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COMBATING CORRUPTION AND ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN INDIA

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Abstract:

Corruption has become rampant and an accepted norm of acquiring basic and sometimes 'free' services. Thus, for a large cross-section of Indian citizens, realization of state-conferred citizenship rights is still a myth, not reality due to corruption. All the more, under the aegis of globalization, it is a great hurdle on the path of progress because out of the huge plan outlays, very little goes to the people whose upliftment is essential for ushering the egalitarian society. Since individual efforts are not paid heed to, justice through the courts is unaffordable and favorable verdict not guaranteed, it is perceived that peaceful, democratic and dialogical avenues are still open for them. Democratic accountability is more than voting, it is about voicing a right and an obligation to voice their opinions on an ongoing basis about the functioning of government programs and agencies and holding them accountable. Hence, civic-driven change is a response to such experiences of discrimination, unfairness and exclusion. Resistance and peaceful protest are the effective methods to be led by the civil society today. In this paper an attempt is made to briefly understand the causes of corruption and the role of civil society in combating corruption in India as ultimately, it is only a powerful civil society movement that can break the vicious cycle of corruption in any society.

KEY WORDS:

Corruption, Civil Society, globalization, combating corruption.

INTRODUCTION

Corruption has been and seems to remain as a permanent reality, the harmfulness of which hurts both the individual, and the society. Corruption; in the neutral sense of the term, without any specific implications is: "deflection from morality, honesty, duty" A more broader definition of corruption is "it is the abusive use of power with the purpose of satisfying personal or group interests" Corruption is also defined as the use of public office for private gain, or in other words, use of official position, rank or status by an office bearer for his own personal benefit. Following these above definitions, examples of corrupt behavior would include: (a) bribery, (b) extortion, (c) fraud, (d) embezzlement, (e) nepotism, (f) cronyism, (g) appropriation of public assets and property for private use, and (h) influence peddling. Thereby it is anti-people, anti-development and anti-national due to which there is a growing worldwide concern over corruption at the present time. There are several factors that are responsible for this. Firstly, there has been a world wide consensus that corruption is universal. It subsists in all countries, both developed and developing, in the public and private sectors, in non-profit and charitable organizations. Secondly, the contention and charges of corruption now play a more central role in politics than at any other time. Governments have tumbled careers of world renowned public figures ruined, and reputations of well-

respected organizations and business firms badly tarnished on account of it. The international mass media feeds on it, scandals and improper conduct, especially of those in high places, are looked upon as extremely newsworthy, and to be investigated with zeal and vigor. The rising trend in the use of corruption as a tool to discredit political opponents, the media's preoccupation with it as a highly marketable commodity, and the general public's fascination with seeing prominent personalities in embarrassing situations have brought scandalous and corrupt behavior, a common human frailty, into the limelight of international attention. Thirdly; corruption is considered to be a major obstacle in the process of economic development and in modernizing a country. Many now feel that it should receive priority attention in a country's development agenda. This awareness and recognition that corruption can have a serious adverse impact on development has been a cause for concern among developing countries. In a recent survey of 150 high level officials from 60 third world countries, the respondents ranked public sector corruption as the most severe obstacle confronting their development process (Gray and Kaufmann 1998). Countries in the Asia and Pacific region are also very worried about this problem and they are in substantial agreement that corruption is a major constraint that is hindering their economic, political and social development, and hence view it as a problem requiring urgent attention at the highest level. (U.Myint-2000)

In its widest connotation corruption includes improper and selfish exercise of power and influence attached to a public office due to the special position one occupies in public life. Corruption among public servants is one of the most serious problems facing the world today, particularly in third world countries where it is most widespread, extensive and rampant. This corruption not only leads to large scale leakage of public funds meant for public services and development, it has other negative influences on individual specifically and as well on the society. Corruption invariably breeds a vicious cycle of lack of transparency and weak institutions of accountability, which leads to further corruption; this in turn leads to the empowerment and perpetuation of corrupt public servants and corrupt mega corporations, which leads to misery and disempowerment of the poor and marginalized sections, which then leads to further corruption. Therefore rampant corruption is major national malady. It is the single big factor that impedes the progress of our country; it is responsible for millions to live below poverty line despite exorbitant amount being spent on development. The United Nations Convention against corruption (2003) signed/ratified by the member countries to deal firmly with corruption. The Secretary General of UN stressed that corruption violates the socio-economic human rights of the people especially in the developing countries because funds meant for roads, wells, hospital, schools and other basic necessities are siphoned off and deposited in safe havens abroad. Despite the constitutional rights and equality, the enormous socioeconomic inequalities prevalent in Indian society, led many categories of citizens experience discrimination and exclusion. Women, most of all felt that the prevalent patriarchy limited their access to services and rights. Even today, in India for the most part, girls remain undereducated. In most societies, women are still denied property rights. Native communities, religious minorities' backward caste and untouchable households in India still experience indignity, humiliation and violence, face discrimination, exclusion and harassment. Indigenous communities have largely experienced displacement from their native lands and alienation from the natural resources. They have been experiencing 'second-class' status as citizens. Displacement of citizens in the name of development without adequate rehabilitation facility, besides the inadequate and low-quality public service like – electricity, water, garbage removal and other municipal services were unreliable and for most citizens, difficult to access. Roads, parks and other civic amenities are not adequately available and are poorly maintained. New telephone connections took years to actualize. Corruption has become rampant and an accepted norm of acquiring basic and sometimes 'free' services. Thus, for a large cross-section of Indian citizens, realization of state-conferred citizenship rights is still a myth, not reality due to corruption. All the more, under the aegis of globalization, it is a great hurdle on the path of progress because out of the huge plan outlays, very little goes to the people whose upliftment is essential for ushering the egalitarian society. Since individual efforts are not paid heed to, justice through the courts is unaffordable and favorable verdict not guaranteed, they perceive that peaceful, democratic and dialogical avenues are still open for them. Hence, civic-driven change is a response to such experiences of discrimination, unfairness and exclusion. Resistance and peaceful protest are the effective methods to be led by the civil society today.

Causes of corruption: A brief mention of the causes of corruption needs to be made in this context. Quite often, the causes generating corruption include: the recruitment and promotion system in local or national public administration, based on who you know instead of what you know, relations with public decentralized services and governmental organizations (long term contracts, high and certain incomes), nepotism and services provided to people for economic or political benefits, vague objectives and superficial control and audit (both internal and external ones), and shallow organizational culture and we can go on and on. A high demand for a type of service could also result in corruption if the possibility that authorities have for supplying it are limited. When demand is higher than the offer, under these

circumstances, the result is not the same as on the free market. The price of the desired good or service is not necessarily higher, but the cost for purchasing it is increased by the price paid in order to gain access to it. (Floristeanu, Elena- 2010)

In the Indian context going back to what Kautilya (in his “Arthashastra”) had to say about corruption in the 4th Century ... just as it is impossible to know when a fish living and moving in water is drinking it, it is impossible to find out when government servants in charge of the undertakings misappropriate money. Not going into the history, we could talk on India under the British rule tracing the colonial legacy in corruption which existed in the form of favors, tips and 'Baksheesh' to get secrets or even to do illegal work, the enormous power they had to maintain law and order and the Permit and License Raj to control day to day public activity of Indians. In the early years of our nation building, the political executive comprised leaders of high integrity and character who in fact set a culture of high standards in public life. But today with the domination of money and muscle power, there is a wide spread feeling that the institutions established to tackle corruption like the CAG, Election Commission and Central Vigilance Commission, despite being autonomous and adequately empowered, have not been successful in curbing corruption. The politicians – civil servant nexus, the abuse and misuse of power by many Government officials, growth of black money, notes for vote-in the election, right unto local self Government level, be it Gram Panchayats, Panchayat Samiti's or Zilla Parishahds or Urban Local Self Govt. Institutions. Former Chief Vigilance Commissioner N.Vittal has rightly observed that, “people want to grab power to make money or grab money to come to power. It is a vicious cycle.” Thus electoral politics has been fueling corruption all the more. This is done with the help of strong business – politics nexus leading to deficiencies in the executive and legislative branches of our political system with no more objectivity, integrity, neutrality and honesty. Further, the judicial branch and the laws – its rules, procedures and process which in fact has to uphold the rule of law, public interest, and constitutional supremacy has glaring defects by way of delaying the settlement of cases. Lastly we may say that ambiguity in laws, delay in disposal of cases, insensitive judicial system, lack of awareness in the general public, delayed, unfair and unjust manner in the judicial process due to which the accused are often not punished for years leaving him scot free, has also been a cause of increasing corruption at all levels.

Corruption in India is a major issue and adversely affects its economy. The study conducted by [Transparency International\(TIO\)](#) in India in 2005 points out that more than 62% of Indians had first-hand experience of paying bribes or [influence peddling](#) to get jobs done in public offices successfully. In its 2008 study, Transparency International reports about 40% of Indians had first-hand experience of paying bribes or using a contact to get a job done in public office. In 2012 India has ranked 94th out of 176 countries in Transparency International's [Corruption Perceptions Index](#) tied with Benin, Colombia, Djibouti, Greece, Moldova, and Mongolia. In a survey of 150 high level officials from 60 third world countries, the respondents ranked public sector corruption as the most severe obstacle confronting their development process (Gray and Kaufmann 1998). Countries in the Asia and Pacific region are also very worried about this problem and they are in substantial agreement that corruption is a major constraint that is hindering their economic, political and social development, and hence view it as a problem requiring urgent attention at the highest level.

The Global Corruption Report (TIO) defines political corruption as the politicians' abuse of power for personal advantage. Politicians' integrity is mostly affected by the conflict between public and personal interests. Corruption in political finance can appear under various forms, from vote buying to use of illicit funding for candidate position selling and the misuse of state funds and public administrative resources. Administrative corruption appears in the area of laws and rules' application, at the public administration level, mostly under the form of small corruption. Kleptocracy is a political corruption subcategory and it mostly appears in the countries that have juridical systems less structured and where public and private activity transparency is limited. It includes the highest level officials that systematically use public funds, directly or indirectly, for their own enrichment. In kleptocrat economies, economic and social problems are ignored, there is little respect for the law, and moral values are forgotten. Kleptocrats are concerned with taking-over state assets, no matter if we're talking about natural resources. Further, when one considers the economic consequences of corruption, the adverse impact of grand corruption i.e. has comes in hand in hand with globalization, comes readily to mind. Corruption on a grand scale associated with some dictators and their cronies can involve embezzlement of huge sums of public funds, and the mismanagement, wastage, inequity, and social decay that come along with it, can be disastrous for an economy

Consequences of corruption and Civil Society: Corruption to such an extent has a deep impact on not only the economy of the nation, but has disturbed the local as well as international economy. It consequently leads to make democracy dysfunctional as the upper classes would have their say and way with money power, while the poor have lost with no money power ultimately leading to in quality-social political and economic exclusion with a severe blow and violation of their human rights. There has been a

debate over the connection between corruption and human rights. Rights of rich/upper class and caste are taken care of by themselves; the question is about the rights of the poor, backward and women as human being. Some kinds of corruption at local level directly relate to human rights, while major/mega corruption on large scale also have exploited human rights indirectly and are more serious and dangerous to the society as a whole. With such a situation surrounding, the citizens this incongruence becomes the trigger for 'co-creation' in civic-driven change. The essential premise motivating civic action is a sense of disrespect for their citizenship – what they see as a fundamental tenet for expressing and fully enjoying their rights as Human beings. Primary manifestation of contemporary civic action is to protest against and resist state-driven or market-driven change while it is also seen in the form of creativity, self-organization, and mutual co-operation by citizens for development or as new/genuine solutions to local problems, making it civic participative oriented.

The World Bank sourcebook 2002 underscores that the community deliberation and action in the government agenda have expanded the process of empowerment and conscientisation enabling the people to actively participate in public affairs and exert influence, leverage and control, and hold public institutions accountable. Harris Johan has called these developments as “new politics”, “Civic Society activism” and “govern mentality of post-liberalization” state because the system of public administration does not offer sustainable solutions to so many problems. It is the circumstances that have aroused citizens who have awakened and are assertively forging alliance and association to combat with corruption for the establishment of free transparent and accountable governance. So civil society, as it exists now, is a modern phenomenon. Though individual initiative for well being of people was culturally and morally due to which charitable institutions like dispensaries, hostels, window homes, etc., were established, while on the other hand, money was channelized for construction of Dharamshala's at places of pilgrimage, maintaining ghats, building temples, etc. with moral and religious intention leading to spiritual satisfaction. It was a personal pacification of soul and a feeling of having done the desirable and the good. But today there has been a shift in the focus of civil society. It is driven by the grand idea of human rights since the universal declaration of human right. The causes shifted from concern with spirituality and personal satisfaction to a secular agenda that could be enforced upon the state. Many civil societies sprang upon the international horizon for protection of human rights, like 'Amnesty International', 'The human rights watch' and “International Transparency” deals with human rights, environment & ecology and sustainable development transparency on the other has been the center of attention and expanded the concerns of civil society. Today in a broader context civil society covers organized efforts by citizens for promoting equity, justice human rights, dignity, peace and happiness of humanity without any kind of profit motive to flight against all kinds of exploitation, exclusion and discrimination.

As rightly said by William Gladstone, “The purpose of Government is to make it easy for people to do good; and difficult to do evil”. But then it seems that the government has forsaken that purpose. We have simply not made it easy for citizen to get the most basic services. This is nothing but Corruption as violation of Human Rights in India. Corruption being rampant seems to be occurring at three levels – Individual Local, State-Society-National level and International. Right from individual-local level we witness that attaining as basic necessities as a birth certificate, tax assessment, 3ration card, gas, water or electricity connection or driving license, a domicile certificate, registration of a sale deed, house building plan approval – any of these is dreadfully painful, in most of the states – all these often are delayed and denied if the citizen does not comply with demands for bribes. The citizen has a cruel choice : he can get the work done quickly if one complies with the bribe demanded or he suffer delays, uncertainty, inconvenience, loss, harassment, and sometimes missed opportunity if one resisted the demand. All this is happening at local level when each and every citizen is entitled to the service, but he is an innocent victim of extortion corruption. While on the other hand more severe and collusive corruption, however, is different. Actually since liberalization (economic reforms started in India - 1991) 'retail corruption' (involving individuals) under License-Permit Raj has been substituted by 'mega corruption' by politicians through policy making the all – pervasive corruption in India increased massively even since 1991. The Second Administrative Reforms Commission has rightly observed that “as the economy is freed from the state controls, extortionary corruption declines and collusion corruption tends to increase.” Amongst the various corruption scandals that have rocked and stormed the nation; we could mention a few which are of very serious nature like the Adarsh Housing Society scam, 2G Spectrum scam, Commonwealth Games scam, Animal husbandary scam of Bihar, Provident Fund scam of Ghaziabad, Illegal mining by Reddy brothers; National Rural Health Mission work scam in UP; charges against various judges including those of higher judicial bodies; we can go on and on with the list. As a global financial integrity (GFI) study reveals that it was only after 1991 that 68% of the total illegal siphoning of money from India occurred since independence. This kind of corruption could be seen at state or national level by way of giving a contract, transfer of officials, recruitment in public services, grant of a mining lease, alienation of land or interference

in crime investigation etc. in such cases often both bribe-taken and bribe giver act in collusion and severely damage public interest. Competition is windswept, public resources are deceived; injustice is done as the damage done by collusive corruption in undermining public interest is immense. Hence we need to treat collusive corruption on a higher footing and institutionalize mechanisms to firmly curb it, and treat it as a graver offence and impose rigorous punishments. Besides in corruption we need to look beyond money matters. One who is inefficient, lethargic, unresponsive, unsympathetic, wasteful of public resources indifferent to citizen's plight etc. is also to be considered as corruption. Thus corruption is a multidimensional monster and needs to be attacked from various fronts. There can be no single solution for it. It is here where we discuss the role of civil society in fighting corruption as a violation of human rights.

COMBATING CORRUPTION

Role of Civil Society : Corruption in India has emerged as a key component issue in India in recent years. In earlier years it was not a common issue discussed amongst the people in the society. But in recent years role of civil society towards effective and sustained reform is appreciated realizing that public education and planning the prevention of corruption are important. With the expansion of the democracy at grass roots level, the power of vote and newly found civil liberties it has led to portray a strong anti-corruption commitment. Yet anti –corruption strategies are not simply policies that can be planned in advance and segregation but can be developed in conjunction with the citizen participation. Therefore combating corruption is not just a matter of making laws (although laws are definitely required) and creating institutions, rather it is deeply rooted in the activities and continuous participation of the civil society.

Any system would be responsive when the citizens and civil society demands a high degree of efficiency and transparency in the functioning of the system. At least after six decades, the civil society is forcing itself upon the working of the government. It was the civil society campaign that led to the enactment of the Right to Information Act. Hence the civil society can help expose corruption; the civil society can make immense contribution to the sustenance of democracy as well as development with the use of various instruments/tools we have at our disposal as citizens. Vikram Singh calls the civil society opinion – the public opinion to be the fifth estate of governance to pressurize the government officials and leaders to act.

1. Use of RTI, Public Interest Litigation & Public Hearings as tool of civil society. With the tool of RTI and public interest litigation we can always seek the truth. The civil society can make a demand of transparent accountable and corruption free governance. The accountability of officials and experts in the government is not assured. Lack of transparency and accountability in government bureaucracies is rampant and widespread. This has led to huge and continual corruption in government agencies and programmes. Public resources have been siphoned off for private gain by politicians, officials and their collaborators. It is the citizen-centric view of democratic accountability which focuses on accountability of governments to people in everyday life. The solutions to the problem and the critical role of civil society in implementing the solutions emerge from the above analysis. It is clear from the experience of the National Campaign for People's Right to Information (NCPRI) that transparency in all aspects of government functioning is by far the most important measure to deter corruption, particularly in an organized and vigilant civil society. If people could see what official transactions were taking place and how, it would be difficult for corruption to remain undetected. The experience with the public hearings (called Jan Sunvais) conducted by the NCPRI has shown that open public exposure of corruption is in most cases sufficient to bring corrupt officials to book. Public hearings have been particularly used to expose corruption in development works undertaken by the government at local levels – the village panchayats and the municipal districts. While these public hearings have been a useful instrument to expose and deal with corruption at the local level, they would not be able to address corruption in high places, such as in complex mega contracts negotiated at high levels of government. The success of the public hearings led to an intensification of the RTI campaign which has eventually led to RTI laws being enacted in about 10 States and in Parliament in India. It has also led to a demand for the right to Information about the criminal antecedents and assets of candidates contesting elections. Public interest petitions were filed in the Supreme Court by various civil society organizations for securing this right. Besides this the technological progress has made it feasible to videotape all public offices such approaches may be adopted by the civil society.

2. Citizen Charter : A demand of Citizen's Charter needs to be proposed for every kind service provided to the people. Delivery of service in time should be obligatory upon the public authority and the receipt of service in time should be the right of the citizen. Integrity Pact and Development Pact: The integrity pact is a commitment by the Public Sector PSUS that they would follow transparent rules and procedures during

contracts on goods, services and consultancy. The development pact is a commitment between the electorate and the candidate contesting elections who would give an undertaking to take up the plans and issues required by the electorates. The civil society would have to have a close follow up of the promises made by the candidate. A vigilant civil society which continuously monitors and tracks the actions of elected representatives, particularly with reference to what they had professed and promised during their campaigns, would go a long way in holding them accountable during the next round of elections. Such vigilance would undoubtedly be an enormous incentive to them to maintain their integrity.

3. Social Audit: Launching of social audit under which the NGO's citizens and the government would have face to face interactions from a same platform.

4. Publishing Reports: Publishing reports, cards and handbooks regarding the governance based on survey and research. Budget monitoring, participatory planning, citizen led visioning. This would keep the officers on alert and work in time. Participatory planning especially at urban rural local level has led to good governance. The example of Hubli-Dharwad Municipal Corporation needs to be mentioned for participatory planning leading to use of budget in time and for the allocated purpose.

5. E-Governance: E-Governance would also be one of the ways to tackle the problem of corruption. The government should be pressurized by the civil society to undertake the process of E-governance and also set up structures suitable for E-governance. This would definitely help reduce discretion and curb down the opportunities for arbitrary action. We have to make the best use of technology and transparency, and the vast bureaucratic leviathan makes every interaction with government an ordeal. Wherever government has been removed from service delivery, and wherever competition and choice have been introduced, corruption has been brought under control. Telephones are an excellent example of curbing through competition and choice similarly, corruption in railways reservation and some basic services has declined as computerization and e-seva have been introduced. Once technology and transparency have been harnessed, the citizen become more self-reliant and empowered, and arbitrary exercise of power can be curbed.

6. Public Private Partnership (PPP): With globalization there has been a wide application of public-private partnership in development projects like roads, education, water, health and sanitation. There is a huge collusion amongst the public and private sectors which is leading to corruption. Civil societies need to have a close watch and pressurize upon the government to make clear procedures, rules and regulations by including the civic participation to implement the contracts. The vague and indistinct policies have been in the interest of both the private investors and the public servants.

7. Legislation: The legislation, like protection of the whistleblower, for feature of property of corrupt public officials that include legislators also needs to be immediately attended.

8. Reform the Judiciary: Where ever corruption flourishes it seems that such systems also have delaying, weak and corrupt judiciaries. Any country which is serious about tackling corruption must urgently take up judicial reforms and ensure that the criminal justice system works properly. In India, the higher judiciary is completely unaccountable. Judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts cannot be removed from office except by a procedure of impeachment which has been shown to be completely impractical. You cannot even investigate a judge for a criminal offence without the permission of the Chief Justice of India. It is only a strong civil society movement which can catalyze such reforms.

9. Civil Society need to be activated during Elections: Distortions in voting have been studied, voter turn-outs, votes being solicited on the basis of religion, caste, language, migration, region enhancing narrow and parochial identities leading to difference, cleavages and socio-political conflicts. Political promises and democratic elections are less and less about hope, quality of life and justice for all. Hence the civic participation and interventions is highly required during the elections taking care of maximum turn out of voters, as well as in creating awareness of electing the right efficient candidate irrespective of caste, creed, religion and region. As candidates take the utmost benefit of such criteria and try to win election fooling the citizens with false promises. Reforms that are required in this sphere are to be pushed up through the civil society.

11. Neutral (non-partisan) Clean Leadership : Strong civil society non-violent protests and movements led by neutral and clean leaders are a well-built technique and instrument in the hands of the vigilant society to

curb corruption. We have witnessed it in the making of the RTI and recently we have seen the unbelievable popular support gained, (with the use of modern technology like face book, twitter, etc.) by the agitation led by Anna Hazare. It definitely reflects the burning anger of the society over the misappropriation of public assets. But while this kind of massive movement is necessary and the object of the movement cannot be denied by any true citizen in fact the movement has also raised certain issues that reveal a naiveté and lack of understanding that has become the cause of worry amongst the intelligentsia. It is clear that the followers were strongly and rightly influenced by the loot and plunder of public money and national assets, yet most of the followers have little understanding of the issue raised. Hence we see that social activist Aruna Roy when asked if Hazare's movement infringed on Parliament's privileges, Roy said, "All these protests are important and then they work. But to say finally now that only my version should go in and that no other version should be debated and that should be passed as it is, looking at parliamentary privileges, already the opposition parties have disagreed the government bill... there are other opinions ... "The Jan Lokpal is a threat to democracy as a powerful, non-elected agency can lead to abuse of power and abuse of authority. Power corrupts and absolutely power corrupts absolutely", she quipped. (ITGD Bureau; New Delhi, August 23, 2011) Undoubtedly in future the civil society is going to be a principle stakeholder and get the issues translated into action. It is definitely going to determine the trends in governance. But while doing so the civil society should have due respect and regard to one most important cardinal principle relating to the basic framework of the constitution which provides for functioning of the government through the three organs of governance. The civil society needs to influence the views of these organs towards their expectations and thinking without trying to replace or illegitimately try to occupy the constitutionally mandated domain of these institutions. The civil society has all rights to project the expectations, thinking and views of the society, direct the government towards these views of the society, by strengthening the citizenry but not at cost of replacing the responsibilities of constitutionally mandated institutions. In summary, it may be stated that for a corruption free society there is a dire need to evolve an effective system of civic intervention-participation from voting to voicing for real democracy and sustainable development. Methods, tools and practices of citizen-centric social accountability have come to gain greater acceptance. Citizen report cards, budget monitoring, participatory planning, citizen-led visioning, etc. are illustrations of this perspective in practice in major cities. Social audits, right to information, right to participation and consultation are new principles of governance procedures and methodologies. Democratic accountability is more than voting, it is about voicing a right and an obligation to voice their opinions on an ongoing basis about the functioning of government programmes and agencies and holding them accountable. For this we have to strategically strive to influence towards – the Enactment of strong and adequate laws such as Anti Corruption Act, Right to Information Laws and Laws to Protect whistle blowers; building a strong, independent and properly functioning institutions to enforce accountability, and criminal justice such as Investigative agencies, Vigilance Commissions, and the Judiciary; and an organized and vigilant civil society which monitors the conduct of public officials and exposes corrupt ones. The civil society needs to concentrate upon enactment of adequate laws and institutions by way of public campaigns to put them in place. Ultimately, it is only a powerful civil society movement which can break the vicious cycle of corruption in any society.

Index trends in major states by respective anti-corruption effort			
State	1990-95	1996-00	2001-05
Bihar	0.41	0.30	0.43
Gujarat	0.48	0.57	0.64
Andhra Pradesh	0.53	0.73	0.55
Punjab	0.32	0.46	0.46
Jammu & Kashmir	0.13	0.32	0.17
Haryana	0.33	0.60	0.31
Himachal Pradesh	0.26	0.14	0.23
Tamil Nadu	0.19	0.20	0.24
Madhya Pradesh	0.23	0.22	0.31
Karnataka	0.24	0.19	0.20
Rajasthan	0.27	0.23	0.26
Kerala	0.16	0.20	0.22
Maharashtra	0.45	0.29	0.27
U.P.	0.11	0.11	0.16
Orissa	0.22	0.16	0.15
Assam	0.21	0.02	0.14
West Bengal	0.11	0.08	0.03

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