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- Mohanan (2003) finds that the much publicized Kerala model
- Kerala society is widely considered as a matrilineal one (Mohanan, 2003)
- "It is widely believed that the legal status of Kerala women is higher status of Kerala women is higher status, since they could share the benefits of education" (Mohanan, 2003, p.84).

Two or more authors

- Same as single author with the surnames of all the authors.
- (Pillai & Joshy, 2010)
- Pillai and Joshy (2010) argue that ...
- Strategic autonomy issue has been raised by several authors (e.g., Pillai, Parija, Menon & Josukutty, 2015)
- Pillai, Josukutty, Joshy and Parija (2015) support

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Mohanam, B. (2003). *Women and Law: The case of Kerala*. Trivandrum: ISDA Publications.

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Zubin, J. (1975). Problem of attention in schizophrenia. In M.I. Kietzman, S. Sutton and J. Zubin (Eds.) *Experimental approaches to psychopathology*. New York: Academic Press.

Citing DOI

Farrell, P. (2010). School psychology: Learning lessons from history and moving forward. *School Psychology International*, 31, 581-598. doi: 10.1177/0143034310386533.

Citing web resources

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Initially, the findings may be stated briefly. In subsequent paragraphs, the findings may be discussed in the light of relevant works in the past. In some cases, the results need not be given under a separate sub-heading and may be included along with the discussion so as to avoid repetition.

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GOVERNANCE AND GOOD GOVERNANCE: A COMPREHENSIVE CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

Sudheesh Kumar J*

Abstract

The term 'good governance' gained the privilege of a conceptual model only very recently. Though used interchangeably, governance has a broader meaning when compared to the government. By adding the adjective 'good' to governance, the scholars of administration and management, and international development agencies establish an intricate meaning to development administration. As a phenomenon, 'good governance' has launched a new development paradigm for all political systems. It is considered today as a measurable occurrence for exploring the administrative performance of each nation. In other words, the modern nations are trying hard to institute the principles laid down in the good governance "paradigm" in their respective political systems. This paper critically examines the different connotations of the concepts of governance and good governance.

Keywords: *citizen-centric, actor-network, text-context dialectic, ethical consistency, organizational flexibility, pervasive patronage*

The idea of governance has been introduced during the 1980s, to extend the prospect on policy and politics. It acknowledged that the government is not the only actor in managing and organising societal and political solutions. On the contrary, several stakeholders are to take part in the process of decision making. The shift to governance is best understood as a response to new challenges such as globalisation, increased international cooperation, societal changes,

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including the increased engagement of citizens and the rise of non-governmental organisations (NGOs). It also deals with the dynamic role of the private sector, an augmenting complexity of policy issues and the resulting difficulty in making decisions with confidence and legitimacy. (Pacific, 2012, p. 3). Governance is defined as a system of values, policies, and institutions by which a society manages its economic, political and social affairs through interactions within and among the state, civil society, and the private sector. It is the way in which society organises itself to make and implement decisions and achieving mutual understanding, agreement, and action. It comprises the mechanisms and processes for citizens and groups to articulate their interests, mediate their differences and exercise their legal rights and obligations. It is rules, institutions, and practices that set the limits and provide incentives for individuals, organisations, and firms. (Raj, 2015, p. 102). In fact, governance includes a non-hierarchically organised structure encompassing state and non-state actors and bringing about collectively binding policies without a superior authority. It is simply the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are executed or not executed. It covers all phases of the procedure in which authority is employed and public affairs are administered.

Governance: Meaning and Relevance

The term governance has been broadly defined in social science as the casual and formal processes and institutions that manage and regulate the combined activities of a group. Vineeta defines governance as "the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It consists of mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and government articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences" (Rai, 2011, p. 156). The World Bank defines it as the way in which political power is

employed to manage a country's economic and social resources. Thereby, it identifies the following three distinct characteristics of governance: (i) the form of a political regime, (ii) the process in which authority is utilised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development and (iii) the ability of the government to design, formulate and execute policies and accomplish their functions. (Godbole, 2014, p. 24)

In the governance perspective, non-state actors play a more relevant role in decision making due to their emphatic sources of information and resources, compared to formal governmental agencies. Scholars subscribing to the governance approach measures actor-networks, and the role of the various actors in these dynamics to understand policy development and political decision making. Here, the power is divided among various actors who are part of the "multi-actor network". This view also encompasses the role of non-elected actors, such as civil servants, experts, think tanks and all kind of committees active in various ways in policy-making processes. The perspective thus draws attention to the diversity of actors, the diversity of their roles, their logic of action, the complex relationships between them and all kinds of dynamic networks emerging from these relationships. (Arora, 2014, p. 5) In a rural society, governance involves associations of peasants, cooperatives, NGOs, religious leaders, political parties, etc. In the national level, in addition to the above actors, media, lobbyists, international donors, multinational corporations, etcare also involved in the process. Therefore, governance is a process and ideology that involves the actions of several states, non-state, private and even (on certain occasions) international actors.

Governance is a transmuted process and ideology which owes its derivation in the traditional concept of public administration. It is framed on a neo-liberal tilt with the initiatives marked by

the democratisation of public administration. In certain contexts, governance has certain limitations while regarded as a methodology or universal conception. It is so because being an instrument of efficiency, it ignores the importance of politics in shaping the exact nature of public administration. Therefore, it is required that one should consider the text-context dialectic to persuasively grasp the complexities of governance as a theoretical parameter.

Despite this shortcoming, governance has advanced as a counter-conceptualisation to the Weberian, centralised and hierarchical authority. It also helps to provide a concrete understanding of the functioning of public administration, particularly in developing countries. Governance as a design is now all accepted in the world administrative scenario because of its ability to facilitate loan from donor agencies and generated the hope of an impersonal government committed to development to all. It is adequately equipped to lay out a system of administration in countries that are suffering from an everlasting government deficit.

How the model of governance is substituted with that of the already existed traditional state-controlled system of public administration? Let us examine what actually necessitated governance as an alternative model and methodology? In an OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) publication, Wolfgang observes, there are four sets of historical developments that have influenced the rise of governance in the literature of administration: (i) the impact of struggles for greater democracy and competitive markets, (ii) the means by which changes in economic productivity and material wealth altered both the aims and methods of governance, (iii) demands for reforming the well-entrenched and excessively rule-bound system of administration and, (iv) managerial innovations and their application to transform the institutional design and the organisational structure of administrative operations. (Wolfgang

Michalski, 2001, p. 9). Further causes for the expanse of governance into a trusted ideology are : (a) The disintegration of the Soviet Union contributed to the need for an alternative to Marxist-Leninist model of management practices. (b) In the Western Capitalist countries, there was a rise of anti-state and anti-bureaucratic criticism - directed against the so-called 'government overload' which was the consequence of bureaucratic repercussion. There was also the phenomenon of 'overgrowth of bureaucracy'. (c) The demand at this juncture was to downsize the government and allow more free involvement of the market and civil society-giving rise to the new ideology of neo-liberalism. The advent of globalisation reduced the role of traditional bureaucracy and increased the emphasis of non-state actors in administration. (Bidyut Chakrabarty, 2017, p. 151). So it can be found that there were more than one compelling reasons for the conceptual transformation of public administration. The explicit evaluation of the Neo-liberal scholars was that there was nothing endured as "public" in public administration in the changed scenario.

The theoretical source of governance lies in the New right ideology of neo-liberal economic theories. In this context, governance is an interface between State, market and civil society. The governance discourse has its origin in (1) the new thrust towards neo-liberal restraint on the state by proposing market and civil society as competing for social authority and social service provider respectively; (2) the apprehension of international funding authorities for more accountable, transparent and participative rule; (3) the emergent globalisation trend impelled by economic, technological and political considerations. The New Right ideology redefined public administration by emphasising the cause of the free market and calls for a substantial reduction in the size and role of government in society. In a neoliberal world, governments have undergone a drastic

change in their structure and ideology. There is an obvious withdrawal of the state from most of the sectors. Globalisation brought about the marriage between corporate discipline and entrepreneurial spirit. The government in this era discards the traditional image of 'doer' and seeks the image of an 'enabler' with the influence of the market. Therefore, the contemporary State is more of a corporate state. (Bidyut Chakrabarty, 2017, pp. 151-152). It was Harlan Cleveland who raised the argument for more governance and less government for the first time in his paper "the Future Executive". Critical to the Weberian hierarchical and state-controlled form of governance, he put forward an alternative by highlighting some of the ideals significant while conceptualising public administration in the contemporary globalised world. To him, the features of governance were: 1. For enabling governance, decisions need to be pluralised (There should be multiple centers of decision making); 2. Once the stakeholders are recognised with due legitimacy, it creates the space for discussion and deliberation on issues critical to a government; 3. The future of organisation was to be horizontal and not hierarchical. (Cleveland, 1972, pp. 247-251). This led to a redrawing of conventional theory of public administration. The newgovernance perspective put forward a considerable withdrawal of the state from several sectors and increased involvement of the different stakeholders in the realm of decision making. It further emphasised the role of participation and auditing on the part of the general public over the political and bureaucratic decision makers.

Good Governance: A Conceptual Evaluation

The former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan observes good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development. As a corollary to this, the academic and policy discourses have converged around the idea that "good governance" is essential for human development and to uphold

the principles of democracy. The World Bank and other multilateral development banks see governance as an instrument that addresses the reform of economic institutions and public sector management. Organizations, like the United Nations, the European Commission and the OECD, are more inclined to highlight democratic governance and human rights aspects of political governance. Some of the issues that are treated under the governance schedules by various organisations include election monitoring, political party support, combating corruption, building independent judiciaries, security sector reform, improved service delivery, transparency of the government accounts, decentralization, civil and political rights, government responsiveness and 'forward vision'. In short, the term "good governance" includes a variety of generally "good" objects. (Pacific, 2012, p. 3)

Good governance is actually good government. The concept relates to the quality of the relationship between government and the citizens for whom it exists to 'serve' and 'protect', ie., "citizen-centric". To put it more precisely and simply, governance means the way those with power exercise that power. The concept, therefore, has political, ethical and economic dimensions. Good governance emerges through the sincere and honest application of prevailing laws and respecting the spirit behind these laws. (Goel, 2007, pp. 4-5). The challenge of good governance would certainly require a brand new government, a reoriented bureaucracy, and a non-government business sector with social responsibility. Such a reframed government must have both the moral consistency and organisational adaptability to remain faithful toward the goal of public service. For the sake of good governance, that government is to function in a more missionary, fair, and energised manner, having a less machine-like and with less hierarchical structure and procedures (Mukhopadhyaya, 1999, p. 36). Hence, as a concept and a process,

different scholars recommends a number of tools and techniques for realising the goals of good governance. It is considered a privilege for all countries in the world to follow the principles of good governance for becoming citizen-centric and transparent.

Cleveland's conceptualisation on governance influenced several institutions in altering their approach towards public administration. World Bank, for instance, experimented this ideology while it failed to recover the financial loan that extended to many countries in Sub Saharan Africa. World Bank accounted that the recipient nations could not repay the loan amount because of the political instability prevalent there due to irregular regime changes. The World Bank, in the report titled "From Crisis to Sustainable Growth" stated that: the breakdown of a system of governance (leading) to widespread corruption, oppression, and nepotism (which) are not unique to Africa,....may have been exacerbated by development strategies that concentrated power and resources in government bureaucracies, without countervailing measures to ensure public accountability or political consensus. Consequently, the neglect of due process has robbed institutions of their legitimacy and credibility. Besides, it resulted in the proliferation of administrative regulations, such as licensing, controls and quotas which encouraged corruption in the administrative sector. Whereby, the common people began to march against the government. (WB, 1989, p. 22)

Good governance is more or less a continuum of the structural adjustment policy launched by international financial institutions during the 1960s in most of the developing and underdeveloped countries. The situation in most of these countries in the post-globalisation period was highly catastrophic. Since they have instigated privatisation in their respective economies, public administration became a weak affair for them. Public life deeply characterised by chaos that was the result of foul play by the authority which was

meant to subserve the interests of those who appropriated authority for private gains. World Bank's argument for this phenomenon was the failure on the part of governments to exercise political power in managing national affairs. The same was reflected on the state officials and bureaucrats in these countries. They acted irresponsibly and served their own interests in the absence of being checked by a competent authority. (Bidyut Chakrabarty, 2017, p. 154) In order to get rid of the mess, the World Bank devised some measures that insisted on: (1) staff testing to help select the best-qualified candidates (2) better personnel management with competitive entrance examinations and regular staff appraisals as the basis of promotion based on merit. (WB, 1989, p. 56) In order to revamp the civil service, the World Bank attempted to address the structural evils in it. Therefore it was suggested that 'a systematic effort to build a pluralistic intuitional structure, a determination to respect the rule of law, vigorous protection of the freedom of the press and human rights, was required'. It seems the propositions of the World Bank in this context has a universal characteristic. What it reinforces is the assumption that good governance is a set of techniques which, if fulfilled, will create conditions for efficient governance, regardless of the socio-economic and political circumstances. This was, however, criticised by many as interference by the Bank on the domestic governance of the sovereign countries. The Bank acknowledged the democratic values and governmental techniques of these countries followed till date as outdated and sub-standard. It sought these countries should initiate immediate alteration in their political system for getting funded.

The World Bank narrative covering good governance in the lending procedure has persuaded many Western developed countries and international financial institutions to implement those guidelines while extending financial assistance in the ensuing

years. Later, the United States of America became the leading nation to assess governance in a country and release funds accordingly. In November 1998, the U.S. Agency for International Development's (U.S. AID) Centre for Democracy and Governance provided a conceptual framework that recognized the importance of linkages between democratization and economic growth. It identified four categories that describe the agency's democracy and governance activities: rule of law, elections and political processes, civil society, and governance. Consequently, it started working with another independent agency, the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC). Later on, financial aid was provided to those countries that can aspire to MCC eligibility. The MCC uses five of those six World Bank indicators, rule of law, government effectiveness, voice and accountability, control of corruption and regulatory quality, for choosing countries for getting funded. (Steve Radelet, 2005, pp. 1-15)

Though the 1989 Report of the World Bank was for the renovation of Sub-Saharan Africa, the Bank extended the principles of Good Governance to all countries across the world with its 1992 Reports. The reports pointed towards a conceptual universal alternation to Public Administration. 'Structuring the discussion around a specific model of institutionalised administration, one of the documents states that governance is a design that seeks to combat 'corruption (that) has affected development and ... pervasive patronage (that) has led to public investment choices being used to finance white elephants, usually by contracting excessive foreign debt' (WB, Governance and Development, 1992, p. 4). It is evident that besides highlighting the importance of agencies other than the government, governance is primarily a checklist of items to ensure efficiency in administration.

Underlining the above goal, the World Bank defined good

governance in the following manner: "Good Governance is epitomised by predictable, open and enlightened policy-making, a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos acting in furtherance of public good, the rule of law, transparent processes and a strong civil society participating in public affairs" (WB, World Development Report, 1992, p. 29). Four key elements are evident in the above conceptualisation: (1) public sector management, (2) accountability, (3) the legal structure for development and (4) information and transparency. That is, improving governance would begin with an evaluation of the institutional environment (accountability, the rule of law, openness and transparency) which circumscribes the patrimonial contour of the country. (Bidyut Chakrabarty, 2017, p. 156).

The conditionalities of good governance, as in the case of structural adjustment, are thus carefully outlined. The Bank document sums up, "Governance is a continuum, and not necessarily unidirectional: it does not automatically improve over time. It is a plant that needs constant tending. Citizens need to demand good governance. They can enhance their ability to do so when there are better opportunities for education and employment. Governments need to prove responsive to those demands. Neither of these can be taken for granted". (WB, Governance and Development, 1992, p. 30). Therefore, the mutual accountability of both citizens and governments are to be ensured. The continuous vigilance on the part of citizens and civil society is also inevitable. Change occurs in response to external or internal threats in a political system. It may also come from pressure groups, which may be in the form of populist demands. Although lenders, aid agencies and outsiders can contribute resources and ideas to improve governance, it is to be in line with the values of societies concerned and never be imposed. The Bank, hereby demands assurance from the lending agencies not to interfere with the socio-cultural and economic sphere of a

country. Fundamentally, it is a continuation of the Bank's "technical illusion". However, a kind of neo-managerialism encompassing more difficult spheres of political management of 'development' is experienced in the Third World Countries. 'Governance' is now being defined in terms of an autonomous administrative theory. It is centered around a new interpretation of the earlier 'administration-politics dichotomy'. That is, governance is sought to be withdrawn from the turbulent world of politics and the structure and purpose of the state. (Kumar, 2006, pp. 3-4). Thus the proposed governance perspective keeps the actual political and social realities outside the realm of administration. The administration needs to be more professional and people-centric.

The UNDP elaborates the concept of good governance by underlining that governance is "the essence of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights meet their local obligations and mediate their differences". Governance, according to the UNDP, can be articulated in terms of eight major characteristics:

Participation: participation by both men and women through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives in decision making is essential for good governance. More than just election and representation, everyone should get the opportunity to organise associations and express opinions on the one hand and an organised civil society on the other.

Rule of Law: Good governance further requires a fair legal framework and institutions to protect human rights. Hence, there should be an independent and impartial judiciary and incorruptible police force.

Transparency: it means decisions taken and enforced are done by following rules and regulations. Information regarding the decisions of government is to be made easily available. The access to information must be easy and understandable as far as the medium of communication is concerned.

Responsiveness: good governance requires that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable time frame.

Consensus-Oriented: For good governance in a society where there is a difference in interests, a broad consensus to find the best interest is required. It also requires a broad and long term prospect on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development.

Equity and Inclusiveness: A society's well-being is the well-being of all, particularly the vulnerable. They must get the chance to improve or maintain their living conditions.

Effectiveness and efficiency: Good governance means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of the community by intelligently utilising the resources. The concept of efficiency in the context of good governance is the sustainable use of natural resources and environment protection.

Accountability: It is a prime requirement of good governance. The private sector and civil society organisations along with governmental institutions need to be accountable to the public and the stakeholders. In fact, accountability cannot be expected without transparency and the rule of law. (UNDP, 1997, pp. 9-19). Scholars use these variables to quantitatively measure the intensity of good governance in different polities. Recent studies have advanced several quantitative techniques to find out how much a government follows good governance.

Conclusion

In fact, governance as a concept and good governance as a practice have emerged into an epicenter of administration in the post-globalized world. Governance which was presented contextually by the World Bank and its co-institutions set an alternative to the classical conception of public administration. The classical conception of Public Administration based on 'the notion of efficiency' faced set back in the neoliberal era. As a methodology and discipline, it remained ineffective to cope with the newly changed socio-economic and political environment. In order to fill this vacuum, governance was introduced as a model with certain essential principles. Compared to the government, governance had a multiple actor-network for energising the process of administration. Good governance had further enriched the philosophy of administration by providing it a new direction. It was a synonym of 'positive rule' for some. They concerned with a form of governance which serves the citizens by protecting the territorial integrity of the country and ensuring personal security, rule of law and the transfer of services ranging from education, health to subsistence and food security. For others, along with that, it was a conditionality set forth by lending institutions for offering aid. Both views gained popularity in the last two decades. It is rightly stated that: What is surprising is that the World Bank presented "good governance" thesis looks so unworld-Bank. It is so because normally the Bank concerned more about technical and economic solutions in the earlier decades. Observing this new orientation of the World Bank, many scholars have raised the question "what are the real intentions of the Bank?" Does the Bank concern 'domination' over 'democracy'? The views and opinions of the Bank to favour good governance faced a lot of resistance from several scholars and national leaders. The neo-liberal theory propounded the concept of good governance also earned

ardent criticisms. Also, marketing a single model of governance seems like resurrecting the old 'one best way' of management of the classical theory era. This assumption of the Bank let one think that "all is good in the First World" and "all is bad in the Third World". This mindset will also lead to mandatorily proposing unacceptable and unethical governance alternatives to the aid-seeking countries by the donor countries. There are substantial operational obstacles in transposing the new concept of governance into actual practice. Despite these repercussions, governance and good governance seem to have earned an agreeable position in the field of modern management and administration.

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KASHMIR BETWEEN THE 'ONE NATION THEORY' AND THE 'TWO NATION THEORY'

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Abstract

Kashmir is geographically positioned in such a manner that any socio-political change in the sub-continent profoundly affects the state. The nationalist movement in India did convince the people of Jammu and Kashmir to launch their political struggle against dynastic and the hereditary Dogra rule. But when nationalism discourse changed in India it impacted state politics badly. Since the adoption of Lahore Resolution and the revival of the Muslim Conference (MC), Kashmir came under the influence of two different theories of nationalism; One theory regarded India as 'One Nation', a 'unity in diversity- unity that transcends countless diversities. The other theory looked upon the subcontinent as entirely composed of 'Two Nations', binary opposite to one another and which can never evolve a common nationality hence must be separated. The former was propounded by Nehru and the Congress and the later by Jinnah and his Muslim League (ML). The study tries to explain that the long drawn Kashmir conflict is rooted in these two opposite theories of nationalism and concludes that the tribal attack was not the sole reason for the division of Jammu and Kashmir.

Key words: *Two nation theory, the Muslim Conference, the National Conference, 13th July 1931, Sheikh Abdullah, Chaudery Ghulam Abbas, Secularization of politics, one nation theory*

Changing Contours of Kashmir Politics:

Jammu and Kashmir was founded by the colonial government in India by the infamous Treaty of Amritsar (TOA), a sale deed concluded between Maharaja Gulab Singh and the British Government in India

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