

**Good Governance in a Multicultural Context:
A Study with special reference to NDA Government
(1998-2004)**

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Political Science in
Partial Fulfillment of requirement for the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**



Research Supervisor-

Dr. Raghvendera Pratap Singh

Assistant Professor

Department of Political Science

Submitted by -

Bhawana Sharma

Roll No.- 8245

School of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences

Department of Political Science

Central University of Haryana, Mahendergarh-123031

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Dedicated to My Loving 'Maa'

SCHOOL OF ARTS, HUMINITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

CENTRAL UNIVERSITY OF HARYANA

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled- **“Good Governance in a Multicultural Context A Study with special reference to NDA Government (1998 -2004)”** submitted by me for the partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy (M. Phil)** in the **Department of Political Science, Central University of Haryana**. This dissertation is my own work and has not taken previously submitted for another degree of this or any other university.

BHAWANA SHARMA

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Dr. RAGHVENDRA PRATAP SINGH

Forwarded by:

Head of the Department

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“all praises and thanks to Almighty, the lord of the universe”

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAV – Antodaya Anna Yojana

AIDMK - All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam

AIIMS – All India Institute of Medical Sciences

AP – Andhra Pradesh

ARC – Antodaya Ration Card

BJP- Bhartiya Janata Party

BPL – Below Poverty Line

CPI – Communist Party of India

CPIM – Communist Party of India (Marxist)

DIA – Defence Intelligence Agency

DMK- Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam

DTC – Department of Culture

DTP – Department of Tourism

EPZ- Export Processing Zones

FP- Foreign Policy

FRBMA – Responsibility and Budget Managing Act

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GQ- Golden Quadrilateral

IAEP- Implementing Agencies and Evolution of Programmes

IDIM- Infrastructure Development in Minority Institutes.

IFS- Indian Foreign Service

IM- International Media

IMF – International Monetary Fund

INC- Indian National Congress

IR- International Relations

IT – Information & Technology

J&K- Jammu and Kashmir

KCC – Kisan Credit Cards

LOC- Line of Control

NAG- National Agenda for Governance

NDA – National Democratic Alliance

NHAI- National Highways Authority of India

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

NHDP – National Highway Development Programme

NHP – National Health Policy

OMMS- Online Management & Monitoring System

PMGY- Pradhan Mantri Gramodaya Yojana

PMGSY- Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana

POTA- Prevention of Terrorism Act

PMSSY- Pradhan Mantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojana

R & D- Research and Development

RSS- Rashtriya Sevak Sangh

RTI – Right to Information Act

SD- Sustainable Development

SWQEM- Scheme for Providing Quality Education in Madarasa

TDPS – Targeted Public Distribution System

UN – United Nations

UP – Uttar Pradesh

UPA- United Progressive Alliance

USA- United States of America

UNO – United Nations Organizations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO - United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organizations

UNESCAP – United Nations Economic, Social and Commission for Asia and the Pacific

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

VHP- Vishva Hindu Parishad

WB – World Bank

WTO – World Trade Organization

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CHAPTER- 1

Introduction

Governance has been seen as a holistic approach, that involves all the pillars of a state. However during 1980's under the economic reforms, especially under the globalization, the use of the term 'Governance' became popular with its' emphasis on the process and manner of governing to the notion of sustainable development¹. As the IMF, NGO's, the UN and it's agencies, the World Bank and International Media were quick to pick- up the term and use it in a variety of ways. *UNDP (United Nations Development Programmes)* has *defined 'Governance' as the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of a country's affairs at all levels*. World Bank President, *Barber Conable (1986-1991)* used the term "*Good Governance*" referring to it as a "*public service that is efficient, a judicial system that is reliable and an administration that is accountable to its public*".

Thus the concept of "Good Governance" emerged as an ideal to be taken by the world countries, India was not exception of this. The concept of Good Governance signifies basic parameters such as rule of law, participatory decision making structure, transparency, accountability, responsiveness, equity and inclusiveness. A particular country's administration has to run on these principles, who claims to lead the ideal of a Good Governance². The Multicultural context of a democracy, has focus on Equality and talks about living peacefully or co-existence equally in Private and Public sectors. *Stanford* has defined that- "*Multiculturalism is a body of thought in political philosophy about the proper way to respond to cultural and religious diversity*." India is seen as the world's most populous diverse democracy and remains firmly committed to representative government and rule of law. As a nation-state, India contains hundreds of different Ethnic-groups, Religious-sects, and Social-castes. Having the features of a Constitutional democracy, Indian democracy includes such features -

1. **Popular Sovereignty-** The people are the ultimate source of the authority of the government which derives its right to govern from their consent.
2. **Majority rule and Minority Rights-** Although "the majority rules," the fundamental rights of individuals in the minority are protected.
3. **Limited Government-** The powers of government are limited by law and a written or unwritten constitution which those in power obey.
4. **Institutional and Procedural Limitations on Powers-** There are certain institutional and procedural devices which limit the powers of government. These may include-
 - **Separated and Shared Powers-** Powers are separated among different agencies or branches of government. Each agency or branch has primary responsibility for certain functions such as legislative, executive, and judicial functions. However, each branch also shares these functions with the other branches³.
 - **Checks and Balances -** Different agencies or branches of government have adequate power to check the powers of other branches. Checks and balances may include the power of judicial review the power of courts to declare actions of other branches of government to be contrary to the constitution and therefore null and void.
 - **Due Process of Law -** Individual rights to life, liberty, and property are protected by the guarantee of due process of law.
 - **Leadership Succession through Elections-** Elections insure that key positions in government will be contested at periodic intervals and that the transfer of governmental authority is accomplished in a peaceful and orderly process.

The above defined features of Indian democracy, reveals the nature of its' political institutions as well as the government, in the power . Being a land of most diversities in the world, Indian democracy mainly has been concerned with to make coordination, tolerance, combination and welfare of all sections of the country.

As welfare of the backward classes, marginalised sections of the society has remained an important objective in the formulation of public policy in India after independence⁴. As the NDA government's agenda during 1999's in the *Ninth Five*

Year Plan, included the chapter on “**Implementation, Delivery Mechanism and Institutional Development**” that paved the way to democratic nation towards the ideal of Good Governance .

Good Governance in Multicultural context of India

India being a plural society and as a result, the state has to calibrate various interests, existing in the given society. In the globalizing world, it is civilizations, cultures, peoples and states that are making an increasing impact on one another due to a more active circulation of capital, people and information⁵. It highlighted the importance of cultural diversity, democracy and Good Governance as universal values of the global community and vehicles for development. As is known, most of the world’s states are ethnically and confessionally heterogeneous and the governance of cultural diversity is a key issue for all these states. Recognizing cultural distinctions among people as an important component of civilizational environment and ensuring equal share for all groups in social and political life are tasks upon whose solution the successful functioning of a society depends. Under the conditions of globalization all nations, states and civilizations are actively interacting with each other, rules and norms of functioning of economic and political systems are becoming closer, but any civilization highly values the cultural foundations on which its very identity depends⁶. Incidentally, even in the economic sphere institutions and rules worked out in one civilization can prove to be globally more effective than the ones another civilization has. In modern societies two contending tendencies are observed, (1) The Increasing role of Religion in their life and (2) Secularization.

A democratic response to the challenge of religious diversity ultimately consists in ensuring reasonable pluralism, such in the case of India. As *Gurpreet Mahajan* argues, “***the ability of India to survive as a multicultural democracy has most often been attributed to the- (1) the presence of a vibrant democracy and (2) tolerance of the dominant culture***”. The UNESCO Universal Declaration clears that cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature⁷.

The UNDP has been greatly involved in tracking and advancing human development in all its aspect 8. With the western countries India also developed a vision to lead the ideal of a Good Governance during the era of NDA (National Democratic Alliance)

government . If we see the overall picture of Indian democracy, we may find that Indian democracy has been successful despite a low-income economy, widespread poverty, illiteracy and immense ethnic diversity. In such a system, Political parties play an important role in the people's life in the country. Political parties works as an agency between the people and the state. They operate as the protector of democratic norms. A major transformation took place in the party system during 1999's. Political parties are considered as central to Indian political life. Their role in political mobilisation, governance, the formulation and implementation of economic and social policy, ethnic conflict, separatist movements, and the working of democracy has long been the focus of analysis in India⁹. Such the case of NDA government during 1998 to 2004, Indian democracy witnessed the transformation in social, political, economical and cultural spheres of the country⁸.

For example- the head of the NDA government, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, promised to bring the ideal of 'Good governance' during his election campaign. NDA was the first coalition government in the centre. As the need of coalition politics emerged in the unstable political situation of the country, after the Narshima Rao government (1991-1996).

It is a well-known fact that India is a society in which the state has to adjust various interests. It became absolutely essential that coalition politics take proper shape in a society like - India, which consists the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic groups 18. Nationalism and Constitutionalism of Indian democracy are not only elements of historical construction of such democracy, but both are active in present time¹⁰. Indian democracy accommodate multicultural cleavages, within one territorial boundry. However the cultural diversity exist in such boundary, is evolutionary by product of the subcontinental geography and history of there. The diverse cultural or social groups have their distinct identity, either based on culture, religion, region, race or ethnical inhabits. In is considered that the political parties either regional political party or national political party, seeks for it's support from such groups.

In the context of Indian democracy, we study about such tendency of a political party, under the context of "***Vote bank Politics***". Every political party plays "Vote bank Politics" with the purpose of it's support from a particular religious or ethnic group. For Example - Congress, the National political party, has "Muslim vote bank". So it

have to be motivated for such community's welfare in its particular constituency. It is said that - Coalition government may help such social or cultural groups to protect their rights and upliftment of their living standard. As in a coalition government, political parties from different level or regime, makes a coalition. As such political parties would be very conscious about every problem of such groups. Such political parties have their specific autonomy to present such problems in the centre or may seek solution for those. In the year of 1998, when NDA government came into office at the centre, the election manifesto of it propounded for ensuring the ideal of Good Governance in the Indian democracy, while having the soft or multicultural attitude toward the diversities of the country¹¹ For example-NDA government's manifesto for 1998-2004, argued for the accomodation of Muslims' interests, who are minority community in the country. There are evidence that- how NDA government made partial efforts for ensuring the Good Governance in the Multicultural society of India, after taking office in the centre during 1998 to 2004, as reflected in the manifestoes, policies and programmes of the NDA government in that period of time.

Literature Review -

Thomas Hobbes (1651) judged that - "Government provides us with protection from the harm that we would otherwise inflict on each other in our quest for gain and glory".

M. K. Gandhi (1909) has defined that - "The actual meaning of "Good Governance" is that- all people may live their life in their own way of living, while maintaining the diversity of class, caste, status, community etc., in unity in a good manner".

Ralph Linton (1955) has described that- "the culture of a society is the way of life of its' members, the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share and transmit from generation to generation".

According to *UNDP (United Nations Development Programme (1965)* Good Governance is "what makes institutions and rules more effective and efficient, in order to achieve equity, transparency, participation, responsiveness, accountability and the rule of law".

Otto Klineberg (1971) defines that- “culture defines the accepted ways of behaving, for members of a particular society”.

Kenneth Galbraith (1973) has defined that- “ the role of the Government, when one contemplates reform, is a dual one. The Government is a major part of the problem, it is also central to the remedy”

Stanford (1986) has defined that-“Multiculturalism is a body of thought in political philosophy about the proper way to respond to cultural and religious diversity.”

Barber Conable (1986) used the term “Good Governance” referring to it as a “public service that is efficient, a judicial system that is reliable and an administration that is accountable to its public”.

The World Bank Publication “**Sub- Saharan Africa, from crisis to sustainable growth**” (1989) defined “Governance as the exercise of political power to manage a nation’s affairs”.

T. H. Marshall (1991) has talked about that- “National identity or membership of a political community, consociationalism and recognition are the issue of concern of Multiculturalism”.

Lewis T. Preston (1991) has defined that “Good governance is an essential complement to sound economic policies. Efficient and accountable management by the public sector and a predictable and transparent policy framework are critical to the efficiency of markets and governments, and hence to economic development”.

World Bank Report (1992) defines Governance as “the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development

Jurgan Habermas (1994) has defined-“Multiculturalism suggest a way in which culture and autonomy are not only compatible but mutually entangled”.

Will Kymlicka (1995) talked about that- “Minority groups deserves unique rights from the government in legal manner”. Further he has defined National Minorities, as a group of societal culture and a smaller numbers of members than the majority.

Dunne and Bonazzi (1995) has said that- “Multiculturalism emphasizes the need to recognize communities, whose rights cannot be protected through the individually available human rights alone.

Jenkins (1996) has said that- “Social identity is demand to integrate into the local population or adopt dominant culture of the society. That is what, Multiculturalism is stand on. Social identity is termed as the ‘Recognition’ in the theory of Multiculturalism”.

Kenan Malik (1996) refers that-“the experience of living in a society, transformed by the mass immigration, a society that is less insular, more vibrant and more cosmopolitan, is positively called Multicultural”.

NDA government’s (1999) manifesto declaration consisted that- “the NDA is a representative of both national interests and regional aspirations, the NDA is the mirror image of our nation’s unity in multifaceted diversity, rich pluralism and federalism”.

Jacob T. Levy (2000) has defined- Multiculturalism as a liberal political theory, which is centrally concerned with preventing political violence, cruelty and institutional humiliation.

Vivek Chopra (2003) has classified the two forms of “Governance” as the (1) Good (2) Bad. He further defines that- If it would able to make good effect and result than it is a “Good Governance” and if it would make bad and wrong impact than, it is a “Bad Governance”.

Christophe Jaffrelot (2009) has defined that- “Indian Secularism as defined by the Constitution of India, is rooted in the Multicultural ideas as it denies all kind of discrimination related to the religious affiliations”.

Amartya Sen (2012) has defined “Multiculturalism is about recognizing, supporting, and helping to advance the many different ways in which citizens with different ethnicities, religions and background can interact with one another in their different capacities, including as citizens”.

Kuldeep Mathur (2013) defines that- “Governance is concerned with a network of relationship between three actors – the State, Market and Civil Society. It is an interactive process”.

Gurpreet Mahajan (2013) argues that-“the ability of India to survive as a multicultural democracy has most often been attributed as the presence of a vibrant democracy and tolerance of the dominant culture”.

Christophe Jaffrelot (2013) has explained that- “Vajpayee Government adopted two new concepts as, Gandhian Socialism and Positive Secularism, leaving its inherited ideology of strict Hindu Nationalist legacy”.

Dr. Dinesh Arora (2016) has defined that “Good Governance has become a perfect sound bite for the present age. All governments swear by it as their policies and programmes in their Particular regime consists the ideal of it. For the donor agencies and the civil society organisations, good governance has become a fashionable buzzword”.

Statement of the Problem -

In the contemporary era, Governance has become a significant issue of concern among the democratic republican countries of the world¹². As Governance is seen as far as in the developmental discourse and in it’s good form it is regarded as pre-requisite for a peaceful open world. Political regimes, social, political and economical system, and exercising authority or off-course the capacity of government to balance management in every aspect of a regime, are considered as the key-dimensions of a Good Governance. Such dimensions are considered as the crucial elements in formulating any developmental strategy. On the other side, Culture is seen as one of the source for the development of a society. In theory, democracy, representation, toleration and multiculturalism are seen as the components of political legitimacy. Task of cultural policy is therefore to create and support structures that promote mobilization of creativity of the people and thus ensure welfare, innovation and pluralism. Such relationships have been discussed at the level of UNESCO for the past forty years. In the changing global scenario, Multicultural aspect of a particular

country has become enough to know about the nature of political as well as social arena of that country. In the last decade of 20th century and first decade of 21st century, Good Governance and the Multicultural aspect of a country, has become the interesting areas to study for the scholars.

In context of India, the concept of Good Governance may find with historical evidents. But In the Last decade of 20th and the first decade of 21st century, when NDA government came into Power, such concept remain one of the concern to the government. Various Prograames and Policies by NDA government, were executed with the purpose to achieve the ideal of Good Governance in it's Multicultural attitude. However the Multicultural perspective of NDA government has been concerning issue for opposition government. The one of the problem of this research work is to study about the partial success of NDA government in achieving some ideals of Good Governance in multicultural context, through its' some of policies and programmes during 1998 to 2004.

Objectives of the Research study -

1. To study the concept of Good Governance and Multiculturalism, including its' feature, relevance and importance in contemporary scenario in India and outside of it.
2. To study about the multicultural aspect of Indian democracy with special reference of the Constitution of India.
3. To find out and explain the correlation between the concept of Good Governance and the theory of Multiculturalism.
4. To study the NDA government's policies and programmes to partially ensure Good Governance in Multicultural context in India during 1998-2004.

Research Questions -

1. Is there any correlation between the Good Governance and the theory of Multiculturalism in India and outside of it?
 2. In which context some of policies and programmes of NDA government partially ensured the ideal of Good Governance in India during 1998 to 2004?
-

Hypothesis-

1. The success of Multiculturalists philosophy seen in the term of Good Governance in India and outside of it.
2. NDA Government's partial success in achieving some of ideals of Good Governance in Multicultural context of India through some Policies and Programmes, during 1998 to 2004.

Research Methodology -

The Research method, for such research work would be explanatory in nature. Explanatory research is said to be based on the earlier interpreted data. The nature and strategy of the proposed study would be analytical, descriptive and historical with the help of qualitative technique. It will be supported by secondary sources such as, official government documents or reports, books, articles, journals, seminar papers, research papers, lectures released by different national or international organizational bodies, relevant to such research work.

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CHAPTER – 2

Good Governance : An Overview

The term “Good Governance” is a mixture of two words as (*Good + Governance*), which simply refers to a good or effective management of every sphere in a particular country and Public Institutions and Governmental organs of there¹. We should not understand that such concept belongs to the Political sphere only, but we may understand such concept’s relevance in other spheres of the country as in Social, Economical, Corporate, Cultural, International Relations also. The History is witness that it was the Economical factors, responsible for the origin of such concept, for example - in India, after *Economic Reforms of 1991* the concern of the government went towards the ideal of Good Governance in the democracy².

Now in the Contemporary era , Good Governance has become an prominent issue for the developed or developind republican democracies of the world. Every Governance iin the modern time, is concerned with making or executing various policies and programmes in their particular regime having the approach to achieve such ideal of Governance.

2.1 Government, Governance and Good Governance-

Whenever we talk about the Government and Governance, many of us consider both the concepts, similar to each-other. But the fact is that, among both concept, one is centered only on one aspect and the other one covers each aspect of an individual’s life. In brief we may say that- Government is the concept having concern on Political aspect of a particular country, whether Governance centres it’s concern on every aspect of that particular country, for Example- Social, Economical, Cultural as well as Political aspect ³.

However it has been issue of concern from the centuries to make Governance in a ideal form, as it would reflect the nature of a state authority or may carry the dignity, power or respect for it. In the modern time such ideal of a Governance is termed as the “Good Governance”.

Good Governance, from the 20th century, has emerged as the issue of concern and challenge to the most developed and developing countries of the world. For the

further discussion on Good Governance, it would better to go through the all definitions of such relevant concepts, as defined following-

A. Government -

A Government has been one of principle concern of political analysis through the ages, from Socrates, Plato to the modern time. Government in it's broadest sense, refers to any mechanism through which ordered rule is maintained, it's central features being the ability to make collective decisions and the capacity to enforce them.

“That Government is best, which governs not at all” (Henry David Thoreau, Civil Disobedience, 1849)

However the term is more commonly understood to describe the formal and institutional processes that operate at the National level to maintain public order and facilitate collective action. The core functions of government are thus to make law (Legislation), implement law (Execution) and interpret law (Adjudication). In some case, the political executive is referred to as the government (***Andrew Heywood, Introduction to Politics, 2013***)⁴.

“A Government consists of institutions, responsible for making collective decisions for society. In brief a government refers to the top political level within such Institutions” (***Hague & Harrop, 2013***)⁵. In popular definition, the Government refers just to the highest level of political appointments : to presidents, prime ministers and others at the apex of power. But in wider sense, Government consists of all organizations charged with reaching and executing decisions for the whole community. The Police, the Armed forces, Public Servants and Judges, all form the part of government, even though such officials are not usually appointed by political methods such as election. In this broader conception, Government is entire terrain of institutions, endowed with Public authority. In the Historical context, one of the most exponent of such concept, ***Thomas Hobbes (1651)***, judged that- ***“Government provides us with protection from the harm that we would otherwise inflict on each other in our quest for gain and glory”***. In Modern time, A Government offers the security and predictability to those, subject to it. ***John Kenneth Galbraith (1973)*** said

that- *“the role of the government, when one contemplates reform, is a dual one. The government is a major part of the problem, it is also central to the remedy”*.

B. Governance -

In Modern time of Globalization, Governance is taken as the concept, refers to the *“Management”* in all spheres of People’s life, either economic, political, social or cultural. Governance on the other hand refers to the interactive relation among the governmental organs and the people. However, Governance is not a new term to be used in modern time, but it is as old as human civilization itself. It is the term may be traced throughout the history of Nations or Greeks states and in the writings of scholars of the centuries. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Kautilya, Manu all have talked about the “Governance” and “ Good Governance” as may find- out from their works on States and Human- life. The main contentions of all such studies about the State, Public Administration and Governance, have been – *“How to bring more Welfare and Pleasure in Human - life”?* and thus in 1990’s Governance emerged in a new form of “Good Governance”.

The World Bank publication *‘Sub-Saharan Africa-from crisis to sustainable growth’, (1989)* defined governance as *“the exercise of political power to manage a nation’s affairs”*. Again in 1992 World Bank publication defines governance as *“the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development”*.

Governance is concerned with a network of relationship between three actors- the State, the Markets and Civil Society. It is an interactive process wherein the government may like to impose it’s will, but this acceptance will depend on the compliance and actions of others.

The term “Governance” became part of Public- discourse in India only after the economic- reforms were introduced in 1991. Today, it is a buzzword used freely in most publications emanating from donor agencies, academics and planning or policy documents in India. It is heavily relied upon to explain developmental outcomes. The concept of “Governance” indicates a shift away from well- established notions of the way in which the government sought to resolve social issues through a top- down

approach⁶. *Rhodes* points out that- ***“Policy networks are also strategic alliances forged around common agendas of mutual advantage through collective action”***.

Today we use the “Governance” not only in the Political sphere but in various sphere such as International, National, Local, Corporate etc. Generally, it refers to the workability of any public institution and organization. *Vivek Chopra (2003)* has classified the two forms of “Governance” as the (1) Good (2) Bad. He further defines that- If it would able to make good effect and result than it is a “Good Governance” and if it would make bad and wrong impact than, it is a “Bad Governance”. However, before the existence of Modern Democratic Form of government, contemporary scholars of the world and also of India, made their deep thoughts around the concept of Good Governance.

C. Good Governance –

The concept of Good-Governance has gained its prominence around the world as it has become synonymous to sustainable development management. The universally adopted features of Good Governance are considered as the exercise of legitimate political power; formulation and implementation of policies or programmes that are, equitable, transparent, non-discriminatory, socially sensitive, participatory and accountable to its people at large. The traditional view of Good Governance was that- a government must preserve the rule of law, engage in physical and social infrastructure development, provide enabling environment for growth and ensure civil and political freedoms. But today accountability, transparency, inclusiveness, equality, sustainable development, has become the key features of a Good Governance.

2.2 History of Good Governance -

The origin of such concept may find out in the *Quran, Bible, Geeta, Vedas, Mahabharata* and also in the creation of greatest thinkers of the century like – Arthshastra of Kautilya, Republic of Plato etc. Throughout the such writings, we may find out that State’s main concern has went around to carry the ideal of Good Governance. As *Kautilya* in his *“Arthshastra”* expected the best behaviour from the king. He said – ***“In the welfare of the people, king’s welfare lies, whatever pleases the king is not good but what makes people’s good, should be considered good”***. M.

K. Gandhi in his *“Hind Swaraj”(1909)* defined that – *“The actual meaning of “Good Governance” is that- all people may live their life in their own way of living, while maintaining the diversity of class, caste, status, community etc., in unity in a good manner”* ⁷. *Yajurveda’s* 20th chapter reveals that –*“The government or state has three organs as- ‘ Vidhya Sabha’, ‘Dharma Sabha’ and ‘ Rajya Sabha’ and all these organs are parts of ‘Good Governance’. Because these organs works for the welfare of the people and provide them justice in the state”*.

After the cold war the two decades of 1980s and 1990s, in which major changes happened in the world politics, world economy and world society, such as, glasnost and perestroika (*USSR*) on 11 March 1985, fall of the Berlin wall on 9th November 1989, Dissolve of Warsaw Pact on 1 July 1991, disintegration of *USSR* in December of 1991, *LPG* in India 1991, end of colonial system from all over the world completely, role of IT etc. all these changes created ground for general discussions on how a country ensure its development through Good Governance, especially in the Asia- African countries ⁸.

Now, after all the above explanations of the historical evedents behind the origin of the concept “Good Governance” we may find out the fact that – State’s origin basically lies in human welfare. And it is expected from the state that, it will use it’s authority for human- welfare, general- welfare and justice to all and will bring human-development to it’s highest point”. This good authority in modern term is called “Good Governance”.

In the World history we may find that at the time of it’s origin, UNO (United Nations Organization) supposed the Good Governance, in such system there would be democratic form of government, social- justice, welfarist programmes for children, aged, orphans and women, and protection of human rights etc. In World Bank’s annual report of 1998, the four key components of a Good Governance as - accountability, transparency, predictability and participation were defined for the first time ⁹.

According to UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) Good Governance is “what makes institutions and rules more effective and efficient, in order to achieve equity, transparency, participation, responsiveness, accountability and the rule of

law”. Today the term governance has come to occupy a central place in the development discourse.

2.3 The Concept of Good Governance -

Good Governance is a term having adjective, which contains various values and possibilities regarding the development of people’s life. In a democracy, Good Governance is seen as effective governance. It’s concern goes around the sustainable development in all sphere of the country and to make a government system, which is committed to ensure a better life to it’s people ¹⁰. **O. P. Minocha** (President of the World Bank) defined Good Governance as the governance which includes the-responsibility, freedom, legal-aid, impact and availability of information and cooperation between the society and government. It is considered in Political theory that a successful political legitimacy would include the-democratic form of government, representation of the people, toleration and multicultural attitude.

In the modern time Good Governance signifies basic parameters such as rule of law, participatory decision making structure, transparency, accountability, responsiveness, equity and inclusiveness. This necessitates a reorientation in the outlook of the civil services. When during 1990s World Bank raised the issue of governance, this immediately became an issue of concern in democratic countries of the world, India was one of them.

UNO (United States of Nations) is considered as the most responsible actor in search of factors of ensuring Good Governance. Like, in the era of globalization, technological – development, became one of feature of a Good Governance as it’s aim has been to provide benefit to the last man of a society.

Today Good Governance is moving towards environmental- protection or high human values. In the view of a common man, “Good Governance stands for providing good knowledge and health facilities, better solutions to water, electricity and food problems”. UNDP (United Nations Development Programmes) has been greatly involved in tracking and advancing human development in all it’s aspects of life.

Lewis T. Preston, has defined that “Good governance is an essential complement to sound economic policies. Efficient and accountable management by the public sector

and a predictable and transparent policy framework are critical to the efficiency of markets and governments, and hence to economic development”.

In general it is understood that, “*Good governance is about how governments and other social organizations interact, how they relate to citizens, and how decisions are taken in a complex world*”. Thus governance is a process whereby societies or organizations make their important decisions, determine whom they involve in the process and how they render account”.

2.4 The Salient Features of Good Governance –

Governance is the prime concern of a society since its origin, for the proper functioning of a society and for the achievement of the higher human goals. Such as - to maintain justice, order and equality in society, protection of life and liberty, opportunity, peace and prosperity and human moral development. But it was only after the end of the World War II that - the questions of more participation of non-state actors and civil society in decision making and policy formulation, the accountability of the government (policy makers) towards people, and also to filling the gap between the ‘*Knowledge and Practice*’ arose and finally it led to the concept of Good Governance, not only in the western world (USA and Europe) but also in the newly independent third world countries (developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The *United Nations Economic & Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP)*, sharpened the definition and identified eight parameters to define Good Governance. Probably it marks a shift from Governance to Good Governance. These are as following-

1. Participation
 2. Rule of Law
 3. Transparency
 4. Responsiveness
 5. Consensus Oriented
 6. Equity and Inclusiveness
 7. Effectiveness and Efficiency
-

8. Accountability



Feagure – featurers of a Good Governance

Participation- All men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as on the capacity to participate constructively.

Rule of Law - Good Governance requires fair Legal frameworks that are enforced impartially. It also requires the full protection of Human rights, particularly of Minorities. Impartial enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible Police force.

Transparency - Transparency is widely recognised as a core principle of Good Governance. In simple term transparency means sharing information and acting in an open manner. It is considered as the essential element of a governance for controlling corruption in public life. A Good Governance provides free access to information to promote transparency. Such information must be timely, relevant, accurate and

complete which would be understandable. Transparency means that decision taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations. It also means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those, who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement. This concept is built on the free flow of information.

Responsiveness - Administrative responsiveness is one of the requirement for ensuring Good Governance. Public Institutions and processes should serve all stakeholders within a reasonable time period.

Consensus Oriented - Good Governance requires mediation of the different interests in society to reach a broad consensus in society on what is in the best interest of the whole community and how this can be achieved. It also requires a broad and long-term perspective on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development. This can only result from an understanding of the historical, cultural and social contexts of a given society or community. Good governance mediate differing interests in order to reach broad consensus on the best interests of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures.

Equity and Inclusiveness - A society's well being depends on ensuring that all its' members feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society. This requires all groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, have opportunities to improve or maintain their well being. All men and women should have equal opportunity to maintain or improve their well-being. Equity unlike equality does not talk about the equal opportunity to all, whether it is concerned with the opportunity according to one's need, this is said inclusiveness. That's why, it is considered as one of the feature of Good Governance.

Effectiveness and Efficiency - Good Governance means that processes and institutions produce result that meet the needs of society, while making the best use of resources at their disposal. The concept of Efficiency in the context of Good Governance also covers the sustainable use of Natural resources and the protection of the environment. In simple we may say that such concept is all about the Processes that institutions should produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.

Accountability - Decision- makers in government, the private sector and civil-society organizations should be accountable to the public as well as to institutional stakeholders. This accountability differs depending on the organization and whether the decision is internal or external to an organization. But the developing public space in India should encourage concerned citizens to scrutinize all the major new promises, policy processes, implementation effects, and issues of suffering and redress of especially poor people. Government is concerned with the role of civic organizations in scrutinizing the ways of authorities in order to find proper measures of accountability to satisfy citizens.

Such features of Good Governance, may be responsible for the sustainable development or inclusive growth of any democracy in the world¹¹.

2.5 Good Governance In India -

Good Governance has been a challenge before the governments of India, in both public and private sectors. Good Governance is considered as the ideal in a democracy, like India. And to ensure this ideal, it is expected from the government to act with honesty to the rights of the people.

The Indian literature provides the evidents, enough to having the concern of ensuring the Good Governance in Indian Civilization. Vedas, Geeta, Mahabhartar and of course the writings of Kautilya, Manu and so on, have defined about a governance which would ensure for the welfare of the state and its people. This governance is termed as the Good Governance, by the scholars of social science.

In the context of India we may find that the idea of good governance is as old as Indian civilization. The rulers were bound by Dharma, popularly called **-Raj Dharma**, which precisely meant for ensuring good governance to the people. It means those who are involved in Governance must adhere to righteousness and do justice to the public, it has inseparable link to social welfare and inclusive development.

Raj Dharma, righteous duty of the king was the code of conduct or the rule of law that was superior to the will of the ruler and governed all his actions. As the description of Good Governance found in ancient Indian scriptures, such in the Jataka-tales, Shanti-Parva and Anushasanparva of Mahabhartar, Shukracharya's Nitisar, Panini's

Astadhyayi and especially in Kautilya's Arthashastra. *Arthashastra* while highlighting the principle of Good Governance declares -“In the happiness of his people lies king's happiness, in their welfare his welfare, whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his people he shall consider as good”.

M. K. Gandhi, the father of the Nation, had a vision for Free India and to ensure the Nation a people-friendly Governance – the '**Ramrajya**'. Gandhi's such concept of the 'Ramrajya' was seen as his dream for the 'Good governance' in India.

In the modern time Good Governance emerged as the concept of concern after the Economical Reforms of 1991, in India. The '**States, Territories Secretariat Conference**' of 1996 and '**All India's Chief Ministers Conference**' of 1997, both revealed that – “**Good Governance is must for the country**”.

During the NDA government's office in 1998- 2004, various programmes and policies were executed in order to ensure the ideal of Good Governance in India. Then Vajpayee government's agenda for the elections of 2004, became the “**An agenda for Development, Good Governance, Peace and Harmony**”.

Today, many governmental schemes and programmes are working in order to ensure Good Governance in the country like, E-Governance, E- Chopal, Information and Help Centres, Digital India, E- Panchayat, Indian Health Mission etc¹². In present time Good Governance is considered as the second name of the sustainable development in the country. On 25th december, 2015, on the birthday of Mr. Atal Bihari VaJpayee, the former prime minister of India, the first **Good Governance day** was celebrated. Such step was taken because the NDA government, headed by Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee was the first government in centre to have the vision to ensure the Ideal of Good Governance in the country, during it's office term from 1998 to 2004.

2.6 Good Governance and Inclusive Growth: the case of India-

In the modern time, the Good Governance emerged as the concept of concern for the governments, after the Economical reforms of 1991 in India. As then Good Governance was seen must for the sustainable development or overall development of

the country. For example in the “States, Territories Secretariat Conference” (1996) and “All India’s Chief Ministers Conference” (1997), both revealed that- “Good Governance is must for the country”. Participation of all sections of the society in the political, social or economical spheres, Rule of Law, Transparency in Governmental actions, sense of Responsiveness of the government, Governmental consensus towards its’ people, Equity, Inclusiveness for the overall development, Effectiveness and Efficiency in governmental decision making process, or Accountability of the Government etc. are the main features of a Good Governance. In the large populous democracy, like India to fulfill such criteria to ensure a Good Governance, has been not a easy task for the governments. But from time to time through various policies and programmes in the country, governments have been concerned to achieve such ideal of Governance.

However there have been many challenges or issues before the governments in order to ensure Good Governance in the country like- social justice, poverty, employment, empowerment, corruption, soaring prices, illiteracy, health and medical facilities and so on. Such issues are capable to make parameters of the inclusive growth of the country. As thee inclusive growth of any country, shows the graph of economical development of that particular country.

In simple definition, Inclusive growth means economic growth that creates employment opportunities and helps in reducing poverty. It means having access to essential services in health and education by the poor. It includes providing equality of opportunity, empowering people through education and skill development. It also encompasses a growth process that is environment friendly growth, aims for good governance and a helps in creation of a gender sensitive society. Special efforts to increase employment opportunities are essential as it is a necessary condition for bringing about an improvement in the standard of living of the people. UNDP has described inclusive growth as “the process and the outcome where all groups of people have participated in growth and have benefited equitably from it”. This inferred that inclusive growth should include all sections as recipients as well as partners in growth and that inclusion of the excluded should be embodied in the growth process. According to *Basely (2007)*, “*inclusive growth is the growth that has a high elasticity of poverty reduction*”. *Commission on Growth and*

Development (2008), found in report that inclusiveness, a concept that incorporates equity, equality of opportunity, and protection in market and employment transitions is an essential element of any successful growth strategy.

For example - The agenda for inclusive growth, envisaged in the *Eleventh five year Plan* document which intended to achieve not only faster growth but a growth process, which would ensure broad-based improvement in the quality of life of the people, especially the poor, SCs/STs, other backward castes (OBCs), minorities and women and which seeks to provide equality of opportunity to all. Bringing these excluded sections of the society into the mainstream of the society so that they are able to reap the benefits of faster economic growth is the kind of 'inclusion' which is being envisioned in the concept of inclusive growth.

2.7 The Challenges of Good Governance in Indian democracy -

India is a country with "*Unity in Diversity*" in a sense that it is large enough in size with different geographical diversity and population and has a multicultural, multilingual, multiregional society and also having different religions, sects, ideologies and a federal parliamentary "sovereign socialist secular democratic republic" with multiparty system and having constitutional supremacy and judicial review to ensure and protect the fundamental rights of the people¹³. In such diverse democracy, challenges to ensuring Good Governance may be identified as defined following -

- A. Social Justice
 - B. Poverty
 - C. Empowerment
 - D. Employment
 - E. Soaring Prices
 - F. Red-tapism
 - G. Criminalization of Politics
 - H. Corruption
 - I. Administrative Responsiveness, Accountability and Transparency
 - J. Partisan Politics
 - K. Centre –State Conflicts
-

Beside, these there also may find some challenges to achieve the ideal of Good Governance or inclusive growth in India, which has been led dissatisfaction and disillusionment in the minds of the people, towards their Government. As following are -

- A. Degeneration of values in society
- B. Participation of the People in Political affairs
- C. Political Awareness of the People
- D. Responsiveness of the People on Governmental acts
- E. Sense of Self- fulfillment
- F. Illiteracy
- G. Health & Medical facilities
- H. Labour unrest
- I. Communal tension

As defined in the chapter, we may assume that- Good Governance is often spoken about as a panacea for all ills plaguing society and government. But there are few who can actually define Good Governance. Knowing the parameters, would facilitate comparison and understanding 6. The **Eleventh Five Year Plan**, outlined six characteristics of Good Governance in Indian democracy, as following are

1. Free, Fair and timely Elections in all spheres of Political Authority.
 2. Transparency and Accountability of all Institutions of the state to it's citizens.
 3. Efficient and Effective delivery of Socio-Economic Public services.
 4. Effective devolution of Authority, Resources and Capabilities to PRIs and Municipalities.
 5. Rule of Law, where legal rights are clear and understood, and legal compliance and enforcements of those rights is time-bound and swift.
 6. Needs and Interests of hither to Excluded sections of society are privileged and included, with dignity.
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CHAPTER - 3

Multicultural Context : A Theoretical Perspective

Each society imparts its norms and values to its people, which are called as the 'culture' of any society. Culture of a society or nation is determined by its history, economy, religion and folkways. In a nation, the existence of diverse cultures or the evolution of cultural diversity within a jurisdiction refers as 'multiculturalism'. In the theoretical framework, Multiculturalism refers to the phenomena of the multiple groups of cultures, existing within one society. Largely due to the arrival of immigrant communities or the acceptance and advocacy of this phenomena is done by a Multicultural society. Advocates of the Multiculturalism claims that "different traditions and cultures can enrich a society"¹. However, such concept also has its critics to the point, where the term 'Multiculturalism' may well be used more by critics than by supporters. Multicultural society is - where the absence of a single enforced culture exist and diversity in particular identity is actively encouraged by the government. Kenan Malik refers that "the experience of living in a society, transformed by the mass immigration, a society that is less insular, more vibrant and more cosmopolitan, is positively called multicultural".

Most democratic states in modern time are multicultural in nature. Multiculturalism advocates the need for recognising cultural diversity and accordingly granting the rights to cultural minorities. Multiculturalism as a theory includes the preservation of cultural diversity in the given geographical coverage. Thus, living with differences has become the new age 'Mantra' as cultural differences are considered as the natural phenomena and accepted as the ideal by most democratic nations of the world in present time². Multiculturalism generally aware with the demand of respect for all cultural traditions. Multiculturalism hikes up cultural membership to the status of primary good. Cultural diversity has been present in societies for a long time 6. Defining the meaning of 'Culture', **Ralph Linton** has described that **"the culture of a society is the way of life of its members, the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share and transmit from generation to generation"**.

Otto Klineberg (1971) further has defined that “**culture defines the accepted ways of behaving, for members of a particular society**”. Sociologist **Jenkins (1996)** has presented culture and sub –cultures as an important source of social identity, he said that these are for our understanding of what we are and what other people are. He further explained that to have special social identity there is demand of effort to integrate into the local population or adopt dominated culture of that society. This is what, Multiculturalism is stand on. Social identity is termed as the ‘Recognition’ in the theory of Multiculturalism.

Recognition has been defined as “a demand for integrating a specific law or cultural practice, into the larger society. If Individuals want to integrate a specific law, they can ask for the law to become part of the major legal system”.

3.1 Historical Perspective on Multiculturalism : In theoretical context

After the Second world War, in the study of Democracy, State, Citizenship, Equity, Rights the new concepts emerged, named as-Unfavourable Inclusion or Ethno-Cultural Nationalism and Hyper- mobile Planet or Immigration etc. Such new concepts were centred on the management of diversities in a society. However the term “Multiculturalism” was first used in Canada in 1960s, as a result, in particular, of growing demands amongst the French speaking community in Quebec, who rejected the Anglophone domination of the Canadian state. By the 1970s, Multiculturalism had become official government policy (**Tierney, 2007**). However Multiculturalism was initially aligned with Communitarianism, but was later adopted by liberals. As a theory Multiculturalism is defended as one means of accommodating diversity.

In ancient Greece, there were various small regions with different customs, traditions, dialects and identities, for example – those from Aetolia, Locris, Doris and other religious groups. On the other side in the Ottoman empire, Muslims were the majority, but there were also Christians, Jews, Pagan Arabs and other religious groups and the tolerance among them was the sign of multicultural view of the chair. Beside the history, when we talk about Multicultural context of societies in 21st century, societies remains culturally diverse. As most of the world countries having a mixture of individuals from different races, linguistic background, religious affiliations and so

forth. Contemporary theorists named this phenomena of the coexistence of different cultures in the same geographical space as -‘Multiculturalism’.

The notion of Multicultural society developed in the 20th century. It was bolstered by continuous waves of immigration to the United States, in early 20th century and particularly in Europe, by uncomfortable post World War - second’s social legacy of toxic ethno nationalism. **T.H. Marshall** has talked about that- “National Identity or Membership of a Political community, consociationalism and recognition are the issue of concern of Multiculturalism”.

During the Economic - boom years of the 1950’s - 1960’s, European governments opened their door for cheap labour, from neighbouring regions of Northern Africa and Turkey. And like this common action did by the Canada, UK (United Kingdom) and Australia, from their colonies. The term “Multiculturalism” was firstly used in 1965 in Canada, to describe the distinct approach to take in of cultural diversity .

Jurgen Habermas (1994) has defined –“Multiculturalism suggest a way in which culture and autonomy are not only compatible but mutually entangled”. On such explanation, further to explain Multiculturalism in a broader way, we can put - up two questions as following-

1. How cultural - unity can be reconcile with civic - unity?

The answer of such question may explain that ‘the key theme of Multiculturalism is “Diversity within Unity”. For example, French speaking people in Canada, Scottish in U.S.A., Basque group in Spain, Maoriz in New -Zealand.

“**Black Conciousness Movement**”(1960 -1970) in U.S.A.,which was influenced by **Marcus Gorges** and “**Back to Afica Movement**”(1960 -1970), were wittness to the growing political assertiveness, among minority groups,which sometime expressed through the ‘**Ethino Cultural Nationalism**’. The common theme of such movements was desired to challenge Economic and Social marginalization and sometime racial oppression or migration and immigration are, related issues of it.

2. How to maintain diversity within the Union?

Language, Race, Culture, Ethnicity are the basis of diversity in any society. Multiculturalism basically focuses on to maintain equality or unity among these aspects, responsible for diversity in a society or country.

3.2 Multiculturalism As a Theory -

The term “Multiculturalism” has gained wide currency in both academic and popular debates. It is not restricted subject to political theory only, but in other social sciences and also in natural sciences. The theory of Multiculturalism implies a diversity of cultures, within a territory. It is all about to determine the political obligation on claims, emerging from each person’s culture in a particular society. As a theory Multiculturalism has five concepts of Culture as outlined as following

1. Semoitic
2. Normative
3. Societal
4. Economic Rational
5. Anti Essentialist Cosmopolitanism

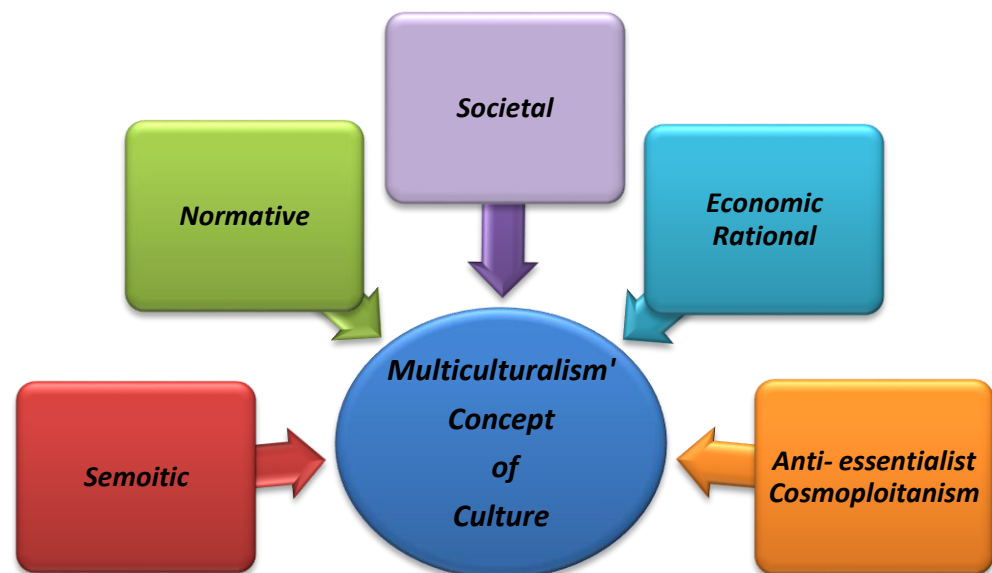


Figure- Multiculturalism’s Concept of Culture

1. Semiotic Concept of Culture –

Bhikhu Parekh (2005) has talked about the Semiotic concept of Culture. He said that **“Human life is organised by a historically created system of meaning and significance and in turn this is what, we call Culture”**. The semiotic conception of culture was very popular in the 1960s, and has its roots in classic social anthropology. Social Anthropologists like Margaret Mead, Levi-Straus and Malinowski considered culture as a set of social systems, symbols, representations and practices of signification held by a certain group. Thus, from this perspective, a culture is defined as a system of ideals or structures of symbolic meaning.

Charles Taylor (1994) also one of the most philosopher of this view of culture, who contends that human beings are self- interpreting animals, or human beings’ identities depend on the way, in which each individual sees them self. These self-understandings necessarily have to have meaning. Hence, the thesis that human beings are self-interpreting animals presupposes that human existence is constituted by meaning. In turn, this implies that human beings are also language animals and language is the all modes of expressions like - music, speaking, art and so on. To be language animals means that individuals are capable of creating value and meaning, and in Taylor’s view, these meanings have their origins in each individual’s cultural community. That is to say, language is, at least primarily, a result of the interaction of individuals with their own cultural community. More precisely, linguistic meanings and self-interpretations have their origins in individuals’ linguistic communities. Thus, culture is a system of symbolic meaning”.

In last, it can be argued that the study of culture from the semiotic perspective is the analysis or elucidation of meaning. As in hermeneutics, where the reader has to interpret the meaning of a text, in culture one has to interpret its internal logic (*Festenstein, 2005*). An example of interpreting the internal logic of a culture could be given by the story told by *Quine (1960)* regarding the native who says ‘Gavagai!’ whenever he sees a rabbit. Quine (1960) suggests that there may be multiple meanings associated with this actions; it may mean ‘rabbit’, ‘food’, ‘an undetached rabbit-part’, ‘there will be a storm tonight’ (if the native is superstitious) and so forth. The

symbolism, sign process or system of meaning underlying this action is what, according to the point of view of semiotics, culture is, and this is what should be studied. In short, it is the study of culture's autonomous logic.

2. Normative concept of Culture-

Jurgen Habermas (1994) has talked about the Normative concept of Culture. He argues that-“From a Normative point of view, the integrity of the Individual legal person cannot be guaranteed without protecting the intersubjectivity shared experiences and life contexts in which the person has been socialized and has formed his or her identity. The identity of Individual is interwoven with collective identities and can be stabilized only in a cultural network that cannot be appropriate as private property any more than the mother tongue itself can be”.

The normative conception of culture is usually adopted by communitarians. From this point of view, culture is important because it is what provides beliefs, norms and moral reasons, prompt individuals to act or provide moral commitments to them. And these moral commitments makes the practical identity of them. In other words, according to the normative conception of culture, the term ‘culture’ refers to a group of norms and beliefs that are distinctive and which constitute the practical identity of a group of individuals, thereby, people's values and commitments result, in part, from culture (**Festenstein, 2005**). For example as the Christian, Muslim and Christian put up with the fact to follow the moral teachings of the Quran and Bible respectively. Thus it may be concluded that culture is norm providing.

Shachar (2001) is one of the philosophers who endorses this conception of culture. According to her, culture is a world view, both comprehensive and distinguishable, whereby community law is able to be created. To minority groups that have a culture, Shachar attaches the label ‘**nomoi communities**’. According to her, this term can apply to religious, ethnic, racial, tribal and national groups, for all these groups exhibit the normative dimension required to be classified as a ‘nomoi community’³.

The normative conception of culture is usually associated with the semiotic, in the sense that one does not contradict the other; in fact, they may be complementary. For instance, Taylor endorses both perspectives of culture. However, this is not necessary because the system of meaning and significance does not need to provide moral

reasons in order to motivate action. From the semiotic perspective, what someone is is not necessarily his or her moral commitments; it can be anything within the system. That is, the system of meaning may be based on anything while, according to the normative conception of culture, culture is strong source of one's moral commitments.

3. The Societal concept of Culture-

The societal concept of culture mainly used by the Canadian philosopher Will Kymlicka. In order to understand this concept, it is must to know about the Kymlicka's dual typology of the sources of diversity that exist in contemporary societies as the - Polyethnic Minorities and National Minorities.

Polyethnic Minorities -

Will Kymlicka (2001) has defined this kind of diversity or minority in term of resulting from immigration. Polyethnic minorities refer to what is commonly defined as ethnic groups. According to him, polyethnic groups are usually not territorially concentrated rather they are dispersed around the country to which they migrated. Furthermore, Kymlicka affirms that they do not usually want to be segregated from the culture of the majority; rather they want to integrate with it, demanding policies that give them equal citizenship. For instance, these groups demand language rights, voting rights, places in parliament and so forth. However, even though this demand for equal citizenship is usually what polyethnic groups aspire to, this is not always the case. Kymlicka contends that polyethnic groups can be sub-divided into liberal and illiberal groups. Liberal polyethnic groups have aspirations that do not go against liberal values, usually aspiring to be integrated into society, demanding policies for equal citizenship. As an example, Kymlicka usually prefers the Latin-American immigrants living in the United States, who, in broad terms, make demands for language rights, such as an education curriculum in Spanish.

On the other hand, for Kymlicka, illiberal polyethnic groups are those where the culture and the demands to the state are not in accordance with liberal values. For example, some religious minority ethnic groups advocate the death penalty for gays within their groups, others have gendered and discriminatory norms in relation to divorce and marriage. Some of these groups have demands that are more similar to

the ones of national minorities but Kymlicka contends that these cases are the exception, not the rule. Polyethnic groups are not, in Kymlicka's view, only nations are a culture.

National Minorities -

Kymlicka uses the term nation interchangeably with the terms culture, people and societal culture, for example, **“I am using ‘a culture’ as synonymous with ‘a nation’ or ‘a people’- that is, as an intergenerational community, more or less institutionally complete, occupying a given territory or homeland, sharing a distinct language and history”**.

According to Kymlicka, National minorities are a group in a society with a societal culture and a smaller number of members than the majority. For Kymlicka a societal culture is a kind of social setting that provides individuals the meaningful ways of life, where they can make their own choices, both in the public and private sphere.

National Minority and Minority of Societal Cultures

Will Kymlicka has distinguished that National minorities or minority of Societal cultures usually share a number of characteristics, such as following-

- First, National minorities have settled in the country long ago. For example, most of the Amish communities in Pennsylvania settled there in the eighteenth century, as a result of religious persecution in Europe. Aborigines in Australia and many Native American groups in the USA have lived in that territory for a long period.
 - Second, from Kymlicka's point of view, these groups are often territorially concentrated; for example, Quebec and Catalonia are situated in specific geographic areas of Canada and Spain, respectively. In India, Sikhs are geographically concentrated mostly in the Punjab region.
 - Third, according to Kymlicka, the institutions and practices of these groups provide a full range of human activities; this means that nations are embodied in common economic, political and educational institutions. These institutions are not based only on shared meanings, memories and values but include common practices and procedures. Put differently, nations are institutionally complete in the sense that they encompass a wide institutional elaboration that encompasses a
-

variety of areas of life, they have their own governments, laws, schools and so forth.

- Fourth, the national minorities usually aspire to either total or partial segregation from the larger society. That is, these groups wish to be a totally or partially separate society, with a different state, governed by their own laws and institutions, for example in India, Muslim have their own personal laws or *waqf board*.

Hence, National minorities in Kymlicka's view, do not want to integrate in the larger society; rather they wish to be able to have a certain degree of autonomy. For example, many Quebecois want to be able to have their own government institutions, run in the way they wish, like schools run in French. Often, the Amish want to be left alone, without intervention from the state in their internal affairs. More precisely, one of the demands of some Amish communities is that they are exempt from the basic educational requirements that other citizens of the USA have to abide by, namely, the minimum literacy requirements. This, as will be explained later on, relates to other set of normative questions about what groups can and cannot impose to their members. In order to address this problem, Kymlicka draws a distinction between practices that can be imposed (external protections) and practices that cannot be imposed (internal restrictions).

From Kymlicka's point of view, national minorities can further be sub-divided into liberal and illiberal minorities. The former are those whose demands are compatible with liberal values, that is, their demands do not violate individuals' rights and liberties. Under the concept of liberal national minorities are examples like Quebecois and Catalonians; these national minorities usually demand the right to use a different language in schools and their other institutions, and this does not necessarily violate any liberal value. The concept of illiberal national minorities refers to groups that wish to endorse illiberal values, like the death penalty for gays and lesbians.

Will Kymlicka said that in a multicultural rights that protects the individual's interests in a more equal manner by guaranting some privileges or preventing discriminations. The notion of multicultural society developed in the 20th century. It was bolstered by the continuous waves of immigration to the United States in early 20th century and particularly in Europe, by uncomfortable post World War Second, social legacy of toxis ethno - nationalism. Will Kymlicka has pointed out the Latin- American

immigrants, living in the USA, demanded for the language - rights, such as an education curriculum in Spanish⁴.

4. Economic-rational Concept of Culture-

Rational choice is a theory that aims to explain and predict social behavior. From the viewpoint of rational choice, individuals act self-interestedly when they take into consideration their preferences and the information available. Self-interest means that individuals tend to maximize what is valuable for them. In other words, human behavior is goal-oriented. It is goal oriented by its preferences, that is, individuals act according to their preferences. For instance, if an individual prefers a hot chocolate to a vanilla milkshake or a strawberry milkshake and all the options are available, he will choose hot chocolate (other things being equal).

According to the rational choice view, the information available strongly affects behavior. By way of illustration, if an individual does not know that hot chocolate is available he will not choose it. Thus individuals act according to their self-interest, information and preferences. If a certain person's preference is to buy the tastiest hot chocolate and this person has the information that the tastiest hot chocolate is sold in a particular store, then this person will act in order to achieve her/his own interest, that is, by going to that store and purchasing it there. Obviously, these actions are limited by the options available and by the actions of others. Therefore, if there is no hot chocolate on the market, this person will not be able to buy it—the option is not available because the suppliers decided not to offer hot chocolate. In this sense, an individual's are dependent on their circumstances and on the actions of others.

With these premises in mind, a possible definition of culture from a rational choice perspective is provided by **Laitin (2007)**, whereby “culture is an equilibrium in a well-defined set of circumstances in which members of a group sharing in common descent, symbolic practices and/or high levels of interaction—and thereby becoming a cultural group - are able to condition their behavior on common knowledge beliefs about the behavior of all members of the group”.

5. Anti-essentialist concept of Culture-

In general terms, from an essentialist point of view, there is a distinction between the essential and accidental properties that the different kinds of objects and subjects may have. Accidental properties are properties that are not necessarily present in all members of a certain group of objects or subjects. Essential properties are those that define the objects or subjects, that is, objects or subjects necessarily need to have these properties in order to be members of a certain group. Furthermore, members of other groups do not have this property or set of properties; otherwise they too would belong to this group. By way of illustration, a bookshelf in order to be a bookshelf has to necessarily be constructed in a way that makes it possible to hold books—this is its essential property. The fact that a specific bookshelf is brown, black or blue is an accidental property—it does not change what the object is and it is indifferent to its definition. These properties are necessary and sufficient not only to include a certain object or subject in the group but also to exclude any object or subject which does not share these properties. Bearing this in mind, it can be concluded that essences are given by differences and similarities; for what defines a subject is what it has in common with the subjects of the same group, which in turn is a characteristic that other groups do not have.

For example, for an essentialist, to classify Muslims as Muslims means to identify a certain characteristic, like shared practices and beliefs, common to all of the individuals who identify as Muslims. Thus, essentialism applied to culture would be that a certain culture means having a certain characteristic or set of characteristics that all members share, and which no one outside the group does. Hence, from this point of view, the identity of the group is constituted by the set of properties or attributes which are essential to this particular group (**Young, 2000**).

This essentialist perspective of culture has however been widely contested. The general argument is that essentialism stereotypes and makes abusive generalizations of what groups are. Anti-essentialists contend that there are too many exceptions to make essentialist claims. Therefore, there are a considerable number of counter-examples to this generalization (**Phillips, 2007**) As a consequence, some anti-essentialists usually argue that these categories should be substituted by thinner

categories. Thus, rather than speaking about women, one should speak about black women, or lesbian Muslim women.

Multiculturalism as a liberal political theory -

Jacob T. Levy (2000) has defined 'Multiculturalism' as a liberal political theory, which is centrally concerned with preventing political violence, cruelty, and institutional humiliation. In his book *"The Multiculturalism of Fear"*(2000) has exposed eight categories of difference sensitive policies in a multicultural society as following -

1. Exemption
2. Assistance
3. Symbolic Claims
4. Recognition/ Enforcement
5. Special Representation
6. Self government
7. External Rules
8. Internal Rules

It is commonly observed by the scholars of Multiculturalism that - to ask Immigrants to accept values of their host society may be considered as act of cultural aggression. There should be Multi - cultures' coexistence with the Conventional wisdom to recognition of them, by the host society¹.

James Gilligan (2001) has belief that "differences in Homocide rates are related to the amount of inequality in the society"as homocide is the psychological factor or long time depression, depression of non existence of small cultural groups in the majority population.

The essence of a Multicultural society is it's emphasis on differences rather commonality the very antithesis of assimilation. It might have been a noble idea to provide a space and time for 'Newcomers' to adjust and to regain their self - esteem and eventually join the mainstream. Rajeev Bhargava has defined that "Multiculturalism as fact and value, challenges the fact and value of a single cultural society".

By treating unequal equally, marginalised groups are pushed aside by the dominant group. This encourages the assimilation of marginalised groups into the culture of the dominant group. Such treatment of minority communities and marginalised groups, pushed them further in the condition of deprivation and discrimination.

Given these sorts of concern like, deprivation and discrimination and off - course the socio - economic inequalities of the minority communities or marginalised groups, Multiculturalism as a policy has been adopted by modern democratic countries of the world to ameliorate their conditions.

3.3 Multiculturalism as a Policy -

Multiculturalism as a policy addresses various issue regarding the cultural identity, pluralism, minority rights in public space, individual and group rights and recognition of the specified groups, who have ethnical differences in the majority.

The issue of multiculturalism has been broadly discussed on both scientific and public level. During some past decades a multiculturalist perspective has been adopted by public policy framework in order to deal with cultural diversity. The idea of multicultural society has its roots in nation-states, throughout their histories, when confronted with international migration such as in Canada USA and Australia⁵.

Multicultural ideologies as policies, vary widely extended from the advocacy of equal respect to the various cultures in a society. It is a policy of promoting the maintenance of cultural diversity, and policy in which people of various ethnic or religious groups are addressed by the authorities as defined by the group, they belongs to.

Multiculturalism in political philosophy has been defined in two different ways as –

- (1) It is sometime used as descriptive concept for a society and
- (2) It is defined as a policy, responding to cultural diversity.

That refers to a kind of policy, that aims at protecting the cultural diversity and it's existence. Multiculturalism is sometime has defined as the practice of giving equal attention to various diverse backgrounds in a particular setting, especially to the minority rights. A Multicultural society would include the groups as following-

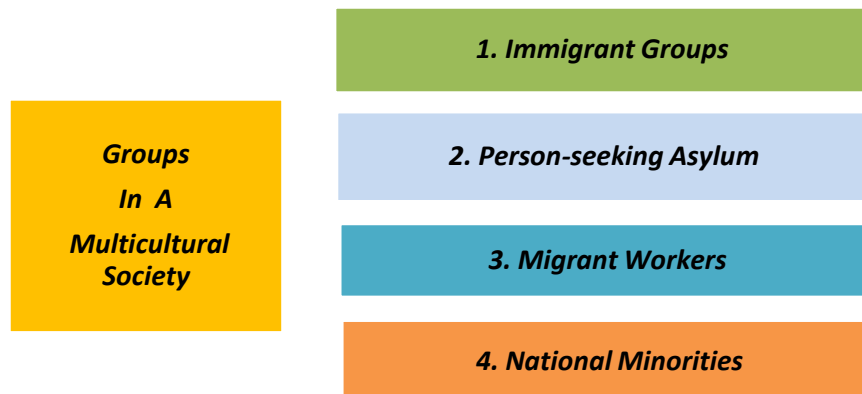


Figure - Groups in a Multicultural Society

1. Immigrant Groups -

An immigrant is a person who migrates to another country usually for permanent residence. In Immigrant groups, permanent settlers are included, who possess their own language and culture, which are distinct from the host society. Such category of groups includes the descendents of immigrants, who continue to identify with their ancestral culture.

2. Persons - seeking Asylum -

In this groups, Refugees and Residents with a temporary stay - permit, are included. Asylum is the protection granted to foreign Nationals already living in a country, who are called as “refugee”. The United Nations 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocols defines a refugee as a person who is unable or unwilling to return to his or her home country, and cannot obtain protection in that country, due to past persecution or a well-founded fear of being persecuted on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.

3. Migrant - workers -

In this category, immigrant workers and their dependents are included. They are immigrants, who do not intend to stay permanently and has legal status of temporary residents, depending upon the policies of their country of residence and their own wishes. Migrant workers are migrated persons outside of their country, in order to pursue work such as seasonal work. They usually do not intend to stay permanently in the country or region they work in.

4. National Minorities -

These are the long established groups with a long standing and distinct ethnic, linguistic or cultural identity, distinct from that of majority. They may use the main language of the country or have substantially adopted that language. National Minorities may share their language or cultural habits with the majority. Will Kymlicka has defined National Minorities as a group of Societal culture and a smaller number of members than the Majority. In the modern democracies of the world, National Minorities have their specific rights, through the constitutional provisions of that particular country, where they are residing. Kymlicka has characterised National Minorities as following -

1. National Minorities have settlement in a country for a long ago.
2. Such Minorities are often territorially concentrated. For exp. - Sikhs in Punjab, Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir.
3. The social institutions and ethnical practices of them, provide a full range of human activities.
4. National Minorities has in common is that, they usually aspire to either total or partial segregation from the larger society.
5. They may wish to be a partially separated society, with their own laws and institutions.
6. They do not want to integrate in the larger society rather they wish to be able to have a certain degree of autonomy.

Will Kymlicka also has separately defined some of characteristics of National Minorities as are following -

1. Present at Founding of the Country
-

2. Having Prior History of Self Government
3. Common Culture
4. Common Language
5. Governing selves through Institutions

Kymlicka argues that “Minority groups deserves unique rights from the government in legal manner. Such groups have the right to have recognition for their role in the History, Social, Economical and Political spheres of the country. Will Kymlicka like Nancy Fraser and Amartya Sen, said that-‘*Bargaining-capability of the Favourables*’ remains the issue of concern in a Multicultural society.

Multiculturalism basically focuses on the equality and rights, specially of the Minorities in the Majority. It is a doctrine that deals with cultural diversity and favours the co - existence of cultural diversity in a peaceful and equitable manner in the country. It basically concentrate on the inequality in social, political or economical spheres on the basis of cultural differences⁶.

The concept of Inequality, was firstly used by **Nancy Fraser (2001)**. She used the term in her concepts of ‘Politics of Recognition’ and ‘Politics of Redistribution’.

1. Politics of Recognition –

Nancy Fraser has defined that “Politics of Recognition” basically recognition by the state and concerned about the cultural injustice, rooted in social patterns of representation and interpretation of the communication, including the cultural - dominance.

2. Politics of Redistribution - Nancy Fraser indirectly talk about the Economic inequality. She has defined that “Socio - Economic injustice rooted in economic structure of the society, which creates economic inequality and deprivation”⁷.

3.4 Major themes of Multiculturalism –

The theory of Multiculturalism has such major themes to study, for what Multiculturalism stands are as following –

1. Identity and Culture -

Multiculturalism is hardly concerned to preserve identity or culture of any group of people in other country or society, where this group is in Minority. As we know no one can go without culture or a particular social identity and preservation of such identity lies in the basis of Multiculturalism.

2. Minority rights -

Multiculturalism most emphasis on the Minority rights, among the Majority of a particular country or society, in the Political, Social and Economical spheres there. The Oxford dictionary defines “minority” as “the smaller number or part, especially a number or part representing less than half of the whole”⁸. A minority group is a sociological category within a demographic. The term refers to a category that is differentiated and defined by the social majority, that is, those who hold the majority of positions of social power in a society. The differentiation can be based on one or more observable human characteristics, including, for example - ethnicity, race, gender, wealth, health or sexual orientation etc. In social sciences, the term “minority” is used to refer to categories of persons who hold few positions of social power.

Anthropologist **Charles Wagley** and **Marvin Harris** defined minority groups in 1958 by five characteristics: (1) Their relative powerlessness when compared to majority groups. (2) Their distinct cultural characteristics. (3) Their physical characteristics. (4) Their self consciousness. (5) The transmittance of membership by descent rules and intermarriage.

According to United National Article 1 refers to Minorities as based on national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity, and provides that States should protect their existence. There is no internationally agreed definition as to which groups constituent minorities.

According to a definition offered in 1977 by Francesco Capotorti, Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Sub-Commission on *Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities*, a minority is “A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members of being nationals of the State possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those

of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, tradition, religion or language”.

3. Diversity -

Multiculturalism generally refers to the evolution of cultural diversity. Culturally skilled counselors possess specific knowledge and information about the particular group, that they are working with. They are concerned with their cultural heritage or historical cultural background and life of culturally distinct groups.

4. Post - Colonialism -

Post - Colonial era from 1945 to 1955, in which underdeveloped countries were exploited by developed countries on the basis of Identity or it gave the basis to the origin of ‘Multiculturalism’. Which came into existence to preserve Identity of a particular group or society, based on race, religion or ethnicity.

Will Kymlicka has provided the Liberal framework for the ‘Just’ treatment of the Minority groups, which are divided into two basic categories, such as following -

1. Polyethnic or Immigrant Groups
2. National Minorities

In his book “Multicultural Citizenship”(1995) Kymlicka has defined three such specific Rights of Minority groups, such as following -

1. Special group Representation Rights
2. Self government Rights
3. Polyethnic Rights

Multiculturalism provides the active encouragement and support to the co - existence of distinct cultures within a same territory. As a Policy, Multiculturalism encourages Persons, belonging to different Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own Religious practices or to use their own Language. Many countries like, Canada and Nova Scotia, have Multicultural status as both encourages the Recognition and acceptance of distinct Cultural Practices.

Kymlicka argues that the -Minority groups may be under represented in the institutions of a society, and in order to place them in a position of equal bargaining power, it is necessary to provide special rights to the members of these groups. Such rights protects Individual's interests in a more equal manner by guaranteeing some privileges or preventing discriminations ¹⁰.

3.5 The New- trends of Multiculturalism -

The new trend of the theory or concept of 'Multiculturalism' has included some new groups, to be recognised as Multicultural Groups in a society. The first wave of writings on multiculturalism has been centered on the debate to discussing the justice of difference-sensitive policies in the liberal context. On the whole, there are two difference positions taken by contemporary liberal political philosophers who have written on multiculturalism; some defend that difference- sensitive policies are justified, whereas others argue that they are a deviation from the core values of liberalism.

More recently, a second wave of writings on multiculturalism has appeared. In this, contemporary liberal political philosophers not so much focused on the debates on justice between different groups rather they have focused on justice within groups. Thus, the debate has changed to the analysis of the potentially perverse effects of policies to protect minority cultural groups with regard to the members of these minority cultural groups. Contemporary liberal political philosophers have now switched to discussing the practical implications that those that aimed at correcting inter-group equality could have for the members of those groups that the policies are directed to. In particular, the worry is that the policies for enabling members of minority groups to pursue their culture could favor some members of minority groups over others. That is, this new debate is about the risks that those policies for protecting cultural groups could have in undermining the status of the weaker members of these groups. The reason why philosophers worry about this is because the policies for multiculturalism may give the leaders of cultural groups' power for making decisions and institutionalizing practices that facilitate the persecution of internal minorities. In other words, those policies may give group leaders all kinds of power that reinforce or facilitate cruelty and discrimination within the group.

(Phillips, 2007, page no.13-14), (Reich, 2005, page no. 209-210), (Shachar, 2001, page no. 3- 16).

For the contemporary liberal writers of Multiculturalism, three kinds of new minorities have emerged to focus on in their writings, as the – Women, Children and Transgenders (bisexuals, gays and lesbians). These Scholars of contemporary time included these as Multicultural groups-

1. Womens
2. Childrens
3. Transgenders

1. Womens -

Some philosophers, especially liberal feminist philosophers, have raised concerns about the implications of providing special rights to groups for women. **Okin** has contended that most cultures in the world are patriarchal and gendered and, consequently, providing rights to groups may help with reinforcing oppressive gendered and patriarchal practices. Some of the practices that may jeopardize women's rights are female genital mutilation, polygamy, the use of headscarves, and a lesser valuation of the career and education of women.

Taking this on board, the concern expressed by some feminists is that empowering groups with special rights may reinforce female oppression. For example, if some communities are exempt from the health practices of the majority of society, this may help them to perpetuate and spread the practice of female genital mutilation.

2. Children -

The implications of special rights to children who are members of minority cultures is also a topic that has received some attention from contemporary political philosophers (**Reich, 2005**). The concerns with respect to children are especially with regards to physical and psychological abuse and lack of education. With respect to physical and psychological abuse, some groups may have practices that are harmful for children. For example, some groups practice shunning, a practice that consists of ostracizing those who do not follow their norms or who have done something that is disapproved

of by the community. The traditional scarification of children that some African communities practice is also a practice that may be considered to entail physical abuse. With respect to education, there are groups who wish to take their children out of school at an earlier age. Some may argue that removing children from school earlier than their peers may strongly disadvantage these children because they will potentially not acquire the minimum skills necessary to find a job, and will not receive enough education to make autonomous choices. Other groups consider that education should be mainly about the study of the religious scripture, and they sometimes disregard other kinds of education.

3. Transgenders (Gays, Lesbians and Bisexuals)-

Some philosophers are concerned about how policies meant to protect minority cultural groups can potentially impose serious threats and harm the interests and rights of lesbian, gay and bisexual individuals. In some minority cultural groups, lesbian gay and bisexuals within minorities are very disadvantaged by the unintended consequences of multicultural politics (Levy, 2005) (Swaine, 2005, page no.44-45). Their basic freedoms and rights, employment, education, family life, economic and welfare rights, sexual freedom, physical and psychological integrity, safety, and so forth are the most issues of concern for contemporary liberal philosophers.. In general terms, it can be affirmed that lesbian, gay and bisexual individuals have an interest in bodily and psychological integrity, sexual freedom, participation in cultural and political life, family life, basic civil and political rights, economic and employment equality and access to welfare provision.

4.5 Models of Multiculturalism -

Theory of Multiculturalism has three models such as following –

1. Communitarian Model
 2. Liberal Model
 3. Nation-building Model
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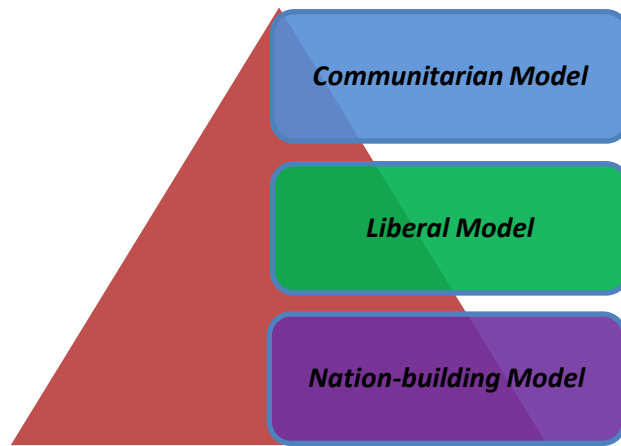


Figure- Models of theory of Multiculturalism

1. Communitarian Model of Multiculturalism -

Communitarian model of Multiculturalism has more concern about the “Group or Community Rights” rather than “Individual Rights”. The Rights of Recognition and Identification by the Government in Legal mean, has been the main focus of Multiculturalism. Normative concept of Culture is adopted in such model of Multiculturalism.

According to this the Culture refers to a group of norms and beliefs, that are distinctive and which constitute the practical identity to a group of individuals. Shachar (2001) said that “Culture is a world view, both comprehensive and distinguishable, whereby Community law is able to be created”.

2. Liberal Model of Multiculturalism –

Multiculturalism emphasizes on the Rights of Minorities and Specified groups in every sphere of the country, as in Political, Economical and Cultural spheres. This model maintains the Individual’s Identity in the society.

Will Kymlicka is the most exponent of this model of Multiculturalism. He defines that- Individuals should have rights to cultural membership. As rights of Individual is

the essence of any liberal theory. Kymlicks further distinguished three types of right as-

A. Self-government Rights- These rights usually entail the devolution of power to a political-unit, substantially controlled by the members of an ethnic minority.

B. Poly-ethnic Rights- Such rights would be ‘State-funding’ of ‘Cultural-Institutions’ and exemptions from certain policies, for example-those relating to the slaughter of animals.

C. Special Representation Rights- These rights are intended to ensure the ‘fair-representation’ of Minority-groups.

3. Nation - building Model of Multiculturalism -

Multiculturalism has emerged as a direct challenge to those Nationalists who desire to create distinct states, based on ethnicity, and the traditional model of citizenship. As **T.H. Marshall (1950)** emphasized the need to “promote acommon national identity among citizens”. Multiculturalism refers to the evolution of the cultural diversity and concerned about the preservation of diverse cultural recognition or identity among the Majority population. Like this it also has concern for the preservation of a particular National Identity in other nation. It holds the view that “National Identity predominates on all other Identities”. And National Identity lies in the prime or beyond of Racial, Religious and Culturally or Ethnically Identities. Thus such concern of Multiculturalism proves that - it is positive response to Nation building.

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CHAPTER- 4.

Good Governance in Multicultural Context of India

Whenever we talk about the Good Governance as we may trace that most of the features of a good governance are concerned with the sustainable development of a society¹. On the other side, Multiculturalism has concern for the upliftment as well as recognition of groups of people who are considered as marginalised and other nation's people in a majoritarian society. *Nancy Fraser (2003)* also says that- "***Economic and Social rights are meaningless without having a right to recognition***". The indication of such statement may be recognised to the approach of Good Governance, in multicultural context. As has defined above Good Governance is concerned with the sustainable development of a country, and sustainable development based on the parameters of the Inclusive Growth, as it includes the development of every section of the country. As Inclusive Growth graph presents the development status of a country. On the other side, the paradigm of multiculturalism is based on positive equality as it includes recognition of a number of political, social and economic rights of inhabitants in the given territory.

A country with its ideal of Good Governance consists the features of accountability, efficiency, transparency, equity, as well as participation of the people for the purpose of promoting the rights of its citizens and the public interests of them. A Good Governance would indicate the existence of political will for ensuring the material welfare and sustainable development of a society with social justice². Whether multicultural societies consists the issues of recognition of those groups of people, which are seen as immigrants, marginalised and deprived from nation's mainstream.

Multiculturalism as a concept would imbibe equality, diversity, harmony, opportunity for all sections of the society without any discrimination³. It refers to pluralism, which is largely religious and ethnic but carries linguistic, behavioural and cultural elements. In democratic societies such in the context of India, ethnic or cultural protection has a subservient role to play with reference to constitutional mandate of peace, stability and Good Governance.

In *Hindu Nationalism: A Reader*, by Christophe Jaffrelot, it was defined that Indian secularism as defined by the constitution of India is rooted in the multicultural idea as it denies all kind of discrimination related to the religious affiliations⁴.

Good Governance is a concept of Governance to ensure the 'Sustainable development' of every sphere of a particular society. Generally democratic countries in present time, leads the propoganda to ensure the ideal of Good Governance in their regimes. Good Governance stresses on the overall development of people's life, either social, political, economical or cultural life of them. It's aim is to make high living standard of people's life, residing in a country. On the other side a Multicultural sphere of a particular society, includes the diversities of cultures or life styles of it's people⁵.

Multicultural society embodies the ideal of "Unity in Diversity" and Indian democracy has considered such ideal as it's philosophy of Governance. Indian democracy provides Rights of liberty and equality in the social, political,cultural and economic spheres to it's citizens.

A multicultural society ensures the recognition and identify the people's differences, based on culture, ethnicity, language, race, religion, region etc. Whether the term '*Multicultural*' refers to the '*Cultural-diversity*' . Further it also refers to the existence and identities of diverse cultural groups, marginalised and immigrants sections of the society, who are considered as the Minority, among the majoritarian population of a country.

4.1 Historical Background of Multiculturalism in India -

India being a plural society recognises the diverse cultural and social rights within constitutional provisions. Multiculturalism is based on integration not on segregation. As could be seen through the hisory of Indian independence, which bears ample testimony of the fact that the - concept of segregation and bitter experience of religious conflicts, which intermittently arose in about 150 years of British Rule in India, led to the demands for special care and protection of religious and cultural rights. In the history India, was ruled by British because of the same multiculturalism, where they used "*Divide and Rule*" concept, where the differences in these cultures were used to rule over Indians. But in a broader concept Indian people has realized

broader concept of multiculturalism that is their strength and as the saying goes-
“**UNITED WE STAND, DIVIDED WE FALL**”⁶.

Some how in the current scenario the differences in the different cultures are being used by some political powers to again gain political mileage. However, the Constitution of India has made an attempt to recast the age - old multicultural fabric of India⁷.

It must be point out that - India has played an important role by adopting and ratifying the United Nations General Assembly's declaration on “**Right to Development**” of 4th December, 1986. This Right to Development has further strengthened the Multiculturalism in India, within Constitutional framework. The Preamble of the *United Nations declaration* has recognised that - “**all human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and interdependent**”. That was the time after the Cold war, democratic countries of the world recognised six most obstacles to development and complete fulfilment of human beings as denial of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights⁸.

Then the need to promote this development of human rights, emerged. India's commitment to International forum reiterates constitutional proliferation of multicultural society of India. The leaders of Indian Freedom Struggle, Like- Mahatma Gandhi's concept of *Sarva Dharma Samabhava* (equal respect for all religions) goes far beyond the concept of multiculturalism. In fact, it has well be taken as a positive and constructive multicultural approach, which offers a way out of the present cultural, religious and ethnic conflicts and cleavages.

The Kerala Education Bill, the Supreme Court of India, has observed that while it was easy to say that the minority meant a community which was numerically less than 50%, the important question was 50% of what- the entire population of India or of a State or of a part thereof? A community might be in majority in a State, but it might be a minority in the whole of India. A community might be in majority in a State, but it might be a minority in the whole of India. A community having concentration in a part of the State would be a majority there, though it may be in a minority in the State as a whole. If a part of a State is to be taken then the question would be where to draw a line and what unit would be taken into consideration- a district, a town, a municipality or its ward. The Supreme Court observed that minority was to be

determined only in relation to the particular legislation which was being challenged. Like such case, the Court in *A.S.E. Trust v/s Director Education Delhi Adm.* has pointed out that the sections of one religion cannot constitute religious minorities. The term “minority based on religion” should be restricted only to those religious minorities, e.g., Muslims, Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs etc., which have kept their identity separate from the majority, namely, the Hindus .

It has been held by the Eleven Judges Bench of the Supreme Court of India in *T.M.A. Pai Foundation v. State of Karnataka*, that a minority, whether linguistic or religious, is determinable only by reference to demography of the state and not by taking into consideration the population of the country as a whole⁹.

4.2 Multicultural context of Indian Democracy : Constitutional Perspective

In contemporary world, one of the important ideal of a democratic state is the notion of ‘Cultural diversity’. India is among the most diverse democracy in the world. Various religions, cultures, faiths, languages and social milieu of Indian society, reflect a very fine aspect of Indian Multiculturalism. Indian Multiculturalism is not defined by any particular community, religion or region rather it is a matrix of different values, traditions, customs and languages of it’s heterogeneous cultures, religions, sects etc¹⁰. As being a liberal democracy, Indian democracy provides recognition to it’s vast diverse ethnic - groups and religious - groups with group - differentiated rights. Indian Multicultural context revolves around the various issues regarding the cultural identity, pluralism, minority rights in public space, individual rights and group rights and recognition of them in majority. It stresses on equality of different cultures and argues that, all cultural communities must be entitled for the equal status in the public sphere. India can claim to be the largest multicultural society in the world, where people live with diversities of life styles. All the major religions, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Sikhism, Zorostranism, have a large number of followers in India. But the plurality of cultures also has to fight with the enemies, who try to enforce ‘Homogenization’ of one kind, to another. Indian governance being a Constitutional Governance by nature, has limitation on Multicultural activities through constitutional mandate also.

Therefore during the making of the Constitution of India various provisions regarding to maintain the secularist nature of the country and the multicultural tolerance of the Indian society, were framed by the constitution architects. For example - Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policies of the Indian Constitution reveals the provisions regarding Minorities' rights and protection of their recognition in the majoritarian population of the Indian democracy¹¹.

The most important event after Independence has been the drafting of the Constitution of India enshrine the principles of equality, liberty and social justice. The Constitution of India has certain provisions relating to minorities. It makes special provisions for the treatment and development of minorities in every sphere of life¹².

The Preamble of constitution of India, does not discriminate between minority and majority, it treats them alike. The Preamble contains the quintessence of the Constitution and reflects the ideals and aspirations of the people. The preamble contains the goal of equality of status and opportunity to all citizens. The aspect of social justice is further emphasized and dealt with in the Directive Principles of State Policy. It declares India as a Democratic, Republic, Socialist and Secular Nation, which reflect the soft corner of Indian democracy⁶. The term 'Secular' refers to the soft attitude for the religious or cultural diversities in the country. It is generally agreed that modern democracies have to be Secular. Secularism involves a complex requirement. As it has three categories, as defined following-

1. **Liberty**- It is about the Free Exercise of Religion. No one must be forced in the domain of religion or basic belief. This is what often defined a religious liberty, including of course, the freedom not to believe.
2. **Equality**- There must be equality between people of different faiths or basic belief, no religious outlook can enjoy a privileged status. Let alone be adopted as the official view of the state.
3. **Fraternity**- All spiritual families must be heard, included in the ongoing process of determining what the society is about and how it is going to realise these goals. These goals corresponds fraternity.

Article 14 of the constitution deals with Equality before Law, that- "The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India." The Preamble of the Constitution itself declares that all

people irrespective of their caste, class, colour, creed, sex, region or religion will be provided with equal rights and opportunities. *Articles 15(1)* and *15(2)* prohibit discrimination on grounds of religion. *Article 25* promises the right to profess, propagate and practice religion. It is clear that there is no legal bar on any religious community in India to make use of the opportunities, such as the educational, economic, etc., extended to the people. It is true that some religious communities, like- Muslims, Christians etc. have not been able to avail themselves of the opportunities on par with other communities. The Preamble of the Constitution describes the concept of secularism which means that the State has no religion of its own, and there is equal respect for and protection to all religions. No one is to be discriminated on grounds of religion and everyone is guaranteed full and equal freedom of religion.

Fundamental Rights in the Constitution of India, are the Human rights, entitlement of every citizen of the country, belonging to majority or minority community and it has been made enforceable as fundamental rights of India. In *Maneka Gandhi v/s Union of India*, *Justice Bhagwati* said that- ***“These fundamental rights represent the basic values cherished by the people of this country since the Vedic times and they are calculated to protect the dignity of the individual and create conditions in which every human being can develop his personality to the fullest extent.”*** The special features of fundamental rights which are guaranteed to all citizens irrespective of their minority status are as following-

1. Right to equality (Articles 14 and 15)
2. Right to freedom (Articles 19–22)
3. Right against exploitation (Articles 23–24)
4. Right to freedom of religion (Articles 25–28)
5. Cultural and educational rights (Articles 29-30)
6. Rights to constitutional Rights (Articles 32–35)
7. Recognition and protection of minority rights under a legal framework

These Fundamental Rights, of the Constitution have two- fold objectives-

1. Firstly to prevent state from being oppressive against the minorities as in a democratic setup government is run by majority.
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2. Secondly to provide the minority a protective zone, whereby they can preserve their separate identity while contributing in national development and progress.

According to **Article 29(1)**, any sections of the citizens, residing in any part of India having a distinct language, script or culture of its own has the right “to conserve the same”. Article 29(1) does not refer to any religion. Article 29(1) includes the right “to agitate for the protection of the language.

Article 30(1) gives the linguistic or religious minorities the following two rights as, the right to establish and the right to administer educational institutions of their choice. Article 30(1) of the Constitution of India gives linguistic and religious minorities a fundamental right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. These rights are protected by a prohibition against their violation. The prohibition is contained in **Article 13** of the Constitution which declares that any law in breach of the fundamental rights would be void to the extent of such violation. The benefit of Article 30(1) extends only to linguistic or religious minorities and not to any other section of the Indian citizens. Although, Article 30(1) does not speak of citizens of India, however, it has been held that the minority to claim the protection of this Article must be a minority of persons residing in the territory of India. The Supreme Court in ***Bramchari Sidheswar Shai v/s State of West Bengal***, held that Ramakrishna religion was not distinct and separate from Hindu religion and not minority religion. Therefore, citizens of India, who are the followers of Ramakrishna religion could not claim to belong to a minority based on religion and as such were not entitled to the fundamental right under Article 30(1) ¹³.

Though Article 30(1) provides rights to the minorities to establish educational institutions but it is not an absolute right and may be subject to reasonable restrictions. The Supreme Court in ***T.M.A. Pai Foundation v/s State of Karnataka (1993)*** held that any regulation framed in the national interest must necessarily apply to all institutions, whether run by the majority or the minority. It is further observed that the right to administer an educational institution includes the right to take disciplinary action against the teachers and other employees. A law regulating the manner of the functioning of its managing body would be not violative of the right under Article 30(1).

Article 30(1) also postulates that the religious community will have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice meaning thereby that where a religious minority establishes an educational institution, it will have the right to administer that. The right to administer has been given to the minority, so that it can mould the institution as it thinks fit, and in accordance with its ideas of how the interest of the community in general. The court held that the word administer and establish have to be read conjunctively.

In Andhra Pradesh *Christian Medical Association v/s Government of Andhra Pradesh (2013)*, the Supreme Court of India, emphasized that the object of the Art. 30(1) is not to allow bogies to be raised by pretenders. The institution must be an educational institution of minority in truth and reality and not mere masked phantoms. Article 30(2) debars the State from discriminating against minority institutions in the matter of giving grants.

Apart from the provision in the Constitution, Government of India has undertaken a number of initiatives for educational development of minorities, at all levels of elementary, secondary and higher education and in all sectors including vocational, professional and technical education. Apart from the Pre-Matric and Post- Matric Scholarships, Merit-cum-Means Scholarship Scheme and Maulana Azad Fellowship Programme, which are being implemented by the Ministry of Minority Affairs, Ministry of Human Resource Development is also implementing the *Scheme for Providing Quality Education in Madarasa (SWQEM) and Infrastructure Development in Minority Institutes (IDIM)* exclusively for the benefit of the minorities ¹⁴.

The Constitution has not defined the term “**minority**”, but it has provided all rights to minorities. In certain circumstance it has categorically stated that such right though not absolute, but is meant only for minority class for their protection. Under Article 30(1) when the court spelled out that the words administer and establish must be read conjunctively, it is a classic example that has been proved that they have been given absolute right to mould their institution in consonance with the interest of their community and with the law of the land. The Constitution has been time and again trying to protect the minorities by providing various benefits, but still the fear of communal tension, poor representation and lack of protection lingers in their mind.

The main aim of law should be to instill the confidence in the mind of such minorities that their legal rights will be protected and they will be treated in par with the majority and there would be no discrimination between citizens.

4.3 - Multicultural aspect of Indian society -

India is the largest diverse society in the world. Various religions, cultures, faiths, languages and social - milieu of India, reflect a very fine aspect of Indian Multiculturalism. The Indian Multiculturalism is not defined by any particular community , religion, region rather it is a matrix of different values, traditions, customs and languages of it's heterogeneous cultures, religions, sects etc. Indian society represent it's Secular nature, as provided by the Constitutional provisions of the country. Scholars of the Social Sciences, specially the Sociologists centred their concern on that –*What does Multiculturalism mean? How does it affect the Indian Society?*

It is important today to understand multiculturalism in the context of changing character of nation states which is marked by the absence of any single national identity. While some view it as a panacea for the growing menace of divisiveness in the world, while others take it as a challenge for their dominant culture and nationhood. India, being a Multicultural society, has Secular perspective towards cultural or ethnic diversities. Constitution of India, provides a field to develop one's own belief and way of life.

In simple term we may specify Multiculturalism as coping up and living with other cultures. This means acknowledging, accepting and encouraging different cultural customs. The idea of multiculturalism can vary from giving equal rights to all cultures to accommodating cultural minorities.

4.4 - Link between Good Governance and Multiculturalism in India

Indian Multiculturalism consist the idea of “*Unity in Diversity*”. It is considered that- there may be many model of a Good Life, but their operation is only possible in a Multicultural-order. Indian Multiculturalism promotes the vigorous and health of

society. Each Culture reflects a particular range of human-capacities and attitudes. It argues that-“Successful societies must be based upon shared Values and a common-Culture”. It demands Respect for all Cultural-traditions.

Irshad Manji (2016) has said that- Indian Multiculturalism sets- out two fundamental principles, such as the following

1. All citizens are equal and have the freedom to preserve, enhance and share their Cultural-heritage.
2. Multiculturalism promotes the full and equitable participation of Individuals and Communities, of all origins in all aspect of the society ¹⁵.

As defined above, we may say that-Multiculturalism of Indian society stand for the Unity, Equality, Liberty and Rights or Recognition of Specified Cultural groups or Community, having Religious and Ethnic differences. Such features are the integral or essential features of a Good Governance. Good Governance consist the features, Transparency, Equity, Responsiveness, Participation, Efficiency, Effectiveness, Orientation of diversity, Strategic vision on Historical, Cultural and Social-complexities ¹⁶. Indian society, being a land of Multiculturalism and Good Governance, inherits the ideal of *‘Unity in Diversity’*. As **Irshad Manji (2016)** in her book *‘Allah, Liberty and Love,, The Courage to Reconcile Faith and Freedom’* has defined such Diversity as *“If you love Diversity then also love the fact that- all of Us, will have a different point of view and that We should be willing to engage one another in point of view. If we avoid asking each-other, searching questions, then in-effect, We are doing infantilizing one-another and treating one-another like children, that is not Respect and dishonest to diversity”*.

The society of India inherits such diversity in Unity, while providing Recognition and Specific Identity of diverse cultural or ethnic groups of People or Communities in the Majority population¹⁶. As Indian democracy always concern with the fulfilment of the ideal of Good Governance. And such elements are essential equipment for ensuring Good Governance. As far as India is concerned with Diversity in cultures and

traditions, the effect of such a Multicultural society may identified from such features, which are as following-

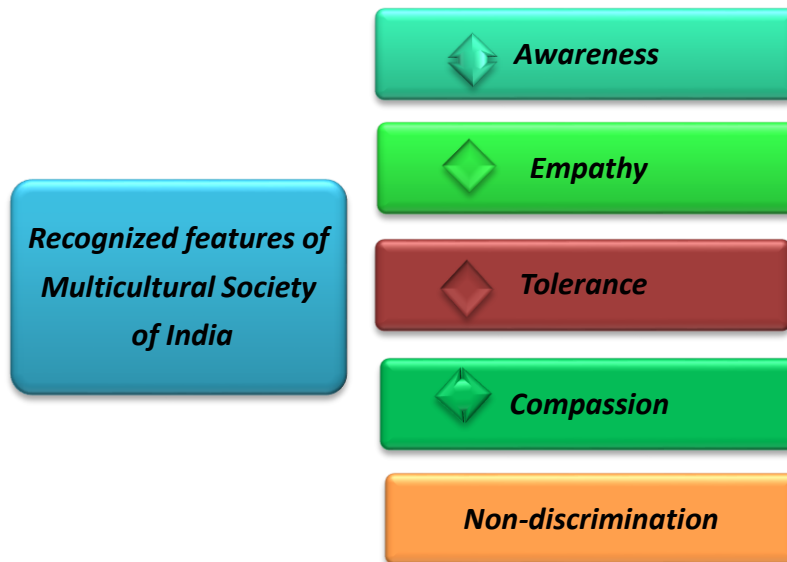


Figure - Recognized Features of Multicultural Society of India

1. Awareness- Indians are subconsciously more aware about other cultures. Indian with its colorful history knows more about religion such as Islam or Buddhism.

2. Empathy- The awareness subtly contributes to an understanding about other's viewpoint. We tend to be more accustomed to think what others think and why. This is a big factor for national harmony.

3. Tolerance- This has also resulted in a greater tolerance for other cultures. It is not uncommon to see a Jain pure veg - restaurant side by side with a Mughlai restaurant, known for its non veg-cuisine one.

4. Compassion- Indians have by default an implicit compassion for other cultures. There is after all a region that Indian NRIs are happily living in all geographies of the world.

5. Non-discrimination- Indian democracy does not recognize any discrimination in matters of Public as well as Personal life of an Individual. The Constitution of India consist the equal opportunities in all spheres of the country, either in political, social, cultural, religious or economical. No discrimination based on caste, race, religion, region, economic-status, ehnic inhabitants or culture, is allowed by Indian Constitution, before law and in matter of employment or government service ¹⁷.

However, there are few parameters which can actually define the link between the Good Governance and Multiculturalism. Knowing the parameters would facilitate comparison and understanding of both these concepts. The *Eleventh Five Year Plan* of Indian Government has outlined six characteristics of democratic governance, with the ideal of Good Governance as following are-

1. Free, fair and timely Elections in all spheres of political authority.
2. Transparency and accountability of all institutions of the state to its citizens.
3. Efficient and effective delivery of socio-economic public services.
4. Effective devolution of authority, resources and capabilities to PRIs and municipalities.
5. Rule of law, where legal rights are clear and understood, and legal compliance and enforcements of those rights is time-bound and swift.
6. Needs and interests of hitherto Excluded-sections of society are privileged and included, with dignity.

As defined above, such parameters are somewhat, having some ideals for ensuring Good Governance in the multicultural context of a particular democracy. For example- needs and interests of the excluded sections of the society are included while framing any public policy in the country, this factor is what Multiculturalism stand for.

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CHAPTER-5

NDA Government on Good Governance in Multicultural Context of India (1998 - 2004)

5.1 NDA Coalition Government -

NDA (National Democratic Alliance) is a centre-right coalition of Political parties in India. In the year of 1998, it was led by the Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) with the thirteen constituted Political parties. By early 1999, NDA government lost it's majority after the AIADMK (All India Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) withdrew it's support. President Kocheril Raman Narayan dissolved the parliament and called the fresh election. Public anger against the smaller parties that jeopardised the NDA coalition and the wave of support for the Vajpayee government in the aftermath of the Kargil war, gave the BJP a larger presence in the Lok Sabha. The NDA won a decisive majority with the support of new constituents such as- Janta Dal and DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) .

NDA with it's 24 political parties allies came into power and completed it's full office term from 1999 to 2004. And then a question was raised, whether a New Pattern in Indian Governance was emerging ? The NDA manifestos for elections have been – *'Vote for a stable Government and an able Prime Minister' (1998)*, *'For a Proud, Prosperious India: An Agenda' (1999)*, and *'An Agenda for Development, Good Governance, Peace and Harmony' (2004)*.

In the years of 1998-2004, during the NDA government's rule, Vajpayee's establishment fixed its vision on the *idea of New India* with the package of hopes and

aspirations. The idea of New India initiated by Vajpayee government was the vision to bring the ideal of good governance in Indian society. However, Good governance is not a vague concept, it can be measured using some identifiable parameters. For Example - Corruption has not been given as an indicator since it is generally believed that all the elements of Good Governance would automatically eliminate Corruption. The BJP report has taken perception of corruption as an indicator and has rated the Left Front Government high. But the categorisation is interesting and well substantiated. The categorisation of different models of Governance as Congress, BJP, Left Front and Regional Parties may be observable. While there are characteristics that help identify and separate one model from the others, there is a lot of overlap. The government is in a state of continuity, kept more so by the bureaucracy that does not change with change '*Political Masters*'. Like the Congress Governments are characterised by Socialism and Populism, with an inconsistent Economic policy, the Government- reports says ¹. I was said in a government report that- the NDA Government shares certain Gandhian Socialist-values, but applies and achieves them through more consistent and market-friendly economic policies. The Left Front (including the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and other left parties) follows a stated Marxist ideology that places the state at the commanding heights of the economy and focuses on worker's rights and equality of outcomes for all. Regional parties are described as being more representative of the socio-economic make-up and responsive to particular needs of their states. They are hence more populist and less ideological in their approach, the report says ².

At the national level, the Congress and NDA's models of Governance have been delineated and dissected in the context of performance. There is actually an ideological difference based on performance or focus since there is not much difference in style of functioning of the two parties when in power. They used the same bureaucracy, the same logic and even their decisions were incremental.

The NDA though had taken some path-breaking decisions such as four-'laning' of National highways, Rural roads, Tele-communication. In terms of streamlining administration through reforms, both the national parties were equally silent.

However, NDA produced a National Agenda for Government in March, 1998 and Vajpayee government worked on this basis. NDA government's 1999 manifesto

declaration consisted that "The NDA is a representative of both national interests and regional aspirations the NDA is- the mirror-image of our nation's unity in multifaceted diversity, rich pluralism, and federalism. Democratic Decentralization to ensure effective participation of all for the sake of effective and transparent government, TDPS programmes, Pradhan Mantri Gramodaya Yojana, Ayodhya issue, Jammu and Kashmir issue regarding Article 370, North-Eastern issues and so on, were the issues of concern in NDA government, having the idea to make New India while ensuring Good Governance in a Multicultural society of India³.

5.2 NDA on Good Governance in Multicultural Context during 1998- 2004 -

NDA (National Democratic Alliance) managed an **idea of 'New India'**, a package of Hopes and Aspirations. This was not a total rejection of '**Congress idea of India'** but was the fact to bring the old vision in tune with new realities. NDA government advocated a different sense of India's image.

As Vajpayee government expanded the process of the '**Economic Liberalizations**' initiated by the previous P.V. Narsimha Rao government (1991-1996). Leading the vision to make the ideal of 'Good Governance' as propounded in the 2004 elections "**An Agenda for Development, Good Governance, Peace and Harmony**", NDA government took a very steps towards fulfillment of it. Observers of Developmental Studies have called India as a democratic developmental state, which has adopted a different strategy of overall development. It became interesting for these scholars to study about that-whether the success to a Democratic system and overall development in a particular country, may come at the same time 1. However, Japan was the exception, where democratic success and the overall development took place together. Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP)- led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government influenced India's domestic politics from 1998 to 2004. It was also pointed-out that the core norms constituting the BJP's ideological basis precipitated lasting changes in the nature and functioning of India's domestic politics ⁴.

The ground reality of Indian democracy is that, Good Governance is means for the common people as the governance, which may provide the solutions to their food, water, shelter, health and education problems.

Keeping this reality in the 'National Agenda for Governance' NDA government worked in every sphere of Indian democracy, during its first completed office term 1999 to 2004.

The Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) implemented in April 1999, during the rule of NDA government, included a chapter on ***“Implementation, Delivery Mechanism and Institutional Development”***. The issues of Decentralization in development planning, Accountability of the *Implementing Agencies and Evolution of Programmes*, were raised.

After this the *Tenth Five Year plan (2002-2007)*, defined the ***“Governance as the management of all such processes that - in any society defines the environment which permits the individuals to raise their capability levels and provide opportunities to realize their potential and enlarge the set of available choices. And such processes covers the political, social and economic aspects of human life”***.

Such as focusing on the Governance Reforms, Administrative Reforms, Judicial Reforms, Police and Civil-Services Reforms and the most Electoral Reforms with the campaign ***“India to be ruled by Indians”*** etc., were seen as the steps towards the Good Governance by NDA government, during its office 1998-2004.

The Lok Sabha Election's Agenda of NDA government “for development, Good Governance, Peace and Harmony” included the NDA government's such Principles to see India as a developed Nation, has been defined as following-

1. India as the Food-factory of the world.
2. India as the Global-manufacturing hub.
3. India as the Service-provider to the world.
4. India as the centre of the Knowledge-economy.
5. India as the Global-tourism destination.
6. India as the Global-healthcare destination.
7. India as the Higher-education destination.

Such guiding- principles of NDA government shows the government's side to Good Governance⁵.

A. Economic Sphere -

NDA government expanded the process of 'Economic liberalisation' initiated by the **P.V. Narasimha Rao government** (1991- 1996). Privatisation of the most state corporations, including the **Videsh Sanchar Nigam Limited** also initiated by the Vajpayee government, before the coalition of NDA.

Vajpayee government was responsible for the establishment of special Export - Processing Zones, Information Technology and Industrial Parks, across the country to bolster Industrial Production and Exports. NDA government in its Agenda for Lok Sabha Election:2004, consisted the "**Behatar Bazar Plan**" to enhance Trade and Commercial sectors with the balanced development plans.

NDA government during 1998 - 2004, launched the National Highway Development Project, initiating its first phase as named '**Golden Quadrilateral**' (**GQ**). NDA was the government to encourage the Foreign - Investment, especially from Europe and United States.

The most surprising initiative by NDA government was, to pass the "**Responsibility and Budget Management Act**" (**FRBMA**). This Act established the 2008, as the target year by which India's fiscal deficit would be eliminated. This step by NDA government was seen as one step towards Good Governance by economic reforms in the country. Later UPA government worked on it with its extent of 2009.

Under criticism for doing "**too little, too late**" in response to a severe drought in Rajasthan and Gujarat in the north-west, Prime Minister Mr. Vajpayee appeals to the nation for charitable donations to help the region in a televised address on 23rd April 1999.

Mr. Jaswant Singh (The Minister of Finance), while presenting the Interim Budget of 2004-05, under the premiership of Mr. Vajpayee, declared that -

"The country's macro-economic situation is better than it has ever been in the last fifty years. Internationally, too, there is now much greater, and a much more widespread recognition that India is progressing in all spheres of national endeavour, that it has evolved into a stable economy, with assured growth, and enhanced national prosperity. We have a vision for a resurgent India. This Government has consistently placed the citizens' well being at the core of its responsibilities. Our adherence to "**Panch- priorities**" remains. The objectives of the life-time concerns of our

citizens, (1). *Enhanced Employment and Eradication of Poverty*, (2). *A Second Green Revolution in Agriculture*, (3). *Infrastructure- development*, (4). *Fiscal Consolidation*, (5). *Greater Manufacturing-sector Efficiency*”, are our solemn commitments. India must be amongst the leading economies of the world, that simply put is our national destiny; to be in service of the country’s destiny is the Government’s honour and its bounden duty. From this directly flow our national economic objectives. Management of the economy is a continuing responsibility, governance can neither pause nor cease, and measures to fully consolidate, and continuously enhance the growth momentum must always be adopted in time. Only in that manner can we realise the vision of economic and social progress that we have cherished since independence”⁶.

B. Foreign Arena -

The period between the years of 1998 to 2004, could be considered as the watershed in the history of the *Indian foreign Service (IFC)*. Developments in International politics marked many changes. As first coalition government, the National Democratic Alliance took the power at the Centre, led by the Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee. That was the time when Indian Foreign Service had to adjust to profound changes in International Relations. The government of India was subjected to political uncertainties. NDA government became responsible for taking some concrete steps for the sake of improving training and working conditions of the Foreign Services⁷

Foreign-policy and Security- orientations of the Vajpayee government, were different from the previous governments. NDA government advocated a different sense on India’s image among the world-countries. While affirming the commitment to the principle of ‘Secularism’ in general terms. The emphasis of NDA government, was to recast the image of India’s ‘Pluralism’ within the framework of an assertive Hindu-ethos.

1. Initiatives on Relations of India with the other countries-

NDA government improved foreign relations of India with the World-countries. During 1998 to 2004, there were many steps of the government, taken with the purpose to make good relations for the economical development as well as national security of the country, with the other countries of the world.

NDA government had to deal with a long history of poor-relations of India, with the USA, China and Pakistan since the previous government. Like - Pakistan's claim to be a home-land for the Muslims of the sub-continent, directly contradicted the assumption made by Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru and INC (Indian National Congress) that -***“India could accommodate all religious groups in a secular state”*** or Ideological rivalry and competing territorial claims have fused in the dispute over Kashmir ⁸.

NDA improved the ties with China, while boosting the trade and seeking the resolution of the territorial disputes through dialogue. In the NDA-era, India established the strategic and military cooperation with Israel to fighting with terrorism.

In the year of 1999, NDA government's Prime Minister Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee travelled to Pakistan on the occasion of inaugural of ***Delhi Lahore Bus Service***. NDA government got credit to make regular road link between India and Pakistan for the first time since 1947. Prime Ministers of the two countries, Mr. Vajpayee and Mr. Nawaz Sharif issued the ***'Lahore declaration'***. This declaration consisted that the both countries would resolve the bilateral disputes through dialogue and would boost the trade. After the Lahore summit, in the year of 2001, Pakistani President and Vajpayee signed the ***Agra Summit***.

In the year of 2003, Vajpayee declared in the Parliament that “he was making the final initiative to make peace with Pakistan”. And overshadowed the considerable improvement in relations and ceasefire between Indian forces and militant groups in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

In the year of 2000, American President Bill Clinton came in India. With the visit of the American President, NDA government initiated the end of the Cold war era distant relationship. This initiated the expansion of the trade and strategic relations and cooperation between U.S. and India. As after the 11th September, 2001 attack on Pentagon and World Trade centre , India provided much strategic assistance to the U.S. in it's war against the Taliban and Al – Qaeda ⁹.

In ***the Election Manifesto of 1998***, NDA has asserted that -“In the recent past we have seen a tendency to bend under pressure. This arises as much out of ignorance of our rightful place and role in world affairs as also from a loss of National self-

confidence and resolve. A Nation as large and capable as ourselves must make its' impact felt on the world arena. A BJP government will demand a premier position for the country in all global fora" ¹⁰.

C. National Security -

Internal Security, the state of Jammu and Kashmir and the part of North-East, has been remain the most-issues before India, relating to National-security. NDA government also has taken some initiative for it. For Example- the Kargil war, Pokharan -2nd Nuclear tests, terrorism, bilateral relations with other countries, Internal conflicts, border security etc. has been the most issues of concern in the NDA era during 1998 to 2004, for the National security purpose ¹¹.

On 24 February, 1999, A review of national security was ordered, after an expert committee's report on the incursion of Pakistani-backed forces into Kashmir in mid-1999 exposed serious shortcomings. The *Subramanyam Committee* recommends a new "*national security planning and decision-making structure for India in the nuclear age*". Fresh clashes are reported in late February along the Line of Control between Indian and Pakistani- administered Kashmir.

1. To declare India as a Nuclear Weapons' state-

In the field of National security, NDA government took the radically important decision, to conduct advanced nuclear weapons tests in the year of 1998, of Indian devices and declared India a *Nuclear Weapons State*.

It was the time when NDA government decided to pull back the India from its' general policy-orientations towards *Comprehensive and Non-discriminatory Disarmament*. And to calibrate its' Disarmament-policies through mechanisms of bilateral discussions and within the conceptual framework of arms-control rather than disarmament.

In *Kargil War* (1999) NDA government launched '*Operation Vijay*' on LOC and after the Kargil War, NDA government established the "*Defence Intelligence*

Agency” to provide better military intelligence and monitor India’s border with Pakistan.

In response of the Indian Parliament attack of December, 2001 by Lashkar-e-taiba and Jaish-e-mohammed, NDA government promulgated the *Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA)* in the year of 2002, an anti - terrorism law. Although it was criticised as compromising the civil liberties and encouraging profiling of the Indian Muslim community. And became issue to questioning on the NDA government’s multicultural attitude.

D. Food Security -

During the years of 1999 to 2000, NDA government faced the conflicting issues related to food security. The government have to take decisions regarding such issues, in the form of programmes and policies. In July, 2003, a reduction in the *Rate of interest for Crop loans* by public sector, *Kisan Credit Cards (KCC)* etc., were seen as steps of the NDA government on the path of Good Governance. The most of them as may defined as following –

New Strategy to Double Food - Protection -

This one was considered by the policy analysts as the one of the most bold initiative by the NDA government, during its office. This government launched a Regionally differentiated Strategy, based on Agro - climate Regional Planning, taking into account the Agronomic, Climatic and Environmental – conditions to realize the full potential of growth in every region, narrow down regional and crop imbalances to accelerate the growth in every region and thus to ensure food and nutritional security. The plan is to double the Food production and make India *‘Hunger Free’* in ten years ¹².

Foodgrains quantity Doubled under TDPS -

The quantity of foodgrains being distributed to the *BPL (Below Poverty Line)* selection of the population under the *TDPS (Targeted Public Distribution System)* has been doubled from 10 kg. per family per month to 20 kg. per family per month at 50 percent of the economic cost. The scheme, with its focus on the poor, benefit about 33 crore people belonging to the poorer section of the society.

E. Allocation for 'R & D' Raised -

In the year of 2000, NDA government decided to raise the allocation for Research and Development in science and technology to 2% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) gradually in next five years.

F. Export House Status to Tourism -

NDA government took decision to accord Export House Status to Tourism. With this Tourism and Travel Industry have got the benefit of Special Import Licence, waiver of Bank guarantee for exports, exemption of Income Tax for reinvestment in tourism projects. The Department of Tourism (DTP) has been clubbed with the Department of Culture (DTC) to ensure coordinated approach for the promotion of Tourism and Promotion or Projection of rich Indian Heritage and Culture. Domestic Tourism was seen as the most part to be developed, for India to be a good tourist-destination.

G. Pradhan Mantri Gramodaya Yojana -

NDA government having the ideal of "*Shelter for All*" initiated the programme named as "Pradhan Mantri Gramodaya Yojana" in 2000- 2001. This aimed at the objective to achieve sustainable human development at village level.

H. Antodaya Anna Yojana -

The scheme was launched by NDA government in December 2000. It covered the 1.5 crore families of Below the Poverty Line (BPL) in the year of 2004. This remained a highly successful programme. It directly addressed the *Poverty - alleviation* and *Nutritional - adequacy*. This programme also concentrated on the tribal states or districts and regimes in belt areas. Issue of the "*Antyodaya Ration Card*" also given to the Antyodaya families for the targeted development. This was one of the initiative of NDA, towards ensuring Good Governance.

I. Pradhan Mantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojana -

NDA government got concern that the-Poverty and disease are interlinked or Specialty hospitals in the private sector remain beyond the reach of many of citizens.

Mr. Vajpayee announced to establishment of six hospitals, in the Government sector, on the pattern of *All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS)*.

This planning was under the '*Pradhanmantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojana*' and later six hospitals with facilities like AIIMS, one each in the States of Bihar, Chhatisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, and Uttaranchal were established. Under this '*Pradhanmantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojana*', one medical college each in the six States of Andhra Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Jharkhand, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal also has been upgraded to the level of AIIMS.

J. Deendayal Disabled Rehabilitation Scheme -

In the year of 2003 this scheme was launched by NDA in context of ensuring Social Justice. This aimed at to Create an enabling environment to ensure equal opportunities, equity, social justice and empowerment of persons with disabilities.

K. Kishore Vaigyanik Protsahan Yojana -

This was the Scholarship programme to encourage student to take up research careers in the areas of basic sciences, engineering and medicine. During its' office term of 1998 tp 2004, NDA government kept it ongoing. As it is an on- going National Program of Fellowship in Basic Sciences, initiated and funded by the Department of Science and Technology, Government of India, to attract exceptionally highly motivated students for pursuing basic science courses and research career in science. The objective of the program is to identify students with talent and aptitude for research; help them realize their academic potential, encourage them to take up research careers in Science, and ensure the growth of the best scientific minds for research and development in the country ¹³.

L. Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY) -

It launched by then Prime Minister Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee on 25 December in 2000 with the purpose of Rural Development, Good all-weather road connectivity to unconnected villages. As *Assam Tribune* (Newspaper) has reported that this scheme has started to change the lifestyle of many villagers, as it has resulted to make new

roads and to upgrade certain inter village-routes in Manipur. In order to implement of this scheme then Central government developed the '*Online Management & Monitoring System*' (OMMS), to identify targets and monitor progress in order to development of this scheme.

M. Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana -

On 25 September 2001, NDA government launched this scheme for development of the Rural Self Employment, Providing additional wages, food security, alongside creation of durable community assets in rural areas. This was one of the step of the NDA government towards Good Governance.

N. National Highway development Project-

The National Highways Development Project was initiated in the year of 1998, under the leadership of then Prime Minister Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Such project was for upgrade, rehabilitate and widen major highways in India to a higher standard. This project was managed by the *National Highways Authority of India (NHAI)* under the *Ministry of Road, Transport and Highways*, in order to boost economic development of the country. As economic development is the flip side of the inclusive growth, and inclusive growth is one of the element of a Good Governance.

O. Social Development-

Education, health, food-security, Population-control, Women's Empowerment, Care of the disabled and Senior-citizens or Children and Youth, and so on, were the most issues before the NDA government, to be resolved and need to be developed. As such issues makes half of criteria for a Governance to be 'Good' or 'Bad'. The various policies and programmes by the NDA government (1998 -2004), included such issues with the purpose to sustainable development of the country. For example- Antodaya Anna Yojana, Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana, Dendayal Disabled Rehabilitation Scheme etc.

P. Infrastructure-

NDA government in its National Agenda for Government of 2004, considered Infrastructural-development as one of the basis for fulfillment of its ideal of Good Governance. Like- Rural-development (Rural Sanitation, Drinking Water), Roads and Railway reforms, Ports and Shipping, Airports and Civil Aviation, Telecom and IT .And initiated many new policies for fulfillment of this purpose, for example- Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana, National Highway Development Programme etc.

5.3 The Issues in NDA government regarding Multicultural context during 1998- 2004 -

The 1999's decade witnessed a lot of transformation in the political and social realm of the Indian society. The Indian state changed its strategy and took steps towards a more liberal state. The spread of egalitarian political values and the opportunities provided by Indian democracy, under the economic reforms of 1991. NDA was the first coalition government, hold the office in the centre in 1998, that was the time of transformation in the political, economical arenas of the country, replacing a long time ruling political party.

So, during its first completed office term, 1998 to 2004, NDA government had to face the questions on treatment towards the multicultural aspect of the country. NDA was claimed to have the ideologies of the RSS (Rashtriya Sevak Sangha) and VHP (Vishva Hindu Parishad), both organization were of the view of staunch Hinduism. NDA got their support in its coalition. Thatswhy, the questions raised by the opposition political parties on the government's multicultural perspective during its office term from 1998- 2004. The BJP- led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) was overseen by party notable Prime Minister Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, whose widespread personal popularity helped to keep the BJP in power. For example, NDA was claimed by the opposition that-“It is essentially the Jan Sangh, with deep convictions about Hindus, playing the dominant role in Indian politics, which came to power”. But some of the policies and programmes an some decisions taken on some issues regarding multicultural aspect of the country, NDA partial succeed in represent its' soft attitude for the diversity of the country The most issues regarding multicultural context of India, in era of NDA government were as defined following-

A. The issue of Personal Laws -

In India is one of such major aspect where Indian Constitution overlooks multicultural concerns. Unlike polity based on separate Personal Laws in India, is guided by certain primary beliefs . And these beliefs harm a certain sections, these are-

1. Primacy to Religion over Secular-Principles- The system of Personal Laws gave sanctity to providing primacy to religion in the public sphere of the country¹⁴.

2. Primacy to Community Rights over Individual-Rights - A system based on Personal Laws, is guided by the rights of the community (Cultural, Religious) to be governed by their own laws. Either the state or the majority community will have no right to interfere in community matters. The ideal of such system is '*Community in Peril*'. This goes against Individual rights as the members are often to toes the community's line.

Personal Laws in India has been one of the most controversial issues before the Parliament and the Judiciary of the country. Independent Indian opted for a model of separate Personal Laws for each of it's religious community. Generally Personal Laws includes the issue of – Marriage, Divorce, Maintenance, Guardianship, Adoption and Succession. Under it each community is given autonomous powers to demarcate it's membership. Indian Succession Act, 1925 guarantees the equal rights to daughter and son.

There are two Personal Laws as defined by the Constitution of India as- Hindu Personal Laws and the Muslim Personal Laws. Parsis, Christians, Jains, Buddhist follows the Hindu Personal Laws, whether Muslim follows their specific Personal Laws, based on the *Shariat or Quran*¹⁵.

B. Uniform Civil Code -

Uniform Civil Code was the purposal to replace the Personal Laws, based on scriptures and customs of religious communities, with a common set of principles, governing every citizen of India. **Article 44** of the Indian Constitution, declares it's implementation as the duty of the state. Apart being an important issue regarding '*Secularism*', it became as one of most controversial issue , questioning on it. "*Shah Bano Case*" of 1985 is considered as the starter to point out the secularist nature of

Indian democracy. The Bano case made a politicized issue on the Identity Politics, by means of attacking specific religious minorities v/s protecting it's cultural identity 18. Then BJP (Bhartiya Janta Party) supported it.

C. Reconciliation with Pakistan -

Then Prime Minister Mr. Vajpayee, undertook the '*bus-diplomacy*' with arch-enemy Pakistan the '*Lahore-bus service*'. This step was taken mainly for the people who were separated during the partition of the country. This was the reflection of welfarist nature of the present government.

D. Article 370 -

Article 370, has been the controversial issue before the Congress government regarding it's abolishment, but it remained unresolved. Then after coming in the power, NDA government became responsible to refuse the abolishment of such Article 370, which gives a separate status to Jammu & Kashmir. Such decision reflects multicultural attitude of NDA government.

E. Immigration Issues -

India has one of the world's most diverse and complex migration histories. Since the 19th century, ethnic Indians have established communities on every continent. An illegal immigrant in India, is a person residing in the country without an official permission as prescribed by relevant Indian law. Those who are explicitly granted refugee status do not fall under this category 15. 2001 India Census Gives information about Migrants but not exclusively Illegal Immigrants. Per 2001 Census Bangladeshi form the largest group of migrants in India followed by Pakistan.

For example, Illegal immigration from Bangladesh has been part of political discourse in the North Eastern region. India has from time to time raised this issue. It actively pursued this issue with General Ershad and later with Begum Khaleda Zia when she visited India in 1992. Since Bangladesh refuses to accept that the Bangladeshis are illegally migrating; India decided to fence the border⁴ and has adopted push back policy, which sometimes has resulted in tension in the border. The magnitude of this issue, ambivalence of political parties and complete denial on the part off Bangladesh government made the then Prime Minister of India, Atal Behari Vajpayee in 2001 to

announce that the BJP government is contemplating to provide work permit of all the illegal immigrants in India admitting the difficulties in deporting them because of legal and constitutional hurdles. In 2003 a crisis erupted when 213 nomadic people especially the snake charmers from Bangladesh were stranded in no-man's land and Dhaka refused to take them back. This led to border tension and a bilateral political crisis as both India and Bangladesh refused to own these people creating a humanitarian crisis. Finally these people were mysteriously made to vanish from the no-man land as a face saving measure. To deal with the issue in 2003 the BJP government introduced Amendment to the Citizenship Act which for the first time defined 'illegal migrants' by inserting clause b to section 2 of **Citizenship Act 1956**¹⁶.

F. Pravasi Bhartiya Samman -

In the year of 2003, NDA government launched the 'Pravasi Bharatiya Samman' (honouring of non - resident Indians) and also started plans to establish an 'Overseas Citizenship' of India to enable *NRI's (Non Resident Indians)*, moving towards its aim to ensure Good Governance in Multicultural context of India.

G. Fund for Pilgrims-

The funding for the *Haj Pilgrimage to Mecca*, by Indian Muslim Pilgrims remained growing during the office term of NDA government (1998-2004). This step of NDA government was its soft attitude for Minority community of the country.

Through the stand on such issues during its' regime of 1998 to 2004, NDA government got partial success in represent its' multicultural attitude towards the diversity of the country ¹⁷.

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CHAPTER- 6

Conclusion

Governance or Good Governance are not the new concepts, to be used in modern time, but both are as old as human civilization itself. As these concepts may be traced throughout the history of Nation states or Greek city states. The concern of scholars like – Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Kautilya, Manu and so on, has went around the concept of Governance or Good Governance, as reflects in their literary works.

In contemporary time for the countries, especially in the democratic republican countries of the world, Governance is taken as the concept, refers to the **“Management”** in all spheres of people’s life, either economic, political, social or cultural. On the other side Governance refers the interactive relation among the governmental organs and the people. In other words it is said that- Governance is concerned with the network of relationship between three actors – the state, the markets and civil society . As *UNDP* defined that –**“Governance as the exercise of political, economical and administrative authority in the management of a country’s affairs at all levels”**. Governance is seen in the developmental discourse and in its’ good form, it is regarded as pre-requisite for a peaceful liberal world. The *World Bank* publication **“Sub-Saharan Africa- from crisis to sustainable growth”(1989)** , has defined Governance as the exercise of political power to manage a nation’s affairs.

In general, the Political regimes, social, political and economical system, and exercising authority or off-course the capacity of government to balance management

in every aspect of a regime, are considered as the key- aspects of a Governance. Such aspects are considered as the crucial elements in formulating any developmental strategy. And developmental strategy formulates the base to decide whether a governance is 'Bad' or 'Good'. As *Vivek Chopra* has classified two forms of Governance as the 'Good' or 'Bad', he further has defined that- ***“if it would able to make good effect and result in way to ensure development of the people, than it is a ‘Good Governance’ and if it would make bad and wrong impact in such way than it is a ‘Bad Governance’.”***

However, it has been the issue of concern from the centuries to make Governance in a ideal form, as it would reflect the nature of a state authority or thus may carry the dignity, power or respect for it. In the modern time such ideal form of a Governance is termed as the “Good Governance”. In the 20th century, Good Governance was emerged as the issue of challenge to the most developed and developing countries of the world. According to *UNDP* ***“Good Governance is what makes institutions and rules more effective and efficient, in order to achieve equity, transparency, participation, responsiveness, accountability and rule of law”***.

On the other side, Culture is seen as one of the source for the development of a society. In theory, democracy, representation, toleration and multiculturalism are seen as the components of political legitimacy. Task of cultural policy is therefore to create and support structures that promote mobilization of creativity of the people and thus ensure welfare, innovation and pluralism. Such relationships have been discussed at the level of *UNESCO* for the past forty years. *Otto Klineberg (1971)* has described that-***“Culture defines the accepted ways of behaving, for members of a particular society”***. As in the changing global scenario, Multicultural aspect of a particular country has become enough to know about the nature of political as well as social system of that country. *Jurgan Habermas (1994)* defines that –***“Multiculturalism suggest a way in which culture and autonomy are not only compatible but mutually are entangled”***. Further *Dunne and Bonazzi (1995)* said that –***“Multiculturalism emphasizes the need to recognize communities, whose rights can not be protected through the individually available Human Rights alone”***.

In the last decade of 20th century and first decade of 21st century, Good Governance and the Multicultural aspect of a country, became the interesting areas to study for the

scholars. As both the concepts reflects the developmental aspect of a society. The former has concern about the sustainable development of a particular country and the second one talks about the various rights and recognition of particular sections of a country.

In the context of Indian Democracy-

In context of India, ensuring the Good Governance has been a challenge before the governments of India, in both public and private sectors. Good Governance is considered as the ideal in a democracy, like India. And to ensure this ideal, it is expected from the government to act with honesty to the rights of the people. In the last decade of 20th and the first decade of 21st century, when NDA government came into power, such concept remain one of the concern to the government. Various Prograames and Policies by NDA government, were executed with the purpose to achieve the ideal of Good Governance in multicultural context of India. However the Multicultural perspective of NDA government has been concerning issue for opposition government. But it was the government who partially succeed to represent its' approach towards Good Governance in multicultural context, through the formation of various policies and programmes, having the purpose of upliftment, welfare or recognition of the specialised sections of the country.

Good Governance emerged as the concept of concern after the Economical Reforms of 1991, in India. *The "States, Territories Secretariat Conference" of 1996* and *"All India's Chief Ministers Conference" of 1997*, both revealed that – **"Good Governance is must for the country"**. During the NDA government's office in 1998-2004, various programmes and policies were executed in order to ensure the ideal of Good Governance in India. Then Vajpayee government's agenda for the elections of 2004, became *the "An agenda for Development, Good Governance, Peace and Harmony"*. However, India is cosidered as the World's largest diverse democracy, having a strong civil society, vigorous media and an independent judiciary. But it may also compromise with its' multicultural policy making, due to the serious concern about human rights.

Today, many governmental schemes and programmes are working in order to ensure Good Governance in the country like, E-Governance, E- Chopal, Information and Help Centres, Digital India, E- Panchayat, Indian Health Mission etc. In present time Good Governance is considered as the second name of the sustainable development in the country. On 25th december,2015, on the birthday of Mr. Atal Bihari VaJpayee, the former prime minister of India, the first Good Governance day was celebrated. Such step was taken because the NDA government, headed by Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee was the first government in centre to have the vision to ensure the Ideal of Good Governance in the country, during it's office term from 1998 to 2004. NDA government partial succeed in ensuring the Good Governance in multicultural context of India, through the implementation of some of policies and programmes, during 1998 to 2004. During 1998 to 2004, NDA government worked for ensuring Good Governance with its quite multicultural perspective. The evident of such statement may find out through the study of the 5th chapter.

Challenges before Indian Democracy regarding Good Governace in Multicultural context -

India is a country with '*Unity in diversity*' in a sense that it is large enough in size with different geographical diversity and population and has a multicultural, multilingual, multiregional society and also having different religions, sects, ideologies and a federal parliamentary "sovereign socialist secular democratic republic"¹⁸ with multiparty system and having constitutional supremacy and judicial review to ensure and protect the fundamental rights of the people. In such diverse democracy, challenges to ensuring Good Governance may be identified in terms of the Social Justice, Poverty, Empowerment, Employment, Soaring Prices, Red-tapism, Criminalization of Politics, Corruption, Administrative Responsiveness, Accountability and Transparency, Partisan Politics, Centre –State Conflicts etc.

Beside, these there also may find some challenges to achieve the ideal of Good Governance in the multicultural context of India, which has been led dissatisfaction and disillusionment in the minds of the people, towards their Government. As following are - Degeneration of values in society, Participation of the People in Political affairs, Political Awareness of the People, Responsiveness of the People on

Governmental acts, Sense of Self- fulfillment, Illiteracy, Health & Medical facilities, Labour unrest, Communal tension etc.

However, Good Governance is often called as a **panacea for all ills** plaguing society and government. But there are few who can actually define Good Governance. Knowing the challenges of ensuring a Good Governance before the Indian democracy, such suggestions may be useful, in order to ensuring Good Governance in multicultural context of the country - Free, Fair and timely Elections in all the spheres of Political Authority, Transparency and Accountability of all Institutions of the state to its' every citizen equally, Efficient and Effective delivery of Socio- Economic Public services without any discrimination, Concern of Public policy makers about the Needs and Interests of specialized or excluded sections of society to privilege and welfare of them with sense of dignity.

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