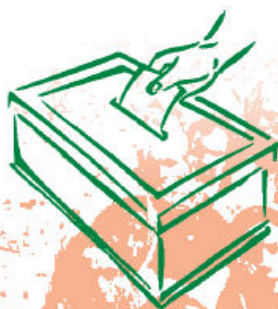




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Globalization & Rural Development



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INSTITUTING A STRONG LOKPAL

Jayaprakash Narayan*

There is a broad agreement in the country that our public services are stunted, resources are squandered and economic growth is stymied by corruption at various levels in public life. Clearly there is no single silver bullet that will address all the challenges in the fight against corruption. Nevertheless, a strong and independent ombudsman institution with the requisite resources at its command and wide-ranging powers can make a significant impact on the all-round fight against corruption. Clearly such a measure should be accompanied by strengthening the anti-corruption law, creating an independent and accountable investigative force, strong and effective prosecution, adequate number of special courts to facilitate speedy trials and speedier and simpler procedures for concluding disciplinary actions against erring officials. The suggestions made in this essay take into account the Bill introduced by the government in the Parliament which is now under the consideration of the Department Related Standing Committee on Personnel, Public Grievances, Law and Justice.

In this essay, three major issues have been primarily addressed, along with several other attendant issues.

- The first is the need to enact a law of Parliament applicable to the union government, the state governments and the local governments. No single authority can be burdened with fighting corruption at all levels. But the legal framework should be similar at all levels. With the ratification of the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC), the Parliament has the power and the responsibility to make laws related to institutional mechanisms to fight corruption applicable at all levels – Union and the State.
- Second, the independence and accountability of the investigative agencies dealing with corruption, Central Bureau of Investigation at the central level and the Anti-Corruption Bureau at the state level should be integral to any viable and effective mechanism to fight corruption. By law or organizational culture or strong tradition by decades of practice, many established democracies have insulated crime investigation, in particular investigation and prosecution of matters related to corruption, abuse of office and obstruction of justice from the vagaries of partisan politics or undue political and administrative control.
- Third, the Central Vigilance Commission functioning under the Act of Parliament made in 2003, but pre-existing since 1964, has an important role to play in preventive vigilance, departmental enquiries, investigation of offences related to corruption, advising government and superintendence of the Central Bureau of Investigation. Prudence and wisdom require that such an institution should be effectively and seamlessly linked to the new institution being created. Its experience and institutional strength should be fully utilized and duplication of work be avoided. In states, vigilance commissions exist since mid-1960s, but merely by executive orders without any statutory backing. Therefore, in states the vigilance commissions could be merged with the new institutions, which are sought to be created.

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LOKPAL BILL 2011: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Samanta Sahu*

The year 2011 saw the rise of an issue, which though present in the intellectual and policy discourse for over 40 years, has become a mass movement only now. The popular movement that brought the issue to the mass level, forced an unwilling and apathetic government allegedly plagued by large scale corruption to be proactive and make way for introduction of Lokpal Bill in the Parliament.

Introduction of Lokpal Bill in Parliament took a new and definite turn after members of civil society led by Anna Hazare went on for a fast till the introduction of the bill.. Subsequently, as the movement heated up, several groups and eminent citizens came up with their version of the Lok Pal Bill. While all were submitted to the Standing Committee of the parliament, the government version and the Jan Lok Pal Bill endorsed by the civil society led by Anna Hazare became prominent. An effort is made in the paper to understand, analyse and compare the different Lokpal Bills submitted to the standing committee.

Keywords

Intellectual and Policy Discourse, Lokpal Bill, Anna Hazare, Standing Committee, Parliament

The year 2011 in India will go down in the history as a landmark year. It saw the rise of a civil society movement to fight against corruption snowballed into one often reminded the one led by Jayaprakash Narayan.¹ What started as a lonely initiative by few members of the civil society took this young nation by storm in a couple of months. The year saw the rise of an issue, which though present in the intellectual and policy discourse for over 40 years, has become a mass movement only now. In the end, the popular movement forced an unwilling and apathetic government allegedly plagued by large-scale corruption to be proactive and make way for introduction of Lokpal Bill in the Parliament. For a student of public policy, what is most important is the debate on democracy which is an unintended outcome of the entire episode. While one section claims that Parliament is supreme law-making body and no one can force parliament to make laws (which is obvious), another section though not overriding the parliamentary supremacy, are putting forward a Bill which they claim are people's Bill. An effort is made in the paper to understand, analyse and compare the different Lokpal Bills submitted to the Parliamentary Standing Committee.²

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¹ Outlook, A Weekly News Magazine, September 5, 2011.

² In the paper there is comparison between three Lokpal Bill. One submitted by the Civil Society group led by Anna Hazare, second, the government's version of Lokpal Bill and the third by Dr Udit Raj and his organisation on Dalit Lokpal Bill.

PANCHAYATI RAJ IN INDIA: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

Marina R Pinto*

Panchayati Raj is essentially an institutionalized mechanism for empowering the people and is in keeping with free India's firm commitment to participative democracy. The Balwantrai Mehta Team's idea was to make people's representatives exercise effective control on the already existing sub-state system. However, there was no effective and genuine transfer of powers and responsibilities to Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). Despite efforts by subsequent committees and commissions, ground realities remained, by and large, unchanged. Within five years, PRIs began to stagnate and decline.

The ills of Panchayati Raj are many and varied. Most of them stem from the State's reluctance to decentralize the 3 Fs – Funds, Functions and Functionaries – despite the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act. Even so, over time, some efforts to revitalize the PRIs have fructified.

This paper takes a peep into the history of Panchayats in India, examines the concept and context of PRIs and critically reviews their working over five decades. It takes the position that the tension areas in India's 3-tiered Federal System as also State-local bodies interaction in respect of Panchayats need a re-look so as to strengthen the base of participative democracy. The functional domain of PRIs cannot be eroded and they must be provided the wherewithal to serve as catalysts of change and spring boards of action for rural development. The road ahead is long and bumpy and calls for a combination of political will, administrative skills and public good will.

Keywords

Panchayati Raj, Democratic Decentralisation, District Planning, People Empowerment, Rural Development.

Panchayati Raj simply implies 'Power to the People'. It is a systemic way of involving the people in the process of developing themselves through their own efforts on an on- going basis. It stands for 'citizen participation' in political processes and 'service delivery' of local public goods. However, it has not been smooth sailing over the years. From being described as a 'political revolution', Panchayati Raj has been said to be the God that failed! Over a 50-year time span, Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) have been weakened, side-tracked and then rejuvenated. It is necessary to unfold the story of PRIs right from their inception, through their architecture and functioning with a view to examining the problems and constraints in the road ahead.

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ENHANCING DRINKING WATER AND SANITATION ACCESS TO POOR: LESSONS OF NGO-GOVERNMENT COLLABORATION IN EASTERN INDIA

NC Narayanan* and Anju Helen Bara**

Well being as understood in the human development paradigm is about attaining physical quality of life and accessibility to the basic necessities for a productive and socially meaningful life.¹ In India since the inception of first year plan the governance of water supply and sanitation (WSS) was top down and supply driven with enormous investments allocated for the implementation of this program. Though government has financial resources and legitimacy to bring structural changes, it often lacks to gather people's trust and support at the micro level. Hindsight and recent experiences repeatedly shows that sustainability of rural WSS program depends on the active participation of the people. Proponents of 'demand responsive approach' (DRA) argue on the importance of participation to be operationalised by motivating people and building a sense of ownership and responsibility by involving NGOs. Hence to achieve the larger goal of providing safe drinking water and sanitation, government programs also insist on such demand creation and increasingly trying to forge collaborative relationships with NGOs. In Eastern India, in the state of Orissa, an NGO called Gram Vikas is working with the government to achieve the larger goal of bringing good health, sustainable environment and better standard of living by providing safe drinking water and sanitation (WSS) to poor and deprived people.

Keywords

Water Supply and Sanitation, Financial Resources, Demand Responsive Approach, NGOs, Good Health, Better Standard of Living.

The aim of this paper is to examine the role of NGOs in the provision of WSS in Orissa and the synergy between government and NGOs for better governance. Taking the case study of Gram Vikas this paper attempts to investigate the larger issue of the complementary roles of government and NGOs in the provision of WSS, the strategies adopted and possible synergy between the government and NGO for better governance.

The following are the objectives of the study:

- To examine the WSS coverage scenario and the scope of NGO-Government collaboration.
- To document the achievements of Gram Vikas (GV) in improving access to piped water supply and sanitation in Orissa Villages.

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¹ Human development is measured in terms of three critical dimensions of well being such as longevity, education and the ability to enjoy a decent standard of living (National Human Development Report, 2001, India). Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) has become a universal framework that follows this thinking.

POLICY INTERVENTION: CHILD RIGHT TO FOOD AND THE INDIAN STATE

Rajashree Padhi*

The National Program of Nutritional Support to Primary Education or Mid-Day Meal Scheme is one of the major policy interventions of the Government of India during mid 90's. The intervention was intended to boost primary education while increasing enrolment, attendance and retention by raising the nutritional status of primary school children. The centrally sponsored program represents the response of the Indian state to the children's issues. Under the scheme, the Government of India provided cooked meals instead of dry rations to all the children attending primary classes to ensure them a plate of nutritious meals a day. The scheme is widely used as a major means to target the vulnerable sections of society, i.e., children who have neither a voice nor representation in the democratic decision making process. To understand the extent of State intervention and level of benefits received by the target group, Mid-Day Meals schemes in Tamil Nadu and Orissa were studied. They were selected on the basis of their performance.

Keywords

Mid-Day Meal Scheme, Primary Education, Government of India, State Intervention, Nutritious Meals.

Mid-Day Meal Scheme (MDMS) was launched on 15 August 1995 throughout the country as a centrally sponsored scheme of Government of India. The scheme was intended to boost primary education and raise the nutritional status of primary school children. MDMS received national attention though school meal programs were in place since long.¹ Under the scheme, the Government of India provided food grains to the states on the basis of attendance in primary schools for 200 days a year. The launching of the scheme is to be seen as an acknowledgement of the responsibility of the Indian state to feed children. Traditionally feeding children and taking care of them was the responsibility of the parents and families.

MDMS fits into the concept of the welfare state, as it is evolved in India after independence. The study of the rationale of the scheme and its implementation enables the researcher to understand how a developing State like India adopts a social policy. More than 47% of Indian children are malnourished; a million children die in India every year due to malnutrition; and 20% of children, between the ages of 6-14, do not attend school. Moreover, majority of Indian children are deprived of nutritious food, proper health care and minimum standard of education. Ironically

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¹ The first school meal program to poor children was introduced in Madras city in 1925. In 1928, Keshav Academy of Calcutta introduced tiffin for school boys on payment basis. Kerala started providing meals in 1941 followed by Bombay in 1942, Bangalore in 1943, Uttar Pradesh in 1953, Orissa in 1959, Andhra Pradesh in 1962, Karnataka in 1964, and Bihar in 1965. (Source: K Vijayaraghavan, National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau, National Institute of Nutrition, Hyderabad, 2002).

Book Reviews

REVISITING CAPITALISM

Arun Maira, **Transforming Capitalism – Improving the World for Everyone**, New Delhi; Nimby Books, 2011, Rs 295, Pp. 229, ISBN 978-93-81626-01-6.

Capitalism versus Socialism polemics has always generated considerable heat. There is a surfeit of literature on this topic. The decade of 90s witnessed the fall of socialist citadels. Socialist economies were groaning under plethora of problems, such as, non performance of Public Sector Undertakings, unsustainable debt levels, so on and so forth. Socialism was vehemently criticized for curbing the private initiative resulting in lesser choice of goods for consumers, shoddy products and substandard services of Public Sector Undertakings. It was realized that capitalism with its emphasis on private initiative is the only solution to the problems of socialism. Hence, Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization which are the products of capitalism, were embraced by even the hard core socialist economies.

However, in 2008-09, in the aftermath of world financial crisis, the policy of free market economy came under a scanner. The capitalism with its products of liberalization, privatization and globalization, is being dubbed as 'Crony Capitalism'. Questions such as, what went wrong with capitalism? Should we go back to the days of state control? were being asked. A school of thought emerged, which was of the opinion that the present form of capitalism needs to be reformed. It needs to be transformed, so that it becomes humane. For example, Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz in his book *Free Fall*, dwells at length on the financial crisis of 2008, forcefully argues in favour of reforming the economics and for creating a new global economic order. The author Arun Maira precisely talks about the same in his book. The author throughout the book underscores the necessity of transforming the capitalism, so that it benefits not a chosen few, but everyone. The introduction sets the tone of the book, in which the author raises questions such as, 'Can the business of the business be only business, as some economists have insisted?' What is the meaning of CSR? A well written introduction, itself evokes the interest of the readers.

The book is divided into four parts, which in turn is divided into sub parts.

- The first part is titled '*Institutions and Trust*'. In this part, author talks about the necessity distinguishing between citizens and consumers. He feels that corporations are good at relating to the consumers within us, but have not developed the skills to relate to citizens. Each of us is a citizen first and then a consumer. He further goes on to add that the written and unwritten rules of the game must be changed to create a society that is fair and good for everyone. The rise of civil society and its importance is also discussed by the author in this book. He opines that a genuine civil society organization must be independent of government, so that it is able to play its prime role of keeping the government on the straight and narrow path of serving the people. The author also talks about the land issues in this part of the book and emphasizes that the corporate world cannot ignore the issue, they want to be the agents of change. Thus in every sub part of this part, including the one on critical evaluation of TRIPs, the author convincingly argues for reformation of the present brand of capitalism.
- The case for reforming the capitalism further becomes convincing to the readers of the book in the second part titled, '*The Business of the Business*', in which the author says that the business of business is not just business. The author says that business leaders must engage in more systemic thinking and stimulate innovation in business processes to play a more

GROWING 'ASIAN FOOTPRINT' IN WEST ASIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE

Geoffrey Kemp, **East Moves West: India, China, and Asia's Growing Presence in the Middle East**, Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 2010, ISBN 978-0-8157-0388-4, 326pp. \$29.95.

China and India have emerged as global economic powers. Consequently, the ties between Asia and the Middle East 'have grown in many folds'. However, their strategic implications are not clear, says Geoffrey Kemp, an American expert on West Asia. The book-length study focuses attention on the roles China and India are likely to play in the region in the future. How will the two Asian giants interact with the US, the traditionally dominant power in the region? American troops are present all over the vast region stretching from Sinai through Arabian Peninsula, Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea and Afghanistan.

The US Navy roams the seas from the Red Sea to Malacca Straits (page 17). However, Kemp admits that after the economic crisis of 2008, (and the continued gloom in the American economy ever since), the US may not be able to sustain its armed presence in the region (and elsewhere) on the same scale. The ever-growing economic power and presence of China and India (which the author calls 'Asian Footprint') will naturally have implications for the US. "Energy, oil, and natural gas are the main drivers," he says. Immigration, labour, trade, investment, tourism and higher education are the other dimensions of the growing presence of China and India in the region. Their rise will also lead to the growth of alternative models to the hitherto dominant liberal market approach. Kemp ends the Introduction by saying that a return to old balance of power politics is possible.

It is necessary to point out that Kemp's research was conceived long before the 'Arab Spring' currently transforming the landscape of the region radically and irreversibly. What the popular rebellions sweeping West Asia have in store for the future is uncertain. While some of the dictators may be unseated, it is not at all certain that freedom and democracy will follow and take root. Forces of Islamic fundamentalism and *jihadi* terror groups are likely to become stronger. The rise of Islamic Brotherhood as a force to be reckoned with in post-Mubarak Egypt is a clear straw in the wind. In fact, religious right and the armed forces are the only two organized groups in all the countries of West Asia. Continuation of authoritarian rule is more likely than progress towards democracy in the immediate future and also in the long run. The US and other western powers may not be able to resist the temptation to intervene militarily. But, their weak and recession-bound economies will undermine their ability to do so, which can be seen as a blessing in disguise.

Even more importantly, people in the US and the West are unlikely to support costly adventures abroad. For the first time in recent years the 'cost' of operations has become a deciding factor in American's policy choices in West Asia and beyond. The American people and Members of Congress are demanding that their President spell out the objectives of his mission in Libya. (Washington Post, 4 June 2011, p. A3) In the light of the declining ability (if not the will) to intervene militarily in the crisis-ridden region, the strategic, political, economic implications of the growing 'Asian Footprint' on the Middle East will be more important for American policymakers than ever before, Kemp asserts. Therefore, his in-depth study of the likely role and reach of China and India in the region in future should be of interest to our policymakers.

GLOBALIZING DEVELOPMENT

Palanithurai G and Ramesh R, **Globalization & Rural Development**, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company (P) LTD, 2011, Rs 900, ISBN-13:978-81-8069-750-0

The book authored by G Palanithurai and R Ramesh titled 'Globalization & Rural Development' covers a wide range of topics such as liberalization, globalization and privatization and also about rural development. The authors have touched upon various issues, and policy measures introduced as part of LPG and substantiated with statistical data about the extent of benefit that percolated to the bottom of the pyramid.

The book has eight chapters. Chapter 1, titled 'Rural Development and Globalizing India', discusses varied issues such as rural development to managing globalization. The authors explain theories that speak for and against globalization, such as comparative advantage theory, system of natural liberty, etc. They have done considerable literature review on the history of globalization, theories of international economics, decentralization, its background, and problems associated with development.

Chapter 2 discusses several reform measures and in particular about primary education. The authors sought to understand the reach of some educational schemes such as Sarva Siksha Abhiyan to the rural masses. For this purpose they used both primary and secondary data, and presented a clear picture of the prevailing condition of schools in Tamil Nadu with statistical details such as number of children covered, details of infrastructure; the objective of the program is discussed with clarity. Education for all can be achieved only when parents in rural areas understand the importance of education for their children's wellbeing. Tamil Nadu has taken up some proactive initiatives to make children attend to school by introducing mid-day meal scheme, to ensure parents send their ward to school for the sake of food, and in the process the school children get educated also. It served a dual purpose. Definitely this initiative deserves praise. But on the other hand, one problem that Tamil Nadu faces for several years now is with regard to its inconsistent syllabus pattern. Whenever there is a change of Government, which invariably happens every five years, the syllabus is changed significantly and this puts enormous pressure on the children. Average students who fail in the examination sometimes drop out of school due to this reason. The authors could have touched upon this issue, as it would have brought out a hidden, but very important, problem in education in Tamil Nadu.

Chapter 3 discusses reforms in drinking water service delivery. It discusses a wide range of issues connected with supply of potable water to rural people. The authors critically discuss the issue of adequacy of drinking water as a basic service and clarify many myths in this regard. It also covers issues of reform initiatives, problems in community managed water supply system. The authors emphasize the requirement of technical expertise and the need for capacity building to handle issues related to uninterrupted water supply to rural areas. Some issues such as financial deficit faced by the local administration in water management and a possible solution are suggested by the authors.

In Chapter 4 the authors analyze issues of primary health care services in Tamil Nadu. Combinations of quantitative and qualitative methods were used for data collection. Tamil Nadu is considered one of the best states in India in management of healthcare services. The government's active role in ensuring proper systems in delivery of healthcare services won accolades from various sources and similar models have been adopted in other states. The authors deserve special