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## **From the Pen of the Chairman-cum-Chief Editor**

Dear Readers,

I have immense pleasure to present the latest issue of BJPA (Vol. XVI No. 2, July-Dec, 2019) before you. The Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA), Bihar Regional Branch, Patna has been endeavouring tirelessly to bring the burning issues of Public Administration to the fore through this Journal. Regular publication of journal is a step forward towards the venture that too amidst financial exigencies and other difficulties. The Branch has been conscious of maintaining high order of the journal in order to make it useful for teachers, researchers, students, policy makers and administrators. I am delighted to mention that the efforts of the editorial team, to maintain its high standard, have resulted into its presence in UGC-CARE Reference List of Journals and its wide circulation through Branch's website.

The present issue encompasses the burning issues like grassroots governance, public service delivery, bank management, governance, women empowerment, cause of SCs, digital governance etc. I express my thankfulness to the editorial team, anonymous referees, learned contributors and institutions of higher education who have rendered helping hands to our venture.

Er. Jugal Kishore Singh  
Chairman-cum-Chief Editor

## **Editorial**

It is matter of great pleasure to inform the readers that Bihar Journal of Public Administration has retained its place in the UGC-CARE Reference List of Quality Journals in Group 'C' journals (Social Sciences). The present issue Vol. XVI No. 2 July - December, 2019 has covered a wide range of subjects related to Public Administration.

India is passing through a phase of transition, particularly in context of governance and public administration. In view of this assumption, it was intended to incorporate the treatments reflecting the transformations. The present Issue of the Journal covers wide range of such issues like Banking Ombudsman, changing nature of Public Service Delivery, Local Self Governance, Rural Development, Public Distribution System, Digital India, Perception Management, Eradication of Corruption, Urban Slums, Women Empowerment, Job-Stress, Constitutional and Impact of Abrogation of Art 370, Dalits' Plight, Women Education for Social Transformation, Good Governance in Ancient Indian Administration, Rights of LGBT and so on. A number of research scholars have also produced quality work, some of whom have been incorporated in the Issue.

More than half a dozen Hindi research papers attracted our attention and have passed the muster of referees for their inclusion in the Issue. These research papers cover the issues like implementation of service guarantee law of M.P., awareness of protective discrimination among dalits and attitude of non-dalits, changing nature of governance owing to globalisation and neo-liberal features and governance in developing countries.

The papers in the Issue can be categorised twofold - exploratory and explanatory/informative. The editorial team hopes that all the contributions are worth reading. However, the Editor solicits suggestions for further improvement in the Journal and invites books for review.

R.K. Verma  
Editor

# Contents

From the Pen of Chairman-cum-Chief Editor	iii
Editorial	iv

## ENGLISH SECTION

1. Educational Status of Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand <i>Sujit Kumar Choudhary</i>	137-149
2. Changing Nature of Public Service Delivery in India: An Analysis <i>Satish Chandra Jha</i>	150-156
3. Banking Ombudsman Scheme: An Analysis <i>Ved Prakash</i>	157-168
4. Perception Management in the Doval Doctrine and the Role of Media: An Analysis <i>Nishtha Kaushiki</i>	169-176
5. People's Participation in Rural Development: Challenges and Prospects <i>Vineeth Thomas</i>	177-185
6. Corruption in India: Cures to Curb It <i>Daisy Sharma</i>	186-193
7. Socio-Economic Conditions of Urban Slum Dwellers: A Case Study of Siwan (Bihar) <i>Archna Kumari</i>	194-202
8. Effects of Job Stress on Safety Consciousness among Indian Coal Miners: A Study <i>Saniya Anjum and Shiv Deo Singh</i>	203-218
9. Political Empowerment of Women in India: A Study of Their Participation and Share in Power Structure <i>Dilip Kumar R. and M.V. Duraish Kumar</i>	219-230
10. Vulnerability of Dalit Women to Gender Violence <i>Henna Tabassum</i>	231-236

<b>11. Women's Education in Bihar: A Study in Context of Social Transformation</b>	<b>237-242</b>
<i>Ajay Kumar and Kavita Kumar</i>	
<b>12. Evolution of Local Governance and Tax Decentralization in Rural India: With Special Reference to Tamil Nadu</b>	<b>243-254</b>
<i>K. Murugan</i>	
<b>13. Ensuring Human Rights of LGBT Community in India: A Study of Judicial Intervention</b>	<b>255-261</b>
<i>Sujeet Kumar Srivastav</i>	
<b>14. Re-engineering Social Welfare through Digital India: A Case Study with Reference to Chhattisgarh Public Distribution System (PDS)</b>	<b>262-275</b>
<i>Gowd Kiran Kumar</i>	
<b>15. Good Governance and Ancient Indian Administration</b>	<b>276-283</b>
<i>Renuka Nath</i>	
<b>16. Is 'Digital India' Inclusive? A Study in Context of Gender and Rural-Urban Dichotomy</b>	<b>284-292</b>
<i>Shashi Bhushan Kumar</i>	
<b>17. HIV/AIDS in India: An Overview of Policy and Psycho-Social Perspectives</b>	<b>293-304</b>
<i>Ritu Sharma, Sriram Divi and Neeta Khurana</i>	
<b>18. Prospects of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises for Inclusive Economic Growth in India</b>	<b>305-316</b>
<i>Kumari Rajni and Rajiv Kumar Bhatt</i>	

### RESEARCH NOTE

<b>19. Criminalisation of Politics and Electoral Reforms and Electoral Reforms in India</b>	<b>319-325</b>
<i>Naved Jamal and Minarul Islam Biswas</i>	
<b>20. Abrogation of Article 370: Its Constitutionality and Impacts</b>	<b>326-329</b>
<i>Vikash Narayan Upadhyay</i>	

## HINDI SECTION

21. देशरत्न श्री राजेन्द्र प्रसाद : राष्ट्रपति के रूप में उनकी भूमिका महेन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह	333-338
22. मध्य प्रदेश लोक सेवा गारंटी अधिनियम 2010 के कार्यान्वयन में ई-शासन की भूमिका शीतल द्विवेदी	339-349
23. सकारात्मक विभेद के प्रति दलितों की जागरूकता बनाम गैर-दलितों का दृष्टिकोण राजेन्द्र कुमार	350-357
24. भारत में लोक प्रशासन का बदलता स्वरूप: संगठनात्मक एवं प्रकार्यात्मक परिप्रेक्ष्य प्रियंका कुमारी	358-364
25. लोक प्रशासन एवं उत्तर-आधुनिकवाद (एक अवधारणात्मक विश्लेषण) विकासशील देशों के संदर्भ में एक विश्लेषण अमृता कुमारी	365-371
26. भूमण्डलीकरण एवं लोक प्रशासन के बदलते परिप्रेक्ष्य: विकासशील देशों के संदर्भ में एक विश्लेषण अमृता कुमारी	372-379
27. सुशासन, लोक प्रशासन एवं भूमण्डलीकरण धनंजय झा	380-386

## BOOK REVIEWS

28. Role of the State in the Developmental Process: A Study of the South Korean Experience <i>By Prof. Mahendra Prasad Singh</i>	389-393
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English Section

अंग्रेजी प्रभाग

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# EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF SCHEDULED CASTES IN JHARKHAND

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**Sujit Kumar Choudhary\***

## Abstract

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Caste structure in Indian society and polity has always been a matter of concern. The Scheduled Castes (SCs) have been victims of social exclusion and discrimination by rest of the society for ages through institutionalised methods. The British Government of India was first to use the term 'Scheduled Castes (SCs)' in place of Dalits for providing them with certain benefits. Later, the Government of India, after independence, carried the same nomenclature. Even after the passage of seven decades of democratic governance of independent India, the conditions of SCs have not improved to the desire level; they still suffer from various forms of social exclusion and discrimination in all public domains, including in the educational attainment. The present paper examines the different determining factors responsible for their inaccessibility to education in India in general and Jharkhand State in particular.

**Keywords:** Scheduled Castes, Education, Exclusion, Discrimination, Jharkhand.

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## INTRODUCTION

The caste system has been considered as one of the pillars of Indian social system where caste had been a determining factor in education, work and employment for centuries. In fact, the social and educational problems of a deprived population are interlinked and inter-related. Although education has proved to be the best means for their development, it has not reached to the majority of the SCs.

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Besides, education carries inherent handicaps, both structurally and functionally (Choudhary, 2007). As Rana rightly points out as

Dalits owing to their being part of the Hindu order are dialectically placed to live within a system, and yet, without the boundaries of power. Every moment hundreds and thousands of Dalits women are being raped, Dalit students in educational institutions are tortured physically and psychologically to commit suicide, Dalit workers are beaten to death (2017, 102).

In this sense, social problems obstruct the motivation level, quality and utility of education (Wankhede, 1999: 399). Dreze and Sen rightly point out that India is placed among the worst performers in terms of human development is related mainly to its skewed attempt to improve the condition of the country – advancement of few at the cost of exclusion of the multitude (Dreze & Sen, 2013). This multitude is formed by the Dalits, Adivasis and other marginalized groups, such as religious minorities, particularly Muslims.

Education has the major role to play to lead upward social mobility and bring positive change in a contemporary society where technology and modernity are the guiding forces. It has been revealed by Chauhan that the role of education is very crucial so far as the SCs and their development is concerned, despite limitations (1975: 168-75). It was also observed that other means like political and economic power have proved to be failure compared to education (Choudhary, 2007). Shah (1960) rightly points out, 'higher education is still mainly open to the higher castes'. Large sections of the population belonging to the SCs were denied quality education in different periods of Indian history and also have limited access to occupations based on high income and involving power. In India, even caste has been the determining factor of class positions resulting in acute inequality in the distribution of wealth and incomes (Mehta and Kapoor, 1998: 37). In this context, caste has become a most important parameter to decide status and power in society. Before going to discuss the educational status of SCs, it needs to conceptualize the term 'Dalits'.

## **CONCEPTUALIZING 'DALIT'**

The term dalit has been used in many ways by looking into different space and time into consideration. In Indian society, dalits are referred to *Chandalas*, *Avarnas*, *Achhuts*, *Namashudra*, *Parihas*, *Adi-Dravida*, *Ad-Dharmis*, depressed classes, oppressed Hindus, Harijans, etc. – at different point of time. However, after the emergence of the Dalit Panther's movement in Maharashtra in the 1970s, they preferred to be called as dalits. The definition of dalits as propounded by the Dalit Panthers was a class definition and it included members of Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), the landless and poor peasants, women, and all those who

were exploited politically, economically and in the name of religion (Murugkar, 1991: 237). It was the Panthers' political compulsion that made them propound such a definition of a category which never existed before, as they wanted to forge an alliance among these aforesaid groups (Kumar, 2005: 516).

However, sociologically, the term dalit has been strictly used for ex-un-touchables of Indian society who have faced the worst kind of social exclusion. The term 'social exclusion' has been defined as a multidimensional process in which various forms of exclusion are combined: participation in decision-making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural process. When combined, they create acute form of exclusion that finds a spatial manifestation in particular neighbourhoods (Madanipour, 1998: 22).

The then British Government of India (1937) carved a new identity – the 'Scheduled Castes' – for the untouchable castes as these were put in a Schedule for the purpose of providing them constitutional safeguards. Although this term has been used as a nomenclature in the present Constitution of India, it is not explicitly defined. Apparently, the members of the erstwhile untouchable castes have not had much problem with their given identity of 'Scheduled Castes'. However, in the 1970s, a new identity, namely, dalit was asserted by them. In the mid-1970s, again, the dalit leaders coined a new identity in the name of 'Bahujan' with the emergence of Backward and Minorities Communities Employees' Federation (BAMCEF) (Kumar, 2005: 522).

## **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Education is a major instrument of emancipation of the deprived sections of the society in general and the SCs in particular. There are, however, many studies which confirm that the SCs have been facing social exclusion in all spheres of their life. A national study (Chitnis, 1981: 37) has revealed that a majority of the SC students were the first generation graduate who were somehow managed to escape from the traditional bound occupations. This study reflects a trend towards upward social mobility among the SCs students. Ram(1995) also finds such findings that the students from SCs communities are now getting higher education, including scientific and technical ones. However, at the same time he also accepted their lower level of achievement in higher education because of many reasons such as failing in examinations, heavy drop-outs and stagnation caused by their poor socio-economic background and lack of proper guidance, etc. (Ram, 1995: 124-125).

Most importantly, M.N. Srinivas (1987) accepts that acquisition of educational qualifications has been the privileged of the prosperous sections of the dominant castes. He defines as: A dominant caste is not only exercises a preponderant

influence economically and politically, but is also numerically the strongest in the village or local area (Srinivas, 1987). Education is now become a major parameter of getting political position as well as greater job opportunities. By looking at this, these groups have realized the essence of education and the demands for education has been growing day by day. Not only that the politicians and caste leaders have entered in the field by setting up of schools and colleges to provide better education to the people belonging to their own castes. They have strongly used 'caste associations and caste appeals to rally people behind them for influence in education, employment and other concessions' (Omvedt, 1982: 29). A rich Lingayat industrialist, for instance, may use caste sentiments to start an all-Lingayat-managed private college for profit motives (Kaul, 1993: 20).

It is generally accepted that the Brahmins has the authority over the education historically. However, some non-Brahmin castes have found their way into the field of education. But it is only the dominant among them who have benefited from the educational expansion (Choudhary, 2007). The progress of education among the lower castes, especially among the SCs, seems to be painfully slow and halting. While the government has taken up the cause of ameliorating the educational situation among the SCs and STs the response has been far from satisfactory (Chitnis, 1981).

In contrast to Chitnis, Ram (1988) views emergence of a group of people called a 'new educated middle class' (Ram, 1988: 117-20). He defines 'new educated middle class as:

"The middle class as a conceptual category emerged in the European societies sometimes in the 18th century. There it was used for the nobility, chief courtiers, landed gentry, money lenders etc. In India, according to N. Ram, the concept of the new middle class has been used specifically for the better-off sections of Scheduled Castes."

He again explains that this group is largely urban based and they have improved their status in the class and caste hierarchies separately.

It has been also observed that majority of the SC/ST students have more choice towards less specialized courses. Chitnis (1981) in this regards rightly points out that a large majority of the SC/ST students go for such subjects of study which require less hard work and provide less lucrative jobs in the market even in the higher level of education. This is done on the ground of their supposedly having 'low' level of aptitude and 'less' 'merit' (Singhi, 1979: 279-82) and finally they are denied to get lucrative jobs in the market (Ram, 1981: 20-4).

## **POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES**

In post-independence, the government of India has brought many policies and programmes to promote the educational status of these groups but the progress made in their case is below the expectation. However, India got the freedom but inherited the legacy of educational backwardness in addition to many other drawbacks (Khajapeer, 1996:143-52). The Constitution of India is called a Magna Carta of the deprived sections of the society, especially the SCs, STs, OBCs and women, as in the Indian Constitution there are many provisions made for their welfare and upliftment, for example, reservations in jobs and admission in educational institutions and the provisions against discrimination (*Ibid.*). Article 46, a Directive Principle of the Constitution, suggests that the state shall take special care of the educational interests of the weaker sections, particularly the SCs and STs. Even Article 15 (4) in the section on Fundamental Rights states that nothing shall prevent the state from making special provision for the socially and educationally backward classes, particularly the SCs and STs (Choudhary 1998:437-8).

There are ample amount of educational schemes/programmes made by the Centre and state government for promoting the education of these groups of people. The general policy guideline under the National Policy on Education (NPE), 1986 aims at the 'removal of disparities' and 'equalisation' of educational opportunities in regard to the SCs. The central focus here is on 'their (SCs) equalisation with the non-SC population at all stages and levels of education, in all areas and in all the four dimensions – rural male, rural female, urban male and urban female' (MHRD 1986:11). In view of various policies, two major programmes the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and the RTE have been implemented to tackle the educational issues of deprived sections in the direction of accessibility and equity.

## **EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF SCs IN INDIA**

The educational attainment of SCs is much lagging behind other sections of Indian society as revealed in the Census data. The 2011 Census data reveal that at national level Dalits with a literacy rate of 66 per cent lag 8 percentage points behind the average literacy rate of country (74%). There are, however, wide inter-state variations: while Dalits of Bihar, Punjab, Jharkhand, Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh lag substantially behind the average literacy rates of the respective states (percentage point differences being 15, 12, 12, 10 and 9, respectively). The general variation in literacy rate (of all, as well as of the Dalits) has also had its reflection on the female literacy rate: with a generally wide gap of 19 percentage point between the literacy rate of men and women at the national level, some of the states' performance is even poorer. For example, the gender gap in literacy rate of the Dalits in Rajasthan is as yawning as 29 percentage point. It is followed by Jharkhand (23 percentage

point), Uttar Pradesh (23 percentage point), Chhattisgarh (22 percentage point), Bihar (20 percentage point) and Uttarakhand (20 percentage point). Obviously, the lower rates of literacy among the Dalits have resulted in pulling down the average of the respective states. Disadvantage of Dalits, in particular states, is also reflected in the age-specific data on literacy.

Analysis of age-specific literacy data of the Dalits collected by the Census 2011 show that 28 per cent of the population in 7-year age group is illiterate. Illiteracy in this age group is a reflection of poor schooling facilities: with substantial expansion of primary school education, particularly following the Right to Education Act 2009. Even if one makes a discount of say 15 per cent, assuming that this section was enrolled in school late (schools are open for enrolment round the year, but majority of the children are enrolled within 3 months of beginning of academic year), the national figure of illiterates at the age of 7 years (28%) is simply unacceptable. Corresponding figures in states like Bihar (42%), Rajasthan (34%) and Uttar Pradesh (32%) are even worse.

Hurdles of acquiring education by Dalits in the country relates to various factors including the difficulty of access to school (Rana, 2010), poor functioning of the schools in areas inhabited by Dalits, classroom discriminations faced by Dalit children, lack of parental support at home and inability of parents to pay for private tuition, a regrettable necessity (Pratichi Trust, 2002; 2009). Not only that, poor facilities of schooling *inter alia* other discriminatory factors result in drop out of 50 per cent of the Dalit children at high school level (GoI, 2014). Again, at school level the pass percentage of Dalit students (69 per cent at class X and 71 per cent at class XII), is much less than the average (75 and 77 per cent, respectively; GoI, 2014). This pattern has been observed across countries – countries with more inequality systematically have less equality of opportunity' (Stiglitz, 2013).

The general disadvantages of the Dalits in India are added by particular difficulties faced by the subgroups within the larger constituency of Dalits. They not only fail to harvest the limited facilities offered by the state, for example, the benefits of education and employment through positive discrimination, but are also excluded from other capability enhancing opportunities including health care, food security, nutritional support and basic standard of living. In addition, owing to the Hindu social hierarchy some Dalit sub-groups are more vulnerable not only to the public benefits but are also prone to subjugation by members of other, relatively better off, Dalit sub-groups. The historically thrust upon modern slavery upon the Dalits can only be overcome through education. Deprivation of the Dalits has no proven anthropological route, both scientific researches and empirical knowledge have discarded this feudalcolonial construction (Rana, 2017: 106).

## **EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF SCS IN JHARKHAND**

The status of education in Jharkhand state has not been satisfactory since its inception from 2001. The literacy rates in Jharkhand have been increasing normally as is the case with most parts of the country but these literacy rate increase substantially lower in case of SCs, girls and tribals. The literacy gap is seen more in case of gender among the different socially disadvantaged sections. The literacy rates increased from 54 per cent to 66 per cent over the decade 2001-2011. However, the female literacy rates went up to more rapidly 55 per cent by 2011 from 39 per cent in 2001 while the male literacy rates increased only by 10 points from 67 per cent to 77 per cent over the same period (see Table 1). The gender gap is still very high despite gradually declining from 28 points to 22 points. This is occurring with the literacy rates among females improving, largely due to the younger girls being in schools. However, the rural-urban gaps are wide. The rural literacy rates are at 61 per cent, while urban areas record 82 per cent literates. The difference in the educational outcomes in urban areas are striking, with both male and female literacy rates being much higher. It reflects better educational facilities and increasing demand for schooling. The noteworthy point is regarding the female literacy rates in urban areas which are higher than the rural male literacy rates (see table 1).

The most serious points here is that the literacy rate among the SCs and STs are much lower than the general population. Looking at the Table 1, the literacy rate of the SCs are even lower than that of the STs. This data shows the situation of education of the SCs in Jharkhand.

**Table 1:** Literacy Rates by Location and Social Groups (2011)

Literacy Rates	Persons	Males	Females
Rural	61	73	49
Urban	82	88	76
<b>Scheduled Castes</b>			
Total	56	67	44
Rural	53	64	41
Urban	67	77	57
<b>Scheduled Tribes</b>			
Total	57	68	46
Rural	55	67	44
Urban	75	83	68

Source: Census of India, 2011.

The analysis of literacy rate among the different SC and ST communities are provided in Table 2. The ST communities such as the Oraon, Kharia, Munda, Bhumij, Ho recorded a higher literacy rates than the SCs as per 2001 census. Among the STs,

the worse literacy levels are recorded among the Kharwar and Santhal tribes, while it is the Bhuiya, Bhogta, Turi and others among the SCs who reported the lowest literacy levels. The Dhobi and Dusadh communities among the SCs have relatively better literacy rates.

**Table 2:** Literacy Rates of SC/STs

Among Scheduled Castes			Among Scheduled Tribes		
	Total	Female		Total	Female
All SCs	37.6	22.5	All STs	40.7	27.2
Dhobi	56.4	39.0	Oraon	52.5	40.8
Dusadh	52.0	33.8	Kharia	51.0	42.2
Chamar	43.5	25.9	Munda	47.9	34.9
Baurri	37.6	22.2	Bhumij	41.5	24.0
Rajwas	34.7	18.2	Ho	39.2	23.9
Turi	28.7	14.6	Lohra	38.9	25.0
Bhogta	23.4	11.6	Santhal	33.4	19.5
Bhuriya	20.7	10.5	Kharwar	29.6	13.9

Source: Census 2001.

The level of education among the different communities varies tremendously as can be seen in the analysis here. Census of India 2001 provided community wise information which allows for such analysis. Among the major SCs, Dhobi and Dusadh have a matriculate among every 5th literate whereas among Chamar every 6th literate is a matriculate. Bhogta, Bhuiya and Turi have only 7.3–8.4 per cent of secondary level literates. The Dhobi community has registered the highest proportion of graduates followed by Dusadh and Chamar (Table 3).

Among the STs, while Kharia, Oraon and Ho have the highest proportion of matriculates, i.e. every 5th literate of these tribes are matriculates closely followed by Munda who have every sixth literate a matriculate. Kharwar have the lowest percentage of matriculates, preceded by Bhumij, Lohra and Santhal. While Oraon and Kharia have the highest percentage of graduates, Bhumij have the lowest proportion of degree holders, preceded by Kharwar, Lohra and Santhal (Table 3).

**Table 3:** Levels of Education among Major Scheduled Castes

Names of SCs	Literate Without Educational Level	Below Primary	Primary	Middle	Educational Levels			Graduate & above etc.
					Matric/Secondary Higher Secondary/ Intermediate etc.	Technical & Non- Technical Diploma etc.		
Chamar	2.7	33.2	28.4	15.6	16.2	0.1	3.8	
Bhuiya	5.7	42.9	30.8	11.8	8.0	0.0	0.8	
Dusadh	2.5	28.5	27.5	17.2	20.0	0.2	4.2	
Dhobi	2.0	27.0	26.9	18.1	20.5	0.2	5.2	
Bhogta	4.8	45.9	30.0	10.9	7.3	0.0	1.0	
Baurri	3.7	37.2	29.9	17.1	10.9	0.1	1.1	
Turi	3.9	43.0	30.9	12.9	8.4	0.0	0.9	
Rajwars	3.0	33.2	30.2	18.1	13.8	0.1	1.6	

Source: Office of the Registrar General, India.

The educational status among SCs and STs in Jharkhand at the higher education levels are quite low as compared to national level. The most authentic report “All India Survey on Higher Education (2017-18)” published by Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, gives an overview of higher education in Jharkhand as reported in Table 4. The Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) of SCs is much lesser (13.8) as compared to all India level (21.8). Again the Gender Parity Index (GPI) of SCs has also very low (0.83) as compared to country (0.96) as given in Table 4.

**Table 4:** GER and GPI in Higher Education (18-23 Years)

Category	All Categories		SC		ST	
	Persons	Jharkhand	India	Jharkhand	India	Jharkhand
Male	18.4	26.3	15.1	22.2	12.1	17.0
Female	17.6	25.4	12.5	21.4	12.8	14.9
Total	18.0	25.8	13.8	21.8	12.5	15.9
Gender Parity Index	0.96	0.97	0.83	0.93	1.06	0.87

Source: Report\_Higher Education in India\_2017-18, pp. T 19-T 20.

Another most important parameter of educational development is availability of teachers at the educational institutions. Only 4.11 per cent of SCs are there as teachers in the Jharkhand universities and colleges whereas the percentage of ST are 9 percent (Table 5). This clearly shows that these educational institutions even did not follow the reservation policy in the appointment of teachers.

**Table 5:** Teachers among Various Social Categories

	Total			SC			ST		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Jharkhand	8158	3475	11633	366	113	479	414	638	1052
Percentage	70	30	100			4.11			9.04

Source: Report\_Higher Education in India\_2017-18, p. T 21a.

Not only that the enrolment of SC students in Jharkhand higher educational institutions is also very low as compared to other sections of society (Table 6). The enrolment pattern of SC students shows almost 9 per cent since 2014-15 and there has been no progress in this regard. This shows a matter of serious concern as the above many studies also confirm the same why this kind of trend is still continuing.

**Table 6:** Category-wise Enrolment during Last 4 Years

Years	All Category			Scheduled Castes		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
2017-18	354095	334627	688722	34798	28117	62915 (9.1%)
2016-17	351485	319552	671037	33461	26874	60335 (8.99%)
2015-16	307010	274633	581643	29706	23112	52818 (9.08%)
2014-15	301846	270427	572273	27256	21564	48820 (8.5%)

Source: Report\_Higher Education in India\_2017-18, p. T 45.

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Historically, the SCs have been facing multiplicity of social exclusion and discrimination. So far as education is concerned, they have the same nature of neglect and the situation is more worrying in case of higher education. To some extent, the National Policy on Education 1986 ignores the educational interests of the SCs. The policy aims at attaining excellence but no specific provision is made to attain equity in this case. Provisions for making new facilities are minimal and admission is 'regulated according to capacity'. In fact, Indian education is practically favouring to urban based education and pro-rich. In fact, a majority of the SCs live in rural areas are deprived of so called better education. The lack of urban, modern exposure makes them unaware and ignorant of many basic things which are important for their motivation and aspirations.

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# **CHANGING NATURE OF PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY IN INDIA: AN ANALYSIS**

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**Satish Chandra Jha\***

## **Abstract**

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The present paper underlines the paradigmatic shift in nature of the public service delivery in India owing to neo-liberal characteristics. There has been a departure in pattern of public service delivery from the concept of welfare state to public choice governance. Efficiency, people's participation and partnership with private sector in mechanism of public service delivery have acquired significant place. Techno-economic changes, managerial inputs in governance and market forces have come to influence the delivery of public services. The components of New Public Management are now clearly visible. The present article finds that the blurring of boundaries between governments, private and non-profit sectors has given public service a broader meaning. Now, public service no longer refers exclusively to tasks performed by government, it involves working with NGOs and private sector as well. The present article does also suggest reforms in mechanism of delivery of public services in India.

**Keywords:** Public Service Delivery, Governance-environment, Managerialism, PPP, Techno-economic changes.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

With the advent of global economic reforms, the changes in public administration with introduction of elements of corporate management in governance for public service delivery, known as New Public Management (Hood, 1991), were strongly

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advocated and suggested. The developing countries faced the dual challenges – firstly, catering to the need of poor people and secondly, coping with the new economic world order. On the other hand, these countries suffered from four ailments – financial crunch, cost ineffectiveness, inefficient delivery of public services and rampant corruption. All these conditions invited these countries, including India, to make changes in the pattern of governance, especially for effective delivery of public services (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1997). All these have necessitated changes in public services delivery mechanism. In view of these factors, it becomes an urgent imperative to bring, within a small compass, all the important facts relating to the changing nature of public services in India.

## **THE BACKDROP**

In the 1980s, new right-wing thinkers and public choice theorists criticized the preeminence of the State and government in the delivery of public services. The concepts of welfare state and public interest were challenged. They advocated a greater role for the market and lesser role for the State and government. Concepts such as efficacy of State v/s market, increasing managerial orientation in governmental activities, and promotion of privatization as a panacea for several socio-economic problems gained popularity in public administration theory. The future was projected in terms of a smaller role for government, an enlarged role for the market and the non-government organizations and more public-private partnerships in the delivery of public services. This trend of thought is best evident in the remark of the United States Comptroller General David Walker “the government is on a ‘burning platform’ and the status quo way of doing business is unacceptable” (quoted in Bowman et al., 2010). This perception that the old ways are no longer up to the new tasks prompted new actors using new instruments of civic action to emerge to meet citizen needs. The transformation from command to market oriented orientation in governance has been a global phenomenon.

## **NATURE OF CHANGES (SHIFT FROM INDUSTRIAL ERA)**

To make public systems more productive and competitive and, at the same time, receptive to global pressures in a resource-scarce world, there have been many reforms-recipes such as de-bureaucratization, downsizing, disinvestment, marketization, liberalization and privatization. These have brought discernible changes in the structure, strategies and spirit of the public systems. Bringing about improvement in the quality of services being provided, maintaining efficiency and curbing public expenditure are the key guiding factors in the reform process. These reform measures are the result of a broad realization that the rigid bureaucratic system has proved inefficient and ineffective in delivering public services to the satisfaction of citizens. Today, empowering citizens and making them active

participants in public service delivery and management is an important feature of public systems management.

Today's 'governance' environment is characterised by complex technoeconomic changes. This fast paced change poses new challenges for public service management (Shekhar, 2019). Important among many vital external changes are corporate globalism, cyber technology, changing values and management philosophies that have greatly affected the delivery and management of the public services. Likewise, changes in the internal environment such as increased sector mobility, privatisation and devolution require rethinking of public services management. The dynamic changes in the external and internal environments impel the need for professional managers who possess technical, ethical and leadership competencies to meet the complex governance challenges of the twenty first century. Each of these competencies is needed in all sectors, viz., government agencies, non-profit organisations and private sector. The work-place of today's public service professional is in constant flux causing, on the one hand apprehensions and uncertainty, and on the other providing opportunities and challenges. Leicht and Fennel (2001), identify six key characteristics of today's work place viz., (a) flatter organizational hierarchies; (b) more temporary working; (c) wide use of subcontracting and outsourcing; (d) massive downsizing of permanent workers; (e) a post-union bargaining environment; and (f) virtual organizations. These changes certainly affect the way public servants work.

The blurring of boundaries between governments, private and non-profit sectors has given public service a broader meaning (Dittegen, 1997). Now, public service no longer refers exclusively to tasks performed by government, it involves working with NGOs and private sector as well. Public service is considered "the people establishment" that delivers services to citizens, promotes collective interests and accepts resulting obligations.

The defining characteristics of the old public service are a product of industrial era government. Those who comprised the old public service were government employees carrying out functions in centralized, hierarchical bureaucracies according to routine standard operating procedures. Their discretion was limited by their position in the vertical chain of command and they were accountable to their superiors. Elected officials set public policy, defined the public interest, and monitored program management. Authority flowed from the top to bottom, services were provided directly to citizens, control or regulation was government centered, staff roles were clear and skills were specialized. Civil service protection was granted to permanent employees whose pay and benefits came directly from government.

The new public service has a different set of characteristics more suitable to a postindustrial, service-based economy. Today vertical hierarchy is giving way to

horizontal networks; bureaucracies are diminishing and shared leadership structures are emerging. The public interest is identified and pursued as a collaborative process based on dialogue with relevant stakeholders. The discretion of empowered administrative officials is present but limited and they remain accountable to the citizens through elected political leaders and administrative oversight. Employee job boundaries are flexible and skill sets are versatile. The transition from the old to the new style of providing public services has altered the role of the public sector, emphasising collaboration and enablement rather than hierarchy and control. The managerial challenges in the light of these changes are substantial, but they are both similar and different from those of earlier periods. Many of the dominant values from earlier era, which include, efficiency, economy, fairness, and performance continue to be important together with renewed emphasis on values associated with citizenship, public interest, ethics, transparency and broad democratic values of accountability, equity, and responsiveness.

### **NATURE OF CHANGES (SHIFT TOWARDS MANAGERIAL SKILL AND QUALITY DELIVERY)**

The transition from command and control decision-making based on hierarchical authority structures to indirect web-like relationships in the new era requires a new set of managerial skills. The gradual transition from the old to the new public service alters the role of government, but politics and professionalism have to continue to be focal concerns of both the old and the new public service. It will, however, be wrong to assume that bureaucratic administration is waning. The professionalism and effectiveness of bureaucracy exist along with managerial administration.

Now, public systems have become quality conscious. They lay increasing emphasis on result orientation through rigorous performance-oriented mechanisms. They are accessible, transparent and accountable to citizens in public service delivery. In government, many works previously handled by the bureaucracy are now being entrusted to the private agencies on a contract basis. In traditional public administration model, civil servants recruited on merit basis were working on permanent tenure. Now under public systems management these ideas do not hold true. Concepts like efficiency and efficacy have undergone change in the evaluation process introducing differential pay structure for the same work. Equal pay for equal work is no more working, though it is a constitutional obligation. It has brought concepts like 'slimming of bureaucracy' and work is measured in the context of cost effectiveness. Low cost coupled with output is now a yardstick in the delivery of public services. The blurring of boundaries between public and private sectors is also ushering in change in public bureaucracies. They are expected to discharge the roles of not just administrators, but also as leaders and entrepreneurs.

Public systems management, in the changed context, gives primacy to:

- Distinguishing policy from execution
- Productivity through getting more services from lesser revenues
- Marketisation by replacing traditional bureaucratic structures, mechanisms and processes with market strategies
- Service-orientation: Assigning priority to the needs of customers
- Decentralisation by devolving service delivery responsibilities to lower levels and local governments
- Accountability for results focusing on outputs and outcomes, instead of mere inputs, processes and structures.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS (CHANGES WITH DISTINCT VALUES)**

Despite powerful influence coming from managerialism, public systems management continues to be distinct. It caters to the tasks of public domain characterized by distinct public service values. In developing countries, certain areas such as education, public health, and food security continue to be dominated by public service. In public systems management, no doubt, the effort is to strike a balance between complex and competing goals such as efficiency, effectiveness, quality, equity and responsiveness. Public systems management is in the throes of change and the public service personnel are expected to discharge new types of functions demanding new managerial and financial skills.

In India, the approach paper to the Tenth Five Year plan (2002-07) identified three critical challenges to civil services reforms:

- (1) Ensuring long-term affordability of the civil services,
- (2) Ensuring procedure for rewarding and promoting merit, disciplining malfunction and misconduct and strengthening accountability and performance quality,
- (3) Reshaping the bureaucracy so that it performs its core public functions and develops new ways of providing critical economic and social services. A new work culture needs to be evolved at all levels.

### **SUGGESTIONS FOR REFORMS**

The whole gamut of discussion impels us to suggest certain reforms in public service delivery mechanism in India. The most important among them are:

- (a) A more strategic or result-oriented (efficiency, effectiveness and service quality) attitude toward decision making,
- (b) Replacement of highly centralized organizational structures with decentralized management environment integrating with the new local government

institutions, where decisions or resource allocation and service delivery are taken close to the points of delivery,

- (c) Flexibility to explore alternative to direct public provision which might provide more cost effective policy outcomes,
- (d) Focusing attention on the matching of authority and responsibility as a key to improving performance, including mechanisms of explicit performance contracting,
- (e) Creating competitive environments within and between public services organizations,
- (f) Strengthening of strategic capacity at the centre to prepare government to respond to external changes and diverse interests quickly, flexibly and at least costs,
- (g) Greater accountability and transparency through requirements to report on results and their full costs; and
- (h) Service wise budgeting and management systems to support and encourage these changes.

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# BANKING OMBUDSMAN SCHEME: AN ANALYSIS

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**Ved Prakash\***

## Abstract

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The Banking Ombudsman Scheme developed in response to two trends – the need for an alternative to legal action for customers seeking redressal against Banks and an increasing policy guidelines by the Reserve Bank of India on self-regulation. Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) mechanisms formed the basis of the model because of a growing recognition that ADR processes had the potential to limit costs, preserve relationships and offer more flexibility than formal, adversarial court processes. At the same time, this does not preclude customers from accessing courts and this is voluntary for the customer. The Scheme is designed so that parties need not be legally represented. The processes of the Scheme are inquisitorial and informal and so a party is not required to articulate a dispute in the form of pleadings or refer to the relevant law. The fifth revision of the scheme was done in the year 2017 to make it more effective. The present study is an attempt to analyse the performance of the scheme from 2015-2018.

**Keywords:** Banking Ombudsman, Customer, Complaints, Reserve Bank of India, Redressal.

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## INTRODUCTION

The service sector, also called tertiary, is the third of the three traditional economic sectors. The service sector provides services, rather than producing material commodities. Activities in the service sector include retail, bank, hotel, trade, tourism, communication etc. The services sector accounts for 54 per cent of India's Gross Value Added (GVA). Its growth rate moderated to 7.5 per cent in 2018-19

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from 8.1 per cent in 2017-18. Growth in sub-sector ‘financial services, real estate and professional services’ picked up to 7.4 per cent in 2018-19 from 6.2 per cent in 2017-18.<sup>1</sup> In post liberalization era, excellence in customer service is the focal point for sustained business growth. Customer complaints are part and parcel of the business life cycle of any corporate entity. This is equally applicable for banks because banks are service organizations. As a service organization, customer service and customer satisfaction should be the prime concern of any bank. The bank believes that providing prompt and efficient service is sine qua non to attract new customers, but also to retain existing ones. With the expansion of delivery of financial services and concentrated focus on financial inclusion, the quality and content of dispensation of customer service has been coming under tremendous pressure owing to the soaring demands and expectations of the customers.

The customer has the right to register his complaints if he is not satisfied with the service provided by the bank. He can give his complaints in writing, orally or by telephone. If the customer’s complaint is not resolved within a given time or if he is not satisfied with the solution provided by the bank, he can approach ‘Banking Ombudsman’ with his complaints for redressal of grievances.<sup>2</sup>

## **REDRESSAL MECHANISM**

Banking Ombudsman Scheme, 1995 was notified by the Reserve Bank of India on June 14, 1995 under Section 35 A of the Banking Regulation Act, 1949. The Banking Ombudsman Scheme operated and fully funded by RBI is an Alternate Disputes Redressal (ADR) Mechanism that provides a cost-free, easily accessible and expeditious redressal on various service related issues faced by bank customers. It is functioning as a specialized forum for complaints against bank and banking services with a focus on mediation and a light touch adjudication process.<sup>3</sup> Over the years, it has evolved and has undergone five revisions since its inception, the last being in July 2017. As on date, Scheduled Commercial Banks, Scheduled Primary Urban Co-operative Banks and the Regional Rural Banks (RRBs), Small Finance Banks and Payment Banks are covered under the Scheme.<sup>4</sup> It is administered by the RBI through 21 Offices of Banking Ombudsman (OBO) covering all states and union territories.

It is worthwhile to note that the Offices of Banking Ombudsman have been rendering admirable and outstanding service over the years in redressing customer grievances in an efficient, impartial and effective manner. This trend rebuilds confidence amongst the stake holders, reassures about the increasing awareness amongst the customers about the Scheme and effectiveness of the mediation and conciliation process undertaken by the Banking Ombudsmen in resolving the customer grievances. The Offices of Banking Ombudsman will continue to play a

critical, constructive and pivotal role in grievance redressal and also help in creating a more customer-centric culture in banks.

It has completed more than two decades of its operations and is well established. The volume of complaints received by the Banking Ombudsman is witnessing an increasing trend in the last three years. Several factors such as expansion in the customer base of banks due to financial inclusion efforts of Government of India such as Jan Dhan Yojana, scheme of MUDRA Loan etc. and the Reserve Bank of India, introduction of various technology based banking products and services, etc. are the factors responsible for the increase in complaints over the years.

Information Technology has brought the grievance redressal mechanism closer to the customers. Young and new generation bank customers are well aware of their rights and how to exert them by using internet service. Being techno-savy, present generation is extensively using electronic modes of lodging complaints.<sup>5</sup>

The Banking Ombudsman Scheme (BOS), a flagship programme of the Reserve Bank of India, has evolved as an important forum of the grievance redressal mechanism available to the customers of banks. Considering that the scheme is a speedy, effective and inexpensive means for complaint redressal, the Reserve Bank of India has continuously evolved the scheme, to suit the emerging requirements of the customers. In this context, several changes have been introduced to enhance customer satisfaction and protection.

### **AMENDMENT OF THE BANKING OMBUDSMAN SCHEME, 2006<sup>6</sup>**

To keep pace with the rapid changes made in the banking sector, the Banking Ombudsman Scheme was amended, for the fifth time since its inception in 1995, with effect from July 1, 2017. The salient features of the revision are as follows:

- i. Restriction of ₹1 million on the disputed amount for accepting a case was removed. Now BOs became authorized to handle complaints irrespective of the amount involved ;
- ii. Pecuniary jurisdiction of BO for issuing an Award was increased from ₹1 million to ₹2 million regardless of the amount involved in the dispute.;
- iii. Compensation of ₹0.1 million for loss of time, expenses, harassment and mental anguish (previously available only in credit card complaints) was extended to all types of complaints;
- iv. Additional grounds for filing complaints were introduced viz.: (a) ‘Mis-selling of Third-party Products’ and (b) ‘Deficiency in Mobile Banking/Electronic Banking Services’;
- v. The scope of appealable Clauses was widened to include the complaints closed on the ground (Clause 13(c) of the old Scheme) “requiring consideration of elaborate documentary and oral evidence”. The scope for a complainant

to prefer an appeal, against the decision of the BO was also increased as an additional measure of customer protection.

- vi. The procedure for settlement of complaint by agreement was made easier by providing an opportunity to complainants to furnish their submission in writing within a time frame, on the written submission made by the bank.

## **ISSUES**

This paper is an attempt to revisit the Banking Ombudsman Scheme from 2015-2018 and to make suggestions to further improve the Scheme for the benefit of the customers as well as banks. The current article has the following objectives:

- (1) To compare the number of complaints received at various Offices of Banking Ombudsman to check the awareness level of the customer as well as satisfaction level of customer with respect to services of the bank.
- (2) To compare the number of complaints received from various population groups in order to assess the coverage of the scheme.
- (3) To assess the quality of service rendered by banks and comparing bank wise complaints received by Offices of Banking Ombudsman.
- (4) To compare the office-wise position of disposal of complaints by Offices of Banking Ombudsman.
- (5) To compare the mode of receipt of complaints and compare the mode of disposal of complaints by Offices of Banking Ombudsman.
- (6) To examine the overall performance of the scheme as well as Offices of Banking Ombudsman.

In order to fulfill the above mentioned objectives the requisite data have been collected from the Reserve Bank of India website and compiled from annual reports of Banking Ombudsman Scheme.

## **ANALYSIS OF COMPLAINTS**

**Table 1:** Number of Complaints Received by Offices of Banking Ombudsman

	2015-2016	2016-2017	2017-2018
No. of Offices of Banking Ombudsman	15	20	21
Complaints received during the year	102,894	130,987	163,590

*Source:* The Banking Ombudsman Scheme, 2006, Annual Report 2017-18, Reserve Bank of India.

**Table 2:** Offices of Banking Ombudsman-Wise Receipt of Complaints

Office of Banking Ombudsman	No. of Complaints Received during			% Change in 2017-18 over 2016-17	% to Total Complaints
	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18		
Ahmadabad	5,909	9,552	9,607	0.6	5.9
Bengaluru	5,119	7,042	8,906	26.5	5.4
Bhopal	5,748	5,671	4,050	-28.6	2.5
Bhubaneswar	3,050	2,582	2,811	8.9	1.7
Chandigarh	4,571	8,189	10,026	22.4	6.1
Chennai	8,645	9,007	10,642	18.2	6.5
Dehradun	0	948	3,171	234.5	1.9
Guwahati	1,328	1,569	1,601	2.0	1.0
Hyderabad	5,910	6,570	8,049	22.5	4.9
Jaipur	4,664	6,740	9,068	34.5	5.5
Jammu	0	30	501	1570.0	0.3
Kanpur	9,621	8,150	13,314	63.4	8.1
Kolkata	4,846	7,834	10,631	35.7	6.5
Mumbai-I	12,333	16,299	18,085	11.0	11.1
Mumbai -II	0	0	1,884	NA	1.2
New Delhi-I	22,554	24,837	26,653	7.3	16.3
New Delhi-II	0	4,935	9,084	84.1	5.6
Patna	5,003	6,225	7,946	27.6	4.9
Raipur	0	237	1,211	411.0	0.7
Ranchi	0	715	1,894	164.9	1.2
Thiruvananthapuram	3,593	3,855	4,456	15.6	2.7
Total	102,894	130,987	163,590	24.9	100.0

Source: The Banking Ombudsman Scheme, 2006, Annual Report 2017-18, Reserve Bank of India.

In 2017-18, the number of complaints received by the Banking Ombudsman increased by 24.9 per cent as compared to a rise of 27.3 per cent in 2016-17 (Table 1). The increasing trend could, inter alia, be attributed to the increase in the number of bank customers and the impact of initiatives for spreading awareness taken by the Reserve Bank of India. During the year, the number of complaints received by the Office of Banking Ombudsman stood at 1,63,590. Office of Banking Ombudsman-wise receipt of complaints is at Table 2. Office of Banking Ombudsman New Delhi received the maximum number of complaints (26,653), which accounted for 16.3 per cent of the total complaints received. Last year too, the same Office of Banking Ombudsman had received the highest number of complaints. Together with the recently opened Office of Banking Ombudsman, New Delhi II, the total number of complaints handled by the two offices at New Delhi stood at 35,737

representing 21.8 per cent of total complaints received during the year. Office of Banking Ombudsman at Kanpur witnessed a sharp increase of 63 per cent in the number of complaints received during 2017-18. A significant increase in the number of complaints was also observed in the four recently opened Office of Banking Ombudsman, viz. Dehradun, New Delhi II, Raipur and Ranchi.

**Table 3:** Population Group-Wise Analysis of Complaints

Population Group-wise Distribution of Complaints Received Population Group	No. of Complaints Received during			% Increase Decrease (Y-on-Y)
	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	
Rural	12,420 (12%)	17,458 (13.5%)	20,600 (12.6%)	18%
Semi Urban	15,048 (15%)	17,040 (13%)	18,570 (11.4%)	9%
Urban	42,994 (42%)	59,721 (45.5%)	81,124 (49.6%)	35.8%
Metropolitan	32,432 (31%)	36,768 (28%)	43,296 (26.5%)	17.8%
Total	102,894	130,987	163,590	24.9%

(Figures in bracket indicate percentage to total complaints of respective year)

Source: The Banking Ombudsman Scheme, 2006, Annual Report 2017-18, Reserve Bank of India.

During the year, 50 per cent of the total number of complaints were lodged by bank customers residing in urban areas, while 12 per cent were received from those in rural areas. The latter grew by 18 per cent over last year which could be attributed, *inter alia*, to increased awareness about the Scheme. However, the number of complaints filed by customers of banks residing in semi urban and rural areas taken together accounted for only 23 per cent of total complaints, highlighting the need for increasing the awareness levels of people residing in these areas. Population group-wise distribution of complaints during the last year is given in Table 3.

**Table 4:** Analysis of Mode of Receipt of Complaints

Mode of Receipt	No. of Complaints Received during			% Change (Y-o-Y)
	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	
Email	35,169 (34%)	57,472 (44%)	79,550 (49%)	38%
Online	15,378 (15%)	22,366 (17%)	24,512 (15%)	10%
Post/Fax/Courier/ hand delivery	52,347 (51%)	51,149 (39%)	59,528 (36%)	16%
Total	102,894	130,987	163,590	25%

(Figures in bracket indicate percentage to total complaints of respective year)

Source: The Banking Ombudsman Scheme, 2006, Annual Report 2017-18, Reserve Bank of India.

Complaints were received in the Office of Banking Ombudsman through various modes, including hand delivery, post, courier, fax, e-mails and online portal. The trend in the last three years shows that complainants are increasingly moving towards using email and online portal, i.e. digital mode from the previously predominant physical mode of lodging complaints. During the year, 64 per cent of the complaints were filed using the digital mode of which 49 per cent were through e-mails and 15 per cent using the online portal. The trend during the last three years is given in Table 4.

**Table 5:** Bank Group-Wise Analysis of Complaints

Bank Group	No of Complaints Received During			% Change (Y-o-Y)
	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	
Nationalized Banks	35,447 (35%)	45,364 (35%)	54,970 (34%)	21%
State Bank of India	29,585 (29%)	35,950 (27%)	46,993 (29%)	31%
Private Sector Banks	26,931 (26%)	35,080 (26.5%)	42,443 (26%)	21%
Payments and Small Finance Banks	0	0	473 (0.03%)	
Foreign Banks	3,413 (3%)	3,284 (2.5%)	3,850 (2%)	17%
RRBs/Scheduled Primary Urban Co-op. Banks	2,293 (2%)	2,481 (2%)	3,229 (1.97%)	30%
Others	5,225 (5%)	8,828 (7%)	11,632 (7%)	32%
Total	102,894	130,987	163,590	

(Figures in bracket indicate percentage to total complaints of respective year)

Source: The Banking Ombudsman Scheme, 2006, Annual Report 2017-18, Reserve Bank of India.

Of the total number of complaints received in Office of Banking Ombudsman, nationalised banks and SBI taken together accounted for 63 per cent as shown at Table 5. There was an increase of 31 per cent in complaints received against State Bank of India during the year. The share of Foreign banks stood at 2 per cent while that of Private Sector banks was 26 per cent of total complaints received. The Regional Rural Banks and Scheduled Primary Urban Cooperative banks together accounted for 1.97 per cent of total number of complaints. The complaints against the new entities viz., Payment and Small Finance banks stood at 0.03 per cent. Almost 7 per cent of the complaints were against entities that are not covered under the scheme.

## ANALYSIS OF DISPOSAL OF COMPLAINTS

**Table 6:** Office of Banking Ombudsman Wise Position of Complaints Disposed During 2017-18

<i>Office of Banking Ombudsman</i>	<i>Complaints Pending at the Beginning of the Year</i>	<i>Complaints Received during the Year</i>	<i>Complaints Handled</i>	<i>Complaints Disposed</i>	<i>Pending at the End of the Year</i>	<i>Rate of Disposal (%)</i>
Ahmadabad	0	9,607	9,607	9,607	0	100.0
Bengaluru	4	8,906	8,910	8,910	0	100.0
Bhopal	288	4,050	4,338	4,316	22	99.5
Bhubaneswar	10	2,811	2,821	2,810	11	99.6
Chandigarh	1	10,026	10,027	10,025	2	100.0
Chennai	90	10,642	10,732	10,732	0	100.0
Dehradun	152	3,171	3,323	3,241	82	97.5
Guwahati	57	1,601	1,658	1,653	5	99.7
Hyderabad	193	8,049	8,242	8,176	66	99.2
Jaipur	253	9,068	9,321	9,294	27	99.7
Jammu	3	501	504	504	0	100.0
Kanpur	3,165	13,314	16,479	15,578	901	94.5
Kolkata	47	10,631	10,678	10,398	280	97.4
Mumbai-I	1,691	18,085	19,776	18,238	1,538	92.2
Mumbai -II	0	1,884	1,884	588	1,296	31.2
New Delhi-I	3,529	26,653	30,182	29,086	1096	96.4
New Delhi-II	927	9,084	10,011	9,690	321	96.8
Patna	408	7,946	8,354	8,080	274	96.7
Raipur	15	1,211	1,226	1,226	0	100.0
Ranchi	66	1,894	1,960	1,851	109	94.4
Thiruvananthapuram	316	4,456	4,772	4,620	152	96.8
Total	11,215	163,590	174,805	168,623	6,182	96.5

Source: The Banking Ombudsman Scheme, 2006, Annual Report 2017-18, Reserve Bank of India.

**Table 6 A:** Position of Customer Complaints Handled by Office of Banking Ombudsman

<i>Particulars</i>	<i>2015-16</i>	<i>2016-17</i>	<i>2017-18</i>
Complaints brought forward from previous year	3,778	5,524	11,215
Complaints received	102,894	130,987	1,63,590
Total No of complaints handled	106,672	136,511	1,74,805
Complaints disposed	101,148	125,296	1,68,623

Source: The Banking Ombudsman Scheme, 2006, Annual Report 2017-18, Reserve Bank of India.

**Table 6B:** Comparative Position of Disposal of Complaints by Office of Banking Ombudsman

Number of Complaints	Year		
	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18
Received during the Year	102,894	130,987	163,590
Brought forward from Previous Year	3,778	5,524	11,215
Handled during the Year	106,672	136,511	174,805
Disposed during the Year	101,148	125,296	168,623
Rate of Disposal (%)	95%	92%	96.50%

[Source: The Banking Ombudsman Scheme, 2006, Annual Report 2017-18, Reserve Bank of India]

During the year 2017-18, the Office of Banking Ombudsman handled an all-time high of 174,805 complaints (an increase of 28 per cent from 2016-17) of which 96.5 per cent were closed. Table 6B shows a comparative position of disposal of complaints by Office of Banking Ombudsman.

**Table 7:** Mode of Disposal of Maintainable Complaints

Disposal of Maintainable Complaints	Year		
	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18
By Mutual Settlement/Agreement	18,031 (35.93%)	26,535 (42.43%)	54,987 (65.82%)
Disposal by Award	18 (0.04%)	31 (0.05%)	133 (0.159%)
Maintainable Complaints Rejected	31,946 (63.65%)	35,792 (57.23%)	28,259 (33.82%)
Maintainable Complaints Withdrawn	192 (0.38%)	181 (0.29%)	153 (0.18%)
Total	50,187	62,539	83,532

(Figures in brackets indicate percentage to Maintainable Complaints)

Source: The Banking Ombudsman Scheme, 2006, Annual Report 2017-18, Reserve Bank of India.

The Scheme promotes settlement of complaints by agreement through conciliation or mediation by Banking Ombudsman. If the parties fail to arrive at an acceptable conclusion by agreement, the Banking Ombudsman gives a decision or passes an Award. A noteworthy feature of 2017-18 is the marked increase in the number of complaints resolved by agreement. As shown in Table 7, 65.82 per cent of the maintainable complaints were resolved through agreement as compared to 42.43 per cent during the previous year. This shows that conciliation or mediation is increasingly being used as an effective tool in complaint resolution.

## **GROUND FOR REJECTION OF MAINTAINABLE COMPLAINTS**

[Clause 8 deals with Grounds of Complaints; Clause 9 deals with Procedure for Filing Complaint; Clause 12 deals with Award by Banking Ombudsman; Clause 13 deals with Rejection of the Complaint]

**Table 8:** Grounds for Rejection of Maintainable Complaints

<i>Ground for Rejection</i>	<i>No of Complaints Rejected</i>		
	<i>2015-16</i>	<i>2016-17</i>	<i>2017-18</i>
Not on grounds of complaint (Clause 8) or not in accordance with provisions of Clause 9 (3)	26,929 (84.3%)	31,162 (87.06%)	25,114 (89%)
Beyond Pecuniary Jurisdiction of BO - Clause 12 (5) & (6)	135 (0.42%)	152 (0.42%)	115 (0.41%)
Requiring elaborate documentary and oral evidence - Clause 13 (c/d)	4,501 (14.09%)	3,883 (10.85%)	2,337 (8.27%)
Complaints without sufficient cause- Clause 13(e)	136 (0.42%)	132 (0.37%)	298 (1.05%)
Not pursued by the complainants- Clause 13(f)	219 (0.69%)	440 (1.23%)	272 (0.96%)
No loss/damage/inconvenience to the complainant- Clause 13 (g)	26 (0.08%)	23 (0.06%)	123 (0.44%)
Total	31,946	35,792	28,259

(Figures in brackets indicate percentage to Maintainable Complaints)

*Source:* The Banking Ombudsman Scheme, 2006, Annual Report 2017-18, Reserve Bank of India.

The Banking Ombudsman Scheme envisages summary disposal of complaints. As may be seen from the above table, the maximum numbers of rejections are on the ground that 'elaborate documentary and oral evidence' is required as provided for closure of such cases under Clause 13 (d) of the Scheme. Keeping in view the high number of such rejections, this ground was made appealable with effect from July 1, 2017.

## **CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION**

An analysis of the sector wise complaints, it is found that rural sector is not active like the urban and metropolitan sectors. The major reasons for this trend are the lack of awareness among the rural sector population to file complaints against deficiency in service provided by the bank.

The Office of Banking Ombudsman received a total of 163,590 complaints in 2017-18, of these, 64 per cent were received electronically, i.e. through the online

portal or by emails, which rose from 49 per cent in 2015-16. This shows increasing acceptance of digital mode of lodging complainants.

Reviewing the bank wise complaints shows that complaints against public sector banks and SBI group are large in number as compared to private and foreign banks which means that they should work more in the direction of customer satisfaction. In other words it can be said that quality of service among private and foreign banks is much better than the public sector banks.

There was a marked increase in the number of complaints resolved by agreement, i.e. through mediation, which rose from 35.93 per cent in 2015-16 to 65.82 per cent in 2017-18. This indicates growing acceptance of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) mechanisms to resolve the grievances.

Assessing the office wise position of disposal of complaints revealed that out of the 21 offices of Banking Ombudsman all the offices have a very good rate of disposal. The rate of disposal is 100 per cent for 6 office of Banking Ombudsman and 90 per cent and more rate of disposal in 14 offices of Banking Ombudsman. The lowest rate of disposal of complaint is at Mumbai-II office which stood at 31.2 per cent.

Looking at the complaint disposal ratio it can be concluded that the Scheme is very efficient and is on a continuous path of improvement as the grievance resolving ratio has increased from 92 per cent in 2016-17 to 96.5 per cent in 2017-18. Therefore, the Scheme has truly empowered the customers in banking industry and is fully able to handle the grievances of the customers.

The Ombudsman scheme is a welfare tool and a very effective & efficient channel for redressal of grievances of the customer/general public against banks and banking services. It is framed in such a manner that it does not oust the jurisdiction of courts/legal forums and hence, aggrieved people do not hesitate in using the banking ombudsman as a primary forum for resolution of disputes regarding banks. So far the achievements of Banking Ombudsman Scheme have been remarkable however there is a lot more to achieve. Almost 7 per cent of the complaints were against entities that are not covered under the scheme. Under the scheme on which a customer can file a complaint against a bank is limited and there is a dire need to expand the scope and ambit of ombudsman in the changing scenario of banking industry.

From the study of the data it is found that the customer knowledge about the benefits of Banking Ombudsman Scheme is still wanting. So it is very essential to spread awareness among the customers especially in rural areas so that bank and customers could avoid unnecessary risk related to banking services. Awareness about this scheme should be created through many ways like social media, by distributing the pamphlets and keeping banners in every bank branch/outlet.

Awareness campaign should be conducted by organizing seminars, conferences etc at Gram Panchayat level.

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# PERCEPTION MANAGEMENT IN THE DOVAL DOCTRINE AND THE ROLE OF MEDIA: AN ANALYSIS

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**Nishtha Kaushiki\***

## Abstract

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The objective of this study is to highlight the importance of the perception management beyond the times of a military conflict. Doval doctrine is an amalgamation of the methods that have been used by the Indian security agencies under the guidance of Mr Ajit Doval as a counter response to the proxy war initiated by Pakistan. One of its chief features is the proactive use of the information space so that the perceptions of the domestic (civil society, political and pressure groups, academicians etc.) and international audience (great powers, international and regional organisations etc.) readily accept the information campaign of India. The study tries to unravel the chief features and methods of this doctrine and finally puts forward some recommendations for the public agencies as well as media.

**Keywords:** Doval Doctrine, Perception Management, Media Management, Information Warfare, Counter Terrorism.

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## INTRODUCTION

The term perception management was the contribution of Reagan administration in the 1980s as a response of the people against the Vietnam War. The purpose was to reorient the perceptions in order to avoid negative reactions of the people against their future wars. “The concepts of ‘traditional propaganda’ and ‘psychological warfare’ have been replaced by those of ‘information warfare’, ‘information operations’ and ‘psychological operations.’”<sup>1</sup>

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Perception management is an important component of warfare tactics. As India's counter terrorism strategy is rapidly undergoing significant changes under the Doval doctrine, the strategies of remoulding the perceptions in the coming few years would be incorporated within the domain of public administration. The state and the local bodies would have to make significant changes in their operational mechanisms with regard to the internal as well as external security. Closer coordination with the central security agencies has become the need of the hour and changes in the administrative polices are thus inevitable.

Post Cold War, the U.S. significantly used perception management and information warfare to create a consensus within the domestic and international community against Iraq, Iran etc by using terms such as "axis of evil", "unholy alliance", etc. Also, the extensive media visual coverage of the Saddam Hussein's statue being brought down by the U.S. forces created the perceptions of U.S. victory in Iraq. Thus, the message was clear- that the future wars or armed hostilities against adversaries would be increasingly won by the effective use of perception management along with other techniques such as information manipulation and denial. From the perspective of the non state extremist agencies or terrorists, Walter Laqueur, an American historian opined that media has been directly used by the terrorists when they have coverage of the attack. Thus, "It simply means that violence is news, whereas peace and harmony are not. The terrorists need the media, and the media find in terrorism all the ingredients of an exciting story."<sup>2</sup>

In the context of South Asian geopolitics, Pakistan's propaganda through various formal and informal channels has created a very complex socio-political environment for India wherein its peace initiatives in Kashmir, treatment of Kashmiris and religious minorities were never publicised. Thus, Kashmir was always referred to as a hotbed of human rights violations by the Indian armed forces and consequently the last two generations of the Kashmir valley became psychologically hostile to them. It was due to this that stone pelting became a significant threat to our paramilitary forces. The overall result was a negative perception against the central government irrespective of the political party in the Centre. To achieve full integration of Kashmir with India, abrogation of Article 370 was one of the most essential requirements that was duly initiated by PM Modi and National Security Advisor (NSA) Mr. Ajit Doval. However, the real task of the government had just begun in early August 2019.

Previously there was a lack of political objectivity, i.e. a condition wherein national priorities were not set up. Indian leadership on the Kashmir issue was not able to decide whether they would want to initiate hard decisions against the separatists and stone pelters or take a decision otherwise. Consequently, it did both, i.e. policy of unconditional appeasement of the regional parties while simultaneously echoing that Kashmir is an integral part of India. It resulted in

adhoc administrative policies and tasks thereby defeating the very purpose of each other. The morale of the forces who worked tirelessly in the extreme weather conditions of Kashmir also took a back seat.

The most prominent example of the active use of media is probably seen by the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF). Specialised media units were established by the IDF wherein the Youtube channels, twitters and blogs were extensively used during Operation Cast Lead (2009). Later during Operation Protective Edge (2014), the media units of the IDF also interacted with the national media. The extensive use of media interaction was also done by the Indian armed forces after the Pulwama attack and especially after the Balakot strikes. Thus, convergences can be found between the methods adopted by the IDF and Indian government. Today, the security agencies have well understood the role of media in creating opinions, and thus the Doval doctrine has changed the above situation. National priorities have been set wherein the media was actively been used actively to highlight the wrongs of the terrorists and Pakistan. In this context, Doval while addressing a conference on the chiefs of Anti Terrorism Squads (ATS) stated “somebody should be trained to handle media and give information on it.”<sup>3</sup>

## **DOVAL DOCTRINE AND PERCEPTION MANAGEMENT: EXPLORING THE INTERLINKAGES**

The approach is a two-step formula – first finish off the terror and as a second step to use soft power and influence the minds of the people. From Pakistan's perspective, the popularity of the acts of terror increases by leaps and bounds wherein the Indian media in a repetitive manner highlights the damages. For example, if one studies how Burhan Wani became so popular amongst the Kashmiri youth, vernacular and social media had an important role to play. This also decreases the insensitivity of the people towards the martyrs and victims. Instead, the media should regularly highlight about the benevolence of the armed forces in the sensitive and disturbed areas. An important example of this is an attempt by the UPA government to battle the Kashmir floods and use the national media to Project how helpful and caring the Indian army is. Media was given access to cover the videos from the air force helicopters in order to highlight the positive role of the Indian government. Although the results were completely unexpected – harsh criticism of the government, yet, some political will to use perception management was displayed. Thus, a media policies wherein the roles, responsibilities as well as accountability in such areas should be in place keeping in purview that the administrative directions and control should be vested with the Centre. The media should be working in tandem with the government's larger security framework and its components.

The Doval Doctrine as it is popularly called is a more visionary doctrine that includes much more than surgical strikes and abrogation of Article 370. One of the

most important pillars of Doval doctrine is the undoing of the narratives of India's military occupation of Kashmir and subsequent human rights violations by tactfully changing the perceptions about India. From an administrative point of view it is termed as 'perception management'. The methodology of the government has now focussed on to coordinate its security and intelligence agencies with the national and state media to initiate a covert operation to sway away the domestic population from joining the separatist and extremist/terrorist groups. For this, the doctrine actively involves the dual use of media and diplomacy for creating awareness about Kashmir, i.e. treating all the "religious minorities" at par, i.e. examining the current status of religious minorities in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK). For this purpose, exploring the status of the development of POK and the suppression of religious minorities in Pakistan is currently what the Indian government is trying to bring it to the fore. As media is continuously highlighting the widespread killing of religious and ethnic minorities in Pakistan and their shrinking space, the rape of Hindu and Sikh girls in case they try to raise their voices against forcible conversion and extra judicial killings in Pakistan are now being increasingly highlighted. Second, highlighting the atrocities on the Kashmiri Pandits way back in 1990s as a deliberate attempt to change the then existing demographics, and finally, correctly utilising the radio and vernacular print media in rural Kashmir to recall the swayed youths back into the mainstream is important.

Even in other states across India, All India Radio and other news channels are also being extensively used to ensure that a sense of nationalism is infused in the people throughout the year and not just as an ad-hoc response to some terror attack by the adversary. Third, as a new Union Territory (UT) came into existence on 31 October 2019, the benefits of the seventh pay commission will be given to the state employees of the valley. Effectively then the Kashmiri employees would be financially at par with the employees of other UTs. They will now be able to avail various benefits such as Children Educational Allowance, Leave Travel Concession etc. Thus, a simultaneous two-way approach of giving the financial benefits and by creating employment opportunities alongside a heavy military and para military presence in order to counter any unforeseen threat will undoubtedly work to destroy the narratives created by Pakistan.

Further, the role of rural and national media becomes important here. Instead of presenting news, opinions and debates on how Kashmir can be integrated or is an integral part of India thereby raising doubts amongst a few academicians, focus of the Indian media has now thankfully shifted on how the people of the valley have benefitted and the serious development lapses in POK. Thus, the tables have been turned around. Media and other public institutions under the guidance of the security agencies should help in spreading the message of "hope", "peace", "development" and "employment opportunities" under the heavy presence of the security forces, and the destruction of anti-national elements by the insurgents are

to be conveyed to the larger masses through the media. All these three objectives and methods are so interwoven with each other that Doval doctrine and its implementation is incomplete without any of these.

This should further be extended to the international level wherein the audiences within the friendly and neutral nations are made to recognise and realise the threats posed to India from Pakistan. As it is well known that information used by the separatist and terrorists do have elements of political and cultural context. On the part of India, the media, documentaries have not been successful in highlighting the genesis of the problem thereby ignoring the historical context. Thus, the role of culture, political socialisation and dissemination of information are all intertwined factors that have to be effectively managed between the Central and state government agencies. Interlinkages have to be formed between the narratives and actions at the local, state and national level. The use of social media to spread messages of the government is another important tool through which asymmetrical warfare can be countered. With regard to this, the media-print, digital and other forms should work hand in glove with the various ministries such as Home Affairs, Ministry of Broadcasting etc. The overall objective of this perception management should be to remould the people in its favour.

With the overall objective of convincing the domestic as well as international audience that in case of any further attacks from Pakistan, war from India would be initiated; the media and the government agencies here have an important role to play. The media should regularly broadcast news and documentaries of the martyrs, the role of the armed forces and should further mould the public opinion away from the possibilities of talks with an enemy state by highlighting its “crimes against humanity” and the government’s actions are in conformity to the extension of ‘war on terror’. Of course, the real intention is not to immediately go to war with the adversary, but make the domestic as well as international audience psychologically prepared in case of further attacks and hostilities. Thus, information has to be controlled and disseminated in proper manner.

Perception management within the Doval doctrine also sets the ground not only for wide acceptance of sweeping reforms in the methods to combat asymmetrical warfare but also for important doctrines concerning the usage of nuclear weapons. For example, the current government has announced to appoint a Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) who will be a single point communication between the government and the armed forces. This development is simultaneous with the hints of the government to reformulate the nuclear doctrine which had limited India’s capabilities to take action. Once the opinions are shaped in favour of the government’s defence posture against the adversary, it will also be an automatic approval for increasing the budget allocation for developing the advanced military and industrial complex and increasing the Research and Development (R&D) in defence sector.

From another perspective, during the time of actual conflict, the information dissemination through the media is regulated to again reformulate the war perceptions in the adversary. For example, after the Balakot strikes, the Defence Ministry gave information that Spice-2000 bombs were launched from a Mirage 2000 fighter aircraft. These bombs are precision guided and hence no civilian or military casualties took place in Pakistan. The real objective of the government herein was to convey to the international community that India has the punitive power to strike and punish the perpetrators of Pulwama attack and simultaneously the issue should not be escalated because there were no casualties in Pakistan. Also, the government was able to convey the message to the adversary that the “game” was finished before they could actually think and react.

The active use of media also reduced the morale of Pakistan’s army to retaliate by the moulding the perceptions of the international community in favour of India. Thus, perception management was successfully used by the Modi government to present a ‘clean solution’ to the proxy war against India. From a psychological perspective, media can also help in calming down the anxieties of the people in case of an upcoming armed hostility between the warring nations. Perception management in asymmetric warfare constitutes an important tool wherein the political, economic, and military actions are coordinated with various state agencies to give a unified message to the adversary, international and the domestic community. Perception management is thus overlapping with information and psychological warfare tactics.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION**

In accordance with the above arguments put forward, the study recommends the following:

1. The armed forces and the intelligence agencies should coordinate together to have active armed forces media unit which should adopt a more pro-active approach at the time of terrorist attack and its subsequent retaliation. Further, for the news coverage of critical issues related to security such as movement of the armed forces, naxal and terrorist attacks, the editorial systems should include more representations from the media units wherein the opinion of the people are effectively shaped in favour of the nation.
2. In case of breaking news, the media should go slow in broadcasting the visuals. It should include more visuals of deferred live anti-terrorism steps being undertaken so that a message of hope and peace restores back amongst the people. Additionally, in case of the terrorists killed and the actions taken against the separatists, the central as well as the state government should encourage visuals and coverage about their end results so that it becomes a strong deterrent to the people.

3. Social media through fake news is an amplifier of the communicative scale of the terror that is posed from sources of internal as well as external disturbances. A stringent check needs to be in place on the social media in spreading fraudulent and offensive messages against the armed and para-military forces that bring disrepute. The local media and the vernacular press here play an important role wherein they can regularly discourage such false reports or messages. Constructive and positive narratives should be encouraged as an important component which should consist of counter propaganda. The media finally should weigh in the consequences and the social impact of the news rather than just the hype that it carries.
4. Media also has a symbiotic relationship with terrorism which should be discouraged. In case of live performances of sports, dances etc if there are terrorist attacks, or in extreme cases mass hostage taking such as plane hijack etc the media should immediately stop the live broadcast in order to stop the terror that seeps into the minds of the people. September 11 attacks were undoubtedly deadly and wrong, but their live telecast created unprecedented terror in the minds of the American citizens that made them believe even if temporary that their country was defeated. On the contrary, during the 2004 Chechnya school hostage, BBC refrained from broadcasting live visuals including explicit graphic images of the killings of the small school children. The Indian media should too be sensitive. If such live telecasts are stopped by a policy of the government, when there will be no audiences of the terror attack and the fear that it creates amongst the people, much of the objectives of the terrorists would be self defeated. Thus, overtime there would be steep reduction in the number of terrorist attacks.
5. The intelligent uses of metaphors such as “India’s war on terror” should be encouraged in order to serve the Indian news to an international audience. This increases the chances of Indian actions being accepted by the smaller and big nations while simultaneously conditioning domestic public acceptance. Here, a word of caution for the media is also important. The media should also refrain from making cultural or religious interpretations. In the case of Pakistan sponsored terrorism, the fear and/or hate of Islam should be discouraged. Rather there should be more emphasis on government programmes such as ‘Ek Bharat, Shreshtha Bharat’.
6. Finally, the media should avoid falling into the trap of shallow politics. When the opposition and some academicians questioned the validity of the Balakot strikes, the media immediately got engaged in primetime debates on the same. This action diluted the message that Doval and PM Modi wished to give to the regional and international community – that India stands united on the issue of counter-terrorism. Rather, Pakistan’s media and official statements quoted

the opposition leader to question the genuineness and the impact of the strikes. Such mistakes should be avoided in the future.

A well coordinated effort by the various government agencies is required to combat the mis-information campaign and the proxy war initiated by the adversary. The nature of the warfare in the times to come will undergo radical changes wherein the tools of strategic communication will dominate the same. There shouldn't be any information vacuum which the adversary should take advantage of. For the sake of national interest, reality and hype have to be beautifully interlinked. It is here that the role of public agencies comes into play. Thus, public administration will soon be also affected by this as new methodologies and inter connectedness would have to be skillfully crafted in order to infuse the domestic audience with a sense of nationalism throughout the year. Public institutions at the state and finally at the local level will play an important role. The barriers between the central security agencies and the local people would have to be bridged by the public agencies and soon an area of public administration research on reaching out to the people from the government's initiatives would have to be explored. For the national interests to prevail, the complexities and the tussle between the central and the state security agencies would have to be overcome.

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# PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

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**Vineeth Thomas\***

## Abstract

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People's participation has been widely used in the discourse of development and public administration for last few decades and it has become a worldwide phenomenon. India with its major population living in the rural area, the concept and practice of peoples' participation in rural development and public administration is a matter of prime importance. But the dilemma lies in the fact that rural people participate inadequately in the entire policy process, as regards to rural development and local governance. In this context, the present article examines the concept of people's participation, underlines the inhibiting factors, particularly in rural India and suggestions to overcome the obstacles in the way of people's participation.

**Keywords:** People's Participation, Rural Development, Public Policy, India, NGOs.

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## INTRODUCTION

For a developing nation like India, having more than seventy percent rural population, the people's participation is quintessential for the fruitful formulation and implementation of all the rural development policies and programmes. But experiences reveal that India is facing serious and multilateral obstacles so far people's participation in the public policy process is concerned. It is the need of the hour to weed out these challenges in order to achieve successful rural development. Keeping this assumption in mind, the present article intends to examine the

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concept of peoples' participation, trace out the inhibiting factors and to suggest policy measures to overcome the problems,

## **CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Peoples' participation has been widely used in the vocabulary of development since 1960s and it has become a phenomenon which has its visibility across the world (Stein, 2001, p. 78). India attempted to introduce people's participation through Community Development Programme but it could not show promise. Later, several steps have been taken to ensure people's participation in all the stages of the policy process like formulating, implementing, monitoring and distribution of fruits (Mishra, 1991). The World Bank defines participation as a concept that means different things to different people in different settings. For some, it is a matter or principle; for others, a practice and for still others, an end in itself. (World Bank, 1996). According to the United Nations Development programme, participation refers to people's involvement in the economic, social, cultural and political process that affect their lives" (UNDP, 1993). Peoples' participation is planned, implemented and evaluated by keeping people at the centre of the axis in the public policy process. A shared socio-political process ignited by the objective to accomplish individual necessities through collective action is the trademark of peoples' participation.

Sunil Bastian has meticulously narrated four thematic variants on the concept of Participation. The principles, ideological frameworks and politics of participation are reverberating in these thematic variations. Firstly, participation is used as a modus operandi to get labour from people without any payment in return. The key justification behind this argument is that it creates a sense of belonging among the public about the public utility created by them. If they are paid for its construction, they feel is as somebody else property which subsequently affects their dedication during the process of construction and maintenance of public property. Since this practice significantly reduces the burden of government's development expenditure, this practice has garnered widespread support amongst the policy makers and planners. Here, people's psychological quotient of belongings about the public property is effectively utilised which helps in the development of the country without creating too much liability to the public exchequer. The dependence of the third world countries on the developed countries further increase the incidence of poverty as the "structural explanations of dependency at the macro level is being transformed to the situations in the micro level" (Bastian, 1996). Further, participatory approach is often considered as the method of constructing ideal harmonious villages where everybody lived peacefully and solved problems together. Finally, participation is also treated as a mechanism of project management. This is on the premise that if the participatory method is adopted then the project can be efficiently managed and successfully completed.

Arnstein has put forward eight levels of participation which include “manipulative, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power and citizen control” (Arnstein, 1969). Following concept table shows the typology of participation propounded by Jules Pretty in 1995 (Cornwall A., 2008).

**Table 1:** Typology of Participation Propounded by Jules Pretty

Type of Participation	Features
Manipulative Participation	Pretense, with nominated representatives having no legitimacy or power
Passive Participation	Unilateral announcements without listening to people's responses
Passive Participation	External agents define problems and information gathering processes and so control analysis
Participation for Material Incentives	People participate by contributing resources (labour) in return for material incentives
Functional Participation	External agencies encourage participation to meet predetermined objectives
Interactive Participation	People participate (as a right) in joint analysis, development of action plans and the formation or strengthening of local institutions
Self-Mobilisation	People take initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems

Source: Cornwall A., 2008.

## NATURE OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN INDIA

In fact, now people's participation has become the part and parcel of public administration and public policy process of a country. There are many instances where the public policy or the development initiative could not be achieved at the desired level due to lack of sufficient participation of the people in India. This is clearly evident in the Namami Ganga vision<sup>1</sup> (Koshy, 2018) or the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (Shailendra Kumar, 2015). Here the public policy process or the development project was initiated for them but not by them. Learning from this experience, it is advisable to the government include the beneficiary people into the public policy process of making, implementation and evaluation. Indeed peoples' participation has become one of the essential factors for the successful implementation of any public policy or the development project.

Apart from the public administrators, bureaucracy and policymakers, peoples' participation in rural development has gathered the attention of the think tanks, NGOs and researchers in social sciences discipline. They have also accepted the

worth of peoples' participation in effective and sustaining rural development. When people get the opportunity to be the part of various stages of the development process, namely its designing, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, the rural development becomes holistic and sustaining one. This can help the government to address the concerns of the rural people in an apt manner. The infrastructural development in rural India with the help of *Gram Sabhas*<sup>2</sup> is one of the classic examples of the same.

## **CHALLENGES**

It is evident that the Government of India has made a paradigm shift over the last few decades from that of a 'top-down' to a 'bottom-top' approach. Until the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, India's development strategy was primarily that of centralisation, where the policies and programmes for development were centrally administered. It revolved around "top-down" approach. The Community Development Programme, Integrated Rural Development Programme are some of the many centrally administered planned interventions. But these centrally planned projects could not make a substantial contribution to the rural development. Rural India continued to struggle with the problems of poverty and other socio-economic problems. This contributed to a radical shift in the thought process of policymakers. They realized that the top-down approach which works on the premise of trickle down' effects of economic growth takes a long way to reach the poor. This necessitated the government to adopt the strategy of "bottom-top" approach which in turn opened the way for peoples' participation in rural development. Despite realisation of its significance, there are many challenges which obstruct people's participation in rural India. Some of them are as follows:

## **HEAVY LOAD OF POPULATION**

India is the second most populous country in the world (Stats, 2018). As per 2011 Indian census, 70% of India's population live in rural areas. This large chunk of the population makes it tedious for the government to bring consensus among the beneficiary population with regard to policy design, execution and assessment in rural areas. This negatively affects the time and cost of the prospective development projects and policies. The diversity existing in Indian society with regard to language, religion, caste etc makes the task more difficult for peoples' participation. India is a mosaic of diversity on social, economic, cultural and ethnic grounds. "Under the traditional caste system, which still plays a key role in society and in politics, there are at least, 3,000 castes and 25,000 sub-castes in India. The country has 22 officially recognised languages that together constitute a mere fraction of more than 1500 mother tongues known to exist, 33 of which are spoken by more than 100,000 people. (Byerly, 2016)"

## **LACK OF EDUCATION IN RURAL INDIA**

Illiteracy is another great menace faced by rural India. As per 2011 census of India, literacy rate in rural areas is much below than that of urban India. Additional expenses will be required to make them understand various nuances of policy design and implementation. Stressing the importance of literacy and education, Mr Venkiah Naidu, the Vice-President of India, said, "Improved levels of literacy also are pre-requisites of acquiring various skills. It is an indispensable component of human resource development. It is an essential tool for communication and learning, acquiring and sharing information, a pre-condition for individual growth and of national development" (PTI, Literacy gives greater freedom to participate in society more actively: Vice President, 2018).

## **CORRUPTION IN LOCAL BUREAUCRACY**

At the implementation and evaluation stages, the local bureaucracy decide the role of the common mass in the public policy process and subsequently and in turn the degree of peoples' participation in the development project primarily depends upon the whims and wishes of local bureaucracy (Saksena, 2017). This will be evident from the working of public distribution system which have participative vigilance mechanism known as *janvitran nigrani samiti* (consisting of local people to keep vigil on fair price shops). The members of samiti connive with local food bureaucracy to extract undue benefit (Verma, 2007). Another example is the pattern of bribes in public distribution system in south Indian states has been discussed by Jos E. Mooij (1999). No doubt the situation has changed a bit in the wake of digitalisation, but the corruption finds its ways in the changed situation too. The main reason of persistence of corruption is that the people are least enthused to get involved in implementation of development projects. The public resources are wasted and consumed by those who handle it at the ground levels.

## **HIGH INCIDENCE OF POVERTY**

Poverty continues to be one of the biggest concern of India's policy makers. According to the government official documents 47 per cent of the country's rural population is still living in extreme poverty (Tewari, 2015). It is poverty that make people isolated from the participation in the governance as they do not get time out of the livelihood activities. Due to the high incidence of poverty, the rural poor shows a lackadaisical approach to the public policy process and peoples' participation. They always remain at receiving end and looking something free from state. As such, the decision making and implementation process of public policy get concentrated in a few privileged class or groups in the society. This stands as a major obstacle to achieve peoples' participation in rural development.

## **SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPEDIMENTS**

Another serious obstacle which impedes peoples' participation in rural India is the widely prevailed mentality and outlook of dependence amongst the people. Due to their perennial backward social and economic conditions, they are completely depended upon the educated-employed-elite sections of the society. It is not possible to make the rural population part of community development until and unless they recognise their potentiality and develop a mindset of independence and self-reliance. Due to the recurring instance of corruption and exploitation, they lack trust in the officials' which add fuel to fire with regard to peoples' participation in development. The rural poor are often subjugated by local elites with whom the matters of decision making are concentrated. For the majority rural masses, survival is the sole aspiration.

## **CASTE SYSTEM**

Despite the existence of legal safeguards and constitutional provisions to create equality and social justice, the caste system in India continues to have a strong impact on Indian society (Jones, 2017). The fundamental problem that prevails in rural India is that of social stratification which obstructs successful implementation of peoples' participation for rural development. Those sections of the society which lie on the upper ladder of caste hierarchy finds it difficult to work along with the people belonging to the lower sections of caste hierarchy. This differentiation and discrimination stand as a big challenge for initiating and ensuring peoples' participation in rural development substantially.

## **ATTITUDE OF BUREAUCRACY**

The complex and multi-layered bureaucratic machinery in India makes the common mass incomprehensible about the various stages of public policy design and implementation. It becomes a tedious task for the administrative set up to accommodate the views and opinions of the common mass to the cobweb of bureaucracy without affecting the cost and efficiency of the project. Additional efforts and time is necessary to synchronise the opinions and viewpoints of the common mass and the bureaucrats with regard to design, implantation, maintenance and evaluation of the development project.

## **PROSPECTS AND SUGGESTIONS**

Since it is a multidimensional issue, a single solution or strategy cannot achieve the desired goals and objectives. A combined multilateral effort is the need of the hour. The measures which are going to be discussed in this paper is not the ultimate one but they do have the potentiality for resolving and addressing the challenges.

- Government should take necessary steps to promote and popularise general awareness in the rural areas particularly among the representatives of panchayati raj institutions who may become vehicle for raising awareness among the masses. Government may make use of print and visual media for the same. Help and support of NGOs and local level leaders shall be garnered for this purpose.
- Ensuring knowledge based society with spread of education at least at MLL parameters is highly required at this stage, as such there is need of an appropriate policy. Government shall take the necessary steps to create favourable and conducive legal and policy framework that can promote peoples' participation for rural development.(Organisation, 1991)
- Policymakers shall tailor policies and programmes in such a way that it promote and facilitate increased participation of the rural people in rural development. (Organisation, 1991)
- Since the rural economy of India is primarily agriculturally based, it will be difficult for the rural poor to assist in development activities during gestation period without adequate financial support and food security. Government should take the necessary steps to alleviate poverty amongst the rural poor and increase their income by providing support prices for agricultural produce.
- Government shall make serious provisions for the empowerment of weaker and socially backward sections of the society. It will be a pipedream to expect holistic peoples' participation, until and unless the weaker sections of rural India are empowered.
- Government should take steps for the formation of co-operative societies or such other participatory bodies that have least governmental interference. With a view to capacity building, rural people should be encouraged to participate in those economic activities that are predominant in the local village. It could be in the dairy circle, processing of agricultural products or poultry. This can create social capital amongst the villagers which in turn can act as a positive catalyst for peoples' participation in rural development.
- Self Help Groups (SHGs) have greater potentiality in providing leadership and managerial training to the rural populace. The idea of SHGs refers to “as a small voluntary association of poor people, preferably from the same socio-economic background. They come together for the purpose of solving their common problems through self-help and mutual help”(Office of the State Cordinator, 2017). SHGs can develop a common binding force, needs, interests and concerns among the rural poor.

## **EPILOGUE**

We can conclude with the words of Bava “Participation of citizens in the development process is the heartbeat and pulse rate of development administration” (Bava,

1997). For a country like India, it is an urgent imperative to garner the support and participation of people for its rural development initiatives. But in India, there are many challenges which inhibit peoples' participation in rural development. It is high time to meet those challenges and resort to the above suggestions, only then only India can climb the higher ladders of rural development.

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# CORRUPTION IN INDIA: CURES TO CURB IT

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**Daisy Sharma\***

## Abstract

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Corruption is a multidimensional global phenomenon. India has been among worst sufferer of corruption despite a long list of anti-corruption laws and organisations like Lokpal, Lokayukta, CVC, Anti-Corruption Bureau, IB, CBI etc. Corruption in India is not only limited to bureaucracy but spread in political and social spheres also. The cure is not easy. So we need reforms at structural, functional, behavioral and personnel levels. We need to systematically put these reforms in the entire system in a time bound manner. The small procedural measures can take us a long way in our fight against corruption. One solution leading to other, one victory taking to other is the only solution. Once we develop the system to fight against corruption behavioral pattern will follow the footsteps. Without developing a system all reforms will remain a piecemeal approach leading us somewhere but not there where we can win corruption or bring it to lowest level.

**Keywords:** Corruption, Transparency, Corruption-Survey, ARC-2, Arthashastra, India.

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## INTRODUCTION

Corruption has become much talked about term in global policy circles. Corruption is not something new. It exists since time immemorial. It can be seen everywhere across globe indiscriminately. It has become more rampant and perpetuated in contemporary times. In the era where Good Governance is taking the centre stage in all public and policy discourses, corruption stands out as the single largest

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factor for down playing all the “good” in governance. Oxford Dictionary defines corruption as “perversion of destruction of integrity in discharge of public duties by bribery or favour is called corruption.” According to The Webster’s Dictionary corruption is “inducement to wrong by improper or unlawful means as bribery. “Corruption is the “abuse of public power for private benefit”. (World Development Report 1997: The State in a Changing World, 1997) Indeed financial gains constitute a large chunk of corruption but it’s not the whole story. Bribery, extortion, influence peddling, nepotism, fraud, vote buying, embezzlement and the use of speed money comprise principal acts of corruption (Khan, 2004). In fact every discrepancy from ethical and prescribed behaviour is corruption. It is more of ethical issue than financial one the later one being one of the outcome only.

Joe Biden, Former American Vice-President aptly sums up about corruption. He said, “Corruption is a cancer, a cancer that eats away at a citizen’s faith in democracy, diminishes the instinct for innovation and creativity; already-tight national budgets, crowding out important national investments. It wastes the talent of entire generations. It scares away investments and jobs. And most importantly it denies the people their dignity. It saps the collective strength and resolve of a nation. Corruption is just another form of tyranny”. (Remarks by vice President Joe Biden to Romanian Civil Society Groups and Students - May 21, 2014)

The Durban Commitment to Effective Action against Corruption narrates “Corruption deepens poverty; it debases human rights, it degrades the environment; it derails development, including private sector development; it can drive conflict in and between nations; and it destroys confidence in democracy and the legitimacy of government. It debases human dignity and its universally condemned by the world’s major faiths”. Hence it’s clear that corruption is a negative phenomenon which tries to derail the development process. So, when we talk about the developing countries like India it gets wider donations given the large scale poverty, unemployment and leviathan task of nation building. To overcome these challenges India needs an efficient, responsive, accountable, proactive administration. But corruption is the single factor which mars all these efforts and sets the negative tone of the administration. It leads to mismanagement of funds, poor service delivery, lack of accountability and transparency and breakdown of public trust. Thus it results in the most pernicious threat to the emerging aspirations of development agenda of India.

## **CORRUPTION IN INDIA**

We find reference of corruption even during the earliest phases of history. Kautilya in “Arthashastra” describes the way in which king can fight the magnitude of corruption. (Kangle, 1972) Kautilya says “just as it is not possible, not to taste honey or poison put on the surface of the tongue, so it is not possible for the government

servant dealing with money not to taste it in however small a quantity." Kautilya understood the malaise of corruption among the officers. He said that we can still find out the path of a flying bird in open sky but it is impossible to understand the corrupt ways an officer can adopt to indulge into corruption.(Kangle, 1972).

Starting from Ancient period as given by Kautilya, Medieval and modern all phases of history find its reference at one moment or another. Although In modern India corruption was declared a punishable offence by Indian Penal Code in 1860 itself. Since independence a number of acts, institutions and agencies have been set up to fight corruption but it seems like unending journey. Starting as early as in 1950 with Mudra Scam to latest Coal scams a whopping number of scams have shaken the Indian public. A rough estimate of some of the major scams as reported in media throws light on the depth of this malaise. It is estimated that Coal Allotment Scam amounted to around 186000 crores, 2 G Spectrum Scam costed around 176000 crores, Mega black money laundering Scam involved whopping 70000 crores, Commonwealth Games (CWG) Scam also amounted to equal to 70000 crores, Boforce Scam costed around 400 Million, Adarsh Housing Scam was of 18978 crores, Hawala Scam was of around 8000 crores, Stamp Paper Scam costed 20000 crores, Stock Market Scam amounted to around 3500 crores, Fodder Scam involved 950 crores, Satyam Scam amounted to 14000 crores, Madhu Koda Scam was of 4000 crores, recent Nirav Modi PNB Bank Scam amounted to around 11600 crores. These huge figures show dark picture of governance in the country.

Apart from these big scandals which hit the headlines there are endless cases of corruption which go unreported. They involve common people and petty amounts but their cumulative amount is higher than these big scams. 56% citizens said they paid a bribe in the last 1 year. (Transparency International, 2018) A study by Transparency International in 2005, focused on the matter that to get any public office job 15% of Indian people had firsthand experience of paying bribe. Centre for Media Studies jointly with Transparency International India in 2005 in their study found that the common citizens pay petty bribes of as much as ₹21,068 crores in a year for availing eleven common public services.

According to the data provided by the Swiss Banking Association Report 2006 (Association, 2007), India holds more black money compared to the total black money of the world together. Indian assets in Swiss bank account to around 13 times its total national debt. It is estimated that during 2006 \$27.3 billion US dollars were stashed away annually from India.

India's dismal performance on various corruption indicators presents a very gloomy picture. In Corruption Perception Index 2017, India stands at 81/180 countries (Transparency International, 2018). In PERC'S Annual Corruption Survey India is at 13/16 countries (Political & Economic Risk Consultancy Ltd, 2018) In irregular payments and bribes India is at 51/138 nations. (PERC,2018).

After looking at the above facts comment of N. Vittal (2012: 18, 37) fits completely when he says about corruption that the persistent disease in our body politic has affected many sectors and contributed to a multiple organ failure in governance.

As per written statement presented in Lok Sabha by Jitender Singh State Minister of Personnel there were 1767 corruption cases registered against 4123 public servants during 2016, 2017, 2018. Of the 1767 cases charge sheet has been filed in 900 cases, Regular department action was recommended in 59 cases and 89 cases were closed or disposed of.

Out of 900 cases in which charge sheets were filed, 19 cases ended in conviction, 9 in acquittal and 4 cases have been discharged or disposed of. (Press Trust of India, 2019). This is the situation of only reported cases whereas most cases of corruption particularly petty daily corruption go unreported for various reasons.

## **HOW CORRUPTION SPREADS?**

There are five participants in corruption in India: Politicians, Bureaucrats, Businessmen, NGOs and the Criminal Underworld. They all are interdependent on each other. Their support to each other perpetuates this vicious circle of corruption. (Vittal, 2001). According to Vittal 5 factors help in perpetuating corruption Lack of Transparency in Decision Making, Scarcity of goods and resources, Legal cushions for corrupt, Red tapism and complicated procedures and Tribalism among corrupt who protect each other (VITTAL, 2001).

It is very important to check the corruption to ensure the development of the country and welfare of its people. According to Second ARC, “The Mahatma’s vision of a strong and prosperous India-Purana Swaraj – can never become a reality if we do not address the issue of stranglehold of corruption on our polity, economy and society in general.” John Kennedy, President of USA had said, “No Responsibility of government is more fundamental than the responsibility of maintaining the higher standards of ethical behavior.” As long as there is more accountability than the given administrative discretion, corruption can be minimised. (ARC, 2007)

Corruption not only results in financial loss to a society but its threats are multifaceted. According to Rangarajan corruption results in 5 types of losses to our society, i.e. loss of public resources through leakages in taxes, duties, through misallocation of public resources, through low investment because of lower levels of trust and confidence in public institutions, through high costs and low quality of public services and increased insecurity and vulnerability of poor and loss of trust in Public Institutions. (Rangarajan, 2006)

## CURING THE CORRUPTION

As far as curbing the corruption is concerned we must understand that it a systemic problem in India. It has plagued entire system in systematic way. Hence we need reforms which are systematic and spread across entire political and administrative arrangements. One institution and one law is not enough to deal with this monster. We need to bring reforms both at demand and supply side. No doubt the one involved in taking corruption should be seriously punished but we need to develop a link pin system of investigation. Once one person is arrested or found guilty in corruption, he must be inquired whom he has given benefits of corruption in same or earlier cases. Whosoever name is found in investigation his property along with the property of his dependents needs to be verified. If he or his dependent is found having wealth disproportionate to his income that must be attached. Investigation into his wealth may take us to more culprits. Hence a systematic enquiry into one case of corruption can help us in breaking the vicious system of corruption. Moreover along with punishing the guilty, provisions should be made to benefit the whistle blower, investigating officer or witness with lucrative offers. It will give motivation to break the vicious circle of corruption. Digital system should be made so prompt that it should immediately flash to appropriate authorities whenever there is a breach in process or system. For example if some tender is given to one other than the lowest quoted it should be immediately and automatically reported to all investigative agencies. Citizen Charters should be monitored digitally. Whenever there is delay it should reflect automatically in the service record of the employee and his higher authorities. This will prompt the system of immediate supervision and reactivate the entire system against corruption. The entire system should be fully digitalized so that there is no contact between the customer and service provider after the initial stage. No incomplete application for any service should be accepted. Once accepted it should be compulsory for the service provider to get the work done within stipulated time. Failure of which may lead to negative impact on service record, hence promotion and incentives. Unless we develop such a robust system of monitoring, supervision and investigation, we can't get success in curbing the corruption.

Main hurdle in curbing the corruption is lesser probability of punishing the corrupt authorities. In India corruption is "low risk high reward" activity. Corrupt offenders are hardly detected and rarely punished. (Quah, 2011) Rakesh Hooja (Hooja, July-December, 2011) the most effective way to deal with corruption is improvement in enquiry and disciplinary actions procedures. A big cause of corruption is extraordinary long time taken for the enquiries. In most of the cases enquiry officer is busy with his normal or routine work. Many a time same officer is appointed enquiry officer in many cases. While he devotes much time to his routine work which is regularly supervised, enquires are sidelined since there is no regular

supervision. So we need to have improved monitoring of the incomplete enquiries. Moreover government should appoint some senior members as the enquiry officers who will mainly deal with enquiries only. They should also be prescribed some fixed time line to complete the enquiries so that it doesn't take long time to address the complaint of cases. This will promote the deterrent effect on corruption. People who indulge in corruption will understand that their verdict will come within fixed time and can't be delayed they will think before indulging in any major corruption. Moreover we need a separate machinery to deal with corrupt officials. Regular machinery like police will not treat the corruption on urgent basis. Given the rampant corruption in police we can't depend upon them to deal with this menace. "This will be like giving candy to a child and expecting him not to eat it" (S.T., 2004) So we need to have pro active solely dedicated machinery for taking up the cause of curbing the corruption. It is the need of the hour to make it a priority issue rather than routine issue. One of the main reasons of bureaucratic corruption is the official appointments and postings by the politicians. Politicians give favourable postings to those bureaucrats who are in nexus with them and help them in corruption. This further boosts the already prevailing corruption. Hence we need to take the power of posting and transfers from the hands of politicians. It should be given to some independent body or Public Service Commission itself.

UN Convention on Anti-Corruption (2003) Article 10 states that "Taking into account the need to combat corruption, each State Party shall, in accordance with fundamental principles of its domestic law, take such measures as may be necessary to enhance transparency in its public administration, including with regard to its organization, functioning and decision making processes, where appropriate." Indian government understood the importance of Right to Information and brought RTI ACT 2005. Its preamble says, "Democracy requires informed citizenry and transparency of information which are vital to its functioning and also to contain corruption and to hold Governments and their instrumentalities accountable to the governed." Dr. Girish Goyal (Girish Goyal, July-December, 2013) says that RTI is the most powerful assault on developing countries's endemic corruption. RTI promotes internal record management and Institutional Accountability. This helps in curbing the corruption. Moreover the digitalisation can curb the middlemen hence help the government in eliminating the petty corruption. If e-governance is utilized thoughtfully and wisely it can reduce bribery in the delivery of government services. It can facilitate efficiency less trips, less waiting time and reduced elapsed time for delivering government services (Bhatnagar, 2013) Anju Dwivedi (Dwivedi, July-December, 2006) suggests that Social Development Monitoring can help in promoting transparency and reducing corruption by enabling people to raise their concerns. Some social scientists view low salaries of public officers as the major cause of petty corruption.

Dealing with corruption not only means punishing the guilty. It also stands for promoting the culture of integrity and honesty. Rakesh Hooja (Hooja, Measures to Check Corruption , October-December 2011) describes how we can go for an Integritymark Scheme on the lines of Britain's Chartermark Scheme for good public service delivery. So government should take steps to protect honest persons from malicious enquiries and harassments. For this purpose government needs to regularly review the work procedures and processes. Audit system can also help in suggesting systematic improvements in working procedures of the governments.

Government can't work without public. So to end the corruption we need behavioral changes on the part of government officers as well as public. Balraj Chauhan and Mridul Srivastva (Srivastva, October-December, 2011) are of the opinion that civil services exist for serving the people so they should act as servants not masters of the society. It is also expected from the public that it will give preference to national interest over self interest and will not cooperate with corrupt officers. We should understand that corruption is legitimized by not only by those who are in power but even by the public. It has become a social fact. Society loses the strings of corruption because it not only tolerates corruption but also takes it normal, as rule of the day. Unless this tolerance towards corruption is changed no law however strict can curb corruption. So we need to promote social ethics and values that can help us in fight against corruption.

So we need reforms at structural, functional, behavioral and personnel level to deal with the corruption. We need to systematically put these reforms in the entire system in a time bound manner. Even small procedural corrections can take us a long way in our fight against corruption. But to deal with it fully we need to be as systematic as the corruption is. One solution leading to other, one victory taking to other is the only solution. Once we develop the system to fight against corruption behavioral pattern will follow the footsteps. Without developing a system all reforms will remain a piecemeal approach leading us somewhere but not there where we can win corruption or bring it to lowest level.

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# **SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF URBAN SLUM DWELLERS: A CASE STUDY OF SIWAN (BIHAR)**

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**Archna Kumari\***

## **Abstract**

A number of schemes of urban development are being run by the Central and state governments but the conditions of urban slums have not improved on desired level. With this view in mind, the present paper attempts to assess the socio-economic conditions of the slums in Bihar in general and Chhapra town in particular on the basis of empirical enquiry. It is interesting to note that the population of slums has grown substantially with the growth of population of the town. On the other hand the urban poor contribute to the economy of the cities but they suffer from lack of civic facilities and access to basic services and livelihoods. The present paper posits that if their conditions are improved and their problems are addressed, they would have contributed substantially to the economy and sustainable development.

**Keywords:** Slum, Slum-Dwellers, Demography, Socio-Economic, Siwan, Bihar.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The growth of slums in urban area is one of the major issues for urban local bodies. Slums are the major menace in Indian cities, including those of developed metro cities like Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata and so on. This is a national phenomenon, irrespective of the size of the cities. The scholarship on the phenomenon has attempted to define what exactly these slums mean. By its name, it is clear that a dirty locality of a town is called slum. Carter (1976) has described it as a creation of man and said, "God made the country and man-made the town.... The devil made the slum." The Slum Area Improvement and Clearance Act 1956 has defined it as a compact area of poorly built tenements with unhygienic conditions. The Census

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of India defines it as “a compact area of at least 300 in population or about 60-70 household of poorly built congested tenements in an unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking sanity and drinking water facilities” (Census of India, 2011). The presence of a slum as a part of urban habitat refers to a condition of defective physical, social and economic environment. The socio-economic substandard denotes an area of degenerated living “an abode of half starved, a place of poverty, wretchedness and vice, the house of racketeers and criminals” and so on. The slum lack basic services and pose enormous risks of disease, fire and range of social and economic problem.

The major reason of growth of slums is said to be absorption in industrial allied as well as service sector in trade and business activities like hawking, retailing, carting etc that attracted the rural poor to the city which contribute to the slum growth. Slum areas lack basic sanitary facilities and infrastructure. In general slums area the products of failed policies, bad governance, corruption, inappropriate regulation, dysfunctional land markets, unresponsive financial system and a fundamental lack of political will (Mohanty & Mohanty, 2005).

A number of slum improvement programmes and schemes have been launched by both the Central and State Governments. These are being implemented by Siwan Municipal Council. The Central Government sponsored schemes include Swarna Jayanti Rozgar Yojna (SJSRY), integrated low cost sanitation (ILCS) USEP (subsidy), Development of Women and Children in Urban Areas (DWCUA), UWEP (Urban Wage Employment Programme), Skill up-gradation training, Integrated Housing and Slum development programme (IHSDP) and Backward Region Grant fund, etc. But the conditions of slums still remain bleak, particularly in small towns like Siwan. As such the present study intends to underline the socio-economic conditions of Siwan town, the District HQ of Siwan, Bihar.

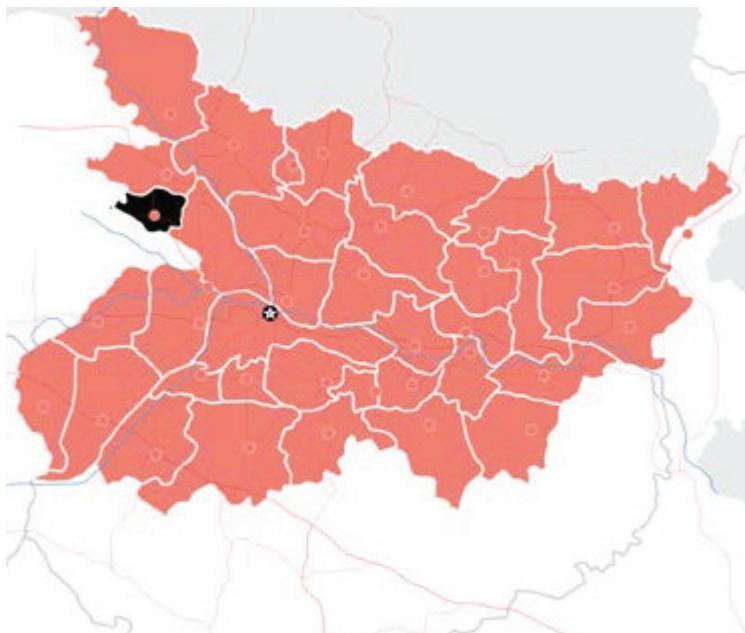
**Objectives:** The present article has the major objective to study the factors responsible for growth of urban slums in general and the socio-economic conditions of the slum dwellers of one of the fast growing towns of Bihar Siwan, the district headquarters. It further goes to underline the demographic features, occupational structure and factors responsible for their poverty (including poor health and educational services).

**Methodology:** The present article is mainly based on empirical enquiry of slum areas of Chhapra town of Bihar. A survey was conducted with the help of structured schedule prepared for the purpose. However, secondary sources like books, journals, newspapers, government reports etc. have also been used in order to enrich the study and cross check the official data. Ten percent (300 h/h) of the households of slum dwellers, situated in different parts of the town, were sampled out of the total households (3002 h/h) on the basis random sampling method. The universe of the study is slum dwellers of Chhapra town.

## **PROFILE OF SIWAN TOWN (THE STUDIED AREA)**

Siwan town is located on latitude 26°12'15" n and longitude 84°21'48" E in N-W part of Bihar in Gandak-Ghaghra Doab. Siwan town is situated on both side of the banks of Daha river which flows from North to South. Siwan is the 12th highly populated districts in Bihar falling in category of B grade towns of Bihar. The town has a population of 1,35,066 (70,756 male and 64,310 female) as per the Census 2011. The municipal area is about 15 sq. km and is divided into 38 wards. There are 29 notified slums in Siwan town with a total population of 15,824. The slum pockets are scattered in the different localities of the town mainly in the outskirts of the town. Siwan town is divided into 38 wards out of which 29 wards have slum areas. As per the census 2011, the number of households living in the slums is 3002. The total slum population constitute 12 per cent of the total population of the city which is lesser than the national average of 14.8 per cent and higher than state average of 1.2 per cent. The following map of Bihar shows the location of the town in Bihar and the details of ward wise slum areas and population are given in the Table 1.1 below.

**Map of Bihar with Location of Siwan**



**Table 1:** Details of Slums in Siwan

S. No.	Name of the Slum	Ward	Ownership of Land	Total Population	HHs	BPL Popl	BPL HHs	Pucca	Dwelling Units
1.	Aagu Chapda	7	Private and state Government	500	100	285	57	13	57
2.	Bidruttihatta	2	Private and state Government	925	185	695	139	12	127
3.	Ismile Sahel Takiya	28	Private	815	136	725	121	38	118
4.	Purani Qila Harizan Toli	28	Urban local body	450	90	300	60	21	53
5.	Ram Nagar	5	Private	945	190	650	128	64	156
6.	Dabugar Toti	32	Private, State Government	755	126	604	101	21	103
7.	Bashphortola	15	Urban local body	189	32	126	21	0	22
8.	Shri Nagar	3	Private	1310	242	1029	205	49	231
9.	khurmabad	14	Urban local body	550	110	410	82	5	47
10.	Ambedkar Nagar	10	Private	825	165	355	71	38	71
11.	Keshratoli Purani Bazar	23	Private	300	60	225	45	29	29
12.	Add Pokhra	19	Private	495	99	275	55	20	68
13.	Harijan Tola	19	Private	290	58	75	15	8	29
14.	Laxmipur	27	Private	920	194	305	61	39	140
15.	Chakia	18	State government, private	203	34	182	30	5	21
16.	Dakshin Tola Tivari Tola	27	Private	252	42	180	30	16	21

S. No.	Name of the Slum	Ward	Ownership of Land	Total Population	HHs	BPL Popl	BPL HHs	Pucca	Dwelling Units
17.	Kagi Mohalla	12	Urban local Body	312	52	210	30	5	30
18.	Lakhrav	1&2	Private	360	60	216	36	7	35
19.	Kandarawa	4	Private	550	110	300	50	32	96
20.	Anand Nagar	6	Private	238	43	150	27	21	26
21.	Dom Toli/ Harijan Toli	33	Private	570	95	330	55	27	88
22.	Dom Toli	32	State Government	156	26	120	20	0	24
23.	Jay Prakash Nagar/ Shastri Nagar	13	Private	802	157	408	79	53	73
24.	Purani Kila Chowk	30	Private	682	136	300	60	53	66
25.	Moulana Majrul Haq	28	Urban Local Body	270	45	180	30	1	32
26.	Navalpur Barhi Takia	8	Private	165	33	80	27	3	20
27.	Purani Killa	31	Private	480	80	180	30	7	40
28.	Mahadeva	16&17	Private	1050	210	700	140	28	133
29.	Harijan Toli, Patherkat Toli, Ahir	W-34	Private	465	92	370	74	6	64
Total Slum Population				15824	3002	9965	1879	621	2020

Sources: Siwan Municipality- SPUR/BHR/SWN/FCSP/03

Out of the total slum population and households, BPL h/h and BPL Population are 1879 and 9965 respectively. The BPL Population in slum area constitutes 63 per cent of the total slum population. The maximum slum population noted in Srinagar (WN-3), Mahadeva (WN-16&17), Ramnagar (WN-5) and Bidurthihatta (WN-2). Whereas, the slum areas with low population include Domtoli (WN-32), Navalpur (WN-8), Barhi Takia (WN-8), and Anand Nagar (WN-6). About 58 per cent of slum pockets are located near the major roads and 38 per cent near the nullah. The remaining 4 per cent are located near the railway line.

## **DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF THE STUDIED AREA**

- (i) **Sex Composition:** The sex composition reveals that a balance is maintained between male and female population. The sex ratio is almost 1:1. Male comprises about 52.54 per cent of the total population and female comprises about 47.45 per cent of the total population. This shows that the discrimination against women is not much in slum areas of Siwan.
- (ii) **Child Population (0-6 years):** The slum population in the age group of 0-6 in 2001 was 2626 but it increased 40 per cent in 2011. In Bihar slum population in the age group of 0-6 (17%) is maximum in India. The total population of Siwan in the age group of 0-6 is 18282 (2011) in Siwan town. The age group of 0-6 in slum population is 4102, so it is clear that 22.45 per cent of 0-6 age group lived in the slum in town. This much of children are lacking basic requirements which indicates the gloomy future of the locality. In 2001 0-6 year's child numbers was 2626 in slum area which rose to 4102 in 2011. So the decadal growth of child population is amounts to 56.20 per cent. The following bar diagram shows the picture.
- (iii) **Religion:** The slum of Siwan town shows dominance of Hindu population. The majority of the families in this ward have been residing here for more than 20-25 years which shows that the settlement is an old one. The population has been divided into three castes-OBC, EBC and minorities. The Hindu household is 900 and minorities HH is 200. So this clears that the slum population is dominance in favor of Hindus.
- (iv) **Category Wise Slum Pocket Distribution:** In 29 slums eleven slum pocket formed by SC, five are formed by EBC and BC, Two are formed by minorities and six by BC, SC, and Minorities. In 2001 total SC population lived in slum 2,727 (1,457 male and 1,270 female) and ST was 253 (141 male and 112 female) lived in slum. In 2011 SC population is 2549 and ST population is 214. In ten years SC, ST population was approximately constant.
- (v) **Literacy Rate:** As per census 2001, the literacy rate of slum population in Siwan is 55.86 per cent which is lower than the national figure for slum population. There are variations between male and female literacy rates in the slum. Male

literacy rate is 63.40 per cent whereas the female literacy rate is only 47.36 per cent when compared to the literacy of the city. Overall literacy rates of the population in the Siwan district are 69.45 per cent. which is greater than Bihar literacy rate 61.8 per cent, but Siwan town literacy rate is approx. 90 per cent and slum literacy rate is 55.86 per cent.

## **SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE SLUM DWELLERS**

- (i) **Education Status:** The general pattern shows that the level of education is higher among the women's than men in this area. The number of male discontinuing education is much higher than female. This might be due to men being compelled to take up various occupations in order to meet up the family expenditure. Most of the people have continued till class 8 level of education. With the increasing level of education the number of persons shows a declining trend which reveals that people have enrolled in the preliminary classes but have gradually dropped out due to several causes.
- (ii) **BPL Status:** In Siwan town the total slum population 15824 living in 3002 household and The total BPL population is 9965 in 29 slums area in Siwan town living in 1879 household. So it is clear that 62.97 per cent people belong to BPL in slum of Siwan town.
- (iii) **Household Income:** The income limit for households for qualifying as a beneficiary under the BPL list has been pegged at about ₹27000 per annum. In Siwan town the total HH of BPL is 1879 family. So it is clear that 62.59 House Hold income is ₹2250 per month.
- (iv) **Occupational Structure:** A total worker of slum of Siwan town is 4199 peoples. It is 26.35 per cent of total population of slum of Siwan. The total main workers are 78.19 per cent and marginal workers are 21.89 per cent  
Among the main workers, cultivators, agriculture labor, household industry and other workers constitute 0.94 per cent, 2.25 per cent, 4.56 per cent and 92.26 per cent respectively. In case of marginal workers cultivators, agriculture labors, household industry and other workers constitute 0.98 per cent, 8.65 per cent, 9.49 per cent and 80.87 per cent respectively. Rest of the population are engaged in rickshaw pulling, tea stall, auto driver, maid servant, salesman on shops, vendors and bamboo makers etc. Among female category, most of them are maid servants.
- (v) **School Going Slum Children:** In Bihar the number of slum children is higher as compared with slums in India. Its percentage is 17 per cent but in Siwan its number is 23 per cent. The percentage of children going to school is high. Almost 80 per cent of the children have been enrolled in schools. Only 20 per cent children have not been enrolled in schools due to certain causes like financial weakness and children supporting family in livelihood activities. Our

survey revealed that 91 per cent of the children goes to government schools and rest 9 per cent of children enrolled in private schools. It seems that the economy of the people forbids them from sending their children to private schools which are supposed to provide better education. The mid-day meal program has attracted the children in government school so the enrollment is high in these schools.

*Source: Survey Results*

(vi) **Health Conditions of Children:** Percentage of children suffering from anemia in Siwan town is 63 per cent as compared to 99 per cent children suffering from anemia in slum areas and children underweight is 80 per cent. Children with birth weight below 2500 grams are 90 per cent. in the slum areas.

(vii) **Reproductive Health Conditions**

(a) **Pattern of Child Delivery:** The deliveries of babies are mainly take place in hospital which account for about 90 per cent and rest 10 per cent are delivered at home. All the deliveries took place either in government hospitals or in Primary Health Centres.

(b) **Vaccination of Children:** Most of the children are vaccinated in this slum area. The vaccination is done by the government. So it can be said that they are aware of health condition of the children. About 96 per cent of the children are vaccinated by polio.

(c) **Marriage of Girls:** Most of the girls are married below 20 years and very few are married in the age group 20-23 years.

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The socio-economic condition of the slum dwellers is generally poor because of the lack of basic social amenities, functional skills, proper education, and sources of income, hygiene and health resources. However, slum dwellers directly or indirectly play an important role in nation building. Slum dwellers are the stock of the potential human resource; it can be developed through skill enhancement programmes initiated by the government and through appropriate community action relating to social provisions and redistribution social amenities. Our study indicates that the poor socio-economic conditions of Siwan slum dwellers owe to the poor governance on part of the Government and municipal authorities, particularly in providing proper employment, shelter, education and health services to them. In addition, no step could be found by these authorities to check the faster growth of slums in the town.

The poor delivery of public services to these slum people is caused by following factors: weak municipal resources, unplanned settlements and encroachment of public land, unchecked growth of slums along the canals, poor implementation of programmes and so on. Thus it can be strongly recommended that (a) the SMC

(Siwan Municipal Corporation) should improve civic amenities to these slums, viz. construction of toilets, adequate supply of safe drinking water, cleanliness and solid waste management, (b) provision of proper health and education services and (c) provision of proper employment opportunities. Only then we can hope for their contribution to the economy of the Siwan town and sustainable development in the town.

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# **EFFECTS OF JOB STRESS ON SAFETY CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG INDIAN COAL MINERS: A STUDY**

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**Saniya Anjum\* and Shiv Deo Singh\*\***

## **Abstract**

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The safety of mining workers is always a major concern at both underground and open cast mining areas as the coal mining industry is inherently dangerous with many factors influencing worker safety. Job related stress is one of the major indirect reasons of severe mine accidents in India. This paper indentifies and presents four variables which contribute directly to job related stress in coal mines. It also revealed a significant negative correlation between job stress and safety consciousness leading to some serious mine accidents. These relations have been explained through a model and some working hypotheses have been established. These working hypotheses have been tested based on the questionnaire results, regression model and structural equation model (SEM) using AMOS. Besides, the hypothesis proposed is validated, and the corresponding intervention countermeasures are put forward. The contribution will provide effective guidance for the prediction and control of miners' job stress. The present paper examines causes of dissatisfaction which are lack of support co-worker and supervisor, imbalance between work and family conditions and work overload as well as safety consciousness. SEM revealed that safety consciousness and Job stress were significantly and negatively associated. The findings suggest that safety consciousness among coal mines workmen can be boosted by addressing work related stress, by inculcating healthy interpersonal relationship, by necessary support at work from colleagues and employers, and by the presence of a balanced work and family relationship."

**Keywords:** Safety consciousness, job stress; work life imbalance; structural equation modeling; AMOS

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## **INTRODUCTION**

As many as 499 people were killed and 1917 injured in coal mine accident during last three years. A total sum of ₹424.71 lakh and ₹1050.14 lakhs were paid as compensation to families of those killed and injured respectively. The government is least conscious of achieving high standard of mine safety and strictly enforce statutory safety measures to reduce the number of accidents in mines. Mines safety, including and safety of the mines workers depends on the mutual co-operation between the mine-owners and their managing organizations on one hand and mine worker on the other. There is also lack of do's and don'ts in all mining operation on the despite Mine Act, Rules and Regulation. The managers of mines often violate these in view of cost-reduction on one hand and worker reluctance, ignorance and carelessness on the other. The one potent instrument in improving mine safety is the proper enforcement of the Mines Act and Regulation.

Coal India has always given highest priority to safety and is ingrained in mission statement of CIL. Coal India has framed a well-defined safety policy to ensure safety in all mines and establishment. Coal India has already established a multi-disciplinary Internal Safety Organisation in all subsidiaries for implementation of safety policy. All operations, systems and processes of CIL are meticulously planned and designed with due regard to safety, conservation, sustainable development and clean environment. CIL has identified work place hazards and associated risks in each mining operation and prepared a Risk Assessment based safety management plan for every mine. Various initiatives have been taken by CIL on continuous basis at all levels to translate the vision of 'zero Harm Potential' into a reality. However, the accidents take place frequently, evident from the following statistics in Table 1.

**Table 1:** Comparative Accident Statistics of Coal India of 5 yearly averages since 1975

Time Period	Avg. Fatal Accidents		Avg. Serious Accidents		Avg. Fatality Rate		Avg. Serious Injury Rate	
	Accidents	Fatalities	Accidents	Injuries	Per MT	Per 3 Lac Man Shifts	Per MT	Per 3 Lac Man Shifts
1975-79	157	196	1224	1278	2.18	0.44	14.25	2.89
1980-84	122	143	1018	1065	1.29	0.3	9.75	2.26
1985-89	133	150	550	571	0.98	0.3	3.7	1.15
1990-94	120	145	525	558	0.694	0.3	2.7	1.19
1995-99	98	124	481	513	0.5	0.29	2.06	1.14
2000-04	68	82	499	526	0.28	0.22	1.8	1.47
2005-09	60	80	328	339	0.22	0.25	0.92	1.04
2010-14	56	62	219	228	0.138	0.23	0.49	0.8
2015-16	38	47	123	129	0.09	0.19	0.26	0.53
Average	95	114	552	579	0.71	0.28	3.99	1.39

Source:<[https://www.coalindia.in/DesktopModules/DocumentList/documents/Safety\\_at\\_a\\_Glance\\_03042018.pdf](https://www.coalindia.in/DesktopModules/DocumentList/documents/Safety_at_a_Glance_03042018.pdf)> Retrieved on 12 December, 2019

From the above statistics it is very much clear that safety situation of Indian coal mines has been improved. The direct cause of the mines accidents are:

- (a) Accident related to ground movement (falloff roof, overhangs, landslides, etc.)
- (b) Transportation and other machinery related accidents
- (c) Explosive related accidents
- (d) Electrical accidents
- (e) Accidents related with dust, gas, and other combustible material

Although safety situation of coal production in India has been improved, as indicated with the decreasing in numbers of accidents and casualties, the situation is still far from optimistic compared with that of developed countries. Dr. Paul Rosch in America pressure Institute holds the belief that 60%-80% of the industrial accidents are caused by the occupation pressure [1], too much working pressure will have an adverse impact on employee. Thus, the reduction in miners' working pressure is crucial to lowering the accident rate.”

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS**

On the basis of literature review, expert opinion and pilot survey in some of the mines, four job stressors have been identified namely Job dissatisfaction, lack of support from co-worker and supervisors, work and family imbalance, and work overload. As such, the following hypotheses were set:

**H1:** There is no significant relationship between Job dissatisfaction and Job Stress in Mining Industry.

**H2:** There is no significant relationship between Lack of support from co-worker and supervisors and Job Stress in Mining Industry.

**H3:** There is no significant relationship between Work and family imbalance and Job Stress in Mining Industry.

**H4:** There is no significant relationship between Work overload and Job Stress in Mining Industry.

**H5:** There is no significant relationship between Job Stress and Safety Consciousness in Mining Industry.

In order to test the above hypotheses a multiple regression analysis and structure equation modeling was applied by using SPSS.

Job dissatisfaction is one of the major causes of job stress. It mainly arises because of poor work culture and environment, lack of interest due to monotonous work and poor work design, lack of recognition, limited career growth, work and family imbalance. Hypothesis H<sub>1</sub> is framed based on the above analysis.

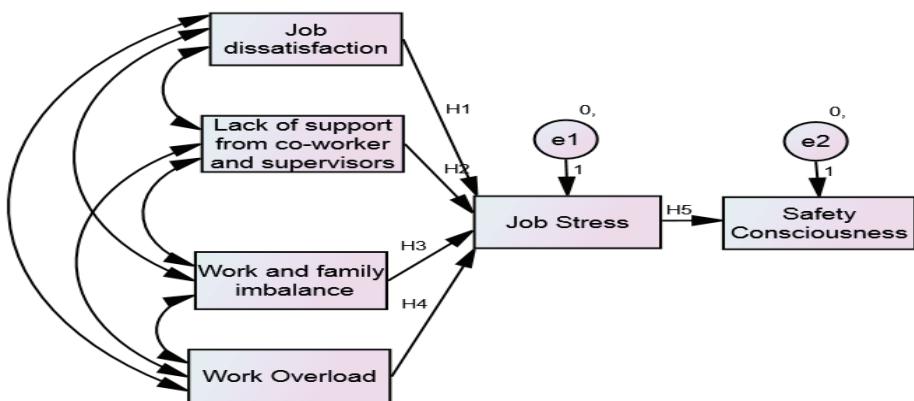
Lack of support from co-worker and supervisors also lead to job stress. The reasons of lack of supports are feeling of threatened by one's Presence, Selfish attitude, Politically Unethical behavior, Personality Conflicts, Competition, cultural demographic shift and the unconscious gender bias narrative in the workplace. Hypothesis H<sub>2</sub> is framed based on the above analysis.

Work overload is basically unsustainable workload arise due to tight deadlines and overwork. It occurs when amount of work exceeds the time allocated for the work. It also occurs when job is too difficult and complex to be done by a particular skill set. Role ambiguity and poor job design are also the causes of work overload. Hypothesis H<sub>3</sub> is framed based on the above analysis.

Work and family imbalance arises due to longer hour of work, taking excessive responsibility at work, increased liability and work at home, expenses exceeding take home salary. Severe family relationship arises because miners are devoting lesser time together with family members. This types of conflicts leads to more workload which in turn will lead to job stress. Work and family imbalance also arises due to lack of support from the family members at the time of stress. Hypothesis H<sub>4</sub> is framed based on the above analysis.

Job related stress is one of the major indirect reasons of severe mine accidents in India. There is found to be a significant negative correlation between job stress and safety consciousness leading to some serious mine accidents. Hypothesis H<sub>5</sub> is framed based on the above analysis.

The initial hypothesis model is shown in Fig. 1.



**Fig. 1.** Five Hypotheses Model for Coal Miners' Job Stress and Safety Consciousness.

## VARIABLE MEASUREMENT

Based on the objectives, literature review and expert opinions questionnaire has been designed and it is divided into three parts: (a) Guidelines for filling the

questionnaire (b) Questionnaire on demographic profiles (c) Attitudinal and behavioral Questionnaire on six variables to be measured. Scale of measurement for demographic profiles is Nominal and that of six variables is interval. Likert scale belonging to non-comparative scale has been used for this purpose.

## **DATA ANALYSIS**

Sample group consists of all the subsidiaries of Coal India Ltd, some mines of SAIL and TISCO. More than 600 copies of questionnaire has been sent to different sample group through e-mail, post, and personally interviewed. 540 set of questionnaire has been received. Finally response of 500 questionnaires has been entered into database. The effective recovery rate comes out to be about 84%. Details of demographic profiles data are presented in Table 2.

**Table 2:** Details of Variables for Data Analysis

S. No.	Variables	Details of Variables	Percentage Response
1.	Gender	Male	81
		Female	19
2.	Age	Below 30	28
		30 to 40	33
		40 to 50	17
		50 to 60	22
3.	Designation/Organization Level	Junior	63
		Middle	26
		Senior	11
4.	Work Experience	Less than 5 years	39
		5 to 15 Years	30
		15 to 25 years	19
		More than 25 years	12
5.	Department	Mining	30
		Excavation	25
		E&M	20
		Civil	10
		Survey	5
		Other	10

## **Reliability and Validity Test**

Questionnaire's reliability analysis is measured by coefficient Cronbach-alpha (Table 3) for the six variables which comes out to be 0.772 (> 0.6 is considered to be

reliable). Validity of data is measured and given by KMO and Bartlett's Test (Table 5). It comes out to be 0.758 (any value > 0.7 is considered to be desirable), and KMO and Bartlett's Test of sphericity's p-value is 0.000, so it is statistically significant. So, questionnaires are considered to be highly reliable and valid. Detailed indicators are shown in Table 3

**Table 3:** Measurement Items and Reliability Index Reliability Statistics

<i>Cronbach's Alpha</i>	<i>Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items</i>	<i>No. of Items</i>
0.772	0.787	6

**Table 4:** ANOVA

		<i>Sum of Squares</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig</i>
<i>Between People</i>		403.667	499	0.809		
<i>Within People</i>	Between Items	67.703	5	13.541	73.555	.000
	Residual	459.297	2495	.184		
	Total	527.000	2500	.211		
Total		930.667	2999	.310		
Grand Mean = 4.17						

**Table 5:** KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.	0.758	
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	767.957
	df	15
	Sig.	0.000

## Regression Model – I

Dependent variable Y = Job Stress

Independent Variables:

X<sub>1</sub> = Job dissatisfaction

X<sub>2</sub> = Lack of support from co-worker and supervisors

X<sub>3</sub> = Work and family imbalance

X<sub>4</sub> = Work overload,

Input Data set consisting of 500 observations.

Regression equation obtained from the Analysis is:

Job Stress = 0.507 + 0.144 (Job dissatisfaction) + 0.197 (Lack of support from co-worker and supervisors) + 0.335 (Work and family imbalance) + 0.143 (Work overload)

$$Y = 0.507 + 0.144 X_1 + 0.197 X_2 + 0.335 X_3 + 0.143 X_4 \text{ (With Intercept)}$$

$$Y = 0.174 X_1 + 0.238 X_2 + 0.424 X_3 + 0.161 X_4 \text{ (Without Intercept)}$$

**Table 6:** Model Summary<sup>b</sup>

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
1	.674 <sup>a</sup>	.455	.451	.352	.455	103.288	4	495	.000	1.649

a. Predictors: (Constant), Work Overload, Work and family imbalance, Job dissatisfaction, Lack of support from co-worker and supervisors

b. Dependent Variable: Job Stress

**Table 7:** ANOVA<sup>a</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	51.254	4	12.814	103.288	.000b
	Residual	61.408	495	.124		
	Total	112.662	499			

a. Dependent Variable: Job Stress

b. Predictors: (Constant), Work Overload, Work and family imbalance, Job dissatisfaction, Lack of support from co-worker and supervisors

**Table 8:** Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

	Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error				Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	.507	.178		2.844	.005		
	Job dissatisfaction	.144	.029	.174	4.925	.000	.882	1.134
	Lack of support from co-worker and supervisors	.197	.031	.238	6.373	.000	.790	1.266
	Work and family imbalance	.335	.028	.424	12.023	.000	.887	1.128
	Work Overload	.143	.033	.161	4.355	.000	.804	1.244

a. Dependent Variable: Job Stress

From the Model Summary and Anova Tables 6 and 7, it is found that Regression Model is statistically significant.

The  $R^2$  (Coefficient of determination) value is 0.455 and adjusted  $R^2$  value is 0.451, this indicates that 45.5% of regression model is explained by all the four independent variables taken together. Also, the impact of multicollinearity on

regression model is present but not significant because the difference between R<sup>2</sup> value and adjusted R<sup>2</sup> value is .004 which is quite insignificant.

Durbin-Watson test from above Table 6 shows that effect of auto correlation on the regression is quite insignificant (value of Durbin-Watson test is 1.649 which indicates that serial correlation is not present).

Effect of multicollinearity is also obtained from collinearity statistics test (variance inflation factor, VIF) which is evident from Table 8. From the table it is found that VIF of all the parameters are less than 5. This also confirms that the overall impact of multicollinearity on regression model is not severe.

Application of t test as indicated in Table 8 for significance of individual independent variable indicates that all the four variables are statistically significant.

It is also evident from above table that all the parameters coefficient of regression model has positive impacts on the Job Stress. The parameter Work and family imbalance possesses high positive numeric values followed by Lack of support from co-worker and supervisors, Job dissatisfaction and Work overload.

Also t test for significance of all dependent variables obtained from coefficient table the p-level is observed to be .000 indicates that at the significance level of 0.01 (Confidence level of 99%), all the above independent variable namely Job dissatisfaction, Lack of support from co-worker and supervisors, Work and family imbalance and Work overload are statistically significant in the model.

So, the null hypothesis H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>2</sub>, H<sub>3</sub>, and H<sub>4</sub> are rejected and it has been concluded that there is a positive and significant impact of Job dissatisfaction, Lack of support from co-worker and supervisors, Work and family imbalance and Work overload on Job Stress. Among all the four independent variables, the impact of Work and family imbalance on Job Stress is most significant followed by Lack of support from co-worker and supervisors, Job dissatisfaction and Work overload.

## **Regression Model – II**

Dependent variable Y = Safety Consciousness

Independent variables:

X = Job Stress

Input Data set consisting of 500 observations.

Regression equation obtained from the Analysis is:

Safety Consciousness = 5.564 – 0.88 (Job Stress)

**Y = 5.564 – 0.88 X**

**Table 9:** Model Summary<sup>b</sup>

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
1	.648 <sup>a</sup>	.420	.419	.492	.420	360.405	1	498	.000	.911

a. Predictors: (Constant), Job Stress

b. Dependent Variable: Safety Consciousness

**Table 10:** ANOVA<sup>a</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares		df	Mean Square		F	Sig.
1	Regression	87.199		1	87.199		360.405	.000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	120.489		498	.242			
	Total	207.688		499				

a. Dependent Variable: Safety Consciousness

b. Predictors: (Constant), Job Stress

**Table 11:** Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error				Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	5.564	.185		30.000	.000		
	Job Stress	-.880	.046	-.648	-18.984	.000	1.000	1.000

a. Dependent Variable: Safety Consciousness

From the Model Summary and Anova Tables 9 and 10, it is found that Regression Model is statistically significant.

The R<sup>2</sup> (Coefficient of determination) value is 0.420 and adjusted R<sup>2</sup> value is 0.419, this indicates that 42.0% of regression model is explained by independent variables Job Stress. Also, the impact of multicollinearity on regression model is present but not significant because the difference between R<sup>2</sup> value and adjusted R<sup>2</sup> value is .001 which is quite insignificant.

Durbin-Watson test from above Table 9 shows that effect of auto correlation on the regression is quite insignificant (value of Durbin-Watson test is 0.911 which indicates that serial correlation is not present).

Effect of multicollinearity is also obtained from collinearity statistics test (variance inflation factor, VIF) which is evident from Table 11. From the Table it is found that VIF is 1.00 for the parameters Job stress which is less than 5. This also confirms that the overall impact of multicollinearity on regression model is almost negligible.

Application of t-test as indicated in Table 11 for significance of individual independent variable indicates that Job Stress is statistically significant and impacting Safety Consciousness negatively.

Also t test for significance of dependent variable obtained from coefficient table the p-level is observed to be .000 indicates that at the significance level of 0.01 (Confidence level of 99%), the above independent variable namely Job Stress, is statistically significant in the model.

So, the null hypothesis  $H_5$  is rejected and it has been concluded that there is a negative and significant impact of Job Stress on Safety Consciousness.

### Structural Equation Model (SEM) Test

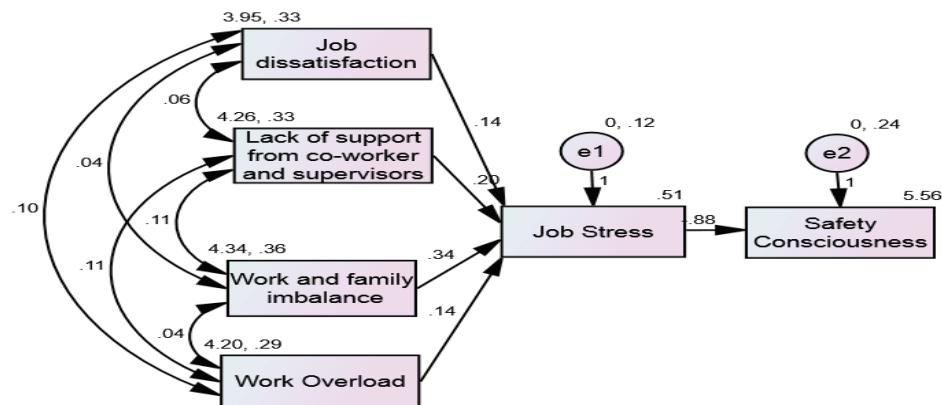


Fig. 2: AMOS Output path diagram and summary of SEM model

AMOS 21 is applied to establish the model fit and for finding out the impact on safety consciousness in coal mines due to Job related Stress encountered by workmen in a Coal Industry. It also reveals how much significantly Job Stress is getting impacted due to Lack of support from co-worker and supervisors, Work overload, Work and family imbalance and Job dissatisfaction. AMOS output provides the options to validate the dimensionality of the measurement or to verify the model fit by analysing all of the fit measures produced by AMOS. According to Hulland, Yiu and Shun (1996) it is not mandatory to find all of those fit indices in a report. Therefore, a subset or sample of fit indices from major categories has been reported in this study to assess the degree of overall fitness of the measurement model (Holmes-Smith, Coote and Cunningham, 2004). Taking sample sensitivity and model complexity effect into account, Chi-square/df (CMIN/DF), comparative fit index (CFI), initial fit index (IFI), goodness of fit index (GFI), adjusted goodness of fit index (AGFI), PCLOSE, and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation

(RMSEA) are considered in this study for evaluating fit indices because these have been commonly used and reported in the literature (Hulland et al., 1996; Hair et al., 1995).

**Table 12:** Comparisons from Baseline

Indexes	CMIN/DF	NFI	RFI	IFI	CFI	RMSEA	PCLOSE
Threshold value	< 3	>.90	>.90	>.90	>.90	< .08	>.05
Measured value	2.886	0.985	0.944	0.990	0.990	0.061	0.270
Inference from the results	Strongly fit						

Using AMOS21.0 software fit the initial model, the S.E. (error variance) of this models are from 0.008 to 0.023, there is no negative error variance; the Estimate absolute value of this model (numerical standardization system) are from -.648 to 0.424 they are not more than upper limit value 0.95, this showed that the model do not violate the estimation, and can further test the entire mode goodness of fit. Using the AMOS21.0 operate the initial model fit index, the model fitting optimization indexes are all within the thresholds limit (Recommended value), the results are shown in Table 12.

## Maximum Likelihood Estimates

**Table 13:** Intercepts: (Group Number 1 - Default Model)

	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P	Label
Job Stress	.507	.177	2.856	.004	par_16
Safety consciousness	5.564	.185	30.030	***	par_17

**Table 14:** Regression Weights: (Result of Path Regression Coefficient)

The Path Relationships between Latent Variables			Non Standard Estimate	Standard Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P	Label
Job Stress	<---	Job dissatisfaction	.144	.174	.029	4.945	***	H1
Job Stress	<---	Lack of support from co-workers and supervisors	.197	.238	.031	6.398	***	H2
Job Stress	<---	Work life imbalance	.335	.424	.028	12.071	***	H3
Job Stress	<---	Work overload	.143	.161	.033	4.372	***	H4
Safety consciousness	<---	Job Stress	-.880	-.648	.046	-19.003	***	H5

**Table 15:** Standardized Regression Weights: (Result of Path Regression Coefficient)

<i>The Path Relationships between Latent Variables</i>			<i>Estimate</i>
Job Stress	<---	Job dissatisfaction	.174
Job Stress	<---	Lack of support from co-workers and supervisors	.238
Job Stress	<---	Work life imbalance	.424
Job Stress	<---	Work overload	.161
Safety consciousness	<---	Job Stress	-.648

**Table 16:** Covariances

<i>The Path Relationships between Latent Variables</i>			<i>Estimate</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>C.R.</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>Label</i>
Lack of support from co-workers and supervisors	<-->	Work life imbalance	.113	.016	6.974	***	par_6
Lack of support from co-workers and supervisors	<-->	Work overload	.108	.015	7.436	***	par_7
Work life imbalance	<-->	Work overload	.038	.014	2.613	.009	par_8
Job dissatisfaction	<-->	Work overload	.100	.014	6.953	***	par_9
Job dissatisfaction	<-->	Work life imbalance	.045	.015	2.897	.004	par_10
Job dissatisfaction	<-->	Lack of support from co-workers and supervisors	.061	.015	4.084	***	par_11

**Table 17:** Variances

<i>The Path Relationships between Latent Variables</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>C.R.</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>Label</i>
Job dissatisfaction		.327	.021	15.796	***	par_18
Lack of support from co-workers and supervisors		.327	.021	15.796	***	par_19
Work life imbalance		.360	.023	15.796	***	par_20
Work overload		.285	.018	15.796	***	par_21
e1		.123	.008	15.796	***	par_22
e2		.241	.015	15.796	***	par_23

**Table 18:** Squared Multiple Correlations

	<i>Estimate</i>
Job Stress	.455
Safety consciousness	.420

## Analysis of Results

It is quite evident from the above table that the entire five hypotheses are significant as the p-value is less than 0.01. It is found that job stress is significantly and positively associated with Job dissatisfaction, lack of support from co-worker and supervisors, work and family imbalance, and work overload. Among all the four independent variables, the impact of Work and family imbalance on Job Stress (0.424) is most significant followed by Lack of support from co-worker and supervisors (0.238), Job dissatisfaction (0.174) and Work overload (0.161).

It is also evident that safety consciousness is also significantly associated with job related stress. The association between job stress and safety consciousness is negatively associated (standardized regression coefficient is -0.648).

**Table 19:** Correlations

		<i>Job Stress</i>
Safety Consciousness	Pearson Correlation	-.648**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	500
	Kendall's tau_b	-.733**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	500
	Spearman's rho	-.751**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	500

\*\*.Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

- (1) From the above Table it is evident that Safety consciousness is negatively correlated with Job stress. We can find from Figure 2 and Table 15, the path coefficient hypothesis  $H_5$  is -0.648, which states that there is significant and negative association between Safety consciousness and Job Stress. More the Job related stress encountered by workmen less will be the safety consciousness among workmen. Lesser amount of work related stress will lead to more adherences towards safety norms leading to lesser mines accidents.
- (2) Job dissatisfaction is positively correlated with Job Stress. We can find from Figure 2 and Table 15, the path coefficient hypothesis  $H_1$  is 0.174, which states

that job dissatisfaction is contributing to work related stress significantly. More the job dissatisfaction more will be the job stress. This in turn is creating careless approach of workmen towards safety related issues. On the contrary, job satisfaction will reduce the stress level and hence lesser accidents due to safety consciousness.

- (3) Lack of support from co-workers and supervisors is positively correlated with Job Stress. We can find from Figure 2 and Table 15, the path coefficient hypothesis  $H_2$  is 0.238, which states that lack of support from co-workers and supervisors is contributing directly to work related stress significantly. In this research this is the second largest contributor to job stress. Greater the lack of support from co-workers and supervisors more will be the job stress.
- (4) A work life imbalance is also contributing significantly towards work stress. In fact it is the biggest contributor to job stress for mines workers. The path coefficient hypothesis  $H_3$  is 0.424, which states that work life imbalance is contributing directly to work related stress significantly.
- (5) Another independent variable work overload (too much work in limited time frame beyond the capacity of an individual) is contributing to job related stress positively and significantly. The path coefficient hypothesis H4 for this is 0.161.”

## **RECOMMENDATION AND SUGGESTION**

Some of the recommendations for creating miners safety consciousness and reducing the impact of job stress are as follows:

- (1) Imparting and arranging different types of training program on safety related issues, skill development program, and training on stress and time management. Safety education and training will definitely decrease unsafe behaviors arising out from working pressure and tight work schedules.
- (2) Build a good working environment from all perspectives
  - a. Maintain all types of mining equipments in good and safe condition. Follow the schedule maintenance of plant and equipment religiously. The production of coal largely depends on the equipment quality, so increasing the safety input and importing advanced equipments are essential for coal mine.
  - b. Improve the working environment. Generally speaking, the working environment for miners is poor. It has poor air quality, dim lighting, high risk and high temperature, which greatly harm the health of workers, and make many people resist to the coal mine. Therefore, improving the working environment is the foundation of prosperity in the coal industry.
  - c. Provide a development space for employee. For the employees who have enough talents, skills and abilities should be given special attention and

should be assign jobs as per their skills and abilities. However, if the organization does not give a corresponding position for their abilities, then it will dampen their enthusiasm for work. This will lead to frustration, make the work less productive and which ultimately lead to job stress. Therefore, the organization should meet the need for professional development of employees and give them sufficient space for development based on the abilities of employees.

- (3) Pay attention to the physical and mental and emotional health of workers: The conflict between work and family and the relationships have a great effect on the working pressure, the understanding and support from family and good interpersonal relationship will make them happy, and then improve their work efficiency.
  - a. There should be timely discussion with the employees on their grievances, problems and difficulties, and should also chalk out some ways in order to reduce or eliminate work and family imbalances.
  - b. Ban form cliques and engage in solitary behavior.
  - c. Arrange the working time reasonably, enrich their spare time for the leisure and entertainment activities, which can make them space and time for relaxation after physical and mental stress. It will make them feel better.
  - d. Organization should arrange some events and activity in which their family members should also be invited. This will enable the family members to fully understand the employees' work and life, and discuss with the family members of employees, inform the families the situation of employees and solve the problems of families.
- (4) Publication of safety bulletin for disseminating and sharing knowledge in the field of safety awareness.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

Coal mining industry has always given highest priority to safety as it is ingrained in its mission statement. It has already established a multi-disciplinary internal safety organization (ISO) in all subsidiaries for implementation of safety policy. Despite this accident statistics shows that it is not encouraging. This study shows that job stress is negatively associated with safety consciousness and positively associated with work life imbalance, lack of cooperation from co-worker and supervisors, job dissatisfaction, and work overload. Coal mining industry can by placing the focus on reducing job stress can achieve higher level of safety consciousness, safety motivation and positive behavioral and attitudinal change in following safety related compliances in their workplace.”

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# POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IN INDIA: A STUDY OF THEIR PARTICIPATION AND SHARE IN POWER STRUCTURE

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## Abstract

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The role of woman in India for the better part of known history have been more domestic, than public. Though it is believed that in some stretch of historical era, women enjoyed equal status with men in India, the near history has full of unequal practices and impartial treatment towards Though currently women match men in all walks of life her presence in political arena had been found wanting. Thus it is imperative to match presence of women in the political arena with that of men. As per the Inter Parliamentary data 24.5% of women are in the National Parliaments across the globe. India, with 14.36% of women representatives in lower house and 10.61% in upper house, ranks 143 out of 190 countries in the presence of women in the national law making body. Also through these years the share of women contestants was only around 10%. Their share in power structure (ministerial berths) has also been discouraging. Only a change in mindset of the political heavyweights and a change in overall attitude of society towards the need for women's political empowerment can truly empower women in political spheres.

**Keywords:** Political Empowerment, Political Participation, Power Structure, Reservations, Feminism.

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## INTRODUCTION

The role of woman in India for the better part of known history have been more domestic, than public. Though it is believed that in some stretch of historical

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era, women enjoyed equal status with men, the near history has full of unequal practices and impartial treatment towards women (Ahuja, 1999). Until the turn of 18<sup>th</sup> century it had to be noted that India was inhospitable for women. Rajaram Mohan Roy, E.V. Periyar and other contemporary reformist brought about a dramatic change in the social empowerment of women. Lately, the promotion of SHGs and the consequent economic independence of women paved the way for greater role for Indian women in their family development especially those in the lower strata of the society (Suguna, 2016). Though currently women match men in all walks of life her presence in political arena had been found wanting. It is very much necessary for any section of the community to make their presence felt in the policy making bodies. Thus the presence of women in the political arena is indispensable (Mishra, 1999).

## **POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT**

Political empowerment of women in its simplest form can be understood as the means of providing adequate opportunity for women to be represented in the policy making process. It is the inclusion of women in the political institutions and giving them fair share of power thus far enjoyed by men (Palanithurai, 2001). Thus political empowerment can be understood as the presence of women in key decision making institutions of a country. With respect to modern democracy where people elect their representatives empowerment in political term means a giving women free and equal opportunity to vote and fair and equally opportunity to contest in the elections. Besides this the presence of women in ministerial positions and the number of year women held the position of heads of state and head of government are also key indicator of women's political empowerment (Panda, 2002).

The present paper analyzes the constitutional framework that support women empowerment in India and the level of actual political empowerment achieved with respect to women's representation in its national law making institution, i.e. Parliament, the proportion of ministerial berths held by women and the presence of women at the highest political offices in the country. Though this doesn't guarantee the actually empowerment in true sense nevertheless political participation and political representation of women in national legislature and ministerial council is a prerequisite for political empowerment of women. The study of these variables would shed light on the path that India travelled since independence with respect to political empowerment of women in our country.

## **CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK SUPPORTING POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN**

The aspects that are enshrined in our constitution that assures political empowerment of women are as follows:

## **Equal Voting Rights and Equal Right to Run for Political Offices**

In India the voting rights is conferred equally to men and women since independence. Article 325 of our Constitution states that “No person to be ineligible for inclusion in, or to claim to be included in a special, electoral roll on grounds of religion, race, caste or sex...” (S.C. Kashyap, 2004) Thus ensuring all citizens can participate freely in the fundamental electoral process of the country irrespective of their religion race caste and sex. Thus India began its Independent journey by straightaway according women the right to vote. Besides this the constitution also guarantees absence of restrictions on grounds of gender for contesting political offices in our country (S.C. Kashyap, 2004). Women like men are free to contest any political office in our country from local body to highest political office, i.e. President, as long as they fulfill all the requisite criteria regarding age citizenship etc. This constitutional framework is the bedrock of political empowerment of women in our country. This guarantees women an assured access to the political filed in our country.

## **Reservation in Local Bodies**

Every democracy that can truly claim to be democratic shall have a strong grass root self governing institutions. If democracy means a government for the people of the people and by the people then that government shall be strong from bottom (D.N. Gupta, 2004). People from the grass root level should have the right to decide their own policies through their representative at the local level based on their local needs. In order to strengthen this grass root democratic institutions and to give it constitutional validity, the Parliament of India enacted the 73<sup>rd</sup> and the 74<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment Act of 1992 (S.C. Kashyap, 2004). These acts that, gave constitutional status for rural and urban local bodies, also provided for reservation of not less than one-third of the total number of seats, for women (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging the SCs and STs). This system of decentralized democratic institution acts as centre of planning and policy making at the lowest level based on the local needs. Thus giving quota for women at the grass root democratic institutions ensured participation of women in these institutions greatly and thereby enabling empowerment of women at grass root level (Pradeep, 2009).

Based on the above constitutional mandate 20 of the Indian states has given 50% reservation for women in their local bodies and there by increased the participation of women in these institutions (Joshi and Narwani, 2002). The presence of women in the local governments shall be considered as a stepping stone towards transferring the rightful share of power in the hands of women.

## **Comparison of Women's Representation in National Legislature with the Global Trend**

**Table 1:** Representation of Women in National Legislatures of Various Nations

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Seats*</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>% W</i>	<i>Seats*</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>% W</i>
1	Rwanda	80	49	61.25	26	10	38.46
2	Cuba	605	322	53.22	-	-	-
3	Bolivia	130	69	53.08	36	17	47.22
4	Andorra	28	14	50	-	-	-
5	Mexico	500	241	48.2	128	63	49.22
6	Spain	350	166	47.43	261	103	39.46
7	Sweden	349	165	47.28	-	-	-
8	Finland	200	94	47	-	-	-
9	Grenada	15	7	46.67	13	4	30.77
10	Namibia	104	48	46.15	42	10	23.81
11	South Africa	398	183	45.98	54	21	38.89
37	Nepal	275	90	32.73	59	22	37.29
38	Switzerland	200	65	32.5	46	7	15.22
39	United Kingdom	650	208	32	789	208	26.36
46	Germany	709	219	30.89	69	27	39.13
57	Afghanistan	244	68	27.87	68	17	25
67	Iraq	329	83	25.23	-	-	-
78	United States of America	433	102	23.56	100	25	25
100	Bangladesh	349	72	20.63	-	-	-
105	Pakistan	341	69	20.23	104	20	19.23
109	Saudi Arabia	151	30	19.87	-	-	-
132	Russian Federation	450	71	15.78	170	31	18.24
134	Brazil	513	77	15.01	81	12	14.81
138	Bhutan	47	7	14.89	25	4	16
143	India	542	78	14.39	245	26	10.61

*Source:* Inter Parliamentary Union open data.

India is one of the largest democracies in the world in terms of eligible electors has traces of democratic institution in its ancient history (Shastri, 1955). As per the Inter Parliamentary data 24.5% of women are in the National Parliaments across the globe. And, India ranks 143 out of 190 countries in the presence of women in the national law making body. This had to be accepted as a dismal performance from

India. Almost all of our neighbouring countries like Nepal (37) Afganistan(57) Bangladesh (100) Pakistan (105) and Bhutan (138) has actually fared better than India goes to show the lack of emphasis in our spirits regarding the importance of women empowerment. The notable countries that had close to 50% representation of women in their respective highest law making bodies were Cuba, Mexico Spain Sweden and Finland. Even the BRICS companions of India also fared better than India in the representation of women. On viewing the score of other nations India should strive to equip more women with political power by bringing in necessary changes in its legal structure that would support participation of more women in the political process. Despite the fact that India was one of the earliest nation, to award voting rights to its women citizens, its poor show in sharing equal political power with women needs serious introspection into its cultural ideals that govern the society and determines the role of women in the society (Singh and Saxena).

## **Women's Presence in Indian Parliament**

**Table 2:** Representation of Women in Indian Parliament since 1952

Year	Seats	Women MPs	% of Women MPs	Seats	Women MPs	% of Women MPs
1952	499	22	4.41	219	16	7.3
1957	500	27	5.40	237	18	7.6
1962	503	34	6.76	238	18	7.6
1967	523	31	5.93	240	20	8.3
1971	521	22	4.22	243	17	7.0
1977	544	19	3.29	244	25	10.2
1980	544	28	5.15	244	24	9.8
1984	544	44	8.9	244	28	11.4
1989	517	27	5.22	244	28	11.4
1991	544	39	7.17	245	38	15.5
1996	543	39	7.18	223	20	9.0
1998	543	43	7.92	223	19	8.6
1999	543	49	9.02	223	19	8.6
2004	543	45	8.03	245	27	11.1
2009	543	59	10.86	245	22	8.97
2014	543	61	11.23	245	29	11.83
2019	543	78	14.36	245	26	10.61

*Source:* Election commission of India website & website of Indian Parliament.

The above table (Table 2) presents the representation on women in our lower house of the Parliament since 1952. The year 2019 was historic in a sense that, the General Elections has sent more women to the lower house of the parliament. In 2019 a total of 8049 candidates contested across the country and out of which 724 were women. And the same figures for 2014 general election were 8163 and 636 respectively.

### **Party Wise Representation of Women in Lower House of the Parliament**

**Table 3:** Party wise Representation of Women in Lok Sabha after 2019 General Election

S. No.	Party Name	No. of Women MPs	S. No.	Party Name	No. of Women MPs
1.	BJP	41	9.	LJSP	1
2.	AITC	9	10.	NCP	1
3.	INC	6	11.	NPP	1
4.	BJD	5	12.	SAD	1
5.	YSR Congress	4	13.	SS	1
6.	DMK	2	14.	TRS	1
7.	Independent	2	15.	Apna Dal	1
8.	JDU	1	16.	BSP	1

*Source:* Election commission of India website & website of Indian Parliament.

Out of the 78 elected women candidates 41 are from the ruling Baratya Janata Party, 9 from Trinamol Congress and 6 from Indian National Congress. While rest of the parties make up the remaining number, 2 independent candidates one each from Karnataka and Maharashtra have also won the election this year. This shows a great disparity on party lines as to the representation of women in India. While the ruling party has a representation of about 52.56% its main opposition INC and trinamol Congress has 11.54% and 7.69% representation respectively. The left and its allies hasn't manage to get elected even a single women candidates. The regional parties too did not fair much with respect to sending women to the highest law making body of our country.

### **2019 vs 2014 – State Wise Trend**

In comparison to 2014 lok sabha elections the representation of women in 5 states has increased in 2019. These include Odisha (9.5% in 2014 and 33.3% in 2019), Gujarat (15.4% in 2014 and 23% in 2019), Maharashtra (10.4% in 2014 and 16.7% in 2019), Andhra Pradesh (8% in 2014 and 16% in 2019), and Jharkhand (0% in 2014 and 14.3% in 2019). Whereas on the other, hand many states have seen a dip in the representation of women in 2019 compared to 2014. These include West

Bengal (28.6% in 2014 and 26.2% in 2019), Uttar Pradesh (16% in 2014 and 14% in 2019), Tamil Nadu (10.3% in 2014 and 7.7% in 2019), Madhya Pradesh (17% in 2014 and 14% in 2019), and Assam (14.2% in 2014 and 7.1% in 2019).

More over many states and union territories will not have a single women representative in 2019. This includes the 8 states of Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland, and Sikkim, and 5 union territories – Andaman and Nicobar, Dadar and Nagar Haveli, Daman and Diu, Lakshadweep, Puducherry.

### **Women Contestant Across All Lok Sabha Elections**

**Table 4:** Strength of Women Contestants in All Lok Sabha Election

Year	Males	Females	Total	% of Male Winning	% of Female Winning
1952	1831	43	1874	26.05	51.16
1957	1473	45	1518	31.7	60.00
1962	1915	70	1985	24.0	50.00
1967	2302	67	2369	21.3	44.80
1971	2698	86	2784	18.5	24.40
1977	2369	70	2439	22.1	27.10
1980	4478	142	4620	11.5	19.7
1984	5406	164	5574	9.2	25.60
1989	5962	198	6160	8.5	13.60
1991	8374	325	8699	5.9	12.00
1996	13353	599	13952	3.8	6.70
1998	4476	274	4750	11.2	15.70
1999	3976	278	4254	12.3	17.30
2004	5080	355	5435	9.8	12.30
2009	2514	556	8070	6.44	10.61
2014	7527	636	8163	6.39	9.74
2019	7321	724	8049 *	6.35	10.77

*Source:* Election commission of India website & website of Indian Parliament.

An analysis of the trends in contestant over the Lok Sabha elections (Table 4) the current parliamentary elections saw a 1.2% increase in the number of women contestant over the 2014 elections (2014-7.79:2019 -8.99). The increase in female participation from 43 in 1952 to 724 in the 2019 suggests a considerable increase in the amount of women participation in the National general elections. But all through these years it was only around 10% of the total contestants. This suggests

that there isn't any great improvement in the participation level of women in the political process but only marginal involvement over the past 65 years. Though there is considerable presence of women in the local governments, the level in the presence of women in the national legislature continues to be poor.

Interestingly the winning ratio of the female candidates has been better than the male candidates. Though the ratio has declined over the years it was constantly better than the male contestants. This suggests that women are not seen as a weak force among the electors. It shows the trust of the electors to choose women and improves the hope for more women to contest. With the support of the political parties backed by government initiatives more women can contest the forthcoming elections. This would bring more women in the political spheres of our country (Menon).

### **PATTERN OF CANDIDATE IN 2019**

The Congress party had given the maximum number of tickets to women candidates. Across India, it fielded 54 women candidates. It was closely followed by the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which gave 53 women a chance to compete in the race to the lower house. Among the other key parties, the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) fielded 24 women candidates, the All India Trinamool Congress (AITC) 23, the CPI(M) 10, the CPI four, RJD - 1, while the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) fielded one woman candidate. And a total of 222 women contested the polls independently.

With respect to the ratio of female to total contestants The Trinamool Congress (TMC) and the Biju Janata Dal (BJD) stands apart from the rest by giving an unprecedented one third of their tickets to women candidates. Nine of the 21 women TMC candidates won, while five of the seven BJD candidates were elected. However, other parties like the Congress and the BJP had nominated only 12.3% women. This is even worse with most regional parties which had given only a handful of tickets to women candidates, that too often relatives of male politicians. The Naam Tamizhar Katchi (Unrecognized) of Tamilnadu though couldn't win a single seat gave a share of 48.64% of their ticket to women candidates. This share is one of the highest in our country. Unless and until the political parties come forward unanimously, in setting out a greater share of ticket in favour of women, the realization of political empowerment of women in our country would remain tough. A strong political will is surely needed in this regards.

### **REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN RAJYA SABHA**

The representation of women in the upper house of our parliament has hovered around 10% of the house since 1952. Considering the fact that the political parties

has freedom to select the candidates of their choice in the upper house it is pity to note that women representation has been low in the upper house. In 2019 only 26 women occupied the upper house of our parliament which is only 10.61% of the house. Moreover this figure was even lesser than what it was in 2014 when women had a strength of 29 in the upper house. Only once in our history the number of women in upper house had gone past 30 which happened in 1990 when 38 seats were represented by women (Rai and Spray). Despite having a better chance to put forward equal if not more women in Rajya Sabha election as it is not a direct election, all political parties have continuously failed to give adequate representation of women in the upper house of our parliament. The political parties should arrive at a consensus to voluntarily allocate equal seats to women in upper house of the parliament. This can always be supported easily by the nature of election in place for the members of upper house (S.C. Kashyap, 2004).

## **WOMEN'S SHARE IN POWER STRUCTURE**

### **Women in Union Council of Ministers:**

**Table 5:** Strength of women in union council of ministers since 1999

Year	Number of Women Ministers			<i>Total</i>
	<i>Cabinet</i>	<i>MoS</i>	<i>Deputy Minister</i>	
1999	3	3	2	8
2004	1	6	0	7
2009	4	0	3	7
2012	1	0	4	5
2014	5	0	1	6
2017	6	0	2	8
2019	3	0	3	6

*Source:* < <https://parliamentofindia.nic.in/> > retrieved on 12 Dec., 2019

The other key element in analyzing the political empowerment of women is the presence of women in the ministerial positions (Table 5). After India attained independence the ministry that took oath under the Prime Minister Nehru had a sole women minister. Ms Rajkumari Amrit Kaur took charge of health department at that time and was also instrumental in setting up the AIMS (Policy Research). Since then women were part of the union council of ministers holding few key portfolios.

When Indira Gandhi, the first women, became the Prime Minister of India one women was appointed as the minister and during the third term of Indira Gandhi in 1980 three women were appointed as ministers. During the first non

congress government the council of minister was represented by a single woman. Again in 1991 during the period when P.V. Narasimha Rao was the PM, the council of minister had a lone women minister. India had its highest representation of women in the union council of ministers in 1999 and 2017 under A.B. Vajpayee and Narendra Modi respectively. In both these instances 8 women held ministerial berth. The current ministry which assumed office after the 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha election in 2019 has only 6 women as ministers including 3 cabinet ministers. Thus out of the total 63 council of minister women have a meager share of 4.76%. Though the BJP government has a clear majority in Parliament still it could not give more women an opportunity to serve as ministers. This clearly suggests the unwillingness of the male dominant political class of our country to share power with women (Stokes). All through the years key portfolios were all held by male members while female in most cases shared the lesser key portfolios. With the appointment of first women as our country's finance minister in 2019 one can hope the scenario to change at least in the forthcoming decade.

## **WOMEN AS HEAD OF GOVERNMENT AND HEAD OF STATE IN INDIA**

The other variable in study of political empowerment of women is the presence of women as the head of state/government. India being a Parliamentary Democratic Republic country, the head of the state is its President who is elected indirectly by the elected members of Parliament and Members of all State Legislatures once every five years. The government of India is headed by the Prime Minister who enjoys the majority in the house of people. The Prime minister of India is real head of affairs of the country whereas the President is the nominal head of our country. The President shall act only on the advice of the council of ministers headed by the Prime Minister.

In India the first women to become the Prime Minister was Ms Indira Gandhi. She first became prime minister in 1966 and in all headed the country for more than 14 years. Thus becoming the second longest serving Prime Minister of India only after her father Nehru. Since then no women has decorated this top post in Indian Government. It has to accepted, that beside her courage and charisma the political legacy she carried had took her to that pivotal spot. And since then no women have come closer to occupy that spot in Indian politics. Hence being a sole case it is not wise it to consider as a positive factor in the political empowerment of women in India.

With respect to the post of President it was only in the fourth presidential election in 1967 that a woman – Manohara Holkar – attempted individually for the first time (Jai). But she did not get a single vote in that election which was won by Dr. Zakir Hussain. The second woman candidate who contested the Presidential election was Furcharan Kaur, who took on V.V. Giri on 1969. She finished fifth with

940 among 15 candidates. In 2007 Ms. Laxhmi Seghal contested against Dr. Abdul Kalam and lost the election. This losing jinx was broken by Dr. Pratiba Patil who was elected to this post 2007.

The fact that 4 women were in fray for the Presidential elections and a single women for the post of Prime Minister shows the harsh reality in Indian politics where women are seen and perceived as weak by their male counterparts. The unwillingness of the ruling party in most cases that won the presidential elections, to not consider women is clearly a suggestion that ours is still a male centric political system (Sinha, 2000). Here women are not shared their rightful power in political spheres and were only given piecemeal arrangement in election. Once can only hope the situation changes in the coming years though effective policy formulation and implementation that enables better representation of women in political power structure.

## **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

By studying the factors such as representation of women in national legislature, allotment of tickets by political parties, presence in union council of ministers and the presence of women as head of state and government, it had to concluded that the performance of nation with respect to political empowerment of women is very much average. At just 14.36% of women representatives in lower house and 10.61% in upper house surely not the adequate representation of women for a country with almost half a billion of women population. Despite having a better winning ratio of women candidates in the previous election, (female 10.77 vs male 6.35 in 2019 election and female 9.74 vs male 6.39 in 2014 election) the unwillingness of the political parties to field equal women candidate in the election suggest a patriarchal culture of political parties. Except for Trinamol Congress, Biju Janta Dal and Naam Thamizhar Katchi (not recognised) rest of the parties including the ruling BJP and Congress has only allotted less than 12% to women. With respect to ministerial berth held by women India continues to perform average. Except in few occasional cases women always held less key portfolios in most ministries. The number too was never on par with their male counterparts. Though the ruling party has a strong majority in the parliament presently it has just allotted only 9.52% of ministerial berth to women (6 out of 63). Despite a increase in number of women MPs the number in the council of minister has gone down from 2017. This clearly suggests that the quantum of political empowerment of women is clearly dictated by men. First their representation itself is a function of allotment pattern and secondly even if they win through beside all the hardships their inclusion in the council of ministers is not guaranteed. With respect to head of state and head of government post India cannot boot of itself much with its sole Prime minister and President. Finally one has to conclude that despite the good systemic arrangement

in place India continues to perform below par with respect to all key parameters that measures women empowerment politically. With the continuous failure of the political parties to pass the bill that proposed to provide reservation of seats in national legislature, only goes to show the lack of seriousness among the political fraternity in political empowerment of women. Beside the change in mindset of the political heavyweights, a change in overall attitude of society towards the need for women's political empowerment is warranted. Unless and otherwise all sections of the society act in consonance the political empowerment of women in this country would continue to be a mirage.

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# **VULNERABILITY OF DALIT WOMEN TO GENDER VIOLENCE**

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**Henna Tabassum\***

## **Abstract**

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Women of Dalit category (Scheduled Castes) have been subjugated, deprived and oppressed not only in their families but in the society too through institutionalised methods. Besides, the dalit women are targeted to take revenge by rest of the society to punish their male counterparts. They are meted out with violent and derogatory treatment even by the local bureaucracy, including police. The Indian social setting and partial implementation of politico-legal arrangements make them vulnerable to violence and inhuman treatment by the rest of the social sections. They need to be self assertive to resist the oppression.

**Keywords:** Dalit Women, Violence, Social Setting, Vulnerability, Bihar, India.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Women have been deprived of their human rights and are very frequently meted out to violence throughout globe. The issue was first raised in United Nation World Conference on Human Rights at Vienna in 1993 where a move was made to recognize 'gender violence as a universal phenomenon which takes many forms across culture, race, and class, as a violation of human rights requiring immediate action'. Women in general and *Dalit* category of women in particular have been the most vulnerable to the violence by the male bastion. Women of SC/ST categories become the prey of violence of any kind – whether it is domestic violence or caste based violence or political violence or so on. The Human Rights Watch has rightly observed that 'Scheduled Caste women bear the triple burden of caste, class and

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gender'. Various incidents show that they (*the Dalit women*) are targeted by the dominants of the village power structure, aggressors and the state machinery (police forces) as well for violence. Women are more prone to violence of various kinds. Globally, up to six out of every ten women experience physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetime. A World Health Organization study of 24,000 women in 10 countries found that the prevalence of physical and/or sexual violence by a partner varied from 15 percent in urban Japan to 71 per cent in rural Ethiopia, with most areas being in the 30-60 per cent range. The pertinent questions in this context are – why are the *Dalit* women being targeted for no fault of theirs? Do the underdogs (the victim women) react? The present article attempts to answer these questions on the basis of the secondary sources and cases published in the news papers and media.

### ***Dalit Women : Vulnerability to Violence***

Let us first examine the situation of *Dalit* women in India. Historically, the caste system has formed the social and economic frameworks for the life of the people of India which involves the division of people into a hierarchy of unequal social groups where basic rights and duties are assigned based on birth and are not subject to change. Outside the traditional four classes of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, & Shudra, *Dalits* are typically considered low, impure & polluting based on their birth and traditional occupation, thus they face multiple forms of discrimination, violence, and exclusion from the rest of society<sup>1</sup>. Over one-sixth of India's population, some 170 million people, live a precarious existence, shunned by much of Indian society because of their rank as "untouchables" or *Dalits* – literally meaning "broken"<sup>1</sup> people – at the bottom of India's caste system. *Dalits* are discriminated against, denied access to land and basic resources, forced to work in degrading conditions, and routinely abused at the hands of police and dominant-caste groups that enjoy the state's protection. Most *Dalits* continue to live in extreme poverty, without land or opportunities for better employment or education. With the exception of a small minority who have benefited from India's policy of quotas in education and government jobs, *Dalits* are relegated to the most menial of tasks, as manual scavengers, removers of human waste and dead animals, leather workers, street sweepers, and cobblers.

The *Dalit* women face the triple burden of caste, class, and gender. girls of *Dalit* category had been forced to become prostitutes for dominant-caste patrons and village priests. Sexual abuse and other forms of violence against women are used by landlords and the police to inflict political "lessons" and crush-dissent within the community. Less than 1% of the perpetrators of crimes against *Dalit* women are ever convicted. *Dalits* who dare to challenge the social order have often been subject to abuses by their dominant-caste neighbors. *Dalit* villages are collectively

penalized for individual “transgressions” through social boycotts, including loss of employment and access to water, grazing lands, and ration shops. For most *Dalits* in rural India who earn less than a subsistence living as agricultural laborers, a social boycott may mean destitution and starvation.

A few reporting<sup>2</sup> show that *Dalit* women are made victim of most heinous of crimes like rape, gang rape and outraging modesty. In all cases of caste conflicts, *Dalit* woman is the first victim. In order to terrorize the whole caste, upper caste men, very often with the connivance of police, rape, even gang-rape the *Dalit* women. Even policemen take advantage and falsely implicate them into criminal cases and rape them while in custody. Since the *Dalit* women work in the homes, fields, forests, hospitals, hostels, airports and railway stations, they are exposed to much sexual harassment and exploitation. Pursuing justice is not easy for a lower caste woman in Central India if the crime is rape. It is not uncommon in Madhya Pradesh for women to suffer callous vendettas, including sexual violence, for the actions of their male relatives. ‘The vulnerability of *Dalit* women to violence is more often in case of caste and gender violence. The incidents of victimization of women in Andhra Pradesh reflect the same inference that *Dalit* women are targeted for violence in order to insult and humiliate their male counterparts in case of conflicts.’ Certain kinds of violence are traditionally reserved for *Dalit* women: extreme filthy verbal abuse and sexual epithets, naked parading, dismemberment, being forced to drink urine and eat faeces, branding, pulling out of teeth, tongue and nails, and violence including murder after proclaiming witchcraft, are only experienced by *Dalit* women<sup>3</sup>. *Dalit* women are threatened by rape as part of collective violence by the higher castes. However, sexual assault and rape of *Dalit* women and girls also occur within their own communities. For *Dalit* men, the suppression and rape of women could be a way to compensate for their own lack of power in society. *Dalit* girl children are forced to prostitution. Political analyst and writer Rasheed Kidwai feels that rape is, for the members of India’s rural upper classes, a means to show power rather than, sexual gratification. It is easy to create dominance through rape on the lower castes.<sup>4</sup>

One of the most striking factors leading to their high level of vulnerability is their inaccessibility to legal protection. The majority of cases of violence against *Dalit* women are not registered. The lack of law enforcement leaves many *Dalit* women unable to approach the legal system to seek redress. Women are often also unaware of the laws and their ignorance is exploited by their opponents, by the police, and by the judiciary system. Even when cases are registered, the lack of appropriate investigation, or the judge’s own caste and gender biases, can lead to acquittal. It is seen that in most cases the police had been slow to move against the accused because of the pressure from influential people to hush up the case. It will be evident from the fact that in majority of the cases the named accused persons are not even arrested.<sup>5</sup>

Another significant factor of their vulnerability to violence is societal norms and ideas. Due to the fear of social ostracism, most of the rape cases in the villages are not reported. Sometimes it is the victim who hides the crime, and also their family members tend to cover-up the case. These gang rapes are designed to cause not only as much physical pain as possible, but also, as much emotional pain as possible. Laws granting *Dalits* special consideration for government jobs and education reach only a small percentage of those they are meant to benefit. Laws designed to ensure that *Dalits* enjoy equal rights and protections have seldom been enforced. Instead, police refuse to register complaints about violations of the law and rarely prosecute those responsible for abuses that range from murder and rape to exploitative labor practices and forced displacement from *Dalit* lands and homes. Laws and government policies on land reform and budget allocations for the economic empowerment of the *Dalit* community remain largely unimplemented.

The whole gamut of discussion above reflects that the *Dalit/SC* women in Indian society are at the most vulnerable point so far infliction of violence against them is concerned. Now it becomes the responsibility of state to provide weapons of protection, naturally the legal one and its proper implementation. Let us have brief look over concerns of international actors and the policy perspectives at national level.

## **NATIONAL LEVEL STRATEGIES**

Under the influence and internal pressures from the feminist moves, the national governments have ventured to provide politico-legal arrangements for protection of women from violence against them. Besides, various prevailing laws to curb the violence against women, the Government of India has recently framed a policy for 'empowerment of women' (in the year 2001) which has taken notice of violence against women and suggests some strategies. The policy has comprehensive objectives for empowerment of women. Of the nine major objectives the National Policy on Empowerment of Women (NPEW), the protection of women against violence is the eighth one ('Elimination of discrimination and all forms of violence against women and the girl child'). The policy statement says that "all forms of violence against women, physical and mental, whether at domestic or societal levels, including those arising from customs, traditions or accepted practices shall be dealt with effectively with a view to eliminate its incidence. Institutions and mechanisms/schemes for assistance will be created and strengthened for prevention of such violence, including sexual harassment at work place and customs like dowry; for the rehabilitation of the victims of violence and for taking effective action against the perpetrators of such violence. A special emphasis will also be laid on programmes and measures to deal with trafficking in women and girls."<sup>6</sup> The major question is not concerned with the politico-legal arrangements

rather to honest implementation of these laws and changing traditional mind-set of the both the *Dalits* as well as the upper castes. The need of creating awareness of exercising their social and political rights among the underdogs in order to ensure self assertion in resistance is felt now. The *Dalit* women, generally in India, remain mum considering all these inflictions as their destiny.

## **FROM VULNERABILITY TO RETALIATION**

But in certain cases, particularly under the influence of ideologies of extremist's outfits like Maoists, Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) and Naxals, certain women have come to retaliate in ferocious ways. For them the version of Dr Ambedkar sounds louder in their mind, "My final words of advice to you are educate, agitate and organize; have faith in yourself. With justice on our side I do not see how we can lose our battle. The battle to me is a matter of joy. The baffle is in the fullest sense spiritual. There is nothing material or social in it. For ours is a battle not for wealth or for power. It is battle for freedom. It is the baffle of reclamation of human personality. It is in the fullest sense spiritual. There is nothing material or social in it. For ours is a battle not for wealth or for power. It is a battle for freedom. It is a battle for the reclamation of human personality."#Women are being sensitized to join the extremist outfits, particularly in the part of India consisting of Bihar, West Bengal, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh. According to news reporting the CPI (Maoists) has women to the tune of 40% in its cadre. Significantly some women leaders I cadres (of *Dalit* categories) have joined the outfit to avenge maltreatment meted out to them and the death of their kins in encounters. Women Maoists move from village to village to drive the Maoist ideology home the minds of the *Dalit* women, urging them to join the outfit and even use force at times. Police admits that it is not necessary that women lead these operations but are necessarily included in raids. In the present decade several cases of retaliation by the *Dalit* women victim have come in light in case of Bihar and Jharkhand. In the year 2001, at least 15 policemen were killed in an attack over the police picket in Topchanchi (Jharkhand) by the women led Maoists. The Superintendent of Police of Lohardagga was murdered by a woman Naxalite in the same year. In the year 2002, the government railway police post at Bokaro was plundered and arms looted by a woman led MCC outfit whose husband was killed by police in Aurangabad (Bihar) in 1992. In the year 2004 a Member of Parliament was killed by a Maoist group led by a woman commander Dula Di a victim of caste violence. In the year 2005 a Maoist group led by a *Dalit* woman in its operation attacked the Home Guard head quarters at Giridih and looted armory of the HG head quarters.<sup>7</sup>

## **CONCLUSION**

In nutshell, it can be posited that the following are the factors of their vulnerability to violence (i) SC women are at the weakest point in the society since the ages. The tradition dies hard (ii) protective legal arrangements are not easily accessible to them (iii) they lack awareness and social capital to resist the oppressors and (iv) the most important factor is that the aggressors target them to insult their male counterparts of the given caste category, particularly SC and other *Dalit* categories. The state and the international community (international actors) have taken steps to ensure that the national governments would create laws and implement them properly. The national policy on empowerment of women does also not specifically address the cause of the *Dalit* women (victim of gender violence) and does not provide effective teeth to curb the violence against *Dalit* women. Most of the victim *Dalit* women do not resist or react as they accept it as their destiny. But under the influence of extremist outfits, the women of *Dalit* categories either accept it as their destiny or retaliate in a severely violent way evident from killings, assassinations and violent attacks by the extremist group led by *Dalit* women. Although, the international instruments are doing their job, yet it is the need of the hour to create awareness among civil society to come up and support the proper implementation of the politico-legal arrangements made by the Indian governments in the light of these international instruments. Of course, the women should be self assertive too. The *Dalit* women victim of violence against them has started retaliating against the state apparatus and the dominant sections of the society.

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3. See (i) P.G. Jogdand, ed. *Dalit Women in India: Issues and Perspectives*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, in collaboration with University of Poona, and (ii) "Dalit Women" Shuriah Niazi, "Caste difference contributes to violence against *Dalit* women – Central India", *Women News Network*, (WNN), January 27, 2008.
4. As quoted in Shuriah Niazi, "Caste difference contributes to violence against *Dalit* women - Central India", *Women News Network*, (WNN), January 27, 2008.
5. Human Rights Watch, op. cit. and also see Ruth N. Porawa, "Background information on *Dalit* Women in India' accessed from the website. Violence against *Dalit* Women Vulnerability vs Protectionism.
6. As quoted in Bhairab, op. cit.
7. The illustration is based *Times of India* (Patna) bearing News item "Women Maoists More Ferocious Than Males", February 18, 2010, p. 6.



# WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN BIHAR: A STUDY IN CONTEXT OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

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Ajay Kumar\* and Kavita Kumari\*\*

## Abstract

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Education of women is vital not only on grounds of social justice but also because the following of the fact that it accelerates social transformation. Under influence this dominant presumption, the present article examines the status of women's education in Bihar and its impact on the social transformation, particularly elimination of social evils. The article finds that women's education in the state of Bihar, though has improved substantially in the present decade, yet it requires more sincere efforts by both the government and the civil society. Its impact on social transformation process has been positive in last few years. There has been rise in women's self assertiveness and role taking in social domain.

**Keywords:** Women's Education, Social transformation, Literacy, Rural, Bihar.

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## INTRODUCTION

There is a famous old Indian saying “*ek naari padhegi saat pidhi taregi*” (if one woman will be educated, seven generations will be salvaged) emphasises the importance of women education in India. Education has always been a foundation for economic and social development and it will be essential for the knowledge economies of the 21st century. Education manifests itself in many ways like cognitive thinking, affirmative thought system etc. It brings well-being to the society. Level of literacy and educational attainment are important indicators of development of any given society and we cannot exclude rural women in the development of any society as they equally contribute to the progress of the society and largely to the economy. The

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last decade in Bihar (2004-14) has seen an exceptional development in education. Efforts by the Government of Bihar to increase accessibility to educational facilities in the state are showing signs of positive change. The improvement of Female Literacy Rate in Bihar during 2001-11 (20 percentage points) was the highest, achieved by any state in India during that period.

On the other hand education rate in Bihar is characterized by wide gaps between the urban and rural woman (Urban female literacy is 72.6% and Rural female literacy is 49.6%) as well as in between the male and female population. The purpose of this paper is to focus on the current status of women education level of rural Bihar and to highlight the various social issues and challenges associated with. Educated women not only tend to promote education of their girl children, but also can provide better guidance to all their children. Moreover educated women can also help in the reduction of infant mortality rate and growth of the population.

## **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES**

It argued that women enjoyed equality with men and were exposed to education in Vedic period. If it is true, it could not continue afterwards and finally lost to patriarchal dominance, particularly in medieval period under the influence of Islam. However, in the British period there was revival of interest in women's education in India, in 18th and 19th centuries. Various socio religious movements led by social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and others who worked hard for amelioration of women from institutionalised subjugation, deprivation and oppression. They put emphasis on women's education in India in the process. Though much progress could be marked in that period because of social taboos and education system introduced by Macaulay.

Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, Periyar and Baba Saheb Ambedkar were leaders of the lower castes in India who took various initiatives to make education available to the women of India (Hanlon, 1985). Vast rural population could not be energised for education among women due to atrocities of English administration. Mahatma Gandhi took notice of it during his Champaran movement and began his move with the education among rural people by establishing schools in villages like Bhithiharwa, Lakhansen etc in Champaran district. The spread of education among women of Champaran villages became the forceful weapon of not only *satyagrh* but social transformation also (Verma, 2018). Whatever it may be, women's education got a fillip after the country got independence in 1947 and the government has taken various measures to provide education to all Indian women (Ojha, 1987).

## **STATE OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN BIHAR**

India's Constitution guarantees free primary school education for both boys and girls up to age 14. This goal has been repeatedly reconfirmed, but primary education

in India is not universal. Overall, the literacy rate for women is 39 per cent versus 64 per cent for men with less than 40 percent of the 330 million women aged seven and above being literate, according to the 1991 census, which means today there are over 200 million illiterate women in India. As a result women's literacy rate has grown over the three decades and the growth of female literacy has in fact been higher than that of male literacy rate. While in 1971 only 22% of Indian women were literate, by the end of 2001 54.16% female were literate. The growth of female literacy rate is 14.87% as compared to 11.72% of that of male literacy rate.

So far Bihar is concerned, the literacy rate among women rose from 8 per cent in 1961 to 53.3 per cent in 2011. The following Table shows the picture.

### **Growth of Women's Literacy Rate**

Category	Literacy Rate from 1961 to 2011 (in %)					
	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Total	21.91	23.17	32.32	37.49	47.53	63.82
Males	35.35	35.86	47.11	51.37	60.32	73.19
Females	8.11	9.86	16.61	21.99	33.57	53.33

Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bihar#Education> retrieved on 30 Nov., 2019.

At present Bihar has a total literacy rate of 63.82 per cent for males as compared 53.33 per cent among females. Recording a growth of 20 per cent in female literacy over the period of a decade. It has been said that women literacy rate in Bihar was much better than Haryana where only 25.5 per cent girls go to primary schools, 11 percent go secondary schools and just 3 percent to colleges (Times of India, 2017). The urban female literacy rate is 64 percent and rural women literacy rate is half of it, i.e. 31 per cent. As with India as a whole, many states have large rural-urban differences in female literacy. In six of the 24 states, 25 percent or less of the women in rural areas is literate. In Rajasthan, less than 12 per cent of rural women are literate. This low level of literacy not only has a negative impact on women's lives but also on their families' and country's economic development.

Government of Bihar, in addition to Central programmes, has developed many schemes in order to improve the literacy rate in the state. The results have shown better promise compared to other states of the country. The following are the programmes for the education of girls in Bihar: 1. Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (makes provisions of ensuring a high school in radius of 5 km and +2 schools within a radius of 8 km. 2. Rajya Medha Chhtravriti Yojana (making provisions of scholarship of ₹400 to 500 for those who obtained first division in previous examinations and ₹50,000/- to those who cleared IIT/JEE competitions), 3. Mukhyamantri Balika Protshahan Yojana that provides ₹10,000 to those girls of both the General and OBC categories who secure first division at secondary level.

4. Mukhyamantri Cycle Yojana in which ₹2,500/- was given to girls for purchase of cycle for those girls who enrolled in 9th class. This programme has gigantic effects on girls education in rural Bihar. 5. Mukhyamantri Balika Poshak Yojana in which ₹700/- was provided to each school going girl for purchase of school dress and shoes. All these programmes has greater positive impact on women's education in Bihar.

## **ROLE OF WOMEN EDUCATION IN SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION**

But still it needs much more efforts to achieve the goal of women's education having impact on social transformation. In this context, it is essential to underline potentiality of women's education to have impact on eradication of social evils and social reconstruction. Education empowers them to seek gender equality, enable them to earn income that enhance their social status, enable them to plan family, enjoy reproductive rights and bear and rear healthy children and empower them to rehabilitate in tough conditions. Further, the men get some compensation and migrate to towns in search of some job while women are left behind to look after the family with little resources. They are compelled to take up some marginalized work, which is highly unorganized and often socially humiliating. Women education can greatly help restore their settlement and dignity.

Their education can improve the creativity and critical thinking of an individual leading them to improved self esteem and empowerment. Though no empirical evidence can be given, yet there are presumptions that reveals that it can be instrumental in preserving as well as to promote cultural openness along with diversity. (Farah, 2005). The scholarship on the subject advocates that the female education has impact on fertility rate as by education women become able to understand their reproductive rights like choosing partner, sexual choice, bearing child, spacing of child and rearing the children properly (Sharma & Rutherford, 1990).

It has been strongly argued that putting emphasis on girls education results into reduction of fertility rate in Bihar evident from the fact that it has gone down substantially from the period prior to introduction of these programmes in a very short span of time. Chief Minister Nitish Kumar said that 'if the wife has passed the intermediate examination the fertility rate is 1.7 but it was 1.6 in Bihar. He added that his government is giving topmost priority to education for which more than 20 percent of the state budget is earmarked' (Times of India). It has found that if the wife is a matriculate then the fertility rate will be around 2 and this has been the situation in Bihar. Chief Minister said, "On the basis of this, we thought that we have found the solution to control population. If all the girls in the state study up to class 12 we can achieve the national average in terms of fertility rate or do even better than it. As a result, we decided to open a plus two school in every village." (Times

of India). Numerous studies show that illiterate women have high levels of fertility and mortality, poor nutritional status, low earning potential, and little autonomy within the household. A woman's lack of education also has a negative impact on the health and well-being of her children. For instance, a recent survey in India found out that infant mortality is inversely related to mother's educational level (Sharma & Rutherford, op. cit.). Therefore, there is a need for minimum threshold of education (more than 5 or 6 years) that must be achieved before bringing about significant improvements in female autonomy. Of the literate women in India, 59 percent only have primary education or less. This level of education may not be sufficient to meaningfully improve the status of these women.

## **CHALLENGES BEFORE WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN RURAL BIHAR**

There are four major barriers for girls' education in India, in general and in Bihar in particular. Following are some of them.

*High Dropout Rate:* The major educational problem faced by girls, especially girls from rural areas, is that although they may be enrolled at the beginning of the year, they do not always remain in school. It is estimated that 45 per cent of girls dropout of school between grades 1 and 5 (The World Bank, 1997). Girls are often taken out of school to share the family responsibilities such as caring for younger siblings, etc.

Girls are also likely to be taken out of school, when they reach puberty because of the high premium placed on virginity. The data on school attendance collected by the World Bank in 1997 shows the proportion of girls attending school decreases with age. In 1992-93, only 55 per cent of girls aged 11-14 were attending school compared with 61 percent of the younger age group.

*Priority to Son's Education Compared to Daughter's Education:* If a family has to choose between educating a son or a daughter because of financial restrictions, typically the son will be chosen. Negative parental attitudes towards educating daughters can also be a barrier to a girl's education. Many parents view educating sons as an investment because the sons will be responsible for caring for aging parents. On the other hand, parents may see the education of daughters a waste of money as daughters will eventually live with their husbands' families, and the parents will not benefit directly from their education. In addition, daughters with higher levels of education will likely have higher dowry expenses, as they will want a comparably educated husband.

*Lack of Adequate Number of Female Teachers:* Lack of female teachers is another potential barrier to girls' education. Girls are more likely to attend school and have higher academic achievement, if they have female teachers. Currently, women account for only 29 per cent of teachers at the primary level (GoI, 1993). The proportion of teachers, who are female, is even lower at the university level, i.e.

22 per cent (CSO, 1992). These proportions reflect the historic paucity of women with the educational qualifications to be teachers. However, the proportions are likely to change in the future, as women currently account for nearly half of those being trained as teachers.

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Though the above challenges have not been overcome by the state Government, yet in last few years the Government has substantially handled these challenges. It is also true that the scenario of women's education has improved since 2011 onwards. The improvement in women literacy rate and girls' education in Bihar has witnessed definite impact on social transformation and eradication of social evils. However, the issue requires a serious enquiry. In other words, there is urgent imperative to examine the impact of women education on social transformation and prepare a roadmap of further improvement of women education in the state of Bihar.

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# EVOLUTION OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND TAX DECENTRALIZATION IN RURAL INDIA: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TAMIL NADU

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K. Murugan\*

## Abstract

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The history of local self governance and tax decentralisation in India dates back to ancient times. But it changed its nature with the passage of time. The present article intends to underline the nature of changes in local governance which took place over the ages with special reference to Tamil Nadu. The present article finds that the nature of village administration in ancient periods was mainly ritual oriented. The Tamil region under reigns of Cholas, Pandiyas and Pallavas have shaped local governance differently. The Pallav rulers resumed the traditional indigenous institutions of local governance. In medieval period (mainly Moughal), the local governance was left to King's nominee named as Kotwal with all executive and judicial powers. In post-independence period Tamil Nadu travelled from Panchayat Union to TN Panchayati Raj Act 1994 under the provisions of 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act.

**Keywords:** Local Governance, Samiti, Sabha, PRIs, 73rd Amendment, Ancient India, Tamil Nadu.

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## **LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN ANCIENT INDIA**

In the history of village administration in India, frequent references are made for the administration of the village. Ancient Indian society was highly ritual oriented. Hindus, Buddhists and Janis practicing different rituals had emphasis on stability and administration for religious and ritual stability and efforts were made for strengthening and propagation of the same.

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In the Vedic age, an administrative set up known as Samiti or Sabha was headed by Headman-Graamini. Reference about this office is found in the Jatakas also. From the inscriptions available in almost all Indian provinces, it is found the great importance was given to the offices of Gramini. The other village administrative institution village assembly, all main duties of the village headman was the defence of the village and collection of taxes. During the Maurya period (324-236 BC), village administration was closely linked with agriculture. The villages' administrative officials of this age consisted of the Headman, the accountant, village officials of different grades village couriers and the veterinary doctor. The size of the villages ranged from a hundred to five hundred families. Governmental control over the villages was minimal. Chandragupta Maurya, with a vast empire and centralized regime, never interfered much with the village communities. The villages were self-governed.

Every village had its own Sabha, which would deliberate on all matters concerning the village. The Sabha would frame rules helpful to the community and offenders who went against the rules were punished through regular trials and judgments. The Sabha was the centre of the multifarious activities of the village. The Mauryan village administration was not only a very efficient and successful one but also much in advance of its time. During the Gupta period (300 to 500 AD), the village government was in many respects similar to that of the Mauryan period. The headman assisted by the council of elders still played a predominant role in the village as the smallest unit of administration. The main responsibilities of the village council were – settlement of disputes, collection of revenue for the government, organization of works for public utility and acting as trustees for minors. Justice was administered by royal officials with the help of the village council or assembly. In some cases, the assembly alone involved in judgment and passed sentences. In some villages, the assembly was made up of the entire population. This assembly would appoint different committees to look after tanks, temples and other such structures.

### **TAMIL REGION : ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL**

The local governance and tax-system in Tamil region have changed its nature differently under the rules of different dynasties in this period. But rulers of these dynasties practiced village governance with the indigenous customs, resources and leadership that almost match to the present system of local governance.

### **CHOLA, PANDIYA AND PALLAVA REGIMES**

The glorious history and culture of the Tamils came to an end and enveloped by Kalabhras in or about 3rd century A.D. As a result, we know next to nothing about

the political condition of the Tamil country from the idle of Third century AD to the third quarter of the Sixth century AD. After a prolonged dark political fall, the Pallavas and the Pandiyas freed the Tamil country from the Kalabrah yoke. The Pallava Kings gathered the threads of the traditional local institutions and weave their administrative superstructure using them. The government under the Pallava rule was being composed of a central government very much like that projected in the Arthashastra and a local government of a more indigenous character which had attained to a higher degree of development. The Pallava country was divided into Rashtras or Mandalas. Each Rashtra was divided into Vishayas or Kottams, Nadu was in between the Kottam and their Ur was the fundamental unit of administration. Tondaimandalam was divided into twenty-four Kottams and the Pallava Kings mostly retained the traditional nomenclature of the territorial divisions. The Cholas dominated the political life of Tamil Nadu from 850 AD to 1279 AD. The rural local government found its heyday under the active encouragement of the imperial Cholas, particularly of Parantaka I (AD 908-955). The inscription known as Mahasabha records numbering 646 threw much light on the composition powers and activities of the rural local bodies.

The Kingdom of Chola was divided into mandalam, kottam, valandau, nadu and the Chola administration was built on the bedrock of rural local institutions. The rule of the imperial Cholas came to an end in the last quarter of the 13th century. The local bodies were plundered by the Muslims and the rapacious rule of the Sultanate of Madura. The Sabhas of the Mahasabha's began to decline during the 13th century and then disappeared at the close of 15th century many still hold the ground. The important significant and praiseworthy aspect of administration in the medieval history of Tamil Nadu was the local self-government represented by the village assemblies (Sabhas) and their constituent Variyams or committees to look after various aspects of the village life. Nowhere is South India or indeed India do we get such a fine picture of the grass-root level administration as we get it in the famous inscriptions of Uttarmerur in Tondaimandalam and Manur in Pandyanadu.

This issue becomes relevant today in the context of the recent introduction of the Panchayat Raj in our country. The Imperial Cholas who exercised political sway over Tamil Nadu for about four centuries from 9th century to 13th century AD reformed the administrative structure of the self-governing units. The two Utharamerur inscriptions of Parantaka-I dated 919 AD and 921 AD threw light on the nature and character of the village administration of the Cholas. They detail the various forms and regulations that governed the mode of selection of the person to different committees, which looked after the village administration.

The Chola village assemblies acquired the right from long-cherished dharma customs. Accordingly, it discharged a wide range of duties in tune with local customs and practices, and for all practical purposes, the ultimate responsibility for the welfare of the people rested with them.

Cholas periods were inscriptions provided with more information about the structure of village leadership. They also reveal the method of selection of the officials, qualifications of the members, their terms of office and duties. The primary village assembly under Cholas consisted of all the heads of families in the village. These members, in turn, elected the members for the Sabah. The method of their election or selection is not clear.

There was also an executive committee, aluganum, but the exact number of members it had is not knowing. The most detailed picture of the working of this committee is available in the famous inscription at Uttaramerur, a village in Chengalpattu district.

According to the inscriptions, under each village committee or council, several sub-committees were formed and were entrusted with different administrative duties. The members of these committees held the office for one year. There was also the provision of removing them from the office before the completion of their term.

To give chance for all the qualified person in different sub-committees was adopted that a person who had served on a sub-committee once was not permitted to contest again during the next three years. The inscription further state that persons with loose conduct and found guilty of misappropriation of public funds, were immediately removed from the council.

The membership qualification was that one should be between their five to seventy years of age, own a house and own a minimum of two acres of tax payable land, be a scholar in smithies or Bhashyas, has good character and be helping nature. The qualification enabled only the privileged and upper caste people to acquire leadership positions. The depressed and weaker sections such as the poor illiterate, landless and so on were denied this opportunity with the result that the leadership remained only among the privileged groups. Apart from the administration of the village and collection of taxes, another important function of the village council was to settle deputies. The power and authority of the village level leaders were also recognized by the rulers of the land.

The village leaders were also responsible for other activities in the village. They have to serve bankers to next villagers by providing those loans at the lower rate of interest. They undertook charitable activities on the ritual side and they conducted all rituals and rites in the manner lay down and also helped to maintain public and personal moral order. In turn, these activities helped them to have control and influence over the community at large.

The Mughal devised a new system of local self-government, which was different from the one. They entrusted the administration of a town within officer called Kotwal. He performed multifarious functions such as municipal magisterial,

police and fiscal and in these matters, he was considered the supreme authority. The system of administration changed the Vijaynagar rule. The rulers divided the Tamil areas into five Rajyams. The Rajyams were subdivided into valanadu were further divided into nadus. The nadus were the same as the kottam kottam was otherwise known as kurrim. It referred to groups of fifty villages, which constituted a unit or rural administration. Different versions are given regarding the state of village panchayats, at the time of the advent of the British into India.

When the British came to India the village panchayats in most of the Indian provinces were already dead as units of effective administration. The Muslim rulers dismantled or neglected the Hindu oriented village administrative set up and brought in their own. Instead of Hinduism, Islam became almost the state religion. As a result, there was confusion and chaos in the rural order at the time of arrival of the British. But contrary to this, the advent of the British rule in India witnessed many changes. Among them, the virtual extinction of the old forms of self-government institutions and disappearance of the ancient village communities which were in existence since ages are important. Gandhi (1931) wrote in the Harijan that, the British with their ruthless methods of revenue collection and administration destroyed the ancient village republic in India.

### **TAMIL REGION: IN THE BRITISH PERIOD**

The East India Company, which was mainly interested in making profits, changed the entire revenue system of the country to their benefit. British ruler Lord Cornwallis in 1793 first introduced landlordism and such other feudal systems (known as Permanent Settlement). The land tenure system was changed from Mauzawari (village as a unit) to Ryotwari (individual farmer as a unit). The British government power structure in India was highly centralized. Gradually the British started giving some administrative powers to Indians. As the first step the local self-government institutions were introduced into various levels. First, in 1793 the cities and later in 1850, the smaller towns were granted autonomy.

The self-governing practice reached the villages only in 1863 when the Royal Army Sanitary Committee submitted its report on the bad and filthy conditions of the villages. Accordingly, village sanitation acts were passed in many provinces.

Recognizing the age-old traditional importance of leaders at the village level, the British Government in India also conferred some formal authority and power to them. The concept of local self-government as a conscious process of administrative devolution and political education may be traced from Lord Mayo's Decentralization scheme. Mayo's famous resolution of 1870 made over to provincial governments certain departments of administration of which education, medical services and roads deserve special mention. One of the most important changes

made in developing independence of the local bodies was affected in 1878-79 by the transfer of the conduct of all local fund public works from the government establishment of Engineers to the staff of the local boards themselves.

The chief concern of the British Government was the administration of the villages. Lord Ripon the viceroy, inaugurated a new era in Indian administration. Ripon's resolution of local self-government on 18th May 1882 was a major attempt in the direction of reconstitution of the local institutions both in towns and villages. Ripon's classic pronouncement was rightly regarded as the Magna Carta of Local Self-government in India. The most remarkable innovation proposed by Lord Ripon in 1882 was the establishment of a network of rural local bodies. Mayo resolution of 1870 did not receive much support from the British as well from the Indian civil servants. But it initiated a new era in the history of local self-government in India. The Act of 1882 introduced by Lord Ripon to then Viceroy of India improved the standard of local self-government in India. The Ripon resolution gave a lead to an improved administrative system in the villages. It was brought additional powers and raised the hopes and aspirations of the Indian people. Many provinces erected local self-government law as between 1883 and 1885 effective means of political and social education of the people. He has recommended the Unions in villages governed by a committee of the five members, to look after the common affair of the villages. It proposed the gradual constitution of the three-tier structure of local administration.

Several proposals were incorporated in the Madras Local Boards Act of 1884, which superseded the Local Funds Act of 1871. The Madras Local Boards Act 1884 conferred additional responsibilities on local boards, which were for the first time called district boards instead of local fund boards. Under this act, their classes of local boards came into existence like district boards, taluk board's ad union. The Act provided for two kinds of Union Panchayats.

Major Unions for villages with a population of 5,000 and Minor Unions for smaller villages. The Union Panchayats were to be established with not less than five members. The headmen of the villages constituting the union being ex-office members and one of them were to be appointed the chairman. Members other than village headmen are either all of them were to be appointed by the government or partly so appointed and partly elected by tax-payers. The Act was brought in force from 1st April 1885 and with one-year district boards convening all the districts, 65 Taluk Board and 157 Panchayats in 16 districts were constituted. By 1910, there were 83 Taluk Boards and 382 Union Panchayats in the presidency. The functions and financial resources of local boards continued to be very much the same as they were in Lord Ripon's time. In 1907, the entire subject of local self-government was considered by the Royal Commission on Decentralization. Royal Commission on Decentralization of Administration power recommended the government to give

more powers and authority to the Village Panchayats in civil and judicial matters. It was also to give more financial support in the term of special grants, small fees on civil suits and other taxation power.

The All India Congress session in 1909 at Lahore brought out a resolution regarding Village Panchayats upwards elective with an elected non-official chairman and to support them with adequate financial aid. But there was no change on the side of the government. The growing consciousness among the people made the government to introduce local self-government in the transferred subject when governments. It was the beginning of the development of village Panchayats in British India under elected ministers.

Montague Chelmsford Report 1918 made recommendations for provincial autonomy. Under the Government of India Act 1919, the local self-government became a provincial subject. After this, attempts were made to revive the old village Panchayat acts in 1919. Afterwards but these Panchayats were not democratic bodies, as their members were nominees of the government. They did not make with the enactment of the Government of India Act 1919. The desired effects began to appear in the field of self-government, the Madras Presidency passed the Panchayat Act in 1920. But, the British Government did not take any active interest in implementing them. Gandhi and other national leaders passed resolutions in various Indian national congresses. But, it was only during 1937 when the popular ministries assumed office in many Indian provinces; they took a real interest and brought forth legislation to make village Panchayats the real representative bodies. But all the political activities came to a close until the Second World War was over.

Self-rule is not a new and modern experience for the rural community and village councils and caste Panchayats were well known from ancient times. Not only at the village level even at the caste level, was the village self-rule within the caste well known. Each caste was headed by an elderly man of the caste who looked after the socio-political and religious affairs of this caste assisted by a few more elders. This caste council also acted as a liaison between it and other castes on one hand and village council on the other.

Likewise, the socio-political and religious affairs of this caste assisted by a few more elders. In certain cases, heads of all the castes were also members of the village council. But whatever may be the constitution and composition of the village council, the members coming from upper and dominant castes. They are playing an important role in controlling the affairs of the village. In ancient times some families from the upper castes continued to exercise power and authority in the villages for a generation.

The social and religious ideologies contributed to a large extent in keeping the dominance of the upper castes over the others. It was accepted by the latter without

any difficulty, thus we see despite inequalities the village communities achieved coherence and solidarity. As an administrative unit, the village had its Gram Sabha, Village Panchayat and caste Panchayat. All these not only helped in maintaining law order in the community but also looked after the well-being of the villagers; any crisis in the community was met commonly and collectively. All this was done by the leaders in the village who can be termed as traditional leaders because their sources of power and authority were from the community.

The first comprehensive work in the field of Indian rural leadership was done by Oscar Lewis (1954) and Dhillon (1955) in North and South Indian villages respectively. They undertook these studies to facilitate rural development work in India. It was started massively with the inauguration of the five-year plans. Both Lewis and Dhillon have thrown ample light on interrelations between different fields of activities such as social, ritual, dependent on the factionalism, decision making. At certain times, the village administration leaders, especially the village headman and accountant were also entrusted with a few duties of the government, such as the collection of land tax and maintenance of law and order in the village.

## **POST- INDEPENDENCE PERIOD**

After independence, the governments of both the Centre and states intended to introduce panchayati raj institutions (PRIIs) in congruence with Art. 40 of the Indian Constitution. Perhaps Bihar was the first state which had brought an Act in 1947 itself (Verma, 2009). However, the first three tier PRIIs were introduced in 1961 based on the recommendations of Balwant Roy Mehta Committee with two-fold objectives – realising the dream of Gandhi's gram swaraj and making the PRIIs as effective tool of rural development. But with passage of time it proved to be unsuccessful on account of disinterest of state politicians. With the change of the regime at the Centre in 1977, Ashok Mehta Committee was constituted which could not be implemented as the Janata rule ended in 1980. The then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi took initiatives to strengthen PRIIs and constituted several committees like G.V.K. Rao Committee (1985), L.M. Shisghvi Committee (1986) etc. On the basis of nationwide discussions and recommendations of these committees the 64th Constitutional Amendment Bill in 1989 was introduced which could not be passed. Again, the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (1992) was passed in which the PRIIs gained constitutional status free from whims and desires of the state politicians. The new arrangement of PRIIs are ensured with representative bodies at all the three levels, representation of all social categories, proper devolution of functions and finances, State Finance Commission, State Election Commission and so on. Provisions have also been made to functional Gram Sabha. The new PRIIs also provided women's ensured participation through reservation of 30 per cent seats for them. It provided the state governments to make their PRI laws according

to the Amendment Act. All the states of India passed Panchayati Raj Act in their respective territories after 1993.

## **LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN POST-INDEPENDENCE TAMIL NADU**

All the Village Panchayats and the Town Panchayats with community development block were grouped together to form a Panchayat Union and 374 such Panchayat Unions were originally formed. Tamil Nadu did go in for the third tier at the district level. Instead, a District Development Councils Act, 1958 for each development district (bigger Revenue Districts were formed into two Development Districts for Development Administration) was to be reviewed and advised on statutory matters and development activities in the district. The erstwhile District Boards ceased to function from then on. The Tamil Nadu Panchayats Act, 1994 was enacted consequent to the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution of India, which has prescribed a three-tier Panchayat Raj system like the Village Panchayats, the Panchayat Unions and the District Panchayats.

## **THE SALIENT FEATURES OF THE TAMIL NADU PANCHAYATS ACT, 1994**

The Tamil Nadu Panchayats Act, 1994 incorporates the provisions of the 73rd and the 74th Amendments to the Constitution of India. The Panchayats would have a uniform duration of five years. If for some reasons a Panchayat gets dissolved, the period of dissolution would not exceed six months. Elections are obligatory before the expiry of the term of office or period of dissolution.

The Tamil Nadu State Election Commission, an independent constitutional authority, would superintend, control and direct all elections to the Panchayats. The State Finance Commission would be constituted to ensure the financial health of the Panchayats. The Panchayats would have three tiers – at the village level, the district level and the intermediate level (Panchayat union) the Grama Sabha, the village assembly of voters, would approve the village plan and budget and review the schemes.

All developmental schemes in the area would be entrusted to the Panchayat” including those concerning the matters listed in Schedule II of the constitution. Agriculture, including agricultural extension, land improvement, implementation of land reforms, land consolidation and soil conservation, minor irrigation, water management and watershed development, animal husbandry, dairying and poultry, fisheries, social forestry and farm forestry, minor forest produce, small scale industries, including food processing industries Khadi, village and cottage industries, rural housing, drinking water, fuel and fodder, roads, culverts, bridge, waterways and other means of communication, rural electrification, including distribution of electricity, no-conventional energy sources, poverty alleviation

programme, education, including primary and secondary schools, technical training and vocational educationadult and non-formal education, libraries, cultural activities, market and fairs, health and sanitation, including hospital, primary health centres and dispensaries, family welfare, women and child development, social welfare, including welfare of the handicapped and mentally retarded welfare of the weaker sections, and in particular, of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, public distribution system and maintenance of community assets.

A district planning committee, of the representative body of local- body members, would finalize the district plan. Reservation of seats would be provided for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in proportion to their population. Not less than one-third of the total number of seats would be reserved for women.

Reservation for scheduled castes, scheduled Tribes and women would be provided in all the offices of the chairpersons in rotation in all the three tiers. Members of legislative Assembly and parliament would be office members at the district tiers. Any law relating to the delimitation of wards and allotment of seats among wards has been given immunity from being called in question in any court. Courts are barred from interfering with the election process except through an election petition presented to them after the elections. A village Panchayat consists of a president and ward members. The Panchayat Union and the District Panchayat also consists of a Chairman and ward embers. Besides, members of parliament and members of the legislative assembly are the ex-office members in their respective District Panchayat. Even though at first look the village Panchayats, Panchayat unions and district Panchayats appear similar to the traditional pyramidal structure with the three layers placed one over the other, in the matter of electro representations there is a clean break with the past. In the traditional arrangement where the village Panchayat president de-facto becomes a member of the Panchayat union, is no longer there. Instead, the ward-members of the Panchayat unions and the district Panchayat are directly elected from the respective wards by the voters.

Each Panchayat is divided into territorial constituencies – the village Panchayat wards, Panchayat union wards and the district Panchayat territorial wards. A village panchayat consists of several members (minimum six and a maximum of fifteen depending upon the population) elected room the constituent wards of the village Panchayat and also the president directly elected by all the electors in that Panchayat village. The Panchayat union council under the new Act consists of several members directly elected from the wards at the rate of one member per 5,000 population and the chairman elected by the Panchayat union ward members from among themselves. The population of village Panchayats in Tamil Nadu ranger from 500 to well over 10,000. Hence, depending upon the population of village Panchayats in a Panchayat union, a panchayat union ward may consist of one or more Panchayat villages or even a portion of a single Panchayat village.

The Panchayat union ward members may thus represent one or more Panchayat villages or there can be more than one Panchayat union ward members from a single Panchayat village. Similarly, the district Panchayat consists of several members elected directly from the territorial wards and a chairman elected by and from among the ward members besides representative members like MPs, MLAs and a few Panchayat Union Chairmen have chosen from among them. A District Panchayat ward member on an average represents 50,000 populations. As in the case of Panchayat union wards, a district Panchayat ward may include one or more Panchayat unions or just a portion of a single Panchayat union depending upon the population of the Panchayat union involved. In other words, the lowest level of the electoral unit is the village Panchayat ward in the case of a Panchayat village. (Panchayat Union) and the District Panchayat territorial ward in the case of the apex level (viz. The District Panchayat territorial ward in the case of the apex level (Viz. the District Panchayat). Two to five village Panchayat wards constitute the Panchayat union and several District Panchayat Territorial wards constitute a District Panchayat. A Panchayat Union ward may cut across a village Panchayat and a District Panchayat Union ward may cut across a Village Panchayat and a District Panchayat territorial ward may cut across a panchayat Union. However, it has been ensured to the extent possible that the Panchayat Union. However, it has been ensured to the extent possible that the Panchayat Union ward consists of whole village panchayat wards and the district Panchayat ward consist of whole panchayat Union wards.

Under no circumstances, the Panchayat Union ward or the District Panchayat ward would cut across ward is the smallest unit and the Panchayat union ward and the District Panchayat territorial ward are formed by suitable combinations of several as far as possible continuously located Village Panchayat wards. However, each level of Panchayat is expected to be functionally independent in its sphere of activity. In other words, there is no subordinate- superior relationship between the three tiers.

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# ENSURING HUMAN RIGHTS OF LGBT COMMUNITY IN INDIA: A STUDY OF JUDICIAL INTERVENTION

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**Sujeet Kumar Srivastav\***

## Abstract

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The LGBT community (people in the categories of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) has been deprived of their constitutional rights and subjugated in Indian society due to century old law (IPC 1861) made by Britishers on the line of Buggery Act 1533. The community have been facing exclusion and meted out with derogatory and discriminatory treatment by the rest of the society for long period. They resisted for their rights since 1990s but finally the legal course began in the end of 20th century. The dawn of 21st century witnessed judicial intervention in favour of their rights first by Delhi High Court in 2009 and later by Supreme Court in 2018. The superior judiciary of India took care of their natural and constitutional rights and passed verdicts in their favour. The present article takes the account of their miseries, fight against the subjugation and judicial interventions for ensuring their rights as human being.

**Keywords:** LGBT, Constitution, IPC, Section 377, Rights, CALERI, ABVA.

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## INTRODUCTION

The LGBT community (community of Lesbians, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender people) has been undergoing precarious social conditions and meted out with inhuman treatment by the rest of the society since long. Section 377 of Indian Penal Code (IPC) has been a hurdle in the way of enjoying their human rights. It will not be out of place to mention that the British rulers had made the Code in 1861 on the line of old English law Buggery Act 1533 which made the sexual activities against

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the order of the nature illegal. The perception of the people have been against the practice of homosexuality on the account of being it a social vice. It would lead to a big health hazard and degrade moral values of society. The state should contain it. On the other hand, the human right champions argue that they are human beings and consensual sex is their right. The political parties of India have also been divided on the issue. As such, the present paper assesses the miseries faced by the LGBT community, constitutional aspects on their miseries and judicial views.

## **THEIR MISERIES**

India is a vast country with immense diversities, of these the LGBT community is one. India's LGBT citizens are not a 'minuscule minority'. They have a voice that is strong and refuses to be silent any longer in their efforts to reclaim equality. People of the LGBT community are fighting for equal rights and acceptance. They face a lot of difficulties in finding acceptance by the rest of the society. They face derogatory, hateful and rejecting treatment. This is a major issue because discrimination against the LGBT community is highly prevalent. People's perception towards them also go against them. Every year, a huge number of LGBT people face huge issues related to violence, unemployment, discrimination, poverty and lack of healthcare. People have issues with the way people from the LGBT community lead their lives. There are still many places in India where people are not aware of what LGBT stands for, because they think those who are gay are not allowed to be a part of the family. The members of this community and their families for the ignominy and ostracism that they have suffered through the centuries. The members of this community were compelled to live a life full of fear of reprisal and persecution.

An Indian trans-woman who was a petitioner in the NALSA case opined that she did not know from where they came but a lot has to be done in protection of their civil rights. We have the absolute and inalienable right to define ourselves in our own terms and in our own languages. We have the right to express ourselves and our identities without fear of violence or retribution. We are human beings, holders of human rights, and we need to be recognized as such within the societies we live in. They argue that leading a hidden life is like dead life. Many countries have legalised same sex marriage because they understand the need of having the freedom to love and the freedom to marry whoever one wants. Everyone has the right to marriage since marriage is all about love and not gender. The human rights of LGBT have come into sharper focus around the world, with important advances in many countries in recent years, including the adoption of new legal protections.

Not only by the rest of the society but the people of public servants do also abuse them. A report of a voluntary organisation (Civil Liberties Group) reveals the fact. In 1992, the Delhi police arrested 18 men in a park as part of a ‘clean-up’ drive. The allegation was not that they were having sex but ‘were about to indulge in homosexual acts’. A 2003 report by a civil liberties group in Bangalore provides gruesome testimony of a hijra sex worker who was first gang-raped by a group of men and then gang-raped by the police. In 2006, the Lucknow police raided the offices of an HIV/Aids outreach organisation on the grounds that it was abetting the commission of a section 377 crime. Testimonies provided to the Delhi high court in 2007 documented how a gay man abducted by the police in Delhi was raped by police officials for several days and forced to sign a confession of being sexual criminal. In 2003, the government of India said that decriminalising homosexuality would ‘open the floodgates of delinquent behaviour’. Earlier this year, a lesbian couple jumped to their death. In notes left behind, they are reported to have written: “We have left this world to live with each other. The world did not allow us to stay together.”

### **THEIR RESISTANCE AGAINST THE MISERIES**

An organization called AIDS BHEDBHAV VIRODHI ANDOLAN (ABVA) organized the gathering in front of Delhi police headquarters to protest against the rounding up of men from Connaught Place’s Central Park on charges of homosexuality. The protest had not a positive result. In 1994, ABVA activists filed a public interest litigation (PIL) in Delhi High Court challenging the constitutionality of Section 377. This PIL was the first legal protest and the first attempt to legalize homosexuality in India. In 1991, ABVA published a report titled ‘Less than Gay’, a citizen’s report on the discrimination faced by the community in India. The PIL provided India with its first champion of gay rights, Siddhartha Gautam, a co-founder of ABVA. However, post-Gautam’s early and sudden demise, ABVA failed to follow through on the petition and the case was dismissed in 2001 (Gupta: 2005).

The first ever ‘Gay Parade’ in India was held in Kolkata in 1999 which was attended by merely 15 members. It was named as Rainbow Pride The parade, not the shame. The same year, a Delhi-based organization called CALERI (Campaign for Lesbian Rights) released a manifesto titled ‘Lesbian Emergence’ which sought to break the silence around the lives of queer women, who according to CALERI, were much more invisible than queer men. (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LGBT>)

### **LEGAL ASPECTS AND JUDICIAL INTERVENTIONS**

The root of the deprivation of their human rights lies in the Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code. The section reads, “Whoever voluntarily has carnal

intercourse against the order of nature with any man, woman or animal shall be punished with imprisonment for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine." It means sexual activities 'against the order of nature' is illegal. It should be kept in mind that the law was made by British rulers in 1861 under the influence of Buggery Act 1553 of England. ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Section\\_377\\_of\\_the\\_Indian\\_Penal\\_Code](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Section_377_of_the_Indian_Penal_Code)). The English policy makers were against their rights. Thomas Macaulay, who was the main drafter of the Penal Code, called homosexual sex 'odious' and 'revolting'. It is the reason why most former British colonies are still, to this day, not only hostile to same-sex love but also actively opposed to it. In 1884, a court in north India ruling on the prosecution of a hijra (a member of LGBT community), commented the police's desire to 'check these disgusting practices.' In 1934, a judge in Sindh (now in Pakistan) described a man who had consensual sex with another man as 'a despicable specimen of humanity'.

On the basis of this law the Indian government went with the legal provisions and people's traditional perception. The government's view will be evident from the views of Malhotra, Additional Solicitor General of India who said, "Homosexuality is a social vice and the state has the power to contain it. Decriminalising homosexuality may create a breach of peace. If it is allowed then the evil of AIDS and HIV would further spread and harm the people. It would lead to a big health hazard and degrade moral values of society." His views were endorsed by the Home Ministry of India (India Today, 2008).

The movements in favour of LGBT brought their issues to the legal course. The legal tug of war, as mentioned by Banerjee, can be traced back to the early 1990s. In the post-independence era, the LGBT community has faced numerous setbacks in their struggle to have the same rights as heterosexual couples. If one traces the trajectory of the movement, the first known protest for gay rights was held on Aug. 11, 1992, 45 years after India gained independence from British colonialism. As India witnessed increasing protests against Section 377, several high-profile names including Ritu Dalmia and hotelier Keshav Suri, also filed petitions against the draconian law which a few years later brought about today's ruling.

In the twenty first century, the Section 377 was challenged in judicial courts. Against an incident of police atrocities on the LGBT held in Lucknow, an NGO Naz Foundation and the Lawyers Collective filed another petition to the Delhi High Court in 2001 against section 377. In its judgment in 2009 the Delhi High Court held the section unconstitutional and decriminalise the homosexuality. But within a period of two years the Supreme Court of India decided to overturned the judgment in case of Suresh Kumar Koushal vs. Naz Foundation, the bench of Justice GS Singhvi and Justice SJ Mukhopadhyaya scrapped the Delhi High Court

verdict by citing that Section 377 did not suffer from the vice of unconstitutionality. Homosexuals were held criminals by the judgment.

But the judgment was put before the apex court for review in April 2014 in NALSA v/s Union of India that the rights and freedoms of transgender people in India were protected under the Constitution. It was argued that the preamble to the Indian Constitution mandates justice – social, economic, and political equality of status for all. The right of equality before law and equal protection under the law is guaranteed in Articles 14 and 21 of the Constitution. This time the apex court, in its judgment in 2018, decriminalized adult consensual same-sex relationships and held section 377 as null and void. Former CJI Dipak Mishra and Justice J Khanwilkar had noted then, “Section 377 IPC also assumes the characteristic of unreasonableness for it becomes a weapon in the hands of the majority to seclude, exploit and harass the LGBT community. It shrouds the lives of the LGBT community in criminality and constant fear mars their joy of life. They constantly face social prejudice, disdain and are subjected to the shame of being their very natural selves. Thus, an archaic law, which is incompatible with constitutional values, cannot be allowed to be preserved.” It was considered that Section 377 does not particularly deal with homosexuality and same sex relationships are still not recognized by the Indian state, the order of the court striking down the law very specifically mentions protection against discrimination. The judgment hails human rights for all under the Constitution. This time the judgment was not been opposed by the Union Government.

The judgment is considered a landmark both in terms of their expansive reading of constitutional rights and in empowering LGBT persons with their rights. Both judgments mark an important moment for LGBT rights that not only reversed a relic of British imperial rule but also ordered that LGBT Indians be accorded all the protections of their constitution. This was a welcome victory, but it does not necessarily mean that LGBT people in India are fully free or perceived as equal among their fellow citizens.

### **REACTIONS ON THE INTERVENTION**

The religious and traditional perceptions against the LGBT came on the fore in reaction. Many conservative Christian, Muslim, and Hindu leaders, who are often at loggerheads, criticised the ruling as shameful and promised to contest it. Such a reconciliation would write a historic wrong. It was not local religious leaders but British colonialists who introduced these barbaric laws to India. However, by and large Hinduism, which is the dominant religion in India, is quite accepting of LGBT people.

The right-wing opposition in India's government against the LGBTQ community is also a matter of concern for them. While most of India's leading politicians, actors, and public figures accepted and applauded the judgement, BJP, the ruling party of India and its affiliated organizations openly opposed it after maintaining silence for two days. However, the LGTB community is not dialing down their celebration despite the opposition. They are preparing themselves for the larger struggle ahead since the road to complete acceptance and living with dignity is long and byzantine.

According to Professor Goodman, anti-sodomy laws have a variety of impacts. First, they influence the attitudes of society towards the state with members of the LGBT community fearing state authorities. Second, they change peoples' relationships with public spaces; since these individuals are not awarded an equal level of protection by the law, they acquire a more vulnerable status and have a less active relationship with public space in the society. Third, anti-sodomy laws impact the boundaries of what constitutes a civic community. Laws that criminalize specific communities lead to exclusion, marginalization and victimization. (as mentioned in Seay, et al., 2018).

## **THE EPILOGUE**

The rights of LGBT have been ensured in many countries across Asia where there have been some promising advances to protect LGBT youth in recent years. For example, a 2013 law in the Philippines instructs schools to address bullying, and refers to sexual orientation and gender identity. In 2017, the Government of Japan changed its national prevention policy to specifically protect LGBT students.

Since these laws have such a strong influence on social norms and can successfully transform them, the judicial intervention must be analyzed in this social context. Police harassment has definitely been reduced after the judgment. Acceptance by society as well as by families has been increasing slowly, but there is still need of more steps.

On the basis of above discussion it can be concluded that, LGBT minority people, basically have different sexual orientation, face discrimination in the family and society. But they are the human being and therefore they are entitled to all human rights as well as fundamental rights in India. Today, LGBT organizers and groups are increasingly drawing attentions between the movements for LGBT their rights and the movement for economic, social, political and racial justice.

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# RE-ENGINEERING SOCIAL WELFARE THROUGH DIGITAL INDIA: A CASE STUDY WITH REFERENCE TO CHHATTISGARH PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM (PDS)

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Gowd Kiran Kumar\*

## Abstract

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Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has brought revolutionary changes in the delivery of services to the citizens. With the emergence of ICT, there is a significant change in designing and implementation of Social Welfare schemes in the country. The Modi government's enthusiasm in digitalising India and promoting efficient use of the internet and current technology for participatory governance along with enabling corruption free deliverance of services to the most economically challenged sections of the economy is a dream endeavour and could be, if implemented excellently, a guiding light for the world to follow. There are certain challenges like Digital Divide and poor IT infrastructure and connectivity problem. But we need to keep in mind the critique of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar about the Indian social order in designing and implementation of various schemes.

This paper aims to understand challenges for the proper reengineering of various Social Welfare Schemes in the country through Digital India and possibly mention certain strategies for effective implementation Digital India.

**Keywords:** Digitalisation, Social Welfare, ICT, Digital Divide, e-Governance, Public Distribution System.

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## INTRODUCTION

Over 500 million Indians are estimated to be using internet by 2020 with fast paced growth in computer literacy. Also the, greater use of data on mobiles is predicted

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to help India's internet economy to grow to about \$200 billion or 5 per cent of the GDP by 2020.<sup>1</sup> India currently is on the cusp of an internet revolution akin to that of the telecommunication revolution of the 90s.

As a matter of fact, due to the revolution in wireless telecommunication over the last couple of decades, people of every strata of the Indian economy have now embraced technology in their personal lives making it easier to reach them. It is now the responsibility of the government to leverage this technology to reach the citizens of the country and provide them with safe, transparent and accountable governance systems. This in turn will effectively address long term goals of eradication of poverty, provision of better health care system, establishment of faster modes of communication, increase in livelihood opportunities for every citizen irrespective of their place of origin, enhancement of standard of living and fuelling economic growth while creating a level playing field for every Indian.

The present government's zeal and enthusiasm in digitalising India by promoting efficient use of internet and latest technology for participatory governance to enable corruption free deliverance of services to the most economically challenged sections of the economy is a creative endeavour.

## **DIGITALISATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE**

There is a difference between the nature of information processes in the early days of information and technology and the present day usage of technology. Initially, it was 'data processing' and 'numerical crunching' through data entry and various other output devices. Today, the application of information technology is a complex process aimed at creating, distributing, storing and accessing products of the mind and at communication rather than processing alone (Owen, 2007). Hence there is a clear shift in the utilisation of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), from simple processing of data to more complex process of communication and sharing of information across wider areas.

Digitalisation is defined as conversion of analogue signals to digital form; for example converting a book or objects into digital resources through scanning or photograph. Libraries, museums, government departments, etc., follow this basic process. Digitized information is easier to store, access and transmit and is also processed and transmitted by a number of consumer electronic devices.<sup>2</sup> Virtual integration of physically separated information, easy transmission and communication of data is the unique strength of digitalization. Information and

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1. 'India's Internet Economy can reach \$200 bn by 2020.' Financial Express, January 14, 2015.  
<http://www.financialexpress.com/article/industry/tech/indias-internet-economy-can-reach-200-bn-by-2020/30039/>

2. <https://www.techopedia.com/definition/6846/digitization>

Communication Technology (ICT) plays an important role in digitalisation process and consequently is developing as a strong enabler of sustainable socio-economic growth (Kuyoro, Awodele and Okolie, 2012).

In the last couple of decades, a rich body of literature has been built on the link between e-governance and social development. ICTs are seen as tools for ensuring efficiency and accountability. The generic term e-governance now has to be seen as “the digital route to good governance” (Heeks, 2001). The use of new technologies enables removal of discretionary power from street-level bureaucrats (Bovens & Zouridis, 2002), resulting in higher transparency of administrative processes (Elbahnasawy, 2014). These considerations have been widely accepted in India, where the National E-Governance Plan provides directives to improve governance through ICTs. Recently, new technologies have been adopted by the central government as well as many state governments in order to improve social welfare schemes. One such scheme is the revolutionary transformation of Public Distribution System to electronic Public Distribution System (ePDS) for effective delivery of ration to intended beneficiaries. It is revolutionary in the sense that with the help of technology, information about a key government system like PDS is made available to the masses and government officials alike making transparency and monitoring of the magnitude hitherto unimaginable, possible. Launched in 2012, the portal provides information on state wise commodity rates, allocation policies, allocation and off-take details, storage capacity data, ration card details and latest updates and news related to PDS. Technology today has made possible a unified system to streamline a system as vast and complex as PDS which since its launch in 1943 has been plagued with several inefficiencies like leakage of food grains, bogus ration cards, corruption, manual recording, and weak grievance redressed systems.

As is evident from many other such e-governance initiatives, it is pretty clear by now that ICT helps the Government to become more efficient and effective in delivering services and become much more transparent and accountable to the public. The perspective of the study can be located under the agenda of New Public Management (NPM). NPM advocates the implementation of modern principles of the private sector in the public sector.

According to Blau and Abramovitz, there are five factors that trigger social change: the economy, politics and structure of the government, ideology, history and social movements (Blau and Abramovitz, 2003). Technological innovations and changes brought by the ICT tools can trigger social change in the society by having a profound effect on the factors mentioned above. Various roadblocks in the implementation of social welfare programmes like middle men's exploitation, corruption, interference of local politicians and bureaucracy are being smoothly evened out with the advent of ICT.

Though various ICT policies address the issues of effectiveness and efficiency of service delivery, there are certain questions regarding the link between ICT and social development still persists. The type of beneficiaries and their social and economic profile are crucial in success of programmes like Digital India. Ambedkar's critical analysis of Indian social order is still relevant today. It is necessary to examine whether such critical analysis are taken into consideration while designing public policies like Digital India.

## **DIGITAL INDIA AND CHALLENGES**

'Digital India' programme launched by Government of India offers a new platform to provide integrated public services at doorstep through mobile and internet technology. This ambitious project envisions transforming India into a digitally empowered society and a knowledge economy. Information and Communications Technology (ICT) for enhanced accountability, transparency and inclusiveness as a part of 'Digital India' is projected as a viable alternative to the traditional system of governance. However, with the issues of 'Digital Divide' and 'e-illiteracy' still persisting, the challenges for equitable development are also prominent.

### **Digital Divide**

OECD (2001) has defined 'Digital divide' as the gap between individuals, households, businesses and geographic areas at different socio-economic levels with regard both to their opportunities to access Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and to their use of the internet for a wide variety of activities.<sup>3</sup> 'Digital divide' refers to the gap between those that have (or lack) access to computers and the internet.<sup>4</sup> According to Bansode and Patil (2011) factors like gender, physical disability, physical access, lack of ICT skills and support, attitudinal problems, age, racial segregation and relevant content will contribute for the overall digital divide in the world. In the Indian scenario, factors like low literacy rate, educational system and language problem play major role in creating the gap (Bansode and Patil, 2011). According to World Economic Forum's Network Readiness Index (NRI), India ranks 89<sup>th</sup> out of 143 countries.<sup>5</sup> NRI measures the propensity for the countries to exploit the opportunities offered by information and communications

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3. See OECD report on 'Understanding Digital Divide'(2011) <http://www.oecd.org/sti/1888451.pdf>

4. The term "digital divide" is said to have been coined a decade ago by a former United States Assistant secretary for commerce for telecommunications and communication, Larry Irving Jr, to focus attention on the existing gap in access to information services between those who can afford to purchase the computer hardware and software necessary to participate in the global information network, and low income families and communication that cannot

5. See <http://reports.weforum.org/global-information-technology-report-2015/network-readiness-index/#indexId=NRI>

technology (ICT). Hence, India has a long way to go in bridging the digital divide in order to realise the full potential of e-governance initiatives.

Another important challenge for Digital India is the variations in the states as regards to Scheduled Caste (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) population and modes of communication. The tables below explain about the states with SC and ST population and modes of communications. States with substantial STs and SCs population like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha and Rajasthan are comparatively behind the national average with respective to internet and mobile connectivity.

**Table 1:** State wise S.C./S.T. Population and Modes of Communication in Percentage

States	SCs %	STs %	SC+ST %	Mode of Communication			
				Computer/Laptop		Total	Without Internet
				Total	With Internet		
Andhra Pradesh	16.4	7.0	23.4	8.4	2.6	5.8	63.1
Arunachal Pradesh	0.0	68.8	68.8	8.2	2.0	6.2	48.3
Assam	7.2	12.4	19.6	9.4	1.6	7.8	47.9
Bihar	15.9	1.3	17.2	7.1	0.9	6.2	55.5
Chhattisgarh	12.8	30.6	43.4	4.6	1.2	3.4	30.7
Delhi	16.8	0.0	16.8	29.1	17.6	11.5	90.8
Goa	1.7	10.2	12.0	31.1	12.7	18.4	89.1
Gujarat	6.7	14.8	21.5	8.8	3.1	5.7	69.0
Haryana	20.2	0.0	20.2	13.3	5.3	8.0	79.3
Himachal Pradesh	25.2	5.7	30.9	8.4	2.8	5.6	82.3
Jammu & Kashmir	7.4	11.9	19.3	8.4	2.9	5.5	69.5
Jharkhand	12.1	26.2	38.3	6.9	1.5	5.4	48.0
Karnataka	17.1	7.0	24.1	12.8	4.8	8.0	71.6
Kerala	9.1	1.5	10.6	15.8	6.3	9.5	89.7
Madhya Pradesh	15.6	21.1	36.7	5.9	1.4	4.5	46.0
Maharashtra	11.8	9.4	21.2	13.3	5.8	7.5	69.1
Manipur	3.8	35.1	38.9	9.1	2.2	6.9	57.5
Meghalaya	0.6	86.1	86.7	7.6	1.5	6.1	43.0
Mizoram	0.1	94.4	94.5	15.2	2.5	12.7	72.7

States	SCs %	STs %	SC+ST %	Mode of Communication					
				Computer/Laptop			Telephone/Mobile phone		
				Total	With Internet	Without Internet	Total	Landline only	Mobile only
Nagaland	0.0	86.5	86.5	8.9	1.7	7.2	53.1	1.3	48.6
Odisha	17.1	22.8	40.0	5.1	1.4	3.7	39.8	1.8	35.6
Punjab	31.9	0.0	31.9	12.8	5.4	7.4	82.1	6.7	62.3
Rajasthan	17.8	13.5	31.3	6.9	1.8	5.1	70.6	2.5	62.5
Sikkim	4.6	33.8	38.4	11.5	3.3	8.2	73.0	1.8	67.7
Tamil Nadu	20.0	1.1	21.1	10.6	4.2	6.4	74.9	5.7	62.1
Tripura	17.8	31.8	49.6	7.3	1.0	6.3	48.1	2.1	42.7
Uttar Pradesh	20.7	0.6	21.3	8.1	1.9	6.2	66.9	3.3	61.2
Uttarakhand	18.8	2.9	21.7	11.0	3.2	7.8	74.6	3.2	64.8
West Bengal	23.5	5.8	29.3	8.3	2.2	6.1	49.2	2.3	42.9
All-India	16.6	8.6	25.2	9.5	3.1	6.4	63.2	4.0	53.2

Source: Census 2011.

**Table 2:** Analysis of Census Data

Modes of Communication	States SC/ST Population above National Average SC/ST Population (15 States)		States SC/ST Population above National Average SC/ST Population (14 States)	
	Below National Average	Above National Average	Below National Average	Above National Average
Total Number of Computers	12	3	6	8
Internet	13	2	5	9
Total Phones	9	6	3	11
Mobile Phones	10	5	2	12

Source: Census 2011.

Majority of states with SC/ST population above national average SC/ST Population are lagging behind the national average with regards to total number of computer, internet users, total phones and mobile phones. Whereas states with SC/ST population below national average SC/ST population are comparatively ahead of different modes of communication in relation to national average. Government of India should refocus its digital connectivity approach strategy in states having high SC/ST population and design Digital India policy in such a way that there is enhanced internet facility and infrastructure for better connectivity and reach.

Poverty normally is measured by economic divide, intake of number of calories and as per human development indicators. Developed countries showcased their hegemony through their economic and technological prowess. In future, the digital divide may become an important component of Human Development Index (HDI) and in measuring poverty. Hence, countries like India cannot afford to be in back seat with huge digitally illiterate population.

## **REENGINEERING SOCIAL WELFARE SCHEMES THROUGH DIGITAL INDIA**

Under ‘Digital India’ programme there are nine pillars for a digital society i.e. Broadband Highways, Universal Access to Mobile Connectivity, Public Internet Access Programme, e-governance – reforming Government through technology, e-Kranti, Information for all, Electronic Manufacturing, IT for jobs and early Harvest Programmes that are being simplified from the 31 Mission Mode Projects(MMP).<sup>6</sup> Providing broadband and mobile connectivity for villages, Common Service Centres (CSCs) and Post Offices are presently being utilized as multi-service centres for delivery of Government and business service delivery.<sup>7</sup> Electronic delivery of

6. For more information on MMPs visit: [https://nepg.gov.in/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=91&Itemid=654](https://nepg.gov.in/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=91&Itemid=654)

7. <http://www.digitalindia.gov.in/content/public-internet-access-programme>

various services through e-education, e-healthcare, e-banking, e-courts, e-police, financial inclusion and technology for the farmers, providing online data platform are some of the subcomponents of Digital India.

Various social welfare schemes introduced by the present government<sup>8</sup> can be transformed through Digital India by providing connectivity to the interiors of the country. Broadband services to villages and towns for greater connectivity, which is also a crucial pillar of Digital India, need to be implemented properly. It will help in tracking marginalised sections in order to target them efficiently and effectively. States with higher SC/ST populations should be given importance in providing I.T. infrastructure facility. Virtual identification of beneficiaries for social welfare schemes like Public Distribution System (PDS) is important and it should not create problem in accessing services. Providing financial services to down trodden is a key for financial inclusion project. e-Kranti under the Digital India project helps for providing viable solution for such challenge. Universal access to mobile connectivity will enhance proper service delivery through mobile phone i.e. mobile governance. Giving special training on Information and Technology skills to rural youth and tracking the career advancement of rural youth though monitoring mechanism are also crucial. The scheme by using following strategies:

Government of India launched the Digital Saksharta Abhiyan (DISHA) or National Digital Literacy Mission (NDLM) to fill the digital gap in the country. The main objective of the programme is to impart information technology skill set to the individuals and communities. There must be certain incentives for the learners of the programmes while creating a proper communication channel to spread awareness about such programmes.

Public Private Partnership (PPP) is one of the viable options. PPP brings the new next generation technologies into the system and helps in infrastructure related issues. It will fill the gap in providing IT infrastructure to a geographically diverse country like us. PPP models will also bring finance. Various welfare schemes can be benefited with the help of such models.

Various social welfare schemes can leverage and harness the technological advancements in IT through cloud computing. Could services meets the requirements of government in many areas like centralized data management, easier consumption, anytime and anywhere data availability etc., Many of the public

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8. Various Social Welfare Schemes includes Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Grameen Kaushalya Yojana, Digital life certificate 'Jeevan Pramaan' for pensioners, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Antyodaya Yojana for urban and rural poor, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay Shramay Jayate Karyakram, 'Make in India' global initiative, Swachh Bharat Abhiyan (Clean India Campaign), Deendayal Upadhyaya Gram Jyoti Yojana, Sukanya Samriddhi account, Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao Yojana, Deendayal Upadhyaya Gram Jyoti Yojana, Sukanya Samriddhi account, HRIDAY (National Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana) scheme

data can be put into ‘public cloud’. Information like land records, government procurement details like tenders, auctions can be made cloud enabled. Any simple data like RTI compliant can be put into cloud. This enables most of the government processes being transparent and it is a win-win situation for both citizens and governments. Governments can save the high cost involved in setting up ‘On Premise’ software and its maintenance by opting for cloud computing. The sensitive and secured information can be kept in ‘Private cloud’ where the data would be secured through encryption.

Further to this, a case study of an e-governance system that has shown measurable results since its launch is discussed in detail below.

### **CHHATTISGARH’S CASE STUDY OF REENGINEERING OF PDS THROUGH E-GOVERNANCE**

India’s Public Distribution System (PDS) is one of the largest in the world. It supports the food grain producers through purchase by the Food Corporation of India (FCI) at Minimum Support Price (MSP) principally based on the recommendation of an independent body called Commission on Agriculture Cost and Prices(CACP) and allotment of these food grains to the states. The allocation is mainly based on the food grain produced in the state and the extent of poverty prevailing in that state. The union government tries to see that the deficit states get adequate food grain to have an inter-regional balance. PDS is an important component of the country’s strategy for poverty eradication. Established by Government of India under Ministry of Consumer Affairs, food and public distribution are managed jointly with the state governments. The central government, through FCI, has assumed the responsibility for procurement, storage, transportation and bulk allocation of food grains to the State Governments. The operational responsibility including allocation within state, identification of eligible families, issue of ration cards and supervision of the functioning of Fair Price Shops (FPSs) etc., rest with the state governments.

**Under the PDS, presently the commodities namely wheat, rice, sugar and kerosene are being allocated to the States/UTs for distribution. Some States/UTs also distribute additional items of mass consumption through the PDS outlets such as pulses, edible oils, iodized salt, spices, etc through Fair Price Shops (FPS). With a network of more than 4.62 lakh FPS distributing commodities worth more than Rs 30,000 crore annually to about 160 million families, the PDS in India is perhaps the largest distribution network of its kind in the world.<sup>9</sup>**

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9. Department of Food and Public Distribution website, Government of India.  
<http://dfpd.nic.in/>

There are certain serious problems that are associated with the Public Distribution System (PDS). Justice Wadhwa's Report and Hon'ble Supreme Court Order (2010) identified certain issues with the present Public Distribution System (PDS):

- Problems in accurate targeting and segmentation of APL/BPL beneficiaries.
- Problem of huge corruption and pilferage of PDS commodities all over the country.
- Wastage of food grain v/s starvation of masses.
- Pilferage at every node of supply chain.
- Problems of bogus ration cards.

Hence, Supreme Court issued orders to computerize Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS). Based on the judgement, states followed technology based reforms to Public Distribution System. e-PDS helps in computerisation and digitalisation of the existing PDS machinery. The state governments initiated the process of reengineering the Public Distribution System through Information and Communication Technology(ICT) tools. Chhattisgarh is considered as the pioneer in reengineering of the PDS through the digitalisation of the complete food security supply chain. The Centralized Online Real-time Electronic PDS (CORE-PDS), an e-Governance project of Chhattisgarh was designed and implemented state-wide. Its main objectives are to capture transactions between ration card holder and the FPS, to make the FPS accountable to people (beneficiaries) by offering "Portability" and to eliminate diversion of PDS stocks by authentication of beneficiary at the FPS before transaction and regular physical verification of transactions. CORE-PDS project introduced "Annapoorna ATM" Application Software (A3S) which works in online or offline mode and interacts with the PDS server. Many states replicated the CORE-PDS model and Telangana also implemented certain practices. Chhattisgarh reengineered the Public Distribution System in a complete manner: from the manual to digital and from FPS centric to Citizen Centric through the utilization of various technological options like issuing smart ration cards, ePoint of Sale machines, biometric authentication, and One Time Pin (OTP). Through the CORE-PDS, state Government has provided the probability rights to the citizens.

Chhattisgarh is regarded as an example of transforming a non-functional PDS into a functioning with the help of technology along with community involvement. The initiatives and reforms include both technical and non-technical aspects with a single clear objective of creating food security to 37 lakh Below Poverty Line families without any diversion and leakage in a transparent way. Chhattisgarh has implemented Centralised Online Real-time Electronic PDS (COREPDS). As a part of COREPDS, Chhattisgarh has computerized the whole process of the supply chain from the procurement to distribution for curbing leakages and to track diversions. This bold step has promoted transparency and improved internal

management. By creating a centralized database and removed unauthorized and ghost cards. It was estimated that 22.5 lakh unauthorized or ghost ration cards were eliminated. Bar-coded ration cards are distributed in the public gathering; this step helped Chhattisgarh to ensure transparency and accountability. Special meetings are held in villages and wards in towns for the distribution of ration cards to real beneficiaries. Through the Hindi webportal, ration card information was published. A real-time information regarding the disbursement of the ration is also available on the webportal. This step further promoted transparency and accountability in the PDS process. Further, the Chhattisgarh Government concentrated on the computerization of the movement of ration from the godowns to the Fair Price Shops (FPS). The doorstep delivery system was put in place based on demand and the trucks transported the goods to fair price shops. The actual allocations were fed into the computer system, and delivery order was issued. The delivery truck drivers were advised to carry mobile phones with cameras. They were instructed to take pictures of the truck number and the manager whenever the commodity was unloaded. This crucial step reduced the diversion of ration to unscrupulous people and reduced diversion to open market. An effective grievance management system was initiated, and a call center with a toll-free number was started to address the grievances of the general beneficiaries.

For registering the complaints from the beneficiaries Jan bhagidari, a citizen service website, was initiated. The government also filed FIR on the fraudulent element based on the information gathered through the website. Another initiative by the Government is registering of mobile numbers at the FPS shops or through the website to provide information through SMS related the status of the ration truck and availability of ration the FPS. This initiative was launched with the help of National Informatics Centre. Anyone even not a beneficiary can register through this process. Hence, there is an enhanced accountability and public scrutiny of the fraudulent activities in the PDS.

The initiatives based on the Information and Communication Technologies are Automated Allotment Calculation for PDS Schemes, monthly submission of FPS sales details by declaration through computer entry, web-based software module for distribution centers, truck dispatch information through SMS to registered users, unified ration card database, call center and complain monitoring system, truck photograph to replace gate pass, keeping the reports in the public domain, inter-warehouse truck transport information through SMS are considered as few technological interventions.

## **CONCLUSION**

Digital India with its strength of one billion plus population will be the biggest experiment of its kind, world-wide. If it is implemented in the right manner, the initiative will be a novel model for other developing and under developed nations and contribute greatly towards the collective progress of human race. Making infrastructure available for quick implementation of technology systems to support the projects, make beneficiaries aware of the ease in service delivery and how they can make the best of it and automate processes for better monitoring and transparent e-governance practices are essential to ensure the worthy realisation of the objectives and mission of the acclaimed Digital India programme.

The need of the hour for the government is to make rapid advances in identifying key areas of social development in order to ensure maximum advantage to the beneficiaries keeping in view long term sustainable development goals. It is evident through the study that there is a huge digital gap and most disadvantaged sections of the society are at the risk of including in this gap. It is crucial to concentrate on regions and areas with more disadvantaged sections of the society and improve the digital infrastructure. Another important area to concentrate is on the promoting the digital literacy through the state sponsored programmes in a massive way.

Chhattisgarh's efforts to remove the leakages and reduce the corruption of Public Distribution System (PDS) is an example for the deconstructing the non-functional or malfunctioned governance structure of the PDS and constructing the same with e-governance initiative for a vibrant model that can deliver the public services effectively and efficiently. It is needless to say that the food security policy is crucial for the disadvantaged sections of the society and e-governance is crucial in effective implementation of the scheme in effective manner.

The Digital India programme is a policy intervention for reengineering of various social welfare schemes. In the competitive federal structure it is also the will of the states that is crucial to leverage of the programme for designing the welfare schemes at the state level.

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# GOOD GOVERNANCE AND ANCIENT INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

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**Renuka Nath\***

## Abstract

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With the advent of globalisation a sea of change in public administration took place and people started using the term 'governance' in place of government. The international actors began to set norms for 'good governance' particularly in context of administration of developing countries and stressed on people-centric and effective governance. The international institutions like FADI, FAO and World Bank have enumerated certain features of good governance which became key term for governments of developing countries in the 21st century. On the other hand, the rulers of ancient India have reflected such features of governance that match to the present features of good governance. In view of this assumption the present paper intends to trace the features of good governance in the administration of ancient India, particularly in context of Brahmanical system, Hindu and Kautilya's Arthashastra.

**Keywords:** Good Governance, Administration, Hindu/Veda, Arthashastra, People-Centri.

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## INTRODUCTION

People may not accept to find relevance of ancient Indian art of governance in the present good governance but if the Indian socio-cultural facts are taken into consideration, one may find the features of ancient Indian administration close to certain parameters of good governance. In other words, the ancient wisdom of governance can be called good for India. Besides, the parameters of good governance

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like people-centric, minimum corruption, responsiveness, environment friendly, global society etc constitute the art of rule of ancient Indian rulers. The traditional Indian culture and art of administration stressed on peaceful and cohesive social order, delivery of justice, checking corruption, people's participation, sustaining environment, people-centric roles of the king etc. Shanti Parva, Vedic guides and Kautilya's Arthashastra reflect these tenets that match to the requirements of Indian socio-cultural set up and ethos of good governance. As such, it becomes quite an urgent imperative to trace these features of ancient Indian administration. Thus paper is split into three sections – first examining the concept of good governance in brief, second, governance-environment in Indian socio-cultural milieu and thirdly, the components of ancient Indian administration context of responsive, environment-sensitive, and universalism.

## **GOOD GOVERNANCE**

In the last twenty years, the concepts of governance and 'good governance' have become widely used in both the academic and practices in public administration. The concept of good governance emerged mainly as a result of practices of bad governance, characterized by corruption, unaccountable governments and lack of respect for people's cause and human rights, had become dangerous, and the need to intervene in such cases had become urgent. Good governance is a normative conception of the values according to which the act of governance is realized. The most often enlisted principles include: citizen centric, rule of law, transparency of decision making, accountability, coherence, and effectiveness.

During the course of the Twelfth Replenishment discussions for the International Development Association (IDA12), the concept of good governance was specifically mentioned in the context of institutional assessment criteria. The World Bank describes the essence of good governance as predictable, open and enlightened policy, together with a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos and an executive arm of government accountable for its actions.

The World Bank identified three distinct aspects of governance: (a) the form of the political regime; (b) the process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources; and (c) the capacity of governments to design, formulate and implement policies and discharge functions. In the 1994 report entitled "Governance: The World Bank's Experience", which provides following template against which its governance work can be assessed such as, (i) *Public-sector management* which requires changes in the organizational structure in a way that it reflects the objectives like making finances used better, sharpening civil-service objectives and managers' better performance by managers. (ii) *Accountability*. Governments and their employees should be held responsible for

their actions. (iii) *Legal framework for development* with appropriate legal systems that provides stability and predictability. (iv) *Transparency and information* that pervades good governance and reinforce accountability. Access to information for people in general.

Later in 1999, IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development)<sup>3</sup>, improved the definition of good governance which posited that it comprises the existence of effective mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. The essential characteristics as per IFAD definition are people's participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation in decision making, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability. IFAD's (International Foundation for Agricultural Development) basic legal documentation contains language that includes many of the essential elements of these good-governance practices at the country-policy-framework level for rural poverty alleviation and effective project implementation.

The report (World Bank 1992) stated that the World Bank's interest in governance derives from its concern for the sustainability of the projects it helps finance. It concluded that sustainable development can only take place if a predictable and transparent framework of rules and institutions exists for the conduct of private and public business. The essence of good governance was described as predictable, open and enlightened policy, together with a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos and an executive arm of government accountable for its actions.

## **ISSUES OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN INDIA**

Despite ceaseless process of social change, some traditions go with the change. Referring David Apter's proposition of modernisation, which argues that modernisation of any society adopts modern elements but does not demolish the traditions totally, it is posited that the changes taking place in our society has not got rid of our traditional social setting.

Good governance presents us with a normative frame loaded with liberal values which clearly neglects the context of changing societies and local cultures. As coded in strong moralistic language it hardly addresses the real issues of governance experiences by actors who are part of the context. It lacks legitimacy in the same way modernisation theories did once. Moreover, good governance agenda persuaded by international agencies reflects a particular ideology commensurate with the Western neo-liberal philosophy and hence used as an instrument to leverage aid policies. As Bondyapadhyay (1996) puts it, "the term 'good governance' as it is being used today by the North has become the symbol of recolonisation and new Imperialism." Similarly, according to Mitra (2006), "In its most typical form,

this usage makes it possible for those with the money and the vision to instil their objectives in the qualifier 'good' that precedes governance. Even when the definers of good governance act out of the best of intentions, the pre-qualification lowers the legitimacy of the concept for those affected by it in direct proportion to the hiatus between what they perceive as their interests and those of their minders.

Whatever the meaning of good governance may be, the concern of society particularly in Indian is more important for our study. The social dimension of the concept refers to equity, inclusiveness and consensus-orientation. One of the important thrust of good governance in India is ensuring transparency of governmental organisations and the way out is concentrated on use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in the governance process. Therefore, e-governance cannot be seen essentially as an administrative innovation facilitated by ICT but should also be recognized as a social process which involves not only change in the mental scape and the ways of governmentality but also contested area of social forces shaping the evolution of this technocratic innovation. This is particularly evident in villages where local elites play key roles in the governance (Witsoe:2013)

It is the agency of individual actors operating within a particular cultural context that defines the contours of state-society relationships. As it has already been mentioned governance lies in overlapping zone of interaction between state and society or in another term in the intersection between political and the social. Hence, it is the dynamism of these interactions that would bring a shift in the structure of governance. Civil society as a whole is, therefore, unable to play its full potential role in enforcing good governance in India except when extraordinary leadership overcomes narrow loyalties, or when an issue is of common, major concern to all sections. India is undergoing such mode of policy decision that are away from the people's requirements and are taken in despotic way but peculiarly under the garb of democracy (Verma, 2017). Further, India is severely hit by pollution, loss of natural resources, climate change, degrading human health and environmental degradation caused mainly by careless and environmentally-hostile activities by the community. Such activities are not adequately covered by politico-legal arrangements and supported by community action (Verma:2019).

## **ELEMENTS OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN ANCIENT INDIAN ADMINISTRATION**

As we know the tradition dies hard, the changes due to globalisation carried itself with the dominant social traditions. In other words, the changes owing to globalisation took place in various societies in its specific pattern depending upon its social traditions. Indian society has also deep impact of globalisation but the tenets of brahmanism and Hindu religion continued. The endurance of brahmanism in

India's social structure has effects on the social changes owing to globalisation. The administration of ancient India can be traced in texts of Hindu jurisprudence in which a number of Sanskrit words refer to features of well governed global society and the legal system. Some of these include Niyama (Sanskrit: laLd' r, rule or law), Nyaya (U;k;, legal proceeding, judicial sentence), Yuktata (;qDrk, justice), Samya (lkE;, equality and impartiality in law), Vidhi (fof/, precept or rule), Vyavastha (O;oLFkk, agreement, arrangement or regulation), Sambhasa (laHkk" k, contract or mutual engagement), Prasamvida-patra (izlafonk i=k, written contract), Vivadayati (fookn;srh, litigate or dispute), Adhivakta (vf/oDrk, lawyer), Nyayavadi (U;k;oknh, male lawyer), Nyayavadani (U;k;okfnuh, female lawyer), Nyayadata (U;k;nkrk, judge), Danda (naM, punishment, penalty or fine), among others. The following meaning of a couplet depicts that vedas were the source of jurisprudence.

The Veda, the sacred tradition, the customs of virtuous men, and one's own pleasure, they declare to be the fourfold means of defining the sacred law. The passages of the Vedas were written in Sanskrit near the end of the third century B.C., and primarily consist of four collections called the *Rig-Veda*, the *Sama-Veda*, the *Yajur-Veda*, and the *Atharva-Veda*. Collectively, these are referred to as the *Samhitas*. The Rig-Veda contains elements like hymns or invocations written by ancient Aryan poets and filled with a lust for life; they know nothing of caste, purgatory, hell, heaven, eschatology, metempsychosis, introspection, metaphysics, monotheism, or renunciation (Elder:2006). Indian concept of governance based on brahmanical notions which can be denoted in one word '*yogakshema*' (well being of people). Thus, *Yogakshema* of a nation is directly dependent upon the performance of *Dharma* (i.e. Dharmic duties) by each individual starting with the head of the state. Arun Goel has examined the issue and has enumerated the elements of Good Governance as: 1. Openness in the sense of having wide contact with the people administered, 2. A sense of justice, fair play, and impartiality in dealing with men and matters, 3. Sensitivity and responsiveness to the urges, feelings, and the aspirations of the common people, 4. Securing the honor and dignity of the human being, however humble he or she might be, 5. Humility and simplicity in the persons manning the administrative machinery and their easy accessibility, 6. Creating and sustaining an atmosphere conducive to development, growth, and social change and Honesty and integrity in thought and action (Colebrooke: 1853). The discourses based on brahmanical order like *Gita*, *Mahabharat*, *Ramayan*, laws of *Manu* and *Smritis* depict the ideals of governance (The Laws of Manu, 1991).

One discourse written during 321-300 BC by a brahmin Kautilya entitled *Arthashastra*, deals extensively with law and order, political and bureaucratic accountability, the establishment of the rule of law and elaborate legal framework, prevention of corruption, human resource management and meritocracy. He says in Arthshastra "*praja sukham sukhe ragyah*" (the happiness of the King resides in

happiness of subjects). Similar issues of law and order, the judicial system and the delivery of justice, punishments for the offenders, etc. have been elaborated in *Manu* and other *Smritis* as well (Shamshastri, 1915). Kautiya's *Arthashastra*, for example, states that a ruler's happiness lies in the happiness of his subjects, in their welfare his welfare, whatever pleases him (personally) he shall not consider as good. Whatever makes his subjects happy, he shall consider as good (*Ibid*). *Atri Smriti* (verse-28) says that punishing the wicked, honouring the good, enriching the exchequer by just methods, being impartial towards the litigants, and protecting the kingdom are the five *yajnas* i.e. selfless duties to be performed by the ruler (*Shrimad Bhagdwat Gita*: verse 16.24). *Mahabharata (Shanti Parva)* says that a person becomes a King for protecting *Dharma* and not for acting capriciously (Ch.90). On the other hand, a ruler who misuses his power for his selfish reasons will end up in destruction. In other words, an incompetent and *Adharmic* (irreligious) person should never occupy the seat of the government. For this reason, the Hindu scriptures stress again and again regarding the required competencies of the kings.

Sustaining environment has also been recognised as an important component of good governance. Kautilya in his *Arthashastra* has prescribed obligations of the King for protection of environment very comprehensively. Kautilya entrusts the King to ensure appropriate plants be grown to protect dry lands and pastureland to be properly protected. The king should protect different types of forests, water reservoirs and mines. There are ample prescriptions to protect wild animals and forest products mentioned in sections II/1/39 and II/2/5-7 of this text. There were provisions of capital punishment for the slayers of elephants. Not only this the discourse also provides prescriptions for green housing constructions and proper sanitation in habitats. Settlements, houses and other dwelling places, roads, cremation grounds etc. Any violation of the rules pertaining to these matters would make one liable to punishment. The violators would be fined according to the gravity of the offence. Kautilya further prescribes various fines and other punitive measures for polluting the environment by throwing dirt on the roads and highways or voiding urine and faeces at public places (II/36/26). In ancient times, moral preaching were not considered enough to prevent people from committing eco-damaging activities (Shamashastray, 1915).

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

In view of the influence of globalisation, the developing countries have been struggling for faster pace of development and eradication of poverty vis-à-vis competing with the global market. In the wake of achieving the goals of development, poverty eradication and sustaining environment, the need of good governance cropped up. Since the beginning of nineties (1990s) the donor institutions like

World Bank, IMF and IADF etc have evolved the elements of good governance that suited to developing countries.

After examination of the tenets of brahmanism in context of good governance, one can find that *prima facie* the brahmanism do not contain the parameters of good governance, however, the social values cropped up from brahmanism which are in congruence good governance. No theory of governance could be intelligible unless it is seen in the context of its time. India's democratic experience of the past seven decades has clearly established that good governance must aim at securing justice, empowerment, employment and efficient delivery of services. We may hardly find the solutions of good governance in India contained in brahmanism, however, the purity of individual behaviour and intellectual supremacy may be of some help. Happiness and salvation are the two core values of brahmanism which have the relevance for India.

It is almost an established fact that brahmanical order of our society still persists, may it be in moderated form, despite invasions of other religions like Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism etc. It has governed Hindu society from time immemorial and governs it still. Most of the factors could also be observed in the traditional Indian concept of governance based on brahmanical notions which can be denoted in one word '*yogakshema*' (well being of people).

An able administrator who strictly adheres to Dharma will implement proper measures to ensure the welfare and progress of the people, whereas an incompetent Adharmic ruler will push the nation into chaos and suffering. The head of the government cannot and should not act according to his whims and fancies. His sole purpose and duty is to implement good governance by adhering to the principles of Dharma so that the overall development of his citizens is achieved.

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# IS 'DIGITAL INDIA' INCLUSIVE? A STUDY IN CONTEXT OF GENDER AND RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY

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**Shashi Bhushan Kumar\***

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## Abstract

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Digital technology in public service delivery system and good governance is the need of the hour. Though, e-Governance was introduced in India since the dawn of 21st century, yet the ambitious flagship programme 'Digital India', launched by Modi Government in 2015, claims to transform India into a digitally empowered society with digital technology accessible to all. As such, it makes an urgent imperative to address the question – whether it is accessible equally to both the urban-rural and male-female population. After the passage of four years of the implementation of Digital India, it irks a student of public administration to assess the progress made in context of its inclusiveness. Thus, the present paper intends to assess the inclusiveness of the programme in context of rural-urban and gender divides in India. The paper finds that even after four years, there is a big gap in users of digital technology in rural-urban and male-female divides. Rural and female population are more likely to be far behind their urban and male counterparts in context of getting benefits of public service delivery through the digital technology.

**Keywords:** Digital India, Gender, Rural-Urban, Public-service, Internet.

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## INTRODUCTION

The Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi launched the flagship programme "Digital India" in 2015. The initiative aims to transform India through digitisation and connectivity. The programme focusses on three outcome areas - digital infrastructure, governance and services on demand and digital empowerment of

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citizens. The objectives of the programme also include last-mile broadband internet connectivity. The programme has been taken up well by private & public sector as well as the Civil Society Organisations and has seen a foray in many sectors, such as medical consultations, medical transcription, video conferencing, virtual classrooms and banking services. Undoubtedly, the programme has witnessed many success stories in four years since the programme was launched. India's Digital Index rose by 56 per cent during 2014-2017, from 18 to 29 on a scale of 1-100. This has placed the country second in terms of growth among 17 emerging and mature digital economies, according to McKinsey Global Institute (MGI). There has been a steady rise in the use of internet users in the last few years. From 375 million in October'15 to an estimated 500 million by June'18.

In Modi's first Independence Day speech in 2014, a year before the programme was launched, he proclaimed that "when I talk of "Digital India", I don't speak of the elite, it is for the poor people."<sup>1</sup> At the official launch of Digital India,<sup>2</sup> the prime minister spoke about his dream of a Digital India in which he said that high-speed digital will unite the nation on one hand and people will have access to information online, public services would be easily and efficiently delivered to citizens online, quality education reaching every corner driven by digital learning, quality health care to the remotest regions powered by e-health-care, farmers will get real-time information on the other. This speech created the high hopes of a Digital India, where there is no inequality and marginalization (with respect to education, health care, governance services, and the economy). In this vision, democracy will connect citizens to the global marketplace.

## **DIGITAL INDIA: GENDER PERSPECTIVES**

Neither the Digital India policy document, nor the prime minister, in his address during the formal launch of the programme, explicitly make reference to the digital agenda envisioned for women's rights and empowerment. Today, in the era of gender equality there was no space for gender in the policy.

Government is making a digital country with setting up of digital banking, cashless economy, installation of CCTVs, dissemination of information of schemes, online direct benefit transfer (DBT), but the question is – has it made a real Digital India? In fact, a large chunk of population is left out of the digitalization. Global data of internet users reveals that in 2017, merely 12 per cent more males were internet users as compared to that of female users. But in India, female internet users constitute even less than one third (nearly 29 per cent) of the total internet users whereas they constitute 48.3 per cent of the total population.<sup>3</sup> It has been argued that women are deprived of the employment opportunities, access to financial services, internet and also the mobile phones.<sup>4</sup>

This limited access to Information and Communication Technology (ICT) further deprives women and girls of opportunities to effectively contribute to the economy. Several studies reflect that lack of literacy among women and girls is one of the major bottlenecks in accessing ICT. According to the Census 2011, 65.46 per cent of women were literate as compared to over 80 per cent of men. Over 23 per cent of girls drop out of school before they reach puberty. So, to accomplish the target of digital India, Government of India (GoI) initiated the programme National Digital literacy Mission (NDLM) in 2014. The mission of NDLM scheme is to provide digital literacy and making one person in every family digitally literate which is one of the integral components of the Prime Minister's vision of "Digital India". NDLM completed its target much before the stipulated time- period and the reason for this achievement is that the programme approached the people who are literate up to primary or upper primary level. Thus, inability to read and write create barriers in the efforts to include people in accessing digital technologies. The official data reveals that 36 per cent of rural population is illiterate in which number of females is higher than males. People from poor and marginalized communities and women consists the major number of illiterates. So, the programmes on digitalliteracy further marginalize the people those who are already marginalized.

Internet makes possible for women to attain information that secure their rights and one thing that can liberate people from poverty andempowers them is knowledge and women are always deprived of the information and knowledge. Further, ownership of connectivity gadgets (computer or mobile phone) at the householdlevel is an important factor for women's effective access to connectivity. As per the ITU India Profile 2016, only 15.2 per cent households in the country had access to the Internet. The National Family Health Survey 2016 revealsthat whilst 67 per cent of urban women have access to mobile phones, only 37 per cent of rural women do. GSMA (Global System for Mobile Communications, originally Groupe Spécial Mobile) study shows that there is a significant gender gap in mobile as Indian women are36 per cent less likely to own a phone than men. The gender gap in mobile phone ownership in India iswider than in other parts of the world. The report also identifies gender gap in social media websites,noting that Facebook at the time had 111 million users in India but only about 27 million were women.The 2017 study confirms the same finding, that only about a quarter of the Facebook users arefemale. In some states such as Bihar and Gujarat there is one female for every four males online.

So far providing the training of using technology to the people is concerned, women are at the losing end. The trainees in the training centres are often men, which discourages or prevents women from participating in the programme. Many organisations have started digital literacy programme for illiterates where they are

educating women based on colour and icons. They are making them literate in using ATMs.

At present 29 per cent of labour force is represented by women which has gone down from 35 per cent in 2004. The reason might be the digitilization of the economy and the women work force shifted to informal sector. More than half of the work done by women in India is unpaid care work and thus not well represented in most sectors, including business leaders.<sup>5</sup> Though 40 per cent of farmers are female<sup>6</sup> but they posses only 9 per cent of land in their name. Women are also out of the formal financial system. India ranks 120 among 131 countries in female labour force participation rates and rates of gender-based violence remain unacceptably high. It's hard to develop in an inclusive and sustainable way when half of the population is not fully participating in the economy. At 17 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the economic contribution of Indian women is less than half the global average.<sup>7</sup> According to McKinsey Report, "Advancing women's equality can add \$12 trillion to global growth by 2025 and India can increase its GDP by 16 per cent if it achieves gender parity in labour force". Thus, India could boost its growth by 9 per cent per year if around 50 per cent of women could join the work force.

In India, women's rights are still a major concernas evident from the fact that India stands at 125th out of 159 countries as per United Nations Development Programme's Gender Inequality Index, below Ethiopia and just above Zimbabwe. Women's rights movements have always campaigned for gender equality, which considers caste, (dis)ability and sexual orientation, and theactivists have gained considerable victories but the battle for genderdigitalization justice is far from over and there has been major gender digital divide. Hence,it is important to understand what role the digitalization of India can play in improving women'swellbeing and economic development. Since the beginning of the 21st century, International agencies has approached and have viewed ICT as having potential for gender equalityand women's empowerment.United Nation's Division for the Advancement of Women proclaimed that "ICTs can provide diverseroutes for women's social, political and economic empowerment." The report asserted thebenefits of ICTs for women's participation, enhancing women's capabilities and women's economicempowerment.

In regard to gender inequality, Digital India ignores the socio-cultural realities and the patriarchal forces at thegrassroots level. Women restriction on mobile usage, less access to ICTs violating their constitutional rights have received media attention, but thepoliticians have restrained from agreeing tothis discrimination. Hence, as long as the Government neglects tocreate an environment where women are able to use ICTs and access it without surveillance or fearof gendered digital violence, Digital India is not a victory for women's empowerment. The

vision of creating digitally empowered society is a hypocritical dream when the Government does not address gender digital discrimination. So, digital literacy is route for women's empowerment in India. In order for women to be included in Digital India, the Government must incorporate gender-sensitive analysis in its digitalisation policies. Furthermore, the Government needs to ensure that gender is incorporated in all aspects of ICT-policies, including its desire to digitalise the economy so that it is aware of what (unintended) harmful consequences the policies may have on women.<sup>8</sup>

The e-governance service removes the middle men on whom villagers rely for rendering any services but with the digital literacy among women will make them independent from these middle men. In over 316 schemes of 51 ministries, direct benefit transfers that are Aadhaar-enabled have been introduced.<sup>9</sup> But nearly half of India's women do not have a bank or savings accounts for their own use, and 60 per cent of women have no valuable assets to their name. In this system, zero balance bank accounts are opened for beneficiaries to bring them into the formal banking. Each bank account is seeded with the Aadhaar number of the concerned beneficiary and linked to his/her mobile phone – the idea being that welfare payments/subsidies can be directly transferred to these accounts along with an immediately generated SMS notification of the transfer. Unfortunately, in a context where the majority of women have only shared access to mobile phones, such a digital payments system poses the risk of strengthening the hold of male mediation and control over women's finances. The lack of digital capabilities and low levels of digital and financial literacy poses yet another challenge to women who navigate this new system and make them vulnerable to new forms of cyber frauds. Furthermore, the digital payments ensure that the woman receives the benefits and not a male member of the family but due to illiteracy and less digital knowledge these are controlled by a male member of the family.

As far as the freedom to explore the Internet is concerned, women are constrained by social and household-level restrictions by the family members in rural India. There has been no attempt within The Digital India programme is silent in context of investment in gender-inclusive digital learning hubs at the village level where women can build their skills in navigating online spaces, free from restrictive patriarchal controls.

## **DIGITAL INDIA: RURAL-URBAN DIVIDE**

According to the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India 2017, 33.47 per cent of the Indian population have access to the Internet. Here also it was a clear rural-urban divide: only 15.56 per cent of the rural population is accessing the Internet, as opposed to 72.51 per cent of the urban population. Overwhelming majority of

subscribers access the Internet through mobile broadband. Internet in India 2016 report has also highlighted that the ratio of male to female Internet users is 75: 25 in rural areas whilst it is 60: 40 in urban areas. Further, the internet usage is more in the age group of 18-34 yrs and that is too positively correlated with education. As higher the education, more the internet usage and vice – versa. But it's also important to see the population of women who are on internet or digitised, 98 per cent of them are using this platform for social networking, i.e. Facebook, 49 per cent using outside face book and only 17 per cent are using internet for seeking information on services, schemes of the government. The main reason for women lacking being digitized are illiteracy and social implications in the family.

To reduce the urban rural digital divide, Government has announced many new IT schemes as part of digital infrastructure but not very different from similar programmes announced by the second tenure of the United Progressive Alliance (UPA II) government. Among the most notable of UPA II programmes was the National Optical Fibre Network (NOFN) which was announced in 2011 and it was supposed to bridge the digital divide by connecting 2.5 lakh village panchayats in two years and is nowhere close. The budget was also provided of a sum of Rs 500 crore to bridge the digital divide and Rs 100 crore for good governance.<sup>10</sup>

Government's other important initiative is the Pradhan Mantri Gramin Digital Saksharta Abhiyan (previously known as National Digital Literacy Mission) aims to make 60 million Indians in rural areas digitally literate, aiming to reach "around 40 per cent of rural households by covering one member from every eligible household by 31 March 2019." The scheme plans to empower citizens by training them to use computer or another ICT device to "send and receive e-mails, browse Internet, access Government services, search for information, undertake digital payment, etc. and hence enable them to use the Information Technology and related applications especially Digital Payments to actively participate in the process of nation building." The scheme aims to target especially the most marginalized population, including scheduled caste and tribes, women and people with disabilities. Since the conception of Digital India, the Government of India has asserted that the programme is aimed at the poor and the most marginalised. Ravi Shankar Prasad, Minister of Law & Justice and Electronics and Information Technology, has repeated in different occasions that "Digital India is more for poor and underprivileged."

India, being a developing nation cannot afford to ignore capacity building and empowerment of women. Gender sensitivity is the prerequisite that must prevail and be strengthened at all levels. Thus, to promote women empowerment, technological intervention assumes a vital role, especially when viewed in the Indian context. ICTs are emerging as a powerful tool for gender empowerment in a developing country like India. With the advent of digital technology in India, there

has been a rapid growth in the ICT sector since the late 1980s and the use of ICT has dramatically expanded since the 1990s, post-liberalisation and globalisation.<sup>11</sup> The number of internet accounts is growing at a fast rate. But as has been experienced the world over, women have had limited access to technologies in India. There is a huge gender divide when it comes to the Internet usage in India. Only 17 per cent of women use the Internet in India, compared with 27 per cent of men. More than 440 million, or 72 per cent, of India's females don't have cell phones, according to GSMA, a global association of mobile service companies. Even when women do have phones, they often don't use them for purpose other than making calls.

Equitable access to ICT technology and the autonomy to receive and produce the information relevant to their concerns and perspectives are critical issues for women. It is, therefore, important to engender digital policy to ensure that women, particularly rural and poor women, benefit from ICT. Digital policies and projects should properly address the gender digital divide and further contribute to women's economic empowerment in both rural and urban sector. There have been several policy initiatives which seek to empower women, especially those in the rural sector digitally but what is required is a more regulated framework. It needs to be realised that information and communication technology by itself cannot answer all the problems facing women's development, but it does bring new information resources and can open new communication channels for marginalized communities. So, when policies and programmes are in place to improve access, lack of funds should not be a hindrance. As UN studies have indicated, though the costs of using ICTs for development may be high, not using them at all may prove to be costlier. So, Bridging the digital divide calls for collective action by governments, the private & public sector and the communities to make the internet a safe and resourceful tool for women and girls.<sup>12</sup> So according to McKinsey Global Institute report it's been said that India can add up to \$770 billion – more than 18 per cent – to its GDP by 2025, simply by giving equal opportunities to women. The report also said that women contribution to GDP is currently just 18 per cent, one of the world's lowest. Thus adding the women folk force in labour and bringing gender equality the GDP of the country can increase manyfold. In 2012, only 27 per cent of adult Indian women had a job, or were actively looking for one, compared to 79 per cent of men. In fact, almost 20 million women had dropped out of the workforce between 2005 and 2012. Worryingly, India's rapid urbanisation has not yet encouraged more women to join the labor force.<sup>13</sup> Rural jobs have been decreasing and not enough rural women have been able to make the transition to working in urban areas. This makes the need for greater public safety and safe transport more significant. By any measure, the gap is particularly large and has been widening.

## **DIGITAL INDIA: CONTEXT OF SDGS**

The motto of Modi government states that “Sabka sath Sabka Vikas” which is matched by SDG development policy “leave no one behind”.<sup>14</sup> The objective of both the statement remains the same that no will be left behind even to include the marginalized of the marginalize. There are many programmes of the Government of India which plays a important role in attaining the SDGs goal 2030 as Swach Bharat, Skill India, Digital India.

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The main concern is with the Digital India where the main focus is with the digitilizations and digital literacy. Thus with digitilization, the illiterates, specially the women are been left out from this programme. Many organisations are now taking the women empowerment campaign which has focused on enabling women on digital literacy. GoI has taken step forward to include women as part of digital literacy by imparting digital literacy training through the programme NDLM, Feb 2017. Through this programme Mahila Shakti kendra will be opened at village level across all Anganwadi centre as a part of ICDS.<sup>15</sup> According to them these centres can serve as one stop support services to empower women with skill development, health, nutrition and digital literacy.

According to SDG, women and girls, must have equal rights and opportunity, and be able to live free of violence and discrimination. Women's equality and empowerment is one of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals, but also integral to all dimensions of inclusive and sustainable development. In short, all the SDGs depend on the achievement of Goals.<sup>16</sup>

In fact, Modi's considerable amount of attention to Digital India demonstrates the importance of digitalization in functioning of the Government. However, it is important to note that he never talks of empowerment of people through digitalization but focus on providing public services through electronic means to the poor and economic growth with digitalization.

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# HIV/AIDS IN INDIA: AN OVERVIEW OF POLICY AND PSYCHO-SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES

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## Abstract

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India, the third-largest country with HIV impact, as per official data accounts for 2.1 million people affected by HIV. The National AIDS Control Organization in India, initially, was focused on HIV prevention and control programmes, directed to promote behavioural change, mother-to-child transmission, antiretroviral treatment, counseling; but recently has shifted to high-risk groups and voluntary efforts for public welfare. Evidences have suggested that there are high co-morbidity of HIV and mental illness in India including mood disorders, substance dependence, suicidal ideas and cognitive impairments, behavioural disorders and anxiety. The present paper intends to underline the policy level shifts and psycho-social perspectives of prevention and control of HIV/AIDS in India.

**Keywords:** HIV/AIDS, Policy, Mental Health, Psycho-Social Determinants, India.

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## INTRODUCTION

The menace of HIV/AIDS was first detected and noticed in United States of America in 1981 (Fischer & Madden, 2011). The first cases of HIV in the US were reported to be amongst homosexual men (Sharp & Hahn, 2011). Since then it spread like anything and became a global menace for humanity. In India, it was

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in 1986 that the first case of the HIV/AIDS disease was diagnosed in Chennai and was reported amongst female sex workers (Solomon, Solomon, & Ganesh, 2006). A rapid increase soon followed the detection of HIV in various states throughout the country (Solomon et al., 2006). The initial detection of high-prevalence of the HIV infection surfaced in the southern states of India such as Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Karnataka; and cases were soon reported in Manipur and Nagaland. The rapid increase was especially reported and concentrated in high-risk groups, including female sex workers, intravenous drug users, men having sex with men (MSM) and people with blood transfusions (Paranjape & Challacombe, 2016). The HIV infection subsequently spread to the partners of the people infected with HIV, in the general population.

## **INCIDENCE OF HIV/AIDS**

The most recent estimation of HIV prevalence reported adults (15-49 years) living with HIV in India is 0.22%, 61,000 children, and 0.88 million women (Global AIDS Monitoring, 2017). The cases of new HIV infection reported had reached their peak by the late 1990s. The estimated number of people living with HIV that were over 15 years of age were estimated to be about 20.79 lakhs, out of which 42% were estimated to be females (NACO & ICMR, 2018). The sporadic growth of HIV in India has now declined by 60%, estimating the current prevalence of people living with HIV remaining consistent at 2.1 million (Global AIDS Monitoring, 2017). 10 states of India account for 71% of annual new HIV infections namely Bihar, Telangana, West Bengal, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi (NACO & ICMR, 2018). As per the most recent estimation report of 2017, Maharashtra reported the highest number of people living with HIV, that is 15% (3.3 lakhs). Andhra Pradesh (13%), Karnataka (12%) and Telangana (10%) reported about 2-3 lakhs people living with HIV (*Ibid*). The states of West Bengal (7%), Tamil Nadu (7%), Uttar Pradesh (6%), Bihar (5%) each accounted for approximately 1-1.5 lakhs of people living with HIV in India (*Ibid*.). The other 19% was accounted for by a majority of the Northwestern and Northeastern states of India including Delhi, Punjab, Haryana, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland, Assam, and others (*Ibid*).

HIV/AIDS is a fatal disease, causing immense loss of human life, and has serious social consequences for affected people and their families, be it stigmatization or discrimination associated with illness. These social consequences extend to economic difficulties due to lack of information and awareness about HIV, as well as inadequate health services, poverty (Shukla, Jacob & Singh, 2017). India is geographically and categorically heterogeneous in multiple ways, essentially when considering it through the lens of a sex-related chronic illness. There are multiple indicators of socioeconomic positions of the nation that account for the prevalent

HIV infection and contribute to the health outcome such as inconsistency in unemployment, income distribution, access to education and healthcare, social support and acceptance, gender inequality and mental health (Subramanian, Smith, & Subramanyam, 2006).

Though India is a country with low prevalence of the HIV epidemic, yet it has had a large number of people infected with the disease. There are two schools of arguments – first, it is posited that socially disadvantaged groups (limited income, poverty, lack of access to education, employment, and healthcare) are more vulnerable to HIV due to lack of fear of consequences, which increases exposure to risk-taking behaviours and susceptibility to indulge in risky sexual behaviour than the affluent sections (Perkins, Khan, & Subramanian, 2009). Whereas, the other school perceives that HIV is more likely to be prevalent in the economically and socially advantaged groups who heavily indulge in purchasing and indulging in sexual activities and maintaining multiple sexual relationships, as they possess resources greater than their needs (Perkins et al., 2009).

Globally and nationally, research has explained the life, interaction and mechanisms of the pathogenic virus, along with discovering treatments for prevention and cure of the HIV infection. Despite the disease becoming manageable, it remains incurable (Deeks, Lewin, & Havlir, 2013). The quality of life of patients depends integrally on the physiological, social, cultural, psychological, economic and environmental aspects of their lives (Folasire, Irabor & Folasire, 2012). A research study that focused on the quality of life of HIV patients in South India reported a negative correlation between the advancement of the disease and quality of life domains (Nirmal, Divya, Dorairaj, & Venkateswaran, 2008). Results also reveal that patients scored highest on the environmental domain, followed closely by the psychological and physical domain, while the scores for the social domain were the lowest (Nirmal et al., 2008). The study perceived a strong need for improved healthcare as well as an essential support system, to boost a healthier environment.

The most recent Indian estimations reports indicate that the incidence rates are much higher in the high-risk groups as compared to the population, especially in states Mizoram, Nagaland, Telangana, Maharashtra, Manipur, Bihar, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh (NACO & ICMR, 2018). The HIV/AIDS scenario in the heterogeneous states differ with varying culture, education levels, economic levels, gender-dynamics, geography, and occupation (Perkins et al., 2009). These factors are reflected in the level of awareness and acceptance which prevails among the people residing there, in turn affecting the quality of life of people with HIV and people vulnerable in contracting HIV. Stigma and discrimination is a major challenge while dealing with HIV infection. Some newer ways to overcome these problems could involve going beyond conducting awareness and counseling campaigns for

people infected and affected, by including awareness by sensitization and normality of uninfected and unaffected people. The plethora of information from research on HIV/AIDS is innumerable. To consolidate and provide an overview of AIDS-related country (India) specific information across policy and psychological perspectives is the objective of this research. The evolution of the epidemic on a national level with the understanding of a psychological, social and individual basis will be dealt with.

There is an array of studies that reflect the global and Indian scenario on HIV/AIDS. There are ample studies that describe the causes, effects and preventive methods of the menace as well as related to raising awareness of HIV/AIDS among the common masses. A number of report both governmental and non governmental agencies that reflect that there are variations in incidence and intensity of the disease among different states and regions of India. Studies in context of India reveals that Indian HIV epidemic transmission differs from the global scenario as the high-risk groups display more cases while the general population is categorized by lower levels (Rathi, 2018). AIDS/HIV continues to pose as a severe threat to the health, progress, and development – economic, psychological and social- of India. The present paper intends to assess the issue in two perspectives – policy perspectives and psycho-social perspectives in context of prevention and treatment of the disease.

### **HIV/AIDS IN INDIA: PUBLIC POLICY PERSPECTIVES**

In the year following the detection of the first HIV case in the country, India promptly responded to combat the infection at the early stages itself, by setting up a specifically focused AIDS task force and a National AIDS Committee (NACO, 2012). A Medium Term Plan from 1990-1992, pertaining about HIV, was launched to establish a surveillance system and ensure providing safe blood supply in 8 states – Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Manipur, West Bengal, Chennai, Kolkata, Mumbai and Delhi (NACO, 2012).

To address the spread of HIV, a response program called the National AIDS Control Program (NACP) was launched nation-wide, in 1987. NACP addressed medical and blood screenings, surveillance, estimation, and creating awareness (Sharma, Zodpey, Quazi, Gaidhane, Sawleshwarkar, & Khaparde, 2011). It was later, in 1992, that an autonomous organization was founded, the National AIDS Control Organization (NACO), with an \$84 million line of credit (Mozumder, & Crow, 2005). It aimed to develop, regulate and execute HIV/AIDS-related strategies, programmes, and policies in India, especially among key populations to understand the burden of the disease and the epidemiological trends (Sharma et al., 2011; Paranjape & Challacombe, 2016; Tanwar, Rewari, Rao, & Seguy, 2016). Phase I of the response to HIV was focused on preventing the spread of

HIV (transmission through blood and blood-related products) and spreading awareness about transmission of HIV through risky sexual behaviours and needle exchange (Rathi, 2018). The objective was to ensure the slowing down of spread of the HIV infection in the Indian territories and to reduce mortality, morbidity, and consequences of AIDS (Rathi, 2018). In a management capacity, a National AIDS Control Board (NACB) was created (NACO, 2012). In 1998, that Government of India commenced the HIV Sentinel Surveillance (HSS) and conducted the first round of HIV estimation (NACO & ICMR, 2018). At that time the focus of the surveillance was to prioritize prevention, care, treatment and estimate and impact of prevalence, incidence, and mortality (UNAIDS, UNICEF, and WHO, 2004).

In 1999, Phase II, i.e. NACP II was launched, with a line of credit of \$191 million from the World Bank and additional funding of \$14 million from the Indian government (NACO, 2012). Based on the analysis of information and learnings from the AIDS task force and NACP I, the focus changed to include changing behaviour and trends (NACO, 2012). The implementation plan involved reaching out to the marginalized and most vulnerable (high-risk) population with targeted intervention strategies, prevention of Parent-to-Child Transmission, Anti-Retroviral Therapy (ART), integrated counseling and testing centers (ICTC), adolescent education program, among others (Nair, Dutta and Talwar, 2010; Rathi, 2018). With state-level decentralization of the program execution, it began being implemented in 35 States and UTs, along with 3 municipal corporations (Rathi, 2018). It further focused on the increased involvement of NGOs (NACO, 2012). NACP II aimed to prevent the persistent spread of HIV through blood safety, information, education, and communication (IEC) and voluntary counseling and testing centers (VCTC) (Nair et al., 2010; NACO, 2012; Rathi, 2018). Activities and programmes related to epidemiological surveillance for STDs and HIV/AIDS, research, capacity building, training, monitoring, and evaluation were implemented to strengthened India's long-term response to HIV/AIDS.

Analysis of results of NACP II reported that knowledge of HIV/AIDS and at least 2 methods of HIV prevention improved by 10-20% in both urban and rural populations when compared figures from 1999 to those from 2006 (NACO, 2007). There was major progress after NACP II, in establishment of sentinel sites for HIV trends, awareness of HIV/AIDS in adults and across schools, consistent condom use among female sex workers, blood collection, STI clinics, ART patients (0 in 1999 to 80,000 in 2007), community care centers and exclusive prevention of parent-to-child transmission centers, ART centers and ICTCs (NACO, 2007).

Based on the successes and shortcomings of NACP I & NACP II, the third Phase, NACP III launched in 2007, focused on the stopping and reversing of the spread of the HIV/AIDS infection (NACO, 2012; Rathi, 2018). Its aimed at scaling up the efforts for prevention of the HIV infection among high-risk groups and the

general population, along with integrating prevention with treatment, support and care (NACO, 2007; NACO, 2012). NACP III targeted promotion of ART treatment, HIV counseling services, testing services, promotion of condom distribution and use, prevention and treatment of STIs, behaviour change communication through mass media campaigns such as TV and Radio, workplace interventions, strengthening the strategic information system (SIMS) and capacity building of infrastructure, systems and human resources at all levels, district, state and national (Nair et al., 2009; NACO, 2012; Rathi, 2018). With the implementation of NACP III, a more holistic management program to combat HIV was in place, the challenge was to provide consistent, stable and safe services to all regions of the nation. NACP III further planned to strengthen family and community care, along with psycho-social support particularly to marginalized children and women affected by HIV (NACO, 2007). A folk media campaign reached up to 32 states, 15 million people through folk performances during 2013-2014 and the adolescent education program is being executed in 23 states and 49,000 schools (Pandve & Giri, 2015).

The NACP IV was then launched in 2012 to consolidate the success and gains of the NACP III and enhance the process of reversal of the HIV epidemic (Tanwar et al., 2016). NACP IV highlighted the programmes implemented to improve the access to testing and treatment to key populations such as vulnerable and high-risk groups, including bridge populations like migrant workers (NACP-IV, 2017). It will further build upon developing the societal response that was created in the previous phases by mobilization of community networks, marking migration trends of PLHIV, improving quality of services under intervention, addressing stigma and discrimination in healthcare, education, and workplaces, nutritional and psycho-social support (NACP-IV, 2017; NACO, 2012). As prevention, intensive treatment and improving quality of care and life of PLHIV all occurs simultaneously, NACP IV has reached a stage of sustainability and innovation, where it ensures that strategies manage prevention in vulnerable populations and streamline good quality, mainstream treatment to people already affected (NACP-IV, 2017). An objective of NACP IV was to reduce cases of new infections by 50% (in comparison to the base of NACP III in 2007) (NACO, 2017).

NACO has achieved major success in prevention and treatment, by curbing the rise in new infections. At the same time, it has experienced challenges in the form of social determinations such as stigma and discrimination, inadequate access to HIV-related medical services to certain sections of society, poverty, and gender inequality (Shukla et.al, 2018; Rathi, 2018). Social determinants have a critical role in the understanding prevalence and characteristics of a disease, via awareness, acceptance through social support, healthcare and illness experience (Shukla et. al, 2018). Acceleration of efforts by NACO for HIV response could tap the flat-lined or declining trend that could ensure a significant decline in new HIV/AIDS infections and avoid lapsing into rising trends (NACO, 2017).

## HIV/AIDS IN INDIA: PSYCHO-SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES

HIV is more than a medical disease, with vital psychological, social, legal and economic dimensions. HIV related psychological perspectives include the acceptance of living with a chronic illness, neuro-cognitive difficulties, stigma from community and society, dealing with grief and other impacts of illness on self and family (Jayarajan & Chandra, 2010; Kodali, 2018). There is a lack of standardization in terms of regular psychological testing of PLHIV and subsequent HIV treatment in India. The non-medical impact is acknowledged by the medical profession, by making services and counseling centers available to PLHIV; whereas, the knowledge, acceptance, and awareness of patients and community to provide them with the support is lacking. There is considerable evidence that suggests a prevalent diagnosis of mental disorders and comorbidity in patients living with HIV substantially worsens health outcomes (Patel, Belkin, Chockalingam, Cooper, Saxena, Unützer, 2013). Depression, anxiety, cognitive deficits, psychosis, mania, suicidal tendencies, bereavement, and others are seen to be some of these comorbid diagnoses (Ahuja, Parkar, & Yeolekar, 1998; Jayarajan & Chandra, 2010; Kodali, 2018). Psycho-social issues manifest in PLHIV due to multiple reasons, including social stress, stigmatization, social support systems falling apart, poverty, feelings of loneliness, guilt and helplessness (Gerbi, Habtemariam, Robnett, Nganwa & Tameru, 2012; Jayarajan & Chandra, 2010). Untreated mental health problems could enhance pain and suffering of the medical illness, reduce the quality of life, increase susceptibility to disability and induce premature mortality (Patel et al., 2013; Chandra, Ravi, Puttaram, & Desai, 1996). In turn, these problems can further compromise the coping skills, comorbidity with other acute and chronic medical problems, and lead to disruptions in the lives of PLHIV, such as unemployment, incarceration, financial problems, relationship turmoil, emotional instability, homelessness, risky-behaviours, alcohol or substance use (Das and Leibowitz, 2010; Chandra, Krishna, Ravi, Desai, & Puttaram, 1999; Gerbi et al., 2012).

In absence of effective treatment, instead of being a valuable support tool throughout the battle with the HIV infection, mental health becomes a leading disability from patients and one of the most neglected resources in healthcare (Kodali, 2018; Patel et al, 2013). Research indicates that suicides are more common in PLHIV as compared to the general population (Kodali, 2018).

Poor mental health isn't always a consequence of HIV/AIDS; the roles could be reversed. Individuals with a history of mental illness such as bipolar or other mood disorders, personality disorders, trauma, abuse or other; could have faulty coping mechanisms. They are more likely to indulge in risky behaviour that put them at a higher risk for HIV, that could further aggravate their mental illness (Jayarajan & Chandra, 2010). Mental health problems would impact the attitude of the patient towards adherence to treatment, regular follow-ups, quality of life,

disease progression, overall cure and support (Gutmann, Mary, & Andrew Fullem, 2009). In a developing country like India, factors like poor coordination between local authorities and ground communities, widespread poverty and malnutrition, cultural taboos against discussion of sexual practices and behaviour contribute to mental health development and also serve as underlying barriers to successful mental health policy implementation (Das and Leibowitz, 2010).

There are multiple calls for attention to policies and programmes across all levels to address the myriad forms of psychosocial support required to address various aspects that are to be incorporated in the HIV routine care. India has seen a major shift from neglecting to accepting mental health problems in the last 30 years; however, implementation of in-depth programmes that promote mental health is yet to be included in primary care settings.

## **CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS**

India's response to HIV/AIDS has been consistent throughout the last 30 years. Policies and organizations have targeted prevention, research, surveillance, treatment, medications, counseling and support as components of their response. NACO has a '*Three Zeros*' goal to be attained by 2020, which entails a strategic plan that targets zero AIDS-related deaths, zero discrimination and zero new infections (NACO, 2017). A fast track, 90-90-90 program aims at 90% people of HIV-positive people in India being aware of their status, 90% of the HIV-positive people aware of their status are undergoing treatment, and 90% of the PLHIV undergoing treatment experience effective reduction in their viral load (NACO, 2017). A major focus area would be to ensure that all areas in the nation receive all the aforementioned services to achieve the 90-90-90 target and work towards '*Ending of Aids by 2030*' through the implementation of the '*Test and Treat*' policy (NACO, 2017). There is a need for policies and programmes that specifically target place - state or district or neighborhood-based interventions rather than just people-based interventions could provide a variation in health promotion (Perkins et al., 2009). Specialized intervention based counseling for high-risk and vulnerable groups including MSM, sex workers, transgender, women, victims of intimate partner violence or domestic violence, children with unstable surrounding, and children orphaned by HIV, children affected by HIV or abuse, etc. Positive mental health is a major component of the effectiveness of an HIV treatment program.

Integrated treatment programmes must treat the patient as a 'complete person' and provide a more patient-centric approach. An aspect of training is sensitization of health care workers towards HIV patients, discussing sensitive information regarding sexual practices, and consciously behave in an accepting manner. Physicians must address the diagnosis in detail and at least provide sufficient

information to HIV-infected patients regarding the type of their HIV, modes of transmission and prevention of further transmission, prognosis, treatment, and other support services available to them such as counseling services. As India advances towards the test all and treats all outcome, research-based plans on prevention and interventions for high-risk populations would propel the decrease in the HIV epidemic scenario (Mamulwar et al., 2018).

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

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AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ART: Antiretroviral Therapy

AZT: Azido-Thymidine

CDC: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

FDA: Food and Drug Administration

FSW: Female Sex Workers

GRID: Gay-Related Immune Deficiency

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

HSS: HIV Sentinel Surveillance

ICTC: Integrated Counseling and Testing Centre

IPV: Intimate Partner Violence

MSM: Men who have Sex with Men

NACB: National AIDS Control Board

NACO: National AIDS Control Organization

NACP I: National AIDS Control Program I

NACP II: National AIDS Control Program II

NACP III: National AIDS Control Program III

NACP IV: National AIDS Control Program IV

NACP: National AIDS Control Program

PCP: Pneumocystis Pneumonia

PLHIV: People Living with HIV

STI / STD: Sexually Transmitted Infection/Sexually Transmitted Disease

TV: Television

US: United States of America

VCTC: Voluntary Counseling and Testing Centre



# **PROSPECTS OF MICRO, SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES FOR INCLUSIVE ECONOMIC GROWTH IN INDIA**

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**Kumari Rajni\*** and **Rajiv Kumar Bhatt\*\***

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## **Abstract**

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The MSME sector in India is exceedingly heterogeneous in terms of size of the enterprises and variety of products and services, and levels of technology employed. However, the sector has the potential to grow at a faster pace. To provide impetus to the manufacturing sector, the recent National Manufacturing Policy envisaged raising the share of manufacturing sector in GDP from 16% at present to 25% by the end of 2022.

Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise (MSME) sector has emerged as a very important sector of the Indian economy, contributing significantly to employment generation, innovation, exports, and inclusive growth of the economy. The MSMED Act, 2006, was enacted to provide enabling policy environment for promotion and development of the sector by way of defining MSMEs, putting in place a framework for developing and enhancing competitiveness of the MSME enterprises, ensuring flow of credit to the sector and paving the way for preference in Government procurement to products and services of the MSEs, address the issue of delayed payments, etc. However, in the changed circumstances, it is imperative that the thrust of this important legislation should be focused more on market facilitation and promoting ease of doing business for MSMEs.

**Keywords:** MSME, problems of MSME'S, Potentials in MSME'S, Working enterprise and employment in MSME'S

**JEL:** L-16, L-22, L-67, L-68.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The MSME sector in India is exceedingly heterogeneous in terms of size of the enterprises and variety of products and services, and levels of technology employed. However, the sector has the potential to grow at a faster pace. To provide impetus to the manufacturing sector, the recent National Manufacturing Policy envisaged raising the share of manufacturing sector in GDP from 16% at present to 25% by the end of 2022.

Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise (MSME) sector has emerged as a very important sector of the Indian economy, contributing significantly to employment generation, innovation, exports, and inclusive growth of the economy. The MSMED Act, 2006, was enacted to provide enabling policy environment for promotion and development of the sector by way of defining MSMEs, putting in place a framework for developing and enhancing competitiveness of the MSME enterprises, ensuring flow of credit to the sector and paving the way for preference in Government procurement to products and services of the MSEs, address the issue of delayed payments, etc.

However, in the changed circumstances, it is imperative that the thrust of this important legislation should be focused more on market facilitation and promoting ease of doing business for MSMEs. It is expected that the new law will be able to address the major challenges, relating to physical infrastructural bottlenecks, absence of formalisation, technology adoption, capacity building, backward and forward linkages, lack of access to credit, risk capital, perennial problem of delayed payments, etc.

These problems are hindering in the development of a favourable business environment for expansion of the sector.

The MSME sector also contributes in a significant way to the growth of the Indian economy with a vast network of about 63.38 million enterprises. The sector contributes about 45% to manufacturing output, more than 40% of exports, over 28% of the GDP while creating employment for about 111 million people, which in terms of volume stands next to agricultural sector. The definition of small scale industries differs from country to country as the classification is based on different parameters, viz., turnover, number of employees, etc.

Under the Industrial Development and Regulation (IDR) Act, 1951, the notion of small industries in India was conceived in terms of number of employees. In absence and difficulty in obtaining reliable data on number of employees, investments in plant & machinery/equipments were suggested as a proxy. Currently, the classification of MSMEs is based on investment in plant & machinery/equipment in accordance with the provision of Section 7 of MSMED Act, 2006, as indicated in Table 1.

**Table 1:** Classification of Enterprises

<i>Classification</i>	<i>Manufacturing Enterprises (investment in plant and Machinery)</i>	<i>Service Enterprises (Investment in Equipment)</i>
Micro	Up to ₹ 25 Lakh	Up to ₹ 10 Lakh
Small	Above ₹ 25 Lakh to ₹ 5 Crore	Above ₹ 10 Lakh to ₹ 2 Crore
Medium	Above ₹ 5 Crore to ₹ 10 Crore	Above ₹ 2 Crore to ₹ 5 Crore

Source: Annual Report Ministry of MSME 2017-18.

## **ORIGIN AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MSME'S IN INDIA**

The evolution of the policy framework and support measures of the Government can be broadly grouped into three periods: From 1948 to 1991, 1991 to 1999 and 1999 onwards.

### **Background from 1948 to 1991**

During the period 1948-1991 the following development took place:

1. Micro and small enterprises were recognised as effective tool for expanding employment opportunities, ensuring equitable distribution of the national income and facilitating effective mobilization of private sector resources of capital and skills.
2. The Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises Development Organisation earlier known as Small Industries Development Organization (SIDO) was set up in 1954 as an apex body for sustained and organized growth of micro, small and medium enterprises.
3. Within next two years, the National Small Industries Corporation, the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and the Coir Board were also set up.
4. The era provided the supportive measures that were required to care for MSME's, in the form of reservation of items for their exclusive manufacture, access to bank credit on priority through the Priority Sector Lending Programme of commercial banks, excise exemption, reservation under the Government Purchase Programme and 15% price preference in purchases, infrastructure development and establishment of institutes for entrepreneurial and skill development.
5. MSME – Development Institutes [earlier known as Small Industries Service Institute (SISI)] were set up all over India to train youth in skills/entrepreneurship.
6. Tool Rooms were established with German and Danish assistance for providing technical services essential to MSEs as also for skill-training.

7. At the State level, District Industries Centres were set up all over the country.

### **From 1991 to 1999**

The following development were made during this period:

1. The new Policy for Small, Tiny and Village Enterprises laid the framework for government support in the context of liberalization, which sought to replace protection with competitiveness to infuse more vitality and growth to MSEs in the face of foreign competition and open market.
2. Supportive measures concentrated on improving infrastructure, technology and quality were taken.
3. Testing Centres were set up for quality certification.
4. New Tool Rooms as well as Sub-contracting Exchanges were established.
5. The 'Small Industries Development Bank of India (SIDBI)' and a' Technology Development and Modernization Fund (TDMF) were created to accelerate finance and technical services to the sector.
6. A Delayed Payment Act was enacted to facilitate prompt payment of dues to MSEs.
7. An Industrial Infrastructure Development (IID) scheme was launched to set mini industrial estates for small industries.

### **1999 Onwards**

The following development took place after 1999:

1. During this period, the Ministry of MSME earlier known as 'Ministry of Small Scale Industries' and Agro & Rural Industries (SSI & ARI)] came into to provide focused attention to the development and promotion of the MSME sector.
2. The new Policy Package, announced in August, 2000, sought to address the persisting problems relating to credit, infrastructure, and technology and marketing more effectively.
3. A Credit Linked Capital Subsidy Scheme was launched to encourage technology up gradation in the MSE sector and a Credit Guarantee Scheme was started to provide collateral-free loans to micro and small entrepreneurs, particularly the first generation entrepreneurs.
4. The exemption limit for relief from payment of Central Excise duty was raised to ₹1 crore (\$0.25 million)
5. A Market Development Assistance Scheme for MSEs was introduced.
6. At the same time, consultations were held with stakeholders and the list of products reserved for production in the MSE sector was gradually reduced each year.

7. In 2006, the long-awaited enactment for this sector finally became a reality with the passing of the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises Act.
8. In March, 2007, a third Package for the Promotion of Micro and Small Enterprises was announced which comprises the proposals/schemes having direct impact on the promotion and development of the micro and small enterprises, particularly in view of the fast changing economic environment, wherein to be competitive is the key of success.

## **REVIEW OF RESEARCH ARTICLES**

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Abhijeet Biswas (2015) in an article entitled “Bank Lending to MSMEs in India” have evolved considerably since independence. From being referred to merely as the Small Scale Industries (SSI) sector in the 60s and 70s, the MSME sector has progressed in scale and in the scope of business activities over the years. Finally, it can be concluded that, though banks are catering to the needs of the MSME sector through various schemes specifically drafted for them, still there is a huge gap between the demand and supply of fund by the MSME sector and actual supply of credit to this sector by banks and other financial institutions. The researcher has tried to analyze the various constraints that the MSMEs are facing today with reference to banking sector. The paper has been prepared on the basis of available literatures. The present research paper reveals that there is a substantial amount of gap in the overall finance for the MSME sector.

Bala Subramanian (2007) in his research publication “the Expanding Role of SIDBI” carried out that the Public Sector Banks reassessed its lending strategy and brought innovation to leverage technology, revamp system and develop use more efficient credit assessment tools for faster credit dispensation. In addition, he points out that public sector banks have been advised to open at least one specialized branch in each district. The banks have been permitted to categorize their MSME general banking branches having 60 per cent or more of their advances to MSME sector, as specialized MSME branches for providing better service to entrepreneurs.

Dinesh Rai (2009) in his article entitled “MSME Reviewed the Performance of Various Schemes of KVIC” points out that the banks for providing more facilitation and transparency in their system. He also points out that some places the managers of branches are not fully aware about schemes and guidelines, as the banks get the application from entrepreneurs. It is also necessary that many of the banks have to set up “core centres” which should be extended throughout the country.

Dr. Uma Narang and Pooja Sareen (2014) in their article entitled “Performance Evaluation of Small Industries Development Bank of India”. SIDBI consists of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs), which contribute significantly to the national economy in terms of production, employment and exports.

MSMEs have been accepted as the engine of economic growth and for promoting equitable development worldwide. In this paper an attempt is made to analyse the performance of SIDBI and outline its role in the development of MSMEs.

Kanishka Gupta (2011) in his article with a title “MSMEs Cash-Strapped” examined that the main problem of MSMEs are accessing adequate and timely financing in competitive terms particularly long-term loans, which have been exacerbated by the current global finance.

Malla (2009) in his article christened “Financing of MSMEs- Issues and Concerns”. The study reveals that the problems cited by MSME borrowers in accessing the institutional finance are insistence on collateral guarantees, limited outreach of banks, rigid approaches, and high interest and other costs, computer documentation, lack of supporting business development services.

Prasad (2006) in his article named as “Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises Financing in India-Issues and Concerns” concludes that the flow of institutional finance is linked with the creditworthiness of the enterprise. Small Enterprises due to their size and low capital base, generally find it difficult to satisfy the conditional lay down by the Public Sector Banks, particularly in establishing the viability of the project, meeting collateral requirements and making timely repayment of loans.

Ram Jass Yadav (2010) in an research publication “SME-Emerging Sector for Bank Finance” have suggested that the MSME cluster has been introduced by adopting 4Cs approach (Customer focus, Cost Control, Cross sell and Contain risk) with a view to the diverse needs of the MSME sector through extending banking services to the cluster. The study also reveals that the Banking Codes and Standards Board of India (BCSBI) have formulated a code of Bank's commitment to micro and small enterprises. It is a voluntary code provides protection to MSMEs and explains how the bankers are expected to deal with the sector for day to day operations and to cater to financial requirements of the MSMEs. This code has been adopted almost all public sector banks.

## **REVIEW OF COMMITTEE'S REPORTS**

Confederation of Indian industry (CII) survey (2010) in his report entitled “Infrastructure Development Key to MSME Growth and Development” reveals that high cost of credit is the most important to the growth and development of MSMEs. He also points out lack of availability of credit is a crucial factor inhibiting the growth and development of MSMEs.

Deepak Mohanty (2015) in his Report of the Committee on “Medium-term Path on Financial Inclusion” Chapter 4: MSME Finance: “Credit deprivation calls for innovative solutions” highlighted recommendations that Accordingly, the

Committee recommends a system of unique identification for all MSME borrowers and the sharing of such information with credit bureaus. While such identification and tracking is not an issue with registered MSMEs where the CIN/UAN can be used alongside their PAN number, biometric Aadhaar identification should form the basis for proprietary and partnership concerns. Even in the case of registered MSMEs, it will be useful to collect and link the Aadhaar identification of directors so as to check possible fraudulent operation by the same set of persons. The Committee recommends exploring a system of professional credit intermediaries/advisors for MSMEs, which could help bridge the information gap and thereby help banks to make better credit decisions. The credit intermediaries/advisors could function in a transparent manner for a fee and be regulated by the Reserve Bank.

## **MAJOR CHALLENGES FACED BY THE MSME**

Some of the major challenges are mentioned below:

### **Policy and Institutional Interventions**

At the apex level, the Ministry of MSME formulates policies for overall growth of the sector while the Office of Development Commissioner MSME implements these policies through its various organisations. MSMED Act, 2006 contains various facilitative provisions for the promotion and development of the MSME sector.

SIDBI is the apex financial Institution for supporting financing and development of MSMEs. RBI and SEBI frame broad policies for facilitating funding support to the sector. The above institutions through their legislative and policy interventions are enabling growth of the sector.

However, formulation of targeted policies in the areas of infrastructure development, formalisation, technology adoption, backward and forward linkage, credit gap reduction and timely payments to MSMEs and their effective implementation has been a challenge for all the stakeholders. Government interventions have tended to be fairly supply-side oriented and unable to effectively respond to demands of the Market.

### **Accelerating Growth and Enabling Formalisation**

The role of MSME sector is critical in job creation, innovation, and entrepreneurship and supply chains.

Hence, there is a need to facilitate, nurture and support innovative business ideas and shape them into enterprises. Further, with limited number of entrepreneurial development and incubation centres, entrepreneurial ethos of the MSME eco-

system is not evolving. Utilisation and reach of various schemes and credit support is constrained due to lack of formalisation and low level of registration of MSMEs in Udyog Aadhaar Memorandum (UAM).

### **Addressing Infrastructural Bottlenecks**

Inadequate availability of basic amenities such as work sheds, tool rooms, product-testing laboratories, electricity, rural broadband and innovation hubs is acting as a deterrent to the growth of the sector. Development of MSME clusters has been largely confined to Government organisations with low level of private investment.

### **Facilitating Capacity Building**

Access to information about market opportunities is sub optimal and unstructured. In many cases, they also lack managerial, legal and technical know-how and the necessary wherewithal to function effectively.

### **Facilitating Access to Credit and Risk Capital**

MSMEs lack access to formal credit as banks face challenges in credit risk assessment owing to lack of financial information, historical cash flow data, etc. Further, very few MSMEs are able to attract equity support and venture capital financing.

### **Technological Interventions for Improving Underwriting Standards and Delivery**

Implementation of GST has made turnover data available at a single network. However, MSMEs are not identifiable as the data on investments in plant and machinery is not captured under GSTN. Income tax data base contains information relating to financials of the units. On the other hand, Udyog Aadhaar portal contains registration related information of MSMEs.

However, there is no single interface available for the lenders to access, map or triangulate data from these data sources and they have to primarily rely upon manual information furnished by borrowers.

Further, absence of data protection laws and unique enterprise identifier limit ability of various agencies to share data.

### **Enabling Market Linkage and Tie-up with Public Procurement Platforms**

MSMEs face the twin challenge of limited access to quality raw material and market for finished product. National Small Industries Corporation (NSIC) through market

assistance scheme facilitates MSMEs to discover markets for their products and the Government e-Marketplace (GeM) portal has enabled MSMEs to connect with buyers from Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs) and Government Departments.

However, the numbers of MSMEs availing benefits under the schemes are few.

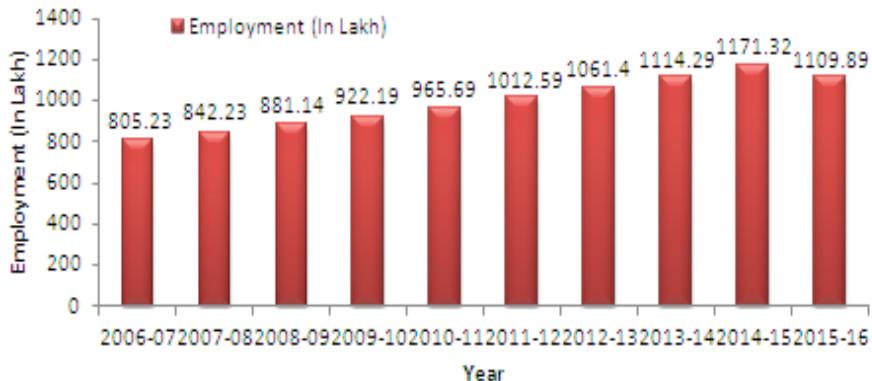
**Table 2:** Impact of MSMED Act 2006 on the Growth of MSMEs

S. No.	Year	Total Working Enterprise (In Lakh)	Employment (In Lakh)	Market Value of Fixed Assets (In Crore)
1.	2006-07	361.76	805.23	868543.79
2.	2007-08	377.37	842.23	917437.46
3.	2008-09	393.70	881.14	971407.49
4.	2009-10	410.82	922.19	1029331.46
5.	2010-11	428.77	965.69	1094893.42
6.	2011-12	447.73	1012.59	1176939.36
7.	2012-13	467.54	1061.40	1268763.67
8.	2013-14	488.46	1114.29	1363700.54
9.	2014-15	510.57	1171.32	1471912.94
10.	2015-16	633.88	1109.89	N.A.

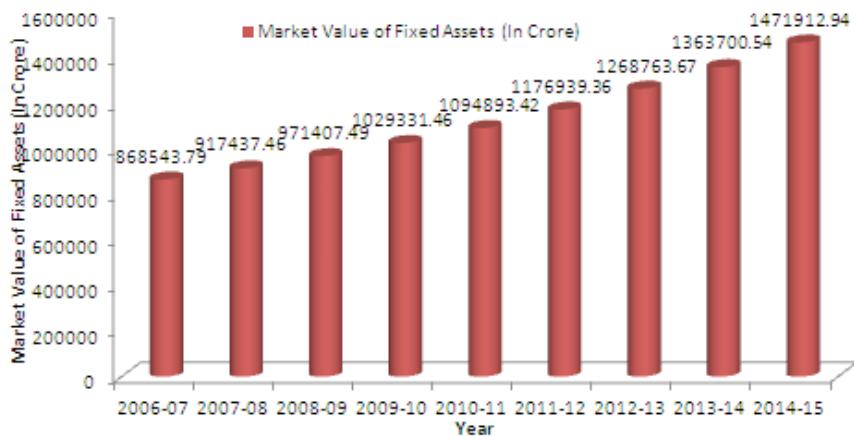
*Source:* Compiled from Annual Reports of MSMEs.

**Figure 1:** Total Working Enterprises



**Figure 2: Total Employment**

The Table 2 and Figures 1, 2 and 3 reflect that since 2006, there has been an immense growth in the MSME sector. The number of units increased from 361.76 lakhs in year 2006-07 to 633.88 lakhs in the year 2015-16, reflecting an increase of 75.22% over the last 10 years. Similarly, employment under this sector increased from 805.23 lakhs in year 2006-07 to 1109.89 lakhs in the year 2015-16, reflecting an increase of 37.84% over the last 10 years. Market Value of Fixed Assets under this sector increased from 868543.79 crore in year 2006-07 to 1471912.94 crore in the year 2014-15, reflecting an increase of 69.47% over the last 9 years.

**Figure 3: Total Market Value of Fixed Assets**

## **CONCLUSION**

MSMEs provide employment and ultimately self dependency. Therefore, MSMEs can be boon and a hope for Indian economy in near future. The MSMEs are providing uniform development to the society and can be a strong mean to utilize the natural resources of India. The MSMEs are very helpful to remove the regional imbalances if it is establish in the underdeveloped areas. The MSMEs are providing more employment per unit. If this contribution is to be sustained, then their uniqueness needs to be nurtured in an overt and explicit manner. There should not be two opinions about the priority that SME policies deserve for achieving the socio-economic goal of employment growth and social justice, along with the individual "aspirations".

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Research Note

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# A Research Note on

## CRIMINALISATION OF POLITICS AND ELECTORAL REFORMS AND ELECTORAL REFORMS IN INDIA

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**Naved Jamal\* and Minarul Islam Biswas\*\***

### Abstract

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Criminalization of politics has become a salient feature of Indian democracy, which took place in two phases - first, politicians taking support of criminals and secondly, criminals entered into legislature through election process. This invited the superior judiciary to intervene. The recent judgement of Supreme Court has recently taken a drastic step but it will not suffice. This makes it clear that there is urgent need of drastic electoral reforms. In this context, it makes an imperative to look into the various committees and commissions that have suggested measures. The suggestions were either not properly implemented or were inadequate to check the menace. Thus, the present study intends to highlight the trajectory of the criminalization of Indian politics, assess the electoral reforms and its impact on Indian administration. It further goes to critically analyse those provisions of the various election laws and the recommendations of different committees and commissions dealing with the concern of decriminalizing Indian politics.

**Keywords:** Criminalisation of Politics, Electoral Reforms, Election Commission, Elections, India

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### INTRODUCTION

The recent strict judgement of the Supreme Court to check the criminals or persons having criminal background to enter into the law making bodies. Though this is a welcome step but this requires appropriate electoral reforms. Criminalization of politics is a major concern in Indian democracy as the welfare of the society cannot

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be ensured in the hands of the criminals. Peace and prosperity cannot be expected from the rogues. Development is not possible if the law-breakers become the law-makers. Thus, it is high time that this menace of criminalization of politics must be checked at the earliest. The task is not easy and no single rule, law or entity alone is enough to curb this problem. One of the major ways can be to stop the criminals at the very entry to politics and governance. Another way can be to remove those who involve themselves in criminal activities while in governance. As far as the first way is concerned, it can be done through some measures in the election process. For the second way, the Election Commission of India (ECI) can device some rules, for which again, the Election laws may be modified or formulated. Thus, a lot of things are possible through electoral reforms. A number of reforms have already been initiated in the electoral process in India. Still, the number of the criminals entering politics has kept on rising. It means that the system of election has not been up to the mark to prevent these criminal elements from entering in governance. So a lot of work is left to be done to cleanse the politics and governance.

## **CRIMINALIZATION OF POLITICS AND ELECTION**

“Instead of politicians having suspected links to criminal networks, as was the case earlier, it was persons with extensive criminal backgrounds who began entering politics. This was confirmed in the Vohra Committee Report in 1993, and again in 2002 in the report of the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution (NCRWC).” “Crooks and criminals and rogues and rascals are increasingly taking over politics.” This entry and existence of these anti-social elements in the political parties and then in the legislature is what is known as criminalization of politics. These criminal politicians are entering into the legislature through the criminalization of election process. “The election process has been largely taken over by the criminal elements and money power.” Here this criminalization of politics is being made possible through the politicization of crime. In other words, the criminals are being used by the political parties to do anything to win the election. It may involve raising party funds by force, killing the rival candidates, preventing the rival candidates from filing nomination for fighting election and intimidating the voters to vote for a particular party. Naturally, this criminalization carries the dangerous implications for the democratic governance by weakening the law and order administration and disturbing the development process. “Sustainable parliamentary democracy depends on a healthy electoral system and clean, free and fair elections”. Here arises the big question, how far clean, free and fair is the politics and election in India?

According to a report in the *Indian Express* of August 7, 1995, 180 out of the 425 members of Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly had criminal records and the previous general elections in Bihar were contested by 243 candidates against

whom charges were pending. In 1977, the Bihar Assembly had 10 MLAs who were history-sheeters whose number furthered increased to 40 by 1990. In October, 1997, Kalyan Singh, the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh (UP) expanded his ministry to include every defector and criminal who supported him in the election. This speaks volume of the fact that rather than discouraging criminalization, the political parties and their high command encourage criminalization. "At the eve of 12<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha elections, there were 150 out of 4708 candidates all over the country, against whom charges of murder, rape, robbery and extortion had been made at point of time or the other. In spite of the initiatives taken by the Election Commission to debar history-sheeters from seeking election to legislatures, at least 15 persons with criminal antecedents have made it to the Lok Sabha." It points out the limitation of the EC as far as the curbing of criminalization is concerned. In the 14<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha, 128 Members of Parliament (MPs) had criminal charges against them of whom about one-third involved in heinous crime. "There were 158 newly elected MPs of 15<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha who had declared pending criminal cases according to their self declared affidavits. Out of these , there were 76 MPs having serious cases against them"

The number of such MPs with criminal charges against them increased from 158 in 2009 to 186 in 2014 in 16<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha. According to the data provided by the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR), in 2004 Lok Sabha, there were 24% of the MPs with criminal cases and 12% with serious criminal charges against them. These figures increased respectively to 30% and 15% in 2009 Lok Sabha. The figures reached respectively to 34% and 21% in 2014 Lok Sabha. This is how the criminalization of politics and the election process has been rising, making fair election a myth.

For example, in the district of Nadia, West Bengal, during the election process for the formation of managing committee of a high madrasha, when the candidate from opposition party came to file nomination paper, he was attacked by the criminals who are patronized by the ruling party of West Bengal, and thus prevented from contesting in the election. The criminals were plying open with arms on the road in broad daylight, hardly two kilometres away from the police station. The police despite having the knowledge of it did not bother a bit to take any action. The extent of criminalization in the local level elections appears to be more rampant.

There are many facets of criminalization. Sometimes the criminals themselves contest elections as they are patronized and nominated by the political parties as the former have the potential to win elections by intimidating the voters through muscle power or by buying votes with money. Sometimes the criminals support particular candidates win elections. In all such cases, either the criminals themselves

or the others with the support of the criminals make it to the legislature and so, it is nowhere that democracy which is by the people is established.

## **EFFORTS THROUGH ELECTORAL REFORMS TO CHECK CRIMINALIZATION**

“Naturally there is a premonition among all those concerned with the fate of democracy, that if the diminishing effectiveness is not rectified in time, these may stultify the entire electoral exercise in the context of the growing democratic expectations and assertions of the people”. This statement endorses the need and significance of electoral reforms in India to cleanse politics and to ensure fair election to save democracy for the sake of development. Many initiatives have been introduced in the election system in India. But as far as checking the criminalization is concerned, the scenario is something frustrating. “It is unfortunate that no countervailing force to check criminalisation of politics is emerging”.

However, a number of committees and commissions have been constituted to examine the electoral system of India and to suggest measures. As far the issue of addressing criminalization is concerned, Vohra Committee on the Nexus between Crime and Politics (1993), National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution (2000-2002), Dinesh Goswami Committee of Electoral Reforms (1990) and Law Commission of India 244<sup>th</sup> Report on Electoral Disqualifications (2014) have raised the alarm bell. As per the recommendations of the Dinesh Goswami Committee on Electoral Reforms (1990), which was implemented in 1996, entering into the neighbourhood of a polling station with any kind of arms is an offence punishable with imprisonment upto two years or with fine or with both, and the arms found are to be confiscated, licence to be cancelled, and so on. But in practice, it is not uncommon that in the polling booth itself, many people are killed on the day of election. In 2002, the Supreme Court declared the voters' right to know a candidate's criminal antecedents but the legislation was enacted to nullify the order. However, in 2003, voters' right to know has been restored by the apex court again.

The Representation of the People's Act (1951) which contains the provisions regarding the qualifications and disqualifications for membership of the Parliament and the state legislatures has also created controversies in the matters of criminal issues in election. As per the Supreme Court order in 2013, a person who has no right to vote for reason being in jail or police custody, is not qualified to contest elections. But to make such people contest election, our Parliament has included two new provisions in the Representation of the People's Act to negate the order of the Court. In the effort to make our legislature free from the influence of the criminal elements the apex court held that the charge-sheeted MPs and Members of Legislative Assembly (MLAs) on conviction for offences will be disqualified

from holding membership of the houses, without being given three months' time for appeal, as was the case earlier. Attempt was made this time also by the government for the sake of the people with criminal background, not for sake of decriminalization.

However, finally the order of the Supreme Court prevailed. Many non-governmental bodies have also been working in the efforts against criminalization of politics and election. The ADR and the National Election Watch (NEW) are noteworthy amongst them.

To check, criminalization of politics and election, the Election Commission of India (ECI) can initiate different measures but its scope appears to be very limited if any substantive election law is not formulated and enacted. For this, political will is a must as after all it is the Parliament which has the final say in accepting or rejecting any measure through its legislative power. So whenever anything comes against the interest of the legislators, they are not willing to approve. That is why, it is a great challenge to address the issue of criminalization."

There is often tension between the institution of the Election Commission and the functioning of political parties, who often profess their desire to have a free and fair electoral system but benefit from illegal party funding and the involvement of criminal elements in their party organizations.

Implementation of simultaneous elections to the Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies, which is currently being discussed and debated, can lessen the scope of criminalization. Frequent elections mean frequent transactions of black money as the election expenditures, frequent communal incidences, frequent corrupt practices and thus frequent involvement of criminal elements in the election process. "Frequent elections perpetuate caste, religion and communal issues across the country". Dr. S.Y Quarishi in an article published in Bloomberg Quint opined, "elections are polarising events which have accentuated casteism, communalism, corruption and crony capitalism. If the country is perpetually on election mode, there is no respite from these evils. Holding simultaneous elections would certainly help in this context".

## **CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS**

For the sake of democracy and development, criminalization of politics and election has to be arrested at the right earnest. But, the task is very much challenging. Though many committees, commissions have made recommendations, the court's orders and guidelines of the ECI have come, these have not been whole-heartedly accepted by the government, and those which have been accepted have not been implemented properly.

So, an all-round effort by all the stake-holders is the need of the hour. Entry of the criminals into the political parties and into the legislatures, as well as the support of the criminals to the political parties and their candidates, has to be prevented.

Firstly, interpretation of laws, constitutional articles by the Supreme Court in the direction of maintaining a free and fair election can play a crucial role. Secondly, proactive engagement of the ECI in encouraging the voters not to vote for the criminals and discouraging the political parties not to defend and nominate the people with criminal background, by enforcing various rules or regulation may be a way to tackle criminalization of politics and election.

Thirdly, the ECI can motivate the media in creating strong public opinion against the criminal elements. Media may be utilized to make the criminal antecedents of a candidate, if any, more public. In this regard, the election commission may think of rewarding the media houses which work impartially for investigating and highlighting the criminal records of the candidates, and of punishing those houses who work to shield the criminals through paid news.

Fourthly, the election body must engage the police to ensure the safety and security of the citizens who many a time unwillingly vote for the criminals in fear for their lives. Lawlessness or the failure of the law and order administration to maintain peaceful law and order is one of the reasons which breed criminalization. Whatever and however proper laws, rules and regulations are made, if the citizens are not made feel secure by the administration against the criminal forces, they are vulnerable to fall prey to the menace of criminalization.

Fifthly, the common people have a greater role to play. If the public cannot come out of their vested interest in the election process, the institutional measures are hardly effective in checking criminalization. Sometimes, many people vote for those by whom they are paid money, without bothering anything about who is criminal or not. In a country like India, one will find many people who are happy enough to get liquor to do anything for a contesting candidate.

Sixthly, the legislature is the one whose intention matters the most as it can make almost everything possible in Parliamentary democracy. It can even change the articles of the constitution except disturbing the basic structure of the Indian Constitution. It can nullify the orders of the Supreme Court if the former does not like it. So, good will of the legislature is a must. But again there is the problem. How can there be good will if a large number of the members of the legislature are not good? How can one expect that a criminal legislator will agree to do something to stop criminal activities which are their means upon which their very survival is based?

Seventhly, it should be thought out whether the election commission can devise some ways by which it can derecognize a party which gives ticket to the criminals or uses the criminal elements to promote the party. It is not uncommon to notice that someone who can manipulate the voters through his network of criminals is favoured by the political party with tickets. This encourages further criminalization. The number of corrupt and criminal elements is increasing so alarmingly that it is almost going to be a proverb that if you are a good human being, politics and election is not for you, and even being an honest person, if you are in politics, your honesty will be of no use.

Lastly, let us think whether it will be feasible to institute an award for the party with the least number of candidates with criminal records, and also providing that party with some special privileges and advertising that party as the fairest political party, thus encouraging the other political parties not to field any criminal and to motivate them to come up with their own volition to prove the innocence of their candidates.

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# A Research Note on

## ABROGATION OF ARTICLE 370: ITS CONSTITUTIONALITY AND IMPACTS

Vikash Narayan Upadhyay\*

### Abstract

The author intends to indicate the areas of further research on the constitutional issues of the abrogation of Art 370 by the present Government of India and its possible impacts on people of Kashmir. The note traces the historical facts on the issue, particularly McNaughton and Dixon proposals and the attitude of the then Indian Government. It further posits that this step would be in the interest of the languishing people, particularly Kashmiri Pandits and faster pace of development in the valley. It also addresses the question whether the step is in the line of constitutional spirit.

**Keywords:** Article 370, McNaughton plan, Dixon proposal, Kashmiri Pandit, Constitution.

The abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution has been to the constitutional provisions, procedures, safe guards and values.. The step seems to be right action at right time as the situation of Kashmir was going beyond law and order. This does also exhibit the capacity of the present government to take tough decisions like this but was taken in consultation of the state government as well as the people. The decision is politically foresighted planned and designed. The arresting, on Sunday 4-5<sup>th</sup> August 2019, of leaders of political parties in Jammu & Kashmir including former Chief Ministers Omar Abdullah, Mehbooba Mufti and others was a wise step. The step of airlifting 35000 troops, making all Amarnath pilgrims and holiday visitors to leave the valley under adequate protection was also an action of the responsible Government. It is important to note that for the security reasons

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from the outside and inside too, Government shutdown all communication and telecom services to and from the valley for few days and also imposed curfew as precautionary step. The main motive behind such action became clear on Monday 5<sup>th</sup> August 2019 with Government through legislations to abrogate major portion of Art. 370 thereby discontinuing special status to Jammu & Kashmir and bifurcating the state in to two Union territories – Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh. Home Minister also said in the House that after some time full statehood will be granted to Jammu & Kashmir.

II

The major question is - how did the problem emerge and what was Indian approach? Going back to history of Kashmir's accession to India, the situation was even tougher than the present as the Pakistani troops and Kabilai forces were bushwhacking to capture Kashmir. In 1947, the then Indian Government took the issue to the Security Council of United Nations Organisation to solve the problem which passed a resolution 39 (1948) and established the UN Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) to investigate the issues and mediate between the two countries. In December 1949, the Security Council entrusted the Canadian President General McNaughton to suggest measures on the dispute who submitted the report in February, 1950. His proposal enclosed a scheme whereby Pakistan and India would simultaneously withdraw their regular forces (excluding those Indian regular forces needed for security purposes), the Azad Kashmir forces and Kashmir State forces and millitia would be demobilized and the administration of Northern Areas would remain with the local authorities, under UN supervision, while the region would also be included in the demilitarization process. Pakistan accepted his suggestions but India rejected them. The proposals treated India and Pakistan as equal partners in the dispute which was not acceptable to India in view of its sole presence in Kashmir as legally acceptable. India was unhappy that Pakistan was treated as an equal party. The American ambassador Loy Henderson informed Indian officials that India's refusal to hold a conciliatory attitude which would assist in the prompt holding of a plebiscite was enhancing the American belief that India was deliberately avoiding a plebiscite. Despite American warning, India resolved to take the midway path to grant special status to J&K by resorting to a temporary provision of Art 370. Plebiscite would have gone against India.

As a result the Security Council appointed Sir Owen Dixon as the next UN representative to the two countries; and he was tasked with administering McNaughton's demilitarisation scheme for Jammu and Kashmir. Dixon wanted to bifurcate Jammu and Kashmir as separate states and give right of self determination to the people of respective separated states and suggested the partial plebiscite as well as withdrawal of Security Council from the region. He further suggested that

let the initiative pass to the parties concerned. He, however, stressed the necessity for the reduction in armed forces holding the cease-fire Line to the normal needs of a peace time frontier. India was not in support of Dixon proposal and chose to rest on Art 370 (<https://ikashmir.net/storm/chapter10.html>)

### III

It's important to note that Art. 370 of the Constitution was temporary in nature which distinguished Kashmir population from the rest of India, therefore, perhaps it required to say 'India is from Kashmir to Kanyakumari'. It is said that removing Art. 370 only if the constituent assembly of J&K recommended the same. Since the Constituent Assembly of J&K ceased functioning in 1957 instead of this legislative Assembly is constituted, which works with the direct representation of the people. Article 370 (1)(d) of the Constitution empowered the President to issue notifications modifying the manner in which the constitutional provisions can be made applicable to the state of J&K from time to time. Article 367 of the constitution of India explains how phrases in the constitution are to be interpreted. As it's earlier said, the issue in the case of abrogation of Art 370, was the need for the recommendation by the legislative assembly instead of constituent assembly.

Now the question is - whether the step of present Indian Government is constitutional? It seems that the present step taken on 5th August 2019 was very fact-driven and constitutionally right, though, it requires deeper analysis. However, the Modi Government applied three pronged steps of amendment process. In the first step a Presidential notification under Art. 370 (1)(d) was issued amending Art. 367 by introducing a new sub clause (4) which stated that the expression "Constituent Assembly" in Article – 370(3) shall be read as "Legislative Assembly of the state". As said above, the effect was that after this change Art. 370 of the Constitution could be amended removing that the necessity to obtain the recommendation of the "Constituent Assembly". Since J&K came under president's rule since Dec. 2018, it reflects that the powers of the state legislature are being exercised by the Governor in the name of President of India. This resulted in a constitutional situation in which the President of India has constitutional authority to permit the abrogation of Art. 370 of the Constitution. The Government did also give an opportunity to discuss the issue in Parliament. In other words, what could not be done by the previous governments, was done by the present Government under the provisions of the Constitution. Before doing all three exercises cabinet meeting was held which took the decision to make changes in the erstwhile status of the J&K from a state to an union territory. It is an ethical and democratic act. It does not only boost the morale of the local people to fight out the terrorist activities and give a space in the democratic setup of India too. The argument that Article 370 is a clause which obstructed the complete integration of Kashmir with the rest of

India and prevented development is a legitimate step. As we know that only few families of the valley had enjoyed the facilities of the state not the people. It became necessary to place leaders of the Kashmir under preventive detention so that they would not conspire with the terrorists and separatist leaders. It will not be out of place to mention that Abdullah was also kept under detention during the regime of Nehru in order to maintain peace and order.

#### IV

So far the impact of the abrogation is concerned, there are certain facts that make it obvious that there are positive impacts of the steps. Though it requires deep probe, yet there is hope for restoration of Kashmiri Pandits. Before this nobody noticed their feelings, rights and rehabilitations problem. Now they all are refugees living in different places of this country. It's an act to aggrandize and deprive the Kashmiri Pandits and convert their inhabitation in to the den of the terrorists and separatists. Secondly, the present government intends to develop the J&K by using the natural resources, like water, mountains, rivers and forests. Recently, in the three speeches in the Rajya-Sabha made by the Home Minister Mr Amit Shah reiterated how the state was in the dark ages and needed to be brought in to the main stream with hotel industry developed in the valley and build houses for the people of the rest of India which will facilitate the interaction of Kashmiris with the people of the rest of India. One can have hopes to retain normalcy in the region with passage of time. There is an urgent imperative to study these issues and explore the prospects of employment and development of the region.



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## Hindi Section

## हिन्दी प्रभाग

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## देशरत्न श्री राजेन्द्र प्रसाद : राष्ट्रपति के रूप में उनकी भूमिका

महेन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह\*

बचपन से ही अपने पिताजी के द्वारा अपने गांव में स्थापित पारिवारिक पुस्तकालय में मैंने राजेन्द्र बाबू की कुछ पुस्तकें देखीं थीं, जैसे उनकी आत्मकथा (1946) और खड़ित भारत (1946)। घर में अन्य बड़े राष्ट्रीय नेताओं के साथ, 'देशरत्न राजेन्द्र प्रसाद' का बड़ा फोटोग्राफ भी टंगा रहता था। पारिवारिक पुस्तकालय में भूषण की शिवाबावनी, मैथिलीशरण गुप्त का जयद्रथ-वध, दिनकर की रेणुका, बच्चन की मधुशाला, इत्यादि पुस्तकों ने राजनीतिक पुस्तकों की तुलना में ज्यादा ध्यान आकर्षित किया था। पर विधि के विचित्र विधान के फलस्वरूप, पटना विश्वविद्यालय में उच्च अध्ययन के लिए मैं राजनीतिशास्त्र की ओर मुड़ गया। तब भारतीय राजनीति व शासन में राजेन्द्र बाबू के बारे में विशेष अध्ययन का मौका मिला।

राजेन्द्र बाबू का जन्म बिहार के सारण जिलांतर्गत जीरादई नामक ग्राम में 3 दिसम्बर, 1884, को हुआ। उनका देहांत 18 फरवरी, 1963 को पटना में हुआ। तब मैं पटना विश्वविद्यालय में एम.ए. का छात्र था। उनका लालन-पालन एक सामान्य किसान परिवार में हुआ। कलकत्ता लॉ कॉलेज से विशिष्टता के साथ कानून की डिग्री हासिल कर वे कलकत्ता हाईकोर्ट में वकालत करने लगे। 1916 में वे पटना हाईकोर्ट में आ गए। वकालत के साथ वे राष्ट्रवादी पत्रकारिता भी करने लगे। पटना के तत्कालीन दैनिक अखबार सर्चलाईट में अग्रलेख भी लिखने लगे। उन्होंने *Bihar Law Weekly* तथा *देश* नामक एक हिन्दी साप्ताहिक पत्रिका की भी स्थापना की, और उनका सम्पादन करते रहे।

1917 में राजेन्द्र बाबू महात्मा गांधी के चंपारण किसान आन्दोलन में शामिल हो गए। 1920 के दशक के आरंभ में वे महात्मा गांधी के राष्ट्रव्यापी असहयोग आन्दोलन में शरीक हुए। कई बार जेल गए। अगस्त 1942 से 1945 तक वे कांग्रेस कार्य-समिति के सदस्यों के साथ तीन साल तक जेल में बंदी रहे। वे अखिल भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस के तीन बार अध्यक्ष

\* प्रस्तुत आलेख प्रो. महेन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह, संप्रति राष्ट्रीय अध्येता, भारतीय उच्च अध्ययन संस्थान, शिमला का बिहार विद्यापीठ, पटना में होने वाला व्याख्यान है जो विमान छूट जाने के कारण सम्पन्न नहीं हो सका था। प्रो. सिंह ने उक्त व्याख्यान को प्रकाशित करने की अनुमति दी है। यह आलेख साभार प्रकाशित किया जा रहा है।

निर्वाचित हुए - 1934, 1939, तथा 1947 में। आजादी के पहले के वर्षों में कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष को 'राष्ट्रपति' कहा जाता था। संविधान सभा में जब स्वतंत्र भारत के लिए संविधान-निर्माण का कार्य आरंभ हुआ, तो राजेन्द्र बाबू 1946 से 1949 तक उक्त सभा की अध्यक्षता करते रहे। विवाद की जटिल गुणियों को, अध्यक्ष के रूप में सुलझाते रहे। समापन पर उनका स्वस्तिवाद (valediction) का व्याख्यान भारतीय संविधान के लक्षणों का सटीक विश्लेषण तथा भविष्य में उसके कार्यकरण का दूरदर्शी पूर्वानुमान प्रस्तुत करता है। उन्होंने कहा कि संविधान सभा ने विश्व के सभी संविधानों का अध्ययन कर भारत की परिस्थितियों व आवश्यकताओं के अनुसार भारतीय संविधान के स्वरूप का निर्धारण किया है। उन्होंने कहा कि राष्ट्रीय एकता के लिए हमने एक संकेंद्रित संसदीय-संघीय पद्धति अपनायी है, पर कालांतर में भारत की विविधता और राज्यों व संस्थाओं की स्वायत्तता की जरूरतों के हिसाब से संविधान के संघीय लक्षण मुखर होते जाएंगे। 26 जनवरी 1950 के दिन से भारतीय गणराज्य का संविधान जब लागू हुआ, तो राजेन्द्र बाबू को संसद ने सर्वसम्मति से देश का प्रथम राष्ट्रपति निर्वाचित किया। 1952 में जब सार्विक मताधिकार के आधार पर नए संविधान के अंतर्गत प्रथम आम चुनाव हुए तो फिर राजेन्द्र बाबू को राष्ट्रपति के नए निर्वाचिक मंडल - संसद तथा राज्यों के विधानमंडलों - के द्वारा देश का राष्ट्रपति निर्वाचित किया गया। 1957 में दूसरे आम चुनाव के बाद राजेन्द्र बाबू पुनः राष्ट्रपति निर्वाचित किए गए। इस प्रकार राष्ट्रपति के रूप में उनका कार्यकाल 12 वर्षों का रहा, जो अबतक किसी एक पदधारी का सबसे बड़ा कार्यकाल है।

राष्ट्रपति भारतीय गणराज्य का प्रधान है, पर सरकार का नहीं। सरकार का प्रधान प्रधानमंत्री है। विस्तार में जाएं तो सरकार के तीन शास्त्रीय अंग या इकाई हैं - कार्यपालिका, विधायिका तथा न्यायपालिका। राष्ट्रपति कार्यपालिका तथा विधायिका दोनों के शीर्ष/शिखर पर आसीन है। पर उन दोनों अंगों का वह नामवादी (nominal) प्रधान है। कार्यपालिका के सारे कार्य उनके नाम से संपादित होते हैं। इन दोनों अंगों का वास्तविक (real) प्रधान प्रधानमंत्री है। और, स्वतंत्र न्यायपालिका के शिखर पर आसीन प्रधान न्यायाधीश है। भारतीय संविधान (1950) में सरकार का यह प्रतिमान (model) ब्रिटिश राष्ट्रमंडल (Commonwealth) के संसदीय-संघीय संविधानों - कनाडा (1867) तथा ऑस्ट्रेलिया (1901) के प्रारूप पर अपनाया गया है। कनाडा व ऑस्ट्रेलिया में संविधान का यह प्रतिमान ब्रिटेन के अलिखित संविधान से प्रेरित है, जहां इतिहास के विकासक्रम में इंगलिस्तानी गृह युद्ध (1642-1651) में संसद की सेना से राजा की सेना हार गई। 1668 के राजसिंहासन पर उत्तराधिकार के युद्ध के बाद संसद ने निर्णय किया कि गढ़ी पर कौन राजा बैठेगा। फलस्वरूप, राजा की शक्तियां संसद की शक्तियों के रूप में हस्तांतरित हो गईं। और, संसद तथा कैबिनेट के नेता के रूप में प्रधानमंत्री सरकार का वास्तविक प्रधान हो गया; राजा नामात्र का प्रधान होकर रह गया।

स्वतंत्र भारत में कार्यपालिका के औपचारिक तथा वास्तविक अंगों के रूप में राष्ट्रपति तथा प्रधानमंत्री के संबंध शुरू से ही विवादग्रस्त हो गए। वस्तुतः यह विवाद संविधान-सभा में ही स्वयं अध्यक्ष राजेन्द्र प्रसाद ने ही उठाया था। उन्होंने कहा था कि निर्मित संविधान में कहा गया है कि राष्ट्रपति की सहायता तथा सलाह के लिए एक मंत्रिमंडल होगा। पर यह कहीं नहीं

स्पष्ट किया गया है कि मंत्रिमंडल की सलाह मानने के लिए राष्ट्रपति बाध्य है अथवा नहीं। ड्राफिटिंग कमिटि के अध्यक्ष डॉ. भीमराव रामजी अंबेडकर ने उत्तर में कहा कि ब्रिटिश राष्ट्रमंडल की सर्वज्ञात संवैधानिक परंपरा (constitutional convention) के अनुसार राज्याध्यक्ष कैबिनेट की सलाह मानता आया है। अतः इसका उल्लेख संविधान में करना आवश्यक नहीं माना गया है। ब्रिटेन में ‘संवैधानिक परंपरा’ की परिभाषा है कि इन्हें आदतन माना जाता रहा है। कनाडा में इसकी परिभाषा है कि इन्हें प्रायः माना जाता है, और विवाद की स्थिति में न्यायालय उन्हें परिपुष्ट (uphold) करता है। भारत में भी यही हुआ। उच्चतम न्यायालय ने शमशेर सिंह बनाम पंजाब राज्य (1974) केस में निर्णय किया कि राष्ट्रपति के लिए मंत्रिमंडल की सलाह मानना अनिवार्य है। बाद में प्रधानमंत्री इंदिरा गांधी की सरकार ने आंतरिक आपातस्थिति के दौरान 42वें संवैधानिक संशोधन (1976) के द्वारा संविधान की धारा 74(1) में यह लिखित रूप से जोड़ दिया कि राष्ट्रपति के लिए मंत्रिमंडल की सलाह को मानना आवश्यक है। आपातस्थिति समाप्त होने के बाद, जनता पार्टी सरकार सत्ता में आ गई। तब उसने इस प्रावधान को निरस्त नहीं किया। परन्तु 44वें संशोधन (1979) के द्वारा एक और परिवर्तन यह कर दिया कि राष्ट्रपति असहमति की स्थिति में, एक बार उक्त सलाह को मंत्रिमंडल के पास पुनर्विचार के लिए वापस भेज सकता है। पर अगर मंत्रिमंडल पुनः वही सलाह दुहराए, तो राष्ट्रपति के लिए उसे मान लेना आवश्यक होगा।

पर इस संवैधानिक परिपाक के पूर्व, एक अंतर्कथा या वृतांत का वर्णन शेष रह गया है, जिसका विश्लेषण करना आवश्यक है। 1950 में पदग्रहण के अनंतर, राष्ट्रपति राजेन्द्र प्रसाद ने प्रधानमंत्री नेहरु को एक प्रपत्र भेजा, जिसमें उन्होंने यह दलील रखी कि भारत का राष्ट्रपति ब्रिटिश राजा की अनुकृति नहीं हो सकता, क्योंकि राष्ट्रपति निर्वाचित पदाधिकारी है, जबकि राजा अनुवांशिक (hereditary) राज्याध्यक्ष है; राष्ट्रपति को संविधान के उल्लंघन के लिए महाभियोग (impeachment) लगा कर पद से हटाया जा सकता है, जब कि राजा के बारे में संवैधानिक सिद्धान्त है कि वह कोई गलती नहीं कर सकता है, ‘The king can do no wrong’। राष्ट्रपति एक संघीय पदाधिकारी है, जबकि राजा एक एकात्मक राज्य का अध्यक्ष है। अतः राष्ट्रपति प्रसाद ने लिखा कि उनकी मंशा है कि वे संसद को कोई संवाद भेजने में व किसी संसदीय विधेयक को स्वीकृत कर विधान बनाने की प्रक्रिया में हस्ताक्षर करने में स्वविवेक (discretion) से कार्य करेंगे। संभवतः ऐसा उन्होंने इसलिए किया कि प्रधानमंत्री नेहरु उस समय हिन्दु पारंपरिक पारिवारिक कानून में संशोधन लाने का विचार कर रहे थे, जो एक पारंपरिक हिन्दु होने के नाते राष्ट्रपति प्रसाद को पसंद नहीं था। जब हिन्दु कोड बिल सरकार द्वारा संसद में पेश किया गया तो प्रसाद ने अपना मंतव्य व्यक्त किया कि इस उग्र सुधारवादी विधेयक को अंतरिम संसद में पेश करने के बजाय प्रथम आम चुनाव तक रुकना चाहिए, जब इस मुद्दे पर लोकमत में कुछ विमर्श हो जाय। प्रसाद ने इस मुद्दे पर संघीय (federal) आयाम को भी लाया। धर्म/सम्प्रदाय पर आधारित पारंपरिक पारिवारिक कानून संविधान की समर्त्ती सूची (Concurrent List) में आता है, जिस पर संसद और राज्य विधायिकाओं दोनों को कानून बनाने का अधिकार है; पर दोनों में विरोध या संघर्ष की स्थिति में संसदीय कानून प्रभावी हो जाता है। अगर संसद बिना राज्य

सरकारों से इस विषय पर विमर्श किए कानून बना देता है, तो यह संघीय भावना/आत्मा के प्रतिकूल होगा। इस प्रकार प्रसाद ने संविधान सभा की अलिखित मान्यता को बहुत तर्कसंगत ढंग से असंगत माना।

नेहरु ने विरोध प्रकट किया, तथा प्रसाद की टिप्पणी को तुरंत तत्कालीन अटॉर्नी जेनरल मोहनलाल चिमनलाल सेतलवाद तथा पूर्व-संविधान-सभासद सर अल्लादी कृष्णस्वामी अय्यर को भेज दिया। दोनों ने ही प्रधानमंत्री के मत का समर्थन किया कि संविधान सभा के बाद-संवाद से यह स्पष्ट है कि संविधान-निर्माताओं की क्या मान्यता है; हालांकि उन्होंने इस संवैधानिक परंपरा को संविधान में लिख डालने की आवश्यकता नहीं समझी। तब राष्ट्रपति प्रसाद ने इस बात को और अधिक तूल नहीं दिया। वे व्यवहार में एक औपचारिक या संवैधानिक राष्ट्रपति की भूमिका का निर्वहन करते रहे। अतः कोई संवैधानिक संकट की स्थिति पैदा नहीं हुई।

बर्षों बाद, राष्ट्रपति प्रसाद ने राष्ट्रपति की शक्तियों की व्याख्या का मुद्दा एक अकादमिक विमर्श के लिए पुनः उठाया। अपने दूसरे पूर्णकालिक कार्यकाल के अंतिम वर्षों में 28 नवम्बर, 1960, को उन्होंने भारतीय विधि संस्थान (Indian Law Institute), नयी दिल्ली, के भवन के शिलान्यास के अवसर पर अपने व्याख्यान के दैरान कहा कि वे यह सुझाव रखने की स्वतंत्रता ले रहे हैं कि संस्थान इस बात पर अनुसंधान करे कि भारत के राष्ट्रपति की संवैधानिक शक्तियां वस्तुतः क्या हैं। भारतीय संविधान प्रमुखतः ब्रिटिश संविधान पर आधारित माना जाता है। परन्तु दोनों संविधानों में स्पष्टतः कुछ आधारभूत अंतर हैं। ब्रिटेन का संविधान एकात्मक (unitary) है, जिसमें संसद एकमात्र सर्वोच्च संप्रभु शक्ति है, जो किसी अन्य संवैधानिक हस्ती के साथ सत्ता में सहभागी नहीं है; दूसरी कोई भी ईकाई संसद की स्वेच्छा से हस्तांतरित (delegated) शक्तियों की ही हकदार है, जो संसद जब चाहे वापस लेने में सक्षम है। दूसरी ओर, हमारा संविधान एक संघीय (federal) संविदा है जिसमें संसद और राज्य विधायिकाओं की न्यूनतम व अधिकतम शक्तियां व प्रकार्य एक लिखित संविधान में विभाजित हैं, जिनका अतिक्रमण दोनों में से किसी के लिए वर्जित व असंवैधानिक है। ब्रिटिश राज्याध्यक्ष एक राजा है जिसका पद स्थायी तथा अनुवांशिक है। भारत का राष्ट्रपति निर्वाचित राज्याध्यक्ष है, जो एक सीमित कार्यकाल के लिए है, तथा उसे महाभियोग लगा कर संसद द्वारा पदच्युत भी किया जा सकता है। विशाल लिखित भारतीय संविधान में कोई ऐसा प्रावधान नहीं है कि राष्ट्रपति नाममात्र का राज्याध्यक्ष है, और मंत्रिमंडल की सलाह पर कार्य करने के लिए बाध्य है। उपर्युक्त तथ्यों के आलोक में राष्ट्रपति प्रसाद ने यह प्रश्न प्रस्तुत किया कि किस हद तक भारत के राष्ट्रपति को ब्रिटिश राजा के समतुल्य मानने का औचित्य है। सितंबर 18, 1951 के प्रधानमंत्री के नाम प्रेषित एक नोट में राष्ट्रपति प्रसाद ने तदोक्त व्याख्या के अनुसार निज आचरण/व्यवहार की मंशा व्यक्त की थी। पर सीमित विवाद व विरोध के उपरांत उसे त्याग दिया। 28 नवंबर, 1960, के विधि संस्थान वाले व्याख्यान में तो शुरू में ही प्रसाद ने उक्त वक्तव्य को सिर्फ अकादमिक विमर्श के लिए रखा था।

उत्तराधिकारी राष्ट्रपति सर्वपल्ली राधाकृष्णन ने भी अपने व्यवहार में उपर्युक्त संविधान-सीमित राष्ट्रपति की ही भूमिका अदा की। यदा-कदा नेहरू सरकार की कतिपय नीतियों व कार्यकलापों पर अपने मुक्त मंतव्य व्यक्त करने के बावजूद, उनका मत था कि राष्ट्रपति को कभी प्रत्यक्ष व स्वतंत्र कार्यपालिका शक्ति का प्रयोग नहीं करना चाहिए। वे सदैव अपने अभिभाषणों के अभिलेख प्रधानमंत्री को दिखा लिया करते थे। सिर्फ एक अवसर पर उन्होंने ऐसा नहीं किया, क्योंकि प्रधानमंत्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री इस कार्य के लिए आसानी से संपर्क-सुलभ नहीं थे। बाद में शास्त्री ने बात-चीत में इसका उलाहना व्यक्त किया।

राष्ट्रपति प्रसाद की राष्ट्रपति की शक्तियों की अपारंपरिक व्याख्या ब्रिटिश कॉमनवेल्थ के संसदीय-संघीय मॉडल के प्रतिकूल जाती है। क्योंकि कनाडा और ऑस्ट्रेलिया के संविधानों में संविधान-सीमित राज्याध्यक्षों की भूमिका संपुष्ट या स्थापित हो चुकी थी/है। भारतीय संविधान ने भी भारतीय राष्ट्रपति की भूमिका संसदीय-संघीय कनाडा व ऑस्ट्रेलिया के गवर्नर जनरल के मॉडल पर अपनाया है, जिसकी नियुक्ति ब्रिटिश राजा/रानी के द्वारा कनाडा या ऑस्ट्रेलिया के प्रधानमंत्री या मंत्रिमंडल की बाध्यकारी सलाह पर की जाती है। आश्चर्य है कि राष्ट्रपति प्रसाद ने अपने नोट में कनाडा व ऑस्ट्रेलिया को छोड़कर ब्रिटेन का उल्लेख किया! क्यों? इस प्रश्न के उत्तर के लिए मुझे कुछ और शोध करने की आवश्यकता हो रही है। क्योंकि इसके लिए न तो उनके अज्ञान को, और न ही अपने पाठकों और श्रोताओं को दिग्भ्रमित करने की उनकी नीयत को जिम्मेदार ठहराया जा सकता है। संविधान सभा के सबसे वयोवृद्ध सदस्य होने के नाते उसके अंतरिक्षिकालीन अध्यक्ष, पटना के प्रख्यात विद्वान ऐडवोकेट श्री सच्चिदानन्द सिन्हा, उक्त सभा में अपने उद्घाटन-भाषण में समस्त लोकतांत्रिक विश्व के संवैधानिक मॉडलों की चर्चा कर चुके थे। संविधान सभा में मौजूद अन्य दर्जनाधिक संवैधानिक विशेषज्ञ - अंबेडकर, अल्लादि कृष्णास्वामी अय्यर, कन्हैयालाल माणिकलाल मुंशी, गोपाल स्वामी आय्यंगर, सी.पी. रामस्वामी अय्यर, सभा के विधि सलाहकार बेनेगल नरसिंह राव, इत्यादि - विविध संवैधानिक मुद्दों पर सदस्यों के लिए वक्तव्य या लिखित प्रपत्र व प्रश्नावली पेश कर चुके थे। स्वयं राजेन्द्र बाबू का इन विषयों पर ज्ञान कम नहीं था। बहुत सोचने पर एक ही बात ध्यान में आती है। संविधान सभा के बाद-संवाद के वातावरण-मंडल में, और सारे सदस्यों के अवचेतन में, ब्रिटिश संविधानवाद की प्रेतछाया सर्वोपरि वार्तालाप का बिन्दु था, शायद इसलिए कि वे ब्रिटिश कानूनों व संवैधानिक परंपरा से सर्वाधिक परिचित थे। संभवतः इसी कारण राष्ट्रपति प्रसाद के नोट व वक्तव्य में भी वही प्रतिमान सामने आया है।

एक दृष्टिकोण से, राष्ट्रपति प्रसाद ने जिस विमर्श को देश के समक्ष लाया वह भविष्यसूचक कथन था। 1970 के दशक के आरंभ में, जब इंदिरा गांधी के सत्ता के शिखर पर पहुँचने और काँग्रेस शासन में सर्वसत्तावाद व भ्रष्टाचार के आसार प्रकट होने पर उनके खिलाफ जयप्रकाश नारायण के नेतृत्व में गैर-संसदीय जनआन्दोलन आरंभ हुआ, प्रधानमंत्री इंदिरा गांधी ने गैर-संवैधानिक ढंग से संविधान की धारा 352 के अंतर्गत आंतरिक आपातकाल की घोषणा कर दी। इस घोषणा के पूर्व उन्होंने मंत्रिमंडल से विचार-विमर्श नहीं किया। घोषणा राष्ट्रपति फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद ने रात में जारी कर दी और प्रधानमंत्री गांधी ने मंत्रिमंडल को

दूसरी सुबह एक निष्पन्न कार्य (fait accompli) के रूप में उसकी सूचना मात्र दी। राष्ट्रपति अहमद ने न तो यह प्रश्न पूछा कि क्या मंत्रिमंडल से मशविरा कर लिया गया है और न ही यह सलाह दी कि अगर नहीं किया गया है तो कर लिया जाय। कुख्यात आंतरिक आपातकाल (1975-1977) की समाप्ति इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व वाली कांग्रेस सरकार की 1977 के आम चुनाव में पराजय से हुई। जयप्रकाश नारायण द्वारा नेतृत्व जनांदोलन के गर्भ से निकली जनता पार्टी की मोरारजी देसाई सरकार ने 44वां संविधानिक संशोधन (1978) पारित किया, जिसका संक्षिप्त उल्लेख मैंने इस आलेख में ऊपर किया है। इस संशोधन के प्रमुख बिन्दु निम्नलिखित हैं। प्रथम, धारा 352 में आपात स्थिति के पूर्व-कारणों - भारत की अथवा इसके किसी भूभाग में सुरक्षा को युद्ध या बाहरी आक्रमण से खतरा - में एक कारण और जोड़ दिया गया - सशस्त्र विद्रोह। ध्यातव्य है कि जयप्रकाश नारायण आन्दोलन निःशस्त्र तथा अहिंसक था। यह भी स्पष्ट कर दिया गया कि खतरा के घटित होने पूर्व, अगर राष्ट्रपति संतुष्ट है कि इसकी आसन्न आशंका है, तब भी आपातस्थिति की घोषणा कर दी जा सकती है। द्वितीयतः, संशोधन द्वारा यह भी स्पष्ट रूप से प्रावधानित कर दिया गया कि राष्ट्रपति तब तक आपातस्थिति की घोषणा नहीं करेगा जब तक उसे, उस आशय का, मंत्रिमंडल का लिखित निर्णय नहीं प्राप्त हो जाएगा। घोषणा के उपरांत, एक निर्धारित अवधि में संसद द्वारा आपातकाल की घोषणा की स्वीकृति तथा उसकी अधिकतम अवधि आदि के प्रावधान संविधान में पहले से ही मौजूद हैं।

इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि संविधान के महत्वपूर्ण 74वें संशोधन पर राष्ट्रपति राजेन्द्र प्रसाद के 1951 के नोट तथा 1960 के व्याख्यान की स्पष्ट छाप है। समय व स्थान के संकोच के कारण, अन्य राष्ट्रपतियों की भूमिका के बारे में यहां विवेचन संभव नहीं है।



## मध्य प्रदेश लोक सेवा गारंटी अधिनियम 2010 के कार्यान्वयन में ई-शासन की भूमिका

शीतल द्विवेदी\*

### सारांश

भूमण्डलीकरण के इस युग में खासकर विकासशील देशों के संदर्भ में सुशासन का अत्यधिक महत्व है। शासन की दक्षता एवं उपादेयता इस बात पर निर्भर करती है कि नागरिकों को प्राप्त होने वाली लोक सेवा कितना उत्कृष्ट एवं स-समय प्रदान की जाती है। भारत में द्वितीय प्रशासनिक सुधारों के अनुसंशाओं में लोक सेवा डिलीभरी पर अधिक जोर दिया गया। इसी के अनुसरण में कई राज्यों ने लोक सेवा गारंटी अधिनियम बनाए। मध्य प्रदेश ने सर्वप्रथम लोक सेवा गारंटी अधिनियम 2010 में निर्मित ही नहीं किया, अपितु इसके प्रभावकारी कार्यान्वयन के लिए डिजिटल तकनीक एवं ई-शासन की सहायता से लोकसेवकों को प्रशिक्षित भी किया। प्रस्तुत आलेख में जमीनी स्तर पर इस परिकल्पना का परीक्षण उज्जैन जिला के सेवाग्राहियों, सेवा प्रदाताओं एवं लोकसेवकों के सर्वेक्षण के माध्यम से किया गया है। सर्वेक्षण के आंकड़ों के अनुसार ई-शासन के द्वारा प्रशिक्षण प्राप्त अधिकारियों ने नागरिकों को उत्कृष्ट सेवा प्रदान की।

**विषयसूचक शब्द:** लोकसेवा गारंटी, लोकसेवक, ई-प्रशासन, सुशासन, लोकसेवा केन्द्र, मध्य प्रदेश

### विषय प्रवेश

नागरिकों को सेवाओं का प्रदान किया जाना ही महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है बल्कि सेवाएं समय पर प्राप्त हो, यह अत्यधिक महत्वपूर्ण है। प्रशासन व सेवाओं की संबद्धता के सन्दर्भ में प्रशासनिक विचारक फेलिक्स ए. निगो का कहना है कि “प्रशासन का वास्तविक तत्व जनता को दी जाने वाली बुनियादी सेवाएं हैं।”<sup>1</sup> राज्य में एक आम नागरिक की भी आवश्यकतानुरूप सेवाओं की पूर्ति समय पर हो ऐसी व्यवस्था की स्थापना को प्रशिक्षण की प्रमुख आधारशिला माना जा सकता है।

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भारत के द्वितीय प्रशासनिक सुधार आयोग ने अपने बारहवें प्रतिवेदन “नागरिक-केन्द्रित प्रशासन: अभिशासन का हृदय”<sup>2</sup> में प्रशिक्षण के आठ लक्षण दर्शाए हैं। यह निम्न है - 1. पारदर्शी, 2. जवाबदेह, 3. सर्वसम्मति, 4. सहभागी, 5. विधिपालन, 6. प्रभावी और कुशल, 7. समान और समावेशी, 8. अनुक्रियाशील। इन प्रतिमानों को लक्षित कर जब सरकार अपने नीति व कार्यक्रम का निर्धारण करती है, तब देश के अंतिम छोर का व्यक्ति भी स्वयं को शासन का अंग मानकर अपने कर्तव्य व अधिकार जानकर उनका आसानी से प्रयोग कर पाने में सक्षम होता है। इस प्रकार प्रशिक्षण में देश के प्रत्येक नागरिक के अधिकारों का सशक्तिकरण स्वतः हो जाता है।

सरकार अथवा उसके अधीनस्थ/स्वायत्तशासी निकायों में कार्यरत सभी कर्मचारी लोकसेवक की श्रेणी में आते हैं। लोक सेवकों से अपेक्षा की जाती है कि वे निष्ठापूर्वक और कर्तव्यपरायणता के साथ कार्य करें, यह लोकतंत्र में श्रेयस्कर है। इसके लिए उन्हें समुचित प्रशिक्षण मिलना चाहिए। सेन्टर फॉर मीडिया स्टडीज (सीएमएस)<sup>3</sup> के अध्ययन के अनुसार अधिकांश नागरिक सार्वजनिक सेवाएं प्रदान किए जाने से संतुष्ट नहीं हैं। अध्ययन में सम्मिलित 11 विभागों में से 7 विभागों में एक तिहाई से कम नागरिक प्रदत्त सेवाओं से संतुष्ट थे। वस्तुतः अधिकांश जरूरत आधारित सेवाओं में जैसे कि पुलिस, न्यायपालिका और नगरपालिकाओं (जहां अधिक विवेक और शक्तियां प्राप्त हैं) 20 प्रतिशत परिवार भी उनकी सेवाओं से संतुष्ट नहीं थे। अनिवार्य सेवाओं जैसे कि लोक वितरण प्रणाली (पीडीएस), अस्पताल और बिजली, जलापूर्ति के मामले में भी मात्र 30-40 प्रतिशत सेवाओं से खुश हैं...। अध्ययन के अनुसार अधिकांश विभागों में कोई शिकायत समाधान पद्धति मौजूद नहीं है। यदि पद्धति है तो नागरिक को इसकी जानकारी नहीं है तथा विभाग उन्हें जानकारी देने का प्रयास नहीं करते हैं। जिन्हें इस बात की जानकारी है उन्हें इसमें बहुत कम विश्वास है। आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है कि परिणाम लाचारी की एक भावना है। “विभागीय स्तर पर अनेक संभावित उपाय हैं, जैसे कि सेवाओं की नीतिगत आउटसोर्सिंग, प्रौद्योगिकी का उपयोग, बेहतर वाणिज्यिक प्रथाएं, स्टाफ के लिए निष्पादन-सम्बद्ध प्रोत्साहन व उपभोक्ता संतुष्टि पर समय-समय पर नजर रखना। इसके साथ ही सार्वजनिक सेवा प्रदाता को उपभोक्ता समिति के माध्यम से नागरिक के प्रति और अधिक जवाबदेह बनाया जाए।”<sup>4</sup>

इन कसौटियों पर खरा उतरने के लिए केन्द्र व राज्य स्तर की सरकारों द्वारा इस दिशा में कई महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाए गए हैं जिससे नागरिक अधिकारों का सशक्तिकरण एवं शासन का स्वरूप दक्ष हो सके। जिसके लिए लोकसेवकों का लोकोन्मुखी प्रशिक्षण आवश्यक है। प्रशिक्षण की दिशा में मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने एक क्रान्तिकारी पहल करते हुए प्रदेश के नागरिकों को दी जाने वाली महत्वपूर्ण सेवाओं को समय-सीमा में प्रदान करने की गारंटी देते हुए सम्पूर्ण प्रदेश में दिनांक 25 सितम्बर, 2010 को ‘मध्य प्रदेश लोक सेवाओं गारंटी अधिनियम, 2010’ लागू किया। ऐसा कानून बनाकर लागू करने वाला मध्य प्रदेश देश का पहला राज्य बन गया है। इस महत्वपूर्ण पहल का अनुसरण कर देश के अन्य राज्यों ने भी इस अधिनियम को अपने-अपने राज्य क्षेत्रों में लागू किया है। ये हैं - पंजाब, बिहार, उत्तराखण्ड, छत्तीसगढ़, राजस्थान, जम्मू-कश्मीर, झारखण्ड, उत्तर प्रदेश और दिल्ली।<sup>5</sup> यह अधिनियम नागरिकों को सेवा प्रदान की गारंटी ही नहीं देता वरन् एक निश्चित समय-सीमा के अंदर सेवा प्रदान करने की भी गारंटी देता है। इस अधिनियम के

अनुसार लोकसेवकों को समय-सीमा में कार्य करने के लिए बाध्य किया गया है, और ऐसा न कर पाने पर लोकसेवकों पर आर्थिक दण्ड का प्रावधान है।

मध्य प्रदेश लोक सेवा गारंटी अधिनियम, 2010 में 11 धाराएँ हैं। इस अधिनियम का मूल उद्देश्य सरकार द्वारा अधिसूचित सेवाओं को आम नागरिकों को एक तय समय-सीमा के अंदर उपलब्ध कराना है। अधिनियम की धारा 4 में विहित पदाधिकारी धारा 3 के अधीन अधिसूचित कोई सेवा प्राप्त करने के लिए लाभ के पात्र व्यक्ति को, निश्चित की गई समय-सीमा के भीतर ऐसी सेवा प्रदान कराएगा।

**शोध प्रविधि:** प्रस्तुत अध्ययन मुख्यतः आनुभविक पद्धति पर आधारित है। तथ्य संकलन के प्राथमिक स्रोत से अनुसूचि की सहायता से उज्जैन जिला के हितग्राही, सेवा प्रदाता, लोक सेवा कर्मी सहित शासकीय अधिकारी का सर्वेक्षण अंतर्वीक्षा से किया गया है। हितग्राही से हमारा तात्पर्य अधिनियम के अंतर्गत अधिसूचित सेवाओं के पात्रों से है जिन्होंने सेवाओं के लिए आवेदन दिया है। शासकीय अधिकारी के श्रेणी में अधिनियम के तहत अधिसूचित सेवाओं के निमित चिह्नित लोक सेवकों/अधिकारी आते हैं जो प्रथम एवं द्वितीय अपीलीय अधिकारी होते हैं तथा लोक सेवा केन्द्र कर्मचारियों को लोक सेवा केन्द्रों पर कार्यरत मुख्य संचालक, जनसंपर्क अधिकारी तथा कम्प्यूटर ऑपरेटर को सम्मिलित किया गया है।

जहां तक उत्तरदाताओं का प्रतिचयन प्रश्न है, प्रथम स्तर पर हितग्राहियों का चयन दैव-निर्दर्शन पद्धति से किया गया है, विभिन्न विभागों के आवेदनों की सूचियों पर यादृच्छिक संख्या अंकित कर कुल 8 केन्द्रों में प्रत्येक से 20 हितग्राही, द्वितीय स्तर पर सेवा प्रदाता अधिकारियों का उद्देश्यपूर्ण प्रतिचयन किया गया है। चूँकि सम्पूर्ण जिले में द्वितीय अपील का आवेदन प्राप्त न होने के कारण द्वितीय अपीलीय प्राधिकारी को सम्मिलित नहीं किया गया है। लोक सेवा केन्द्र में एक मुख्य संचालक सहित 4 कम्प्यूटर आपरेटर कार्यरत हैं। इस तरह प्रत्येक केन्द्र से मुख्य संचालक और 1 वरिष्ठ कम्प्यूटर आपरेटर का चयन किया गया। उज्जैन जिले में संचालित आठ लोक सेवा केन्द्र शोध का यूनिवर्स या समग्र हैं तथा जिले में इन लोक सेवा केन्द्रों में 14 विभागों की सेवाओं के आवेदन 2014 तक प्राप्त हुए थे। यह विभाग निम्न हैं -सामान्य प्रशासन विभाग, राजस्व विभाग, नगरीय प्रशासन एवं विकास विभाग, पंचायत एवं ग्रामीण विकास विभाग, खाद्य, नागरिक आपूर्ति एवं उपभोक्ता संरक्षण विभाग, श्रम विभाग, सामाजिक न्याय विभाग, लोक स्वास्थ्य एवं परिवार कल्याण विभाग, गृह विभाग, किसान कल्याण एवं कृषि विकास विभाग, ऊर्जा विभाग, महिला एवं बाल विकास विभाग। अतः प्रतिचयन का आकार निम्नानुसार है-

#### प्रतिचयन का आकार

हितग्राही	8 × 20	160
शासकीय अधिकारी	8 × 2	16
एल.एस.के. कर्मचारी	8 × 2	16
कुल		192

तथ्य संकलन के द्वितीयक स्रोत के रूप में संबंधित शोध अध्ययनों एवं अन्य विषय सामग्री का अध्ययन करने के पश्चात उपयोगी तथ्यों को एकत्रित कर अध्ययन के उद्देश्यों के आधार पर तीन श्रेणियों के उत्तरदाताओं यथा हितग्राही, सेवाप्रदाता, तथा लोक सेवा केन्द्र कर्मचारी सहित शासकीय अधिकारियों के लिए तीन प्रकार की साक्षात्कार अनुसूचियाँ निर्मित की गई।

## उज्जैन जिला का प्रोफाइल

शोध का समग्र मध्य प्रदेश का उज्जैन जिला है। उज्जैन मध्य प्रदेश के उत्तर-पश्चिम भाग में उज्जैन संभाग का एक जिला है। इस जिले का भौगोलिक विस्तार  $20^{\circ} 43'$  से  $23^{\circ} 36'$  उत्तरी अक्षांश व  $75^{\circ} 00'$  से  $76^{\circ} 30'$  पूर्वी देशान्तर तक है। यह जिला मालवा पठार के हृदय स्थल में स्थित है, जिसका मुख्यालय उज्जैन शहर है। उज्जैन जिले का कुल क्षेत्रफल 6,091 वर्ग किलोमीटर है। जिले में सात तहसील तराना, महिदपुर, उज्जैन, घटिया, नागदा, खाचरौद, बड़नगर है। इसके अतिरिक्त जिले में छः विकासखण्ड तराना, महिदपुर, उज्जैन, घटिया, खाचरौद, बड़नगर और सात नगरपालिकाएँ तराना, महिदपुर, उज्जैन, उन्हेल, नागदा, खाचरौद, बड़नगर है। इसके साथ ही उज्जैन जिले में उज्जैन नगर निगम भी गठित है। जनगणना 2011 के अनुसार उज्जैन जिले की कुल जनसंख्या 19,86,597 है, जिसमें कुल पुरुषों की संख्या 10,16,432 व महिलाओं की संख्या 97,0165 है। जिले की 60.47 प्रतिशत जनसंख्या ग्रामीण है। उज्जैन जिले की साक्षरता दर 73.06 प्रतिशत है।<sup>6</sup>

प्रदेश के सभी जिलों की भाँति उज्जैन जिले में भी अधिनियम, 2010 अधिनियम के कुशल क्रियान्वयन हेतु लोक सेवा प्रबंधन विभाग द्वारा प्रत्येक जिले के विकासखण्ड/तहसील स्तर पर एवं शहरी क्षेत्र में लोक सेवा केन्द्र की स्थापना का निर्णय लिया गया। अधिनियम, 2010 को और अधिक प्रभावी बनाने के लिए लोक-निजी भागीदारी (PPP अर्थात् पब्लिक-प्राइवेट पार्टनरशिप) माडेल से लोक सेवा केन्द्रों की स्थापना की गई। इन केन्द्रों का मुख्य कार्य अधिनियम में अधिसूचित सेवाएँ प्रदान करने के आवेदन प्राप्त कर उनकी ऑनलाइन प्रविष्टि कर पदाधिकारी तक पहुँचाना। अधिकारी द्वारा प्रदान की गई सेवा या उनके द्वारा लिए गए निर्णय की जानकारी आवेदक को उपलब्ध कराना। जिले में आठ लोक सेवा केन्द्रों की स्थापना 25 सितम्बर 2012 को की गई। यह आठ लोक सेवा केन्द्र निम्नवत् हैं- (1) नगर निगम उज्जैन, (2) तराना, (3) महिदपुर, (4) जनपद उज्जैन, (5) घटिया, (6) नागदा, (7) खाचरौद, (8) बड़नगर।

## लोकसेवा एवं ई-शासन

प्रशिक्षण की स्थापना में ई-शासन एक तकनीक, सहायक उप-व्यवस्था, उपकरण के रूप में कार्य करता है। प्रशिक्षण की स्थापना हेतु शासन-प्रशासन के स्तर पर कई तरह के सुधार की आवश्यकता होती है। ई-शासन उनमें से एक हैं जिसे प्रशासनिक सुधारों की कुंजी कहा गया है। ई-शासन ठीक उसी प्रकार एक व्यापक अवधारणा है जिस प्रकार सरकार या प्रशासन। यह शासन का ऑनलाइन अर्थात् इंटरनेट संस्करण हैं।<sup>7</sup>

सरकार द्वारा विभिन्न विभागों की सेवाएँ ऑनलाइन माध्यम से प्रदाय किए जाने से ई-शासन, नागरिकों के लिए एक प्रकार की सुविधा सिद्ध हुई है, जिसके तहत व्यक्ति घर बैठे संबंधित अधिकारी/विभाग से अपने कार्य संबंधी सूचना प्राप्त करने में उनसे सवाल पूछने तथा सरकार की गतिविधियों की जानकारी रखने में सक्षम हुआ है।

ई-शासन में आधुनिक तकनीकी प्रौद्योगिकी के माध्यम से शासन की गुणवत्ता में निरन्तर सुधार प्राप्त करना, सामयिक और उपयोगी सूचना ऑनलाइन उपलब्ध कराना, प्रौद्योगिकी समाधानों का विकास, निगरानी और मूल्यांकन, भूमि अभिलेखों के कम्प्यूटरीकरण संबंधी परियोजना आदि शामिल हैं।

ई-शासन की अवधारणा इस बात पर केंद्रित है कि सरकार द्वारा सेवाओं को नागरिकों और व्यापारिक प्रतिष्ठानों के दरवाजे तक पहुँचाया जाए, परन्तु प्रौद्योगिकी स्वयं में पर्याप्त नहीं हो सकती है। ई-शासन के सुधार के केन्द्र में प्रक्रियाएँ, तैयारियाँ प्रौद्योगिकी और लोग हैं। ई-शासन की सफलता के लिए सरकार के कामकाज के तरीकों, प्रक्रियाओं और संगठनात्मक पहलुओं का पुनर्गठन करना आवश्यक है। इसके बिना ई-शासन के प्रयास फलदायी नहीं हो सकते हैं। 6-IIInd ARC का ग्यारहवाँ प्रतिवेदन ‘ई-गवर्नेन्स को प्रोत्साहन : भविष्य की स्मार्ट राह में ई-गवर्नेन्स की अवधारणात्मक संरचना, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिदृश्य, भारत द्वारा पहल, ई-गवर्नेन्स के प्रमुख सिद्धान्तों, सुधारों, वैधानिक ढाँचे तथा राष्ट्रीय ई-गवर्नेन्स योजना के साथ-साथ ज्ञान प्रबन्धन का विवेचन किया गया है।

आयोग ने अपने सुझाव पर इस बात पर जोर दिया है कि केन्द्रीय एवं राज्य स्तर पर सरकारी विभागों एवं संगठनों की ऐसी परियोजनाएँ एवं प्राथमिकताओं को चिह्नित करने की आवश्यकता है जहाँ ई-गवर्नेन्स की पहल की जा सकती है।<sup>8</sup>

इस क्रम में नागरिकों का समय बचाने वाली महत्वपूर्ण सूचनाओं तथा सेवा-भुगतान के ऑनलाइन संव्यवहारों से संबंधित प्रयासों को प्राथमिकता दी जाए। समय की आवश्यकता के आधार पर केन्द्र व राज्य स्तर पर ई-शासन की दिशा में कई प्रयास किए गए हैं, जो इस प्रकार है – राष्ट्रीय ई-शासन नीति (NEGP) ए मिशन मोड परियोजना, विद्यावाहिनी कार्यक्रम, मध्य प्रदेश में ज्ञानदूत कार्यक्रम, उत्तरांचल की आरोही परियोजना, ई-चौपाल, इत्यादि सरकार के ई-स्वरूप को मूर्तरूप देने में अपना योगदान दे रहे हैं।

भविष्य की इसी स्मार्ट राह पर बढ़ते हुए मध्य प्रदेश शासन ने अधिनियम, को क्रियान्वित कर नागरिकों को निश्चित समय-सीमा में सेवा के प्रदाय को सुनिश्चित किया गया है। नागरिकों को त्वरित सेवा प्रदाय हो सके इस हेतु शासन द्वारा अधिनियम में अधिसूचित सेवाओं में से चुनिन्दा सेवाओं को ऑनलाइन माध्यम से प्रदान किए जाने का निर्णय लिया गया है। इन ऑनलाइन सेवाओं में समय-समय में बढ़ोत्तरी किए जाने हेतु शासन का लोक सेवा प्रबंधन विभाग लगातार प्रयासरत है। वर्तमान में अधिनियम के अन्तर्गत अधिसूचित 135 सेवाओं में से 69 सेवाएँ ऑनलाइन माध्यम से प्रदान की जा रही हैं। शेष सेवाएँ आफलाइन माध्यम से प्रदान की जा रही हैं।

अधिनियम का उद्देश्य है कि अधिसूचित सेवाओं के आवेदनों का निराकरण अधिकारियों द्वारा निश्चित समय-सीमा में संभव हो और नागरिक त्वरित सेवा की प्राप्ति कर सके। इस दिशा में ई-शासन के महत्व को समझाते हुए लोक सेवा प्रबंधन विभाग ने अधिनियम के क्रियान्वयन पश्चात ही सेवाओं के ऑनलाइन प्रदत्तीकरण की दिशा में यथासंभव प्रयास किए। इसके परिणामस्वरूप सितम्बर 2012 में लोक सेवा केन्द्रों की स्थापना के साथ ही ऑनलाइन सेवाएँ प्रदान की जाने लगी।<sup>9</sup>

अधिनियम के लागू होने के पश्चात विभागों को मात्र अधिसूचित सेवाओं के आवेदनों का निराकरण समय-सीमा के अन्तर्गत किए जाने की बाध्यता थी। ऑनलाइन सेवाओं की प्रदाय प्रक्रिया के दौरान विभिन्न विभागों को प्राप्त आवेदनों और उनके निराकरण की जानकारी लोक सेवा प्रबंधन विभाग की वेबसाइट में स्वतः प्रविष्ट होती है। वर्तमान में ऑफलाइन माध्यम से प्रदान की जाने वाली सेवाओं के आवेदन और उनके निराकरण की जानकारी भी संबंधित पदाधिकारी द्वारा विभाग की वेबसाइट में प्रविष्ट करना अनिवार्य है।

NIC द्वारा निर्मित विशिष्ट प्रकार के साफ्टवेयर का प्रयोग करते हुए विभाग ने जिला लोक सेवा प्रबंधक, समस्त पदाधिकारी, प्रथम अपील अधिकारी एवं द्वितीय अपील प्राधिकारी, प्रत्येक लोक सेवा केन्द्र को विभाग की वेबसाइट का यूजर आई.डी. व पासवर्ड प्रदान किया है। इसकी सहायता से वेबसाइट में लॉगइन कर लोक सेवा केन्द्र के कर्मचारी द्वारा प्राप्त आवेदन प्रपत्रों की ऑनलाइन प्रविष्टि की जाती है। इसी तरह संबंधित पदाधिकारी एवं अपीलीय अधिकारी भी अपनी यूजर आई.डी. व पासवर्ड का प्रयोग कर प्रतिदिन यह देख पाते हैं कि उनके अन्तर्गत प्रदान की जाने वाली सेवाओं के कितने आवेदन व अपील प्राप्त हुए हैं एवं उन्हें प्रदान करने की समयावधि क्या है, इसी के आधार पर वह आगे की कार्यवाही करते हैं।

जिला स्तर पर ई-गवर्नेन्स सोसायटी का गठन किया गया है। इसका कार्य जिला स्तर पर संचालित ई-गवर्नेन्स से संबंधित कार्यवाहियां और अन्य तरह की नागरिक सेवाएँ जिन्हें ऑनलाइन माध्यम से प्रदान किया जा रहा है, उनका प्रबंधन करना।

जिले में अधिनियम का प्रभावी क्रियान्वयन करने के लिए जिला कलेक्टर की भूमिका को अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण माना गया है। अधिनियम के अनुश्रवण का दायित्व जिला कलेक्टर, जिला लोक सेवा प्रबंधक की सहायता से करता है। अतः जिला लोक सेवा प्रबंधक द्वारा सम्पूर्ण जिले में अधिनियम के क्रियान्वयन की क्या स्थिति है, किस पदाधिकारी या अपीलीय अधिकारी के कार्यक्षेत्र में कितनी सेवाएँ लम्बित हैं, इन सबकी जानकारी प्रबंधक विभाग की वेबसाइट से ऑनलाइन प्राप्त करता है और आवश्यकता अनुसार समय-समय पर संबंधित अधिकारी को सचेत करता है। इस तरह जिले में अधिनियम क्रियान्वयन संबंधी अद्यतन वस्तुस्थिति की समस्त जानकारियाँ जिला लोक सेवा प्रबंधक द्वारा विभाग को ऑनलाइन माध्यम से ही प्रदान की जाती है।

## सर्वेक्षण के परिणाम

हितग्राहियों, शासकीय अधिकारियों एवं LSK (Lok Seva Kendra) के कर्मचारियों के अनुसार अधिनियम क्रियान्वयन में उपयोग किए जा रहे ई-शासन के परिणाम एवं इसी संदर्भ में प्राप्त प्रतिक्रिया को जानने का प्रयास किया गया है। अधिनियम के तहत सेवी वर्ग या लाभान्वित वर्ग को प्राप्त होने वाली सेवाओं पर हितग्राहियों का मत निम्न सारिणियों में वर्णित हैं -

**सारणी 1:** ऑनलाइन सेवा प्राप्ति (हितग्राहियों के अनुसार)

मुद्रा		हाँ	नहीं	कोई राय नहीं	योग
आवेदन में सुगमता	आवृत्ति	149	11	-	160
	प्रतिशत में	93.1	6.9	-	100
सेवा प्राप्त करने में कठिनाईयां		73	86	1	160
आवृत्ति					
	प्रतिशत में	45.6	53.8	0.6	100
त्वरित सेवा प्राप्ति की स्थिति	आवृत्ति	129	27	4	160
	प्रतिशत में	80.6	16.9	2.5	100
विभाग की वेबसाइट पर आवेदन की स्थिति की जाँच	आवृत्ति	82	78	-	160
	प्रतिशत में	51.2	48.8	-	100

**सारणी 2:** ऑनलाइन सेवा प्राप्ति की स्थिति (शासकीय अधिकारियों के अनुसार)

मत		हाँ	नहीं	योग
नागरिकों को सेवा ऑनलाइन प्रदान करने में सुगमता	आवृत्ति	13	3	16
	प्रतिशत में	81.2	18.8	100
ऑनलाइन प्रक्रिया से त्वरित सेवाएँ प्रदाय की स्थिति	आवृत्ति	14	2	16
	प्रतिशत	87.5	12.5	100
आवेदक को ऑनलाइन प्रक्रिया समझाने में दिक्कतें	आवृत्ति	9	7	16
	प्रतिशत में	56.2	43.8	100

नागरिकों को त्वरित सेवा प्रदान करने व प्रशासनिक मशीनरी की कार्य प्रणाली में दक्षता लाने के उद्देश्य से अधिनियम क्रियान्वयन में ई-शासन को अपनाया गया है। इसके अन्तर्गत तीन चौथाई से अधिक हितग्राही उत्तरदाताओं के अनुसार आवेदन की ऑनलाइन प्रक्रिया से आवेदन करने व सेवा प्राप्त करने में सुगमता हुई। ऑनलाइन माध्यम से प्रदान की जाने वाली सेवाओं में सर्वाधिक हितग्राहियों को किसी तरह की परेशानी नहीं हुई। अनौपचारिक चर्चा एवं प्रत्यक्ष अवलोकन के दौरान ज्ञात हुआ कि लोक सेवा केन्द्रों में लम्बी कतार, प्रसाधन, पानी, छाया आदि की सुविधा नहीं होने से कुछ हितग्राहियों को परेशानी हुई। अध्ययन के दौरान पाया गया कि शासन द्वारा

इस दिशा में कार्य किया जा रहा है। इसके अन्तर्गत मध्य प्रदेश शासन द्वारा लोक सेवा केन्द्रों हेतु सुव्यवस्थित रूप से नवीन ईमारतें निर्मित कर LSK को सौंपी जा रही है। महिदपुर लोक सेवा केन्द्र इसका उपयुक्त उदाहरण है। नवीन भवन में संचालित यह LSK आवश्यक सुविधा से परिपूर्ण है। इसके अतिरिक्त जिले के कई लोक सेवा केन्द्रों के भवन निर्माणाधीन हैं।

विभाग के 87.5 प्रतिशत अधिकारियों के अनुसार अधिनियम क्रियान्वयन के उपरान्त ऑनलाइन प्रक्रिया हो जाने से सेवा प्रदान करने में तीव्रता आई है। अधिनियम क्रियान्वयन के प्रारम्भिक दौर में हितग्राहियों को सेवा प्रदाय की ऑनलाइन प्रक्रिया समझाने में दिक्कतें आती थीं किन्तु समय के साथ यह नवीन व्यवस्था लोगों के लिए सहज व सामान्य हो रही है। हितग्राहियों के अनुसार सेवा प्रदाय की ऑनलाइन व्यवस्था से आवेदन करने, सेवा प्राप्त या अप्राप्त की सूचना घर बैठे ऑनलाइन चेक करने से सुविधा हुई है।

### सारणी 3: ऑनलाइन सेवा प्रदान करने में समस्याएं

शासकीय अधिकारियों के अनुसार							
	विभाग की वेबसाइट में समस्या		इंटरनेट सम्बन्धी समस्या		बिजली की कमी की समस्या		योग
	हाँ	नहीं	हाँ	नहीं	हाँ	नहीं	
आवृत्ति	13	3	5	11	3	13	16
प्रतिशत में	81.2	18.8	31.2	68.8	18.8	81.2	100

ले.से.के. के कर्मचारियों के अनुसार							
	हाँ	नहीं	हाँ	नहीं	हाँ	नहीं	योग
आवृत्ति	8	8	2	14	3	13	16
प्रतिशत में	50.0	50.0	12.4	87.6	18.8	81.2	100

अध्ययन में शासकीय अधिकारियों और लोक सेवा केन्द्र के कर्मचारियों से सेवा प्रदाय की ई-संरचना के बारे में जानने का प्रयास किया गया तो अधिकांश अधिकारियों व कर्मचारियों ने बताया कि अधिनियम क्रियान्वयन के प्रारम्भिक वर्ष में विभाग की वेबसाइट और इंटरनेट में समस्या आती थी किन्तु वर्तमान में वेबसाइट में समस्या नहीं आती है। साथ ही इंटरनेट के दो कनेक्शन (सरकारी और निजी) की व्यवस्था एवं बिजली की वैकल्पिक व्यवस्था का प्रबंधन किया गया है।

### सारणी 1.4: कुशल कार्यान्वयन हेतु प्रशिक्षण पर मत

ऑनलाइन व्यवस्था के कुशल क्रियान्वयन हेतु प्रशिक्षण		हाँ	नहीं	कोई राय नहीं	योग
शासकीय अधिकारियों के अनुसार	आवृति	13	3	-	16
	प्रतिशत में	81.2	18.8	-	100
लो.से.के. कर्मचारीयों के अनुसार	आवृति	11	5	-	16
	प्रतिशत में	68.8	31.2	-	100
ऑनलाइन माध्यम से प्रदान की जाने वाली सेवाओं में वृद्धि		हाँ	नहीं	कोई राय नहीं	योग
हितग्राहियों के अनुसार	आवृति	140	10	10	160
	प्रतिशत में	87.5	6.2	6.2	100
शासकीय अधिकारियों के अनुसार	आवृति	11	4	1	16
	प्रतिशत में	68.8	25.0	6.2	100

### निष्कर्ष

सेवा प्रदाय की ऑनलाइन व्यवस्था के संचालन हेतु लोक सेवा प्रबंधन विभान शासकीय अधिकारियों और लो.से.के. के कर्मचारियों को समय-समय पर प्रशिक्षण दिया है। उनकी नवीन नियुक्ति या प्रशिक्षण में अनुपस्थिति के कारण 31.2 प्रतिशत कर्मचारियों को प्रशिक्षण नहीं प्राप्त था।

हितग्राहियों के अनुसार ऑनलाइन व्यवस्था से पूर्व की अपेक्षा वर्तमान में सेवा प्रदाय की ऑनलाइन प्रक्रिया त्वरित एवं पारदर्शी हुई है। इसके आधार पर सर्वाधिक हितग्राही उत्तरदाताओं के अनुसार ऑनलाइन सेवाओं में वृद्धि होनी चाहिए। इसी सन्दर्भ में 68.8 प्रतिशत अधिकारियों ने बताया कि ऑनलाइन माध्यम से प्रदान की जाने वाली सेवाओं में वृद्धि होने के साथ ही शासन द्वारा शासकीय कार्यालयों में अत्याधुनिक तकनीकी यंत्रों की आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति और कम्प्यूटर ऑपरेटर्स की नियुक्ति किए जाने पर बल दिया।

सेवा प्रदाय के संबंध में सर्वाधिक हितग्राहियों ने बताया है कि सेवा प्रदाय हेतु समय-सीमा के निर्धारण किए जाने से उन्हें शासकीय कार्यालयों के कई बार चक्कर नहीं लगाने पड़े हैं। वे अब निर्धारित तिथि को सेवा प्रदाय के आवेदन के निराकरण की सूचना या सेवा की प्राप्ति करते हैं। कुल हितग्राही उत्तरदाताओं में से 50 प्रतिशत से अधिक को समय-सीमा में सेवा प्राप्त हुई है। कुछ ऐसे हितग्राही भी हैं जिन्हें समय-सीमा के पश्चात् सेवा प्राप्त हुई है।

उपर्युक्त विश्लेषण के आधार पर निष्कर्षतः यह कहा जा सकता है कि अधिनियम क्रियान्वयन का लक्ष्य समय-सीमा पर नागरिकों को सेवा प्रदान करना ऑनलाइन व्यवस्था के

माध्यम से ही संभव हुआ है। सेवा प्रदान की ऑनलाइन व्यवस्था से ही हितग्राहियों को सेवा प्राप्त करने के आवेदन करने और शासकीय अधिकारियों को निश्चित समय-सीमा में सेवा प्रदान करने में सहजता हुई है। अतः अधिकारी अब सेवा प्रदाय के आवेदनों के निराकरण पर केन्द्रित कार्य करते हैं। इसके फलस्वरूप सर्वाधिक हितग्राहियों को त्वरित अर्थात् निश्चित समय-सीमा के अन्तर्गत सेवाएँ प्राप्त हुई हैं। अतः ई-शासन व्यवस्था प्रशिक्षण स्थापित करने का बेहतर उपकरण है।

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# सकारात्मक विभेद के प्रति दलितों की जागरूकता बनाम गैर-दलितों का दृष्टिकोण

राजेन्द्र कुमार\*

## सारांश

स्वतंत्रेतर काल से ही समाज के अभिवृचित एवं दलित वर्गों के उत्थान के लिए चिंता की जाती रही। गवर्नमेंट ऑफ इण्डिया एक्ट 1935 के माध्यम से ऐसे वर्गों को अनुसूचित जाति के रूप में चिह्नित किया गया। संविधान निर्माणी सभा में विषद् वाद-विवाद के बाद उन्हें सकारात्मक विभेद के सिद्धान्त के तहत शिक्षा, नौकरियों एवं राजनीतिक संस्थाओं में आरक्षण की व्यवस्था की गई। परन्तु प्रश्न उठता है कि क्या इन वर्गों की समाज में प्रस्थिति में बाँधित परिवर्तन आया? उत्तर में 'नहीं' कहा जा सकता है। प्रस्तुत आलेख की उपकल्पना है कि इसके दो प्रमुख कारण हैं - इन वर्गों में जागरूकता का अभाव एवं गैर दलितों का उनके प्रति दृष्टिकोण। इसी वैचारिक पृष्ठभूमि में प्रस्तुत आलेख इन वर्गों की सकारात्मक विभेद के प्रावधानों के प्रति उनकी जागरूकता एवं गैर दलितों का इनके प्रति दृष्टिकोण का अध्ययन अनुभवात्मक पद्धति से करता है। इसके लिए जमीनी स्तर पर बिहार में सर्वेक्षण के परिणामों के आधार पर निष्कर्ष तक पहुंचने का प्रयास किया गया है। प्रस्तुत आलेख से विदित होता है कि एक ओर दलित वर्गों में अपने सकारात्मक विभेद के प्रावधानों की स्पष्ट तथा विस्तृत जानकारी का अभाव हैं और दूसरी ओर अन्य वर्ग के लोग विभिन्न कारणों से दलितों के इन प्रावधानों के प्रति उदासीन हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त, इन प्रावधानों का राजनीतिकरण हो गया है और प्रत्येक दल इनका लाभ उठाने का प्रयास करता है।

**विषयसूचक शब्द:** दलित, गैर-दलित, सकारात्मक विभेद, संविधान सभा, राजनीतिकरण, बिहार

## परिचय

भारतीय समाज की संरचना इस प्रकार है कि दलित वर्ग समाज के शेष वर्गों द्वारा अभिवंचनाओं, पराधीनता तथा प्रताड़ना का शिकार रहा जिसे सदियों से संस्थागत उपायों (सामाजिक संस्थाओं) द्वारा बरकरार रखा गया। दलितोत्थान के लिए चलाए गए सामाजिक आंदोलनों एवं डॉ. अम्बेदकर के प्रयासों के कारण उनकी प्रस्थिति में सुधार के लिए कई वैधानिक उपाय किए गए परन्तु

\* एम.ए., पी-एच. डी., तदर्थ सहायक प्रोफेसर, स्नातकोत्तर समाजशास्त्र विभाग, ए.एन. कॉलेज, पटना (नैक से 'ए' ग्रेड प्राप्त पाटलिपुत्र विश्वविद्यालय, पटना की अंगीभूत इकाई)

उनकी प्रस्थिति में वांछित सुधार नहीं आया। आजादी के सात दशकों के लोकतांत्रिक शासन के बावजूद ऐसा क्यों हुआ? यह प्रश्न समाजशास्त्र एवं राजनीतिक समाजशास्त्र के विद्यार्थी को गहराई से संवेदित करता है। यहां कुछ प्रश्न उठ खड़े होते हैं, जैसे - क्या दलित वर्ग इन वैधानिक प्रावधानों के प्रति पर्याप्त रूप से जागरूक नहीं हैं? क्या गैर दलित वर्ग इनके प्रति उदासीन हैं? क्या राजनीतिक कर्ता एवं नीति निर्माताओं में इनके उत्थान के प्रति कटिबद्धता नहीं है? इन्हीं प्रश्नों के आलोक में प्रस्तुत आलेख वास्तविकता का अन्वेषण करता है। प्रस्तुत आलेख में प्रथमतः इन वर्गों के उत्थान हेतु किए प्रावधानों का संक्षिप्त विवरण प्रस्तुत किया गया है, द्वितीयतः राजनीतिक कर्ताओं एवं गैर दलितों का इनके प्रति रुख का आकलन किया गया है तथा अंततः दलित वर्गों के बीच इन प्रावधानों के प्रति जागरूकता का आकलन करता है। उपरोक्त प्रश्नों के उत्तर के लिए अनुसूची की सहायता से बिहार में एक सर्वेक्षण किया गया जिसके निष्कर्ष को यहां संक्षेप में प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है।

## सकारात्मक विभेद के संवैधानिक प्रावधान

संविधान में इनके हितों की सुरक्षा के लिए वैधानिक व्यवस्था की गई है, जैसे - अस्पृश्यता का उन्मूलन (संविधान की धारा 17), संसद एवं राज्यों की विधायी सदनों में आरक्षण (संविधान की धारा 334), सरकारी सेवाओं में आरक्षण की व्यवस्था (संविधान की धारा 15 उपधारा 4 तथा धारा 29 की उपधारा 2 के तहत) तथा राज्य के नीति-निर्देशक तत्वों में इनके लिए शैक्षणिक तथा आर्थिक विकास के लिए विशेष प्रयास आदि की व्यवस्था है (संविधान की धारा 46)। इन प्रवधानों के तहत अनेक कानून बनाए गए एवं कार्यक्रम चलाए गए। उनका विवरण यहां आवश्यक प्रतीत नहीं होता।

भारतीय समाज के सामाजिक, आर्थिक तथा राजनीतिक समस्याओं की चर्चा, संवैधानिक व्यवस्था के परिप्रेक्ष्य में ही किया जा सकता है, क्योंकि यह हमारे देश की राजनीतिक व्यवस्था का दिशा-निर्देश करता है तथा जनता के हस्तक्षेप करने की सीमा भी निर्धारित करता है जिससे संविधान प्राक्कलन में चर्चित उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति हो सके। संविधान सभा के सदस्यों ने करीब तीन वर्षों की विवेचना के बाद दलितों के हित की रक्षा करने की व्यवस्था की।

स्वतंत्रता के पहले, ग्रामीण जनता को राजनीतिक संस्कृति का ज्ञान प्रायः नगण्य था। परम्परा, जाति, धर्म आदि उनके व्यवहार को प्रभावित करते थे। अशिक्षा, जमींदारी का अधिकार पूर्ण दृष्टिकोण, आपस में बात-व्यवहार की कमी आदि के कारण राजनीतिक चेतना अधिक नहीं बढ़ सकी थी, परंतु स्वतंत्रता के उपरांत जमींदारी उन्मूलन, पंचायत तथा पंचायती राज्य की स्थापना, सामुदायिक विकास योजना, वयस्क मताधिकार, दलितों के विशेषाधिकार, शिक्षा प्रसार, राजनीतिक दलों की गतिविधियों में वृद्धि, प्रचार, प्रसार के साधनों में वृद्धि, योजनाबद्ध विकास कार्यक्रम, आवागमन की सुविधाओं के कारण ग्रामीण जनता के राजनीतिक विचार तथा व्यवहार में काफी परिवर्तन लाया है, परंतु वह वांछित स्तर तक नहीं पहुंच सका है।

यह सही है कि भारतीय संविधान में संसदीय प्रणाली की शासन-व्यवस्था का प्रावधान किया है, जिसमें बहुमत के शासन की व्यवस्था है। बहुमत अभी भी ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों से ही प्राप्त किया जा सकता है, क्योंकि भारतीय जनसंख्या का अधिकांश भाग ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में निवास करता है, जिसमें इन दलितों की संख्या अधिक है। जनसंख्या का यह भाग आर्थिक दृष्टि से असुरक्षित, सामाजिक व्यवस्था में शोषित, तथा राजनीति ज्ञान में पिछड़ा हुआ है। सांविधानिक व्यवस्था कर देने से ही कुछ नहीं होता, प्रजातंत्र को सही अर्थ में सफलता पाने के लिए ग्रामीण जनता विशेषकर दलित, शोषित वर्ग को वास्तविक भागीदारी योग्य बनाना, उनका राजनीतिक सामाजिककरण करना तथा उन्हें परंपरागत ग्रामीण व्यवस्था को तोड़कर प्रगति के पथ पर लाने के उपाय करना आवश्यक है।

### दलितों के बीच जागरूकता (सर्वेक्षण के परिणाम)

हमारे समक्ष प्रश्न है कि क्या अपने अधिकार के विषय में जानकारी है? क्या वे इसके प्रति सचेत हैं? क्या वे प्रजातांत्रिक व्यवस्था में आस्था रखते हैं? उसे सृदृढ़ बनाने के लिए क्या वे सक्षम हैं? क्या वे हक तथा सुविधाओं के लिए संघर्ष के लिए तैयार हैं या अभी भी परम्परागत व्यवस्था में प्रतिबद्ध रहकर विनम्र बना रहना चाहते हैं? क्या उनके राजनीतिक व्यवहार में बदलाव आया है? आदि-आदि।

इन सभी प्रश्नों के संबंध में निर्दर्शित उत्तरदाताओं के लगभग 200 दलित परिवारों का अनुसूची की सहायता से सर्वेक्षण किया गया। यद्यपि निर्दर्श के आधार पर सर्वेक्षण किसी वर्ग-विशेष की शत-प्रतिशत सही आकलन नहीं करता, फिर भी हम तथ्य के समीप आ जाते हैं। दलितों के विभिन्न सामाजिक-आर्थिक वर्ग के उत्तरदाता से यह प्रश्न पूछा गया कि क्या वे वैधानिक प्रावधानों से अवगत हैं? अधिकांश व्यक्तियों ने सकारात्मक उत्तर दिया, परंतु इसके विस्तार के विषय में अधिक जानकारी नहीं दे सके। फिर उनके विभिन्न क्षेत्र के संबंध में पूछा गया, जैसे - शिक्षण-संस्थाओं में प्रवेश के आरक्षण के संबंध में, छात्रवृत्ति, निःशुल्क पुस्तक, फीस माफी, छात्रावास में मुफ्त आवास, कोचिंग आदि के संबंध में। निम्नलिखित सारणी से स्पष्ट हो जाएगा कि शिक्षा-संबंधी प्रावधानों के विषय में कितनी सचेतता है।

### सारणी उत्तरदाताओं को शिक्षा संबंधी विशेषाधिकार के संबंध में सचेतता

	सचेत हैं (प्रतिशत)	जानकारी नहीं (प्रतिशत)	कुल
मैट्रिक तक छात्रवृत्ति	80.2	17.8	100.0
कॉलेज तक	55	35	100.0
व्यावसायिक, मेडिकल इत्यादि	34.6	64.4	100.0
शुल्क माफी के संबंध	85.5	14.5	100.0

	सचेत हैं (प्रतिशत)	जानकारी नहीं (प्रतिशत)	कुल
प्रतियोगिता परीक्षा आइ.ए.एस.			
में पूर्व प्रशिक्षण आइ.पी.एस. आदि	43.4	46.6	100.0
बिहार सरकार के द्वारा			
विशेष सुविधा के प्रति	78.5	21.5	100.0

उत्तरदाताओं की जानकारी का स्रोत सुनकर या विज्ञापनों से हैं। उन्हें इनकी विस्तृत जानकारी नहीं है। नौकरी के संबंध में आरक्षण के विषय में सचेतता अधिक है, उन्हें जानकारी है सरकारी सेवाओं, सरकारी प्रतिष्ठानों, राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों आदि में विभिन्न वर्गों में 25 प्रतिशत आरक्षण अन्य सीमा के संबंध में छूट की जानकारी भी है। नौकरी के संबंध में सचेतता 85 प्रतिशत से भी अधिक है, शेष को इसकी जानकारी नगण्य है।

आर्थिक तथा राजनीतिक क्षेत्रों के संबंध में भी कहा जा सकता है कि इस विषय में भी प्रायः 30 प्रतिशत व्यक्तियों को जानकारी नहीं है। उनके लिए संसद तथा राज्य विधान सभा में सीट का आरक्षण है, इसकी भी जानकारी बहुतों को नहीं है। 6,000 रु. से कम वार्षिक आमदनी वाले परिवार को ही शैक्षणिक सुविधाएं मिलती हैं। मकान बनाने में पोषित राशि मिलती, खेती योग्य जमीन, पशु खरीदने, विशेष कुआँ खोदने, सूदमुक्त ऋण, हरिजन बस्ती में पीने योग्य पानी की सुविधा, बस-ट्रक परमिट, गैस तथा पेट्रोल पम्प आदि प्राप्त करने में आरक्षण आदि की जानकारी नहीं के बराबर है। 15 प्रतिशत व्यक्तियों को भी पूरी जानकारी नहीं है।

यह जानकारी संभांत एवं शिक्षित, सरकारी सेवाओं में कार्यरत, शहरी क्षेत्र के दलितों में सचेतता अधिक है क्योंकि वे देश की राजनीति, दिन व दिन की घटनाओं के विषय में अधिक जानकारी रखते हैं। उन्हें आधुनिक प्रसार साधनों की सुविधा है, जैसे - टेलिफोन, रेडियो आदि प्राप्त है। यह भी पाया गया कि सचेतता उनके सामाजिक-आर्थिक पृष्ठभूमि पर भी निर्भर करता है, शहरी क्षेत्र के दलित अधिक सचेत हैं, बल्कि ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के दलितों से।

समाज के शेष वर्गों का दृष्टिकोण कैसा है, यह जानना भी आवश्यक है क्योंकि उन्हीं के व्यवहार, दृष्टिकोण तथा सहयोग से इन प्रवधानों का क्रियान्वयन किया जाना संभव हो सकता है। इन्हीं गैर-दलित वर्गों द्वारा दलितों का शोषण तथा अपमानित किया जाता रहा है।

## संविधान सभा में गैर दलितों का स्थान

संविधान सभा में दलितोत्थान के विषय पर विमार्श के प्रति गैर दलित सदस्यों में उदासीनता थी जो निम्नलिखित तथ्य से स्पष्ट हो जाता है-

“जब भी दलितों के विशेषाधिकार तथा संरक्षण के विषय पर वाद-विवाद हुआ, तब शायद ही 103 सदस्यों ने भाग लिया इसमें भी 66 सदस्य एक या दो बार भाग लिए और अगर प्रारूप समिति के सदस्यों को इसमें गिनती न करें तब 30 सदस्यों ने भाग लिया अर्थात् 9 प्रतिशत इस

महत्वपूर्ण संस्था के सदस्यों ने भाग लिया। एक बात और ध्यान देने योग्य है कि संविधान सभा में देशी राज्यों के सदस्य बहुत समय के बाद आए, इन देशी राज्यों में अनुसूचित जातियों तथा अनुसूचित जनजातियों की संख्या काफी अधिक है।' यह तथ्य स्पष्ट कर देता है कि संविधान के सदस्यों ने दलितों के हित के लिए जो आधार बनाया वह अनमने ढूँग से किया। अधिकांश सदस्य इस विवाद में हिस्सा लेने को अपने समय की बर्बादी समझते थे (सक्सेना, 1981)।

## सामाजिक-राजनीतिक स्तर पर गैर दलितों का रूख

दलितों की दयनीय स्थिति को सुधारने के प्रयास का अन्य वर्गों द्वारा सदा विरोध ही किया गया है। यद्यपि इनकी दयनीय अवस्था में सुधार का प्रयास विभिन्न संस्थाओं ने किया था, उसका भी समाज के अन्य वर्गों ने विशेषकर उच्च वर्ग के लोगों ने विरोध किया था।<sup>1</sup> यहाँ तक कि स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद जो भी वैधानिक व्यवस्था की गई उसके क्रियान्वयन के माध्यम से दलितों की अवस्था में सुधार लाने के प्रयासों का भी विरोध किया जाता रहा है। जब तक गैर-दलित वर्ग के लोग इन्हें बिना सम्पत्ति, अशिक्षित, गंदे कार्यों में संलग्न समझते रहेंगे तब तक इन्हें अपने समकक्ष कभी भी नहीं समझेंगे। अस्पृश्यता उन्मूलन विधि के विरोध में गैर-दलित वर्गों ने संगठन बनाकर इसके विरोध के लिए शक्ति तथा दंगा आदि का भी उपयोग किया था।

यह भी सही है कि केंद्र तथा राज्य सरकारों द्वारा दलित उत्थान के लिए प्रयास किया गया उसका राजनीतिकरण भी हुआ। वे दलितों के वैधानिक प्रावधानों के समय बढ़ाने का विरोध तो करते रहे, साथ-साथ अन्य पिछड़े वर्गों के आरक्षण की व्यवस्था की माँग भी करते रहे। गैर-दलित जाति कल्याण संस्था की स्थापना इसका स्पष्ट उदाहरण है। इस तथ्य को विभिन्न जानकारों ने स्वीकार किया है। बिहार में कृषि-योग्य भूमि का वितरण, कृषि श्रमिकों को न्यूनतम मजदूरी, आवास के लिए जमीन इत्यादि का कठोर विरोध किया गया है, जिसके कारण भूमि-सुधार नियम क्रियान्वित नहीं हो पा रहे हैं और राजनीतिक संगठन का प्रभाव बढ़ता जा रहा है। अस्पृश्यता उन्मूलन कानून के अंतर्गत कड़े दंड की व्यवस्था है, फिर भी इसका उन्मूलन नहीं हो सका है। यह सही है कि दलितों के उत्थान की ओर अपेक्षाकृत प्रगति नहीं हो पाई और इसका मूल कारण है गैर-दलित जातियों द्वारा इसका विरोध (तुलतुम्बे, 2016)।

कालान्तर में भारतीय समाज एवं राजनीति पर पिछड़ी जातियों का प्रभाव बढ़ गया है और वे दलितों पर और भी अत्याचार तथा उनका शोषण कर रहे हैं, क्योंकि कृषि क्षेत्र में उनका प्रभाव पड़ा है। यहाँ तक कि उन्हें अपना मत देने के अधिकार को भी प्रयोग नहीं करने दिया जाता है। बिहार में 1995 के निर्वाचन में कई स्थान में इस बात को स्वीकार किया है कि दलित विशेषकर महिलाएँ पहली बार मतदान के अधिकार का प्रयोग कर पायी हैं। पहले उन्हें ऐसा करने पर मारा-पीटा जाता था तथा उनका आर्थिक बहिष्कार किया जाता था (वर्मा, 1991; वर्मा एवं यादव, 1996 तथा तब्बसुम, 2007)। परंतु समय के साथ इसका विरोध भी बढ़ता गया और अन्य पिछड़ी जातियाँ भी इन्हीं के समान आरक्षण की माँग करने लगीं। दलितों के आरक्षण का विरोध जितना उच्च जातियों ने नहीं किया उतना मध्य स्तर के उच्च जातियों ने किया और

अन्य पिछड़ी जातियों ने दलितों के विशेषाधिकार का विरोध करते हुए अपने लिए आरक्षण की माँग की, जिसका विरोध उच्च जातियों ने किया। उच्च जातियाँ समाज में यथावत् व्यवस्था बनाए रखना चाहते थे, परंतु समय तथा घटनाओं के दबाव के कारण वे भी चुप हो गए और अन्य पिछड़ी जातियाँ दलितों पर अधिक आक्रामक हो गई हैं। बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश, गुजरात आदि राज्यों में हुई दलितों पर अत्याचार की घटनाएँ इसको स्पष्ट करती हैं।

इसके साथ इस तथ्य को भी स्वीकार करना होगा कि गैर-दलितों में दलित के वैधानिक प्रावधानों के संबंध में जो विरोध है वह सामान्य नहीं है अर्थात् सभी लोग इसका विरोध नहीं करते हैं। यह विरोध बहुत सारी बातों पर निर्भर करता है – कट्टरपंथी, जो परम्परागत सामाजिक व्यवस्था है, उसमें कोई परिवर्तन नहीं चाहते हैं, क्योंकि उनका मानना है कि जो भी परिवर्तन होगा वह बुरे प्रभाव के लिए होगा। वे स्थायी विशेष वर्ग तथा उनके हित की रक्षा करना चाहते हैं, साथ-ही-साथ समाज की व्यवस्था में क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन करना चाहते हैं (लाल, 1987)। इस प्रकार समाज के शेष वर्गों से शिक्षा, आय, सामाजिक प्रस्थिति आदि में निम्नता जैसे तत्व दलित वर्गों को अभिवंचना तथा अज्ञानता की गर्त में धकेल देते हैं।

## दलित सुविधाओं का राजनीतिकरण: बिहार का संदर्भ

आम तौर पर सभी राजनीतिक दल दलितों को अपने पाले में रखने का प्रयास बिहार देश का पहला राज्य है जहाँ दलित समाज के अभिवंचित वर्ग को महादलित का नाम देकर मुख्यधारा से जोड़ने का प्रयत्न किया है। सरकार ने महादलित आयोग बनाकर इन्हें विशेष आर्थिक सुविधा देने का प्रयत्न कर रहा है और इन्हें जमीन भी आर्वाणि किया जा रहा है। नीतीश कुमार की सरकार के इस ऐतिहासिक निर्णय से अनेक राजनीतिक दल के राजनेताओं को परेशानी है और वे इसे राजनीति से जोड़ का देख रहे हैं। दलित नेताओं का कहना है कि महादलित की राजनीति दलितों के बाट बैंक को तोड़ने की राजनीति है। बिहार की दलित राजनीति में दुसाध, रविदास, पासी और धोबी जातियों का वर्चस्व रहा है। दलित समुदायों से आने वाली इन जातियों को छोड़कर अन्य दलित जातियाँ राजनीति के हाशिए पर ही रही हैं। मेहतर, डोम, मुसहर, नट, तूरी, रजवार, वाँतर, भुईयाँ, कंजर कुरियार, हाँड़ी, हलालखोर, लालबेगी, पान, स्वासी, बउरी, भोगता और भूमिज जैसे महादलित जातियों के इक्के-दुक्के प्रतिनिधि ही विधान सभा, लोक सभा, राज्य सभा और विधान परिषद में दिखाई पड़ते हैं। राज्य की बड़ी पार्टियाँ इन महादलित जातियों को टिकट भी नहीं देती हैं।

महादलित आयोग के स्थापना और बिहार की दलित राजनीति के बँटवारे को जानने के लिए मुझे प्रदेश की स्वतंत्रता के पूर्व के राजनीतिक पृष्ठभूमि में झांकना होगा। बिहार में स्वतंत्रता के बाद दलितों के जितने नेता उभरे उन्होंने सम्पूर्ण समुदाय को नहीं उठाकर सिर्फ अपने परिवार और नातेदारी समूह तक ही केन्द्रित रहे। लोक सभा और विधान सभाओं में इन दलित नेताओं ने अपने पुत्र-पुत्रियों और नजदीकी सगे-संबंधियों को ही टिकट प्रदान किया। बिहार में दलित में दुसाध और रविदास जाति के ही ज्यादातर लोग लोक सभा और विधान सभा में चयनित होकर

सत्ता संभालने लगे। डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने पढ़े-लिखकर आगे बढ़ चुके दलितों को आहवान किया था कि वे अपनी आय का पाँचवां हिस्सा अथवा 20 प्रतिशत अपने कमज़ोर दलित भाईयों के विकास पर खर्च करें ताकि समाज के दूसरे दलित गरीब भाईयों का भी उत्थान हो सके परंतु पढ़े-लिखे अधिकांश समृद्ध दलितों ने अम्बेडकर के इस आहवान का मजाक उड़ाया और अपने कमज़ोर दलित भाईयों की ओर पलटकर भी नहीं देखा। यही कारण है कि दलितों का एक बड़ा तबका पिछड़ता चला गया जिसे आज महादलित नाम से जाना जा रहा है।

2011 की जनगणना के अनुसार बिहार की 22 महादलित जातियों की कुल आबादी 1,65,67,325 है। इन जातियों में साक्षरता का दर महिला एवं पुरुष दोनों में न्यूनतम है, उदाहरणार्थ बिहार की साक्षरता दर 65 प्रतिशत है जबकि दलितों में यह 28.5 प्रतिशत है। राज्य में साक्षरता का दर महिला एवं पुरुष दोनों में न्यूनतम है। राज्य में महादलितों की स्थिति अत्यंत दयनीय है। महादलित समुदायों का 90 प्रतिशत आबादी कृषि श्रम से जुड़ा हुआ है। महादलितों में काश्तकार सिर्फ 7.9 प्रतिशत है। घरेलू रोजगार में 3.3 प्रतिशत दलित समुदाय के लोग जुड़े हैं। मुसहर 92 प्रतिशत तथा भुईयाँ 86 प्रतिशत मजदूरी पर आश्रित हैं। महादलित समुदायों की पहुँच बैंक तक नहीं है। महादलितों का बड़ा हिस्सा आधुनिक सुविधाओं की कौन कहे न्यूनतम जरूरतों को पूरा करने में जिन्दगी खपा देते हैं। महादलितों में रविदास को छोड़कर अन्य सभी जातियों में साक्षरता का दर न्यूनतम है। महिलाओं में न्यूनतम 3.9 प्रतिशत और पुरुषों में न्यूनतम 13.7 प्रतिशत है। इनकी सबसे बड़ी समस्या आवास की है।

## निष्कर्ष एवं सुझाव

**निष्कर्ष:** एक ओर दलित वर्गों में अपने वैधानिक अधिकारों की स्पष्ट तथा विस्तृत जानकारी नहीं है और दूसरी ओर अन्य वर्ग के लोग विभिन्न कारणों से दलितों के विशिष्ट अधिकार को नहीं चाहते हैं, क्योंकि यह संरक्षणात्मक विभेदकारी नीति है, जो वर्ग इससे प्रभावित नहीं है वे भी विरोध करते हैं। इस प्रावधान राजनीतिकरण हो गया है और प्रत्येक दल इनका लाभ उठाने का प्रयास कर रहा है। प्रत्येक राजनीतिक दल बिना इसके परिणामों तथा प्रभाव का विश्लेषण किए बिना दलितों के वैधानिक विशेषाधिकार का समर्थन कर रहे हैं।

दलितों की सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, सांस्कृतिक, शैक्षणिक और नौकरियों में उनकी वास्तविक स्थिति के संबंध में विभिन्न प्रतिष्ठित संस्थानों, स्वयंसेवी संस्थाओं तथा विश्वविद्यालयों के सहयोग से सर्वेक्षण और शोध कराया जा सकता है ताकि इन्हें सरकारी योजनाओं की जानकारी हो सके तथा संबंधित अधिकारियों, पंचायत प्रमुखों के समक्ष जाकर सरकारी योजनाओं की माँग हेतु अपनी आवाज उठा सकें।

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(इस पुस्तक में देसाई के विचार हैं)



## भारत में लोक प्रशासन का बदलता स्वरूपः संगठनात्मक एवं प्रकार्यात्मक परिप्रेक्ष्य

प्रियंका कुमारी\*

### सारांश

भारत में आर्थिक सुधारों के बाद लोक प्रशासन में सुधार की आवश्यकता महसूस की जाने लगी। खास कर द्वितीय प्रशासनिक सुधार आयोग की अनुसंशा के आलोक में कई सुधार लाए गए तथा नई परिस्थितियों से निपटने के लिए कुछ अनुपम प्रयोग भी किए गए। वैशिक स्तर पर बाजार की प्रवृत्ति में परिवर्तन, उनके अनुरूप प्राथमिकताओं में बदलाव तथा सूचना प्रौद्योगिकी के विस्तार ने भारतीय लोक प्रशासन में ई-गवर्नेंस, पारदर्शिता, गुणवत्ता, संवेदनशीलता, दक्षता, उत्तरदायित्व, डिजिटाइजेशन आदि तत्वों, दूसरे शब्दों में सुशासन, का विकास हुआ है। लोक प्रशासन की प्रथमिकताओं, जैसे-आर्थिक प्रगति, परिणामोन्मुखता तथा सततविकासोन्मुखता को बल दिया जाने लगा है। यहां तक कि लैटरल इन्टरी के माध्यम से लोक प्रशासन में प्रोफेसनलिज्म लाने की कवायत की जा रही है। प्रस्तुत आलेख इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचता है कि भारतीय लोक प्रशासन में नव-उदारवादी एवं नवीन परिवर्तनों के अनुरूप बदलाव तो आए परन्तु मूल ढांचे में उल्लेखनीय परिवर्तन नहीं लाया जा सका है, जिसकी आज आवश्यकता है।

**विषयसूचक शब्दः** लोक प्रशासन, सुशासन, प्रशासनिक-ढांचा, नवउदारवाद, भूमण्डलीकरण, राज्य-बाजार मैत्री

### पृष्ठभूमि

किसी भी राजनीतिक व्यवस्था में लोक प्रशासन का अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रहता है क्योंकि राजनीतिक व्यवस्था का स्थायित्व, परिवर्तन तथा लोकसेवाओं का निष्पादन इसी पर निर्भर करती है। भारत में प्रशासक की भूमिका पर संकेत करते हुए टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी लिखते हैं, “आज का प्रशासक संविधान में उल्लिखित जनता की इच्छाओं और आकांक्षाओं के कार्यान्वयन का एक साधन है। वह राजनीति के सदैव बदलते परिवेश में स्थिरता और व्यवस्था का केंद्रबिंदु है। साथ

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ही, संभ्रांत वर्ग का होने के नाते वह आधुनिकीकरण और सामाजिक परिवर्तन का साधन है। उससे समाज में अल्पाधिकार प्राप्त वर्गों के अधिकारों की रक्षा करने की अपेक्षा की जाती है, उसे हर समय राजनीतिक वातावरण की जानकारी होनी चाहिए और साथ ही लोकतांत्रिक परिस्थिति का ज्ञान भी होना चाहिए जिसमें उसे कार्य करना है। इसलिए, यदि सिविल सेवा को विकासशील समाज में परिवर्तन और प्रगति की प्रभावी साधन बनना है तो उसमें मूलभूत संरचनात्मक, कार्याविधिक और अभिवृत्तिक परिवर्तन करने होंगे” (चतुर्वेदी, 1969)। भारत में लोक प्रशासन के विकास के रास्ते में उत्पन्न होने वाली विभिन्न घटनाएँ अक्सर सामाजिक जीवन को तथा राज्य के कार्यों को प्रभावित करती हैं तथा उससे प्रभावित भी होती हैं। आजादी के बाद ऐसा महसूस किया गया कि प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था का जो स्वरूप है वह विकासशील राष्ट्र के लिए उपयुक्त नहीं होगी। परन्तु विकास के लिए एक ऐसी सबल प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था की आवश्यकता भी थी जो जनता के साथ मिलकर यह कार्य पूर्ण कर सके। अतः इसके सकारात्मक पहलू को महत्व दिया गया (मिश्रा, 2012)। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद जहाँ कुछ नेताओं को अधिकारीतंत्र की विकास-कार्य के प्रति वचनबद्धता पर शंका थी तथा वे चाहते थे कि विकासात्मक प्रशासन के लिए नई संरचना का निर्माण हो वहाँ संवैधानिक सभा के समक्ष प्रभावशाली नेताओं के एक गुट ने इस बात का विरोध किया। अंततः इस व्यवस्था को कुछ संशोधन के साथ जारी रखा गया।

स्वतंत्रोत्तर काल के प्रारंभिक दशकों में प्रजातांत्रिक, सामाजिक, कल्याणकारी राज्य की स्थापना से कल्याणकारी प्रशासन तथा लोक उत्तरदायित्व की संकल्पना का उदय हुआ जिसके लिए यह केंद्रीयकृत नियमबद्ध प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था उपयुक्त विकल्प नहीं था जिसके कारण प्रशासन की औपनिवेशिक कार्यपद्धति और संरचना में पर्याप्त परिवर्तन करने पड़े। परिवर्तित वातावरण में अधिकारीतंत्र से यह अपेक्षा की जाने लगी कि वह राजनीतिक नेताओं की आज्ञा का पालन करें, सामाजिक परिवर्तन के लिए प्रमुख साधन बनें, जनता के प्रति अपना उत्तरदायित्व निभाएँ और उनकी आवश्यकताओं और आकांक्षाओं को पूरा करने में तत्पर रहें। इसके लिए यह आवश्यक था कि राष्ट्र में फैली निर्धनता, निरक्षरता, बेरोजगारी और बीमारी की समस्या का तुरंत समाधान हो। भारत ने स्वतंत्रता के बाद इन समस्याओं से निबटने के लिए सुनियोजित विकास का रास्ता अपनाया जिसके द्वारा राष्ट्र में उपलब्ध संसाधनों के अत्यधिक तर्कसम्मत उपयोग से औद्योगिक और कृषि क्षेत्रों, शहरी एवं ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में विकासात्मक आधारिक संरचना का सृजन हो और विकास के लाभ विस्तृत रूप से, जहाँ तक संभव हो, वितरित हो। परंतु इस कार्य में प्रशासन से यह अपेक्षा की गई कि वह हर स्तर पर जन-सहयोग से कार्य करेगा। अतः भारत में संविधान द्वारा लोकतांत्रिक प्रशासन की स्थापना की गई। 1990 की दशक से भारत में प्रशासनिक सुधारों की आवश्यकता आन पड़ी क्योंकि आर्थिक उन्नति, विकास तथा वैश्विक परिवर्तनों ने विश्व के लगभग सभी देशों में नव-उदारवादी विचारों के अनुरूप प्रशासनिक सुधार आवश्यक हो गए, यहाँ तक कि साम्यवादी व्यवस्थाओं में भी भूमण्डलीकरण का प्रभाव स्पष्ट दिखता है।

## प्रशासन का संगठनात्मक परिप्रेक्ष्य

अब भारत को एक ऐसी प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था की आवश्यकता आ गई जिसकी प्रकृति-कार्यदक्षता, ईमानदारी, बदलाव के प्रति अग्रसर, लचीलापन तथा विकासोनुभव हो परंतु भारतीय प्रशासन इस ढाँचे में नहीं ढल सका बल्कि इसके विपरीत उसका स्वरूप-अप्रतिक्रियाशील, एकांतिक तथा सख्त ही पाया गया। कार्यकुशलता, योग्यता, अनुशासन, प्रतिबद्धता, निष्ठा, तटस्थता, नेतृत्व ये सब गुण उन्होंने परंपराओं से विरासत में पाए हैं, किंतु जनसाधारण से अलगाव, अभिजनवादिता, विविधज्ञ प्रकृति, अंकुशों के अभाव में स्वविवेक से कार्य करने की आदत, आदि विशेषताएँ उन्हें आज 21वीं सदी में भी एक विडंबनापूर्ण स्थिति में डालती हैं।

**इस बात में संभवतः** दो राय नहीं होगी कि भारतीय लोकसेवाएँ संगठनात्मक दृष्टि से अभी भी ऐतिहासिक सीमाओं से बाहर नहीं निकल सकी है। उनका संगठन, भर्ती प्रक्रिया, सेवा नियम, प्रशिक्षण बहुत वैसे ही हैं जैसे औपनिवेशिक युग में थे। इसकी संस्कृति अभी भी औपनिवेशिक लोकाचार से प्रभावित है जो विकासात्मक प्रशासन के लिए आवश्यक मूल्यों के संदर्भ में अत्यधिक विप्रक्रियात्मक है। इसमें वेबर मॉडल के समस्त अवगुण विद्यमान हैं, जो निष्पादन के स्थान पर विलंब, कठोरता और नियम-विनियमों के प्रति अत्यधिक उत्साह सहित अपनी पुनरावृत्त प्रवृत्तियाँ प्रदर्शित करते हैं। इसमें गतिशीलता और पहल का अभाव है जो विकास प्रशासन के लिए आवश्यक है (मुखोपाध्याय, 1987)। भारतीय लोकसेवाओं का संरचनात्मक तथा औपचारिक संगठन तो विवेकशील संगठन और योग्यता अथवा गुणपूर्ण नौकरशाही के उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करते हैं, किंतु इन सेवाओं का वास्तविक व्यवहार उनके सामाजिक, आर्थिक तथा राजनैतिक पर्यावरण से काफी परिवर्तित हुआ है। इन सेवाओं की सबसे बड़ी असफलता इस बात से नजर आती है कि प्रशासनिक ढाँचे में व्यवसायिकता (Professionalism) का समावेश नहीं हो सका है (सक्सेना, 2005)।

राल्फ ब्रेबंती तथा उनके सहयोगियों का तर्क है कि भारत में अधिकारीतंत्र का रूपैया अभी भी ब्रिटिश मूल्यों से प्रभावित है और स्वतंत्रता-पूर्व मानकों में भी कई परिवर्तन हुए हैं जिनमें वरिष्ठों की चापलूसी करना तथा परिवर्तनशील परिस्थितियों की उपेक्षा करना सम्मिलित है (रॉल्फ, 1963)। यह सत्य इस बात का स्पष्टीकरण भी करता है कि हमारे बहुत से सामाजिक और प्रगतिवादी कानून लागू करने में विलंबित क्यों होते रहते हैं। आर.बी. जैन (2002) के शब्दों में, “किंतु भारतीय प्रशासनतंत्र राष्ट्रीय निर्माण प्रशासन के लिए उपयुक्त नई मूल्यप्रकरण प्रवृत्तियाँ और संशोधित संस्थात्मक ढाँचा विकसित करने की ओर उन्मुख नहीं हो पाया। प्रशासन तंत्र ने संस्थात्मक प्रबंध में नवीनताओं का विरोध किया; उसने राष्ट्रीय निर्माण के लिए प्रशासन के पुनर्गठन के प्रयासों में अड़ंगा डाला और वह ऐसे प्रशासनिक नित्य नियमों के साथ जकड़ा रहा जिन्होंने वस्तुतः विकास प्रशासन को गतिहीन कर दिया।” होशियार सिंह तथा प्रदीप सक्सेना (1983) के अनुसार, “वास्तव में लोकाधिकारी समाज में सामाजिक सुधार लाने की इच्छा नहीं रखते। उन्हें इस बात का भलीभाँति ज्ञान है कि यदि समाज का सुधार होता है तो उनका सामाजिक सम्मान, स्तर, स्थिति तथा भूमिका कम हो जाएगी।”

## प्रशासन का प्रकार्यात्मक परिप्रेक्ष्य

प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था से यह अपेक्षा की जाती रही है कि वह 'प्रक्रिया' के स्थान पर 'परिणाम' को महत्व दे। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में भी यह स्पष्ट किया गया था कि आर्थिक नियोजन का उद्देश्य केवल संसाधनों का विकास ही नहीं बल्कि ऐसी संरचनाओं का निर्माण है जिससे मानव-संसाधनों का विकास हो (चक्रवर्ती, 2007)। इसके लिए लोकतांत्रिक विकेंद्रीकरण आवश्यक था। परंतु वास्तव में विकास की यह प्राथमिक आवश्यकता कभी पूर्ण नहीं हुई। अधिकांश अधिकारीतंत्र की सामाजिक-आर्थिक पृष्ठभूमि उन्हें रूढ़िवादी तथा कठोर बना देती है जिसके कारण वे जनता की आवश्यकताओं को समझने में अक्षम हो जाते हैं। वे अनुरूपता एवं औचित्य पर अधिक बल देने और नियमों के अनुपालन के अभ्यस्त हो जाते हैं जो कि विकास प्रशासन के लिए उपयुक्त नहीं हैं। अपने इस स्वभाव के कारण वे नागरिकों तथा समुदाय की समस्याओं, माँगों और इच्छाओं को जानने के लिए किसी से भी संपर्क साधने की कोशिश नहीं करते और न ही प्रशासनिक मामलों में जनसहयोग के लिए प्रयत्न करते हैं। जनसहयोग का अभाव ही अक्सर विकास कार्यों की विफलता का कारण बन जाता है (मिश्रा, 2012)।

भारतीय लोक प्रशासन में अन्य समस्याओं के साथ भ्रष्टाचार भी देखा जाता है जो कि काफी व्यापक स्तर पर फैला हुआ है। भारत में प्रशासनिक भ्रष्टाचार के बहुत-से रूप हैं। यह लोकसेवाओं के चयन, भर्ती या पदोन्नति में भाई-भतीजावाद या पक्षपात से लेकर अन्य बहुत-से मामलों में रिश्वतखोरी और गैर-कानूनी पक्षपात के रूप में हैं। भ्रष्टाचार में व्यापक बढ़ोतरी के कारण प्रशासनिक कार्यों में लालफीताशाही भी पाई जाती है (भट्टाचार्य, 2006)।

केंद्रीय तथा राज्य सरकारें भी नवीन राजनीतिक, सामाजिक व आर्थिक व्यवस्था को स्थापित करने के लिए तथा जन-आकांक्षाओं और इच्छाओं को पूरा करने के लिए प्रशासन में सुधार ला रही हैं। इस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिए समय-समय पर विभिन्न समितियाँ गठित की जाती रही हैं। परंतु इन्हें सारे प्रयासों के बावजूद भी प्रशासन के बुनियादी ढांचे और कार्य करने की प्रक्रिया में मूलभूत अंतर नहीं आ पाया है। यद्यपि लोक प्रशासन के इस बदलते परिवेश में प्रशासनिक बदलाव एक आवश्यक शर्त बन गई है फिर भी यह बदलाव तथा प्रशासनिक सुधार सामाजिक, राजनैतिक परिवेश में रहकर ही हुए हैं।

## प्रशासन में नव-उदारवादी परिवर्तन

पिछले कुछ वर्षों में नव-उदारवादी बदलावों का असर लोक प्रशासन में देखा जा सकता है। उदारीकरण, भूमंडलीकरण, वैश्वीकरण आधुनिक युग की प्रमुख विशेषताएँ हैं तथा नई व्यवस्था के अंतर्गत सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र को सीमित करके निजी क्षेत्र को बढ़ावा देने, उत्पादन प्रक्रिया में सुधार लाने, आधुनिक टेक्नोलॉजी को आत्मसात् करने तथा उपलब्ध क्षमताओं का भरपूर प्रयोग करने हेतु लाइसेंस प्रणाली को सरल बनाने के लिए कई महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाए गए जिसके परिणामस्वरूप विकास की संपूर्ण रणनीति में भारी बदलाव आया। अर्थव्यवस्था में राज्य की भूमिका को पुनः परिभाषित किया गया और आर्थिक विकास की प्रक्रिया में निजी क्षेत्र को

अधिक प्राथमिकता दी जाने लगी। भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था बाजार मैत्रीपूर्ण अर्थव्यवस्था की ओर उन्मुख होने लगी। अनावश्यक नियंत्रण हटाए गए और केंद्रीकृत नियोजन से विकेंद्रित नियोजन की ओर कदम बढ़ाए गए। ऐसी स्थिति में लोक प्रशासन और नौकरशाही की भूमिका में भी बदलाव आने लगा।

भूमंडलीकरण द्वारा प्रदत्त अवसरों का भरपूर लाभ उठाने के लिए भारत में नीति-निर्माताओं को अन्य बातों के अलावा सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की नीति विश्लेषण, निरूपण और क्रियान्वयन की क्षमता बढ़ाने के लिए इसमें पुनः निवेश करना चाहिए। इसलिए, लोगों को भूमंडलीकरण के लाभों का अधिकतम आनंद उठाने के योग्य बनाने हेतु सरकार को अपनी संस्थाओं को सुदृढ़ करना चाहिए, मानव संसाधन क्षमताओं को विकसित करना चाहिए और टेक्नोलॉजी का उचित स्तर प्राप्त करना चाहिए। केवल इसी के जरिए वे भूमंडलीकरण में भागीदारी से प्राप्त होने वाले लाभों को हथिया सकते हैं और इसी के साथ भूमंडलीकरण के लिए चुकाई जाने वाली सामाजिक लागत को घटाने में मदद दे सकते हैं (माथुर, 2014)।

इससे कोई इनकार नहीं कर सकता कि आर्थिक उदारीकरण के दौर में बाजार विश्वस्तरीय हो रहा है तथा इस दौर में परंपरावादी लोक प्रशासन जिसका आधार स्तंभ - राज्य, सरकार, सार्वजनिक हित, कल्याणकारी राज्य आदि था, के स्थान पर उदारीकरण और भूमंडलीकरण के दौर में 'लोक विकल्प सिद्धांत' तथा 'नवीन लोक प्रबंध' अवधारणा का प्रभाव बढ़ने लगा तथा राज्य एवं प्रशासनिक विभाग के स्थान पर 'बाजार' और 'प्रतिस्पर्धा' पर जोर दिया जाने लगा। आर्थिक सुधार धीरे-धीरे एक नए दृष्टिकोण तथा विचारधारा का अंग बन गए जिसमें नियंत्रणों तथा नियमों के स्थान पर बाजारीकरण, निजीकरण व भूमंडलीकरण पर बल दिया गया और लाइसेंस, परमिट, नौकरशाही, सब्सिडी आदि को जारी रखने के बजाय इनको यथासंभव कम करने पर जो दिया जाने लगा। कुल मिलाकर नई आर्थिक नीति को बाजार-मैत्रीपूर्ण कहा जा सकता है। इस नए आर्थिक जीवन में सरकार की भूमिका पुनः परिभाषित करना आवश्यक हो जाता है। इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था में सरकार की भूमिका शासन व्यवस्था संबंधी नीतियों के निर्माण में अधिक तथा उनके वास्तविक कार्यान्वयन में कम हो जाती है। अधिकांश सरकारी विभागों को विकास के मार्ग में रोड़े अटकाने की भूमिका का त्याग कर उन्हें सुविधाएँ प्रदान करने का कार्य करना होता है। ऐसी स्थिति में लोक प्रशासन में तथा प्रशासन के कार्यों में बदलाव आने लगा है।

उदारीकरण के कारण जहाँ एक तरफ राज्य की भूमिका काफी सीमित हो गई है वहाँ दूसरी तरफ, नई परिस्थिति में इसे एक सकारात्मक, रचनात्मक, सहयोगात्मक तथा मार्गदर्शक की भूमिका निभानी है। इस संदर्भ में उल्लेखनीय है कि उदारीकरण के पूर्व सरकार तथा प्रशासन निजी कंपनियों विशेषकर विदेशी कंपनियों के विकास में एक अड़ंगा लगाने वाली संस्था की भूमिका अदा कर रहे थे। परंतु उदारीकरण तथा भूमंडलीकरण के दौर में जहाँ निजी कंपनियों (स्वदेशी तथा विदेशी) का विकास आवश्यक है वहाँ इनके विकास में सरकार तथा प्रशासन के एक मित्र तथा सुविधा प्रदान करने वाली संस्था के रूप में कार्य करना है। परंतु यह तभी संभव

है जब हमारी आधारभूत सुविधाएँ उन कंपनियों के स्वागत के लिए तैयार हो। अतः उदारीकरण के इस दौर में सरकार तथा प्रशासन की जिम्मेदारी इस क्षेत्र में बढ़ जाती है तथा उनसे यह अपेक्षा की जाती है कि वह हमारी आधारभूत सुविधाएँ, जैसे - सड़क, रेल-सेवा, परिवहन, संप्रेषण जाल इत्यादि; के विकास तथा संरक्षण की जिम्मेदारी उठाएं (अरोड़ा, 2012)।

उल्लेखनीय है कि कॉरपोरेट सेक्टर के बढ़ते प्रभुत्व के चलते, संसाधनों के निर्धारण, संपदा के समान वितरण, अर्थव्यवस्था की स्थिरता और अर्थिक विकास के मामले में सरकार की भूमिका पर विश्व स्तर पर कॉरपोरेट के लोग भारी पड़ रहे हैं (वर्मा, 2017)। परिणामस्वरूप, सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र का दायरा और नागरिकों को जोड़कर और विश्वस्तरीय कॉरपोरेट लोगों के प्रभावी नियंत्रण से दूर रखते हुए समाज के संसाधनों का प्रबंधन करने में लोकसेवा के क्षेत्र को संकुचित होने से बचाने का प्रयास करना चाहिए।

इक्कीसवीं शताब्दी के सूचना प्रौद्योगिकी युग में इंटरनेट के माध्यम से पूरा विश्व एक गाँव में बदल गया है। भारत सरकार ने सूचना-प्रौद्योगिकी के इस फायदे से देश की सबसे उपेक्षित ‘ग्रामीण जनता’ को लाभान्वित कराने के उद्देश्य से कम्प्यूटर आधारित ई-प्रशासन परियोजना की शुरुआत की। ई-प्रशासन के वस्तुतः: दो रूप हैं - पहला रूप, सरकार और विभागों के आंतरिक कार्यों से संबंधित है जो सरकार को अपने फैसले लेने तथा उन्हें लागू करने के कार्यों को सरल, तेज तथा भ्रष्टाचार विहीन बनाने में मदद करती है। दूसरा रूप, सरकार या विभाग को जनता से सीधे संपर्क स्थापित करने में मदद करता है। यह जनता को उसके कामकाज संबंधी सूचनाएँ एवं प्रक्रियाएँ ऑनलाइन उपलब्ध कराती है। ई-प्रशासन योजना का लक्ष्य है - ‘सभी सरकारी सुविधाएँ एवं सेवाओं को आम जनता के द्वार पर उपलब्ध कराना।’ (माथुर, 2014)। आज ई-प्रशासन को भारत में नवीन लोक प्रबंधन के सर्वाधिक प्रभावशाली उपकरण के रूप में संचालित किया जा रहा है।

## निष्कर्ष

भारतीय लोक प्रशासन में उदारीकरण के बाद प्रशासनिक सुधारों पर पर्याप्त ध्यान दिया जाने लगा है ताकि लोक प्रशासन को राष्ट्र निर्माण तथा सामाजिक-आर्थिक प्रगति के लिए लक्ष्योन्मुखी, परिणामोन्मुखी तथा विकासोन्मुखी बनाया जा सके। आज लोक प्रशासन में हमें ई-गवर्नेंस, नागरिक चार्टर, पारदर्शिता, गुणवत्ता, जवाबदेयता जैसी बातें देखने को मिलती हैं।

भूमंडलीकरण तथा खुली प्रतियोगिता के इस दौर में सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों में कई प्रकार की कमियाँ देखी गईं जो कि इसकी असफलता का कारण बन रही थी। इन कमियों को दूर करने तथा इनमें सुधार लाने के लिए सरकार ने अपने आर्थिक सुधार कार्यक्रमों की शृंखला के दौर में सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों में विनिवेशन की नीति अपनाई और सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों के निजीकरण का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया। इससे सार्वजनिक उपक्रम, लालफीतशाही, नौकरशाही तथा सरकारी हस्तक्षेप से मुक्त हो सकेंगे और निजी क्षेत्र की प्रबंधकीय क्षमता से लाभ उठा सकेंगे। इसके अतिरिक्त लैटरल इन्ट्री की ओर भी ध्यान दिया जा रहा है।

खास बात यह है कि भूमंडलीकरण के दौर में जहाँ अर्थव्यवस्था का ध्यान निजी कंपनियाँ रख रही हैं, वहाँ 21वीं सदी के इस दूसरे दशक में उत्तरार्द्ध में आर्थिक क्षेत्र में लोक प्रशासन की सिमटती हुई भूमिका के साथ जनसाधारण की सहभागिता भी कम होती जा रही है। परंतु विकास का अर्थ जहाँ संपूर्ण विकास है वहाँ भूमंडलीकरण का असर केवल ऊपरी स्तर पर ही नहीं बल्कि स्थानीय एवं धरातलीय स्तर पर महिला सशक्तीकरण, सर्वेशिक्षा, मानव अधिकार, उपभोक्ता अधिकार, पर्यावरण संरक्षण, लोकतंत्र, विकेंद्रीकरण जैसे क्षेत्रों में जनसहभागिता को प्रोत्साहित करना भी आवश्यक है। इसलिए राज्य के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि वह गैर-सरकारी संगठनों तथा नागरिक समाज को प्रोत्साहित करे। भारत में लगातार गैर-सरकारी संगठनों की बढ़ती हुई संख्या जनसाधारण में उनका महत्व दर्शाती है तथा सरकारी नीतियों के बनने तथा लागू करने की प्रक्रिया में जनअपेक्षाओं को व्यक्त करने में वे विशेष योगदान दे रहे हैं।

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# लोक प्रशासन एवं उत्तर-आधुनिकवाद

## ( एक अवधारणात्मक विश्लेषण )

विकास कुमार\*

### सारांश

19वीं सदी के अंतिम दशकों में लोक प्रशासन एक स्वतंत्र विषय के रूप में विवरित किया जाने लगा है। बीसवीं सदी के प्रारंभ में राजनीति बनाम प्रशासन का विवाद चला उसमें प्रशासनशास्त्रियों में मतभेद तो था परन्तु इन दोनों तत्वों को अलग कर देखा जाने लगा। कालान्तर में लोक प्रशासन में वैज्ञानिकता तथा दक्षता के अतिरिक्त मूल्यों और सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक एवं तकनीकी उपायेयता पर बल देने की बात कही गई। बीसवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्ध में राजनीति एवं प्रशासन के विवेचन में सदेहवाद एवं सापेक्षवाद ने जन्म लिया। 1980 के दशक से उत्तर आधुनिकवादी लोक प्रशासन वस्तुनिष्ठ एवं पॉजिटिभिज्म का विरोधी विचारधारा है जो मूल्य, दक्षता, नेतृत्व, प्रबंधन एवं संगठन पर बल देता है। उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी लोक प्रशासन में अत्यंत चुनौतीपूर्ण नवीन क्रमबद्ध तथा सारांशित विचारों का अनुसरण करने की काफी गुंजाइश है, जो तृतीय विश्व के देशों के लिए उपयुक्त है। विशेषकर उन विचारों, जो 'सत्य' को समझने से संबंधित हैं, जो पारम्परिक, नौकरशाही प्रतिमान का विकल्प दे सकता है, जो प्रमाणिक, भागीदारीयुक्त, नागरिक केन्द्रित लोकतंत्र का निर्माण करते हैं और समसामयिक सामाजिक विघटन के संदर्भ में हाशिए की ओर वर्चित वर्णों पर समेकित कर सकता है। इसका दूसरा योगदान नौकरशाही की तरक्मूलता के रहस्य को तोड़ना और कॉर्पोरेट सेक्टर के उन गुप्त इरादों को पर्दाफाश करना है, जो चोरी-चोरी लोकहितों का समझौता करने की कोशिशों में हैं।

**विषयसूचक शब्द:** उत्तरआधुनिकवाद, लोक प्रशासन, तृतीय-विश्व, मूल्य, प्रबंधन

### विषय प्रवेश

लोक प्रशासन अपने रचनात्मक काल से ही, संस्थानिक तंत्र के ढाँचे और प्रक्रियाओं की गहराई से खोज हेतु नए विचारों एवं व्याख्याओं के प्रति ग्रहणशील रहा है। इस प्रक्रिया में यह बहुत-सी शास्त्र विधाओं और चिन्तन-विधियों से उदारतापूर्वक कुछ न कुछ ग्रहण करती रही है। उत्तर

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आधुनिकतावाद विचारों को झकझारने वाले और दूसरों पर भारी पड़ने वाले एक ऐसे दर्शन के रूप में उभरा है, जितने मानव ज्ञान की प्रायः सभी शाखाओं विधाओं को प्रभावित किया है। लोक प्रशासन ने नए 'प्रतिमान' की ओर बल्कि विलम्ब से ही और वह भी आधे-अधूरे मन से ही प्रतिक्रिया की है। उत्तर आधुनिक लोक प्रशासन के बारे में विस्तृत रूप से प्रकाश डालने वाला ऐसा कोई साहित्य भी नहीं है। साथ ही सोच की इस धारा ने लोक प्रशासन के विद्वानों का विशेषकर अमेरिका में काफी ध्यान आकृष्ट किया है। लोक प्रशासन का अधिकांश उत्तर-आधुनिक पांडित्य डेनमार्क, नीदरलैंड और अमेरिका में ही मिलता है। मजेदार बात तो यह है कि संगठन सिद्धान्तवादी उत्तर-आधुनिकतावाद के व्यापक निरूपण के ग्राही रहे हैं जबकि इसके विपरीत, लोक प्रशासन के विद्वान इस नए रुझान के प्रति काफी कम ग्राही रहे हैं। फिर भी तृतीय विश्व के देशों के संदर्भ में इस अवधारणा को प्रश्रय मिला है। भारत के संदर्भ में देखा जाय तो, 1980 के दशक में विद्वानों ने इसे राजनीतिक सिद्धान्त का एक विषद् विषय क्षेत्र के रूप में देखने की वकालत की। कहा गया कि जो विषय प्रभुत्व संरचनाओं, अन्याय, दमन आदि तत्वों पर विचार नहीं करता हो उसे सामाजिक विज्ञान नहीं माना जा सकता।<sup>1</sup> ऐसे में उत्तर-आधुनिकतावाद के संदर्भ में लोक प्रशासन का अवधारणात्मक विवेचन समीचीन प्रतीत होता है।

### **उत्तर-आधुनिकतावाद : एक परिचय**

उत्तर-आधुनिकतावाद, खासकर लोक प्रशासन के संदर्भ में, एक जटिल अवधारणा है जो पाश्चात्य दर्शन की उपज है। इसके अर्थ को समझने से पहले आधुनिकता के अर्थ पर प्रकाश डालना होगा। यूरोपीय ज्ञानोदय में जड़ें लिए आधुनिकता ने विज्ञान और धर्मनिरपेक्षता (ईश्वर नहीं, बल्कि आदमी अपनी नियति का रचयिता है) और प्रगतिशीलता (विश्व विज्ञान और तर्क के सहरे बेहतरी की ओर बदल रहा है) पर आधारित उत्तर-मध्यकालीन सभ्यता को जन्म दिया। आधुनिकता ने मानवीय प्रयास के सभी क्षेत्रों - चाहे वह वैज्ञानिक अनुसरण हो, सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन हो या सामाजिक विश्लेषण हो, में पैर पसार लिए। बीसवीं सदी के अंतिम दशकों से सामाजिक विश्लेषक आधुनिकता और आधुनिक समाज की विशेषताओं को लेकर ही पूर्णतः व्यस्त रहे। मार्क्स, दुर्खाम और मैक्स वेबर जैसे मौलिक प्रवीण चिन्तक सामने आए। आधुनिकता में यौक्तिकीकरण (तर्कसंगत व्याख्या), विशेषज्ञता, नौकरशाहीकरण, केन्द्रीयकरण और औद्योगीकरण विज्ञान और यौक्तिकीकरण मानव ज्ञान के किसी भी अन्य रूप पर भारी पड़ते थे। आधुनिकता के सांगठनिक प्रमाणकों के तौर पर औद्योगिक निगम और नौकरशाहीयुक्त कल्याणकारी राज्य को दर्शाता गया। अर्थिक एवं सामाजिक विकास को संसाधनों के तर्कसंगत उपयोग और नवीन वैज्ञानिक ज्ञान को प्रयुक्त करने का नतीजा ठहराया गया।<sup>2</sup>

### **उत्तर-आधुनिकतावाद का परिप्रेक्ष्य**

उत्तर-आधुनिकतावाद यथार्थ विषय-वस्तु के बिना किसी संकेतक की तरह है या अधिकतम कहें तो 'वस्तुनिष्ठ' संसार को देखने का एक नया उत्तेजक ढांग है। उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादियों

का लोकाचार एकीकृत, सबकुछ समाहित करने वाली और विश्व स्तर पर वैध व्याख्या भव्य वर्णन का प्रतिरोध करता है। इस प्रकार परिवर्तन संबंधी व्याख्या के प्रति अविश्वसनीयता उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादियों के चिन्तन के मर्म में हैं। उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी मतभेदों का सम्मान करता है और भ्रामक दुनिया की कीमत पर स्थानीय और विशिष्ट का उत्सव मनाता है। आधुनिकता विज्ञान और टेक्नोलॉजी के उपयोगों से संबद्ध है, जिन्हें अभूतपूर्व औद्योगिक उत्पादन तीव्र परिवहन एवं संचार, प्रतिनिधिक लोकतंत्र के प्रसार और नौकरशाही आधारित सरकारों का जटिल जाल बुनने का दौर लाने का श्रेय जाता है। उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी इन सब बातों से ज्यादा आसक्त नहीं है। बल्कि वे इसके काले पक्ष की ओर इंगित करते हैं। जैसे उनके विचार में विकास की प्रक्रियाओं से मानव जाति को मुक्ति तो मिली है, मगर ये अत्याचार, दमन और क्लान्ति भी लेकर आए हैं। जैसा कि स्कॉट ने टिप्पणी की कि एक सुसंगठित नौकरशाही से युक्त एक राष्ट्र-राज्य समाज पर कठोर वैज्ञानिक श्रेणियाँ और नौकरशाही - रचित सरलीकरण थोपता है, जो आधुनिकीकरण प्रबंध की पहचान है<sup>3</sup>

उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी तर्क करते हैं कि विज्ञान, तथ्यों के आधार पर सत्य का पता लगाने की कोशिश करता है। मगर, उनके विचार में विज्ञान, इस दुनिया में अर्थ का पता लगाने के बहुतेरे ढंगों में से एक है, अनेक समान रूप से योग्य या सुपात्र 'प्रबंधों' में से एक है। तथ्य तटस्थ नहीं हैं, वे 'प्रबंध' द्वारा निर्मित एवं अनुरक्षित सामाजिक रचनाएँ हैं। उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी बहुतेरे 'प्रबंधों' की बात करते हैं, जो विविध वास्तविकताओं का निर्माण करते हैं। अतः उत्तर-आधुनिकतावाद संस्कृतियों, प्रबंधों और ज्ञान की विविधता का उत्सव मनाता है। इस प्रकार, उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी संज्ञानात्मक सापेक्षतावाद को प्रोत्साहन देते हैं जिसे विज्ञान के प्रभुत्व को घटाया जाता है।

उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी की अधिकांश सैद्धांतिक प्रेरणा महान समकालीन यूरोपीय दर्शनशास्त्रियों जैसे फाउकोल्ट, डेरिडा और लेक्लौ से मिली हैं। फाउकोल्ट की 'सत्ता' और 'शासन' की धारणा ने आधुनिकतावादियों के सत्ता के एक संस्थानिक स्थायीकरण होने के मत को तोड़ा है। उनकी राय में यह कुछ ऐसी चीज है, जो जीवन के सभी क्षेत्रों में व्याप्त हो जाती है। फाउकोल्ट का अनुसरण करते हुए उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी सत्ता को 'अनबन की ऐसी रणनीतिक संभावनाओं के रूप में देखेंगे, जो कर्ताओं को संबंध में बांध देती है, जो अभिव्यक्ति के मामले में 'प्रबंध' के माध्यम से विकसित होता है। 'शासन' की धारणा, एक नवीन विचार है जिसका फाउकोल्ट ने महत्वपूर्ण ऐतिहासिक अध्ययनों के बाद निरूपण किया। अब इस विचार को आज के 'शासन' सिद्धान्तवादियों ने, अपर्याप्त ही सही, लेकिन आंशिक रूप से बेदखल कर दिया है। अगर हम डेरिडा की बात करें तो भाषा पर उनके विचार उस अस्पष्ट बनावट पर संकेतक को समझने में अत्यंत सहायक रहते हैं, जो हमेशा क्रीड़ाशील, कम्पशील और परिवर्तनीय रहती है। इसलिए 'सामान्य सत्य' की खोज व्यर्थ है। अधिकाधिक इस बात की व्याख्या का प्रयास किया जा सकता है कि ज्ञान किस प्रकार तैयार होता है, अस्पष्टता की ओर उन्मुख रहता है और अस्थिर रहता है।<sup>4</sup> अन्य प्रसिद्ध दर्शनशास्त्री लेक्ला हैं, जो तर्क की इसी तर्ज का अनुसरण करते हुए भाषा को एक संरचना, एक रूप में लेते हैं, सार के रूप में नहीं। उनकी राय में शब्द का अर्थ भौतिक,

स्वरूप में नहीं, बल्कि हमारे दिमागों में होता है। इसलिए संबंधात्मक और अर्थपूर्ण ‘समग्रता’ का ही ‘प्रबंध’ के रूप में विश्लेषण किया जाना चाहिए। समग्रता भाषाई एवं गैर भाषाई घटकों का मिला-जुला रूप है।

उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी लोकसेवकों और लोक संगठन के आधुनिक, तर्कमूलक मॉडल के घोर आलोचक हैं। उदाहरणार्थ, जिस नौकरशाही की कार्यकुशलता की दुहाई दी थी, उसे विघटित करने की मांग की जा रही है। तर्क दिया गया कि नौकरशाही एक सामाजिक संरचना है, क्योंकि कार्यकुशलता संस्कृति से संबद्ध हैं और उत्पादन में वृद्धि से जुड़ी है। कार्यकुशलता ऐसे समाज में प्रतिष्ठित है, जो ‘नियंत्रण’ पर बल देता है जिसे आधुनिकतावादी तो पसंद करते हैं पर उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी नहीं। इस प्रकार का विनिर्माण या विघटन नौकरशाही की कार्यकुशलता जैसी देखने में सुस्थापित श्रेणियों के नीचे क्या है, इसे समझने में मदद करता है।<sup>5</sup>

उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादियों को क्रमबद्ध ढंग से ‘सामाजिक रचनाकार’ के रूप में चित्रित किया गया है। ‘कट्टरतावाद’ के विपरीत सामाजिक संरचना का वस्तुनिष्ठ ज्ञान के बारे में रुख यह रहा है कि दुर्खीम और आधुनिकतावादियों के तर्कों के उलट संपूर्ण विश्व को सामाजिक परिस्थितियों के विषय में हमारे व्यक्तिनिष्ठ बोध पर सतत् बहस के रूप में समझा जा सकता है। ध्यान देने योग्य दूसरा महत्वपूर्ण बिन्दु यह है कि उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी व्याख्यात्मक विश्लेषण, प्रासंगिकता और प्रेरक तार्किकता को अधिमान देते हैं, जबकि आधुनिकतावादी सकारात्मकता, अनुभवावाद और निगमनात्मक तर्क को महत्व देते हैं। आधुनिकतावादियों के सामान्यीकरण, संश्लेषण और भविष्यवाणी का स्थान अब अपवाद, भिन्नता और अनिश्चयात्मकता ने ले लिया है। जैसा कि फॉर्मर इस बिन्दु को स्पष्ट करते हुए कहते हैं कि बहुतेरे उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी दमन के शिकार और परिधि के बाहर बैठे लोगों की अवस्था पर फोकस करते हैं, जबकि इसके विपरीत आधुनिकतावादी सत्ताधारियों, शक्तिशाली और मुक्त लोगों की ज्यादा फिक्र करते हैं।<sup>6</sup>

## उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी लोक प्रशासन की व्यापकता

इस संदर्भ में लोक प्रशासन के उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादियों की सोच को व्यापक रूप से प्रस्तुत करने के लिए फॉकस और मिलर विशेष उल्लेख के पात्र हैं। संक्षेप में, उनके उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी लोक प्रशासन में लोकतात्त्विक व्यवस्था के तर्कों से हटकर फोकस नागरिकों के लिए तंत्र के व्यापक लोकतात्त्विक परिणामों पर चला गया है। बेहरमेसियन के प्रबंध सिद्धान्त का अनुसरण करते हुए लोक प्रशासन में महत्वपूर्ण भागीदार एजेंट के रूप में सक्रिय नागरिकों के हित में प्रामाणिक प्रबंध का एक मॉडल प्रस्तुत किया गया है। फॉकस और मिलर के विश्लेषण की तह में लोकतंत्र के घुमावदार मॉडल पर गहन असंतोष की अभिव्यक्ति है। जिसमें राजनीति और प्रशासन के बीच विभाजक रेखाओं के साथ लोकतात्त्विक निर्णय निर्माण में इनपुट-आउटपुट फीडबैक की समझ और तटस्थ लोककर्मी को ग्राहक के रूप में सेवा करने को मतदाता बनाकर रखने का विचार अवश्य सम्मिलित होता है। तर्क होता है - नौकरशाही से इतर नीति नेटवर्क और अन्य संरचनाओं के माध्यम से लोकतंत्र के अंतर-संगठन विकास के लिए प्रामाणिक और सच्चा

प्रबंध। फॉक्स और मिलर को उद्धृत करते हैं.... “जब समुदाय को सूक्ष्म व्यक्तियों की श्रृंखला में तब्दील कर दिया जाता है और अयकारी गतिविधि की वजह से संयोगवश उनके एक साथ आ जाने से, समुदाय की राजनीतिक समझ विकसित नहीं हो जाती है... भेंट के लिए जाने वाले भागीदार नहीं होते हैं। प्रामाणिक प्रबंध में भागीदार के लिए ‘प्रबंध समादेश’ की आवश्यकता होती है। विश्वास और इरादा-समस्या समाधान के लिए मौलिक रुझान-भागीदारी के लिए पूर्व शर्त हैं, जिसके लिए प्रशासन की ओर से सुनने के लिए योग्यता और एकाग्रता की आवश्यकता होती है, जो ‘रचनात्मक विनियोजन’ को जन्म देती है।<sup>7</sup>

जैसा कि ऊपर चर्चा की जा चुकी है लोक प्रशासन अध्ययन और शोध में उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादी रुझान नया ही है। अगर लोक प्रशासन के उत्तर-आधुनिकता की ओर टोड़ लेने का विस्तृत ब्यौरा प्रस्तुत करें तो पुस्तक ही लिखी जा सकती है। वैसे लोक प्रशासन के लिए कोई एक या संघटित उत्तर-आधुनिक एप्रोच नहीं है। लोक प्रशासन के साथ उत्तर-आधुनिक शब्द का जुड़ाव हम्मेल<sup>8</sup> के लेखन में देखा जा सकता है। हम्मेल ने उत्तर-आधुनिक संगठन पर दृष्टिपात किया जबकि डेन्नार्ड ने व्यंग्यात्मक वर्णन के साथ उग्र मानवतावाद के बारे में लिखा। मार्शल<sup>9</sup> ने ब्लैक्सबर्ग मेनिफेस्टो को ‘ध्वस्त’ करने के अपने प्रयास में लोक प्रशासन विशेषण की एक प्रणाली के रूप में उत्तर-आधुनिकता का सूत्रपात किया। फॉर्मर ने लोक प्रशासन में ऐसे ‘शानदार वर्णनों की सीमाओं की ओर ध्यान खींचा, जो टेलर ने कार्यकुशलता, विशेषज्ञता और लोक प्रशासन के विज्ञान की महत्वाकांक्षा आदि के जरिये दिए थे। उसका फोकस लोक प्रशासन में किनारे धकेल दिए गए महिला, अल्पसंख्यक आदि वर्गों की आवाज पर है और वह ऐसे अन्य लोगों की आवाज पर सुनवाई की आस रखते हैं, जो किनारे धकेल दिए गए लोगों को मुक्ति दिला सकते हैं।<sup>10</sup>

## निष्कर्ष

आज लोक प्रशासन का नवउदारवादी स्वरूप प्रबल हो गया है जिसमें उत्तर-आधुनिक लोक प्रशासन प्रासारिक प्रतीत होता है। उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादियों ने इसके विकास के लिए नई संभावनाओं के द्वार खोले हैं। वर्तमान समय में उत्तर-आधुनिकतावाद के अत्यंत चुनौतीपूर्ण नवीन क्रमबद्ध तथा सारागर्भित विचारों का अनुसरण करने की काफी गुंजाइश है। विशेषकर उन विचारों, जो ‘सत्य’ को समझने से संबंधित हैं, जो पारम्परिक, नौकरशाही प्रतिमान का विकल्प देने को प्रयासरत हैं, जो प्रामाणिक, भागीदारीयुक्त, नागरिक केन्द्रित लोकतंत्र का निर्माण करते हैं और समसामयिक सामाजिक विघटन के संदर्भ में हाशिये के वर्गों को समेटते हैं। यह दृष्टिकोण एक नए लोक प्रशासन को जन्म देने में सक्षम है, जो प्राचीन, पारम्परिक वेबरवाद से नाता तोड़ कर जनता को लोक प्रशासन में वापस लाएगा। उसका दूसरा योगदान नौकरशाही तर्कमूलता के रहस्य को तोड़ना और कॉरपोरेट सेक्टर के उन गुप्त इरादों को पर्दाफाश करना है, जो चोरी-चोरी लोक हितों से तालमेल करने की कोशिशों में हैं।

तृतीय विश्व के परिप्रेक्ष्य में देखें तो उत्तर-आधुनिकतावाद को मूलतः ‘पश्चिमी’ और ‘नृजातिकेन्द्रित’ कहा गया है, क्योंकि इसके विकास का आधुनिकता से उत्तर-आधुनिकता का प्रक्षेप पथ पश्चिमी विकसित देशों के ऐतिहासिक विकास मार्ग से संदर्भ रखता है। इसकी दूसरी बड़ी आलोचना यह रही है कि उत्तर-आधुनिकतावाद की ‘भव्य वर्णन’ की अस्वीकृति उत्तर-साम्यवादी पश्चिमी देशों की ऐतिहासिक विकासवादी विशिष्टताओं के दृष्टिगत मार्क्सवादी सामाजिक-ऐतिहासिक थ्योरी को अस्वीकार करने और इसे कमज़ोर करने की रही है। साथ ही, सूक्ष्म गतिविधियों और हाशिये के लोगों, महिलाओं और अन्य की समस्याओं पर उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादियों द्वारा बल दिए जाने से ऐसे सामाजिक आंदोलन को खासा बौद्धिक समर्थन मिला है। उत्तर-आधुनिकतावाद की ‘भव्य वर्णन’ की अस्वीकृति उत्तर-साम्यवादी पश्चिमी देशों की ऐतिहासिक विकासवादी विशिष्टताओं के दृष्टिगत मार्क्सवादी सामाजिक-ऐतिहासिक थ्योरी को अस्वीकार करने और इसे कमज़ोर करने की रही है। साथ ही, सूक्ष्म गतिविधियों और हाशिये के लोगों, महिलाओं और अन्य की समस्याओं पर उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादियों द्वारा बल दिए जाने से ऐसे सामाजिक आंदोलन को खासा बौद्धिक समर्थन मिला है। उत्तर-आधुनिकतावादियों के प्रामाणिक, सामुदायिक और भागीदारीयुक्त लोकतंत्र के प्रवचन का दूसरा पहलू उस वर्तमान विश्वव्यापी आंदोलन से प्रत्यक्ष प्रासंगिकता रखता है जो विकेन्ट्रीकरण, नागरिक समाज और लोगों के सशक्तीकरण के लिए चलाया जा रहा है।

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# भूमण्डलीकरण एवं लोक प्रशासन के बदलते परिप्रेक्ष्यः विकासशील देशों के संदर्भ में एक विश्लेषण

अमृता कुमारी\*

## सारांश

भूमण्डलीकरण की परिघटना ने विगत दशकों में विकासशील देशों के लोक प्रशासन की प्राथमिकताओं में आर्थिक प्रबंधन को प्रबल कर दिया है। विकासशील देश एक और जहां आर्थिक संसाधनों के अभाव से ग्रसित हैं वहीं उन्हें वैशिवक आर्थिक व्यवस्था की चुनौतियों से निपटना पड़ रहा है। ऐसे में बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों को आर्थिक विकास के ईंजन के रूप में देखा जा रहा है। परिणामस्वरूप लोक मामलों के प्रबंधन में विकसित देशों और कॉरपोरेट सेक्टर का प्रभाव इन देशों के लोक प्रशासन पर स्पष्ट दिख रहा है। निजी क्षेत्रों के अनुरूप लोक नीतियों का निर्धारण हो रहा है। लोक संदर्भ से अधिक आर्थिक तत्वों पर बल दिया जाने लगा है। लोकनीतियों निर्माण में विशेषज्ञों एवं कॉरपोरेट हितों को तरजीह दी जाने लगी है। संसाधनों के अभाव और विकसित देशों पर निर्भरता के कारण और साथ ही कमज़ोर प्रशासकीय प्रबंधन क्षमता के चलते विकासशील देशों के लोक प्रशासन की संरचना और प्रकृति में बदलाव लाने की आवश्यकता है।

**विषयसूचक शब्द:** भूमण्डलीकरण, लोक प्रशासन, नीति-निर्माण, लोक प्रबंधन, संप्रांत वर्ग, कॉरपोरेट

## भूमिका

भूमण्डलीकरण के प्रभाव न केवल सामाजिक-आर्थिक एवं राजनीतिक क्षेत्रों पर पड़ा है बल्कि लोक प्रशासन की प्रकृति पर भी स्पष्ट दृष्टिगोचर है। भूमण्डलीकरण के विश्लेषकों को तीन श्रेणियों में रखा जाता है - अतिवादी, मोडरेट तथा संशयवादी। संशयवादियों का मत है कि समाज एवं शासन पर भूमण्डलीकरण के नकारात्मक प्रभाव हुए हैं, परन्तु यह अभिजन वर्गों के हित में हैं। विकासशील देशों के लोक प्रशासन पर इसका प्रतिकूल प्रभाव ही पड़ा है। इन विश्लेषकों को छोड़ भी दें तो विगत कुछ वर्षों में भारत में नीति-निर्माण की प्रकृति यह बतलाती है कि नीति निर्माण एवं उसके कार्यान्वयन में विशेषज्ञों एवं कॉरपोरेट हितों का प्रभाव रहा है।<sup>1</sup> भूमण्डलीकरण

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के इस प्रक्रिया के चलते तेजी से विकसित हो रही पारस्परिक जुड़ाव के कारण पारम्परिक सम्प्रभु राष्ट्रों का अस्तित्व पिघल रहा है और मानव जाति के लिए एक लगभग सीमा विहीन मानवीय अस्तित्व की संरचना हो रही है। संशयवादियों की मान्यता है कि निराशावाद क्रमिक रूप से विकसित हो रही है और यह पूर्णतः असमान अंतराष्ट्रीय राष्ट्र-राज्य व्यवस्था की संरचना के रूप में विकसित हो रही है। जहाँ ऐतिहासिक रूप से निर्मित असमतल क्रीड़ा मैदान में एक ओर लाभग्राही हैं, विशेषकर विकसित पश्चिमी देश और दूसरी ओर बुरी तरह हानि में रहने वाले देश हैं, जिनमें विकासशील देश मुख्य रूप से शामिल हैं और जिन्होंने एक लंबे दौर की शोषक औपनिवेशिक शासन-व्यवस्था में मुक्ति पाने के उपरात राष्ट्र निर्माण की एक दीर्घकालीन एवं जटिल प्रक्रिया एवं त्वरित सामाजिक-आर्थिक पुनर्निर्माण का कार्य प्रारम्भ किया था।<sup>1</sup>

तृतीय विश्व के अनेक देशों के कदु अनुभवों के दृष्टिगत कुछ क्षेत्रों में ऐसी आशंकाएँ भी व्यक्त की जा रही हैं कि भूमंडलीकरण वास्तव में विकासशील राष्ट्रों की अर्थव्यवस्था, राज्यव्यवस्था और संस्कृति पर शक्तिशाली बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों का धातक नियंत्रण स्थापित करेगा और इस कार्य में उन्हें इन देशों के विशिष्ट वर्ग से सम्बद्ध गैरजिम्मेदार नागरिकों, जिन्हें विदेशी व्यवसायियों का एजेंट कहा जा सकता है, की सहायता और सहयोग प्राप्त होगा। अतः ‘भूमंडलीकरण’ को लेकर जो केन्द्रीय बिन्दु उभारा जा रहा है, वह यह है कि क्या यह हर किसी के लिए समृद्धि का विशुद्ध वादा साबित होगा या फिर इसकी विकृतिजन्य प्रक्रिया पुनः औपनिवेशिक व्यवस्था को वापस ले आएगी, जिसके तहत तीसरे विश्व को प्रथम विश्व के राजनीतिक-आर्थिक आधिपत्य के अधीन लाने की प्राचीन ऐतिहासिक प्रक्रिया की ओर पुनः ठेल दिया जाएगा।

अपेक्षाओं एवं संदेहों की इस मिश्रित पृष्ठभूमि के दृष्टिगत भूमंडलीकरण को एक ठोस प्रबंधकीय-प्रशासकीय मुद्दे के रूप में समझने की आवश्यकता है। राष्ट्र-राज्य को जटिल संबंधों के एक नेटवर्क में उलझा लिया है। इस संबंध में संयुक्त राष्ट्र के लोक अर्थशास्त्र एवं लोक प्रशासन प्रखण्ड के निदेशक गुइडो बर्टुलुक्कि की विस्तृत टिप्पणी यहाँ उल्लेख करने योग्य है, “आज के निरंतर परिवर्तनशील वातावरण और विशेषकर भूमंडलीकरण की दृष्टि से सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र का प्रबंधन राष्ट्रीय निर्माण निर्माताओं, नीति परामर्शदाताओं, सेवा प्रदाता प्रबंधकों और प्रशासकीय अधिकारियों के लिए लगातार बड़ी चुनौती बनता जा रहा है। राज्य के कार्यों एवं भूमिका में व्यापक बदलाव आया है। उत्तरदायित्वों की आम सूरत बदल गई और इसके फलस्वरूप गुणात्मक एवं परिमाणात्मक दोनों ही दृष्टियों से नीति निर्धारण और राज्य की उच्च स्तरीय निपुणता में महत्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन हुए हैं। कुल मिलाकर परिवर्तन का स्वरूप दस्ती प्रबंधन और सेवाओं और माल के प्रत्यक्ष उत्पादन से रणनीतिक नियोजन की ओर जाने पर फोकस करता है, जिसमें निजी उद्यम और वैयक्तिक पहल के सुदृढ़ ढांचे के प्रतिष्ठान एवं अनुरक्षण, परिमार्जन एवं सुधार को ध्यान में रखा जाता है। एक समानान्तर परिवर्तन के अंतर्गत ही राज्य के गुरुत्व केन्द्र और शक्ति के बिन्दुपथ भी बदले हैं। विकेन्द्रीकरण, अनौकरशाहीकरण और अनियंत्रण न सिर्फ स्थानीय सरकार या प्रशासन का बल्कि उन गैर सरकारी कर्ताओं का भी महत्व बढ़ा रहे हैं, जिनको महत्वपूर्ण कार्य सुपुर्द किए जा रहे हैं। साथ-साथ पारम्परिक रूप से

राष्ट्रीय नौकरशाहों द्वारा अपनी राजधानियों में लिए जाने वाले फैसले और किए जाने वाले विभिन्न कार्य अंतर-सरकारी या सुपर राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर स्थानांतरित हो रहे हैं, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप देशों के बीच माल, पूँजी, श्रम और सूचना का प्रवाह बढ़ा है। राज्य से नियोजन, परामर्श, वार्ता और निर्णय-निर्माण की प्रक्रियाओं में जहाँ अभिशासन का विभिन्न स्तरों पर सरकारी एवं गैर सरकारी अनेक कर्ता होते हैं, एक सम्पर्क सूत्र के रूप में कार्य करने का आग्रह किया जा रहा है। राज्य तो इन गतिविधियों का केन्द्र है, जहाँ विभिन्न क्षेत्रों, अंचलों, संस्कृतियों, पेशों और हितों से संबद्ध अनेक साझेदार और पणधारी मिलते हैं। यह भी साफ हो चुका है कि अभी तक भूमंडलीकरण के लाभों का बंटवारा असमान ही रहा है। अनुभव बताते हैं कि विभिन्न विकासशील देशों में व्याप्त संकट और उनमें से कुछ की विश्व अर्थव्यवस्था के साथ एकीकृत न होने की अयोग्यता का कारण सरकारी क्षमता का अभाव है। भूमंडलीकरण निःसंदेह बहुतेरे अवसर प्रदान कर रहा है जिनमें विदेशी प्रत्यक्ष निवेश, व्यापार और सूचना प्रौद्योगिकी में पहुंच भी शामिल है। वैसे, केवल वे ही देश, जिनके पास प्रभावी लोक प्रशासन, सुदृढ़ राजनीतिक एवं अर्थिक समस्याएं, पर्याप्त सामाजिक नीतियां और एक प्रतिबद्ध नेतृत्व है, विश्व अर्थव्यवस्था के साथ ज्यादा एकीकरण के जरिए समाज के सभी वर्गों के लिए लाभ सुनिश्चित कर सकते हैं।<sup>3</sup>

भूमंडलीकरण द्वारा प्रदत्त अवसरों का भरपूर लाभ उठाने के लिए विकासशील देशों को अन्य बातों के अलावा सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की नीति विश्लेषण, निरूपण और क्रियान्वयन की क्षमता बढ़ाने के लिए इसमें पुनः निवेश करना चाहिए। इसलिए, लोगों को भूमंडलीकरण के लाभों का अधिकतम आनंद उठाने के योग्य बनाने हेतु सरकारों को अपनी संस्थाओं को सुदृढ़ करना चाहिए, मानव संसाधन क्षमताओं को विकसित करना चाहिए, और टेक्नोलॉजी का उचित स्तर प्राप्त करना चाहिए। केवल इसी के जरिए वे भूमंडलीकरण में भागीदारी से प्राप्त होने वाले लाभों को हथिया सकते हैं और इसी के साथ भूंडलीकरण के लिए चुकाई जाने वाली सामाजिक लागत को घटाने में मदद ले सकते हैं।<sup>4</sup>

## लोक प्रशासन की प्रकृति में बदलाव

किसी विशिष्ट परिप्रेक्ष्य में देखने पर भूमंडलीकरण की विषय-वस्तु इसके विभिन्न शाखा विस्तार के साथ परस्पर विरोधी व्याख्या का मुद्दा रहा है। अर्थशास्त्री और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय व्यापार विशेषज्ञ इसको लेकर अपना-अपना अनुशासनिक रूख अपनाते रहे हैं। राजनीतिक विज्ञानियों और समाजशास्त्रियों के भी अलग-अलग विचार रहे हैं। लोक प्रशासन मूलतः देश के घरेलू सार्वजनिक मामलों के प्रबंधन से संबंधित एक अंतर्मुखी विधा रही है। अभी हाल ही में इसे भूमंडलीकरण की सतत प्रक्रिया के विभिन्न दबावों और उनके घरेलू प्रशासकीय प्रबंधन पर फोकस करने की आवश्यकता के दृष्टिगत जागृत होना पड़ा है। तभी से इस शास्त्र विधा की नई उभरती विश्व व्यवस्था के संदर्भ में नए सिरे से आविष्कार अथवा प्रतिस्थापन की कोशिशें की जा रही हैं।

पारंपरिक रूप से देखें तो लोक प्रशासन का संदर्भ किसी देश की सरकार की नीतियों एवं औपचारिक मशीनरी के कार्यों से ही रहा है। इस मशीनरी में सांगठनिक ढाँचा, निर्णयात्मक

प्रक्रियाएँ और व्यवहारगत आयाम भी शामिल हैं। भूमंडलीकरण में, जैसा कि इसे आज देखा जा रहा है, किसी देश के सार्वजनिक मामलों के प्रबंधन में प्रासंगिक एवं ठोस निहितार्थ रहते हैं। भूमंडलीकरण, जिसमें किसी देश का विश्व अर्थव्यवस्था में एकीकरण जुड़ा होता है, में उचित ढंग से देश की क्षमताओं के साथ विभिन्न कर्ताओं के साथ रणनीतिक नियोजन, वार्ताओं और मंत्रणा में एक ‘सम्पर्क सूत्र’ की भूमिका निभाने हेतु सामने आना होता है। आर्थिक उपलब्धियों का पूरा लाभ उठाने और भूमंडलीकरण की संभावित सामाजिक लागत को कम करने के लिए उपयुक्त संस्थाओं को सुदृढ़ करने, मानव संसाधनों को विकसित करने और टेक्नोलॉजिकल क्षमता को उन्नत बनाने की अत्यावश्यकता है।<sup>5</sup>

आज इस बात को लगभग विश्व स्तर पर स्वीकार किया जा रहा है कि किसी भी देश के लोक प्रशासन तंत्र को नए सिरे से व्यवस्थित करने की नितांत आवश्यकता है, मगर सुधार की दिशा एवं अन्तर्विषय स्पष्ट नहीं है। इस संदर्भ में यू.एन.डी.पी. को टिप्पणी उल्लेखनीय है-

“वैश्वीकरण के दबावों के ध्यान का ज्यादा फोकस लोक प्रशासन पर ही रहा है। जहां वैश्वीकरण लोगों के एकीकरण में सहायक हो सकता है, वहीं इसने बहुतों को एक किनारे करने की अपनी क्षमता का प्रदर्शन भी किया है। इस स्थिति से निपटने के लिए शासन के स्तर पर ऐसे दृष्टिकोण की आवश्यकता है, जिसमें नीति निर्धारण पर चर्चा में पारदर्शिता, जवाबदेही और पण्धारियों की भागीदारी हो। साथ ही, एक ऐसी सरकार की भी आवश्यकता है, जो संसाधनों का, अपने नागरिकों को विश्व बाजार में प्रतियोगी बनाने और विश्व के निर्धनतम एवं सम्पन्नतम लोगों के बीच व्याप्त खाई को पाटने के लिए दक्षतापूर्वक उपयोग करती है। वैश्वीकरण न सिर्फ संवाद के लिए सुदृढ़ अंतर्राष्ट्रीय और क्षेत्रीय मंचों, वैश्विक नीति-निर्धारण और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय समझौतों एवं अधिनियमों पर अमल की आवश्यकता बढ़ाता है, बल्कि ऐसी मजबूत राष्ट्रीय सरकारों के गठन हेतु भी दबाव बनाता है, जो वैश्विक वातावरण में एकीकृत होने और वार्ता करने की योग्यता रखती हो और जो उन वैश्विक शक्तियों के समक्ष खड़े होने में सक्षम हों, जो विकासशील देशों और विशेषकर न्यून विकसित देशों के विशिष्ट दावों और चुनौतियों की अपेक्षा करती हैं।”<sup>6</sup>

## भूमण्डलीकरण के लोक प्रशासनिक संदर्भ

तृतीय विश्व के देशों के लोक प्रशासन तंत्र पर भूमण्डलीकरण के महसूस किए जा सकने वाले दबावों और यथार्थ परिणामों पर इस प्रकार विशेष प्रकाश डाले जाने की आवश्यकता है। ज्यादा यथातथ्य रूप से देखें तो चर्चा इस विषय के प्रमुख परस्पर सम्बद्ध पांच पहलुओं पर ही केन्द्रित होती है-

- ‘भूमण्डलीकरण’ का अर्थ और भूमण्डलीकरण प्रबंध की वर्तमान स्थिति।
- किसी देश विशेष की परिस्थितियों में ‘भूमण्डलीकरण’ के एक कारगर तंत्र के रूप में पारम्परिक लोक प्रशासन के लिए उलझाव।

3. ‘भूमंडलीकरण’ प्रबंध के दृष्टिगत लोक प्रशासन की शास्त्र विधा के रूप में प्रतिस्थापन की आवश्यकता।
4. इस तथ्य को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए कि विकासशील देश लगभग पिछले पांच दशकों से ‘विकास’ के अपने कार्यक्रम चला रहे हैं, भूमंडलीकरण और विकास प्रशासन के बीच यदि कोई विशेष संबंध है, तो उसकी तलाश करना।
5. प्रशासकीय नीतिशास्त्र के लिए आमतौर पर और ‘विकास नीतिशास्त्र’ के लिए विशेष रूप से भूमंडलीकरण के उलझाव।

## **वैश्विक आर्थिक एकीकरण एवं लोक प्रशासन**

भूमंडलीकरण को अनेक रूपों में परिभाषित किया जा चुका है और इसकी नवीनता को भी चुनौती मिलती रही। माल, सेवाओं, निवेश और पूँजीकोष के प्रवाह तथा श्रम गतिशीलता के माध्यम से विश्व के देशों का आर्थिक एवं बाजारी एकीकरण की भूमंडलीकरण का आम चिह्नक रहा है। यद्यपि यह अति अर्थशास्त्रीय प्रतीत हो सकता है तो भी समसामयिक वैश्वीकरण प्रबंध के मर्म में जो केन्द्रीय तथ्य है वह है समान या माल और सेवाओं के बाजार में अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सौदों और विशेषकर अंतर्राष्ट्रीय व्यापार में वृद्धि। इस महत्वपूर्ण रुझान के साथ-साथ देश की सरहदों से पार बहुत सी संस्थाओं की उल्लेखनीय वृद्धि और विस्तृत दायरा भी है। ऐसी संस्थाओं में बहुराष्ट्रीय फर्म, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय संस्थाएं और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर कार्यरत गैर सरकारी संगठन भी शामिल हैं। अन्य बहुत से क्षेत्रों जैसे विदेशी प्रत्यक्ष निवेश, बहुराष्ट्रीय विनिमय बढ़ा है। राष्ट्रीय या घरेलू स्तर पर, सरकारी नीतियां, व्यापार, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय निवेश वार्ताओं से परे, स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा और गरीबी हटाने जैसे सामाजिक मामलों में भी सरहदों के पार साझा चिन्ताओं का विषय है।

इस प्रक्रिया के अंतर्गत सरकारें, बहुत-सी अंतर्राष्ट्रीय संस्थाओं, जिनकी वे सदस्य हैं, के निश्चित नियमों एवं नियंत्रणों के अधीन रहने के कारण अपने कार्यों में विभिन्न दबाव झेल रही हैं। यहाँ हम ‘वैश्वीकरण’ की ‘औपचारिक’ और ‘अनौपचारिक’ दोनों प्रकार की परिभाषाओं के लिए डेविड हैल्ड और अन्य का संदर्भ दे सकते हैं।<sup>8</sup>

- (1) **अनौपचारिक** - समकालीन सामाजिक जीवन के सभी पहलुओं सांस्कृतिक से आपराधिक तक और वित्तीय से आध्यात्मिक तक, में विश्वव्यापी अन्तःसम्बद्धता का फैलना, गहराना और तीव्र होना।
- (2) **औपचारिक** - एक प्रक्रिया जो सामाजिक संबंधों एवं सौदों के आकाशीय संगठनों में स्वरूप परिवर्तन का प्रतीक है, जिसका मूल्यांकन उनकी व्याप्ति, प्रबलता, वेग और दबाव-अंतर महाद्वीपीय या अंतरक्षेत्रीय प्रवाह-गतिविधि, पारस्परिक क्रिया और शक्ति के इस्तेमाल के नेटवर्क द्वारा होता है।

हेल्ड ने 24 जनवरी, 2002 को ओपन डेमोक्रेसी फोरम पर चर्चा में भाग लेते हुए इत्पर्णी की कि “विश्वव्यापी अन्तःसम्बद्धता कोई नई चीज नहीं है, यह कुछ सौ वर्षों से अस्तित्व में है। लेकिन अगर कोई इसकी वृद्धि पर सूक्ष्म दृष्टि दौड़ाता है तो पाता है कि अब

अर्थशास्त्र, राजनीति से लेकर संस्कृति और कानून तक का सतत् स्वरूप परिवर्तन हो रहा है, जो एक नई किस्म की विश्व व्यवस्था को जन्म दे रहा है।” कांट को यह उद्घृत करते हुए कि रोजमरा की जिन्दगी के ताने-बाने में हम मजबूरन अगल-बगल हैं, हेल्ड ने तर्क दिया कि आज हम सचमुच अगल-बगल हैं न सिर्फ महाविपत्ति में साथ हैं, बल्कि वित्तीय बाजारों की दृष्टि से व्यापार और व्यापारिक प्रबंधों में साथ हैं। ओजोन को क्षति से बैशिक स्तर पर ताप वृद्धि जैसे पर्यावरणीय बदलावों में साथ हैं और मानव स्वास्थ्य से जुड़े बुनियादी, क्षेत्रों जैसे कल्याण, यौनाचार और एड्स तथा उत्पत्ति-संबंधी छलकपट से संबंधित सवालों के जवाब ढूँढ़ने में साथ हैं।

हेल्ड की दो और टिप्पणियाँ इस संबंध में खासी अहम हैं – एक, भूमंडलीकरण अंतिम स्थिति या अकेली चीज नहीं है, लोकतंत्र या औद्योगीकरण से कुछ ज्यादा है। ये प्रक्रियाएँ हैं, जिनमें मानव मामलों के बदलते रिश्ते शामिल हैं और दो, यह अर्थ नहीं लगाया जाना चाहिए कि स्थानीय का अब कोई महत्व नहीं रह गया है, बल्कि ‘स्थानीय’ एक अलग ढंग से महत्वपूर्ण है। इसे अर्थशास्त्र, राजनीति, संस्कृति और देशांतर की जटिल दुनिया में नए संदर्भों में परिभाषित किया जा रहा है।

## भूमंडलीकरण जनित लोक प्रशासन की चुनौतियां

भूमंडलीकरण में जहाँ विजेता हैं, वहाँ मात खाने वाले भी हैं। इसकी प्रक्रियाएँ मानव समाज और उस जैव-भौतिकीय वातावरण को प्रभावित करती हैं, जिसमें मनुष्य जीता है और उत्तरजीवी बनता है। अतः भूमंडलीकरण की प्रक्रिया में गहन नीतिशास्त्रीय मुद्दे जुड़े हैं। इस संदर्भ में दो टिप्पणियाँ उद्घृत करने योग्य हैं। सार्वजनिक एवं निजी क्षेत्रों के बदलते स्वरूप के विषय में फाराजमंड लिखते हैं कि कॉरपोरेट सेक्टर के बढ़ते प्रभुत्व के चलते, संसाधनों के निर्धारण, सम्पदा के समान वितरण, अर्थव्यवस्था की स्थिरता और आर्थिक विकास के मामले में सरकार की भूमिका पर विश्व स्तर पर हो रहे कॉरपोरेट के लोग भारी पड़ रहे हैं। परिणामस्वरूप, सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र का दायरा और नागरिकों की भागीदारी संकुचित हो रही है। इसलिए, लोक प्रशासकों को सार्वजनिक मामलों में नागरिकों को जोड़कर और विश्वस्तरीय कॉरपोरेट लोगों के प्रभावी नियंत्रण से दूर रखते हुए समाज के संसाधनों का प्रबंधन करने में लोक सेवा के क्षेत्र को संकुचित होने से बचाने का प्रयास करना चाहिए। फाराजमंड के विचार से लोक प्रशासन भी वैधता से कम कुछ भी दाव पर नहीं है।<sup>8</sup>

दूसरी चुनौती-लोक प्रशासन से गैर लोक प्रशासन की ओर स्थानांतरण है। पारम्परिक प्रशासनिक राज्य कॉरपोरेट वर्ग के हितों को व्यापक सार्वजनिक हितों से संतुलित रखता था, मगर अब संतुलित प्रशासकीय राज्य का स्थान कॉरपोरेट सेक्टर द्वारा बाध्य राज्य ने ले लिया है। इस प्रकार, लोक प्रशासन का सामाजिक नियंत्रण एवं पूँजी संचय में मददगार बनने के लिए सार्वजनिक मामलों का प्रबंधन करने वाले से जनता का प्रबंधन करने वाले में रूपांतरण हो गया है। उनका तर्क है कि लोक प्रशासन को सामाजिक विवेक के साथ इस बदलाव का प्रतिरोध करना चाहिए।

तीसरी चुनौती निजीकरण की है, जो भ्रष्टाचार के लिए ज्यादा अवसर मुहैया कराती है। उनका कहना है कि लोक प्रशासकों को नागरिकों से उपभोक्ताओं की भाँति व्यवहार करने और उन्हें बाजार की वस्तु बनाने की बाजार-आधारित धारणा का प्रतिरोध करना चाहिए।

चौथी चुनौती है संभ्रांत वर्गवाद और संभ्रांत लोगों को बढ़ावा देने की वैश्वीकरण की प्रवृत्ति, जो सरहद पारीय निगमों के सहायकों या एजेंटों के रूप में कार्य करते हैं। ऐसे बहुतेरे भाड़े के टट्टू कम विकसित देशों में तो अपना दमनात्मक शासन चलाते हैं, वे उनके अपने लोगों के मानवाधिकारों का हनन करते हैं। विरोधाभास तो यह है कि जहां वैश्वीकरण ने जबरदस्त कॉरपोरेट शक्ति पैदा की है और अपने सांगठनिक ढाँचे को केन्द्रीकृत किया है, वहां विश्वभर में साथ-साथ सरकारी विकेन्द्रीकरण को बढ़ावा दिया गया है।

भूमण्डलीकरण लोक प्रशासन समुदाय की मानवीय चेतना को चुनौती देती है। लोक प्रशासक, जो कि वैश्विक समुदाय के पेशेवर नागरिक हैं, अनेक नैतिक मुद्दों को सुलझाने के लिए उत्तरदायी हैं, जिनमें गरीबों की दशा और अभाव का कष्ट और वैश्विक कारखानों में मजदूरी-दासता, पर्यावरणीय विनाश, भूमण्डलीय तापमान वृद्धि और वैश्विक कारखानों में मजदूरी-दासता, पर्यावरणीय विनाश, भूमण्डलीय तापमान वृद्धि और साम्यहीनता एवं अन्याय शामिल हैं। लोक प्रशासक वैश्विक मुद्दों पर विश्व चेतना जगा सकते हैं, संभ्रांत वर्ग की निष्ठा पर सवाल खड़ा कर सकते हैं, शोषण का विरोध कर सकते हैं, और दुनिया भर में अलोकतांत्रिक, अनुचित और अन्यायपूर्ण उद्देश्यों के लिए इस्तेमाल होने का प्रतिरोध कर सकते हैं। फाराजमंड सुझाव देते हैं कि इंटरनेट और दूसरे संचार माध्यम इस मामले में सहायक हो सकते हैं। फाराजमंड के तर्कों का निष्कर्ष यह है कि अधिक विकसित देश हों या कम विकसित देश, दोनों के ही लोक प्रशासक वैश्विक समुदाय हितों के संरक्षक हैं, जिनका वैश्विक उत्तरदायित्व है कि वे एक समन्वित ढंग से नीतिशास्त्र और नैतिकता के अनुरूप कार्य करें।<sup>9</sup>

## संक्रियात्मक मुद्दे

जैसा कि डेनियल बेल कहते हैं कि वैश्वीकरण ने ऐसी परिस्थितियाँ उत्पन्न कर दी हैं कि जिनके अंतर्गत सरकार बड़े मुद्दों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में अति लघु नजर आती हैं और साथ ही, कई बार सरकारें छोटी समस्याओं से निपटने में अति दीर्घ नजर आती है। उदाहरण के तौर पर जब पर्यावरण और परिस्थितिकी की बात आती है तो स्थानीय लोग बड़ी सरकार की अपेक्षा इन समस्याओं से निपटने में ज्यादा कारगर हैं।

एकान्तिक एवं संकीर्णमना अंदाज में औपचारिक प्रभुत्व के आधार पर संप्रभु सत्ता के रूप में परिचालन का परम्परागत ढंग आज व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से सवालों के घेरे में हैं। आज अधिकांश समस्याएँ सरकार की एकाधिकारावादी चंगुल से बच निकलने को प्रवृत्त रहती हैं और बहुतेरी अन्य एजेंसियों के साथ पारस्परिक सम्बद्धता चाहती हैं, चाहे यह प्राइवेट सेक्टर हो या नागरिक समाज। यह है घरेलू अभिशासन। जब इसे बाह्य मामलों-आर्थिक, कूटनीतिक, पर्यावरणीय या वित्तीय पर काम करना होता है तो सरकार को अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर बहुत-सी महत्वपूर्ण एजेंसियों

और संस्थाओं के साथ मिलकर काम करना होता है। अतः लोक प्रशासन विश्लेषकों का यह मानना है समकालीन लोक प्रशासन को ‘नेटवर्किंग’ क्षमता यानी घरेलू एवं अंतर्राष्ट्रीय दोनों ही स्तरों पर बहुतेरी एजेंसियों और संगठनों के साथ मिलकर कार्य करने की योग्यता रखनी होगी।<sup>10</sup>

## निष्कर्ष

भूमण्डलीकरण के प्रभाव में लोक प्रशासन, खासकर विकासशील देशों के लोक प्रशासन, में जटिलता आई है। उन्हें संभ्रांतजन तथा कॉर्पोरेट के दबाव के बीच आम जन हेतु समावेशी प्रबंधन की चुनौतियों से निपटना है। जटिलता एवं नेटवर्किंग की इस पृष्ठभूमि के दृष्टिगत, लोक प्रशासन में क्षमता-निर्माण बहुत महत्वपूर्ण तत्व बन गया है। इसके समक्ष यह भी चुनौती है कि अंतर्राष्ट्रीय संगठनों से कैसे व्यवहार किया जाए, घरेलू मामलों में नागरिकों और प्राइवेट सेक्टर को कैसे शामिल किया जाए – ये ऐसे महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दे हैं, जिन्हें नए लोक प्रबंधन मुद्दों में लाया जाता है जिनके लिए लोक प्रशासकों की एक नई नस्ल विशेष रूप से तैयार करने की आवश्यकता है। संसाधनों के अभाव और विकसित देशों पर निर्भरता के कारण और साथ ही कमज़ोर प्रशासकीय प्रबंधन क्षमता के चलते विकासशील देशों के लोक प्रशासन की संरचना और प्रकृति में बदलाव लाने की आवश्यकता है।

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## सुशासन, लोक प्रशासन एवं भूमण्डलीकरण

धनंजय झा\*

### सारांश

इक्कीसवीं सदी में लोक प्रशासन के स्वरूप के परिवर्तन में भूमण्डलीकरण का महत्वपूर्ण योगदान रहा है। पर साथ-साथ सामाजिक समस्या निदान में सामाजिक ऊर्जा को नियमित और नियंत्रित करने तथा इसका समुचित उपयोग करने के बैकल्पिक तरीके प्रदान करने की दृष्टि से भी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई है। भारत जैसे विकासशील देशों की सरकारों को भूमण्डलीकरण के प्रभाव में विश्व आर्थिक व्यवस्था के साथ-साथ चलने की चुनौती ने सुशासन के प्रति प्रेरित किया। विश्व स्तर पर निर्धारित सुशासन के मानकों के अनुरूप ही लोक प्रशासन का स्वरूप विकसित होना स्वाभाविक है। पुनः सुशासन के मानक यथा पारदर्शिता, दक्षता, विधि का शासन, संवेदनशीलता, उत्तरदायित्व और मानवाधिकार प्रेक्षण आदि की संप्राप्ति में ही लोकतांत्रिक और समावेशी शासन सुनिश्चित हो सकेगी।

**विषयसूचक शब्द:** भूमण्डलीकरण, सुशासन, बाजार, नागरिक समाज, प्रबंधन, सामाजिक पूँजी

### सुशासन : अवधारणात्मक अनुशीलन

‘सुशासन’ शब्दावली का प्रयोग हाल के दशकों में एक विशिष्ट संदर्भ के अंतर्गत ही शुरू हुआ है। इस अभिनव प्रयोग को समझने के तीन तरीके हैं। पहला, यह औपचारिक शासन की सीमा से बाहर जाकर लोक प्रशासन के क्षेत्र को व्यापक बनाने का प्रयास है। दूसरा, यह बाह्य रूप से निर्दिष्ट पद है जो अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सहायता की शर्त को निर्देशित करता है और तीसरा, यह सही मायनों में लोकतंत्र को बढ़ावा देनेवाली, उसके महत्व को बढ़ानेवाली अवधारणा है जिसका प्रयोजन लोक प्रशासन को अधिक खुला, पारदर्शी और जिम्मेदार बनाना है।

दरअसल सुशासन या सरकार को उन संकीर्ण अर्थों में नहीं समझा जाना चाहिए जिन अर्थों में विश्व बैंक तथा अन्य वित्तीय अभिकरणों ने उन्हें प्रस्तुत करने की चेष्टा की है। इस दृष्टि

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से अधिक रचनात्मक उपागम यह है कि इस मुद्रे पर शासन के आज के जटिल संसार में राज्य-समाज संबंध पर नए ढंग से अवलोकन और विचार किया जाए। इस दृष्टि से कूँडमन की यह टिप्पणी बहुत उपयुक्त लगती है- “अनेक देशों में हाल के वर्षों में मुख्य प्रवृत्ति सरकार और समाज के बीच संबंध संतुलन को सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के प्रभाव से मुक्त करके निजी क्षेत्र के परिप्रेक्ष्य में ढालना है। आशिक रूप से इसने निजीकरण और यदाकदा नियंत्रणमुक्त की प्रवृत्ति को बढ़ावा दिया है। पर इसके साथ-साथ इस संबंध संतुलन को विभिन्न कार्यों एवं दायित्वों में सहभागिता के तथा उन्हें अकेले संपादित करने के बजाय ('राज्य' द्वारा या 'बाजार' द्वारा) साथ-साथ करने की प्रवृत्ति के आलोक में ढालने के नई प्रतिमान समाज कल्याण, पर्यावरण, संरक्षण, शिक्षा और भौतिक नियोजन जैसे क्षेत्रों में देखे जा सकते हैं। इन नए प्रतिमानों का उद्देश्य नई समस्याओं से जूझने या शासन की नई संभावनाओं को मूर्तरूप देने के लिए वैकल्पिक तरीकों की खोज है।”<sup>1</sup> ‘अभिनव संभावनाओं’ की इस खोज ने ही सुशासन के वास्तविक अर्थ को सामने लाने का काम किया है।

लोक प्रशासन के क्षेत्र को व्यापक बनाने की दृष्टि से इसके पहले निहितार्थ की रोजेनू ने बहुत अच्छे ढंग से व्याख्या की है। समसामयिक विश्व राजनीति के संदर्भ में लिखते हुए वे “शासन” पद की व्याख्या इन शब्दों में करते हैं<sup>2</sup>, “शासन सरकार की अपेक्षा अधिक व्यापक प्रघटना है। इसकी परिधि में न केवल सरकारी संस्थाएँ आ जाती हैं बल्कि इसमें अनौपचारिक, गैर-सरकारी अभिकरण भी शामिल हैं जिनके जरिए इनसे जुड़े व्यक्ति और संगठन आगे बढ़ते हैं, अपनी आवश्यकताएँ पूरी करते हैं और अपनी आकांक्षाओं की पूर्ति करते हैं.... इस तरह शासन से तात्पर्य एक ऐसी शासन प्रणाली से है जो अंतर्वैयक्तिक अर्थों और औपचारिक रूप से स्वीकृत संविधान तथा ‘चार्टर’ पर समान रूप से निर्भर है.... यह संभव है कि हम सरकार के बिना शासन की अवधारणा विकसित कर पाएं। यह मानव गतिविधियों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में लागू उन विनियामक प्रणालियों पर केंद्रित होगी जो किसी औपचारिक सत्ता की उपस्थिति के बिना भी प्रभावशाली ढंग से काम करती है।”

शासन की बिल्कुल सीधे, सपाट ढंग से दी गई परिभाषा के अनुसार- “यह विभिन्न कार्यों के संपादन संबंधी आदेश की वैधानिक पात्रता के बिना उन्हें संपादित करने की क्षमता मात्र है।” इस प्रकार “शासन” की अवधारणा प्रशासनिक अध्ययनों को पारंपरिक समाधान के लिए मंचों और युक्तियों की संभावनाओं को जन्म देती है। इस प्रकार शासन की जो अवधारणा उभरती है उसके अनुसार वह किसी निश्चित विभिन्न “सरकारी” अभिकरण या विभाग के बजाए विभिन्न प्रकार के अभिकरणों और संगठनों का एक संजाल है।<sup>3</sup>

इस संदर्भ में शासन सामाजिक संस्थाओं की स्थापना, संचालन और परस्पर संयोजन का प्रतीक है। मूर्तरूप से यह स्वयं को औपचारिक नियमों और विधानों, निर्णय निर्धारण के प्रक्रमों तथा कार्यक्रम संबंधी उन गतिविधियों के रूप में प्रकट करता है जो सामाजिक व्यवहारों को परिभाषित करने की दिशा में कार्यरत होते हैं। वास्तविक जीवन में सामुदायिक संगठनों या स्वेच्छी, सामूहिक एवं स्वयंसेवी उपागमों के अनेक रूप दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं जिनके माध्यम से किसी जनसमुदाय विशेष के लोग सामान्य उद्देश्यों की प्राप्ति के लिए स्वयं को संगठित करते

हैं। ये सामान्य उद्देश्य सिंचाई, जल वितरण, स्थानीय विवादों का निबटारा और सामुदायिक सुरक्षा आदि हो सकते हैं। इस संदर्भ में शासन सार्वजनिक हित को ध्यान में रखकर सामाजिक संस्थाओं के निर्माण का एक तरीका है। अतः औपचारिक रूप से निर्मित-संघटित सरकारों के माध्यम से विभिन्न गतिविधियों का संपादन सामूहिक तौर पर समस्याओं के समाधान का एकमात्र तरीका नहीं है।<sup>4</sup>

शासन का 'दूसरा अर्थ' अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सहायता की शर्त की स्थिति से बहुत निकटता से जुड़ा हुआ है। सुशासन की पूर्ववर्ती स्थितियों का उल्लेख करते हुए लेफ्टविच<sup>5</sup> यह स्पष्ट करते हैं कि समसामयिक पश्चिमी सहायता और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय विकास नीति अपनी तीन मूलभूत विशेषताओं द्वारा परिभाषित होती है। इनमें से पहली विशेषता यह है कि सहायता का उद्देश्य मुक्त, बाजारोन्मुखी और प्रतिस्पद्धार्थक अर्थव्यवस्थाओं को प्रोत्साहित करना रहा है। इसी नीति को संरचनात्मक समायोजन संबंधी ऋण की नई शर्त व्यवस्था में शामिल किया गया जो 1980 के दशक में विकसित हुई। बाद में 1990 के दशक में संरचनात्मक समायोजन में दो और विशेषताएँ जोड़ दी गई। ये विशेषताएँ लोकतंत्रीकरण का समर्थन और मानवाधिकार की स्थिति में सुधार है जिनके द्वारा तथाकथित सुशासन पर बल दिया जाता है।

## तृतीय विश्व एवं सुशासन

इस प्रकार शीतयुद्धोत्तर काल में तीसरी दुनिया को प्राप्त होने वाली सहायता सुशासन की नई राजनीति पर निर्भर है। 1989 में 'शासन' की अवधारणा सहारा के अधोवर्ती अफ्रीका महादेश पर विश्व बैंक के एक दस्तावेज में पहली बार प्रकाश में आई। उस समय सुशासन का अर्थ था सुदृढ़ विकास प्रबंधन। इस संदर्भ में जिन चार मूलभूत आयामों की पहचान की गई, वे थे – (क) सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र प्रबंधन, (ख) जिम्मेदारी, (ग) विकास का वैधानिक ढांचा और (घ) सूचना एवं पारदर्शिता सहारा के अधोवर्ती अफ्रीका पर केन्द्रित बैंक दस्तावेज में इस मुद्दे पर इस तरह से टिप्पणी की गई – "शासन के स्तर में सुधार संस्थात्मक वातावरण या परिवेश के मूल्यांकन से शुरू होगा (जिसके तहत जिम्मेदारी, कानूनी नियम, खुलापन और पारदर्शिता सदृश जिम्मेदारी के प्रमुख शासकीय तत्वों पर बल दिया जाएगा) जो किसी देश की 'पैतृक' रूपरेखा को निर्धारित करता है, यह अन्य सभी कारकों की अनुपस्थिति में उच्च और उनके उपस्थिति में निम्न होगा।"<sup>6</sup>

जैसा कि विश्व बैंक के 'शासन और विकास' नामक दस्तावेज में कहा गया है, "जिस प्रकार से किसी देश के आर्थिक-सामाजिक संसाधनों के विकास के लिए प्रबंधन में शक्ति का प्रयोग किय जाता है, वही उसके संदर्भ में शासन की परिभाषा है।" अनेक विकासशील देशों को प्रदत्त ऋण संबंधी अपने अनुभव के आधार पर बैंक ने यह महसूस किया कि "सुशासन एक ऐसे वातावरण को उत्पन्न करने तथा अक्षुण्ण रखने में केन्द्रीय भूमिका निभाता है जो सशक्त तथा निष्पक्ष विकास के लिए आधारभूमि का काम करता है और यह सुदृढ़ आर्थिक नीतियों का अपरिहार्य पूरक है।" "शासन" को अवधारणात्मक ढांचा प्रदान करने के क्रम में तीन

विशिष्ट पक्षों की पहचान की गई है - (क) राजनीतिक सत्ता व्यवस्था का स्वरूप (संसदीय या राष्ट्राध्क्षीय, सैनिक या असैनिक और सर्वसत्तात्मक या लेकतात्त्विक), (ख) वह प्रक्रिया जिसके द्वारा किसी देश के आर्थिक और सामाजिक संसाधनों के प्रबंधन में सत्ता का प्रयोग होता है और (ग) नीतियों की रूपरेखा तैयार करने, उन्हें व्यवस्थित रूप देने और क्रियान्वित करने तथा सामान्यतः अपने प्रकार्यों को संपादित करने की सरकार की क्षमता। यह माना जाता है कि पहला पक्ष बैंक के परमाधिकार की सीमा से बाहर है। अतः “शासन” का ध्यान मुख्यतः दूसरे और तीसरे पक्षों पर केन्द्रित होता है।

अपने व्यापक अनुभव के आलोक में विश्व बैंक का दस्तावेज स्पष्ट तौर पर “शासन” की समस्याओं की विवेचना करता है। उदाहरण के तौर पर तकनीकी मजबूती के बावजूद सहायता कार्यक्रम और परियोजनाएँ अक्सर वांछित परिणाम दे पाने में विफल रही हैं। कानूनों को सही ढंग से लागू नहीं किया जाता है और क्रियान्वयन में अक्सर विलंब हो जाता है। यदि निवेशक स्पष्ट विधानों और संस्थानों का सामना नहीं करें तो निजी उत्पादन और बाजारोन्मुखी वृद्धि की संभावनाएँ फलीभूत नहीं हो पाती। समुचित लेखा प्रणालियों की अनुपस्थिति में बजट संबंधी नीतियों को क्रियान्वित करना या उनका अनुवीक्षण कर पाना संभव नहीं हो सकता है। कई बार सहायता प्रदान करने वाली प्रणालियाँ भ्रष्टाचार को बढ़ावा देती हैं और सार्वजनिक निवेश प्राथमिकताओं को विकृत कर देती हैं। पुनः सहायता परियोजनाओं की रूपरेखा तैयार करने तथा उनके क्रियान्वयन की प्रक्रियाओं में इन परियोजनाओं से लाभान्वित नहीं होनेवाले लोगों की सहभागिता नहीं होने के कारण यदाकदा उनकी संभाव्यता संदिग्ध हो जाती है।<sup>7</sup>

## शासन बनाम प्रबंधन

सुशासन की इस पृष्ठभूमि को ध्यान में रखते हुए विश्व बैंक ने यह प्रयास किया है कि वह सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के प्रबंधन, जिम्मेदारी और विकास के वैधानिक ढांचे तथा सूचना एवं पारदर्शिता सदृश ‘शासन’ के उन प्रमुख आयामों पर ही अपना ध्यान केन्द्रित रखे जिनका उल्लेख पहले किया जा चुका है।

सुदृढ़ विकास प्रबंधन को मूर्तरूप देने में आर्थिक, मानवीय और संस्थात्मक विकास को महत्वपूर्ण माना जाता है। इस प्रकार सुशासन की शर्त प्रणालियों की सतर्कतापूर्वक घोषणा की जाती है जिसे बैंक का दस्तावेज साररूप में इन शब्दों में प्रस्तुत करता है - “शासन एक निरंतर चलती रहने वाली प्रक्रिया है और यह आवश्यक नहीं है कि यह एकदैशिक (यूनीडायरेक्शनल) हो, यह समय के साथ स्वतः सुधरती या सुचारू नहीं हो जाती है। यह उस पौधे की तरह है जिसे लगातार देखरेख की आवश्यकता होती है। नागरिक सुशासन की आवश्यकता महसूस करते हैं और इसलिए इसकी माँग करते हैं। साक्षरता, शिक्षा और रोजगार के अवसर ऐसा कर पाने के उनके सामर्थ्य को बढ़ाते हैं। सरकार के लिए उनकी मांगों को पूरा करना आवश्यक होता है। पर न तो मांगों के बारे में और न ही उनकी पूर्ति के बारे में कोई पूर्वधारणा बनाई जा सकती है। यदाकदा परिवर्तन बाह्य या आंतरिक खतरों से साक्षात्कार के बाद होता है। यह विभिन्न हित

समूहों द्वारा उत्पन्न दबावों के जरिए भी होता है जिनमें से कुछ जनसमर्थन जुटाने के लिए की गई माँगों के रूप में हो सकते हैं। यद्यपि ऋणदाता और आर्थिक सहायता देनेवाले अभिकरण तथा अन्य बहिर्वर्ती सहायता स्रोत शासन में सुधार लानेवाले संसाधनों और विचारों में योगदान दे सकते हैं क्योंकि प्रभावी होने के लिए परिवर्तन को संबद्ध समाजों में सशक्तता से अंतर्भूत होना चाहिए, इसे बाहर से आरोपित नहीं किया जा सकता है।<sup>8</sup>

ओ.ई.सी.डी. देशों के नीति निर्देशों में ‘शासन’ का और स्पष्ट राजनीतिक अर्थ उभरकर सामने आता है। इनमें आर्थिक सहायता प्राप्त करने की शर्त प्रणाली की रूपरेखा प्रस्तुत की गई है। ओ.ई.सी.डी. दस्तावेजों में विकास संबंधी सहायता को (क) सहभागितामूलक विकास, (ख) मानवाधिकार और (ग) लोकतंत्रीकरण से जोड़ने की चेष्टा की गई। ‘शासन’ के प्रमुख घटकों का इन दस्तावेजों में जिक्र किया गया, वे हैं –

- सरकार की वैधता
- सरकार के राजनीतिक और राजकीय तत्वों की जिम्मेदारी
- मानवाधिकार और विधि-विधान के प्रति सम्मान का भाव (जिनमें व्यक्तिगत और सामूहिक अधिकार तथा सुरक्षा, आर्थिक-सामाजिक गतिविधियों के लिए वैधानिक ढांचा एवं सहभागिता शामिल हैं)।

सहायता प्रदान करने वाले देशों और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय अभिकरणों के मिले-जुले प्रयासों से यह तथ्य उभरकर सामने आया है कि सहायता प्राप्त करने की किसी देश की योग्यता बहुततावादी समाज में उसके उदारपंथी लोकतांत्रिक राज्य होने की सीमा पर निर्भर होती है।

“शासन” का तीसरा अर्थ व्याख्यात्मक आदर्श में अंतर्निहित है क्योंकि शासन विधि-विधान, सहभागितामूलक विकास और लोकतंत्रीकरण के महत्व को आलोकित करता है। प्रबंधकीय आयाम के विपरीत इसका आचारिक-प्रतिमानात्मक आयाम ‘शासन’ को राजनीतिक सिद्धान्त के कुछ अधिक पुराने मुद्दों से जोड़ता है। जैसा कि प्राचीन काल में यूनान के लोग कहते थे, राज्य अच्छे जीवन का प्रतीक है। इस दृष्टि से प्रशासन का सुदृढ़-सुव्यवस्थित ढंग से प्रबंधन-संचालन ही काफी नहीं है। निष्पक्षता और वैधता जैसे पहलू उतने ही महत्वपूर्ण हैं जितना सुदृढ़-सुव्यवस्थित प्रबंधन या संचालन बल्कि इससे भी ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण हैं। शासन प्रक्रिया जनसाधारण को निर्णय निर्धारण की प्रक्रिया में सक्रियतापूर्वक भागीदारी करने का अवसर दे यह आवश्यक है। सरकार से जो लाभ मिलते हैं उन पर प्रभावशाली लोगों के छोटे-से वर्ग का नहीं बल्कि सबका एक जैसा अधिकार होना चाहिए। शासन संचालन की प्रक्रिया किस प्रकार चल रही है इस विषय में लोगों की धारणा शासन की वैधता के मापदंड का काम करती है। अतः अधिकारिता सुशासन की पूर्वस्थिति है।<sup>10</sup>

जहाँ तक शासन के पहले और तीसरे पक्षों का संबंध है यह कहा जा चुका है कि सुशासन की अवधारणा पारंपरिक लोक प्रशासन के अत्यंत जुड़ीभूत चरित्र की परिधि से सराहनीय विक्षेप है। शासन कार्य की दृष्टि से आज के अत्यंत जटिल संसार में सरकार केवल अपने दम पर अनेकानेक समस्याओं से जूझने में सक्षम नहीं है। अन्य सामाजिक संगठनों को यदि यह एक

सीमा तक अपने साथ जोड़ पाने और उन्हें साथ-साथ काम करने का अवसर दे तो पूरे समाज में शासन की क्षमता बढ़ जाएगी। साथ ही समस्या समाधान की प्रक्रिया में सामाजिक संगठनों की सर्वसम्मत सहभागिता की दृष्टि से ‘सामाजिक पूँजी’ भी विकसित हो पाएगी।

## नागरिक समाज

सुशासन की रूपावली और प्रशासकीय विकेंद्रीकरण से संबद्ध वर्तमान सरोकार ने स्थानीय स्तर पर सामूहिक सामाजिक समस्या समाधान में नागरिक समाज की भूमिका पर बल दिया है। इस अवधारणा को परिभाषित करना सरल नहीं है। जैसा कि आमतौर पर माना जाता है। नागरिक समाज “ऐच्छिक, आत्मसर्जक, बहुत हद तक आत्मसेवी और वैधानिक आदेश प्रणाली या साझे मूल्यों की किसी समाजिक में आबद्ध संगठित सामाजिक जीवन के परिप्रेक्ष्य” को निरूपित करता है। हम इस बात के लिए अलेक्सिस डे टोकेविले के प्रति कृतज्ञ हैं कि उन्होंने 19वीं शताब्दी के पहले दशक के मध्य की अपनी रचनाओं में संबद्ध अनुशासन के अग्रदूत व प्रवर्तक का कार्य करते हुए नागरिक समाज को लोकतंत्र से जोड़ा। टोकेविले के अनुसार अमेरिकी लोकतंत्र अनेक ऐच्छिक संगठनों की संपन्नता एवं विविधता द्वारा संपोषित है। नव टोकेविलेवादियों में हार्वर्ड विश्वविद्यालय के प्राध्यापक राबर्ट पुटनैम ने यह अवलोकन किया कि सामाजिक-आर्थिक विकास के बजाय सामाजिक कर्ताओं के बीच आपसी विश्वास, नेटवर्किंग या संयोजन प्रणाली तथा उद्देश्यों की समानता सदृश विशेषताओं के रूप में मान्य “सामाजिक पूँजी” केंद्रीभूत व्याख्यात्मक चर है। पुटनैम के विश्लेषण के अनुसार, निजी, ऐच्छिक संगठनों में प्रवेश करने की विभिन्न व्यक्तियों की प्रवृत्ति लोकतंत्र की प्रभावनीयता में योगदान देती है।<sup>11</sup>

इस संदर्भ में लैरी डायमंड की कृति ‘डेवलपिंग डेमोक्रेसी’ की विशेष रूप से चर्चा की जा सकती है। डायमंड<sup>12</sup> के अनुसार, लोकतंत्र और विशेषकर एक स्वस्थ उदारवादी प्रजातंत्र स्थापित करने के लिए एक ऐसे जनसाधारण की आवश्यकता होती है जो लोकतंत्र के लिए संगठित होता है, इसके प्रतिमानों एवं मूल्यों के लिए सामाजिकृत होता है ताकि न केवल इसके अधिसंख्य संकीर्ण हितों के बल्कि अधिक व्यापक, सर्वसम्मत नागरिक साध्यों के प्रति भी समर्पित होता है। इस प्रकार का नागरिक जनसाधारण केवल एक जीवनोद्दीप्त, अंतःस्फूर्त नागरिक समाज के संदर्भ में ही संभव है।

हाल के दिनों में लोक प्रशासन और विशेषकर विकास, प्रशासन जनकेंद्रित और सहभागिता परक विकेंद्रीकृत शासन को लक्ष्य प्राप्त करने के क्रम में बहुत हद तक नागरिक समाज की अवधारणा निर्माण प्रक्रियाओं पर ही निर्भर रहा है।

## निष्कर्ष

लोक प्रशासन के क्षेत्र में प्रशासन तंत्र का अपना स्थान रहा है। पर साथ-साथ सामाजिक समस्या निदान में सामाजिक ऊर्जा को नियमित और नियंत्रित करने तथा इसका समुचित उपयोग करने के वैकल्पिक तरीके प्रदान करने की दृष्टि से भी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई है। पुनः जिस सीमा

तक शासन पारदर्शिता, खुलापन, विधि-विधान और मानवाधिकार प्रेक्षण के उद्देश्य से अपनी सक्रियता दर्शाएगा उससे लोकतंत्र की जड़ें मजबूत होंगी।

केवल दूसरे पक्ष की जो सुशासन और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर आर्थिक सहायता प्राप्ति को परस्पर जोड़कर देखता है, कई टिप्पणीकारों ने आलोचनात्मक समीक्षा प्रस्तुत की है। इस संदर्भ में कुछ लोग यह विचार देते हैं कि विश्व बैंक तीसरी दुनिया के देशों के संदर्भ में वित्तीय सहायता जैसे तकनीकी मुद्दे को 'राजनीतिक रंग' देने का प्रयास कर रहा है। सुशासन का मापदंड क्या होनी चाहिए यह प्रश्न अब भी सबके लिए खुला हुआ है। कुछ अन्य टिप्पणीकार यह स्पष्ट करते हैं कि सुशासन एक अत्यंत सरल-साधारण संबोध है क्योंकि बहुसांस्कृतिक संदर्भों में शासन की अनेक पद्धतियाँ हो सकती हैं। जैसा कि आलोचक कहते हैं, सुशासन की अवधारणा तद्विषयक 'शास्त्रीय' प्रशासनिक सिद्धान्त का ही प्रतिरूप प्रतीत होती है जिसे समसामयिक विश्व की स्थिति को अनदेखा करके अपनाया गया है, जो किसी प्रकार की कठोरता के बजाय शासन के क्षेत्र में अधिक खुलेपन की माँग करती है। बहरहाल इस सत्य की उपेक्षा नहीं की जा सकती है कि सुशासन की अवधारणा पर विमर्शों से लोक प्रशासन अधिक व्यापक हुई है और इसमें ज्यादा गहराई आई है।

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Book Review

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## **BOOK REVIEW**

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**By Mahenda Prasad Singh\***

**Niraj Kumar, the Role of the State in the Developmental Process: A Study of the South Korean Experience, Delhi: Victorious Publishers (India), 2016. XII-151, Rs. 350/-**

The book by Niraj Kumar of Maharaja Agrasen College, University of Delhi, is a remarkable publication in comparative development study in political economy and political science based on a doctoral research supervised by Professor K.N. Kabra and Subrata Mukherjee at the University of Delhi.

It is an illuminating comparative study of the developmental state in Japan, South Korea, and India in the post-World War-II era. The three Asian Countries present three case studies of the developmental state of considerable importance and interest. The two cases of Japan and South Korea are the core of the post-War development state experience of the miracle economic development with state playing the leading role of the facilitator in a capitalist economy. The India case is different as it presented a model of economic development in the early decades after India's independence through centralized democratic planning in the Nehru era aiming at 'socialistic pattern of society' with the state playing the leading role in industrial development as the biggest player rather than a mere facilitator and promoter of the private capitalist sector. In contrast to the miracle economies of East Asia, India in the pre-economic reforms of 1991 was a case of slower economic development in the Nehru era which ran into persistent economic and financial crisis under Prime Ministers Indira Gandhi and Rajive Gandhi since the latter

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part of the 1960s through the 1970s and the late 1980s. the economy slipped into deeper crisis and by the beginning the 1990s a severe balance of payments crisis in international trade forced the minority government of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimla Rao to introduce neoliberal economic reforms in entailing bureaucratic deregulation, privatization of the state sector of enterprises marked by recurrent financial losses. This transition from Indian socialistic pattern of development to business liberalism produced a hike in the rate of fast GDP growth but considerable reduction in the distributive capacity of the state and inclusive economic growth with justice.

The Japanese model demonstrated the strength of indigenous modernization of a feudal society which took an authoritarian turn around the Second World War. But the defeat of Japan in the War and the American Occupation at the end of the war sought to transform Japan into a modern democratic state which took the role of the facilitator of economic development through private corporate capitalist sector. In this fascinating story of fast developing Japanese economy, two factors stand out as playing the crucial role. The first was the 'Meiji Restoration' which caused the emergence of Japan from dying feudalism to percussive capitalism in which industry was heavily dependent on the paternalism of the state, bureaucratic leadership, and protective tariffs. Secondary, after the devastation caused by the War, the Ministry of International Trade and Industries (MITI) created a highly positive environment for the successes of Japanese corporate business conglomerates for post-War capitalist reconstruction. Instead of the state itself becoming the biggest businessman (as in India), it preferred to play the role of the facilitator of the private capitalist development, using carrots for performers and sticks for non-performers.

The South Korean model is a case of a feudal society having been colonized by Japan that underwent the process of limited modernization under capitalist colonial tutelage. During the War, Korea also came under the brief American Occupation (much like Japan), and its capitalist economic modernization was largely a product of the post-War independent South Korean regime of Park Chun Hee (also much like Japan). Indirect Japanese and American influence promote South Korea to attain an economic take off under an authoritarian political regime.

The three cases studied here thus offer an interesting view of comparison and contrast regarding the role of the sate in economic development either through a democratic (Japan and India) way or authoritarian way (South Korea). Another study in contrasts is the state playing the role of a facilitator (Japan and South Korea) or itself becoming the dominant industrial economic player.

The question whether democracy is more conducive to economic development or authoritarianism is difficult to answer conclusively in this small-N comparative study of only three countries. Japan has been a greater success story both in

political democracy and economic development, and most stable at that, by and large. India's success as a democracy has been more impressive than its success in economic development, especially in the pre-neoliberal economic reforms era, by the large. South Korea has demonstrated an impressive record in terms of economic development, though until recently it had been largely ruled by an authoritarian regime.

In compliment the author for having produced a rare comparative study in developmental states in three Asian countries, inclusive of India's 'democratic-developmental state', the concept and theory in a larger comparative canvas formulated by Marc Robinson and Gordon White. See their *Democratic Developmental State: Political and Institutional Design*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

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## Glimpses of Activities of the IIPA Bihar Regional Branch



