

Civil society in India: Making good governance a reality



Submitted by:

Chandar Prabha Sharma

CCS Working Paper No.303

Research Winternship Programme 2013

Centre for Civil Society

www.ccs.in

Table of Contents

A) Abstract.....	3
------------------	---

B) Introduction

- a) Definitions of civil society and good governance.....5
- b) Genesis of civil society around the world.....6
- c) Genesis of civil society in India8

C) Dynamics and scope of Civil Society

- 1) Demographic factors that affect civil society.....10
 - i) Urban Rural Disparity.....10
 - ii) Participatory Strength.....11
 - iii) Youth Population.....13
 - iv) Religion.....15
 - v) Burgeoning Middle Class: *the inspiration revolution*.....16
- 2) General Impact of Civil Society.....17
 - i) Ideal Civil society.....17
 - ii) Impact of Indian civil society.....18
 - iii) Impact of civil society of various countries.....21
 - iv) Contrasting India with other countries.....24
- 3) Regulation and Management for optimization of civil society27

D) Projected Model.....30

E) Conclusion.....36

F) References.....38

ABSTRACT

“If liberty and equality, as is thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be best attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost.” – Aristotle

As India’s socialist character has always aimed at growth while striving to assure equality, establishing good governance has always been identified as a vital apparatus to usher the country’s national vision towards holistic growth. Aristotle in 350 B.C.E emphasized on the involvement of all people alike in the government. In the 21st century, as this study researches a setup in which India and its aspirations take center stage, this paper extends the scope of Aristotle’s teachings and applies it to achieving good governance by emphasizing that the onus of good governance is not vested in the government alone but is facilitated by the participation of all people in their best capacity.

This paper strongly promotes the idea of civil society as a forum where the public action of individuals or collective groups aimed at social and ultimately national welfare can be conducted. This responsibility also being a general mission of any government makes it imperative to emphasize on and highlight ways for civil society and the government to interact and collaborate to ensure good governance. This paper offers a comprehensive study of various factors that affect the dynamics of civil society, comparisons and lessons from other countries and ultimately proposes the evolution path for civil society to make good governance a plausible reality.

The burgeoning middle class of India has a growth rate significantly higher than the other two classes and its power urges its recognition as an international phenomenon that other countries reckon as a resource to capitalize on. The same phenomenon is pressing for attention back home and the study conducted for this paper identifies the growing power and ability of the middle class to lead the public action towards ensuring good governance while the government carries out its own duties in its best capacity (or is urged by the middle class dominated civil society if it fails to). Thus the middle class has been identified as the flag bearer to carry forward the aspirations of the people of India through its dominant membership in the civil society. This paper in its ultimate section proposes a model that makes space for enhanced middle class participation in ensuring good governance as the civil society of India.

This paper promotes and emphasizes on associations built at all possible levels while urging the assimilation of the Executive, legislative and the judiciary. The greatest advantage of being a part of the Indian civil society is the freedom of association offered to civil society actors as justified under the rule of law. A forward looking approach, which employs Mahatma Gandhi’s principle of self-government in the form of self-governance wherein groups, communities, societies, villages and all such units organize themselves in their best capacity and build self-sufficiency, must be undertaken. The Government is simultaneously urged to carry out its

responsibilities efficiently. The model proposed in this paper provides for ways, through which the civil society and the government actions can be conducted in sync to promote good governance. Social audits, a grievance redressal system for citizens to seek redressal for their grievances about their elected representatives, an incentive generation system and the strengthening of the right to services are a few ideas that the model highlights as essential measures for an innovation and inspiration revolution within the civil society and state of governance in India.

The study conducted for this research involved interviewing people living in the Mukherjee Nagar area of Delhi. Sub Inspectors Vinod Kumar and Pavan Kumar posted at the Mukherjee Nagar police head-quarters and an ex-commandant with the CISF- Manish Gautam who now teaches the future bureaucrats, diplomats and police officers at a prominent coaching class for civil service exam, were also interviewed.

This paper titled Civil Society in India: *Making good governance a reality* is a working paper aiming to approach conclusive findings and results in a progressive manner facilitated by the experience of people working at the core of the civil society for this very purpose. Preliminary contact has been established with Rajendra Singh - Magsaysay award winner for community leadership in the year 2001 for his extensive work in conservation of water. The study for this paper would pursue contacts with him for his valuable experience of not only engaging the government and the people but also for his experience with other civil society organizations. His valuable insights would help enhance the model proposed in this study as it focuses on enhancing governance for the people of India as they act through the civil society while assimilating with the executive, legislative and the judiciary ultimately making good governance a reality.

INTRODUCTION

Definition of civil society and governance

A wide and varied bank of definitions were encountered in the course of the study making one fact evident- a concept as abstract and dynamic as civil society cannot be expressed completely by a single standard definition. This also led this paper to conclude that the concept of civil society is highly subjective to various social, political, economic, historical, and cultural and many more factors making it an evolutionary concept which cannot be bound by a strict definition.

This paper has analysed the power of the civil society and due to its growth in India hypothesizes the urgent need to reorganize civil society and its engagements to promote a collaborated involvement of all democratic institutions of our country like the executive, legislative and judiciary at all possible levels from grassroots to the center. To understand the true essence of the state of civil society in India, I construct a definition of the civil society that highlights its two fundamental features- “what does civil society do?” and “Who does civil society comprise of?”

Civil society is a democratizing force of public action with an unquestionable intent towards common good. It comprises of organizations and individual actors that are not agencies of the government and not motivated by profit.

During this study certain questions were posed regarding this definition, the main one being “why must the civil society be exclusive of for-profit organizations”. The definition emphasizes not including organizations or actors who may do public good but are motivated by profit. The motivational force of profit opens up a Pandora’s Box of other factors that then affect the actions of such organizations and ultimately affect the civil society that is already subjective to social, political and economic factors. The post Berlin wall reconceptualisation of civil society treats it as the third sphere (the first two being the state and the market). Such organizations do merge lines with the civil society through corporate social responsibility and such organizations conducting social audits of their own actions on the public sphere. Thus given that there are channels available to do public good, organizations and actors motivated by profit are deemed to be excluded from the realm of civil society by the above definition.

Governance¹ is defined as the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented). ^[1] Good governance is efficient decision making that

¹ United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific definition of good governance from the article “What is Good Governance”

proves beneficial for a majority of the people while having minimum or zero detrimental consequences. A democratic setup as diverse as India's can never allow for decisions to be made for the benefit of every citizen and thus have no detrimental consequences but the negative impacts of such decisions can surely be mitigated. This highlights the need of efficient and effective implementation and execution of decisions and policies to reduce the adverse effects.

The above mentioned theoretical definitions promptly indicate the merger between the civil society and good governance. Good governance is the effective implementation of decisions and policies and civil society is the best forum to conduct public action. Enjoying a close proximity to the people of India, civil society can thus be the vehicle for executing of policies set out by the executive thus making good governance a reality.

Besides theoretical mergers proved by definitions, daily life engagements stand as the most potent evidence that supports the hypothesis of this paper that civil society actions can help make good governance a reality. After the 2nd world war the responsibility of governance was solely made to be borne by the government but declining faith in government institutions caused the public to mobilize against government inaction or take up certain tasks themselves while seeking aid from the government to conduct these tasks. The need for organizing for such causes was felt and this gave led to the civil society actively participating in issues pertaining to governance.

Genesis of Civil Society across the world

Social and philosophical thinkers have theorized about civil society across the world and down the ages. The school of thought being constructed to theorize the best possible interaction of the people with the state was revolutionary in the 17th century thus led to the prominence of civil society as a concept. According to early modern theorists like Thomas Hobbes and John Locke the civil society and political society were interchangeable and interacted in a manner to strengthen each other (Hobbes, 1651). At the same time John Locke emphasized on certain rights that had to be granted to the individual unconditionally indirectly describing a limited government with justified accountability. The proposed structure and interaction of the Indian civil society with the government to ensure good governance takes cue from the ideas of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke wherein any strict distinction between the civil and political society is discouraged as the state is emphasized to comprise of the government and citizens. Also the existing fundamental rights, the highly celebrated Right to Information Act (2005) and

the emphasis of John Locke on granting certain undefeated rights to individuals has led this paper to emphasizing the promotion of the right to services which is discussed further in the paper.

Theorists like Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson emphasized on treating civil society and the market synonymously while separating it from the political society. This paper identifies the strong influence of economic factors on society especially in the present context for India that is undergoing rapid development and is undertaking strong measures to improve its economy. Yet I choose to not treat the civil society and the economy synonymously as an attempt to maintain the voluntary character of civil society. In response to the market interaction I emphasize the collaboration of market entities and business organizations in aiding and supporting civil society organizations for its activities.

Hegel established the idea of the possibility of conflict management and resolving ebbing public tension through a healthy society-state relationship. This has been incorporated in the model proposed later in this research paper. Marx rejected the society- state framework of interaction as a solution to problems in a capitalist setup that resulted in tensions in the civil society sphere. This paper does not shun and reject a society-state relationship but from Marx's ideas I do

incorporate his emphasis that a force from within the civil society needs to be generated to undertake the responsibility of ensuring good governance. It's not the civil society alone that needs to first enhance itself from within and the urgent need of internal cleansing of every democratic institution has been highlighted in this paper. Proposals of steps of engagement starting with an internal check and balance conducted by every body at all levels i.e.local, state and center have been made.

Tocqueville's works that describe civil society as the bridge that brings closer the people and their representatives (Edwards, Foley, Diani, 2001). In a representative democracy as strong as ours, the diversity mainly among a lot of other factors makes many sections of the citizens dissatisfied and underrepresented by the government and its actions. Thus civil society is promoted as an arena for expression of common interest and helps articulate its views and opinions with the government.

Genesis of Civil Society in India

Civil Society in India is a growing trend that is catching momentum due to a growing number of civil society organizations, activists, non-profit organizations etc. but the roots of voluntary action for the common good that forms the essence of civil society virtues can be traced all the way back to Indian history.

The Hindu concept of Dharma as well as all other major religions in India such as Buddhism, Sikhism, Islam, Jainism, and Christianity all lay stress on a moral code of conduct and behavior that ultimately serves for the common good of the society. The practice of *daan* in Hinduism and that of *Zakat* in Islam has led on to the formation of charitable institutions of present day India.

Voluntary action for the common good of society, which till now derived religions inspirations evolved into more actively participatory means of action for social good. This evolution was inspired by the advent of liberal thought and western ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity and also brought social reformers, thinkers and scholars to the arena of voluntary action. Voluntary action was thus transformed into activism as social reformers aimed at revolutionizing the Indian society to do away with orthodox practices like caste system, child marriage and Sati that went against social justice and also matters of judicial importance like opposing discriminatory acts.

While even today various social issues are addressed by the civil society- developing an understanding of how India's first social reformers overcame and fought social inertia towards what they propagated as they aspired to shun practices ingrained deep within the social fabric would help civil society organisations of today face the same inertia. This opposition or inertia of today's age could be social, environmental, economic or government related. The scope of opposition increased- civil society of India could derive much inspiration from the first reformers of the country.

a. Civil Society and Independence

The first half of the 20th century again saw another major transformation of voluntary action. Social reforms inspired the recognition and demand of basic rights- violation of which led to strong dissent towards the British rule. As the struggle for independence saw the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi, voluntary action took on a whole new meaning. Mahatma Gandhi's leadership to mobilize the masses into simple as well as effective protests brought to the arena of civil society phenomenon like civil disobedience, non-cooperation, satyagraha.

Gandhi's civil rights movements and his methodology is still seen to inspire protesting through peace protests, candle march, fast unto death etc. that are the most common mode of protests in India. Movements like Chipko movement, and Jail Bharo Andolan were inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's methods. His ideologies behind protesting must be contrasted against the present trend of strikes, violent protests, rioting, and vandalism. What was unique about Gandhi's leadership in contrast with leaders of today was his ability to inspire large masses and keep the movement sustained for decades to achieve the ultimate goal envisioned by him.

b. Civil society post-independence

Immediately after independence attention was shifted towards issues of national importance like development and economic growth. The membership of most freedom activists into the government caused activism to decline. By 1960s the development model of the government failed as the poorest people failed in benefitting from government schemes. General public dissatisfaction led to mass protests and movements the most extreme one being the Naxalites. At the same time Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was found guilty of violating electoral laws. Jay Prakash Narayan called for her resignation and launched the "Total Revolution" movement. The National Emergency that was then imposed met with strong opposition of the people of India. Jay Prakash Narayan mobilized a lakh of people against the emergency. His arrest caused another protest called "Free J P" to be launched.

India is one of the few countries to have never been subject to military or authoritarian rule. If the National Emergency is regarded as the one time it came closest to such a rule, the strong opposition and pressure by the civil society of India against the curbing of fundamental rights indicates a strong civil society with strong leaders.

c. Modern Civil Society of India

The present day civil society of India has been greatly active in arenas fighting for a vast variety of issues. The agenda of civil society transformed over the years from fighting to establish democracy to preserving it. That being attained the civil society of today focuses on issues ranging from social, economic, environmental, law and policy making et al. The greatest trophy of civil society of India was the RTI act. The civil society has recently mobilized to fight corruption in India with the Lokpal Bill under Anna Hazare. The activism of civil society in India brought its capital to a standstill with non-profit organizations, activists, students, and many

other civil society organizations protesting against the lax government machinery to ensure security of women after the rape of the 23 year old student. The civil society must credit itself for mobilizing such large masses to speak up for the security of women in India but the ten day long protests caused much more loss due to services being shut and property being damaged without much concrete response from the Government.

The demerits of protests and strikes can be studied through another example- the north eastern state of Manipur faces year round protests where people enforce a blockade of the National Highway 2. The only link of Manipur with the state of Assam, a blocked highway causes efficient supplies of goods to suffer resulting into higher prices the brunt of which is borne ultimately by the public. It is high time the approach and methodologies of civil society organizations are improved to ensure that an effective impact is made without any adverse effects. The modes of engagement of the civil society with the authorities also need to be strengthened to improve the articulation of public dissent with the government. The modern society of India at present is enjoying the advantage of the demographic shift of the population towards becoming members of the middle class. As a section of the population whose numbers and powers are increasingly growing, there is an urgent need to capitalize on their abilities in ushering public action towards ensuring good governance. This primarily involves a revolutionary approach towards building awareness of their rights, powers and most importantly, their duties.

DYNAMICS AND SCOPE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Demographic Factors that affect civil society

The English and the French revolutions and those in Asia that proved to be the cause of collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the Japanese and Chinese Dynasties were all playing the role of a vent for the pressure that arose due to a growing population and its demographic effects. (Goldstone, 1991)

“A large, unruly, and youthful rural population was a leading cause of social stress in France prior to and during the Revolution.” and added that “the Russian population doubled between the 1850s and the beginning of World War I... The stress of feeding and providing shelter for that many people was too great for the existing order.” (Bonner and Wiggin, 2003) The authors of this book named this chapter “The Hard Math of Demography”. Hard indeed as unlimited examples indicate that the demographics of a country deeply impact the social, political, economic institutions of a country. This has an inducing effect on the civil society due to its close relation with social, economic and political factors.

Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and the Social Capital Debate in comparative perspective by Bob Edwards, Michael W. Foley, Mario Diani emphasize that demographic factors must be introduced in understanding civil society activism.

The demographics of India deal with the population characteristics of the 2nd most populous country in the world with 17.5% of the world's population residing in India. While being the land of diversity a Gini coefficient of 33.4 % in the year 2005 is an unhealthy indicator of the equality in India. Inequality in terms of income, health, land distribution etc. causes the rise of dissenting masses. In this section the salient features of India's demography are studied to explore and understand how its demographics shape its civil society.

a. Urban and Rural Disparity

68.84 % of India's population resides in its rural regions. The growth of population in rural regions has been on the decline since 1991^[3]. Even still the inequality in social, economic, development, technological avenues is on the rise (ESCAP, 2001). Several authors have also pointed out that though the richer sections of the population benefited in the post-liberalization period, there has been a stagnation of incomes for the majority, with the bottom rung of the population severely negatively affected by this process^[4].

3] Estimates from 2011 census of India.

4] UN, Department of Economic and Social Affairs [DESA] working paper by Parthapratim Pal and Jayati Ghosh, surveyed the inequality in India and its impact.

Disparities in the urban and rural population have been attributed to two main factors where civil society holds a share of accountability along with the government. These are socio-cultural factors and policy decisions. Socio-cultural factors are rigid traditions, strong patron-client sentiments and other such market-controlling factors that ultimately become nonconductive conditions for entrepreneurship, innovation and competition in India's rural setup. Rigid traditions include restricting women from gaining education, allowing diversification of occupation from hereditary occupations, caste discrimination and apprehensions towards medicine, health and scientific development. For example the age old Jajmani system was a form of patron-client relationship where the lower class members provided services for the members of the upper class in return of food grain. This relationship was permanent and hereditary and thus left very little scope for lower class members to break apart from the socially backward image and emerge to develop. Various civil society organizations fight to solve rigid traditions in India by not only critiquing the government when it fails to protect these sections but also building pressure over the government to develop various provisions for various sections of the socially oppressed- reservations and quotas being the most common demand. Such an approach of civil society maybe effective but is underlined with myopic solutions. Reservations and quotas come at a cost incurred by other sections of the country and the effectiveness of such provisions in the longer run is under much debate. This approach must be supplemented with civil society organizations facilitating capacity building and also undertaking to rid our society of its orthodox discriminatory and restrictive practices. A forward looking approach that helps civil society move from the public sphere and reach out to the family sphere in order to uproot the social evils in values that encourage a restrictive mindset to do away with discrimination once and for all (Edwards, 2005). Having that established- equitable capacity building for all in the rural regions of India can be assured leading the rural population on the fast track to development.

In contrast to the rural setup, the urban setup enjoys the absence of orthodox and restrictive practices that allows individuals- men and women equally to explore all possibilities of occupations, enter into enterprises, innovate and experiment providing for healthy growth. Higher population densities lead to higher competition which helps build a practical non-emotional relationship between patrons and clients that fosters mainly on quality of service provided.

b. Participatory Strength

Policy making is the second factor that causes urban-rural disparity. The rural poor and women in particular, do not have a strong political voice. Thus the power distributions in rural India are influenced by traditional monopoly of the rich in rural regions owing to the weak representation of the poor. Election processes suffer from problems of vote buying, force and intimidation. Long term policy changes and development of his village are far-fetched promises that do not move the poor who first wishes the fulfillment of his need of basic necessities like water, food and shelter and whose votes can thus be won over by promises of short term solutions that are of temporary nature and do very little to improve rural India. Thus fair rural representation in political circles largely suffers. Central Governments make policies in consultation with this limited representation causing the rural poor to face the brunt. The construction for dams for example does promote development but at the cost of the rural population if proper rehabilitation and compensation is not carried out. Many have argued that as a result rural areas have paid a disproportionately high share of the costs of development and received a disproportionately small share of the benefits.

The absence of a political voice of the rural poor causes much dissent that grows to mobilize masses to protest against the government. In the recent years this dissent drove 30,000 farmers in the Vidharbha region of Maharashtra to commit suicide as a solution to their woes of lack of water supply, technology, infertility of soil and mainly because they believed the government neglected. A larger population now demands separate statehood due to lack of basic transport, education and agricultural facilities. The people of Vidharbha believe they have been left behind compared to the rest of Maharashtra due to lack of investment and funding by the Government. While Government machinery is being made to turn its attention towards this region- members of civil society Vidarbha Civil Society Collective and Vidarbha Jan AndolanSamiti (VJAS) believe that their opinions and suggestions are not taken into account the formulation of important bills like the National Land Acquisition, Resettlement and Rehabilitation Bill 2011.

The urban population on the other hand has an ease of organizing and are more proximate to the seats of governance (Lipton, 1977). A unique model of civil society engagement in policy issues was developed as the civil society promoted the interaction of many civil society organizations integrating together under the Poorest Areas Civil Society (PACS) Programme. The PACS program undertook to help promote and implement the NREGA scheme successfully to serve all the targeted districts (PACS, 2007). PACS Program Director Kiran Sharma, said it was decided that “whatever the objectives of individual projects, they will have to focus on the NREGS”and under this universally accepted code the individual CSOs interacted to achieve the

goals of the scheme. PACS organized rallies, *sammelans*, *yatras*, street plays across the states of Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra, to raise awareness about the scheme and also organized public hearings to address the grievances of people. Not only was the civil society successful in raising awareness about the government schemes but independent studies conducted by the CSOs also gave constructive feedback to the government about the problems of implementation like log jamming of wages, corruption, discrimination in giving job cards and much more.

Through PACS a proactive methodology of the civil society in working in sync with the government was developed. This is a great contrast from the reactionary approach many civil society organizations take through organizing protests, strikes and violence in order to build pressure on the government but the downside of this approach involves short lived promises and solutions without substantial improvement and long term solutions.

c. Youth Population

India has the largest population of youth with 70% belonging to the age group of less than 35 years.^[5] Former President Dr. Zakir Hussain said “Youth form the vanguard of the nation, which when properly channelized shall be instrumental for the development of the country”. The abundance of a national resource of youngsters that not only belong to the most impressionable but also impulsive age makes it extremely important to realize the effect all the spheres of experiences they are made subject to.

With growing media exposure and one click access to information the youth of India stays well briefed to be able to build opinions and perception. The NCAER survey also indicates a high 75% of the literate youth population living in a joint family with around 3 generations living under the same roof. The opinions and perceptions thus being passed down to the children the interpretation of which acts as foundation on which the youth of India builds its opinions thus creating an incessant cycle of information and opinions. It is thus increasingly important for civil society engagement with the youth to be sustainable, effective and long lasting in building virtues that ultimately lead to a progressive society striving for overall national development. The civil society engagement with the youth is limited with 22% young men and 31% young women reporting awareness of programmes conducted by the government or civil society organizations and just 12% men and 9% women actually participating in these programmes and a lesser proportion of 10% to 11% of women having membership in organized groups (Tandon R, 2002). With a larger proportion of youngsters- 45 % men and 15% women participating in festivals, national days and other community led cultural activities shows a limited interaction

of civil society organizations and the youth which proved to be less of socio-economic nature compared to cultural nature(Department of Youth Affairs, 2011).

Civil society organizations provide their members a planned and systematic approach to address issues and to work for the social good through direct methods of voluntary action and charity or indirect methods of research and advocacy. These organizations must encourage, inspire and promote participation of the Indian youth ultimately channelizing the energies and opinions of the youth to constructively solve problems.

The model of Americorps in U.S.A stands is an example for civil society engagement with the youth (Corporation for National and Community Service, May 2007). Americorps is a programme that encourages youngsters to participate in intensive community service through its vast network of civil society organizations to fulfill on field assignments in education, health care, public safety and environment. Students were encouraged to get involved through incentives like allowances, loan deferment, and scholarships. Benefits also include skill building, management and work experience. The programme also boasts of a great record of inspiring 66% members to enter public service.²

Civil society activism in India has seen a vocal youth representation- recent example being the case of rape of the 23 year old student in Delhi wherein protests included a large participation by students and their unions. The strong wave of protest hit the government and law and enforcement for ten days but soon saw its ebb. The protests did build pressure and ensure fast tracking of justice but like many protests in India vandalizing elements caused much damage to property and loss to economy. The ultimate essence of the activism to sensitize the country for security of women in India lost its voice as the protests dimmed. This was an indicator that the engagement of civil society and the youth must prepare and guide the youngsters to methodically adopt ways to express themselves and ultimately ensure long term solutions and improvements (Jain, 2012).

Building a setup for constructive interaction of civil society members with the government through active participation of the youth is essential for making efforts towards enhancing democracy as a large population dividend allows the youth to be effective participants. This interaction would also ensure any potential dissent and discontentment belonging to this large population of youth to be represented and addressed constructively.

² AmeriCorps: Changing Lives, Changing America- A Report on AmeriCorps' Impact on Members and Nonprofit Organizations, Source: <http://www.americorps.gov/about/ac/index.asp>

Many comprehensive surveys report the youth of India to be more aware and critical about the society and governance. According to a survey by NCAER in 2009 the maximum readership of Indian youth is in news and current affairs with 72% youngsters interested to stay apprised with current issues and important events. The same survey indicates that a mere 30% of youngsters are interested in reading about politics. A striking paradox is indicated while comparing the voter turn-out and interest in politics (Raghavan B S. 2011) wherein the voter turn-out has maintained a consistent figure [20 to 25% in 2011], while the proportion of youngsters interested in joining politics has increased. Thus the emerging ambition of young political leadership has not materialized into encouragement of voters with whom the power to promote young leaders resides. This indicates an unfortunate divide between ideation and action in our society. The responsibility to encourage ideation to be a part of governance not only resides with civil society as it inspires youngsters by being critical of problems that exist; it also resides with the political society to maintain an untainted reputation to look conducive as a choice of career.

The responsibility of action however resides primarily on the civil society that elects its representatives. Civil society engagement needs to supplement the great role of promoting the right people into governance by electing responsibly the members of political society who would strive to meet the aspirations of the society. Thus in adopting methodologies to critique members of the political society the members of civil society must realize the accountability they share in the event the government fails to meet the aspirations of the nations. This would create a truly collaborative and symbiotic setup to address and redress problems that plague the country.

d. Religion

According to census 2011 India has a total of 6 religions with a large following. Hinduism is highest at 80.5% , Islam at 13.4%, Christianity 2.3%, Sikhism 1.9%, Buddhism at 0.8% and Jainism 0.4%. In a country where one's religion is his identity as well as his way of Life, religion features as a prominent platform for civil society to engage over. History stands as proof of religion being used as a tool of organizing Indians for a cause. Rabindranath Tagore promoted RakshaBandhan to strengthen Hindu and Muslim relations as the British decided to divide Bengal on the basis of caste and religion. The festival of Ganesh Chaturthi revived by LokmanyaTilak in Maharashtra was primarily a way to promote community interaction and unite brahmans and non-brahmans and mobilize them in harnessing national fervor. Similarly the festival of Diwali and its celebrations in the present have become a national festival which brings all religions together because of the general appeal its celebrations hold. Religion enjoys

the largest share in types of activity for civil society to organize over with 26.5% activities dedicated towards religious activities³. While religion helps build the faith of people and this in general is known to promote good morality in individuals and harmony in communities- religion as a basis of organizing poses high chances of exploitation due to the immunity such groups enjoy on account of their apparent sanctity. In such areas where government bodies may avoid interference due to political aspirations the people in general and civil society specifically must ensure that the activities of such organizations is carried out under the rule of law and is not engaging in socially and nationally damaging activities. This can be achieved through social audits, an active media and a state of good governance that allows for proactivity in the case of rogue organisations. (Tandon, 2002)

Having discussed the various demographic factors that affect the civil society and its role in good governance I describe the demographic factor deemed most significant through the study conducted for this paper- a growing middle class. India's middle class is the fastest growing segment in the country and a resource whose active participation as part of the civil society must be strengthened and harnessed for improving governance.

e. Burgeoning middle class:

The “inspiration revolution”

Civil society acts as the bridge that brings government service, schemes and policies closer to the citizens and thereby ensures good governance. A strong middle class determines the state of governance (Aristotle, 384–322 B.C., Jowette, B., 2000). Aristotle believed that the best community is formed by citizens of the middle class and larger and stronger the middle class better is the state of governance⁴. He also defined civil society as “an association of associations” that enables citizens to share in the virtuous task of ruling and being ruled⁵. Civil society in India also reflects the active participation of actors and elements primarily belonging to the middle class in the affairs of the state. Thus, establishing an affiliation of the civil society with the government in order to ensure good governance has been an age-old idea that cannot

³ The report titled Invisible, Yet Widespread: The Non-Profit Sector In India by PRIA highlight the distribution of the types of activities over which CSOs organize- leading to the conclusion that religion is the most common basis.

⁴ In Politics, Aristotle emphasizes on the importance of a strong middle class to maintain a state that is in balance with the people.

⁵ Civil society by Michael Edwards describes Aristotle's idea that civil society cannot be thought of as exclusive from the political society for good governance.

be neglected in the India scenario.

The social setup in India with a burgeoning middle class allows for greater participation of people through civil society activities. It must be members of this class who are the flag bearers to bridge the gap between the government and the people. The study conducted for this paper identifies the power of the burgeoning middle class of India in leading an “inspirational revolution” to usher the participation of the public in social and national issues that matter to them the most. As our nation develops, a demographic shift of the population towards the middle class is observed. It is the class whose members have achieved a stable source of the daily bread, clothes, and a roof over their head. Thus having achieved a decent lifestyle (as opposed to the poorer sections whose majority time and energy is spent in earning that source of a single meal) can devote time to issues like unemployment, recession, corruption, lack of development that may or may not affect them immediately but must necessarily concern them as citizens of India. Another reason identified through this study for laying emphasis on the middle class to participate actively is that the lower classes exhibit a tendency of submitting to public officers like local officials, bureaucrats, police etc. On the same hand the higher class members have the advantage of getting their way comparatively more easily. The class that needs to engage with public officers at an equal footing with mutual accountability shared by both parties is the middle class. Members of this class are growing increasingly aware of their rights and are thus empowered to raise the right questions with the right people and thus ensure good governance (Dubochet, L. 2011).

Having highlighted the reasons why the middle class must be primarily active in the nation’s affairs and the state of governance this paper studies the present state of participation of the middle class. The results of a survey conducted in a community in Mukherjee Nagar, Delhi led to the conclusion that the middle class of India do feel for various causes and hence do opine their views, dissatisfaction or support with regards to the government and the present state of governance. An ex-commandant of the Central Industrial Security Force (CISF) of India, Manish Gautam who presently teaches the future bureaucrats, diplomats and police officers of India, believes that the one problem with us- the people of India lies in the innate conviction that the onus of everything in India lies with the government and they must be held accountable for every problem. The result of the survey supported this view as 85% of the respondents blamed the government (center) for their problems.

When asked how actively they participated in elections only 52% claimed to be active while most of them claimed that there is no deserving party or politician that motivates them to go ahead and participate in voting.

The public opinion that thus materializes from the middle class is unable to find channels where it can be counted for. According to the survey dismal 74% respondents believed that they were too busy to participate in collective initiatives but didn't shy away from monetary charity. The emerging civil society in India is comprised of the middle class mainly but the study conducted for this paper concludes that the effect of popular social initiatives is short lived and fails to induce a larger section of the middle class. The reason for this has been identified as the compulsion to return to routine life and being led by the media that is compelled to only conduct a rapid and short-lived coverage of issues without sustained follow up. Thus I propose an inspiration revolution fuelled by success stories of activities, campaigns, initiatives and social movements conducted by the civil society in collaboration with the state. There is an urgent need of inculcating a realization of the power that the middle class holds in its ability to organize and participate in promoting good governance. This calls for a revolutionary remodeling of the civil society engagements with the government while assimilating with the judiciary, executive and the legislative.

b) General Impact of Civil Society

a .Ideal Civil Society

An ideal civil society primarily acts as a balancing force between the aspirations or agitations of citizens and the service or restrictions of the government. It must be at the helm of every problem by playing the role of a watchful eye and identify symptomatic problems and provide the required attention to prevent them from growing into an acute and chronic disorder capable of threatening to decapitate the state. An ideal civil society works towards emancipation of the public while promoting the greater cause of national growth and development. An ideal civil society enjoys the following features:

Independence:

A civil society in general enjoys its independence but an ideal civil society understands that it is bound by one rule i.e. the rule of law. Independence from the government is a prized feature but at the same time the importance of working in a symbiotic relationship with the government is also recognized.

Broad functionality:

An ideal civil society must be the toughest critic of the government and at the same time be a gauge of the public. In these two capacities an ideal civil society plays the twin roles of

advocating or building pressure on authorities or officials in-charge and to monitor itself and the society as well. An ideal civil society assimilates with the Judiciary and the Legislative and sections of the executive to critique the Government. As gauge for the public it reports within itself and acts on solving problems itself by voluntarily striving for the emancipation of people or may report it to the government bodies and suggest and press for action.

Composition:

The ideal civil society is the embodiment of organisations and members that represent all the varied strata of a country's public. It must strive for holistic inclusion and representation of all strata of the society in order to carry out the tasks required to meet all aspirations of the nation.

Accountability:

On the matter of accountability an ideal civil society understands its own responsibilities towards the state (government and the people) and recognizes the importance of analyzing justified grounds for holding others accountable and the possibility of the onus being vested with the not just the government but also the citizenry.

Structure:

Vertical and horizontal linkages feature prominently in an ideal civil society. Horizontal linkages ensure interaction within the civil society between organisations and members. It enhances efficiency and sharing of information. Vertical linkages ensure interaction with other institutions that can aid and facilitate the functions of the civil society. These include local, state and central authorities of law, enforcement and administration.

Rights:

The International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL) & World Movement for Democracy Secretariat at the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) have laid down principles for a conducive environment to develop an ideal civil society. These include:

- 1) The Right to Entry (Freedom to associate)
- 2) The Right to Operate Free from Unwarranted State Interference
- 3) The Right to Free Expression
- 4) The Right to Communication and Cooperation
- 5) The Right to Freedom of Peaceful Assembly
- 6) The Right to Seek and Secure Resources
- 7) State Duty to Protect

b. Impact on Civil Society

The present day civil society of India has been seen to have an impact around a few broad premises. These include ground level work for emancipation, co-operation with the executive to help implement public policy, build pressure and question the government over its actions, research work, and mobilization for civil society movements.

Ground Level Work:

The importance of ground level work is significant when it is directed towards people who in the want of basic necessities find it difficult to participate in debate and building pressure at national level. The ground level work uses direct action in the form of charity work and volunteering. This is possibly due to India's cultural and religious history which highlighted the karmic benefits of *daan* and *shramdaan*. According to a report by Society for Participatory Research in Asia in 2002- Indians actively participate in giving as well as volunteering with nearly two-fifths of Indian households participating in charity work. This however does not transcend into a sustainable solution for emancipation because of the lack of an organized system that could have directed donations for capacity building of the people. Instead 55% of donations are made to individuals that are used for meeting immediate needs. It defies the famous proverb by Confucius- *'Give a man a fish and he will eat for a day. Teach a man to fish and he will eat for a lifetime'*.

In ground level action breakthrough success stories have been made by prominent activists for e.g. Rajendra Singh rechristened as the 'water man of India' for his work in water management. His approach of strengthening community participation and empowering people themselves to take charge of their water woes supports the above mentioned benefit of 'donations' in the form of empowerment over direct monetary donations. His success in bringing back water in 1,000 villages and reviving five rivers in Rajasthan, Arvari, Ruparel, Sarsa, Bhagani and Jahajwalistands as proof of the impact of empowerment. (Kalow, 2001)

Nearly ten million households in India reported volunteering (PRIA, 2002). Times of India reported lack of takers for Masters in Social Work and this coupled with an N.G.O boom in India spells to be a lack of capacity and managerial skill building promoted in organisations. This effectively trickles down to be the cause of an extensive volunteer base being unable to bring about sustained changes.

PRIA has been one of the organisations to promote practices for civil society strengthening for the last 25 years in local, provincial, national and international arena proved to be a learning ground for many of today's civil society leaders but the present state of civil society in India urges for more focus on capacity development of civil society organisation.

Co-operation with Government:

A fundamental shift in the relationship of the civil society of India and its Government has been indicative as it has facilitated the implementation or execution of various government programmes and schemes. Increasing resources on the Government's part and innovative solutions on the part of civil society organisation are prominent reasons for the interaction. In the last ten years, some of the biggest social programmes in the world been implemented through this approach (Oxfam, 2011).

The implementation of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, SarvaSikshaAbhiyan, creation of Self Help Groups with NABARD, and many more programmes exhibit the co-operation of civil society and the Government of India. The most significant impact of this is the financial push that civil society organisations receive from the Government to carry out the programmes as compared to earlier when funding was borne by C.S.Os them-selves.

This engagement has also highlighted the urgency of the Government to increase its capacity to develop services to be delivered through C.S.Os. This is evident from the Right to Education Act and the SarvaSikshaAbhiyan wherein poor quality of Government schools had a negative effect on the success of the programme leading to clashes between the local authorities and N.G.Os. This leads us to the next impact of civil society on building pressure on the Government.

The National Advisory Council (NAC) is a body of experts from civil society under the PMO that does the work of critical analysis and expert advisory. As the Executive is mainly composed of top IAS officers and the ministers have to be members of parliament, many times there is a sense of deprivation of expert guidance on important issues. The NAC also plays the role of legitimizing and representing demands of the civil society. Some criticism of the NAC being unconstitutional and an alternative cabinet does exist and having done away with elements that urge such criticism, bodies of experts representing the civil society must be set up at the level of cabinet as well as state.

Watchful eye over Government:

The civil society attempts at representing and fulfilling the aspirations of the people of India. Under this capacity the civil society of India has been a prominent force in questioning the Government over its actions or lack thereof. Movements like Chipko movement, Narmada BachaoAndolan, MazdoorKisan Shakti Sangathan, India Against Corruption Jan Andolan and the recent social movement against the Delhi rape case all stand as the civil society's impact in mobilizing masses to urge the Government to act. The passage of RTI and RTE are the greatest examples of civil society's impact.

The civil society is also looking towards the Judiciary of India to usher in changes and reforms. The impact of civil society on this front has given rise to growing judicial activism. This provides a multi-pronged check and balance on the Government as well as the civil society as the Judiciary then acts with a watchful eye on both under the rule of law.

Social Movement:

The present status of civil society impact also boasts of growing public participation in activism in the form of protests, candle-light marches and other peaceful forms of resistance like hunger strikes.

The success of civil society in mobilization of masses can be attributed to two major factors- low average age of the population in India and high media exposure.

70% of Indians belong to the age group of below 35 years. This supplies a higher participant base of impressionable minds who are presently suffering from high levels of dissent and dissatisfaction due to state of employment and education. The cultural trend of living in joint families also results in the subjection of the youth of India to the opinions of more generations than their own. The sustenance of social movements is longer with a participant pool that mainly consists of the youth.

The role played by the media cannot be neglected while studying the effect of civil society on leading social movements. India's civil society operates in the age of one click access to information and an activated media leading many campaigns. Civil society must strengthen the youth in developing a mature understanding of information and its overload. It should also strive to precede media in addressing problems to maintain the faith of people in the civil society.

The growing incidence of violence and vandalism in protests highlights the significance of paying strict attention to all the above mentioned effects of a low average age and media exposure. After all a predominantly young participant base and use of social media are two primary features of the Arab Spring protests (Howard, 2005).

c. Impact of Civil Society On Other Countries

Brazil

The precursor to the conception of civil society in Brazil was during the authoritarian regime when rapid migration of the rural population to cities was enforced. Lack of social services increased dissatisfaction and dissent. A technocratic view of urban development thus helped the state and the private sector to grow. The simultaneous increase in size of middle class

reacted to the undertakings of the nexus between the state and the private sector. Thus the first forms of civil society organizations took shape. Institutions like DIEESE carried out research, surveys, and consultancy to help workers. The Sanitarista movement was launched to oppose the rejection of preventive medicine by the regime. University professors organized to demand better wages and autonomy. The main opposition was expressed by the Order of Attorneys of Brazil (OAB) over the lack of rules and accountability in political and civil processes⁶.

In its transitional history of change from authoritarian regime to democratization, the impact of Brazil's civil society can be understood by dividing the growth of civil society into two phases- 1977 to 1985 and 1985 to present day. The impact of civil society thus is a direct consequence of the political setup in these two phases.(Avritzer. L., 2009)

1977 to 1985

The first phase (1977 to 1985) of civil society's growth occurred during a "slow gradual and safe" process of democratization undertaken by the state. The civil society in this phase had two main agendas- the organisation of the poor into voluntary associations to demand an efficient process of distribution of public goods and autonomy from state (organisational and administration of policies).

Organisational autonomy meant freedom to organize without needing the permission from state authorities. The call to fulfill this agenda included protests, demonstrations and organisation of grassroots assemblies for this cause.

Autonomy also included undertaking to administer policies without state intervention. The increasing number and size of voluntary associations attempted to impact health, urban reform and budget.

1985 to present

The year 1985 brought in a significant change in demands of the civil society. (Peruzzotti E., Plot M., 2012). The interaction of civil society transitioned to one demanding complete autonomy in the first phase to political interdependence in the second. A great phenomenon in the form of the National Constituent Assembly (NCA) divides the civil society impact between the first and the second phase.

Created in 1985 by President Jose Sarney this body allowed popular petitions and policies to be proposed via a method of putting up for signatures. Some of the most prominent movements and civil society actors participated in this campaign.

⁶ The OAB is the Brazilian Bar Association and was founded in 1930.

The adoption of participatory approach in public policy making trickled down to solving many other issues participatory approach. Sometimes this approach to solve various other problems was divided into two levels. First one was at direct level where people with a record of membership in voluntary organisations would participate directly. The second level was where representatives of people would participate. Health care which till now was demanded to be independent of state was set up under the collective ambit of state representatives, service providers and representatives of the population. Similarly participatory budgeting and participatory city planning were also adopted.

The impact of civil society in Brazil can also be viewed through the lens of type of organisation. A larger number of associations are religious in nature (59%) while 41% are civil associations. Religious associations participate in self-help and emancipation of the poor and helping them claim public services. They have stronger participation that varies little with change in political system. The other groups of associations dealing with public policies depend on the will of the state to promote ties with civil society or not.

Thus the civil society of Brazil is making a holistic impact by its representation of not just the rich and educated able to influence policies but also by facilitating the organisation of the poor who are involved in ground work for emancipation.

Pakistan

The growing impact of civil society in Pakistan is reflected in the fact that they are active participants in issues of socio-political importance at various levels. At the same time every time an issue goes out of hand, civil society actors are the first to face the crackdown of the government or military which indicates that they are making an impact worth reckoning with.

The environment that the civil society of Pakistan works in is fraught with an oppressive military and a debt ridden, overpowered government. Thus the establishment of virtues like social justice, human rights and liberty was a primary agenda for civil society actors that they have gradually achieved over the years. The civil society was successful in building pressure to fast track the government's commitment towards gender equality. This led to the ratification of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Oppression Against Women in 1996 by Pakistan. The civil society through a many rape cases have built pressure and sensitized the society, judiciary and law and enforcement towards rape as compared to the past. The number of women organizing at grassroots levels has increased too but an overall picture of the impact of civil society for guaranteeing women's rights is poor. This is attributed to the deep rooted social and cultural norms and practice. A twisted interpretation of the holy Quran is another prominent justification of the ill treatment of women.

1990s saw the emergence of CSOs with an agenda of development and advocacy. This was in response to a weak government coping with growing defense expenditures as well as a debt ridden economy. However due to tight state restrictions, CSOs engaging in development and advocacy in public policies have had minimum impact. According to a survey only 14% CSOs had been successful in the advocating in public policy.

In grassroots level and ground work many programmes like the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme have made a great impact by providing micro-credit, education and employment. Such schemes coupled with the inefficiency of the government to reach out on this front allowed CSOs to gain acceptance with the government. The government in turn actually co-opted CSOs to carry out implementation of policies that the government couldn't. In a setup where the government is unable to grant much financial aid- the success stories of CSOs in grassroots level development attracts funds from donors and this case the civil society runs the risk of being overshadowed by donor agendas. This could be the reason why a survey showed that only 45% people believe civil society activities fulfill the real needs of the people.

The civil society enjoys an advantage of 42.6% people believing that the civil society can provide services in a way that the government cannot. This kind of an impact on the faith of people for the civil society stems from the fact that it functions in an environment of general mistrust and lack of faith in the government and its abilities.

Pakistan's civil society is yet another example wherein religion based groups enjoy greater freedom and influence in policy making as the government usually refrains from expressing any opposition as regard to religious sentiments. The government primarily co-opts such groups to exploit religious sentiments and build legitimacy for itself.

The Pakistani media remains unmoved by the civil society which indicates the need for the civil society to engage and interact with the media better. This is evident from a survey conducted by NGO Resource Centre that showed that 56.3% people believed that the civil society was portrayed negatively by the media.

The Pakistani civil society has achieved tremendous international recognition with seven civil society actors winning the Ramon Magsaysay award. The civil society has also won much praise in their dedication to disaster reliefs in catastrophes like the 2005 earthquake and the 2010 floods.

Malala Yousafzayi- a 13 year old stands as an international beacon for civil society activism as she fought for education and women's rights in Pakistan. She was also the youngest nominee for the Nobel Peace Prize.

The recent Long March led by Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri highlighted the civil society in Pakistan. 10,000 people organized to protest against the present government was an indicator of the dissent of Pakistanis against their government. Critics emphasize on a nexus between the Pakistani Armed Forces and Qadri with an intention to delay the elections and weaken the civilian government. The greatest impact of this episode was to highlight the occasional ability of the judicial system of Pakistan to maintain check and balance under the rule of law as it criticized Qadri's demands to be unconstitutional.

Overall the civil society of Pakistan has been able to cause much improvement in ground work related to health and education. It has had little success in influencing public policy and reforms. The impact of a country's civil society is judged by its ability to rid its nation of the biggest problem that plagues it. In Pakistan's case the civil society is faced with the great challenge of terrorism and militant extremism. Giving due credence to the difficulties faced by men without arms standing up to men with arms- the civil society of Pakistan has also been unable to urge its government to uproot terrorism as well but this is attributed to the overshadowing presence of a larger body with arms- Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence.

d. **Contrasting India with Brazil and Pakistan**

Relations with the Executive and Legislative:

The striking feature about Brazil's civil society as compared to India and Pakistan was that it learnt a significant lesson that civil society cannot be completely aloof of the government and carry out activities especially those related to public services single handedly. Participatory budgeting is a great method of bringing people and governance on the same forum. It was also seen that people participating in mobilization politics (protests, sit-in, demonstrations etc.) are more likely to be involved in such forums. This shows that the creation of such forums would allow people to channelize their dissent in constructive ways.

This trend in India is gradually being built up with civil society organizations helping the government carry out its schemes and programmes, public policy advocacy, NAC and many N.G.Os focusing on good governance. Though India allows its civil society a largely free space of operation with few restrictions the provision of forums where civil society and the government may interact is not conducive to the active participation of the civil society. A lot more needs to be done to create a symbiotically interactive system between the government and the civil society.

Pakistan's civil society does not have any visible trend of holistic and inclusive civil society engagements with government. Government and military crackdowns on civil society

organizations and actors are common. The proposal of the Social Welfare Agencies (Registration & Regulation) Act allowing the government to interfere with civil society organizations though not passed has left an impact of vulnerability on the civil society. Thus the poor collaboration of civil society and the government is evident with only 28.2% people accepting that CSOs are called upon by the local and national government to participate in policy making. Amidst this setup Pakistan shows a striking contrast- religious groups and N.G.Os play a more significant role in civil society-government collaboration and enjoy more government support than civil society organizations working for human rights, advocacy and social justice.

Judiciary:

The judicial courts in Brazil are gradually being upheld by civil society to obtain justice against the state especially in matters of social and health issues. The judiciary has also taken up the task of pulling the government up for policy implementations which has been deemed as interventionist. Overall the activism of the judiciary in meting out social justice has been greatly welcomed by the people of Brazil and this gives it the required legitimacy. The presence of the National Council of Justice that travels the country to keep a watch on the malpractices of judges is another institution that strengthens legitimacy. In a poll conducted by the Fundação Getúlio Vargas, a research institute, in February 69% of respondents said that judges in Brazil lack impartiality. With the gradually growing power that the people of Brazil vest in the judicial system it will be worth looking out for the course judicial activism takes in this country as it treads the path of 're-democratization' that began in 1980s.

Judicial activism in India has brought to light the dichotomy of interpretation of law and making law. With the tool of Public Interest Litigations the judicial system in India has built many success stories of defending the rights of people and granting social justice. Judicial activism guarantees that in a prevalent trend of coalition politics, government actions are regulated under the rule of the constitution and natural law and not political elements and pressure. At the same time the other branches of governance in India and the Indian media ensures that judicial activism does not allow the judiciary to overarch the boundaries established by the constitution to ensure separation of powers. The current environment of judicial activism lays healthy conditions that guarantee a check and balance between all the branches of governance and also the civil society.

The judiciary of Pakistan is striving to find its voice and apt role in the nation's dealings. Despite occasional activism like the case of Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry who led the resignation of

Pervez Musharraf the judiciary finds itself in the wrestling arena with the military every time it speaks up against the seats of power in Pakistan. The Pakistani judiciary has not been able to reap legitimacy granted to it by the people of Pakistan mainly because of the overarching dominion of the Pakistani military. Thus Pakistan has a long way to go in the assimilation of its government, military, judiciary and the civil society.

Media

The relative freedom of the media in a country is a measure of the freedom of expression allowed to its citizens. During the presidential election campaign the media was considered as an opposition party determined to prevent Dilma Rousseff from winning. A persistent pressure against repeated attacks on the media made the president elect pledge to guarantee freedom of expression and operation to the press. Yet the Brazilian media reportedly was one of 10 countries whose media suffered the most in 2012 (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2012). As the media play an important role in spreading awareness through information and thus a restricted media fails poorly in this role. However Brazil is exhibiting a massive internet phenomenon such that, as of 2004, Brazilians spent the most time on the internet.⁷ The proposal to allow online petitioning of bill drafting stands proof to the ease in organization experienced by the people through the internet.

Indian media enjoys freedom to an extent that it has been at the helm of various social campaigns and movements as well. With its ability to present important current issues, report exposés and conduct “sting operations” the Indian media is successful in generating a sense of debate over important issues. The media now is gradually merging lines with civil society and participating in activism that sometimes even precedes the civil society. The internet user base of India is the 3rd largest in the world, but internet penetration stands at a dismal 12% expected to increase to 15% in 2013. Organization of the masses over the internet is a prevalent trend and allows greater integration of the civil society.

The Pakistani media has only recently gained its freedom with the ban on private channels being lifted in 2002. The Pakistani Television Corporation which was under government ownership was the only network allowed to broadcast allowing it to enjoy dominating the Pakistani media. Due to the government ownership over the network much of the content was manipulated to comply with government conditions. This trend and the fear of government and military interventions also keeps the Pakistani media under a tight leash even the post 2002 lifting of the ban. The media today suffers lack of professionalism and a tendency to employ sensationalism to feed emotions especially when it comes to issues relating to India which leads many to believe that Pakistani media persons require better training. Shah Zaman Khan,

⁷ According to an IBOPE or Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics study number of Brazilian users on the Internet is 45% of the total population.

Principal Officer, Pakistan Ministry of Information, said, "They get this freedom too abruptly they don't know how to use it they need to be better trained." Despite this for the cause of the Pakistani people its media has been able to generate much pressure in socio-political issues like exposing corruption, pushing religious tolerance and reporting violent attacks. As for civil society in the presidential ballot following the resignation of President Parvez Musharraf more than 20-thousand citizen journalists hit polling stations across the country, armed with little more than camera phones.to ensure it was free and fair.

Among the three countries, India ranks best in providing freedom to the press with Brazil coming in 2nd and Pakistan 3rd. Overall on the global scale all three countries have poor press freedom.⁸

Regulations and Management for the Optimization of Civil Society

The growing civil society of India along with its success stories is also fighting within itself against key problems that are plaguing it. In order to maintain legitimacy, accountability and freedom these issues must be addressed and the share of this task must be majorly vested with the civil society itself.

a. NGO Boom

A sub-inspector posted at the Mukherjee Nagar Police Headquarters in Delhi, who I interviewed expressed his displeasure at the current trend of N.G.Os sprouting like "mushrooms". He has had his fair share of dealing with fraudulent civil society organization and members and is aghast at the innovative ways these "watchdogs and liberators" of society employ as a cover for siphoning donations and funds for other uses. His opinion about the N.G.O. boom was quantified by the data reported by the Indian Express that by 2009 India's civil society has 3.3 million N.G.Os- the figure is expected to be an underestimation given that many N.G.Os function without registration. One would wonder why an N.G.O. boom is an alarming trend as too much of a good may never be perceived to be bad. The problem here lies in the fact that according to the Edelman Trust Barometer report 68% Indians believe that NGOs do what is right. This increasing trust allows the risk of exploitation in the name of civil society which is especially dangerous when this exploitation is done to satisfy agendas of political or foreign donors.

⁸ The Committee for Protection of Journalists based in New York releases an Impunity scale which highlights countries where journalists are killed regularly and the authorities fail to solve the crimes. Pakistan is ranked 10th, Brazil 11th followed by India on 12th rank internationally. See <https://cpj.org/2013/02/attacks-on-the-press-in-2012-brazil.php>

Management for optimization

A system of review, evaluation and regulation needs to be established under an umbrella body that has representations from all stake holders that deal with the civil society, chosen via democratic means. This body must conduct neutral and well analysed studies of organisations and their agendas and whether ground level activities actually do match up to fulfill its said mission and agenda. Since in a democratic setup this body should ideally not be legally binding- the study it conducts must guide citizens about the faith that must be rightfully vested in an organization under study and how well it would serve the interests of its beneficiaries.

Regulation for optimization:

The study must include a background check of founding members trying to setup a new organization and bring forth the social work, activism, participation shown by the member in individual capacity. This study could be made publicly available as a mandatory disclosure for every organization as well.

b. Funding

“If a conservative estimate of 15% is used in ‘bribes to process applications for projects undertaken by civil society organizations’ then during the FYs 2002-2003 to 2008-2009 at least Rs 998,15,38,153 totally or Rs 142,59,34,022 per year were removed from funds to the poor and given in bribes to different layers of officials approving the projects. This is literally stealing the money of the India’s poorest.” (Asian Centre for Human Rights, 2013). The ACHR report goes on to say that no longer can civil society activities be treated as part time philanthropic acts mainly because of the outreach and impact civil society organizations have made. It highlights the urgent need of improving transparency and accountability. The government carries on its own system of black listing but such blacklisting has failed to be effective as inefficient government machinery results in poor follow up of the blacklisting process. This process also suffers due to various civil society actors having a strong political and economic clout thus making them immune to much action.

Management:

Prevention of misuse of funds can be done by the establishment of a neutral body, whose members represent various kinds of stakeholders and whose function is to supervise the channels of fund raising done by civil society organizations and the kind of work the funds are put to use for. The findings of this body could be pursued under the rule of law. Auditing must be an additional function of the body that would be done to monitor the tally of funds.

Regulation:

Blacklisting the organisations that the study deems to be suspicious of misappropriation and fraud would help identify such organisations and pursue them with the rightful channels of authority. Having said this, the need for establishing efficient machinery to carry out the process to completion must be highlighted. This would ensure complete follow up and action against organisations deemed to be unlawful.

c. Accountability

Blind faith in civil society organisations must be replaced by transparent accountability. Religion being the most common type of ground that people organize for in India- questioning and making members of such organisations accountable for their actions is usually neglected due to the sanctimonious functions of such an organisation. This should keep people wary that religion is thus the easiest premise to be used as a cover for illegal activities.

Management

There is no stronger body than the masses of people themselves that can ascertain accountability from associations in civil society that are nothing but a collective representation of the masses. The media also is a great tool to keep such organisations in check.

Regulation

In a democratic setup there can be no additional and binding regulations other than the rule of law that can hold civil society organisations accountable. For this end individuals are provided with various tools and institutions for people to pursue such cases through legitimate channels.

d. Capacity building

The civil society of India must be able to adapt to the dynamic socio-political and economic changes that the nation undergoes. An extensive understanding of such factors can truly address the problems that civil society undertakes to solve. For example- a comprehensive understanding of India's position in the global arena and its foreign relations would allow civil society actors to gauge the tendencies of foreign donors and engage with only genuine ones. Similarly a civil society, that understands and adapts to the economic factors and aspirations of Indians that can only be fulfilled by holistic development, would not allow its members to raise

unjustified opposition against development projects. Remaining in sync with social factors would allow civil society to not just ask accurate questions but also identify who is truly answerable sometimes even being answerable itself. The best example of this is the growing record of complains of harassment by women in Delhi after the rape incident in December. According to officers at Mukherjee Nagar police headquarters the incidences of bogus and unjustified complains by women against men have increased wherein police investigations showed no proof of harassment leading to the complainant later accepting that the complaint was done as an act of revenge or a sheer test of police machinery. This must be an indicator that a blanket law of death penalty for the rape accused is a gender biased law which comes with heavy risk of misuse. Thus adaptation of the civil society to social changes would facilitate an inward looking approach of understanding the implications of demands made by it.

Management

Staying in tune with socio-political, economic and other various factors requires an extensive programme for the capacity building of civil society organizations and its actors. This would include developing efficient mechanisms and methodologies of carrying out the functions, research and advocacy methods and ensuring sustainability of actions such that future generations are not harmed by them.

Regulations

An umbrella body that studies and rates the quality and capacity of civil society organizations and actors would be an efficient tool to regulate and monitor the skills, abilities and capacity of civil society organizations and encourage more initiatives to build towards them.

e. Applying the proposed regulations and management techniques

The ways of regulations and management proposed above must materialize from ideation to action. The application of the proposed regulations and management techniques can be achieved by the model proposed further in the paper. This model is a forward looking measure in the re-organization civil society to channelize its action and direct it to appropriate bodies in order to ensure good governance. It aims at sustainability of the Indian civil society and promoting it to participate, while ensuring sustainable results that not only bear fruit for the present generation of citizens but also the future generations. The regulations and management techniques proposed above center around making social audits a prominent feature in the state of governance in India with an aim to establish an efficient information system that must be used by democratic institutions that have the power to act on the

information. The model through its structured approach promotes social audits and thereby helps materialize these regulations and give it an institutional character.

PROJECTED MODEL

Introduction: Civil society is an emerging albeit dynamic concept. Though we might be tempted to formulate an opinion that civil society is as old as the democratic and libertarian movements themselves but the exhaustive studies in the thesis suggests otherwise. The concept of liberty, equality, fraternity have remained an anchoring bastion of all civil society movements through ages but rapidly transforming social factors have influenced the finer nuances of the civil society movements to an extent that they resemble nothing more than echoes of the past. The main contributory factors to this change are ever deepening roots of democracy, active judiciary, expanding middleclass, interactive media, an ever pervasive technology and participatory civil society groups.

For a better understanding of this evolving concept of modern civil society as the elixir of democracy as it was originally supposed to be. This thesis proposes a model which is trisected into tiers. The three tiers, specific modes of engagement and an improved assimilation of the executive, legislative, and the judiciary (3 arms of a functional democracy) helps promote a forward looking growth and enhanced interaction between the government and the citizenry. Under the aegis of this model the linear division of the country into civil society and political society is highly discouraged as under this model the state is perceived as an entity constituted of the government and the people; where the government is of the people, by the people and for the people as envisioned by Benjamin Franklin.

The Underlying Principle:

The model is built on the following principle:

Enhanced performance shall inevitably follow the creation of a sense of accountability generated through persistent reappraisals and rewards in the form of success stories- basically employing examination, inspiration, and success in the form of a dynamic cycle.

The Model:

The model proposed has the following salient features:

- a) 3 tiered (local, state and center) structure
- b) A stepwise system of mode of engagement at each of the 3 tiers-
 1. Internal checks and balances

2. Cross checks and balance

3. Redressal

c) Incorporation of the 3 branches of governance i.e. the legislative, executive and judiciary to facilitate the implementation of the above features of the model, at each tier and step of engagement.

a) The 3 tiers:

The model is designed to be tiered using local, state and center levels to allow free-hold interaction. The reason such levels have been incorporated is to ensure effective interaction between participants of compatible powers to ensure action. Case in point being a local group representing the civil society first approaching the local authorities in case of mismanaged public services like sanitation in its area. This also ensures that smooth vertical linkage between these levels from local to state to center that efficiently transfer the 3 modes of engagements to ensure action backed with justified accountability.

b) Stepwise modes of engagement:

The system for interaction has been designed to achieve a smooth stepwise transition from first internally reviewing, checking and correcting the functioning of civil society followed by a cross checking and balancing done between the civil society and entities like that of enforcement and administration. Having thus achieved a healthy and balanced state of interaction that facilitates examination and correction at the 3 tiers mentioned above in case a total failure results in the necessity of a final resort the third step of reprisal would follow.

c) Assimilation of the Executive, Legislative and the Judiciary:

The model allows for enhanced assimilation of the executive, legislative and the judiciary to facilitate better the undertaking of civil society to address the dynamically changing socio-political factors that impact India.

The Executive: In this model assimilating the executive of India involves setting up more bodies along the lines of the National Advisory Council. Such bodies would be set up at the level of every ministry and would comprise of independent distinguished members holding expertise in the fields that come under that particular ministry. The role of this body would be to critically analyze, study and report findings and advice on various issues. The role would also extend to interact with the people to educate and spread awareness about key issues in the case of civil opposition. The case of the Jaitapur power plant for example could be managed better by a body that evaluates all grounds of opposition, analyses the scientific justification behind the

opposition and if applicable advocates the scientific principles that could ease opposition and promote reason and rationale amidst fear and doubt. Due to the expertise and neutral character of the proposed body the model also suggests providing it a wider forums and interfaces with an improved say so as to increase their effectiveness.

The Legislative: Assimilating the model with the Legislative is a conscientious effort to invoke a progressive change in the present school of thought that promotes politics to be reprehensible. The perceived evils of 'dirty politics' have resulted in a political apathy in the general public which urgently needs to be addressed by sensitizing people about their greatest democratic duty to be proactive in electoral processes. Thus a focus on generating a sense of ownership of the people, in the affairs of the nation has been made. The power of this ownership that ensures elected representatives to stay answerable to their people is taken into account in the model and it calls for the civil society to encourage people in exercising this power persistently. For example- The growing incidence of political parties like Shiv Sena and MNS holding the city of Mumbai to ransom by vandalizing public property must be reprimanded by the people and posed as an urgent matter of redressal to the elected representatives. People must also pull up their representatives when public review proves failure on their part to meet promises. This model also allows civil society to lead by example and turn its focus towards striving for electoral and political reforms as the model envisages a top to bottom revolution wherein progress will trickle down to eliminate problems at ground level once the problems at the seat of power are resolved.

With a dynamic social setup subject to rapid changes, certain factors or events may demand urging the legislative to pass an act or make amendments. The provision of ordinances may be used and also the parliament may be invoked to meet as was seen in the Delhi rape case. The need of the hour is for the civil society to study the changing conditions of society and address the problems at their inception itself by assimilating with the legislative in order to preempt a major disaster like waiting for a rape case to address problems of security of women. Civil society must also bring its focus on issues gathering dust due to administrative and legislative logjams like the police reforms.

The Judiciary: Assimilating the Judiciary is an important feature of the model. The Indian Judiciary stands as a beacon of democracy working under the rule of law and also representing the people's voice. The Judiciary acts as a balancing body to not only redress legitimately justified litigations and pleas but also quashing over-activism that deters any affair happening under the rule of law. This Judiciary has been seen performing this balancing act on numerous occasions a recent example being the Supreme Court pulling up the center for not acting on the case of illegal clinical trials of drugs stating it was not fulfilling its responsibility of protecting its citizens. It also pulled up the center for failing to respond to the queries posed by the Supreme

Court. A great contrasting case which proves the balancing act done by the judiciary is of that of activist Teesta Setalwad whom the court reprimanded for writing to the United Nations regarding the Gujarat riots while the court hearings and investigations of the SIT team was ongoing showing gross lack of confidence in the rule of law and the Indian Judiciary.

The model emphasizes on bringing the Judiciary into assimilation when affairs with the executive or the legislative do not give effective results. In this case the Judiciary acts as redressal system acting under procedure established by law. The growing judicial activism has also acted as a boon to the model as it promotes the civil society to urge the judiciary to act on issues by due process of law.

Functioning of the Model:

To describe the functioning of the model each feature mentioned above is employed by taking each mode of stepwise engagement and discussing its application at each tier: Local, state and center.

- 1) **Internal checks and balances:** Specifies the need of a state of self-regulation to be achieved before the next step of cross checking can be performed. Internal checks and balances basically mean civil society organizations and members keeping a consistently regulated check on themselves and each other around parameters like areas of focus, funding, capacity building, legitimacy of work, accountability etc.
 - a) Local: At the local level the civil society organizations and members must check themselves through regular performance reviews, auditing, progress and success stories, legal protocols etc. Many civil society organizations and members may come together to regulate the civil society internally as well. Regulation at the local level helps resolve problems at the ground level before being taken up at a larger level of state or center where different local civil society groups interact for larger causes. One proposition is the creation of umbrella bodies for each category of causes the civil society works for would help management of resources and man power for projects better helping the work of each organization to not become redundant. Doing this at the local level would also facilitate the study and sharing of data and information most importantly audits that would be a more complex task to take up at the higher tiers. Having achieved this, the resources, information, and support can be transferred via the vertical linkages of the 3 tiers in the model to the state and center tier. Case in point being the Telangana issue that is a burning issue of national importance gained momentum over decades. Had local civil society identified the pressure nodes and addressed the issues and notified the civil society at the higher tiers- they could

assimilate with the legislative, executive and the judiciary and addressed the problem at its inception instead of causing the current limbo of Government of India on an issue holding such importance.

- b) **State Level:** Internal checks and balances at the state level can be done at the level of panels and bodies created to aid and advise state level ministries that comprise of independent members of the civil society. An institution that performs the task of evaluating and advising the state executive and legislative bodies must be free of any misdoings and misgivings to be fully legitimized to fulfill the responsibilities conferred upon it. This would in turn ensure that the administrative officials seeking their guidance perform their duties guided by the best advice possible.
- c) **Center:** At the center level any representation of civil society must be completely sanitized of any internal problems through the step of internal checks and balances. The model emphasizes on this level to imbibe the character of sanctimonious efficiency especially because the responsibility at this level considered being fraught with issues that concern the nation as a whole.

Having thus successfully performed this first step of internal checks and balances would grant legitimacy and justification for civil society to perform cross checks with other bodies of public administration. The lack of this very internal regulation in the present state of civil society causes it to come under questioning over whom it actually represents, how it uses funds and whether it really does contribute to social good. The model also lays stress on strengthening civil society in this engagement of internal regulation so as to make this an inbred virtue that becomes a sustainable character of the civil society for years to come.

2) **Cross checks and balances:** The model is designed to implement this step following the legitimization of the civil society to completely sanitize it of its own misgivings before checking others. Cross checking and balancing involves civil society interacting with various bodies of public administration and ensuring regulation of a wide array of simultaneously working units.

- a) **Local Level:** At the local level cross checking must be done by direct action of civil society members with other bodies like local authorities, enforcement, public services etc. This can be done via reviewing performances and interaction of each of these bodies with the people. An evaluation and feedback system must be made available at the local level for bodies dealing with enforcement, tax collection, public services.
- b) **State Level:** The model proposes mid-career review and appreciations based on service. This would primarily discourage corruption, callousness, complacency.
- c) **Center Level:** Medium of 5 year elections is an effective medium of cross check and balance in case of directly elected officials and hence civil society must strive towards spreading awareness and sensitizing people to achieve a perfect voter turn-out. This 5

year period is an effective time scale for directly elected representatives to implement their plans, policies and vision. It allows optimum time for their work to shape up and achieve concrete results. It is also optimum time for the people to judge the overall performance of their representatives. In the event of gross misconduct and violation of the rule of law within the 5 year period the civil society can assimilate with media, Central Vigilance Commission, Comptroller and Auditor General, Election Commission, Judiciary and the upcoming Lokpal and the likes of such bodies take charge in maintaining check and balance.

In case of indirectly elected or non-elected members civil society interacts would interact with the media, Judiciary and other constitutional bodies keep a check.

- 3) **Redress:** This step is the final resort in the event of dire failure of the first two steps. This failure is expected to occur as a result of a largely overpowering problem of national scale. Two such problems have been predicted by the models and the reconsideration of each has been proposed.
 - a) **Public opinion or perception:** General apathy the people towards issues of governance, political and national affairs. The civil society must motivate people in the direction of gaining awareness of constitutional tools and institutions like IPC, Civil procedure codes, fundamental rights. Public drives, workshops and seminars must be conducted at all levels of the society to build a large knowledge base about the above mentioned tools. Beyond educating the people about their democratic rights and tools available they must also be mobilized to perform their duties as citizens of India. This ensures a sustained involvement of every individual citizen of India for the progress of the nation as a whole.
 - b) **Inefficient and despondent government:** A government that has completely lost the confidence and faith of its people due to its complacency, corruption and outright ineffectiveness to bring development and progress of the nation and its people will not be able to sustain itself in a democracy as strong as ours. The model employs this strength of India as a democracy to mete out redressals of a failed government. This can be in the form of reprisals through voting, media and judiciary, no confidence votes passed by assimilating with the legislation, reprisals through denial of services. Once again the role of the Election Commission, CVC, CAG, Lokpals etc. must be highlighted. When mass scale public agitation and pressure is built up it is here that the civil society must ensure that democratic processes are undertaken under the rule of law to avoid complete breakdown of the nation as we see in the case of the Arab Spring.

4) **Evolution of Civil Society**

a) Feedback and Grievance redressal system:

The model envisages the setting up of a feedback and grievance redressal system at the center level which would be a body along the lines of corporate consumer courts that would allow individuals to file specific problems regarding conduct of their elected representatives.

b) E-governance:

Pushing for e-governance in remote areas that lack access to all levels of administrative solutions as they have a limited outreach to only their local elected officials and bureaucrats, puts them at the risk of being subject to the whims of a few officials. It also deprives them of effective representation and redressal. India is suffering significantly due to consequences resulting from mass dissent as the sections of the public feel deprived of representation and administrative attention. E-governance would bring the executive closer to the people and reconstruct faith. Civil society would play a crucial role in establishing e-governance and aiding its effective functioning.

c) Incentives for participation

Taking cue from the petitioning system called “we the people” established in the U.S.A wherein every petition that earns more than 25,000 petitions must be considered, reviewed and addressed by the government.

d) Right to Services:

The right to services ensures the delivery of efficient services within a stipulated time with an aim to reduce corruption and increase accountability and transparency. This right also makes people aware and vigilant thus ensuring that no officer can remain unaccountable for his inaction or wrongdoing. By empowering citizens to demand efficient services that they are rightfully and legally entitled to provides for ways to voice out their dissatisfaction and with civil society involved the government officials would be urged to act thereby promoting good governance. Bihar is a model example of the implementation of the right to services act as it makes it mandatory for the police to submit verification report for people seeking passport, arms licenses etc. within 7 days.

e) Social Auditing:

Social Audits to conduct an analysis and accounting of the effect of government action on the people were made statutory in a 2005 Rural Employment Act but most states failed to implement it due to the usual reasons of lack of political will or vested interests. The state of Andhra Pradesh however has successfully conducted social audits through the Society for Social Audit, Accountability and Transparency⁹. It has successfully conducted 3,200 social audits and more than 38,000 disciplinary cases have been brought against officials involved with the MNREGA jobs scheme. Hundreds have

⁹ See Society for Social Audit, Accountability and Transparency, official website www.socialaudit.ap.gov.in/, Department of Rural Development, Government of Andhra Pradesh

been suspended or punished. In the past three years, the team has been able to recover almost a quarter of the \$24m of irregularities detected (Patnaik, 2012). The Comptroller and Auditor General of India Vinod Rai, head of the CAG, says: "All over the world, there is a growing perception among the supreme audit institutions that it is important to partner with civil society to ensure the latter's participation in service delivery and public accountability." Thus social auditing is an apparatus that must be employed by the civil society to identify irregularities and hold the right people accountable.

CONCLUSION

The topic of this research paper was inspired by a simple thought: what do people believe is the biggest problem in India? While working on the preliminary suppositions to answer this question many answers came to the fore, the most popular ones being corruption, poverty, weak government, poor education system... the list may go on. A realization dawned that for a democracy as diverse and dynamic as ours, isolating the biggest problem in India becomes a subjective issue whose answer can vary depending on different context. An attempt was thus made to identify a common link between the most commonly cited problems. From a less specific chain of thought proving to be too general to be quantified, this problem was detected to reside with the people or citizens of India. By this I mean to vest the onus of this problem with each one of us belonging to the growing 1.2 billion strong population. For the purpose of building a quantifiable methodology every person was classified as an elector or his representative. This led to opening another Pandora's box of problems like political apathy, lack of faith and awareness, complacency etc... the list may still go on. This time a reversed approach was employed wherein the solutions and ways to achieve it were analyzed before isolating the one main problem. The solution whose effectiveness stood out like a beacon through texts of empirical evidences in its historical past was a form of organization of the individuals in a public sphere. This organization is coined commonly as the civil society which I regard as the best space for articulation of public opinions, popular dissatisfaction and collective action all aimed towards common social and national good.

Civil society is a great forum where individuals organize to promote development, welfare and capacity building and also assimilate with the Executive, Legislative and the Judiciary urging them to act in their best capacities to ensure good governance. The model proposed in this paper holistically incorporates all levels of every available institution and provides ease of access and interaction by dividing these levels into 3 simple tiers of local, state and center level. Interaction of the civil society and its assimilation with the executive, legislative and the judiciary is facilitated further by the proposal of 3 simple modes of engagement. The

significance of the modes of engagement lies in the fact that its step wise nature ensures every person to hold himself accountable and dispense his own duties before checking others. This is seen as the ultimate cure to the chronic pass-the-buck disorder India suffers from.

A special emphasis has been made for capitalizing on the most important resource of India- so powerful that it is reckoned internationally as a phenomenon as other countries try hard to harness its powers. This resource is the burgeoning middle class of India that is increasingly growing aware of its rights and is not afraid to indulge in ambitions which may pertain to lifestyle, economy, development, infrastructure etc. This paper emphasizes on the urgent need of harnessing middle class ambition whose present state is limited to fulfilling individual interests and direct it to materialize into national ambition to achieve better overall standards of living, a booming economy, national development and the overall success of India as a regional superpower and global soft-power center. For this purpose civil society has been identified as an optimum vehicle for carrying out actions led by the middle class members especially since they enjoy a dominant membership in India's civil society ever since it sprang to Life.

The central theme of this thesis is the emphasis that the responsibility of good governance lies with every member of the Indian citizenry. While the people are encouraged and promoted to conduct activities of social welfare and development at all possible levels in their best capacity to facilitate good governance, they are also urged to maintain a proactive watch as well as control over their representatives, who must answer the call for their duties in their best capacities. The civil society here is highlighted to play the role of organizing public action and opinion and channelizing it to people who are enabled to or are responsible to act on it. The multidimensional role of civil society in inspiring masses, building capacity, enabling social and national development, spreading awareness and most importantly exercising proactive vigilance and pressure on the people's representatives be it as the elected representatives or voluntary civil society actors is highly regarded and promoted to *make good governance in India a reality*.

REFERENCES

Books, Chapters and Articles:

Aristotle, Jowette B. (384–322 B.C.). *Politics*. Books IV to VI. Dover Thrift. UK.

Avriter, L.2009. *Civil society in Brazil: from state autonomy to political interdependency*.
Departamento de Ciência Política UFMG

Bonner ,Wiggin. 2003. *Surviving the Soft Depression of the 21st Century*. John Wiley & Sons

Asian Centre for Human Rights (ACHR) (January 2013).*India’s Funds to NGOs Squandered*.ACHR.
Dubochet, L. (2011, December).*The Changing Role of Civil Society in a Middle-Income Country*,
Oxfam India, New Delhi.

Edwards, Foley, Diani, 2001. *Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and the Social Capital Debate in comparative perspective*. Tufts University Press.New England.

Edwards, M. (2005).*Civil society*.Cambridge: Polity.

Goldstone, J.(1991).*Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World*.University of California Press

Lipton, M. 1977. *Why poor people stay poor: urban bias in world development*, London, Temple Smith.

Reports, Websites and Newspaper Articles:

Corporation for National and Community Service. May 2007. *AmeriCorps: Changing Lives, Changing America*, Office of Research and Policy Development. Washington DC. Accessed on 15th February 2013 at http://www.nationalservice.gov/pdf/07_0515_ac_memberimpact.pdf.

Committee to Protect Journalists (2012). New York. Accessed on 27January 2012 at <http://cpj.org/2013/02/attacks-on-the-press-in-2012-asia.php>

Department of Youth Affairs (October 2011). *Working Group on Adolescent and Youth*

Development. National Planning Commission Report. Accessed on 10 February 2013 on http://planningcommission.nic.in/aboutus/committee/wrkgrp12/hrd/wg_repadolscent.pdf

Economic And Social Commission For Asia And The Pacific (2001). *Reducing Disparity in rural areas*. United Nations

Howard, P.N., Duffy, A., Freelon, D., Hussain, M., Mari, W. & Mazaid, M. (2011). *Opening Closed Regimes: What Was the Role of Social Media During the Arab Spring?*. PITPI.

History of OAB at www.oab.org.br

Jain, J., Gupta, S., Joshi, B. (2012). *Indian Youth: An ignored constituency*. Youth for Policy & Dialogue accessed on 12 February at http://youthpolicy.in/images/pdfs/Youth_Policy_Report_YPD.pdf

Kalaw, Tirol. *Biography Of Rajendra Singh*. Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation. Accessed on 17th Jan 2013 at www.rmaf.org.ph/Awardees/Biography/pdfbio/RajendraSingh.pdf

Najma Al Zidjaly. 2011. From Oman, With Love. *New York Times*. March 7. Accessed on 23 February 2012 at http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/08/opinion/08al-zidjaly.html?_r=0

Poorest Areas Civil Society (PACS) Programme (September 2007). *Civil Society Engagement in Rural India*. Pune: InfoChange, OECD.

Pal and Ghosh (July 2007). *Inequality in India: A survey of recent trends*. Department of Economic and Social Affairs [DESA], UN.

Patnaik, P. (13 January 2012). *Social audits in India*. The Guardian UK. Accessed on 18 February, 2013 at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/poverty-matters/2012/jan/13/india-social-audits-fight-corruption>

Peruzzotti E., Plot M. (2012). *Civil Society in Latin America: from political intrusion to democratic deepening- Critical Theory and Democracy*. Routledge

Rajasekhar, D. & Sahu, G. (2004). *The Growing Rural Urban Disparity: Some Issues*. Institute for Social and Economic Change.

Raghavan B S. 2011. Wake up call for young voters. *Hindu Business Line*. April 6.

Ram, U. & Mohanty, SK. (2010). *Youth in India: Situation and Needs 2006–2007*. International Institution for Population Sciences. Government of India. Accessed on 17 February 2013 at http://www.macfound.org/media/article_pdfs/2010PGY_YouthInIndiaReport.pdf

Tandon R., Shrivastava S. (December 2002). *Invisible, Yet Widespread: The Non-Profit Sector In India*. PRIA. Accessed on 5 January 2013 at www.pria.org/publications

Tandon R. (2002). *Voluntary Action, Civil Society and the State*. Mosaic Books. New Delhi.

United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific See <http://www.unescap.org/sdd/>.