21st century Debate on Government versus Governance

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Abstract

The concept of governance evokes a more pluralistic pattern of rule than doe's government and governance is less focused on state institutions, and more focused on the processes and interactions that tie the state to civil society. To be more precise, governance can be further defined as 'the political direction and control exercised over the actions of the members, citizens or populations of communities, societies and states. The following definitions are helps to understand governance and finally we can say that governance is "the art of steering societies and organizations." Governance is about the process of decision and its implementations. If decisions and its implementations are negative for people, it is called poor governance. If decisions and its implementations are positive for people, it is called good governance. Governance is complicated after involvement of multiple actors. These multiple actors are organisations and investors and sometime non-government organisations and civil societies. They articulate their interests and try to influence how decisions are made, who the decision-makers are and what decisions are taken. Decision-makers must translate this input into the decision-making process. Decision-makers are accountable to those stakeholders.Governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance. Governance implicates communication between the formal institutions and those in the civil society. Governance refers to a process whereby elements in society use power, authority and influence policies and decisions concerning public life and social upliftment.

Key word: - Government; Governance; Civil Society; and Policies.

Introduction

The concept of governance evokes a more pluralistic pattern of rule than doe's government and governance is less focused on state institutions, and more focused on the processes and interactions that tie the state to civil society.[1]In 21st century, to be a good government or good governance are aim of central and states governments and "Good Governance" performs dual function of government. On the one hand, these institutions are taking initiative accordance with the preferences of their citizens. On the other hand, delivering public services and promoting the common welfare.Although another two paths, "local administrative reform" and "participatory reform", are often viewed as contradictory, neither of them can be ignored when seeking to promote the strength and being a democratic system. In a broader multilevel government framework, functional, financial and local parts become important issues.[2]So finally we can say that, Government is the authority or function of governing and Governance is the activity of governing. Governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance. Governance mainly focuses on "the process of governing" and it is involving interactions between different formal and informal institutions and bodies. Governance implicates communication between the formal institutions and those in the civil society. Governance refers to a process whereby elements in society use power, authority and

influence policies and decisions concerning public life and social upliftment.

Concept of Governance

The concept of governance is new in academic world but not in practice. This concept is as old as civilisation. The concept of Governance means different things to different people but the actual meaning of the concept depends on the level of governance. In a way, governance is a well-defined administrative set-up that draws its nutrition from 'participatory democracy'. The meaning range from following the liberal economic policies, to strengthening and reforming market institution, building capacities of public institutions to perform, encouraging democratic participation through strengthening civil society institution etc. Some meanings are concerned with reducing the role of the state in economic activities, other with strengthening state institutions to promote the role of market and yet others relate to the encouragement of democracy and participation.[3]

The rise in the approval in the use of the term governance is closely linked with the redefinition of the role of state. In the post-world war II period, state was seen as an instrument of growth, but with failures in development performance, it began to be responsible for all that had gone wrong. Ineffective development policies and poor implementation of these policies together with inefficient and skilled interest of international aid activated the search for alternative frameworks for policy making and alternative institutions for delivering public services.[4] States or Governments are first responsibility for common people but after long experience of political development it was always neglected.

Harland Cleveland (1972) was first who used the word 'governance' as an alternative to public administration. His interpretation that what people want is 'less government and more governance'. He acknowledged governance with a cluster of concepts. According to him,

"the organisations that get things done will no longer be hierarchical pyramids with most of the real control at the top. They will be systems – interlaced webs of tension in which control is loose, power diffused and centres of decision plural. "Decision-making" will become an increasingly intricate process of multilateral brokerage both inside and outside the organisation, which thinks it has the responsibility for making, or at least announcing the decision. Because organisations will be horizontal, the way they are governed is likely to be more collegial, consensual and consultative. The bigger the problems to be tackled, the more real power is diffused and the larger the number of persons who can exercise it – if they work at all".[5]

First time officially World Bank report was used word 'Governance' in 1989.What the World Bank did in redefining the state was to shift the focus from government to governance. But this shift replicated the ascendance of neo-liberal ideology in economic theory and public policy from the 1970s in the Western world. Consequently, social spending began to be reduced, of citizens and examination for other strategies to deliver public services began. Privatisation and liberalisation become the new slogans of effective government. However, in this preparation, role of state was not reduced but reconceptualised. It was recognised that the liberal policies could only succeed in providing citizen welfare if the state had the capacity to direct and control them. Effective and competent administrations were still needed but in different avatar.[6] Today 'Governance' word is a slogan practised easily in most central and states governments, but principals of good governance and practices of good governance are different from government department, donor agencies and academics. Policy makers in countries now place stress on governance reforms for improved policy outcomes but without democratic decentralisation, it is not possible. And majority of states are giving only partisan decentralisation not democratic decentralisation.

Characterises of Governance

The World Bank and its associated organisations here explained. Characterises of governance and According to UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) the eight main characterises of the Governances are as follows[7]: -

Participation: -Participation by both men and women is a key cornerstone of good governance. Participation could be either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. It is important to point out that representative democracy does not necessarily mean that the concerns of the most vulnerable in society would be taken into consideration in decision making. Participation needs to be informed and organised. This means freedom of association and expression on the one hand and an organised civil society on the other hand.

Rule of law: -Good governance requires fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially. It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities. Impartial enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force.

Transparency: -Transparency means that decisions taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations. It also means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement. It also means that enough information is provided and that it is provided in easily understandable forms and media.

Responsiveness: -Good governance requires that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe.

Consensus oriented: -There are several actors and as many viewpoints in a given society. Good governance requires mediation of the different interests in society to reach a broad consensus in society on what is in the best interest of the whole community and how this can be achieved. It also requires a broad and long-term perspective on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development. This can only result from an understanding of the historical, cultural and social contexts of a given society or community.

Equity and inclusiveness: -A society's well-being depends on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society. This requires all groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, have opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being.

Effectiveness and efficiency: -Governance means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal. The concept of efficiency in the context of governance also covers the sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment.

Accountability:-Accountability is a key requirement of governance. Not only governmental institutions but also the private sector and civil society organisations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders. Who is accountable to who varies depending on whether decisions or actions taken are internal or external to an organisation or institution. In general an organisation or an institution is accountable to those who will be affected by its decisions or actions. Accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law.

These characteristics reinforce each other. A proper governance strategy needs to take cognisance of these features. Many countries in the present times, are trying to bring about administrative reforms to foster Good Governance. ThisCharacterises are necessary for practice of good governance and majority of countries are trying to integrate these characters in their governance but without association of people and civil society all process are meaningless. Another important

point is policy makers attitude towards reforms about governance are always doubtful. Because, political leader and economic power centre do not really want people's participation and their awareness toward governance process and decisions.

Theories of Governance

New theories and new world of governance pose problems for representative democracy. Representative democracy was firmly entrenched within the developmental narratives of the nineteenth century. Typically these narratives relied on principles such as liberty, state, and nation to tame contingency and contestation.[8] The new theories have a dual relationship to the new world of governance. On one hand, the new governance has been a spur to many of these theories: the changing nature of the state has inspired attempts to develop more general accounts of political order that place less emphasis on formal authority and formal institutions. On the other hand, the new world of governance can be seen as products of some of these new theories: policy makers drew on theories such as rational choice and new institutionalism in their attempts to reform the state.[9] MarkBevir (2010) is deals with new theories of governance and changing nature of states. According to him theories are: -

Table 1.1 - Theories of Governance[10]

	Rational choice theory	Institutionalism	Systems theory	Regulation theory
Concept of rationality	Economic	Sociological	Sociological	Sociological
Source of coordination	Preferences and incentives	Rules and norms	Autopeosis	Temporary effect of regime of regulation
Explanation of the new governance	Electoral competition and/or bureau shaping	Social learning and/or policy transfer	Functional differentiation	Post-Fordism
Network analysis	Actor-cantered	Power dependence	Self-organizing system	Dialectic (strategic-relational)
Examples 1. general 2. the new governance	Examples 1. Hardin 2. Dowding et. al.	Examples 1. March and Olson 2. Greener	Examples 1. Luhmann 2. Kooiman	Examples 1. Boyer 2. Jessop

Source: -Bevir, Mark (2010). Democratic Governance. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.p.41

Rational Choice Theory: - Rational choice theory attempts to explain all social phenomena by reference to the micro level of rational individual activity. It unpacks social facts, institutions, and patterns of rule entirely by analyses of individuals acting, and it models individuals acting on the assumption that they adopt the course of action most in accord with their preferences.Sometimes, rational choice theorists require preferences to be rational: preferences are assumed to be complete and transitive. Sometimes they also make other assumptions, most notably that actors have complete information about what will occur following their choosing any course of action. At other times, however, rational choice theorists try to relax these unrealistic assumptions by developing concepts of bounded rationality. They then attempt to model human

behaviour in circumstances where people lack relevant information.[11]

Institutionalism: - An institutional approach dominated the study of the state, government, public administration, and politics up until the 1940s. Political scientists focused on formal rules, procedures, and organizations, including constitutions, electoral systems, and political parties. Although they sometimes emphasized the formal rules that governed these institutions, they also paid attention to the behaviour of actors within them. This institutional approach was challenged in the latter half of the twentieth century by a series of attempts to craft universal theories: behavioralists, rational choice theorists, and others attempted to explain social action with relatively little reference to specific institutional settings. The new institutionalism is conventionally seen as a restatement of the older institutional approach in response to these alternatives. The new institutionalists retain a focus on rules, procedures, and organizations: institutions are composed of two or more people; they serve some kind of social purpose; and they exist over time in a way that transcends the intentions and actions of specific individuals. But the new institutionalists adopt a broader concept of institution that includes norms, habits, and cultural customs alongside formal rules, procedures, and organizations.[12]

Systems Theory: - A system is the pattern of order that arises from the regular interactions of a series of interdependent elements. Systems theorists suggest that these patterns of order arise from the functional relations and interactions among the elements. These relations and interactions involve a transfer of information. This transfer of information leads to the self-production and self-organization of the system even in the absence of any centre of control.They emphasise the self-organizing and self-producing properties of systems.[13]

Regulation Theory: - Typically regulation theorists locate the new governance in relation to a broader socio economic shift from Fordism to post-Fordism. Fordism refers to a combination of "intensive accumulation" and "monopolistic regulation"—a combination associated with the mass production pioneered by Henry Ford in the 1920s. Intensive accumulation rested on processes of mass production such as mechanization, the intensification of work, the detailed division of tasks, and the use of semiskilled labour. Monopolistic regulation involved monopoly pricing, the recognition of trade unions, the indexing of wages to productivity, corporatist tendencies in government, and monetary policies to manage the demand for commodities. According to regulation theorists, intensive accumulation and monopolistic regulation temporarily created a virtuous circle: mass production created economies of scale, thereby leading to a rise in productivity; increased productivity led to increased wages and so greater consumer demand; the growth in demand meant greater profits due to the full utilization of capacity; and the increased profits were used to improve the technology of mass production, creating further economies of scale and so starting the whole circle going again.[14]

Interpretive Theories: - Interpretive theories of governance typically reject the idea that patterns of rule can be properly understood in terms of a historical or social logic attached to capitalist development, functional differentiation, institutional settings, or utility maximization. Instead they emphasize the meaningful character of human action. Because people act on meanings (beliefs or ideas, conscious or not), we can explain their actions properly only if we grasp the relevant meanings. The older interpretive approaches suggested that meanings are more or less uniform across a culture or society. They inspired studies of the distinctive patterns of governance associated with various cultures. In contrast, more recent interpretive approaches, from postmodernism to decentred theory, highlight the contested nature of meanings. They promote studies of the different traditions and discourses of governance that are found in a particular society.[15]

While the new theories of governance clearly differ considerably from one another, we should not allow the differences to obscure the extent to which they mark a collective departure from the concept of the state associated with developmental historicism. Early political scientists told narratives about the development of the state in accord with principles such as nationality, liberty, and community.[16]The developmental historicism of the nineteenth century has been replaced by all kinds of new theories of governance. These new theories have had implications for the theory and practice of democratic governance in 21st century.

Government and Governance

Governmentword is originated from the Latin word 'gubernare' and its means 'to steer' and 'rule'. It also comes from the Greek word 'kubernan' and it means 'to steer'. It is the group of people who are responsible for controlling a country or a state and the activity or the manner of controlling a country.Governance word is originated from the Greek words 'kybenan' and 'kybernetes' and it means 'to steer' and 'pilot' or 'helmsman'. It is the activity of governing a country or controlling a company or an organisation; the way in which a country is governed or a company or institution is controlled.

There is a temptation to use the concepts of government and governance interchangeably although these terms are not one and the same. Government is generally regarded as formal and legal structures of representation and decision making operating at either national government or state government or local government levels. It is the 'formal institutional structure and location of authoritative decision making in the modern state'. The characteristic features of government are its 'ability to make decisions and capacity to enforce them'. Hyden highlights the key components of government as 'both elected and appointed officials serving in core institutions at national, provincial, county or city level'.[17]

Now Governance is used in various contexts and different approaches for example as an institutional perspective regard governance as 'fundamental rules, which regulate the relationships between rulers and the ruled, the rules-in-use or constitutive choice rules, operating at deeper levels of analysis than collective and operational choice rules'. Kickert (1997) provides a policy network approach seeing governance as 'directed influence of social processes' through 'self-organising, inter-organisational networks'.[18] For the structural view, governance 'denotes the structures of political and, crucially, economic relationships and rules by which the productive and distributive life of a society is governed'. It regards governance as the 'manner in which the state acquires and exercises the authority to manage public goods and services'.[19] Governance and Government are two very similar words. People often get confused about the differences between "governance" and "government." A similarity can be drawn between officer and official and also bureaucrat and bureaucracy if it wishes to understand difference between government and governance.

Table -1.2 The distinctions between government and governance[20]

Government	Governance
• clearly defined participants linked to the state	• mixes state and non-state participants (including e.g. NGOs)
• linear model	• network model
• top-down	• multi-layer
• formal institutions and procedures	• evolving and on-going processes
• simple and intuitive representation of citizens through election	• power is dispersed or opaque
• domination through rules or force may be required to ensure universal acceptance of a decision	• acceptance of and support for decisions by all players arises out of wide participation in earlier debate

Source:http://www.open.edu/openlearn/nature-environment/the-environment/environmental-science/climate-

change/content-section-3.2.1

Government is a group of people who rule or run the administration of a country. It is a manner in which power is exercised. In other words, it may be said that a government is the body of representatives that governs and controls the state at a given time. Government is the medium through which the power of the state is employed.In normal circumstances, a state is run by a government that has a mandate from the people to run the affairs of the country and also a term that may be of 4-6 years to serve the state. Governance is the act of governing or ruling. Word Governance refers to the activities of a government. It is the set of rules and laws framed by the government that are to be applied through the representatives of the state. The process of governing people or a state is called governance. Simply put, governance is what governments do. Governance may function variously for profit or non-profit, for people, or itself. The main purpose of governance is to promise good results following a set pattern of rules. Governance may be of various types: - Global Governance, Corporate Governance, Regulatory Governance, Project Governance, Information Technology Governance, Participatory Governance, and Non-Profit Governance etc.

Now we can say this, Governance can be good or bad dependent upon the awareness of the people and they may accordingly choose to recall or vote a particular government out of power. In casing, governance is what a government does. It is the exercise of powers that are bestowed upon the government according to set rules and rules using a system of bureaucracy that defines governance. Government is merely an instrument for the purpose of governance.

Governance – The World Bank

It is now generally known that governance was first officially used by the World Bank in its report on Sub-Saharan Africa in 1989. In 1989 report the bank suggested that the programmes of economic adjustment and investment in that region were actually reduced and ineffective by 'crisis of governance'.[21] While conceptualising

governance in the context of debt-ridden Sub-Saharan Africa, the World Bank was guided by awareness that, "Efforts to create an enabling environment and to build capacities will be wasted if the political context is not favourable. Ultimately better governance required political renewal. This means a concerted attack on corruption from the highest to lowest level. This can be done by setting good example, by strengthening accountability, by encouraging public debate, and by maturing a free press. It also means fostering grassroots and non-governmental organization such as farmers' associations, cooperatives and women's groups". [22]

Improving Governance would begin with an assessment of the institutional environment (accountability, rule of law, openness, and transparency) which determines the patrimonial profile of the country. Good governance is also contrasted with 'poor governance' which is held responsible for lack of sound development in Sub-Saharan African nation-states. Poor governance is, according to World Bank formulation, 'characterised by arbitrary policy making, unaccountable bureaucracies, un-enforced or unjust legal systems, the abuse of executive power, a civil society unengaged in public life and widespread corruption'. [23] There are main four key components of the governance, and these are: -

Figures 1.1 The key components of Governance
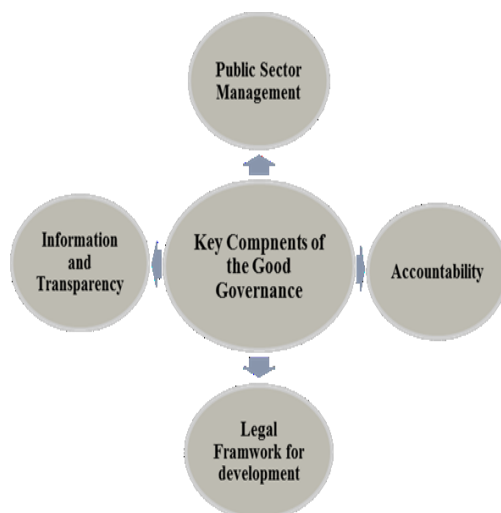
Source: - self described

What the bank saw in its experience of advancing structural adjustment programmes was the weak role of the state and its institutions in applying these programmes. There were incompetent and corrupt government that tended to limit or weak these programmes and even after governments accepted the conditions, bad in these programs, they were not able to instrument them. This led the bank, in its early creation, to focus on decision-making and administrative capability as a policy to improve governance. [24] The role of state was redefined in the World Development Report (1992) "The state could undertake basic investment in, and management of, essential social and physical infrastructure, but its central role was to encourage the free and fair of market forces in an impartial, open and accountable manner". [25] According to the World Bank, Some of the main symptoms of poor governance are as follows. [26]

- Failure to make a clear separation between what is public and what is private, hence, a tendency to divert public resources for private gain.
- Failure to establish a predictable framework of law and government behaviour conducive to development, or arbitrariness in the application of rules and laws.
- Excessive rules, regulation, licensing requirement, and so forth, which impede the functioning of markets and encourage rent-seeking.
- Priorities inconsistent with development, resulting in misallocation of resources. and
- Excessively narrowly based or non-transparent decision making.

Electronic and Print Medias are always blaming governments for their misuses of power for divert public resources for private gain and it is happening in third world countries. There are many views of 'Good Governance' seeking to prove as a panacea for 'bad governance'. Today people are demanding more dynamic, result-

oriented, transparent, and accountable government on the one hand and a networking of formal institutions of government, the market and the private sector, and the civil society on the other.

Now, this understanding needs four components of good-governance that the World Bank has adopted as policy guidelines in addressee countries.[27]

- Public sector management need civil service reform and private sector advantages.
- Legal framework for development is about making and applying rules that can make a market work, such as private property rights.
- Accountability aims at establishment the institutions to hold the government accountable, as for example, regulator, the Auditor- General or Parliamentary public accounts committee.
- Finally transparency and information are key words for programmes that support a free media or help the government publicize statistics, such as publishing the public budget annually.

The Worldwide Governance Indicators report on six broad dimensions of governance for 215 countries over the period 1996-2012: (i) Voice and Accountability, (ii) Political Stability and Absence of Violence, (iii) Government Effectiveness, (iv) Regulatory Quality, (v) Rule of Law and (vi) Control of Corruption.[28] These dimensions are necessary for transformation of poor governance to good governance. It is also important to mentions that above all the discussion, the World Bank's notion of governance refers to reducing corruption and motivating accountability.

In summarizing the perspective of governance identified in the literature, stoker[29] (1998) arranges down five dimensions. These dimensions are:

a) Governance refers to a complex set of institution and actors that are drawn from but also beyond the government.
b) Governance recognizes the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues.
c) Governance identifies the power dependence involved in relationships between institutions involved in collective action.
d) Governance is about autonomous self – governing networks of actors.
e) Governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of the government to command or use its authority. It sees government as able to use its authority. It sees government as able to use new tools and techniques to steer and guide.

Governance is the network of relationships of three actors- state, market and civil society. In this relationships and networks, no one institution can easily dominate; it will depend on particular process of exchange. The domination of political institution in providing services is weak; the private sector and institutions of civil society fill in the space previously employed by these institutions. New forms of institution arise and this finds face in the distorting of limitations between the public and the private sector. A range of unpaid agencies arise that respond to collective concerns.[30]

Broadly speaking, good governance is conceptually three dimensional.

a) It refers to certain adopted principles of public administration, namely, accountability, transparency and participation.
b) It occupies also on the process in which political power is expressed and exercised. The process involves a multipart interaction among the dominant values, politics, and institutions that are critical to making and applying decisions for the society in question. Governance also recognises

the importance of interactions between state, market and civil society.

c) Successful application of governance, as both principals and processes, is contingent on the controlling capacity of the state. While control without good governance is oppressive, good governance without the capacity to apply them is an empty slogan. A perusal of these structures suggests that governance is not a magic formula. In its place, it seeks to articulate a scheme to improve government functioning in areas where government is superficially marginal and is largely appropriated by 'partisan' interests where it exists.

Conclusion

Governance only takes attentions on the process of governing and it is associating interactions between various formal and informal institutions. It is also influencing the policies and decisions that concern with community livings or people. Hence, principles such as accountability, transparency, participation, and empowerment are emphasised to make governance good or effective, to enable the development move towards new and productive directions. Good Governance, as we have observed, is bringing about creative intervention, and participation by not just a sole actor, but by various key players to enhance the legitimacy of public realm.

Reducing poverty is the overarching goal of the main development agencies, as reflected in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Yet progress has so far been slow and there are indications that the MDGs are far from being accomplished in the next decade. No matter how poverty is defined and measured, the statistics indicate an appalling situation: millions of people live in subhuman conditions and many die of easily preventable causes. A focus on poverty represents a welcome return to the central objective of development. In parallel with this there has been, in recent years, a return to fundamental ethical issues: asking not only 'how' but also 'why' development must be

provided.[31] In recent years, it has been increasingly argued that severe poverty is a violation of human rights. This may come to be accepted by the international community; but many hundreds of millions will continue to live in life-threatening poverty. To attack severe poverty effectively, this idea must be complemented by another: that there are specific agents who are violating other persons' specific human right not to be poor.[32]

Weak governance is increasingly seen to be at the heart of the economic development challenge. Misguided resource allocation, excessive government intervention, and arbitrariness and corruption have deterred private sector investment and slowed growth and poverty reduction efforts in numerous settings, and the recent financial crises in Asia have exposed problems of governance and public sector performance in that region. The recent work on aid effectiveness points out the risks of lending to countries with bad policies and poorly performing public sectors; just a s it became evident in the 1980s that potentially good projects often fail in poor policy environments, so it has become evident in the 1990s that policy reforms are less likely to succeed when public institutions and governance are weak.[33]

Herbert H. Werlin argues in his article "the difference between poor countries and rich countries has to do with Governance rather than resources". In emphasizing the importance of public administration in explaining economic success and failure, Werlinexamines three general theories of governance (Organizational, cultural, and structural-functional).[34] And his finding is *"because poor countries suffer from inadequate governance rather than inadequate resources, foreign aid agencies tend to be too soft rather than too hard in their assistance programs"*. According to him, the World Bank staffs continue to be under great pressure to get loans out and projects going, regardless of their merit or likelihood of success. Strings are certainly attached (particularly for structural adjustment lending), but they are usually ineffective.[35]

The good governance agenda of multilateral aid agencies and donor countries is being refined; it should be also redefined by the government of India. Although it is impossible to have a clear-cut demarcation between economic and political aspects of governance, the current confusion and ambiguities need to be further clarified. Notwithstanding the lack of clarity about the concept, however, a reiteration of good governance and efforts at governance reforms, despite many pitfalls, have served a useful function in identifying the problem areas hampering the success of development aid. It bears reiterating that the concept can be used effectively only when the cultural context and history are understood and sensitively taken into account. Finally, without effective participation and meaningful ownership by the recipient government and the people in the recipient country, development aid cannot accomplish its objectives.[36]

However after all discussion we believe good governance in our final objective but 'good governance' is not a self-generating product or service that develops automatically when country becomes wealthier. In practical terms policy-makers and civil society need to work continuously at improving governance within the countries through certain direct enabling environments. Governance discourse in third world countries has revolved around western experiences and theories, missing the nature and context of their own problems. We should examines governance issues in the context of India and suggests that third world countries need to evolve alternative approaches to governance that are appropriate for them.

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