before that was brought into force, elections to parliaments were held in which the NDA government lost power and the new United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government took over. The UPA agreed upon a Common Minimum Programme to provide a corruption free transparent and accountable government at all times and make the Right to Information Act more progressive, participatory and meaningful. In pursuance of this, the Right to Information Act 2005 was passed by parliaments on 12 May 2005 and 13 May 2005. The Supreme Court not only recognized the right of information as a fundamental right, but also adopted a liberal interpretation of the Constitution. The demolition of the secrecy regime began in the early eighties and it was hoped that it will further advance the Right to Information Act, 2005 operating.

112 Goel S. L, “Right to Information and Good Governance”, Deep and Deep Publications Private Limited, New Delhi, 2007.

# Phases of the movement for RTI Act

There are two phases of the movement for RTI Act.

One from the year 1975 to 1990 and the other from the year 1990 to 2005

 These phases are stated as under:

## Phase I of the movement for RTI: 1975 to 1990

During this phase the public movements started for information by the poor unprivileged people who were denied the benefits of government programmes. The movement for RTI can be traced back to the grass root struggle of the rural poor, who fought against corruption in their areas affecting their livelihood. The RTI got the legal support for the first time in 1975 in Supreme Court case of State of Utter Pradesh vs. Raj Narain (1975) in which honourable Justice Mathew gave a landmark judgment. “In a Government of responsibility like ours, where all the agents of public must be responsible for their conduct, there can be but few secrets. The people of this country have a right to know, every public act, everything that is done in a public act, everything that is done in public way by the public functionaries. They are entitled to know, the particulars of every public transaction in all its bearing. Their right to know, which is derived from the concept of freedom of speech, though not absolute, is a factor, which should make one wary when secrecy is claimed for transactions which can at any rate have no repercussion on public security.”

In 1978, Right to Information was sought for exercising certain suggestions and objections to the Motor Vehicle Act in Gujarat. The state government refused to part with information stating that it was confidential under the Official Secrets Act, 1923, a legacy of British India. The RTI however, took to the ground in another landmark judgment in 1981 by Attorney General Soli Sorabjee in S.P. Gupta vs. Union of India case where the honourable court declared that, “the concept of an open government is

direct emanation from the right to know which seems to be implicit in the right of speech and expression”. In 1982, Mathew Commission Report recommended for the amendment of the Official Secrets Act, 1923 (OSA) which was considered as great impediment in the way of peoples‟ right of know and Section 5 of OSA was sought to be suitably amended.113 In 1989 V.P. Singh's National Government came to power and declared its decision to make Right to Information a fundamental right. In April 1990 in the 20th conference of· Ministers of Information and Cinematography he expressed an open system of governance is an essential pre-requisite for the fullest flowering of democracy. Free flow of information from the government to the people will not only create an enlightened and informed public opinion but also render those in authority accountable.

## Phase II of the movement for RTI: 1990 to 2005

After 1990 the demand for RTI got intensified and took the shape of a mass movement. A struggle for the same reason came alive when Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS), a NGO of Rajasthan stirred national conscience through a unique movement for justice in wages, livelihoods and land concerning various districts of Rajasthan. They asked for copies of bills and vouchers and the muster tolls for payment on the constructions of schools, dispensaries, small dams and community centre. On paper such developmental projects were complete but actually involved with lot of misappropriation of funds as the school buildings were without roof, dispensaries without walls, dams left incomplete and community centre without doors and windows. In 1994 MKSS introduced, breaking new ground for experimenting, fighting against corruption through the methodology of public hearings. The response to this was tremendous. The

experience of MKSS, its members and its beneficiaries was that by adopting this methodology the officials were afraid of the public wrath or damage to their career or their public image. The MKSS and other organization worked for organizing people and enlightening them about their rights though most of the time they had to face tough bureaucracy and local government representatives who refused to supply information.114

In 1995, the Press Council of India drew up the first blueprint for a Freedom of Information Bill. It asserted that information which could not be denied to Parliament or State legislature should not be denied to a citizen. In 1997 the government of India decided to introduce the freedom of information legislation. It suggested that each state do likewise, to provide access to information, as a result, several states executed orders to implement this right. In 1997 itself, a working group under the chairmanship of consumer activist H.D. Shourie presented another draft. With development of grass root movements, judicial recognition of the right to know and some amount of internal pressure through successive committed governments led to the passage of law in the last decade. In July 2000, the Freedom of Information Bill, 2000 was finally introduced, in Parliament. Some state government also passed their own laws and administered instructions in last few years.115 However there is a variance between the demands of people and laws by the people. The freedom of information bill passed by the Parliament evoked intense debate on the terminology of right to information and freedom of information. However freedom of Information Act came into force in 2002. And now the central RTI Act has been executed.

# Salient features of RTI Act of India

Various sections of society, particularly media personnel, social activities and positive thinking people have always expressed that right to seek information should be a fundamental right, just as we have right of speech and expression. On the international plane, the citizen‟s right to information is described as freedom of information, access of information or right to information. Right to information is implicit in the constitution of India, which establishes a representative democracy with inalienable rights for the citizens of the country, which have been reinforced time and again by judiciary. Right to information in India has significantly sought to expand democratic space and empower the citizens to exercise control on the corrupt practices under the power of the state.

Various studies reveal that, many people are not aware of the detail features, scope and procedures in the working of the different provisions of Right to Information Act which is a major setback to the basic objective of peop1e‟s empowerment. This section provides the salient features of the RTI Act, about the application procedure, time, rejection grounds and other aspects.

Implementation:

RTI Act came into force on October 12, 2005 (120th day of its enactment on June 19, 2005). Some provisions have come into force with immediate effect viz. obligations of public authorities, designation of Public Information Officers and Assistant Public Information Officers, constitution of Central Information Commission, constitution of State Information Commission, non-applicability of the act to Intelligence and Security Organizations and power to make rules to carry out the provisions of the act.116

Coverage:

The Act extends to the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Meaning of Information:

Information means any material in any form including records, documents, memos, e-mails, opinions, advices, press releases, circulars, orders, logbooks, contracts, reports, papers, samples, models, data material held in any electronic form and information relating to any private body which can be accessed by a public authority under any other law for the time being in force but does not include file noting. Information means only that information which is recorded in a material form and not oral. Opinions are information if they are reduced into writing. Therefore it is implied that the Act does not concern itself with any oral communications. Notwithstanding their right to information, the citizens are not entitled to all information available with the public authorities. The citizens‟ entitlement to information is limited to the extent of information recorded and published and to the extent of information recorded but unpublished and if non-publication is due to any secrecy provisions, the information officer is given the powers to decide whether the revealing of information will serve a larger public interest, than that served by retaining the information as secret.117

The act includes the right to,

* Inspect works, documents, and records.
* Take notes, extracts or certified copies of documents or records.
* Take certified samples of material.

117 Wadia Angela, “Global Sourcebook on Right to Information”, 1st edn., Kanishka Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2006.

* + Obtain information in form of printouts, diskettes, floppies, tapes, video cassettes or in any other electronic mode or through printouts.

# Obligations of public authorities

There are certain obligations of public authorities. Every public authority shall publish all relevant facts while formulating important policies or announcing the decisions which affects public. The following are obligations of Public Authorities:

Every public authority shall maintain all its records duly catalogued and indexed in a manner and form which facilitates the right to information under this act and ensure that all records that are appropriate to be computerized are, within a reasonable time and subject to availability of resources, computerized and connected through a network all over the country on different systems so that access to such records is facilitated.118 Every public authority shall publish within one hundred and twenty days from the enactment of this act:

1. The particulars of its organization, functions and duties.
2. The powers and duties of its officers and employees.
3. The procedure followed in the decision-making process, including channels of supervision and accountability.
4. The norms set by it for discharge of its functions.
5. The rules, regulations, instructions, manuals and records. held by it or under its control or used by its employees for discharging its functions.
6. A statement of categories of documents that are held by it or under its control.
7. The particulars of any arrangement that exists for consultation with, or representation by the members of the public in relation to formulation of its policy or implementation thereof.
8. A statement of the boards, councils, committees and other bodies consisting of two or more persons constituted as its part or for the purpose of its advice, and as to whether meetings of those boards, councils, committees and other bodies are open to the public, or the minutes of such meetings are accessible for public.
9. A directory of its officers and employees.
10. The monthly remuneration received by each of its officers and employees, including the system of compensation as provided in its regulation.
11. The budget allocated to each of its agency, indicating the particulars of all plans, proposed expenditure and reports on disbursements made.
12. The manner of execution of subsidy programmes, including the amounts allocated and the details of beneficiaries of such programmes.
13. Particulars of recipients of concessions, permits or authorizations granted by it.
14. Details in respect of the information, available to or held by it, reduced in electronic form.
15. The particulars of facilities available to citizens for obtaining the required information, including the working hours of a library or reading room, if maintained for public use.
16. The names, designations and other particulars of public information officers.
17. Such other information may be prescribed.

# Objectives of RTI Act

There are many objectives of RTI Act. The important objectives of the Act are outlined below.

1. To create awareness:

The Right to Information Act will create a sense of awareness among the common people so that they will be able to participate in the formation of government policies and programmes. The act is expected to create a voice producing mechanism and conscious citizens which are pre-requisites of a civilized society.

1. To invite suggestions:

The people will be able to examine the faults of the government polices and implementing machineries. Observing the faults, they will be able to deliver their suggestions which will help the government in rectifying its faults. The act has emphasized on the citizen‟s sovereignty and has upgraded the psychology of the people.

1. To change the psychology of bureaucracy:

The act will help to form a sensitive bureaucracy for the congenial management and effective implementation of the government policies and programmes as suitable to the common people. Further, the Act is expected to change the psychology and sentiment of the bureaucracy so that they will be able to upgrade their mind in consonance with the benefit of the people.

1. To reduce official secrecy:

The Act will be able to tear the traditional culture of official secrecy of the bureaucracy and will make open for the people.

1. To increase the dignity of the country:

Right to information Act will bring about transparency in the functioning of the government and reduce the corruption levels. It will increase the dignity of the country in the international sphere.

1. To strengthen the root of the Indian Federation:

As per the provision of the federation, if the law of any state contravenes with the law of the central government, then the law of the central government is declared as more powerful and the law of the state becomes ineffective.

1. To publicise the act:

For this act, mass media will be more powerful in publishing more viable news relating to the important decisions of the Government. Realizing the scope, area of operation and felt needs of the people, the Act can be amended.

1. To encourage value based politics:

The act will help to strengthen the quality of democracy and value based politics in the country. Act will also help to solve many chronic problems associated with the socio- economic development of the country.

# Good governance and Right to Information

Governance is the manner in which authority, control and power of government is exercised in mobilizing a society‟s economic and social resources to address the issues of public interest. It is the art of governing, associated with the exercise of authority within specific jurisdiction, and is embedded in the structure of authority. Good governance is

epitomised by, among other things, predictable, open and enlightened policy-making. It can be secured by sound, responsive and competent administration, respect to basic human rights and values, strengthened democratic, institutional as well as structural framework to ensure accountability and transparency. Government, after all, is a tryst with trust, a commitment of the people for the people, a social contract for the greatest good, the collective conscience of the community. It is not the handiwork of wayward politicians or hand-maiden of bureaucrats, or the property of the unscrupulous handfuls who manipulate minority at majority‟s cost, people must have a stake in the government, for people have a stake in their future. Future is the place where all of us will live the rest of our lives.119

The tests of good governance lies in the goals and objectives of a government, in its policies and programmes, in the manner of their execution, in the results achieved and above all, in the general perception of the people about the quality of functioning of its various agencies, their attitudes and behaviour towards the public, their sincerity, honesty, and commitments towards public duties. It is also important to see that there is no undue concentration of power. It means developing a bond of mutual relationships between people and administration through sharing of Information.

The characteristics of good governance include core values of rule of law, fairness, equity, participation, transparency, responsiveness, consensus, economy, efficiency and effectiveness, and above all impeachable accountability and rule of law. As people are Sovereign and all the operations in Government are designed for people in a democracy, responsiveness to people is the hallmark of democratic governance. Corruption in public institutions has adversely affected good governance. Human beings

have weaknesses; and it can be argued that no system can be free of man-made vices; yet many countries have shown successful transition from poor governance to good governance. Singapore is one such example in India‟s vicinity. With strong dedicated leadership, the country has covered a long journey to attain Corruption Perception Index of 9.4 with fifth rank among 133 countries globally.120

Good governance and Right to Information are complimentary and the success of one depends upon the other. There are large number of problems in the Indian administration which goes un-noticed and the administration rather than changing continues in its grooves. Right to Information Act, 2005 would make the civil servants alert to provide the information to public challenges and as a bye product would make administration responsive and transparent which mean good governance. The cherished aim of all Government, whatever its form or level, has always been the service of the people and governance of the people to their entire satisfaction. Good government is the bedrock of our stability.121 There is increasing emphasis on development with participatory democracy meaning thereby that needs and aspirations receive adequate attention of those who finally decide and act for the welfare and all round development of the people.

We are wedded to the concept of welfare state which has led to tremendous increase in the number and varieties of governmental activities. The governmental administration today is called upon to manage the entire affairs of the socio-economic life of the people. The enormous expansion of public service has led to the expansion of bureaucracy. This has also resulted in the multiplication of the administrative processes

where by administrative powers and discretions are vested at different levels of the executive. It cannot be denied that where there are powers and discretion, there is always the possibility of their abuse in the form of maladministration and corruption. Despite its dangers, we cannot eliminate discretion from administration.122 What is therefore, necessary is to devise adequate methods of control over the exercise of discretion so that the chances of maladministration and corruption arising out of its misuse are considerably reduced.

Right to Information Act would promote harmonious relationships between the Government and the people. However, in the initial periods there would be problems as Government Servants have developed the habit of Supremacy and not service. The fear of being exposed through Right to Information would slowly change their attitudes and philosophy. Politico-Administrative leadership should not feel uncomfortable and embarrassment in giving information to the concerned people with humility and a sense of purpose. This will generate kinetic energy from the hidden potential energy among the people resulting in productivity and efficiency.123

The Right to Information law of 2005 signals a radical shift in our governance culture and permanently impacts all agencies of state. The effective implementation of this law depends on three fundamental shifts:

* From the prevailing culture of secrecy to a new culture of openness;
* From personalized despotism to authority coupled with accountability; and
* From unilateral decision-making to participative governance.

122 Arora Krishan, “The Right to Information Act”, Professional Book Publishers, New Delhi, 2006.

123 Ibid.

Obviously one single law cannot change everything. But this fine legislation is an important beginning to change. Its effective application depends largely on the institutions created, early traditions and practices, attendant changes in laws and procedures, and adequate participation of people and the public servants.

# Usefulness of RTI Act

It can be said that the right to know is the most fundamental of all those rights, which are critical for upholding human dignity. Usefulness of RTI Act can be stated as under:

1. Helps in overall Administrative Improvement:

Questions under RTI Act were asked about the socio-economic development of Panchayats under various schemes. The answers revealed a lot of misutilisation of money. This made the people to improve the administrative system to get the full advantage of Government schemes for rural development. This needs to be replicated to other Panchayats. The purpose of RTI should be to improve administrative system which stands in the way of Development.

1. Remedial Measure to contain Corruption:

Corruption is anti-development. RTI can help in identifying the methodology and practice of corruption, e.g. Bombay University through RTI was found wanting in affiliating an institute to award MBA degrees, etc. without fulfilling necessary requirements.

1. Procedural Reforms:

Right to Information Act can help in finding out as to what is the wrong with the procedures, e.g. in Haryana, Haryana Urban Development Authority has become a den of corrupt practices due to wrong procedures. Even to get a map of house cleared may take months. Nothing can be done without money. Thus RTI Act is an important step in reforming the procedures which to corrupt practices.

1. Citizen-Friendly Administration:

Complaints under RTI Act revealed in Maharashtra that the posting and transfers are done through letters written by politicians to fleece the people through them. The action against police officers is being taken and this would slowly make the police administration answerable to the people.

1. RTI Act can Expose Top Leadership:

Information received through RTI Act, 2005 in Union and State Commissions reveal that personnel at top level are responsible for many ills in administration. The principle of seniority in posting is causing many problems. Only competent people practicing some ethical standards and who have faith in discharging their duties honestly must be put on jobs at higher levels. They can set the tone of administration under their control.

1. Delays in Administration:

Many of the complaints filed under RTI Act related to delays especially in settling service conditions, etc. some are intentional delays to promote corruption while otherwise there are problems in procedural practice. Based upon the information generated, the Government should change the procedures which stand in the way of

responsive administration, e.g. privatizing ticket reservation in railways can remove delays and intentional corruption.

1. Keep the Administration System Active:

Right to Information Act, 2005 is expected to keep the civil services active through feed-back of the people through information sought by them. Information asked by the people can also help the civil servants in ascertaining the satisfaction of the people. Based upon these questions asked in the form of information can help in generating administrative reforms and in keeping the administrative system active.

1. RTI Act can provide the means to improve:

RTI Act will generate administrative reform as transfers made with huge amounts of money result in more corruption. In this way RTI Act can help in solving the problems of corruption for transfer and fleecing the ordinary people. Right to information can be successful provided we attune the civil service and political elite to ensure that the Government can function efficiently. Most of the problems can be solved if we remove the administrative bottlenecks. This would also reduce work of officers engaged in the implementation of RTI Act.

# RTI Act – A global view

Right to Information has been existing in various forms in many countries of the world depending upon their culture, government and civil society. More than 60 countries have this right. Scandinavian countries like Sweden have its existence in 18th century (1766). In the last decade of 20th century and beginning of 21st century many countries are coming forward to make RTI a constitutional provision. Administrative

secrecy has become such a barrier to the full development of democracy that in recent years other commonwealth countries, along with Scandinavian, the United States and France, have passed a law providing for the public‟s right of access to administrative information.124 The governments of Australia, Canada and New Zealand, all passed such a law in the same year, 1982. In that year too, a similar law was passed in the state of Victoria and the province of Quebec. Canada‟s most populous province, Ontario, adopted such a law in 1987 so that by now most bf Canada‟s provinces have an access law, or a freedom of information (FOI) law, as it is called in the US, Australia and Ontario. In 1989, a similar law went into effect in Australia's most populous state, New South Wales and one is likely to be adopted soon in the remaining states.

United States of America: The first step to RTI Act was initiated in 1969 as Article 13(1) which states “Everyone has the right to freedom of thought and expression. This right includes freedom to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing, in the form of art, or through any other medium of one‟s choice.” This was revised and made more comprehensive in 2000 which states that “access to information held by the state is a fundamental right of every individual. States have obligations to guarantee the full exercise of this right. This principle allows only exceptional limitations that must be previously established by law in case of a real danger that threatens national security in democratic societies.”125

United Kingdom: The United Kingdom had Right to Information Act since November 2000 which has been modified in January 2005.

South Africa: Article 32 of the African Constitution 1996 mentions the provisions and limitations of Right to Information. It came into effect in 2001.

Japan: The Law of Right to Information was approved by Diet in 1999 which came into effect from April, 200l.

Canada: The Access to Information Act, Australia (Freedom of Information Act, 1982). European Union Article 11 of 2000 Charter explains the provisions and limitations of Right to Information.

International bodies like World Bank and International Monetary Fund and other market players are also pressing nations to be more transparent in their dealings. In a global economy things should be transparent. And people naturally have a right to know about what is happening to their lives and in the society in which they live.

# Conclusion

A large number of people in the developing countries including India continue to live in extreme poverty. They are still deprived of adequate food, clean water, and other basic necessities of life despite the massive administrative structure created to spearhead national developmental programmes. The last ten years have seen an increasing concentration of income, resources and wealth amongst people, corporations and countries. This disparity has grown from thirty percent in 1960 to seventy-four percent in 2005. The latest Human Development reports show that twenty percent of the people control eighty-six percent of the world Gross National Product, eighty-two percent of the export market and sixty-eight percent of the foreign direct investment. As against this,

the bottom twenty percent of the people are compelled to live with income of only $1 a day and get a share of one percent of the world Gross Domestic Product, one percent of world export market and four percent of foreign direct investment. Social justice demands that the greatest attention should be paid to the under privileged so that they are able to extricate themselves from the poverty equilibrium in which they are trapped.

The question arises as to how the developing countries can translate their aims and objectives enshrined in their constitution to change the lives of teeming millions suffering from abject poverty, disease, squalor, hunger, unemployment, and other socio- economic ailments. This is possible only if these countries are administered and managed efficiently. It requires an overhaul of the old administrative structure creating a new administrative set up required for socio-economic development. Organizations are not mere structures but action systems. Action system is a structured device through which resources are mobilised and transformed by the use of certain skills and technology to produce pre-designed output. Increased productivity in the work of the developing countries depends to a great extent on the executive branch.126 The Executive Branch can pursue its objectives provided the prevailing administrative system is conducive to the socio-economic system. The design of an administrative system is a basic aid to the achievement of its primary objectives; if the design is unsound, the achievement of objectives is likely to fall short of expectations. Administration can provide the means whereby the most effective use can be made of the knowledge and skills of the personnel engaged in different activities.

The benefits of modern science and technology can reach the people only if such services are properly planned and effectively implemented. An increase in the scientific

126 Goel S. L., op. cit.

nature of determination is an important factor in raising its efficiency. From the grassroots struggle in Rajasthan in the early 90‟s there has been the enactment of Right to Information Act, 2005 - a historical path-breaking legislation. The campaign for RTI Act was started by grass-roots movements. The idea was to empower people with legislation and an administrative apparatus that would keep a check on sarkar. Our RTI Act is considered to be one of the best in the world, but it will be effective only if the independence of RTI commissions is maintained.

Abraham Lincoln, the former President of the U.S.A., defined democracy that „it is of the people, by the people, for the people‟. Democracy in India has been, most probably, up to the level of „by the people‟. By introducing the RTI Act, the range of democracy extended up to „of the people‟. Introduction of the RTI Act in India supports the opinion of Sir Crips, a renowned philosopher, that democracy is a type of Government in which every citizen has the equal right and freedom to express its opinion and deliver its thought in a fearless manner. RTI Act in our Country is at an infant stage. The Act seems to be a unique weapon to check corruption. We should wait for some time to reap the desired result.

**5.1 New Social Movements in India: Environmental and Feminist Movements in India.**

<https://www.ijsr.net/archive/v4i9/SUB158569.pdf>.......1

<https://indiaresists.com/new-social-movements-new-perspectives-nivedita-menon/>.......2

<http://www.historydiscussion.net/essay/womens-movements-in-india-forms-and-main-national-organisations/1801>........3

**Abstract: *The Indian Constitution itself contains provisions for environmental protection. The Directive Principles of State Policy* *acknowledge the State’s responsibility with regard to environmental protection has laid down under Article 48-A of our Constitution that “The State shall endeavor to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forests and wildlife of the country.” India faces problems of environmental degradation and lack of governance on matters related to these.The new social movements in the Third World show a rare sensitivity to the heterogeneity of the sources and structures of exploitation and oppression. The new social movements can be seen as vehicles of cumulative change in the social, economic and political fields. The role of these people's movements and experiments transcends not only state power, but also the new existing civil societies.***

**Keywords:** Democracy, Ecofeminism, Environment, Indian Constitution, Social Movements,



**1. Introduction**

Democracy is largely understood as popular sovereignty where people have control over the decision made by the state. Since it is not practically possible for the people in the modern democratic societies to participate in the decision making process of the state directly, they do so through representatives. But when political parties become ineffective in representing the interest of the people, we see the emergence of social movements (SMs) .It is a truism that no society is static. Space, processes and nature as well as the direction of social change vary from time to time and society to society. Social movements are nothing new and they are taking place all around the globe, whether, they are based on certain issues or interests, under different institutional environments. In India also social movements have taken place around identity issues or interest based activism. Social movements play an important role in escalating not only the processes of change, but also in giving direction to social transformation. Till the 1960s, sociologists’ interest in social movements was largely focused on sanskritisation and socio-religious reform movements, excluding the political dimension as beyond their scope. It issometimes argued that the freedom of expression, education and relative economic independence prevalent in the modern Western culture are responsible for the unprecedented number and scope of various contemporary social movements. However, others point out that many of the social movements of the last hundred years grew up, like the Mau Mau in Kenya, to oppose Western colonialism. Either way, social movements have been and continued to be closely connected with democratic political systems. Occasionally, social movements have been involved in democratizing nations, but more often they have flourished after democratization.

**Charles Tilly defines social movements** as a series ofcontentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others.

**Sidney Tarrow defines a social movement** as collectivechallenges by people with common purposes and solidarity

in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities.

It is important to note, however, that such tendencies and trends, and the influence of the unconscious or irrational factors in human behavior, may be of crucial importance in illuminating the problems of interpreting and explaining social movement. Objectives, ideology, programmes, leadership, and organization are important components of social movements. They are interdependent, influencing each other. These social movements then bring about change in the social, economic and political environment and thereby, become a social force themselves.

M.S.A. Rao defined social movement as a ‘sustained collective mobilization through either informal or formal organization or which is generally oriented towards bringing about change’. **Social movements involves:**

1. Collective mass mobilization
2. Collective mass support
3. Formal or informal organization
4. A conscious commitment towards its aims and beliefs
5. Deliberative collective action towards change

**2. Types of Social Movements**

David Bayley (1962) divides ‘coercive public protest’ into legal and illegal protests. Each category is further sub-divided into violent and non-violent protests. Some others classify movements into grassroots and macro movements. Social movements are also classified on the basis of issues around which participants get mobilized. Some of them are known as the ‘forest’, ‘civil rights’, ‘anti-untouchability’, ‘linguistic’, and ‘nationalist’ and other such movements. Some others classify movements on the basis of the participants, such as peasants, tribal, students, women, Dalit’s, etc. In many cases the participants and issues go together. Social movements into the following types on the basis of the socioeconomic characteristics of the participants and the issues involved:

1. Peasant movements
2. Dalit movements
3. Backward caste movements
4. Women’s movements
5. Industrial working class movements
6. Students’ movements; and
7. Middle class movements …….(pls refer material pdf which I attached)

**New Social Movements, New Perspectives : Nivedita Menon**

We stand at an electrifying and exciting moment of history, when new forces are coming into view through a range of movements, shaking the foundations of political power. They do not seek to �capture� political power but rather, to make it accountable and answerable to �the people�. The massive upsurges against corruption and against the Delhi gang-rape, whose reverberations were heard in Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Nepal, tie up with a global moment which has been marked by similar unrest in different parts of the world � the Arab Spring, the Occupy Wall Street movement, the youth movement in Bangladesh against the Islamic right-wing and for a return to the secular ideals of the 1971 liberation struggle.

But there are dots that connect these current rounds of movements to a longer history of non-party activism in India, which I want to trace in my presentation, before returning to the present and the difficult questions we face about democracy today.

In the long history of people�s movements in India, we have seen them take different forms. I�m referring of course, to non-party movements, among the first of which is the JP movement itself, whose ultimate demise, as is widely accepted now, can be traced to its takeover by political parties.

Today I will try to map the forms that people�s movements have taken since the 1980s, and it should be clear that the focus will be on what we perceive as �new� movements. Thus, I will not refer to the long struggles against the Indian state in Kashmir and the North East because a discussion of those requires another lecture altogether that will question the very legitimacy of the claim of India to be a Nation.
A new kind of social and political action emerged in the 1980s, that we might call citizens� initiatives. These non-funded and non-party forums came into being out of a sense of the inefficacy of mainstream political parties and their lack of concern regarding vital issues of democracy, freedom and civil rights. �Citizens� initiatives� have been more involved in a watchdog kind of activity and are not generally characterized by mass support. While some are small, self-sufficient groups of long standing, others are broad coalitions formed around specific issues, that bring together parties and trade unions of the far left, Gandhian, Dalit and feminist groups, some of which may be funded NGOs, as well as non-affiliated individuals. The distinguishing feature of such coalitions is that all the constituents are subject to the �common minimum programme� set collectively by the forum, and separate party/organizational agenda are not meant to influence the activity of the forum. The tension that this sets up between differing imperatives is usually also the reason for the short-lived nature of such forums, which tend to dissipate after a period of intense and often very effective interventions.

Among the first citizens� initiatives that came into existence were around civil liberties and democratic rights. Acquiring particular salience in the immediate aftermath of the Emergency, a number of such organizations came into being throughout the country. For instance, the Peoples� Union for Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights (PUCLDR) set up during the Emergency later split into the People�s Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR), with a more leftist perspective on �rights� including economic rights, while the People�s Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) decided to focus on �civil liberties� more narrowly. There was a string of such formations in the country. In many states like Andhra Pradesh (the Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee � APCLC) and West Bengal (Association for the Protection of Democratic Right � APDR), the main initiative for the formation of such civil liberties and democratic rights organizations came from activists linked to the far Left groups. We distinguish such forums from what are called �human rights organizations�, many of which are funded organizations that work in tandem with internationally evolving agendas. The latter we would place under the rubric of �NGOs�.

Such groups have continued to play an active role in the years since, painstakingly documenting and exposing cases of civil liberties and democratic rights violations. In recent years they have also been actively campaigning against capital punishment. While the initial impulse for their formation was the violation by the state of citizens� rights to freedom of expression, they have over the last two and a half decades expanded their activities to address violations of freedoms by non-state actors in the context of caste, gender and sectarian/ communal violence. Some of them have also taken up questions of the worst cases of exploitation of labour, which effectively nullify rights and liberties sanctioned by the Constitution to all citizens.

A recent significant battle fought by one such citizens� group – Committee for Fair Trial for SAR Geelani � demonstrates how effective such interventions can be. Syed Abdul Rehman Geelani, a lecturer of Arabic in a Delhi college, was one of the �prime accused� in the attack on Parliament on December 13, 2001. Following as it did on �9/11�, the incident got inserted into the stridently nationalist discourse that drew nourishment from both the Hindu-right dominated NDA government and the rhetoric of George Bush�s �war on terrorism�. A group of teachers and students of Delhi University kept up a consistent struggle to ensure a fair trial for SAR Geelani in the bleak days of 2002, when one of the worst state-sponsored carnages of post-Independence Indian history was in progress in Gujarat, and Geelani was not only sentenced to death by a POTA (Prevention of Terrorist Activities Act) court but also subjected to a blatant media trial pronouncing him guilty even before the court verdict. Eventually a national level Committee was formed, drawing in respected academics like Rajni Kothari and writer Arundhati Roy, while lawyers like Nandita Haksar and others undertook to fight the case on Geelani�s behalf. Their patient and unrelenting work was successful in exposing what turned out to be a blatant frame-up. Geelani was acquitted and released. The Geelani case revealed the extent to which democracy can be subverted by the discourse on �national security�. However, it also demonstrated that spaces for democratic intervention are not entirely closed off.

Of course, this was only a partial victory and the December 13th attack on parliament has a darker story behind it which we cannot go into now, the latest episode of which was the unjust execution of Afzal Guru for a crime the Supreme Court conceded he did not commit.

Another set of citizens� initiatives that came since 1984 and the massacre of Sikhs were several anti-communal groups in different parts of the country. One of the earliest of these was a forum called the Nagarik Ekta Manch, formed in 1984 itself. This was an initiative where people from different backgrounds and vocations came together to work in the relief camps � collecting and distributing relief materials, helping people file claims and so on. At about the same time, another group, the Sampradayikta Virodhi Andolan (SVA) was formed in Delhi, focusing primarily on public campaigns, attempting simultaneously to find a different language in which to conduct such campaigns. A wide debate was sparked in secular circles by one of the slogans evolved by the SVA to counter the Hindu right-wing campaign on Ramjanmabhoomi, discussed in Chapter 2. This slogan, in a radical departure from secular strategy, appealed to the religious Hindu � kan-kan mein vyaape hain Ram/Mat bhadkao danga leke unka naam (Ram is in every atom/let not His name be used to incite violence).

These could be said to have been precursors to a series of new initiatives in different towns and cities of India that came into being in the 1990s, especially in the wake of the demolition of the Babri Masjid and the communal violence that followed. Perhaps the most significant part of the citizens� actions of the 1990s was that they took up the struggle that was all but abandoned by political parties � whether ruling or opposition, Right or Left. Through this period groups have worked throughout India, engaging in a range of activities � street demonstrations and sit-ins to engage the public in debate and discussion, designing and implementing educational programmes, monitoring the media, pursuing cases in court, providing legal and other assistance to the victims of communal violence and making every effort to see that the guilty officials and political leaders would not escape punishment. Again, in the aftermath of the Gujarat carnage of 2002, during the long months of continued violence, innumerable individuals and newly formed groups from all over India went to Gujarat, helping in running relief camps, coordinating collections and distribution of relief materials, running schools for children of the victims � and of course, providing the legal support to fight the cases. These efforts might well comprise one of the most glorious chapters of citizens� interventions in post-independence India.

Urbanism could be said to be one of the fledgling movements in contemporary India. Prior to the 1990s issues of the urban poor, (pavement dwellers, hawkers and vendors, rickshaw pullers) were raised by Left political parties, individuals and groups in Mumbai and Kolkata, largely as questions of poverty and the �state�s responsibility� to the poor. The old Nehruvian state was also much more responsive to this call of responsibility. It was in the 1990s, with India�s rapid global integration, that urban space really began to emerge as an arena of struggle. Alongside the contests over space arose newer concerns regarding urban congestion, pollution and consequent concerns about health. The state�s response � prodded by a section of environmentalists and the judiciary � was to revive the old modernist fantasy of the ordered and zoned city. It was around these issues that struggles started seriously erupting in the late 1990s.

In Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and Bangalore, citizens� initiatives brought together questions of environment and workers� rights and linked them up with the larger question of urban planning. Some groups conducted mass campaigns through their constituent political groupings, but the most significant impact they had was in making urban planning a matter of public debate, drawing architects and planners with alternative visions into the debate. The question of a public transport system, road planning and such other questions came into the ambit of the debate for the first time. In some cities alternative data was generated on the availability and consumption of water, electricity and other amenities in settlements of the labouring poor as well as the affluent.

Today as Arvind Kejriwal begins his civil disobedience campaign on the inflated costs of water and electricity, we can see the historical links to earlier forms of activism.

Since the late 1980s, non-party movements and citizens� initiatives have grown and functioned in a complicated relationship with NGOs. The apprehension of being driven by funder agendas, becoming depoliticized and being co-opted by funding has kept most movements and citizens� initiatives consciously �non-funded�. At the same time many NGOs often provide movements with vital support in terms of infrastructure, campaigns and educational materials. Thus, while the peoples� movements fight their battles in faraway rural or forest areas, with little access to the media, it is these NGOs that set up and house the various metropolitan �support groups� whose task it is to approach friendly and influential people in the media, bureaucracy and academia to advocate the cause of the movement concerned. Such NGOs have often also provided critical research inputs on technical details, environmental impact and other information required to conduct a credible campaign. A striking example of such a symbiosis is the Narmada Bachao Andolan.

These citizens� initiatives were rarely mass movements, but in the first decades on the 21st century we have begun to see mass movements of this new, coalitional kind, arising around the issue of land acquisition. Such movements have brought into crisis the hitherto unquestioned assumption that industrialization and economic development of a particular kind are natural stages in human history. This assumption is shared across the political spectrum from Right to Left and so these movements come into sharp contradiction with an Old Left framework that has still not understood the deep ecological crisis our planet faces and the need to rethink entirely the idea of endless growth which is in fact impossible.

Increasingly, movements against land acquisition are coming together with the movement against nuclear energy, from Jaitapur to Kudankulam. In these mass movements we see the new form of coming together of political energies. That is, around a single issue, a range of forces come together, from religious forces like the Jamat in Singur and Nandigram and the Church in Kudankulam, to the familiar spectrum of individuals and groups � Gandhians, Dalit groups, NGOs, left groups and sometimes left parties and so on. The anti-nuclear energy movements of course, go back to the era of citizens� initiatives when groups like Anumukti, Network to Oust Nuclear Energy (NONE) and Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (COSNUP) were set up. Such citizens� initiatives were undertaken to highlight issues such as the dangers of radiation to communities located in uranium mining sites, the undemocratic and opaque nature of functioning of India�s nuclear establishment, and as always, the injustice of displacing populations from their homes and occupations in order to set up nuclear energy plants. More importantly, these groups developed a critique of nuclear energy as such, asserting, along with a growing chorus of voices globally, that it was �neither clean nor safe nor cheap.� While this work did not have a mass movement dimension until now, we see the coming together of these older initiatives with the mass movements in Kudankulam and Jaitapur.

Again, the Old Left is completely out of tune with these new developments, as in its imaginative horizon, nuclear energy is central to a strong nation state. For example, the proposal to build a giant nuclear power station in Haripur in West Bengal is a central government project, but is fully supported by the Left Front. The ecological and social consequences of building a nuclear plant in the densely populated Gangetic delta region are fearsome to contemplate, and the CPI (M)�s enthusiastic support for it is deeply troubling.

Coming now to the women�s movement, it has functioned more or less in the form of citizens� initiatives of the kind I have described, with occasional mass mobilization by political parties. In the 1980s, the �autonomous women�s movement� emerged from the patriarchy and control of left-wing political parties. The first national-level autonomous women�s conferences were thus attended by non-funded, non-party, self-defined feminist groups. Over the 1990s, very few of these survived as non-funded organizations, and the seventh conference in 2006, held in Kolkata, referred to above, was almost entirely attended by funded NGOs. It is also important to note that many �non� governmental organizations receive funding from the government for specific projects. Thus, the only groups that were finally excluded were non-funded left wing and radical women�s organizations, which seemed to many feminists to be a strange paradox. Increasingly however, in the last few years, coalitions around issues such as sexual violence and the rights of LGBT people, include political parties of the Left. Feminists also perceive the close link between movements around livelihood and ecological sustainability, and the women�s movement – Nalini Nayak, who works with fisher- people�s movements on these issues, terms ecological movements the �resource base of our feminism�.
And so we arrive at the end of the first decade of the 21st century, a decade in which we see two kinds of new political action. One – unprecedented urban mass movements in the city of Delhi and in other cities and towns, around two issues � corruption and sexual violence.

Two � social media driven mobilizations by young upper class women around the issue of women�s rights to public space.

Both these kinds of mobilizations, quite opposite in character to each other, have proved difficult for older Left and women�s movement perspectives to come to terms with, for they follow none of the older patterns of mobilizing, there is no comprehensive programme of action, only one narrow slogan, and the mass character necessarily means there can be no broader agreement around large political issues.

Let me start with the second phenomenon I mentioned.

Two campaigns have caught media attention. One, the Pink Chaddi campaign. In 2009, men of a hitherto little known Hindu right-wing organization called Sri Ram Sene, physically attacked young women in pubs in the city of Mangalore. These attacks, supposedly an attempt to protect Indian culture from defilement by western values, were met with protests and solidarity campaigns all over the country, but the most imaginative one came to be called the Pink Chaddi campaign. A cheeky Facebook group was launched by Delhi journalist Nisha Susan, with the name of �Consortium of Pubgoing, Loose and Forward Women�, which called upon women to send pink chaddis (underwear) to the leader of the Ram Sene, Pramod Muthalik, as a gift on Valentine�s Day, in a non-violent gesture of ridicule and protest. Over 2000 chaddis were in fact delivered to the Ram Sene office, and the organization was a butt of ridicule all over the world. It is striking that the campaign used the word �chaddi� rather than �panty�, simultaneously desexualizing the piece of clothing, ungendering it (chaddi refers to underwear in general, not just to women�s panties), and playing on the pejorative slang for Hindu right-wingers, after the uniform of their parent organization, the RSS, whose members wear khaki shorts. At one level an undoubtedly successful campaign, it faced criticism from conservative opinion for obvious reasons, and also from the left of the political spectrum.

The latter chastised the campaign for elitism (�after all, only westernized women in cities go to pubs�) and for diverting attention to such a trivial issue when for most women in India, their very survival is at stake. Is going to pubs what feminism is about, was the question such critics raised. Of course not. And nor did the �Consortium� claim it was anything as large as �feminism� itself. It was a specific campaign in response to a specific attack, and as Nisha Susan put it, �for many of those who signed up, neither Valentine’s Day nor pub-going meant anything. What we agreed on is the need to end violence in the name of somebody’s idea of Indian culture� (2009). The campaign brazenly owned up to the identities the Hindu right-wing attributed to women in pubs � �loose and forward� � and made them badges of pride. And it clearly touched a chord across the country, for most people understood it as defiance towards the Hindu right�s moral policing in general, not merely about women�s right to drink in pubs.

The other instance was the organizing of Slut Walks in Delhi and Bhopal. Slut Walks, both in European and American cities as well as in some Indian ones, must be understood as a critique of the victim blaming culture that surrounds rape. The original Slut Walk was a reaction to a Canadian police officer�s remark that if women dress �like sluts�, they must expect to be raped. However, the overwhelmingly positive responses world-wide to Slut Walks, reveal that blaming the victim is not an attitude restricted to the West.

In India, within the feminist camp, there were misgivings expressed that the English word �slut� has no resonance at all here. In response, the organizers of the march added a Hindi phrase explaining the name, so that it became Slut Walk arthaat Besharmi Morcha, drawing on the Hindi word besharam meaning �without shame� or shameless, often used for women who refuse to live by patriarchal rules. What was interesting about Slut Walks in India (held in Bhopal and Delhi in July 2011), was that they were not organized by the established women�s movement organizations and well-known feminist faces, but by much younger women new to political organizing, who were expressing, however, an old and powerful feminist demand – the right to safety in public spaces.

If this was elite mobilization, what is the problem for the Left with mass mobilizations? It appears that the non-party Left has a deep rooted fear of the masses, which it can only see as communal and casteist, and politically regressive.

Throughout the Anna Hazare phase of the India Against Corruption movement, we saw from this section, which forms our community, strident demands for absolute purity of the radical position (for example, what do these people have to say about Kashmir?). We saw a sort of aggressive self-marginalization and self-exile to a high ground where all credentials were closely scrutinized, and we saw the absolute incomprehension of and contempt of people who are our friends, for �the people� when actually confronted by them.

Interestingly, political parties of the Left, especially CP(ML), were supportive of the movement and active in various ways, this sharp criticism came from individuals of the non-Party left.

What I saw was a carnivalesque celebration of the pure ideals of democracy � of the idea that �we the people� are sovereign, that politicians are the servants of the people, that laws must originate in the needs and demands of the people.
What my community saw though, was a mindless mob of communal and casteist – and even �fascist� middle classes.

For twelve days, a city in which protest had been consigned to a museumized space, Jantar Mantar, was reclaimed for protest by a crashing tide of humanity so huge, so peaceful and non-violent, that it simply took back the city. No violence. No untoward incidents and no hysteria (except on television channels). How is this fascism? Are all large gatherings of the masses fascist?

Since many of the critics swear by some form of �Marxism-Leninism�, let me quote from Lenin who said in 1916 of the 1905 revolution:

�Whoever expects a �pure� social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip-service to revolution without understanding what revolution is�The Russian Revolution of 1905 was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. It consisted of a series of battles in which all the discontented classes, groups and elements of the population participated. Among these there were masses imbued with the crudest prejudices�; there were small groups which accepted Japanese money, there were speculators and adventurers, etc. But objectively, the mass movement was breaking the [back] of tsarism and paving the way for democracy.�

Another kind of critic speaks not in the name of revolution, but of democracy; a democracy disciplined through representative institutions with The People entering the stage every five years. The People are a continuous source of anxiety, casteist and communal as all of them are. Little wonder then that this set of Leftist and Left-liberals remained silent when the government denied permission for the protest and arrested Hazare on August 16; some even denying that there had been a violation of civil liberties.

Law-making needs to be demystified � �it�s a very complex process�, the experts on TV kept saying. But what the movement did was it made it legitimate to say that we have a right to the information that will enable us to arrive at a conclusion. I heard a young law student stumblingly explain before a TV camera in English, which was clearly not his first language: �They say the Parliament is sovereign. No. They should read the Constitution. The people are sovereign.�
And I loved the way people said to the camera � Main Kapil Sibal se kehna chahta hoon, main Manmohanji ko batana chahti hoon � directly, they addressed the �leaders�, the politicians, as if they have a right to. This is neither anti political nor anti political classes � it is the exact opposite. It is the insistence precisely that �we the people� are political, we demand accountability from those whom we send to Parliament.

It is by now established that there was substantial Muslim and Dalit participation despite their leaders� disapproval. The other misrepresentation being continually purveyed is that the supporters of this movement are the middle classes. If the lakhs of people who participated in the protests over twelve days in Delhi alone, are all �middle class�, then India must be Shining after all! Anybody who moved around where protests were happening could have seen that the large majority of participants were lower middle class to working class people. In Delhi local protests happened everywhere, far away from TV cameras � in middle class housing societies, working class �unauthorized� colonies, around local mosques in poor localities, small temples.

We also know from newspaper reports that there was growing participation of workers throughout – railway workers affiliated to AITUC; 1800 temporary-for-years Delhi Transport Corporation workers who were sacked for going to Ramlila Maidan; dabbawalas in Mumbai who have not struck work for 140 years; sections of auto drivers; Maruti workers from Manesar in Haryana.

The other argument against an anti-corruption law is that �corruption provides a little shade to the poor�. As a skeptics about the law and the state, I have often written about the freedoms made possible by going under the radar of the state. But how to understand the poor and working class who throng the movement? Perhaps �corruption� is precisely not to be in the shade, to be forced into engaging with the force of Law, but outside the protection of the law. Perhaps the �corrupt� people protesting corruption would like to live a life in which they wouldn�t have to be corrupt just to survive every day? We need to recognize that the term �corruption� as it plays out in the movement, condenses within it a range of discontents � an accumulating anger over repeated betrayals of democratic expectations over years, but especially over the last decade. The immediate trigger of the movement was the series of instances of looting of the public exchequer that came to light recently � the Commonwealth Games, the 2G Spectrum scam, the Niira Radia tapes that exposed how ministers were being fixed to benefit particular business houses, and so on. But corruption is also an everyday matter for the poor � the thelawala paying hafta to the beat constable; the labourer whose muster rolls are faked, the agricultural worker whose NREGA payment is swallowed up; every poor undertrial in jail on trumped up charges (was it surprising then, that the undertrials in Tihar fasted in solidarity with Anna?); the farmer whose land is seized to be passed on to corporates, an issue mentioned by Anna Hazare in his speech at Ramlila Maidan (kisanon ki zameen zabardasti chheeni ja rahi hai); the aspirant to own an auto rickshaw costing 1 lakh, who ends up paying more than a car costs, and drowns in debt.

A young working class boy we know, falsely implicated in a theft case by the police for over four years, rang up at the height of the agitation to tell us jubilantly that the beat constable had told him that the cases were being closed � �Anna hazare ke chakkar mein pulis saare case khatam kar rahi hai� (All this Anna Hazare stuff is going on, so the police are closing all the cases.) We don�t know what made him think this had anything to do with Anna Hazare. But this is the Anna moment. This is what the Subaltern Studies historians drew our attention to, the multiple meanings Gandhi had for different sections of people, the �rumours of Gandhi� that galvanized a variety of protests that directly addressed local issues.

But also, maybe the police were scared for an instant?
To all those who woke up to the India Against Corruption movement in April 2011 � a gentle reminder that this is the crystallization of a long process that began in the villages, initiated by the campaign around the Right to Information. The RTI Act (2005), instrumental in exposing corruption in a range of spaces from NREGA to municipal schools, was the culmination of one phase of the movement; the establishment of an Ombudsman or Lokpal was always planned as the next stage. Corruption is tied fundamentally to the RTI Act that exposes it, so effectively that several RTI activists have been murdered.

Now of course, Arvind Kejriwal has decided to go the way of a political party, but what we see of the AAP so far, it is clearly not a conventional party with a top-down leadership, and it appears to be genuinely seeking a new way of being a party, with actual mass participation in decision making, which might change the ground rules for all parties.

The experience of the mobilizations around IAC were behind the massive protests around the Delhi gang-rape. This time, the voices of critique were muted, although a prominent critic was Arundhati Roy, who immediately termed the protests upper class. But again, this was not the case. The protests were sparked off by the rape of a girl on a bus at 9.30 at night. She could have been anybody � she was not in a car, or even an auto. Nobody knew her caste � later it turned out she is from a very poor family and from the Kurmi caste, which is by no means an upper caste � but the point is nobody actually knew who she was � she was Everywoman.

And again, exactly like the IAC movement, there were right-wing voices as well as left-wing and feminist voices against sexual violence. These feminist thoughts were being articulated by not only people calling themselves feminists but ordinary middle class people who may not consider themselves to be very political at all. There were thousands of submissions to the Justice Verma committee and many of these have been made by ordinary people, resident�s Welfare Associations and so on, asking for changes in the broader patriarchal context of society � things like women�s safety and police sensitivity.

There has been a ground level shift among people reflecting decades of feminist intervention at different levels, but there is a real disconnect between the people and politicians. Feminist understandings have caught on in the ordinary public but this is not matched by the understanding of state agencies. Not only was a feminist position NOT articulated by anyone in a position of power or any political organization in a consistent way, most politicians from Left to Right came out with the most misogynist and regressive statements about women and about sexual violence.

And again, people did not have to be mobilized by any organized left wing, right wing or feminist groups. The transformation that has taken place in the last 4-5 years is that people feel like they own the city and can come out in protest on the streets � and I think this can be tracked back to India Against Corruption.

Any mass movement brings together disparate and sometimes starkly contradictory tendencies. Don�t we know that from the Indian struggle for independence? Was the Indian bourgeoisie absent from it? Or the religious right of all sorts? Or casteist and Brahminical forces? If absolute purity and a point-to-point matching of our full political agenda is required for us to support a movement, then feminists would be permanently stuck restively in the waiting room of history, for I can assure you that every mass demonstration you see anywhere ever, is packed with patriarchal men and patriarchalized women! Nor does any movement except the women�s movement ever raise patriarchy as an issue. But what is it that we take into account when we do support a movement? One � does the movement express a goal or demand that we support? Two � Does the movement as such explicitly take positions that are anti-women or anti-anything-we-stand-for? (The answers of course, should be yes and no respectively).

The huge movement in Goa that succeeded in scrapping the SEZ Bill was composed of precisely such a broad formation � from the Church to the Hindu Right, to all of the others of my community as described above. They came together, they went their separate ways once their campaign succeeded. Nandigram saw a similar formation. Many non-party non-funded citizens� forums have too. The Narmada Bachao Andolan is another broad alliance coalescing on a single issue. For that matter, at Tahrir Square there were Islamists (Muslim Brotherhood), and people and groups who stand for full-scale capitalism apart from secularists and feminists and workers and trade unions. Now it�s a struggle of secularists against the Muslim right-wing in Egypt, but that is a historically contingent, not necessary or inevitable development.

It is the logic of the development of a mass movement in all its messiness that we should seek to understand, rather than look for that pure, 22-carat revolution where everything will proceed according to the programme laid down by the Left elite. From this perspective, nothing less than our maximum agenda is acceptable � from SEZs to farmers� suicides, from AFSPA in the Northeast to the murder of democracy in Kashmir. If you will not accept even one of these points, you�re out – we will have nothing to do with you. It is not �they� who say �if you are not with us you are against us�, this arrogant divisive slogan has always been ours, on the Left.

Those issues listed above are our issues too, but what if a mass movement does not raise them? What if it articulates itself around a more generalized and widespread concern? Any student of mass movements anywhere in the world knows that mass movements of this scale only arise around issues where the largest sections of the people feel affected by it. They can never arise around sectional issues � however big the sections concerned may be. And the question really is of the potentiality of the movement rather than what it is, at any given point. It will only be inclusive to the extent that it is able to draw in the largest number.

We will of course have to part ways at some point to fight our separate battles, but we can come together for a specific limited goal.

We stand at the beginning of a new kind of politics that has all kinds of forces within it, but one of these is certainly the potential to radically transform and rejuvenate democracy. We should be prepared to ride that potential, not undermine it.

**5.2 Civil Society, Market and State in India since 1991.**

**STATE, MARKET AND CIVIL SOCIETY**

It is a matter of regret that a few, very few of us are conversant with the term 'Civil Society', which is a complete whole with the NGOs forming a part of it. Even many activists of some registered and recognised NGOs in the district of Burdwan do not know what the term 'civil society' actually signifies. In times of field survey, I have seen most. of the common people are fully ignorant of the term 'civil society' and it is a matter of great fun that some graduates and master degree holders presume that it may be synonymous with 'civilized society'.

Why is this case? The answer is simple, yet full of implications. For a long time social scientists and most policy-makers alike believed that we lived in a two-sector world, the market and the state. The major social science theories and political ideologies from Marxism to neo-liberalism relate to them, and the world's statistical information

1. systems are designed to· privilege data on the economy, demographics and politics, leading to a benign neglect of data on civil society. This lack of systematic information on civil society is, of course, a function of basic conceptual deficiencies in social science as well as in the society in· general. Particularly the statistical machinery and instruments of data collection, analysis and reporting were primarily oriented to cover and serve the economy and the state, including military needs. Nothing else seemed to matter much. Not surprisingly,

civil society was pushed to the sidelines and, ultimately, became a very abstract notion, relegated to the confmes of sociological theorizing, not fitting the two-sector worldview that has dominated the social sciences for over 50 years. Civil society was simply not 'on the agenda' in the national and international level. 1

What brings civil society into the agenda is the 'new world order' that entered into social sciences after the fall of communism in central and Eastern Europe. The revival of social indicators happened during the 1990s, aided by landmark publications such as the UNDP's *Human Development Report,* which challenged the dominance ofeconomic reporting at the international level. Likewise, the notion developed that a non-profit or 'third' sector might exist between the two sectors -the market and the state. Today there are many private institutions which serve public purposes and do not fit the state-market dichotomy.2 Such non-profit institutions as voluntary associations, aid agencies, charitable trusts, foundations, NGOs etc. would help the social scientists in developing an adequate understanding of civil society. Today civil society is a major political phenomenon in many parts of the world with too many developments and a well-known conception to the studen~ of social science. It is probably one of the most elusive concepts used in the development discourse today.

There are some social forces in a state; when these social forces become institutionalised, civil society comes into existence. At the beginning of the 21st century, 'civil society' is going to have a wider coverage. Political parties, interest groups, staff associations, co-

operatives, sports clubs, recreation clubs, business associations, trade unions, voluntary agencies - all these social organisations encompass civil society. Ernest Gellner defmes civil society as 'that set of diverse non-governmental institutions, which is strong enough to counterbalance the state and, while not preventing the state from fulfilling its role as keeper of the peace and arbitrator between major interests, can nevertheless prevent it from dominating and atomising the rest of society'. 3 It is also close to the defmitions of both Arato and Cohen and of John Keane. Thus Arato and Cohen defme civil society 'as a sphere of social interaction between economy and state, composed above all of the intimate sphere (especially the family), the sphere of associations (especially voluntary organisations) social movements and forms of public communication'4 John Keane uses the term to mean 'a complex and dynamic ensemble of legally protected non-governmental institutions that tend to be non-violent, self-organising, self-reflexive, and permanently in tension with each other and with the state institutions that "frame", construct, and enable their activities'. 5

The modem political thinkers use the term 'civil society' to demarcate a whole set of organisations, institutions. or bodies from governmental, semi-governmental and other statutory bodies. Each Government has some deficiency in many respects. Civil society tries. to make up for the inherent deficiencies that creep into governmental organisations as a rule. This does not mean that the civil society is designed to replace the Government. It is rather designed to



supplement the Government efforts. Civil society is not a substitute of the Government, but an addition designed to complete its action. As the state takes over more and more functions of daily life, as the division of labour becomes more complex and as demands for the redistribution of wealth increase, civil society is necessary to provide a check on state power. Civil society is an arena where voluntary actions are performed by the autonomous organisations not actively engaged in the market or trading for profit. Actually Civil society is a sphere of independent sectors, a third sector, separate from the state and the market, with a capacity to perform diverse functions that neither the state nor the market can discharge.

'Civil society' is actually an old term that entered into English usage via Latin translation. The Greek Philosophers used the term *politike koinona* (political society/community) which was translatedinto Latin as *societas civilis.* *6* The term has covered a long distance since it emanated form the pen of Marcus Tullius Cicero. 7 In ancient India civil society was a living reality, although the concept was not in formation. For the ancients Indians, the concept had a strong moral content. It was law-gov~med society in which the law was seen as the expres~ion of public virtue, th~ Aristotelian 'good life~. Civilization was thus linked to a particular form of political power, in which ruler put the public good before private interest. The fact is that India presents the rare and remarkable phenomenon of the state and the society co-existing apart from, and in some degree of independence of each other as distinct and separate units or entities, as independent centers of national, popular, and collective life and activity. Both of them · were independent organisms with distinct and well-defmed structures and functions of their own and laws of growth and evolution. The limits of state-interference were accordingly so defmed and ftxed as not to encroach upon the sphere of the activities of the social organisation. A policy of non-interference was recognised as the ideal policy of the state, the functions of which were ordinarily restricted to 'the irreducible minimum', viz. the protection of life and property and realisation of the revenue for the proper execution of that duty. There was a well-understood delimitation of the respective boundaries of the political and the social organisation, both of which were co-operating agencies for the promotion of the common weal. This popular and predominant tendency ancient and mediaeval Indian politics is in marked contrast with that of European politics generally. In the West predominant tendency has been towards a progressive extension of state interference and ,state control so as to bring within its limits all the main departments of social life and national activity until the ideal is attained of a complete nationalisation or socialisation of all the means and progress of life itself. The state, beginning as an agent of society, becomes its master and representative~ society is merged in the state to which it surrenders its functions, dropping its independent life. Thus in the West the king or the repository of the sovereign power is the head of the state as well as of the society, including even the church in some cases. In ancient India the king waS the head of the state, but not of the society. He had a place in the social hierarchy, but it was not the highest place. As a symbol of the state he appeared to the people like a remote abstraction

with no direct touch with their daily life which was governed by the social organisation.

In ancient Indian texts, we fmd a large number of terms with reference to many social organisations and indigenous local bodies playing the role of resembling that modem civil society organizations. The followings are the terms we generally come across in our Sanskrit literature, viz. *sreni, sangha, naigama, samuha, samutthana, parisat,* etc.9These various terms relating to variousinstitutionalized social forces in Sanskrit and Pali (Buddhist) literature present the strongest evidence demonstrating the existence of civil society in ancient India. There is no doubt that all these organizations encompass civil society, yet the term 'civil society' is a western product. The origin of the concept of the civil society and its relationship with the government is often traced in the writings of western philosophers. Many political thinkers have defined civil society in many ways and the ambiguity of the concept arises from its changing meaning over times. In its original sense, it allowed no distinction between 'state' and 'society' or between political and civil society: it simply meant a community, a collection of human beings united with~ a legitimate political order. Civil Society was ~ generic term for a secular constitutional order. It was defined in contrast to the state of nature. John Locke himself called 'civil society' an alternative to the state of nature. For Locke 'civil society' means a legitimate political order founded on the recognition of rights of all its



members. Unlike Hobbes, who saw security or internal pacification as the fundamental characteristic of civil society, something which was compatible with a powerful state (a Leviathan), Locke insisted that absolute monarchy could not be equated with civil government. For him, supreme power was based on the legislature; the separation of the legislature from the executive, as well as the right of free public expression was conditions for civil society. 12 Locke also developed an argument about private property as a fundamental right based on the idea that a man possesses his own labour and if he adds his labour to the products of nature, he takes possession of those products. This notion was later to be elaborated by the Scottish enlightenment thinkers, particularly Adam Smith, who stressed the development of a market economy as the basis for civil or civilized society. 13 The main planks of the civil society argument were thus freedom guaranteed by civil rights, rule of law, publicity, accessibility, property rights and the free market. 14

It was the great German idealistic philosopher, George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel who frrst bifurcated the concept of civil society sharply. Strongly influenced by the Scottish political economists, he defmed civil socjety 'as the realm of difference, intermediate between the family and the state'. 15 In other words civil society was equated with bourgeois society *(Burgerliche Gesellschaft)* and included the market. This was the definition taken up by Marx and later 19th century political thinkers.

For Hegel, famously, civil society was the

achievement of the modem world---the territory of mediation where there is free play for every idiosyncrasy, every talent, every accident of birth and fortune, and where waves of passion gush forth, regulated only by reason, glinting through them.' 16 It constitutes, therefore, the 'theatre of history'. Notably, Hegel considered civil society as one of the moments of ethical life - *Sittleichkit* - that regulates the life of the individual, the other two moments being the family and the state. But in contrast to both these institutions, civil society is the site of particularity, of self seeking individuals concerned with their own gratification and the fulfilment of their private needs. And this poses its own problems, for when individuals are motivated by self-interest and self-aggrandizement, 'civil society affords the spectacle of extravagance and want as well as of the physical and ethical ·degeneration common to both' 17

Hegel pointed out the superiority of the state over the civil society and equated it with bourgeois society. On the other hand, Marx and Engels assumed that state was subordinate to civil society and a product of the civil society. They saw the state as an instrument in the hands of the dominant classes. Civil society was the 'theatre of history... Civil So~iety embraces all th~ material relations of individuals within a definite stage of the development of productive forces. It embraces the whole commercial and industrial life of a given stage and, hence, transcends the State and the nation, though, on the other hand again, it must assert itself in its foreign relations as nationality and inwardly must organise itself as state.' 18



It was not until the early 20th century that Gramsci deviated from Marx's and Hegel's views and put forth his ideas on: (1) interpenetration of political and economic society, or the state and the civil society, and (2) an identifiable autonomy of the civil society. Gramsci, a liberal Marxist, attributes the qualities of rationality, self-regulation and freedom to civil society. The present-day conceptualisations of the civil society and of NGOs characterise them as a set of diverse non-governmental institutions which counterbalances the state and as a historically evolved sphere of individual rights and voluntary associations. 19 According to Gramsci, it is not 'economic structure' as such that governs political action but the 'interpretation of it'. Thus the 'theatre of history' is not the story of economic .development but of ideological and cultural struggles. Gramsci drew an important distinction between coercion and consent, domination and hegemony. Bourgeois society had established a powerful set of norms and institutions to sustain the hegemony of bourgeois rule based on the consent of the working classes. Whereas capitalism was overthrown in Russia through the capture of the state, this was not possible in the West where 'there was a proper relation between state and civil society, and when the state trembled, a sturdy structure of civil society was at once revealed' .20 Gramsci ·does not seem to be fond of the popular phrase 'withering away of the state' that is used in the orthodox Marxist-Leninist tradition. The end of the state is conceived not as supersession of the state but as reabsorption of the state (that.is, political society) in civil society. This enlargement of civil society is the real constitutive moment of hegemony, when the



dominant social class succeeds in making its own hegemony so universal that force would no longer be necessary. Civil society then becomes a self-regulated society, since it is now freed from political society as a separate autonomous entity.21

Although de Tocqueville did not use the term civil society, his contribution needs to be mentioned because of the importance he attributed to associational and self-organisation. He was in search of an explanation as to why democracy thrived in the United States of America but did not get institutionalised in France, the land of the great revolution. The answer he found was that the US was a country of numerous political activities undertaken by parties and local self-governments and articulated through public opinion and lay juries. Additionally, there were associations of religious groups, moral crusades, literary and scientific societies, newspapers and publishers, professional and commercial organizations, organizations for leisure and recreation. These together constituted what Tocqueville labeled as 'political society', but it is more appropriate to designate the conglomerate as civil society. Tocqueville gives a concept of civil society links civil society ·to the state and his interpretation of civic associations perform the role of watchdogs in a democracy. It is widely and correctly believed that state power can be controlled only when groups in civil society exercise constant vigilance and display critically. 

This linkage of civic associations with democracy is further supported by Putnam who, drawing on his experience in North Italy, advocates strong civic associations for establishing a strong democratic tradition. 25 Putnam says, "despite the whirl of change in entire Italy, however, the regions characterized by civic involvement in the late twentieth century are almost precisely the same regions where cooperatives, cultural associations and mutual aid societies were most abundant in the nineteenth century, and where neighborhood associations and religious co-fraternities and guilds had contributed to the flourishing communal republics of twelfth century. And although those civic regions were not especially advanced economically a century ago, they have steadily outpaced the less civic regions in economic performance and in quality government, "26

Cohen and Arato who have theorized notion of civil society as a contemporary emancipatory project, 27 (in their monumental work, *Political Theory and Civil Society,* 1992), refer to a 'third realm'differentiated from the economy and the state as civil society. Civil society as the realm of associational life is contaminated neither by the logic of politics nor that of economics, for in the eyes of theorists both have been found wanting, mired as they are in conflict on the one hand and competition on the other. Civil society in the hands of these two authors becomes ·

They point out that the authority of local communities and of what were called corporations (guilds or associations) in civil society are considered to be the 'barrier against the intrusion of subjective caprice into the power entrusted to the civil servant'. 29

In contemporary usage, the term tends to refer to social movements, associations, NGOs or the non-profit sector. As the term emerged in Eastern Europe and Latin America, the emphasis was on self-organization and civic autonomy in reaction to the vast increase in the reach of the modern state, and on the creation of independent spaces, in which individuals can act according to their consciences in the face of powerful influences from the state on culture and ideology. This concept was taken up by Western radicals who saw civil society as a check both on the power and arbitrariness of the contemporary state and on the power of unbridled capitalism. Those who had favoured stronger states to resolve the contradictions generated by capitalism had failed to anticipate the dangers of an overbearing state. According to Habermas:

There is also, of course, a more establishment view in which civil society is considered complementary to the state and the market, a way of smoothing the path of market reform and implementing state programmes, described as the neo-liberal version. 31 The closing decades of the 20th century witnessed a steady resurgence of faith in markets, with the state's role as economic strategist and planner coming under increasing scrutiny and criticism. Government failures have received more attention than market failures as the possible root cause of the lack of adequate economic development. The conventional wisdom about economic development has had a perceptible shift; from state interventions being perceived as essential to another extreme where the state is supposed to have a minimal role. The latter position is often referred to as the Washington ConSensus, which argues for unregulated markets and free trade with conservative fiscal and monetary policies for macro-economic stability as the fit-all formula for global development. This shift has perforce put into new focus the somewhat old debate about markets and the state.



These debates often dominated by one-sided presentations. Sometimes they reflect uncritical faith in the market, sometimes they reflect blind opposition to it. While uncritical faith represents 'market mania', the blind opposition may be called 'market phobia'. Market mania involves uncritical faith in the efficiency and other virtues of the market, paying no attention to the context. It is reflected, for example, in the advocacy for indiscriminate deregulation and privatization, accompanied by high expectations, obtained not so much by considering the facts as by using feelings. This sort of mania played a role in Russia's rush towards a market economy in the nineties. The catastrophic consequences of this rush clearly indicates that something may be deeply wrong in this intuitive unreasonableness. 33

In India a common form of market mania consists on the notion that radical deregulation is a panacea to 'kick-start the economy'. This belief is naive in several ways. First, it is based on a narrow understanding of the impediments that are holding off the Indian economy. The relevant failures are not simply due to lack of market incentives. There are other factors too, like widespread illiteracy and undernourishment,\_ inadequate infrastructure, the paralysis of the legal system, endemic corruption, dismal public services and so on. Market mania overlooks this lack of preconditions in the Indian economy. The kind of take-off that has followed market-oriented reforms in countries such as China and Vietnam could be achieved only after fulfilling these preconditions. The notion that deregulation on its own could lift Indian economy out of its present predicament contains a good dose of



unreasonable optimism. The supplementary role of the preconditions

must be brought into recognition. Second, the deregulation recipe overlooks the fact that r in the context of 'market mani~' ; -, the

deep complementarities between market efficiency and state action are deeply complementary to each other. The market is highly contingent on various forms of state action, from the provision of an adequate legal framework to redistributive policies. It should be understand that liberalization does not necessarily diminish the importance of state action. This applies even to regulation itself, for relaxation of one type of rules very often calls for developing new rules of a different type. Third, concentrating exclusively on deregulation alone can amount to taking a somewhat exaggerated view of the role of bureaucratic controls in shackling the Indian economy. This applies particularly to the rural economy, which has given ample room to market forces for a long time. In this respect, some Indian villages even resemble a Chicago economist's paradise, with an effectively unregulated market for most commodities. 34

However, there are sectors where bureaucratic regulations do have a sharp edge. Such regulations must have been necessitated by some concerns. So the question arises as to how to address those valid concerns in the event of deregulation. It will be unfair to assert that all regulations are based on bureaucratic arbitrariness or pernicious lobbying. Some of these regulations actually reflect valid concerns or monopolistic practices. May be that the controls in question have often become excessively stifling. But that does not prevent one from



pointing out that indiscriminate deregulation would be substituting one basic mistake for another.

None of this detracts from the importance of reducing the burden of over-regulation in India. It can be argued, however, that India combines a massive excess of regulation with a serious lack of effective regulation in many fields of vital importance. In fields ranging from environmental protection and labour safety to public transport and the medical profession there are so many regulations, but very few of them are actually effective. This anomaly arises from the fact that most the regulations in question are often misguided or misapplied or arbitrarily applied, or used as a means of harassment. This anomalous situation needs to be addressed, which calls for a very different approach from that advocated by market fundamentalists.

Uncritical opposition to market-based arrangements can be aptly defined as market phobia. The most common basis of this unreasonable fear is the notion that giving unregulated freedom to the market mechanism invariably exacerbates economic inequalities. This is a pertinent concern, and there are indeed many examples where free market mechanism has enhanced in economic disparities. Situations may indeed occur when one cannot but strongly advocate for interfering with the market mechanism on distributional grounds. This can be done through minimum wage legislation or positive discrimination in employment policies. This does not, however, imply that stifling the market mechanism has automatic egalitarian effects. It has been observed that in India, on many occasions, state regulation, instead egalitarian effects, has actually had the opposite effect. It is



actually consolidated privileged interests and concentration of power. Very often bureaucratic controls have led to massive inefficiencies without doing anything tangible for underprivileged though the cost of those inefficiencies are borne by public at large.

Further, the relation between markets and inequality has to be seen in a broad perspective. One need not focus only on economic inequality due to, for example, lopsided distribution of incomes or other economic factors. There are other facets social inequalities such as gender or caste discrimination as well as inequalities of regional political power in such a vast country with immense diversity as India. These facets also demand attention. In that broader perspective, market exchange sometimes emerges as a factor of liberation for disadvantaged sections of the population. It is by taking advantage of new opportunities for selling their labour created by free-market operations that many agricultural laborers in India have managed to free themselves from traditional bonds and feudal oppression. So to some extent market opportunities enable people to go about their economic activities independently without being dependent on the goodwill of officials and bureaucrats. To the same extent they also represent a potential source o( liberation from official assessment and arbitrariness. However, there are many examples where market forces consolidate rather than reduce social disparities. Evidently, there is no simple relation between markets and social inequality.

In cases where market processes do exacerbate economic or social inequality, it is important to consider this problem together with other social consequences of the market economy. For example, one



may consider the recent expansion of software-related industries in India. No doubt government intervention has contributed remarkably to this expansion; but market incentives have been its main driving force. It is quite possible that this process has led to some increase in economic inequality. Yet it cannot be denied that the process has also generated a great deal of employment, not only for programming wizards and other highly skilled personnel but also for many other people in the relevant areas of Bangalore and Hyderabad. In assessing these developments, it would be quite improper to concentrate only on the inequality-enhancing effects of market incentives. It should be admitted at the same time that they have generated considerable amount of employment also. There are many other cases where the market process has diverse social consequences, which cannot be adequately evaluated on the basis of either 'market phobia' or 'market mania'.

In this context mention may be made of the comparative merits of the two forms of economic decision - market mechanism and governmental action. According to Amartya Sen the comparative merits of the two forms of economic decision are so profoundly context dependent that it makes little sense to support a general 'pro state' or 'pro market' view. For instance, what a government can do, and will in fact do, must depend on the nature of that government. A government should not be confused with the state it governs. The state is a broader concept which includes not only the government, but also the legislature that votes on public rules, the political system that regulates elections, the role that is given to opposition parties, and the basic political rights that are upheld by the judiciary. In a democratic



state the ruling government cannot be unresponsive to the needs and values of the population at large. So we have to consider not only the nature of the actual government in office, but also the nature of the state of which the ruling government is only one part.

A similar question may be raised about the context -dependence of the role of the market mechanism. What kinds of markets are we talking about? Most of the theory of efficiency or effectiveness of the market mechanism relates to competitive markets in equilibrium. It is not unreasonable to assume that small violations of those competitive conditions need not disturb that equilibrium violently. But actual markets can take very different forms indeed. For example, the cornering by a few operators of goods in short supply - leads· · to a massive accentuation of shortage and suffering to common people. This has happened very often and cannot be dismissed as imaginary nightmares. The recent history of Asia and Africa provides plentiful examples of market exchanges being used to make profits out of the miseries of millions. There are also cases where the market has misjudged the extent of a shortage quite badly causing suffering and even chaos, though it was not the result of willful manipulation. The Bangladesh. Famine of 1974 war result of such a guided speculation on the part of traders. The consequence was an enormous hiking of rice prices, which was followed later by a sharp fall towards pre-hike prices. Meanwhile the famine has taken its toll. The periodic havoc caused by under-regulated financial markets in different parts of the world is another illustration. Therefore, to take a general 'pro



market' stand without preconditions is as problematic as taking a general 'pro government' view.

Any contrast between market-based and government-based economic decisions demands a clearer understanding of the nature of the markets in question and the governments involved. These are not, of course, aU-or-none questions. Market forms may vary in the extent of competition, in the openness of entry, in the actual scope for manipulability, and so on. There are also diversities in the nature of governments. A lot depends on the political system underlying the state, the legal system that sustains political freedom, the power of ruling political groups, the treatment of opposition and dissent, etc. So the assessment of the respective merits of market-based and governmental decisions cannot be objective without considering the nature of the market and the nature of the governments involved.

Actually, governments and markets are inter-dependent sectors and civil society acts as buffer between the two. Herein lies the role of civil society, the Tocquevillean interpretation of civic associations performing the role of watchdogs in a democracy. This role is obviously cooperative not conflicting. State intervention and the market mechanism may be seen· as two alternative ways of coordinating economic activities. A third is cooperative action which comes through civil society. Cooperative action may also be important for matters such as conflict resolution, cultural life or political life. The role of cooperative action in social life is so pervasive that it is easy to lose sight of it.

It is often argued that market guided economic development fosters an individualistic culture and undermines the cooperative spirit. This reading not only overestimates the cooperative features of 'traditional communities', but also underestimates the role of cooperation in modem market-oriented societies. In fact, an expansion of the scope of social cooperation may be regarded as a central feature of the development process. This arises from mutually reinforcing connections between the two. On the one hand, social cooperation plays a vital enabling role in the process of development, by catalyzing the process of translating economic prosperity into social opportunities. Some of the treasured activities such as playing games or celebrating a festival are intimately associated with cooperation. Moreover, social progress in the field such as public health, environmental protection and conflict prevention also depends a great deal on various forms of social cooperation, which is significant. Even achieving economic prosperity is often facilitated by cooperative action. For example, the community activities play a vital role to maintain irrigation structures or civic initiatives for the spread and promotion of education. 44

When the .capitalist economies an4 their international alljes were extremely eager to introduce the orthodoxy of their brand of neo-liberalism in the third-world developing countries they were not quite sure how this would actually be achieved avoiding consequent of social conflicts. The resurgence of civil society now coincided very neatly with the dilemma of neo-liberals and provided its promoters with the necessary insight into the problem as well as relief. Autonomous associations of people were discovered by the capitalist



countries of North America and Western Europe as a rich source of energy. They had the potential to be channeled not only towards promoting the idea of the essential goodness of the market but also towards curbing the authoritarian tendencies of the state and creating a democratic environment in which the market could thrive. 45 Both the transnational capitalism and its key global agencies consisting of various UN bodies and foreign aid and credit organizations (the World Bank, IMP, and UNDP etc.) have discovered in the NGO sector a most effective instrument of promoting their cause. All that was necessary to do was to 'liberate' them from the normal constraints of a Third World State so that the new global thrust of liberalization and privatization and integration of the Third World into a homogeneous world economy can be effectively accomplished.

Kothari says, "Opening up of the vast hinterlands and peripheries of these continents (developing countries) which provide the new frontiers to the capitalists' searching eyes has also enabled corporate capitalism to come full circle in its relationship with the State. Realising both technical and political hurdles, the transnationals began by entering into a partnership with the State itself but with its penetration of the hinte~land of these countries, ~ large parts of which the State does not exist, and by beefmg up the capacities of local business houses and the stock-market by promoting new collaborative ventures, they are in effect undercutting the monopoly of the State and creating an atmosphere for 'free enterprise' everywhere. Simultaneously they have been able to score two significant ideological points: the superiority of the Market over the State as a



means of rapid modernisation, leading to the whole philosophy of liberalisation, and the superiority of the private frrm and the voluntary agency over the regular bureaucracy and government departments for providing a flexible, innovative and dynamic institutional framework for development. With this convergence of new technologies, new priorities for capitalist exploitation and preference for the private sector and market economies, the State in the developing world has been both subdued and made an instrument of a new corporate world 'ruling class'.

"It is in the context of these series of shifts in dominant thinking on development that one has to understand yet another institutional shift: from governments to NGOs. Building on the growing criticism of the State in 'delivering' development as well as on the distrust of governments among United Nations and donor agencies in reaching 'target populations', there has been emerging over the last several years a preference for nongovernmental development agencies (NGOs) which operate both internationally and nationally (as well as in local spaces). These are increasingly preferred to governme:Qtal agencies, so much so that even major new projects promoted by governments in dairy f~g, dry and waste \_land development, afforestation, development of rural technologies and new energy sources, as well as new explorations of sea-beds and islands are being set up on the model of voluntary agencies with their own autonomous boards and with no accountability to governments. "

"It is this stress on the NGOs as the new frontier of corporate capitalism that we need to take serious note of. These consist of two



interrelated sectors. The first sector is small in the number of units but very powerful in both strategic impact and the resources at its command. It consists of those voluntary agencies which work above government bureaucracies and which facilitate the entry of global economic interests into the Indian economy. Such voluntary agencies are no different from the corporate sector and are not accountable to either government bureaucracy or people's representatives. The National Dairy Development Board (NDDB), for example, which is India's biggest agribusiness and runs the world's biggest dairy project, is a registered society working in rural areas and hence also voluntary agency. Its prime mover, Mr. V. Kurien, prides himself on the fact that his is a registered, 'voluntary' body. Such corporate voluntary agencies are integrated into the global economy, as NDDB is with the EEC. Their identity is inseparable from that of the State, or of the dominant global economic interests. "

"It is these emergent commercial interests parading as NGOs that need to be made accountable to the public. It is they who need a Code of Conduct -just as multinationals do - to provide a deterrent to their power and patronage. Yet the 'Code of Conduct' (yet to be introduced) for voluntary agencies is not for this cl~s of NGOs. How could it be? They exist because of the patronage of transnational empires and the patronage of a corporate State that increasingly wants to be not accountable to either the people or to Parliament through the regular bureaucracy. Accountability is missing where it needs to be exercised most, apropos the new empires of the Kuriens, the Swaminathans, the Ramannas and the Chowdhrys. On the contrary, using an NGO profile but wholly government created, they are able to



create new tools of control on the freedom of genuine voluntary expressions of social movements and democratic struggles of civil society, while still talking of new 'protection', and new 'opportunities' that are being provided for the voluntary sector. *50*

"The second NGO sector that is sought to - be brought in as a close ally of the GONGOs (Government Organised NGOs) are the large number of development and welfare NGOs who by themselves may not lead to the new privatisatian thrust, but will either be pawns in it, as tokens, as exhibits, or simply as lower rungs of the new 'delivery system'. Their presence on boards and in programmes of the dominant segments, their invitations to meetings and briefmgs, will be promoted as long as they accept the new privileges offered to them and in return accept the larger thrust of globalisation of India's economy, or at least do not challenge or resist it, or even if they do so, do it as mere tokenism, as a PR job. Their 'participation' in this passive manner, as localised exhibits, is being promoted and will be promoted because it shifts the focus from the more universal development trends towards global integration and from local destitution and exclusion of millions of people from the development process. It also gives the State, which is intrinsically. growing more repressive, a benign look."

Observation of Rajalli Kothari clearly indicates. that the state itself is against the democratic activities of the NGOs. Undoubtedly the NGOs play a great role in government programmes and they enjoy a bigger share of government funds. For the NGO sector, the new temptations of being development agents in the corporate State's



model is combined with the new threat to their voluntarism and their ability to critically evaluate government policies on behalf of the people and intervene justly and creatively. In the words of Kothari "Genuine voluntarism cannot maintain its independence and its capacity to make the State and its plans accountable to the people and fight for their rights if it depends on and is controlled by government. It is not the State that can create spaces far voluntarism; it is the citizens who do that. Active non-cooperation has been India's age-old device to keep democracy alive; and alive not just far a few, but to recall Gandhiji's ringing reminder to us all and always, for the 'last man'. Dependency on government funds will also create vulnerability to total control. With a vested interest in the programmes of the State, voluntary agencies also cannot hope that they can resist these programmes when they tum anti-people. The ability to say 'no' implies full freedom from dependence and from an obligation to say 'yes'. It is a good opportunity to respond to the dual imperative of the role of the State being undermined by capitalist growth under the IMF and World Bank type of institutions and delivered through GONGOs, and of resisting control by such a State over people's voluntary action. It is a good time to investigate more carefully how in the new thrust for global privatization of the Indian economy backed by centralization of its institutions, the GONGOs have became critical intermediaries that are substituting citizens, parties and state bureaucracies. "

Again, 1riultilateral and bilateral aid agencies associate civil society with good governance to further the promotion of neo-liberal ideas. The World Bank, one of the leading institutions promoting neo-



liberalism, is, in fact, the ftrst to have used the term governance on this context (World Bank 1989, 1991 ). Civil society has fitted into this framework in three important ways: frrst, civil society organisations have been targeted as effective via media to channel aid for development to poor countries, so that the gap opened by the rolling back of the state is filled through the delivery of development directly to the poor. Second, as recipients of aid, civil society organisations are also under obligation to fulfill their funder' s agenda of furthering neo-liberalism by providing safeguards to people who are adversely affected by the onslaught of the market. And third, following the tradition of Tocqueville and Putnam, civil society is viewed as an effective watchdog that can curb any authoritarian tendencies of the democratic state. This, in turn, would provide a suitable environment for the promotion of neo-liberalism, leading to the unquestioned triumph of the market. Part of the problem with straightforwardly associating civilsociety with good governance results from the way the former is viewed as a separate realm between the household and the state, or as an autonomous 'third' sphere, different from the state and the market. The problem of conceptually linking civil society with governance becomes apparent when applied to India In the wake of its formation, the Indian democratic state reflected the aspiration of its nationalist leaders to undo all that colonial subjugation had done to the society. This aspiration manifested itself in four ways: (a) the framing of a constitution that guaranteed the fundamental rights and freedoms essential for people to live with dignity; (b) the adoption of a multiparty parliamentary democracy which made people sovereign in



deciding who they wanted to be governed by; (c) the adoption of a developmental path designed to accelerate economic growth through increase in agricultural productivity and industrialisation; and (d) the passing of legislatio~s that would end the unequal distribution of land,

4

the social exclusion of lower castes and the evils of untouchability. 5

With all these measures, the state assumed complete responsibility for fulfilling the political, social and economtc aspirations of the people. Centralised planning by experts and a protectionist economy to benefit the public sector became the hallmarks of the Nehruvian model of development. Dams, mines and industries were set up in quick succession to change the social and economic landscape. It was hoped that with economic prosperity, which would trickle down to the lowest rung in the socio-economic hierarchy, all social inequal itiy would automatically be wiped out. But the ruling elite soon realised that there were forces within society that, for their own benefit, wanted to perpetuate the status quo. The landed elite tried to sabotage the progressive land legislations, the economic elite tried to appropriate the benefits of capital for themselves, and the upper castes resisted the abolition of untouchability. The caste-class nexus., which had made uppe~ castes the rural bourgeoisie, became difficult to deal with and required compromise in many instances. In time, the cracks in development planning and the ideals of social transformation began to show. Through their nexus with the ruling elite, the dominant and influential sections of society appropriated the benefits of development, while the disadvantaged sections continued to suffer poverty and deprivation. Indeed, development seemed to further increase their misfortune:



thousands of families were displaced by dams, mines and industries without adequate resettlement and had to migrate to urban centres where they ended up in urban slums. Social services, employment opportunities and fulfilment of basic needs for vast sections of Indian society remained unachievable. This reflects laxity in the way the state dealt with its people. In many cases the policies made to benefit the deprived sections were not implemented; often, the absence of policy itself became a cause for concern. In other instances, policies meant to benefit the poor did not take their needs into consideration. The· state institutions also showed considerable apathy and high-handedness in their dealings with the people. Hence, in many instances, people could not exercise the democratic rights and freedoms guaranteed to them under the constitution. This was particularly evident in the case of lower castes, women and tribals. *55*

All this resulted in the gradual erosion of people's faith in the state and the space claimed by civil society began to be filled with voluntary associations committed to renewing the - Gandhian tradition of social reconstruction and providing basic services to the poor. At the same time, the marginalised raised their voice against the state with the help of ~ocial movements. A prjme example of this is ~e Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), which was established during the early 1970s. Simultaneously, a plethora of social movements against dams, industries and mines began to emerge in different regions of India. These movements questioned the logic of development and demanded that the state recognise people's ownership and control over their sustenance resources. 56 The s~te is



not a neutral actor that can be taken to task and brought back to play its role more efficiently without any reference to the social setting in which it operates. Therefore, in instances where civil society raises its voice against the state, it invariably attracts the wrath of not only the ruling political elite but also the dominant forces within society itself. 57

Consequently, a conflicting relationship between the state and civil society automatically grew. The fact is that civil society is not as autonomous as the state. It cannot plan its actions independently of the state. The Constitution of India guarantees the freedoms of association and speech, thereby legitimizing the role of civil society in independent India. The democratic system, through the rights and freedoms it grants to the people, provides a framework for civil society to operate in. In other words, it is the state that draws the boundaries of political permissibility and renders acts falling beyond these boundaries as 'uncivil'. Civil society acts within the limits prescribed by the state, suggesting that the state has the upper hand in controlling the initiatives of civil society. When challenged, the state does not hesitate to use violence; civil society, however, cannot afford to respond in the same way if it is to survi.ve. Hence, civil society. initiatives have been largely carried out through peaceful demonstrations and dialogue that challenge the actions of the state but do not threaten its existence. 58

Secondly, within a repressive government structure, there are always individuals willing to provide support to civil society. In situations where this happens, despite the overall conflictive





relationship with the state, civil society does collaborate with it. This conflict and collaboration, with various shades and degrees, detennines the overall relationship of civil society with the state and its impact on governance. 59

Finally, the Indian state where decentralization has been undertaken as . a part of democratization process, does not have a universal character. The character of the state at local level is different from that of the central or provincial level. It follows that in any instance of civil society interface with governance, the nature of the state at different levels plays a crucial role. The state at the local level might be oppressive, but if the state at the provincial level is supportive, it can create space for civil society to make an impact. Similarly, if the state at the provincial level is oppressive and the state at the national level is supportive, the directives travel downwards, allowing for the voice of civil society to be heard. 60

In this context, it must be mentioned that mainstream politics in India has usually shied away from supporting civil society initiatives. However, when in opposition, political parties do support such initiatives. This can be seen as a consequence of electoral politics to

* gain votes by extending sympathy to the struggling masses, and the inherent compulsion of parties, when they come to power, to discontinue support. The alliance with political parties thus works both to the advantage and disadvantage of civil society. When the party not-in-power extends its sympathy, civil society does make a dent in the legislature-a domain that is not usually open to it - through a mediator who is ·close to power. The 'backtracking' by parties when



they come to power makes it doubly difficult for civil society to influence governance. 61

The assertions of civil society vis-a-vis the state forcefully drive home the message that the state cannot be let off the hook. It needs to be reformed and brought back to perform its task of responsible governance. On the context of the liberalisation of the economy, the market has become an important actor in the arena of governance. Many contemporary social movements, particularly those against state-led development, are critical of both state-led and market-determined governance. The assertions in civil society vis-a-vis the state therefore reflect the need for incorporating people's agenda in the scheme of governance in situations where there is incongruence between the people's and the state's version of what constitutes the elements of a desirable society and polity, privileging people's defmition over the that of the state. 62

Autonomy of the individual protection of the individual right to equal citizenship and access to the decision-making apparatus and participatory democratic framework are necessary conditions of a civil society. The fact is that where the state fails to guarantee these, and instead functions as an · instrument subserving dominant sectional interests only, non-state associations and voluntary mobilizations would rise. The most significant feature of civil societY, whether in the West or outside it, is that there must be self-policing and modularity, and above all the pursuit of disinterested and individually sanctioned virtue (not the ones imposed either by the state or by associations/organizations), which, according to Gellner are the most



Essential bases of democracy and civil society. A democracy which fails to build itself on the appropriate soil ultimately fails also to sustain itself and collapses. Long time ago, Alex de Tocqueville suggested that 'democratic government is strengthened, not weakened, when it faces a vigorous civil society.



**5.3 E-Governance in Indian Democracy: Role, Functions and Limitations**

<http://www.ignou.ac.in/upload/B2U2cit-002.pdf>

**E-Governance**
E-Governance has become an essential part of any firm in globalization process. Increasing demands of clearness in administration, rapid information transfer, more competent performance and improved public service has pushed organizations to choose electronic means for success in business. Organizations can give better performance through innovative use of information technology and e-governance. There are many advantages of e-governance and impact public management through, for example, improved access to services, decreased operational costs, enhanced knowledge management, and strengthened coordination of government agencies. E-government has been major developments of the web. It is well established that Internet supported digital communities, they present the national governments with a number of challenges and opportunities. The application of ICT and e-governance has huge potential for intermediate organizations in developing countries. The main goal of e-governance is to support and simplify governance for all parties' government, citizens and businesses. E-governance uses electronic medium to support and motivate good governance. Therefore the purpose of e-governance are analogous to the objectives of good governance. Good governance can be seen as an application of economic, political, and administrative authority to smoothly manage business activities of a country at, national and local level.

**Concept of E-Governance**
E-governance is the good usage of information and communication technologies to transform and enhance the efficiency, effectiveness, transparency and accountability of informational and transactional exchanges with in government, between government agencies at National, State, Municipal & Local levels, citizen & businesses, and to authorise citizens through access and use of information. Fundamentally, E-governance, entails electronic governance which uses information and communication technologies at various levels of the government and the public sector to improve governance (Bedi, Singh and Srivastava, 2001). Theoretical studies demonstrated that E-Governance is the process of change of the relationship of government with its constituents the citizens, the businesses and between its own organs, through the use of tools of information and communication technology. Keohane and Nye (2000) asserted that "Governance implies the processes and institutions, both formal and informal that guide and restrain the collective activities of a group. Government is the subset that acts with authority and creates formal obligations. Governance need not necessarily be conducted exclusively by governments. Private firms, associations of firms, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and associations of NGOs all engage in it, often in association with governmental bodies, to create governance and sometimes without governmental authority." The objective of e governance is to embrace information and communication technologies and offer an opportunity to citizens, so they can get involve in decision making process. According to The UNESCO, E-governance is the public sector's use of information and communication technologies in order to enhance information and service delivery, motivating inhabitant involvement in the decision-making process and making government more accountable, transparent and effective. E-governance involves new styles of management, novel ways to decide policy and investment, new ways of accessing education, and listening to citizens and new ways of organizing and delivering information and services. The purpose is to give better access, accountability and efficiency in the delivery of government information and services. E-Governance has capability to provide all government information and services on internet to the public and private sector. An e-governance initiatives and innovations will ensure a more democratic, transparent and accountable framework for the public and private apparatus to operate in. The governments of developing countries must establish a suitable environment for e-governance. E-governance is the method of service delivery and information dissemination to citizens using electronic means providing many benefits over the conventional system (Jayaradha and Shanthakumar, 2003). These include increased efficiency in various Governmental processes, transparency and anticorruption in all transactions, empowerment of citizens and encouragement of their participation in governance. Ray and Dash (2015) considered that e-governance should also include the aspects of internal working which cover use of information technology to increase competence and effectiveness of internal functions and internal communications and internetworking. Internal aspects cover the overall change of government hierarchy to adjust to the new requirements and expectations of efficient and improved services, simplification and rationalization in the business process to better serve the stake-holders in a transparent and cost-effective manner.
Variables of E-governance:
￼

Historical evaluation of E-governance

With the technical development of internet technology in the nineties, there was global shifts towards increased deployment of IT by governments. The technology as well as e-governance initiatives emerged a long way since that time. World Wide Web offered good opportunities to global population to exploit their new mode of access in wide ranging ways. People have great expectation to get information and services online from governments and corporate organizations to further their civic, professional and personal lives, thus creating plentiful evidence that the new "e-citizenship" is taking hold. In India, the notion of e-governance during the seventies with a focus on development of in-house government applications in the areas of defence, economic monitoring, planning and the deployment of IT to manage data intensive functions related to elections, census, and tax administration. The National Informatics Center made great efforts to link all the district headquarters in the decade of eighties. Since the beginning of nineties, IT technologies were enhanced by information and communication technology to expand its use for wider sectorial applications with policy emphasis on reaching out to rural areas and taking in greater participations from NGOs and private sectors.

**Conceptual framework of e governance strategy:**￼
The e-governance model can serve as a reference for governments to situation where a project fits in the overall development of an e-governance strategy. An e-governance strategy is essential to accomplish the corporate goals. Projects have structural value for development when entrenched in vision and supported by policies. Anderson had described the process of implementing e governance projects. He has perception of Think big, start small, and scale fast.
Thinking big is vital to set the general vision and objectives of e-governance. Starting small is crucial to build immediate success and keep a positive driving force, both internally as well as externally. Scaling fast is only possible with a deep strategy that protects all necessary resources are available in time
E governance implementation (Andersen Consulting, 2000)
￼
To understand deeply about the e-governance space, researcher developed four different frameworks and models. Gartner proposed a four-stage model for e-governance. In the first stage of "Presence", governments will go to the Internet and establish a least presence online. In the second stage of "Interaction", online presence will be reorganised and enhanced to include a searchable database of services and government staff will begin to interact with communication tools such as E-mail. In the third stage of "Transaction", governments will provide services online. At this stage, inhabitants will be able to benefit government services and governments can use E-authentication and payment services for providing services. The Fourth stage of Gartner's model is called "Transformation" in which governments will begin to assimilate services across various levels and functions to provide integrated services from various departments. Gartner believes that pace layers can be used to develop a business application strategy that delivers a faster response and a better ROI, without sacrificing integration, integrity and/or governance.
Gartner's model of E governance (Source: Gupta, Kumar & Bhattacharya, 2003)
￼
Another e governance model is developed by Layne & Lee and they argued that e-governance is an evolutionary phenomenon and e-governance initiative should be started and implemented in an evolutionary way. According to their model, the initial stage is cataloguing in which governments will provide information online, in the second stage of e-governance projects, government moves to transaction. E-Governance tools will start revolutionizing governments by changing the way they interact with their peoples. In the third stage of "Vertical integration" theorists asserted that e-governance projects will move from mere automation and digitization of the existing process to transformation of government services. The last stage in the model of Layne and Lee is horizontal integration in which Information Technology tools will horizontally integrate services across different functions of government.
K. Layne, J. Lee Government Information￼
The United Nations Organisation provided a five-stage model of E-governance in 2003 after conducting survey. In this model, first two stages are similar to the Gartner's model. In the first stage of this model, there is limited, basic and static information through an official website or a portal. The second stage offer searchable databases and information related to laws and regulations. The third stage is recognized as "Interactive presence" in which government services will enter an interactive mode with electronic signature facilities and multimedia capability. In the Fourth "Transactional Presence" stage, government services will be offered as online transactions. Inhabitants will avail and pay for services using government portals. In the last stage of the UN's model, "Networked presence", Government agencies will be combined to offer integrated services from various departments. Another model suggested by Finger and Pecoud for e-governance based on three different policy levels which include local, national and global, three different sectors involved such as private sector, government and third sector, three different policy functions that are policy making, regulation and operations and three different degrees of making use of New Information and Communication Technologies.

**E-governance in India**

India is a country of diverse culture, tradition, language, geography and the monetary condition of the people. In this country, there are number of people who are below the minimal socioeconomic benchmarks. This includes rural and urban poor, women in rural areas, street children, people of disadvantaged castes and people living in less developed areas. The susceptibility of these sections of society has increased with globalization and this section is prone to become even more marginalized, economically and socially. According to scholars, India is a developing country with great potential for a speedy development. However, it has undergone the impact of political crisis. These events severely affected India's growth as well as they have pushed India back by many years.
E-Governance/ICT initiatives has immense role in the enhancement of improving accessibility, cutting down costs, lessening corruption, extending help and increased access to un-served groups in India. In the age of technical advancement, e-government initiatives have reached most of the people belonging to these sections of society. Improved access to information and services has offered economic and social development opportunities, enabled participation and communication in policy and decision-making processes and empowerment of the feeblest groups of society. This has promoted ownership and building of social capital, which in turn, constitute a basis for local revival.
India has good position in implementing ICT in the Asia. India is linked with most of the nations of the world. With the adoption of E governance formation and communication technology, India's tourism is enhanced. Furthermore, the steady changes taking place in the telecommunications industry in India which positively impact in fiscal growth of country and provide better services and lower prices for customers. In India, government is also providing investment incentives in terms of tax concessions and establishment of e-zones for ICT-based industries. There are agencies such as India National ICT Council and projects such as e-government initiatives which are accountable for spearheading, devising and implementing of E governance. The successive establishment of the National Informatics Centre (NIC) in 1976 with the financial help of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) was major step to execute e-Governance in India. After that numerous e-Governance initiatives launched at both national and state levels. These projects implemented to make progress to address major problems related to government service. On the basis of the advice of the Second Administrative Reforms Commission, the Government of India devised a National e-Governance Plan (NeGP) in 2003. The NeGP was initiated with a vision of "Make all Government services accessible to the common man in his area, through a common service delivery channel and guarantee efficiency, transparency and reliability of such services at reasonable costs to meet the basic needs of the common people (NeGP, 2003). Afterwards array of projects were implemented. Reviewing the academic studies, it has been found that there a hot debate related to e-governance as it does not provide a clear agreement on the requirement to have bureaucratic system change with the use of ICT. Many theorists stated that e-Governance led revolution has good impact on government organisations because they aid to achieve better governance by lessening cost, better dissemination of information, supporting better involvement and interaction and efficient delivery of services (Jaeger, 2003). Other group of researchers argued about the importance of transforming the existing model of government bureaucracy (Kallinikos, 2004). Some researchers raise concern about the impact of information and communication technology applications and bring changes to government processes (Ciborra, 2015). Studies have shown that E governance has potential to bring vivid changes or transform government institutions rather than automate or reform organisational structures (Ho, 2002).

Issues in implementation of E-Governance

There are many obstacles to execute E-governance policies. These include insufficiency of funds, infrastructural problems, scarce manpower, citizen enthusiasm, data accumulation, legal framework readiness, and maintenance (Jayaradha and Shanthakumar, 2003). According to a NASSCOM report, e-Governance in India is considered as a rapidly growing section with three southern states namely Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu which made significant progress. Experts recommend that in order to get desired benefits, government must have to take several pro-active steps to address the operational, economic, personnel, planning and implementation issues, which are the hold-ups to effective application of e-Governance (Rao, 2003). Advanced technologies requires novel way of thinking about service and business process design, new ways of working, the development of new skills, the use of old skills more effectively and a more flexible approach to working patterns and practices. Robbins (1998) asserted that structural inertia (built-in mechanisms) is major obstacle for transformation process in industries. Another inhibition is people's resistance to any change. It is important to design such employee-oriented Human Resource strategies as would allow the organisation to prepare employees for change and also support them to absorb rather than adsorb the changed systems. There are also cultural obstacles which refer to values, beliefs, mind-set, practices and customs of people. These hindrances have major challenge to install new system. Cultural barriers exist at employee level, officers' level and political level (Sharma and Palvia, 2004). Changing from being an organisation to become 'e-organisation' greatly impact organisation structure and management styles as it results into re-distribution of power and control. It also changes the alignment of the organisation.
Companies adopting e governance must develop customer orientation which understand the requirements of the user, explore new ways of presenting information to meet customer needs; design feedback mechanisms; manage customer relationships; streamline processes; develop good communication process, organise information, work more flexibly; make better decisions, coordinate activities, focus on major issues in the context of personnel which include doing job analysis again to redefine job responsibilities and other job dimensions of various jobs affected by the change. Organizations also concentrates on redesigning the recruitment and selection process according to changing manpower needs, the identification of competencies of technological environment to facilitate all employees to operate efficiently in a fully electronic working environment, developing a performance management program that would integrate changes in job responsibilities and requirements and which is development oriented, educating employees about their new legal and corporate responsibilities and obligations, developing knowledge workforces capable of multi-tasking (Riley 2003). Companies must evolve an environment that would encourage any positive behaviour exhibited by employees, focus on better management of efforts between various government agencies as it will affect program effectiveness and efficiency. additionally, effective implementation requires changes in decision making processes, involving quicker decision mechanisms, changes in organisation structure making it flatter and higher delegation of authority (Garg and Khataokar, 2003). It is essential to incorporate the new vision with the structure, culture and strategies of the organisation.

Recommendations to Tackle Challenges

There is a need of appropriate strategies of e governance and information and communication strategies to bring changes in various internal systems of organizations for issues. It has been found in many studies that a highly motivated and satisfied workforce give better performance than a demoralized and dissatisfied workforce (Prasad). There are some strategies to tackle problems in various areas of human resource management in the changed environment. On the basis of the new profile of employees required for e-governance, new sources of their availability need to be tapped. One of these sources could be college campuses, a source which has been well utilized by private organisations. Feasibility of other sources like HR consultancies, may also be explored. The existing manpower may not be ready to be deployed into e-governance projects. Training costs might be high due to geographical spread. Designing a selection process that would objectively and correctly measure the skills and competences required to handle the changed work style and job responsibilities is required. Such a process should incorporate methods that would objectively assess the knowledge and skills required to handle the redesigned job. The e-governance implementation leader should have strong conceptual and management skills. The leader must be responsible for guidance as well as act as mentor and coach. Leaders need to change their styles and will have to adopt different approaches to manage people in new work settings in the organizations that are characterized by use of current technologies, and continuous change.
To summarize, E-commerce is the exchange of information across electronic networks, at any stage in the supply chain, whether within an organisation, between businesses, between businesses and consumers, or between the public and private sector. E-Governance denotes to the public sector's use of Information and Communication Technologies in order to improve information and service delivery, encouraging inhabitant participation in the decision-making process and making government more accountable, transparent and effective e-governance has different meaning in the developing world. Aim of achieving e-governance and changing India's economy goes far beyond mere computerization of separate back office operations. It means to vitally change as to how the government operates, and this implies a new set of responsibilities for the executive and politicians. It will need basic change in work culture and goal orientation, and concurrent change in the existing processes. The change in the mind-set to develop and agree the distributed and flat structured e-governance system is needed at higher level system to make good position in world.

**5.4 Transparency and Accountability in Governance, need and significance.**

**ABSTRACT**

The explosive entry of technology into everyday life have changed how people live, work, how companies do their daily business and how governments serve their people. With the help of IT, governments are realizing that, by applying the same principles and technologies that are fueling e- business revolution, they can achieve similar transformation. The result is the emergency of e-governments. This paper will focus on e-government It will provide the general overview of e-government, its importance, types and challenges facing these countries in managing e-government.

**INTRODUCTION**

A worldwide revolution in information and communications technologies is occurring. The Internet, the personal computer, and the mobile phone are fundamentally changing our lives - affecting the way we work, learn and interact. Governments around the world are recognizing the value of e-Government. Properly designed and implemented, e-Government can improve efficiency in the delivery of government services, simplify compliance with government regulations, strengthen citizen participation and trust in government, and yield cost savings for citizens, businesses and the government itself. Not surprisingly, therefore, policymakers and managers are looking to adopt e-Government in countries around the world - ranging from the most developed to the least developed

The word government has been variously defined by different scholars. Etymologically the word government originates from the word “govern” which originates from Old French “*governer”*, or from Latin “*gubernare”* meaning “to steer or rule”, and from the Greek word “*kubernan”* meaning “to steer”, steeped in controlling, or at least having a large (and possibly invasive) role in multiple facets of citizens’ lives, (Riley, 2012)

The definition of government is often phrased in terms of key requirements that society places on its government. The New Oxford English dictionary (2001) defines government as;

The system by which a state or community is governed or the action or manner of controlling or regulating a state, organisation, or people. Other common definitions include, the exercise of political authority over the actions or affairs of a political unit, people, etc, as well as the performance of certain functions for this unit or body” and “the executive policymaking body of a political unit, community, etc”. Osborne and Gaebler (1992) wrote that: Government is the mechanism used to make communal decisions i.e . It is the way we provide services that benefit all people: national defense, environmental protection, police protection etc. It is the way we solve collective problems.

To a large extent, the phenomenon of e-Government can be explained unambiguously by adopting a definition of e-Government that includes all electronically executed transactions between government agencies and citizens. Despite the citizen-centric focus, the definition of e-Government is not limited to a service-based view of offering electronic public services to citizens. It has been observed that e-Government in this information age has also become an inter-organisational phenomenon, and that technological improvements have implied more cooperative initiatives between government departments and organizations in complex, diverse and often divided political systems. Osborne and Gaebler, (1992) defined e-Government as; The government’s use of technology, in particular, web-based Internet applications to enhance access and delivery of government services to citizens,

2

business partners, employees and other government entities. It is a way for governments to use the new technologies to provide people with more convenient access to government information and services, to improve the quality of the services and to provide greater opportunities to participate in our democratic institutions and processes. The World Bank, (2012) define E-Government as; The use by government agencies of information technologies (such as Wide Area Networks, the Internet, and mobile computing) that have the ability to transform relations with citizens, businesses, and other arms of government. These technologies can serve a variety of different ends: better delivery of government services to citizens, improved interactions with business and industry, citizen empowerment through access to information, or more efficient government management. The resulting benefits can be less corruption, increased transparency, greater convenience, revenue growth, and/or cost reductions.

Generally e-Government is basically the use of Information Communications Technology (ICT) and its application by the relevant government body for the provision of information and public services to the people. In simple terms, e-Government is the use of technology to enhance the access to and delivery of government services to benefit citizens, business partners and employees. It is the use of information technology to support government operations, engage citizens, and provide public services in a more efficient and transparent manner. The aim of e-Government, therefore, is to provide efficient dissemination and management of information to the citizen; better service delivery to citizens; and empowerment of the people through access to information and participation in public and policy decision-making. E-government can support more streamlined and responsive service, wider public participation, and more cost-effective business practices at every level of government. It ranges in complexity from basic access to official information to radically redesigned public processes. Therefore, to envisage e-Government comprehensively, it is necessary to include the concept of

“E-Administration” which implies the application of electronic media for the management of the internal public organization

**DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNACE**

The difference between government and governance is often raised. Governance, according to the New Oxford English dictionary (1991), is defined as “the action or manner of governing”*.*

It is the process by which we collectively solve our problems and meet our society’s needs. Government is the instrument we use.”

E-Government and e-governance can be defined as two very distinct terms. e-Governance is a broader topic that deals with the whole spectrum of the relationship and networks within government regarding the usage and application of ICTs. It is a group of norms, processes and behaviors that have an influence on the exercise of power, especially from the point of view of openness, participation, responsibility, effectiveness and consistency. e-Government is actually a narrower discipline dealing with the development of online services to the citizen, more the e on any particular government service - such as e-tax, e-transportation or e-health (Riley, 2012) e-Governance is a wider concept that defines and assesses the impacts technologies are having on the practice and administration of governments and the relationships between public servants and the wider society, such as dealings with the elected bodies or outside groups such as not for profits organizations, ngos or private sector corporate entities. It encompasses a series of necessary steps for government agencies to develop and administer to ensure successful implementation of e-government services to the public at large.

*E-democracy* refers to the processes and structures that encompass all forms of electronicinteraction between the Government (elected) and the citizen (electorate).

*E-government* is a form of e-business in governance and refers to the processes and structuresneeded to deliver electronic services to the public (citizens and businesses), collaborate with business partners and to conduct electronic transactions within an organizational entity

According to the **World Bank (2002) E-Governance has the following benefits;**

1. It greatly simplifies the process of information accumulation for citizens and businesses.
2. It empowers people to gather information regarding any department of government and get involved in the process of decision making.
3. E-Governance strengthens the very fabric of democracy by ensuring greater citizen participation at all levels of governance
4. E-Governance leads to automation of services, ensuring that information regarding every work of public welfare is easily available to all citizens, eliminating corruption.
5. This revolutionizes the way governments function, ensuring much more transparency in the functioning, thereby eliminating corruption.
6. Since the information regarding every activity of government is easily available, it would make every government department responsible as they know that every action of theirs is closely monitored.
7. Proper implementation of e-Governance practices make it possible for people to get their work done online thereby sparing themselves of unnecessary hassles of traveling to the respective offices.
8. Successful implementation of e-Governance practices offer better delivery of services to citizens, improved interactions with business and industry, citizen empowerment through access to information, better management, greater convenience, revenue growth, cost reductions etc.
9. Furthermore, introduction of e-Governance brings governments closer to citizens. So much so that today it becomes extremely convenient to get in touch with a government agency. Indeed, citizen service centers are located closer to the citizens now. Such centers may consist of an unattended kiosk in the government agency, a service kiosk located close to the client, or the use of a personal computer in the home or office.

5

1. E-Governance practices help business access information that might be important for them at a click

Seifert & Bonham (2003) provides the following benefits of e-government;

**Cheaper**: a website can be a very cost-effective way to exchange information, both for its ownerand its users. From the agency's point of view, for instance, a website can *reduce the number of* *enquiries* agency staff has to deal with, by providing answers to the most common questions orqueries (also known as *FAQs, Frequently Asked Questions* ) it normally receives, and therefore reduce the amount of staff effort and cost needed to respond to them. In general, a website makes it possible to publish extensive information on regulations, procedures and other aspects of an organisation's work, which would otherwise need to be disseminated through direct human intervention: this means an agency can dedicate less staff time to dissemination activities, allowing either for a reduction in staff numbers, or for their employment elsewhere in the agency. Websites also represent a *cheaper alternative to the production and dissemination of* *printed materials* , like leaflets, letters and so on. This said, it should always be considered thatbuilding and maintaining a website also has its costs (see *Disadvantages* below), so agencies planning to use a website to try to cut staff costs should always make sure that the savings obtained do offset the cost in terms of staff and money necessary to build and maintain a web application. A website can also represent a cheaper communication alternative *from the users'* *point of view* , especially if they are located in remote regions or abroad, as a phone call to aninternet provider is often cheaper than a long-distance call, or a physical visit to the agency.

**Quicker**: web publishing is immediate, and this enables agencies to introduce changes to theirpublic literature easily and relatively quicker than with traditional and more costly methods depending on print. The immediacy of web publishing also allows the fast release of news and other information items to the public, which an agency may find useful to, say, respond to promptings from the media, or act in moments of crisis. In addition to this, if maintained properly a website provides information *24 hours a day, 7 days a week* , and can therefore cater for the parts of the population either that find it hard to visit the agency in person (including, for instance, the disabled) or to contact it during working hours. This can extend to providing the possibility to conduct transactions (e.g. requesting a licence) outside working hours and

without visiting government offices, which can be useful in countries or regions where travel is slow, costly or generally not easy. Conducting transactions online is also generally faster, as data can be recorded and transferred very quickly, as opposed to what happens with other, more traditional ways of handling bureaucratic procedures (e.g. paper-based forms, manual input by officials, etc.).

**E – Government** can provide better ways to manage information compared to traditionalmeans. Hypertext enables you to provide access to complex sets of information in relatively easy and user-friendly ways and, combined with databases, it can also provide users with ways to interact directly with the data, i.e. consult it, update it and/or send it to other destinations: in other words, a website can enable users to initiate and/or complete service transactions without recourse to human intervention. The absence of a gate-keeping role on the part of humans not only saves time and money, but it is also likely to help reduce and prevent phenomena such as corruption and bribery, a problem experienced by many governments: by potentially cutting out "middlemen", e-government represent a relatively transparent way of administering services and information, in comparison to traditional means. Having a website also provides governmental bodies with an opportunity to systematically collect information about their clients and users: this includes running surveys, asking users to share their personal data in order to register for specific services (and therefore easily create and maintain a database of users of these services), and generally monitoring the behavior of visitors to the site (e.g. through statistical analysis, which can be used to establish what information users are most interested in).

An e-government service also creates social benefits for the citizens of a country. For countries that have a widely dispersed population an e-government service allows the citizens situated in remote areas to have access to the same services that citizens within the major cities would enjoy. The ability of an e-government service to be accessible to citizens irrespective of location throughout the country brings the next and potentially biggest benefit of an e-government service. In several countries there is a high level of voter apathy, either due to grievances with government policy or to voters not bothering to leave their homes to vote. Developing a secure portal online that allow citizens to register their vote would not only give citizens in remote areas

7

the chance to vote from their own home with the click of a mouse but would, in addition, allow the general population with busy working lives the chance to vote very quickly on their lunch break at their desk. Another benefit of implementing an e-government service is the greater transparency of the service provided.

**TYPES / MODELS OF E GOVERNMENT**

E-government offers services to those within its authority to transact electronically with the government. These services differ according to users’ needs, and this diversity has given rise to the development of different type of e-government. According to the World Bank, (2002); Jeong, (2007) the e-Government delivery models can be briefly summed up as follows;

1. G2C (Government to Citizens)
2. G2B (Government to Businesses)
3. G2E (Government to Employees)
4. G2G (Government to Governments)
5. C2G (Citizens to Governments)

***Government to Government Model (G2G)***

According to Gregory (2007) G2G refers to the online communications between government organizations, departments and agencies based on a super-government database. Moreover, it refers to the relationship between governments. The efficiency and efficacy of processes are enhanced by the use of online communication and cooperation which allows for the sharing of databases and resources and the fusion of skills and capabilities. It renders information regarding compensation and benefit policies, training and learning opportunities, and civil rights laws in a readily accessible manner (Ndou,2004). The vital aim of G2G development is to enhance and improve inter-government organizational processes by streamlining cooperation and coordination. Governments depend on other levels of government within the state to effectively deliver services and allocate responsibilities. In promoting citizen-centric service, a single access point.

to government is the ultimate goal, for which cooperation among different governmental departments and agencies is necessary. G2G facilitates the sharing of databases, resources and capabilities, enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of processes. It represents internal systems and procedures which form the backbone of public organizations. G2G involves sharing data and conducting electronic transactions between governmental actors. This includes both intra and inter-agency interactions between employees, departments, agencies, ministries and even other governments.

***Government-to-Business (G2B)***

Government to business, or G2B, is the second major type of e-government category. G2B can bring significant efficiencies to both governments and businesses. G2B include various services exchanged between government and the business sectors, including distribution of policies, memos, rules and regulations. Business services offered include obtaining current business information, new regulations, downloading application forms, lodging taxes , renewing licenses, registering businesses, obtaining permits, and many others. The services offered through G2B transactions also play a significant role in business development, specifically the development of small and medium enterprises (Pascual, 2003). The opportunity to conduct online transactions with government reduces red tape and simplifies regulatory processes, therefore helping businesses to become more competitive. Fung (2002) asserts that, Government-to-Business (G2B ) model have been receiving a significant amount of attention, partly because of the dynamic nature of commercial activities in general and the potential for reducing transaction costs through improved procurement practices. Moon (2003) argued that G2B applications actively drive e-transaction initiatives such as e-procurement and the development of an electronic marketplace for government purchases; and carry out government procurement tenders through electronic means for exchange of information and goods. Shifting government transactions online provides the opportunities for companies to simplify regulatory processes, cut through red tape, keep legal compliance, and carry out operations faster and easier through electronic filing and statistical reporting. Rather than travelling to a government office to fill up paper forms, a contractor, for example, will find it more convenient to apply

for building permits over the Internet. The delivery of integrated, single source public services also creates opportunities for businesses and government to partner together to offer a hybrid of public and commercial services under the same umbrella.

***Government-to-Citizens (G2C)***

G2C deals with the relationship between government and citizens. It allows citizens to access government information and services instantly, conveniently, from everywhere, by use of multiple channels. Government-to-Citizens (G2C) model have been designed to facilitate citizen interaction with the government. The focus of G2C is customer centric and integrated electronic services where public services can be provided based on a “one-stop shop” concept. This implies that citizens can carry out a variety of tasks, especially those that involve multiple agencies, without needing to initiate contacts with each individual agency. A single access point also reinforces citizen participation in democratic processes since they can access administrative proceedings readily and articulate their needs more conveniently to public officials. (Ndou,2004) While e-Administration initiatives improve internal government processes, e-Citizens and e-Services deal with improving communication and quality of service between government and citizens. Finally, e-Society initiatives concern interactions of government with businesses and civil communities. As each domain develops and progresses, e-Government initiatives may increasingly fall into overlaps. In applying the idea of G2C, customers have instant and convenient access to government information and services from everywhere anytime, via the use of multiple channels. In addition to making certain transactions, such as certifications, paying governmental fees, and applying for benefits, the ability of G2C initiatives to overcome possible time and geographic barriers may connect citizens who may not otherwise come into contact with one another and may in turn facilitate and increase citizen participation in government (Seifert, 2003).

***Government to Employees (G2E)***

Government to employee is the least sector of e-government in much e-government research. Some researchers consider it as an internal part of G2G sector and others deal with it as a separate sector of e-government (Riley, 2001).G2E refers to the relationship between government and its employees only. The purpose of this relationship is to serve employees and offer some online services such as applying online for an annual leave, checking the balance of leave, and reviewing salary payment records, among other things (Seifert, 2003). It is a combination of information and services offered by government institutions to their employees to interact with each other and their management. G2E is a successful way to provide e-learning, bring employees together and to encourage knowledge sharing among them. It gives employees the possibility of accessing relevant information regarding compensation and benefit policies, training and learning opportunities, and allowing them access to manage their benefits online with an easy and fast communication model. G2E also includes strategic and tactical mechanisms for encouraging the implementation of government goals and programs as well as human resource management, budgeting and dealing with citizens (Ndou, 2004).

**CHALLENGES OF IMPLIMENTING E GOVERNMENT**

There are several challenges that can delay progress towards realizing the promise of e-government. The variety and complexity of e-government initiatives implies the existence of a wide range of challenges and barriers to its implementation and management.

***ICT Infrastructure***

The implementation of e-government initiatives face some technological difficulties such as lack of shared standards and compatible infrastructure among departments and agencies. ICT infrastructure is recognised to be one of the main challenges for e-government. Internetworking is required to enable appropriate sharing of information and open up new channels for communication and delivery of new services (Ndou, 2004). For a transition to electronic government, an architecture providing a uniform guiding set of principles, models and standards, is needed. Sharma & Gupta (2003) point out that implementation of the whole e-government framework requires a strong technology infrastructure. In order to deliver e-government services, government must therefore develop an effective telecommunication infrastructure

***Privacy***

Privacy and security are critical obstacles in implementation of e –government. Privacy refers to the guarantee of an appropriate level of protection regarding information attributed to an individual (Basu, 2004). Government has an obligation to ensure citizens’ rights regarding privacy, processing and collecting personal data for legitimate purposes only (Sharma & Gupta, 2003). Concerns about website tracking, information sharing, and the disclosure or mishandling of private information are universally frequent. There is also the concern that e-government itself will be used to monitor citizens and invade their privacy. Both technical and policy responses may be required when addressing the privacy issue in an e-government context. In addition, there is a need to respond effectively to privacy issues in networks in order to increase citizen confidence in the use of e-government services. Citizen confidence in the privacy and careful handling of any personal information shared with governmental organizations is essential to e-government applications Basu (2004).

***Security***

Security of an information system means protection of information and systems against accidental or intentional disclosure to unauthorized access, or unauthorized modifications or destruction (Layton, 2007). It refers to protection of the information architecture including network, hardware and software assets and the control of access to the information itself.Sharma & Gupta, (2003) asserts that, security can be classified into two elements: network security and documents security. It should include maintenance and e-infrastructure protection in the form of firewalls and limits on those who have access to data. Furthermore, the use of security technology, including digital signatures and encryption, to protect user IDs, passwords, credit card numbers, bank account numbers, and other such data being transmitted over the Internet and stored electronically is essential to fulfilling security goals in e-government applications (Feng, 2003)

***Policy and Regulation Issues***

Feng (2003) points out that e-government is not a technical issue, but rather an organizational issue. Implementation of e-government principles and functions requires a range of new rules, policies, laws and governmental changes to address electronic activities including electronic Archiving, electronic signatures, transmission of information, data protection, computer crime,

Intellectual property rights and copyright issues Dealing with e-government means signing a

Contract or a digital agreement, which has to be protected and recognized by a formalized law,

which protect and secure these kinds of activities or processes. In many countries, e-business and

e-government laws are not yet available. Establishing protections and legal reforms will be

needed to ensure, among other things, the privacy, security and legal recognition of electronic

interactions and electronic signatures.

***Lack of Qualified Personnel and Training***

Another major challenge of an e-government initiative can be the lack of ICT skills. This is a particular problem in developing countries, where the constant lack of qualified staff and inadequate human resources training has been a problem for years (UNPA&ASPA, 2001). The availability of appropriate skills is essential for successful e-government implementation. E-government requires human capacities: technological, commercial and management. Technical skills for implementation, maintenance, designing and installation of ICT infrastructure, as well as skills for using and managing online processes, functions and customers, are compulsory. To address human capital development issues, knowledge management initiatives are required focusing on staff training in order to create and develop the basic skills for e-government usage.

***Digital Divide***

The ability to use computers and the Internet has become a crucial success factor in e-government implementation, and the lack of such skills may lead to marginalization or even social exclusion. The digital divide refers to the gap in opportunity between those who have access to the Internet and those who do not. Those who do not have access to the Internet will be unable to benefit from online services ((UNPA & ASPA, 2001).). In the case of the digital divide, not all citizens currently have equal access to computers and Internet, whether due to a lack of financial resources, necessary skills, or other reasons. In fact, computer literacy is required for people to be able to take advantage of e-government applications.

Government should train its employees and citizens in basic skills of dealing with the computer and Internet in order to let them participate in e-government development applications. In addition, this lack of access among vulnerable or low-income citizens prevents them from being

able to make use of those services provided specifically to them. UN (2008) survey found that an increasing in digital divide in developing countries increases the cost of technical barriers in launching and sustaining e-government services.

***Leaders and Management Support***

The literature shows that without support from the top management, an innovation is less likely to be adopted. Thus, e-government implementation needs the support from the highest level of government for successful implementation. Top management support refers to the commitment from top management to provide a positive environment that encourages participation in e-government applications. Therefore, it plays a significant role in the adoption and implementation of e-government (Ndou, 2004).

**CONCLUSION**

E-government has the potential to greatly improve how government operates internally and how it serves its customers. E-government is much more than a tool for improving cost-quality ratios in public services. It is an instrument of reform and a tool to transform government. Thus, e-Government is not primarily about automation of existing procedures (which may or may not be effective), but about changing the way in which government conducts business and delivers services.