

Details of Module and its Structure

Module Detail	
Subject Name	Political Science
Paper Name	Public Policy, Governance and Indian Administration
Module Name/Title	Citizens' Participation in Administration; Role of Civil Society Organisations
Pre-requisites	Understanding of Government functioning, social structure, Organisational structure, Public problems, felt need, Various types of organisations and their administration, Concepts of public welfare, governance mechanism
Objectives	<p>To understand Concept of people participation in Democracy.</p> <p>Understand the concept of Civil Society.</p> <p>Methodology of People participation through Civil Society.</p> <p>Understand the relationship between state and Civil Society</p> <p>Appreciate the role of civil Society in Governance and Development.</p> <p>Analyse the role of civil society in context of Contemporary India.</p> <p>Evaluate the measures taken by Civil Society for Good Governance in India.</p> <p>Discuss Challenges before the Civil Society.</p> <p>Examine the Changing role of Civil Society.</p>
Keywords	Democracy, People's participation, civil society, New Public Management, Public Choice Theory, Social Capita, Teleological, Velvet Revolution, The New Communitarian, Good Governance, RTI,MGNREGA, Lokpal, MKSS

Structure of Module / Syllabus of a module

Citizens' Participation in Administration; Role of Civil Society Organisations	Objective, Summary, Introduction, concept and importance of People Participation, People Participation through Civil Society, Concept of Civil Society,Civil Society and state, Role of civil society, Civil Society and Good Governance, Role of Civil Society in Governance of Contemporary India, Case Study, Challenges Before the Civil Society, Future Perspective, Conclusion
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1. Objective

After going through this Unit, you will be able to understand:

- The concept of people's participation in democracy.
- The concept of civil society.
- Methodology of people's participation.
- Relationship between the state and civil society.
- The role of civil Society in Governance and Development.
- The role of civil society in the context of contemporary India.
- The measures taken by civil society for Good Governance in India.
- Challenges before civil society.
- The Changing role of civil society.

2. Summary

Both citizens' participation in governance and political processes are the essence of democracy. Contemporary society participates in governance and the development process through civil society. Civil society is understood as the broad space between households and government. Within this space, citizens seek to support and build alliances with those factors that are primarily concerned with tackling poverty and injustice and with the promotion of human rights (including economic, social, civil and political rights) for all sectors of society. Civil society ensures good governance by holding government accountable, influencing government policy, lobbying for change, demanding efficient public services and delivering essential services, where there is an added advantage or greater capacity. Civil society would be incomplete without considering its relation to the state. In present times, there is a shift in the relations between state and civil society. Governments largely rely on civil society to shape its social policies, and have created institutionalised mechanisms of consultation. Similarly, many movements and groups who could not conceive engaging with government have since reconsidered their stance. Spaces of engagement have evolved at various levels. At the union government level, the most visible and institutionalised mechanism of consultation is the National Advisory Council (NAC). NAC was set up on 4 June 2004 by the Manmohan Singh Government. The body, composed of influential members of civil society, was set up to provide policy inputs to the UPA government. It has played a crucial role in shaping landmark legislations, like the Right to Information Act, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, and the Forest Rights Act, and the Lokpal bill. For the first time in 2010, the Ministry of Finance organised a pre-budget consultation with civil society. Moreover, many feel that the organisations selected for the 12th Plan preparatory consultation represent civil society better than those selected for past consultations¹. The growing importance of civil society has also brought with it a variety of constraints and pressures. In reiteration of some of the maladies that have afflicted civil society, it can be pointed out that civil society has not been conceptualised tightly, that is why varied perspectives on its meaning, nature and composition have come to camouflage its very essence. Unless a positive and complementary relationship between state administration and society is conceived, civil society's role in governance and development will not produce constructive results. What is needed is a civil society that is accessible and responsive to the subaltern, the marginalised and the radical. A critical

¹ Dubochet, Lucy. The Changing Role of Civil Society in a Middle -Income Country-A case study from India, Oxfam India, New Delhi 2011. p. 13

narrative of civil society must include those features of the sphere which make it vulnerable to class oppression.

3. Introduction

People's participation in governance is the hall mark of democracy where citizen's rights include the freedom of expression and of association. Often these rights are written in a constitution or other public document. People freely exercise these rights in many ways, for example, by meeting to advocate for their interests, by volunteering to forward a valued cause, or by protesting a government policy. Thus, citizens' participation constitutes an important effort to strengthen the mechanics and processes involved in democratic management and governance. Participants can come from public institutions, including those at the Union or national level, if the participant focuses on the execution of programs at the local or state level, state governments, local or municipal governments or organizations that are not related to government; these are known as civil society organisations. In a democratic system of government trust between the government and citizens is a prerequisite for good governance and participation. To build trust, governments need to communicate in a transparent way about past and future decisions and actions. However, the governments should not only inform but also involve citizens. The ideas and opinions that they put forward in policy-making and implementation processes, provide valuable input for improving the quality of local policies and services.

In India, most of the development policy failed due to inadequate peoples' participation. e.g. Community Development programme started in 1952 failed due to lack of peoples' participation². In the present time people participate and influence policies through organisations which are not related to government under the umbrella known as civil society, they do so as part of civil society. Civil society is a "space" whose function as a mediator between the individual and the state distinguishes it from the government and the business sector³. In a healthy democracy, these institutions supplement formal processes such as voting and help citizens shape the culture, politics, administration and economies of their nation.

This lesson aims at addressing the issues pertaining to the concept of peoples' participation, concept and role of civil society, evolution of civil society, relation of civil society with state, role of civil society to ensure good governance, functioning of civil society in Contemporary India, successful story through case study and challenges and futuristic perspective are discussed in detailed in analytical way for in-depth understanding of civil society in modern world in general and particularly in India.

The Second Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) in its Twelfth Report entitled "Citizen Centric Administration - the Heart of Governance" has examined the issue of participation of citizens in administration. The Commission is of the view that mechanisms for citizens' participation in governance could be conceptualized in the following forms:

1. Citizens seeking information.
2. Citizens giving suggestions.
3. Citizens demanding better service.
4. Citizens holding service providers and other government agencies accountable.
5. Active citizens' participation in administration / decision making.

²Golia Nemi Chand. ' Panchyati Raj and Poverty Eradication: With special reference to the Sikar District' Jaipur Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Rajasthan. 2008. p.4.

³ Neelmani Jaysaw, 'Civil Society, Democratic Space, and Social Work' SAGE Open Journal October-December 2013: p. 4

These have been accepted by the Core Group on Administrative Reforms under the Chairmanship of Cabinet Secretary for encouraging citizens' participation⁴.

4. Concept and Importance of People's Participation

People's participation is a process which provides private individuals an opportunity to influence public decisions and has long been a component of the democratic decision-making process. The roots of citizen participation can be traced to ancient Greece and Colonial New England. Citizen participation in community decision-making can be traced as far back as Plato's Republic. Plato's concepts of freedom of speech, assembly, voting, and equal representation have evolved through the years to form basic pillars upon which democracy has been established. Citizen participation is the essence of democracy. In the United States of America, before the 1960s, governmental processes and procedures were designed to facilitate "external" participation. Citizen participation was institutionalized in the mid-1960s with President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs⁵. Public involvement is the means to ensure that citizens have a direct voice in public decisions and policies. The terms "citizen" and "public," and "involvement" and "participation" are often used interchangeably. While both are generally used to indicate a process through which citizens have a voice in public policy decisions, both have distinctively different meanings and convey little insight into the process they seek to describe. Mize state that the term "citizen participation" and its relationship to public decision-making has evolved without a general consensus regarding either its meaning or its consequences⁶

Many agencies or individuals choose to exclude or minimize public participation in planning efforts claiming that effective citizen participation is too expensive and time consuming. Yet, many citizen participation programs are initiated in response to public reaction to a proposed project or action. However, there are tangible benefits that can be derived from an effective citizen involvement program. Cogan and Sharpe identify five benefits of citizen participation to the planning process:⁷

- Information and ideas on public issues;
- Public Support for planning decisions;
- Avoidance of protracted conflicts and costly delays;
- Reservoir of good will which can carry over to future decisions; and
- Spirit of cooperation and trust between the agency and the public.

These benefits are intrinsic to people's participation; these lead to framing of realistic policies.

It is assumed that citizen participation is a desired and necessary part of community development activities. As Spiegel notes, "Citizen Participation is the process that can meaningfully tie programs to people"⁸. Heviews citizen participation from the perspective of volunteer community development groups, organized to provide the structure for citizens to become involved in community betterment activities.

5. People's Participation through Civil Society

⁴ Second Administrative Reforms Commission Twelfth Report Citizen Centric Administration The Heart of Governance New Delhi. February 200. p. 1

⁵Cogan A, Sharpe S & Hertzberg J, Citizen Participation. In So, F. S., Hand, I. & Madowell, B. D. (Eds.), The Practice of State and Regional Planning. Municipal Management Series. Chicago: American Planning Association. 1986. p. 283

⁶Mize C.E., Citizen Participation in Public Decision-making: A Study of the Willamette National Forest. School of Community Service and Public Affairs. Oregon. 1972 P 86

⁷Cogan and Sharpe 1986, p. 284 op.cit

⁸Spiegel, Hans B.C . Citizen Participation in Urban Development. Washington, D.C.: N&L Institute for Applied Behavioural Science. 1968. p. 49

Democracy is not a spectator sport⁹. We have representative parliamentary democracy, vesting the decision-making in a small group of elected representatives, that is government ‘of’ the people. There is a gap between the not-so-efficient state and the profit-alone-matters private sector which needs a third sector to bridge it. This is how civil society is seen today. The first step in examining civil society participation is describing exactly who is included within the delineation of civil society.

6. Concept of Civil Society

Civil society is a broad and amorphous concept. The issue of defining what constitutes Civil Society Organizations is a problematic one. Indeed, the use of these terms, in many instances, depends on place and time, geographic location and the existing legal framework for registering civil society organizations. Other factors include membership, mission, and form of organization.

Thus, there is great diversity within civil society, covering all non-state, non-market, non-household organisations and institutions, ranging from community or grassroots associations, social movements, cooperatives, labour unions, professional groups, advocacy and development NGOs, formal non-profits, social enterprises, and many more. In recent decades ‘old’ social movements of trade unions and labour have been joined by movements focusing on issues such as gender and environment among a wide diversity of citizen interests¹⁰. Context, therefore, is key to civil society and must be key to any analysis and understanding of it.

In the broadest sense, civil society has been characterized as a sphere of social life that is public but excludes government activities¹¹. Michael Bratton describes civil society as social interaction between the household and the state characterized by community cooperation, structures of voluntary association, and networks of public communication¹². The term civil society is generally used to classify persons, institutions, and organizations that have the goal of advancing or expressing a common purpose through ideas, actions, and demands on governments¹³. The membership of civil society is quite diverse, ranging from individuals to religious and academic institutions to issue-focused groups such as not-for-profit or non-governmental organizations.

Civil society is the arena, separate from state and market, in which ideological hegemony is contested across a range of organisations and ideologies which challenge and uphold the existing order. To the extent that individuals cannot accomplish certain tasks alone, they typically fall to voluntary associations or civil society organisations, which exist to change or challenge the existing structures and processes underlying exclusion or disadvantage. While in mainstream development usage, civil space is often viewed as an unqualified

⁹ Arthur Blaustein, ‘Democracy Is Not a Spectator Sport: The Ultimate Volunteer Handbook’, S, Skyhorse Publishing New York, 2011, Cover page

¹⁰ Bolnick, J. ‘Development as reform and counter-reform: paths travelled by Slum/Shack Dwellers International’, in: A. Bebbington, S. Hickey and D. Mitlin (eds.), Can NGOs Make a Difference? The Challenge of Development Alternatives, London and New York: Zed Books, pp. 316-333.

¹¹ Meidinger, Errol “Law Making by Global Civil Society: The Forest Certification Prototype.” Baldy Centre for Law and Social Policy, State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo NY. 2001. Available from <http://www.iue.it/LAW/joerges/transnationalism/documents/Meidinger.pdf>

¹² Michael. Bratton, Civil Society and Political Transition in Africa. Boston, MA: Institute for Development Research. 1994.

¹³ Cohen. Jean L., and Arato Andrew, Civil Society and Political Theory, London MIT Press, 1994

‘good’¹⁴, it represents all interests and contains many competing ideas and interests that may not all be good for development¹⁵

Thus, civil society, in common parlance, refers to networks and relationships of those groups that are not organised and managed by state. It is expected to identify major problems in society, articulate current issues, empower the disadvantaged, serve as an independent voice in strategic debate and provide a constructive forum for exchange of ideas and information between the key actors in the policy process.

6.1 Definitions

Richard Halloway writes about citizens constituting civil society organizations saying that “citizens, associating neither for power nor for profit, are the third sector of society, complementing government and business, and they are the people who constitute civil society organizations”¹⁶Civil society is the multitude of associations around which society voluntarily organises itself and which represent a wide range of interests and ties.

Civil society or civil institutions can in totality be referred to as voluntary, civic and social organisations or institutions which form the basis of a functioning society as opposed to the force backed structures of a state. Some scholars feel that globalisation has contributed to the weakening of the abilities of the State and inter-governmental organisations to govern, especially in the economic sphere, while strengthening civil society in many countries in the world and planting the seeds for an evolving global civil society.¹⁷

6.2 Theoretical Evolution of civil society

Civil society can be traced back to the period when modern ideas of democracy were beginning to take root. Historically, it is also connected with the rise of capitalism and the evolution of a modern state in the Weberian sense of rational-legal structures of governance. Civil society is as much an integral part of the development of the West (Europe) as is market or state. But looking at the literature in political theory, the source of its conceptual evolution is more than one. As Hyden has suggested, the early contributions varied along two principal parameters. The first questions whether civil society is primarily defined by economic or sociological factors: is the focus on the extent to which economic activity is privately controlled or the role that associations play as intermediaries between family and state? The second concerns the relation between state and civil society: are they seen as autonomous of each other or as organically linked?¹⁸ Beginning with Locke, he argues, very much like Hobbes did, that the state arises from society and is needed to restrain conflict between individuals. The state cannot be given unlimited sovereignty because that would pose a threat to individual freedoms derived from natural law. Thus, there must be a social contract between rulers and ruled that guarantees these rights but also gives the state the authority to protect civil society from destruction.

The ancient conception of civil society has something to do with location of civility within the ‘polis’ deriving its strength from Aristotle’s idea of ‘zoon politikon’ i.e. man is by nature a political animal. Thus, the idea of civil society was opposed to the Aristotelian political society. The primary reason behind such understanding during the Greek period was absence of the notion of individual rights; however, this notion is crucial for any viability of the idea of civil society. Scholars like Aristotle and Cicero, until the appearance

¹⁴ White, S. C., , ‘NGOs, civil society, and the state in Bangladesh: the politics of representing the poor’, Development and Change 1999. p.319

¹⁵ Lewis, D., and N. Kanji, Non-Governmental Organizations and Development, Abingdon, UK: Routledge. 2009. p. 25

¹⁶ Towards Self Reliance: A Handbook for Resource Mobilisation for Civil Society Organizations in the South. Earth scans Publications Ltd London. 2001

¹⁷Michael G. Schechter, ‘Globalisation and Civil Society’ inThe Revival of Civil Society: Global and Comparative Perspectives edited by Michael G. Schechter, Macmillan Press Ltd, London.1999. p. 61

¹⁸Goran Hyden, Civil Society, Social Capital, and Development: Dissection of a Complex Discourse, Studies in Comparative International Development, vol. 32, no 1 (Spring 1997), pp. 3-30

of John Locke and others on the scene in the 17th century, used the term civil society interchangeably with the political society and state. The self-conscious and self-confident bourgeois class was known as civil society. To these classical philosophers, as has been pointed out “To be a member of civil society was to be a citizen – a member of the state”¹⁹. Originally, civil society was a European formulation. Earliest development of civil society as non-political identity is associated with complex social and economic forces at work in the 18th century, as power devolved from monarchs to popular assemblies. These philosophers could bring out the universality of civil society as a solution to the particularity of the markets sphere that was increasingly responsible for redefining the then estates system of feudal society²⁰.

Hegel was the first philosopher to develop a recognisable modern notion of civil society in his ‘philosophy of rights’. To Hegel, civil society was synonymous with the private and particularistic, and characterised by the conflicting and avaricious striving of individuals and classes for largely materialistic ends, while the state was the embodiment of universal ethical values and rational civilisation²¹. Antonio Gramsci isolated civil society as a category of importance. Gramsci characterised civil society as the realm of culture and ideology, or more concretely as the ‘associational realm’. For Gramsci, civil society exists as a kind of intermediary, linked both with the economic structure and with the state²².

Various schools of thought have added to the understanding of the concept of civil society. The Relative Autonomy approach of Neo-Marxists has underlined the limitation of state-centric theory that has led to a definitive shift from state to civil society. The other influences have come from pluralists and neo-pluralists. Robert Putnam’s Social Capital Approach, the New Communitarian perspective of Amitai Etzioni and Vincent Ostrom has added immensely to the vast literature on the civil society discourse. The New Communitarians seek to restore ailing institutions by changing people’s values, attitudes and behaviour, thereby rendering major structural reforms less necessary. They aim to develop a ‘responsive community’ by striking a balance between the community and autonomy as well as empowering community structures. The New Communitarian concept, as has been pointed out by Braithwaite²³, is said to ‘derive from grass root activity providing local communist activities with conceptual horizons that reflects cumulative activism’.

6.3 Constituents of civil society

Civil society actors have come to be known as civil society organisations or institutions. They could be considered as a country’s ‘social capital’, which refers to the capacity of the states or societies to establish a sense of community that leads a significant proportion of the society in voicing their concerns, seeking active involvement in the affairs of the community, and sharing the benefits of community action. Other terms used to describe civil society organisations are ‘civic institutions’, ‘social movements’, ‘non-governmental organisations’, ‘non-profit organisations’, ‘third sector’, ‘private voluntary organisations’, and ‘independent advocacy groups’

Voice for Narration	Chunk Test
Organizations that constitute Civil Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developmental Organisations • Citizens Groups • Self Help Groups • Professional Associations <p style="text-align: right;">Non-Governmental</p>

¹⁹ Karlson Nils, *The State of State: Invisible Hands in Politics and Civil Society*, Transaction, USA. 2002.

²⁰ Baker Gideon, *Civil Society and Democratic Theory: Alternative Voices*, Routledge, London 2002

²¹ Karson.2002. op.cit

²² Alka Dhameja. *Contemporary Debates in Public Administration*, PHI Learning Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 2010, p. 334

²³ Braithwaite, John, and Strang Heather, “Introduction: Restorative Justice and Civil Society” in Heather Strang and John Braithwaite (Eds.). *Restorative Justice and Civil Society*, Cambridge, U.K 2001. p. 57

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Registered Charities • Business Associations • Trade Unions • Faith Based Associations • Coalition and advocacy Groups etc.
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7. Relationship between Civil Society and State

The relationship between the State and civil society originates from Classical Liberalism.

- 7.1 Liberal theory considers civil society to be a necessary condition for democratic states. Centre to Liberal, it has been observed, is the distinction between the public and the private spheres. The public sphere is based on representative government and the Rule of Law. The private sphere is that area of individual action, contract, and market exchange, which is protected by and yet independent of the State²⁴
- 7.2 A highly articulated civil society with cross-cutting cleavages, overlapping memberships of groups, and social mobility is the presupposition for a stable democratic polity, a guarantee against permanent domination by any one group and against the emergence of fundamentalist mass movements and anti-democratic ideologies. As Joel Migdal²⁵ observes, the State is hemmed in – indeed transformed – by these internal forces, just as it is by international forces. He adds that the society is also transformed by the State.
- 7.3 Social organisations, and the structure of society as a whole, are moulded by the opportunities and impediments that the State presents, just as they are affected by other social organisations.
- 7.4 It has been observed by Neera Chandhoke²⁶ that the site at which society enters into a relationship with the State can be defined as civil society. It is accordingly conceptualised as a space or public sphere where people can pursue self-defined ends in an associational area of common concerns; a space which nurtures and sustains its inhabitants through discussion rather than controlling them and their relationships. The other implication is that it is desirable that this discussion is public in the sense of being accessible to all. The third implication is that a space should exist outside officially prescribed channels of communication provided by the State, where this ‘free’ public discussion and debate can take place. The inhabitants of this space are linked together by social bonds created out of new identities and new institutions.
- 7.5 Civil society comprises the social realm in which the creation of norms, identities, institutions, and social relations of domination and resistance are located²⁷.
- 7.6 Contemporary civil society, however, is more in tandem with the State. Even the concept of civil society generated by new social movements does not necessarily deny or undermine the validity of modern State apparatuses. The new social movements have no desire to question the legitimacy of the State or directly take over the State²⁸.
- 7.7 What is noticeable about civil society is its supposed interchange ability with NGOs. Even though NGOs are the major constituents of civil society, they still do not make for the entire gamut of civil society

²⁴ Barber. R, “Three Challenges to Reinventing Democracy” in Paul Hirst and Sunil Khilnani (Eds.), Reinventing Democracy, Blackwell, U.K 1996. p. 147

²⁵ Joel, Migdal, S, State in Society: Studying how States and Societies Transform and Constitute one Another, Cambridge, U.K 2001. p. 56

²⁶ Chandhoke, Neera, State and Civil Society: Explorations in Political Theory, New Delhi. Sage, 1995. p. 205

²⁷ Cohen, Jean L., and Arato, Andrew, ‘Civil Society and Political Theory’, London MIT Press, 1994. p. 515

²⁸ Gupta Dipankar “Civil Society or the State: What Happened to Citizenship” in Ramachandra Guha and Jonathan Parry (Eds.), Institutions and Inequalities: Essays in Honour of Andre Beteille, New Delhi Oxford University Press. 1999. p. 401

organisations. As NGOs constitute a major part of civil society organisations, their organisation needs to be looked into. In the globalisation scenario, we should know how these NGOs operate at the local, regional and international levels.

- 7.8 In recent years, NGOs have begun to look beyond their local and regional roles and have become increasingly adept at bonding together in common purpose. By pooling resources and co-ordinating their actions, they have even strengthened their presence in international deliberations on a range of global issues. Thus, there is now what we can term an emerging ‘International civil society’²⁹.
- 7.9 Some scholars feel that globalisation has contributed to the weakening of the abilities of the State and inter-governmental organisations to govern, especially in the economic sphere, while strengthening civil society in many countries in the world and planting the seeds for an evolving global civil society.
- 7.10 United Nations (UN), which has moved to the fore in promoting civil society as a development issue, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and United Nations Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) have introduced procedures to provide voluntary associations with greater access to their systems. Assumptions about the nature of NGOs have allowed the issue of ‘access’ by the voluntary sector to dominate discussions about civil society within the UN³⁰
- 7.11 Sometimes, civil society is referred to as the third sector. The third sector concept has been developed to help distinguish non-profit NGOs from the State sector and private profit sector or to characterise what has been described as “The space that is neither government nor business, occupied by citizens who take actions responsive to their needs”³¹
- 7.12 Civil society comprises those social organisations that enjoy autonomy from the State and have as one important goal, among others, to influence the State on behalf of their members. A strong civil society directly supports democratic participation, ensures the rights and probity of the citizenry, and contributes towards the deepening of accountability for policy decisions.
- 7.13 Based on freedom of association, civil society provides a check on and balances to the other two sectors (government and the market) via citizen societies, Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs), and other associations.
- 7.14 Civil society lies outside the sector of official governance, nor is civil society the market; it is a non-commercial realm. No doubt, there are borderline cases, but it is generally agreed that civil society lies outside the private sector of market economy. But again, anything that is non-governmental or non-commercial cannot be called civil society.³²

Civil society is a domain parallel to but separate from the state. It is a realm where citizens associate according to their own interests and wishes. It is “the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, largely self-supporting, and bound by a legal order or set of shared values.” Outside of their households, the members of society form a large variety of intermediary organizations for safeguarding and promoting their interests.

Increasing social and economic inequalities could be a destabilizing factor undermining a common idea of a collective interest in sustainable and productive partnerships between state and civil society. Also, both a weak and corrupt state as well as a strong state that does not accept the rule of law can undermine the future development of effective and legitimate relations, partnerships and governance. Strong and positive

²⁹ Alka Dhameja. Op. cit. p. 340

³⁰ Whaites Alan, “Let’s get Civil Society Straight: NGOs, the State and Political Theory” in Deborah Eade. Development, NGOs and Civil Society, London Oxfam, 2000. p. 124

³¹ Weaver R. Kent. and Gann James G.Mc., “Think Tanks-Civil Society in a Time of Change” in McGann, James G. and R. Kent Weaver, (Eds.), Think Tanks and Civil Societies: Catalysts for Ideas and Action, Transaction, U.K. 2000

³² Scholte, Jan Aart, “Global Civil Society: Changing the World?”. CSGR Working Paper No. 31/99 May 1999. https://www.unicef.org/spanish/socialpolicy/files/Global_Civil_Society_Changing_the_World.pdf. Accessed on 10-12-2016

relationship of state and civil society can only sustain and contribute to sustainable and stable development of country if the requirements for good governance, including core values such as responsiveness, efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability are better met and if they are supported by both a state that accepts the principles of the rule of law, as well as by economic development that extends to the disadvantaged groups in society.

8 Role of Civil Society

The role of civil society in its many forms has assumed significance in recent times under the Neo-liberal doctrine of ‘downsizing’ the State and the World Bank touted ‘governance’ concept. The present ‘globalisation’ discourse has also tended to reinforce the role of civil society in the management of many socio-economic areas that hitherto belonged to the State. The State is now being projected as a facilitator and coordinator of the private and non-government sectors involved in governance. Various new developments have given rise to different types of civil society associations that are beginning to influence policy decisions. These include a fundamental change in the State’s commitment to welfare, reduction of social security provisions, and disenchantment of people with government policies. Other contributing factors are the disintegration of East European States following the Velvet Revolution, global accent on State minimalism, growing role of multiple actors in governance, and success of voluntary initiatives. As a result, the civic sector or civil society sector is emerging as a viable proposition to supplement or complement the functions of the State and the market.

Main functions of civil society are discussed in the following subsections.

8.1 *Generates the social basis for democracy:* Civil participation extends democracy to the grass roots, protects and represents a multitude of (often minority) interests in relation to the majority political system. In doing so it creates systems, norms, behaviours, participatory organisations, networks and so on. The culture of democracy starts from the way a small village or sports association is run and spreads all the way through collective activity to national processes such as general elections. The experience of negotiating between positions, opinions, and interests at a local level is scaled up to the national, taking with it the culture or ways of organising things. This happens as an organic part of civil society associational and civic life; it is not an artificial process that can be externally created.

8.2 *Promotes political accountability beyond party politics:* Local level monitoring of diverse causes by special interest groups has the effect of a counter balance on restricted, elite control of the polity. From the small-scale acceptance that each citizen has the right to speak, through to the concept that political leaders are not elites without responsibility to their fellow citizens, political accountability is again learnt and built up through a myriad of relationships and experiences.

8.3 *Produces social trust, reciprocity and networks:* Civic community in the form of horizontal organisations such as allotment associations, sports clubs, and religious communities, build up what some call ‘social capital’ – which creates the environment for transactions to take place without fear that they will not be honoured. This is also crucial to the working of the ‘market’, so that a level of social trust is built up between buyers and sellers, employees and employers. Even where formal unions are not present, a profusion of associations, chambers, clubs, societies and churches bring these commercial partners together socially and in doing so reinforce trust between individuals³³.

8.4 *Creates and promotes ‘alternatives’ through collective action:* New ideas, activities, institutions and socio-economic solutions often arise through civil society whether, at the level of ideas or in practice. This is as true of society at the communal level all the way through to international levels of civil society. It has been argued that virtually all new ideas adopted by the UN came through civil society rather than from member states or the UN itself. It should be recognised that this freedom to evolve ideas could also present

³³ Pratt & Myhrman, ‘Improving aid effectiveness: A review of recent initiatives for civil society organisations’ INTRAC, 2009. p. 11. dspace.africaportal.org/jspui/bitstream/.../1/Improving%20aid%20effectiveness.pdf accessed on 25/12/16.

challenges to liberal democracy (what some call the uncivil society). It is after all the area where ideas compete and some of these will indeed be incompatible and require negotiation across and within civil society as well as with the state and market.

8.5 Supports the rights of citizens and the concept of citizenship: In recent years, the contract between state and citizen has been re-packaged for development through rights based approaches, although the concept of the contract between the state and citizen is much older and assumes that the state must earn its legitimacy from its citizens. In its function of representing multiple and overlapping citizen interests, civil society engages with the state both at a theoretical level (as of course there is no written contract) as well as at the practical level— in the form of civil society lobbies for specific interests, services, legal and other protections from the state. In return the citizen and civil society accept the legitimacy of the state. In minority based authoritarian regimes such as dictatorships, where the regime is held in power by violence, the contract breaks down and the state (or rather the regime that has seized it) is considered illegitimate. The inability of all citizens to access the state once it has been undermined can easily lead to a state losing legitimacy and rapidly becoming vulnerable or fragile³⁴.

9. Civil Society and Good Governance

Governance is the process by which a society manages itself through the mechanism of the state. The core ingredients of good governance are: People’s effective participation, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equity, Inclusiveness, rule of law, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability, and strategic vision. Governance has three levels — internal systems and procedures; cutting edge systems and procedures; and check-and-balance systems. At level (a), civil society can influence policy and project formulation through membership of committees, submission of memoranda directly or through elected representatives, and interactive rule-making in the implementation of policies, projects and schemes affecting citizens. The maximum day-to-day interaction between the government and the citizens takes place and the popular image of governance is formed at level (b). Interactions of civil society with level (c) are infrequent but important; being more of an exposure of irregularities rather than steps for improvement in the quality of governance.

9.1 Role of Civil Society in Governance Of Contemporary India

Ex-UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan stated that good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development. If governance matters, so does the need for more reliable and valid data on key governance processes³⁵. The aim of the World Governance Survey (WGS) was to generate new, systematic data on governance processes. Many analysts believe, however, that current indicators provide inadequate measures of key governance processes. Based on the perceptions of experts within each country, governance assessments were undertaken in 16 developing and transitional societies, representing 51 per cent of the world’s population. To facilitate cohesive data collection and analysis, the governance realm was disaggregated into six arenas and civil society is one of them³⁶.

- i. Civil Society or the way citizens become aware of and raise political issues.
- ii. Political Society or the way societal interests are aggregated in politics;
- iii. Executive or the rules for stewardship of the system as a whole;
- iv. Bureaucracy or the rules guiding how policies are implemented;
- v. Economic Society, or how state-market relations are structured; and,
- vi. Judiciary or the rules for how disputes are settled.

³⁴Ibid. p. 18

³⁵Kofi Annan, *Partnerships for Global Community: Annual Report on the Work of the Organisation UN*, 1998.

³⁶Hyden Goran and Court Julius, *Governance and Development, World Governance Survey Discussion Paper 1*, Tokyo: UNU. 2002,

Civil Society has been recognized as an essential “third” sector playing the following roles for good governance:

- Civil Society is seen as an increasingly important agent for promoting good governance features like transparency, effectiveness, openness, responsiveness, and accountability; its strength can have positive influence on the state and the market.
- Civil Society’s primary role is of that enabling the voiceless and unorganized communities’ interests to be represented. In other words, the sphere of civil society has a goal of empowerment for local communities.
- Civil Society can further contribute to good governance, first by policy analysis and as participants in the design of strategies; second by regulation and monitoring of state performance and the action and behaviour of public officials; third, by building Social Capital and enabling citizen to identify and articulate their values, beliefs, civic norms and democratic practices; fourth by mobilizing particular constituencies, particularly the vulnerable and marginalized sections, to participate more vibrantly in politics and public affairs; and fifth, by improving the well being of their own and other communities through development work.
- Civil Society finally has a role of ensuring the accountability of state in different spheres like the right to information; this is a first step in a country where the Official Secrets Act predominates.
- Civil Society has the monitoring function of holding the law and order machinery accountable.
- Civil society is expected to develop interests and preferences, establish and nurture values and norms, legitimise other actors and arenas of the political system, develop new ideas and problem solving strategies, and Control other actors and arenas of the political system.

Voice for Narration	Chunk Test
<p>Role of civil society in India</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting good governance features like transparency, effectiveness, openness, responsiveness, and accountability. • Empowerment for local communities. • Policy analysis and as participants in the design of strategies of Professional Associations. • regulation and monitoring of state performance and the action and behaviour of public officials; • Building Social Capital and enabling citizens to identify and articulate their values, beliefs, civic norms and democratic practices. • Mobilizing particular constituencies, particularly the vulnerable and marginalized sections, to participate more vibrantly in politics and public affairs. • development work to improve the well-being of their own and other communities • Develop interests and preferences. • Establish and nurture values and norms. • Legitimise other actors and arenas of the political system. • Develop new ideas and problem solving strategies. • Control other actors and arenas of the

	political system.
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9.2 Civil Society as Promoter of Good Governance in India

Political participation in India has been transformed in many ways since the 1960s. New social groups have entered the political sphere and begun to use their political resources to shape political process.

1. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes: Previously excluded from politics because of their position at the bottom of India's social hierarchy, have now begun to take full advantage of the opportunities presented by India's democracy.
2. Women and environmentalists constitute new political categories that transcend traditional distinctions. The spread of social movements and voluntary organisations has shown that despite the difficulties of India's Political Parties and state institutions, India's democratic tendency continues to thrive³⁷.
3. Beginning in the 1970s, activists began to form broad based social movements, which proved powerful advocates for interests that they perceived as neglected by the state and political parties. Perhaps the most powerful has been the farmers' movement which has organized hundreds of thousands of demonstrators in New Delhi and has put pressure on the government for higher prices' on agricultural commodities and more investment in rural areas³⁸.
4. Members of Schedule Castes led by the Dalit Panthers have moved to rearticulate the identity of former untouchables³⁹.
5. Women from an array of diverse organizations now increasingly interact in conferences and exchange ideas in order to define and promote women's issues.
6. The Environmental movement has developed that has attempted to compel the government to be more responsive to environmental concerns and has attempted to redefine the concept of "development" to include respect for indigenous culture and environmental sustainability.
7. With its highly competitive elections, relatively independent judiciary, boisterous media and thriving civil society, India continues to possess one of the most successful democratic systems of all developing countries.
8. The country's political parties, which might aggregate the country's diverse social interests in a way that would ensure the responsiveness of state authority, are in crisis.
9. Political power within the Indian state has become increasingly centralized at a time when India's civil society has become mobilized along lines that reflect the country's social diversity.
10. The unresponsiveness of India's political parties and government has encouraged the Indian public to mobilize through NGOs and Social movements.
11. The consequent development of India's Civil Society has made Indians less confident of the transformative power of the state and more confident of the power of the individual and local community.
12. In the years after independence India is experiencing a steady rise of Civil Society. From "Chipko Movement" led by Sunder Lal Bahuguna, Narmada Bachao Andolan led by Medha Patekar and Right to Information movement by Aruna Roy and MKSS, India has come a long way. Environment

³⁷Heitzmaan/worden1995 referred by Hans-Liudger Diemel, Heike Walk, Angela Jain in 'Constraints and Opportunities for the Development of Communication and Participation strategies. Europacishev, Hochschulverlag GmbH&Co KG.Bremen,Germany.2012.p. 12

³⁸ Prasenjit Maiti, 'Development Discourses 'Atlantic Publisher&Distributer,New Delhi.2005. p49

³⁹ Chatterjee Patralekha D+C Development and Cooperation New Delhi No. 6, November/December 2001, pp. 23-24

Movement in India is strong now and has led to cancellation of multiple projects after Civil Society agitation.

13. Recent movements for RTI Act and Social Audit in MGNREGA by various Civil Society activists like Aruna Roy and Jean Dreze have strengthened Indian democracy.
14. The recent movement by India against corruption “for Lokpal Bill in India by Anna Hazare is also a glorious chapter in long list of citizen movements in India. This movement has brought civil society for the first time in Indian history in the ambit of framing legislation as five members of civil society became part of Joint Lokpal Bill Drafting Committee. Similarly, for the first time it has brought the Indian middle class out of their comfort zone to confront social ill like corruption making its achievement even more laudable; ultimately parliament passed the Lokpal Bill.
15. Today, we have coalitions of different actors, which come together on the right to food, the right to education, etc. These are campaigns; they are not social movements trying to politicize people.

Civil society movements in recent times are not mass movements but have influenced government policies with the pressure of intellect and compelled UPA-I government to induct civil society leaders in the Advisory committee headed by Mrs. Sonia Gandhi. Recent legislations and enactments like RTE, Food Security bill, Right to service, Social Audit etc. are outcome of civil society pressure to ensure good governance.

9.3 Case Study⁴⁰

The Right to Information

Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS) is commonly cited as an example for its work spanning from grassroots mobilisation to influencing legislation. The movement started in central Rajasthan, a drought prone region where farmers largely depend on government relief work to survive. The payment of fair wages was a recurrent issue of conflict between farmers and local authorities.

MKSS set out to obtain financial records of panchayats. Local communities then examined the records, and public audits of the work financed by these expenses were organised. Progressively, the movement mobilized an active citizenship at the local level through workshops on how to file petitions in villages and through contacts with community leaders. The lack of legal basis for accessing information about government expenses soon became a major obstacle. This motivated MKSS’s campaign for a Right to Information Act. The state of Tamil Nadu was the first to legislate on this matter with a 1996 law. Goa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Delhi, Assam, and Jammu and Kashmir followed. Finally, in 2005, the Union Government passed a law extending the measure to the entire country. Political consultation in 2004 forced the government to take a positive view on this issue.

The Congress interacted with MKSS activists when preparing its manifesto for elections, as a result, the intention to legislate on a right to information went into the manifesto. It was not challenged because no one expected the Congress to be elected. After the Congress won, they had to align with the left, which had always supported these actions. So, it came to be that the right to information was included in the common minimum agenda of the alliance. This gave it political visibility. As MKSS leaders were part of the NAC, they were then able to push for the Act. MKSS’s engagement on the Right to Information has remained closely linked to issues of employment for the poor. The Right to Information Act is closely associated with the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act. Arguably these two policies are the major social achievements of the first UPA alliance, and the reason for the Congress’s massive re-election in 2009. This makes the leaders of the Right to Information campaign very influential figures in policy debates at the Union level. After giving crucial inputs to the Congress’s pre-election manifesto, Arun Roy became a prominent voice in the NAC. Yet, MKSS’s most recognised quality is its continuing presence at the

⁴⁰ Dubochet Lucy, The Changing Role of Civil Society in a Middle-Income Country, A Case study from India in Oxfam India working papers series 2011 OIWPS-XI. Oxfam India, New Delhi. p. 21

grassroots. In Rajasthan, the organisation is praised for its contribution to a civil society that watches the deeds of local representatives with acuteness. The impact of the Right to Information Act will depend on the capacity of groups and individuals to use it wisely. This requires further mobilisation, in an often-adversarial context. Individuals are often unaware of these tools, or fear reprisal. RTI activists have stumbled against the vested interests of officials and corporates; there have been cases of harassment and even assassinations.

10. Challenges before Civil Society

The growing importance of civil society has also brought with it a variety of constraints and pressures. In reiteration of some of the maladies that have inflicted civil society, it can be pointed out that

1. Civil society has been conceptualised loosely, that is why varied perspectives on its meaning, nature and composition have come to camouflage its very essence. It has been observed by Neera Chandhoke that just as the attention paid to the State has failed to account for civil society, the focus on civil society fails to comprehend its complex relationship with the State. For instance, in India, civil society is seen by most theorists as a volatile association of social groupings, which are based on caste and kinship linkages, or on religious mobilisation as much as on voluntary social associations. The problem with this kind of formulation, she maintains, is that it fails to distinguish counter-civil society movements. Society, in this perspective, is collapsed into civil society. The civil society is thus being treated as a residual category, as an authentic collection of everything that is not the State. It has become a conceptual ragbag, consisting of households, religious denominations, and each and every activity, which is unconnected with the State.
2. Civil society, as observed by Neera Chandhoke⁴¹, has no teleological virtue unless it is accompanied both by an interrogation of the sphere of civil society itself and a project for democratising civil society. And a call for rolling back the State has no particular virtue, unless it is accompanied by a determination that the oppressions of civil society will be dismantled. The ability of civil society to prevent the State from exercising absolute control is an essential but not a sufficient condition for democracy. The existence of civil society as a sphere of participation, deliberation, dialogue and contestation is no indication of the capacities of individuals to participate in all these activities.
3. Critics have even pointed out the various limitations of the idea of ‘social capital’ in explaining state-society interactions in the context of developing countries. It has been felt that there are a few potential problems associated with the development of civil society institutions that would nurture social capital. Looking at the State-civil society institutions develop in an authoritarian environment and what the State can do in enabling the growth and expansion of those institutions, the emphasis is on the ‘recursive cycles’ of interaction between the State and civil society actors. Putnam’s work is derived from the historical experience of Italy that suggests that a country’s stock of social capital is inherited. Social capital with Putnam’s framework thus cannot be accumulated⁴².
4. Civil society organisations are generally equated with NGOs. This tendency limits our understanding of a broad process of interaction among different types of organisations. The concept of civil society points out Alan Whaites⁴³ has been ‘grabbed’ by NGOs as one relating closely to their own natural strengths. On the surface, civil society is intimately connected with the role of local community associations or groups, and with the indigenous NGO sector. In the globalisation scenario, it needs to be kept in view that the interest in civil society among the donor agencies has been associated with the evolution of the conditionality of aid in the 1980s. Donors have begun to re-appraise the role of civil society in

⁴¹Alka Dhameja. Contemporary Debates in Public Administration, PHI Learning Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 2010, p. 341

⁴²Rehman Sobhan, “State, Society and Economic Performance” in Rehman Sobhan (Ed.), Towards a Theory of Governance and Development: Learning from East Asia, University Press Ltd., Bangladesh 1998. p. 111

⁴³ Whaites, Alan. 2000. op.cit. p. 146

providing a foundation for sustainable democracy. The combination of donor, NGO and UN interest provides the background to what has been termed as the civil society ‘grab’.

5. The States, are adopting new strategies, using NGOs for their own purposes. Some critics see the recent quests for community control as little more than a State-orchestrated managerial reform to take over institutions. Other critics view it as an interpretation between the State and community spheres that is more than genuine community control. Both state-centred and society-centred approaches are now proving problematic and inadequate.
6. The civil society approach is itself problematic if it does not take cognisance of global civil society. The idea of global civil society combines elements of both anti-state and anti-nation positions.
7. The growing size, sophistication, and influence of Global Civil Society Organisations, have been facilitated and actively encouraged by one major factor – the Neo-liberal consensus that emerges from the power centres in the West. Among other things, the consensus dictates:
 - a) The State, particularly in third world countries, should withdraw from the social sector,
 - b) The market should be freed from all constraints, and
 - c) Communities in civil society should organise their own social and economic reproduction and well-being.
8. The vision of civil society sans a well-defined role of the State is thus replete with serious consequences, which not only weakens civil society but also jeopardises the future of Global Civil Society Organisations. It has been pointed out that by drastically reducing the importance of proximity, the new technologies change people’s perceptions of community. The potential for building global civil society might come at the expense of weakened identity with one’s State and with the civil society within one’s country⁴⁴.
9. In the absence of a global public space and an opportunity for dialogue, a robust global community may remain a distant dream. There is a need to consider the role of media too in building civil society. It has been seen that instead of a positive role, the media many a time camouflages important issues. The mediascape, for instance in India, seems to give its subscribers a sense of collective identity and participation in public affairs. At the same time, it also reduces the discussion of vital issues to simple caricature, leaving people interconnected but dangerously uninformed. The mediascape has the power games to displace the substantive with the symbolic.⁴⁵
10. The developments in administration such as Public Choice approach and New Public Management (NPM) endeavour to provide alternatives to bureaucratic hegemony. However, the Public Choice perspective seeks to reduce individuals to utility maximisers and focuses on individual interest; it does not provide the mechanism for arriving at a collective general interest. NPM, on the other hand, treats the citizens as mere clients and consumers. The Pluralistic, Communitarian, New Public Administration and Network Agency perspectives give due regard to community, non-bureaucratic institutions and values, but do not attempt to develop the idea of autonomous, self-reflective, humane and conscientious civil society with an accent on genuine public interest.

⁴⁴Michael G. Schechter, “Globalisation and Civil Society” in Michael G. Schechter, (Ed.), *The Revival of Civil Society: Global and Comparative Perspective*, (International Political Economy Series), London Macmillan, 1999

⁴⁵Haskote, Ranjit, “The Wrestling-pit of Public Debate” in *The Hindu*, March 23, 2003

11. Community identities, as has been observed, have always been fluid in India. This fluidity gives considerable scope for political entrepreneurs to reshape the boundaries and the concerns of the identity of a community. In recent years, the process of modernisation and participatory politics and access to media and other technological devices have actually increased the mobilisation potential and sharpened the self- image of splinter ethnic groups and sub-national identities, quite contrary to homogenising efforts of a modernising elite⁴⁶. When civil society is seen as tradition, the internal contradictions between communities and within communities is completely overlooked. Andre Beteille⁴⁷ argues that the well-being of modern institutions can be guaranteed only if civil societies are understood as comprising truly autonomous bodies. In the view of Dipankar Gupta⁴⁸, there is a need to be wary of giving in to traditional solidarities and associations, as they are unfavourable to the modern institutions.

⁴⁶Bardhan Pranab, "The State Against Society: The Great Divide in Indian Social Science Discourse" in Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal (Eds.), Nationalism, Democracy and Development: State and Politics in India, New Delhi Oxford University Press, 1999. p. 191

⁴⁷ Beteille Andre, Antinomies of Society: Essays on Ideologies and Institutions, New Delhi Oxford University Press, 2000. p. 176

43. Gupta Dipanker in 'Civil Society: Berlin Perspectives' edited by John Keane, Berghahn Civil Society: Berlin Perspectives edited by John Keane, Berlin, 2007. p. 224

Francis Fukuyama, in his original essay ‘The End of History’ (1989), offered a vision of a world purged of ideology; in which history has come to an end because there are no alternatives to the institutions of the present representative democracy and the market⁴⁹. The future would be the endless repetition of more of the same, with politics centered in bureaucratic problem-solving, limited social engineering and liberal compromise. This, however, is a very linear projection of the complex socio-economic and political reality. If one goes by it, the alternatives to absolute State or market control over production and provision of goods seem almost elusive. A ray of hope could be democratic decentralisation, participative decision-making, and community management of resources through different civil society organisations which can surely solve the problem to some extent. Voluntarism and associationalism have been a part of the culture in developing countries; their pertinence needs to be harnessed, more so, in the globalisation context. The very fact that the number of community organisations, voluntary agencies, self-help groups, and non-public, non-market associations has grown tremendously in the last decade is a step in the right direction.

12. Futuristic Perspective of Civil Society

The reappearance of civil society institutions has historically heralded the advent of democracy. In fact, how we conceptualise and evaluate civil society depends, to a large extent, on how we visualise democracy; the converse also holds true. Democratic political theory privileges civil society because it assumes that the existence of democracy is inextricably linked with the life of civil society⁵⁰. Civil society can gain more relevance through the following refinements.

1. The increasing labelling of civil society as NGOs and vice versa needs to be addressed. For some NGOs, the labelling of all potential partner groups as ‘civil society organisations’ reflects the continued acceptance of a universalistic view of civil society. As has been pointed out, when civil society is referred to as ‘a sphere of public debate’, its meaning goes beyond the synonymous treatment with NGOs that it receives.
2. Given the importance that donors and NGOs attach to the concept of civil society it matters a great deal, as cautioned by many, that NGOs do not slip into the divide over the meaning of civil society, particularly where societies are heterogeneous and divided. The ways in which NGOs perceive civil society, and consequently plan projects to facilitate the work of civil associations, can have a significant effect on the extent of devolution of civil society in the countries in which they work. NGOs should try to explore the full theoretical implications of civil society and clearly articulate their own interpretations of its nuances⁵¹
3. T.K. Oommen⁵² writes that looking at civil society in India from the vantage point of religion, caste and language, it is clear that the associations and movements anchored to them are instruments of establishing equality between the privileged and the deprived groups. But mobilisations by the underprivileged social categories are geared to bring about dignity and emancipation for them. In contrast, mobilisations by the dominant categories are efforts to reinforce their hegemony. Both these tendencies should be recognised as different aspects of civil society.
4. The post-modern discourse, observes Neera Chandhoke, has been helpful in understanding the role of local narratives and marginalised groups in civil society. It has been pointed out that the political solution to the crisis of representation offered by post-modern politics has been to privilege difference over reductive unity and identification, historical plurality over political monism, and multiplicity of representations over collective projects. The collective projects based upon priorities

⁴⁹ Paul Hirst ‘Associative Democracy: New Forms of Economic and Social Governance’ Polity press, Blackwell publishers Ltd, Cambridge, 1994. p. 12

⁵⁰ Cohen and Arato 1994. op.cit.p. 158

⁵¹ Whaites, 2000. op.cit.p. 148

⁵² Oommen T.K. National Civil Society and Social Movements: Essays in Political Sociology, New Delhi, Sage, 2004. p. 202

and preferences have been rejected, and the argument that multiple social struggles articulating specific, local and personal issues should be prioritized has been promoted.

5. The category of civil society must be reconstructed. “Reconstruction,” could be defined in the non-systematic sense, as “Taking a theory apart and putting it back together again in a new form in order to attain more fully the goal it has set itself.”⁵³ The ‘resurrection of civil society’ that pushes the democratisation process forward is possible in either case, with or without surviving forms of recognised association, and with or without memories of earlier mass mobilisation. What is needed is a civil society which is seriously engaged in self-reflection, is preoccupied with the means used to accomplish its tasks, and which brings about slow and incremental but substantial changes in the State⁵⁴
6. In the words of Neera Chandhoke. What is needed is a civil society that is accessible and responsive to the subalterns, marginal and the radical. A critical narrative of civil society has to include those features of the sphere which make it vulnerable to class oppression.
7. Critical theory has to look at the oppressions of civil society itself. It has to see how this sphere needs to be democratised by social movements before it can become the basis of supportive structures and communitarian self-help organisations.
8. In the view of Jurgen Habermas the institutions of civil society must act to protect the autonomous development of public opinion in the public sphere from being undermined by State bureaucracy and economic power of the market. He observes that public opinion that is worked up via democratic procedures into communicative power in civil society cannot rule itself, but it can certainly steer the use of administrative power in specific directions. In fact, this viewpoint renders the contemporary civil society different from its earlier counterpart.
9. Habermas makes a distinction between symbolic and system-integrating functions. The earlier symbolic aspects of family and interpersonal relations based on consensus have been taken over by the system-integrating functions that relate to political power and economy. The present day civil society is concerned more with rectifying the market and State through empowerment of the marginalised⁵⁵
10. Alexis de Tocqueville, the predecessor of the Pluralist approach, talks of civil society as a defensive counterbalance to the increased capabilities of the modern State. It provides a realm in which society interacts constructively with the State, not to subvert and destroy it, but to refine its actions and improve its efficiency. Unless a positive and complimentary relationship between State administration and society is conceived, civil society’s role in governance and development will not produce constructive results.

12. Conclusion

In modern democracy citizen participation in governance is manifold through civil society. The professionalization of civil society together with the recognition of civil society as a relevant actor has broadened its influence. Today, civil society acts as an agenda-setter and generator of ideas, participates in decision-making and fulfils a function of control at the same time. Governmental institutions have manifold instruments to regulate, protect and support civil society. For instance, it is them who define the regulatory framework within which civil society actions are constituted. Following the path from this strict hierarchical relation to a productive partnership is not necessarily simple – but it is worth it. The role of civil society cannot be undermined in the present day, because the different forms of civil society perform the collective, creative and value driven core of the active citizen, calling on the best in us to respond in kind to create societies that are just true and free. Civil society ensures good governance by participation in development processes. Neera Chandhoke rightly observes, what needs to be seen is that the civil society organisations do not assume anti-democratic, fundamentalist and oppressive proportions. Clarity on their boundaries, access,

⁵³ Cohen and Arato 1994. op.cit.p. 422

⁵⁴ Alka Dhameja 2010. op.cit. p. 346.

⁵⁵ Gupta Dipankar 1999. op.cit.p.602

role and functions is a precondition for their success. A country rooted in strong civil society traditions could ensure all the prerequisites of Good Governance are adhered to, namely, transparency, efficiency, accountability, participation and responsiveness. This is possible only if conditions for a mutually advantageous existence of the State, market and community are nurtured and sustained in the present globalisation context. Civil society is relevant for public administration as the concept of governance has become multi-actor centric with civil society playing an important role along with State and market in governance and development. Thus it is impossible to have a conversation about politics or public policy, good governance and even any social change in the current times without someone mentioning the magic words ‘civil society’.