

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 corelation 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?
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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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