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## An Analysis of Concept and Role of Civil Society in Contemporary India

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# An Analysis of Concept and Role of Civil Society in Contemporary India

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Perhaps the utopia and human imagination have not been separate affairs. At every phase of history where men thought about what ought to be in different fields of his concern, this seems that utopia has been a human need (Irfan, Habib and others: 2004).

Conceptions and desirabilities guided men to have 'ought to be' model of society. 'Civil Society' also not only as a renewed or resurgent agenda erected by social and political scientists, but is a current debate about idealized society (Bottomore: 1993, J. Arato and J.C. Alexander: 2001, Krishan Kumar: 1993/97). The idea of civil society is not new but it has roots in sixteenth and seventeenth century's European thinking.

The recently risen interest in civil society, of academician and researchers in civil society, in 2000s is attempted again vis-à-vis conflict of identities, 'clash of civilization' and political pluralism. The theory and practice of civil society have been discussed across the lands taking from America and Europe where civil society established earlier along with maturation of industrial order and to the economically and organizationally non-developed Latin-America, Africa and Asian countries where nation-building appeared late with the development of public sphere and

heterogeneous publics. But in advanced countries, the idea of civil society and its system remained not beyond dispute. Much listened social scientist 'Noam Chomsky' designated America as a 'Rogue-state' in the context of American overstepping in the matter of other nations-like Afghanistan, Iran, Libya and Iraq leaving the idealistic image of civilized society demolished.

## II. RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The fastly appearing interest in civil society at this moment of world history and world situation tended many thinkers prepared to recommend the studies in civil society. Alexander, J.C. (2001,p.1993) observed that civil society has been a topic of enormous discussion and dispute throughout the history of social thought and more, he mentions that sociologists have written much about the social forces that create conflict and polarize society about interests and structures of political, economic, racial, ethnic and gender groups. But, they have said very little about the construction, disconstruction and deconstruction of solidarity itself. They are generally silent about the sphere of fellow feeling that makes society into society and about the process that fragments it. He preferred to approach this sphere of fellow feeling from the concept of civil society.

Michael Edwards (2009:67) has raised a question about the state of understanding of civil society thus, "Is civil society the big idea for the twenty first century or will the idea of civil society confused, corrupted or captured by elites prove another false horizon in the search for a better world?" Further he states thus recognizing that civil society is contested territory in both theory and reality is the first step in rescuing a potentially powerful set of ideas from conceptual confusion that threatens to submerge them. Hence it requires further exploration in theory and practice of civil society focusing on certain society sharing present day order.

While analyzing the concepts of civil society, Neera chandhoke (2003) observed that civil space in actually existing democracies like India offers only limited possibilities for re-appropriation or those without capacities or entitlements or those who are outside the organized sectors and going by through her studies of social movements such as Narmada Bachao Andolan and Chatisgarh Mukti Morcha which were the creative movement of India's civil society, She substantiated her

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conclusion and she assumed that civil society is contained in India.

### III. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Review exercise of literature on civil society as a concept and practice was done tracing the origin, meaning and practice of civil society taken from late years of sixteenth century to early years of two thousands. The notion, the quantum and form of practice remained changing along with time passed.

General meaning of civil society was referred to men dwelling in a community. The eighteenth and nineteenth century generated two different meanings of the term. The Scottish theory of eighteenth century referred to the meaning of civil society as a civilized society with a non-despotic rule and a society with polished manners in opposition to a crude and barbaric society, and the most representative author was Adam Ferguson (Essays on history of civil society: 1767) in Enlightenment era.

In German tradition that appeared later in Nineteenth century, reveals a break in the historic equation of civil society and the state. Hegel (Philosophy of right: 1821/2008) saw the civil society as determined by the free play of economic forces on one hand and self seeking individuals on the other. He placed civil society as the Ethical life between family and the state.

Disagreeing somewhat Marx meant civil society equivalent to the autonomous realm of private property and market relations. (See Blackwell Dictionary of social Thought, T.Bottomore"1993-94).

Antonio Gramsci in his book, Selection from the Prison Notebooks (1971) while protecting the basic Marxian approach attempted to detach civil society from the economy but linked it to the state and with cultural politics. He identified institutions of civil society were the church, schools, trade union, and other organizations through which the ruling class exercises its hegemony over the society.

By decades 1970's and 80's the changes in Central and Eastern European countries witnessed a turning point to the concept of civil society as a weapon against the claims of totalitarian State e.g. solidarity protest movement in Poland appeared as a model of opposition by building a Parallel 'society' vis-à-vis the state (Krishan kumar, 1993/97). Some intellectuals saw these developments of pluralistic society in post-communist era.

Earlier Habermas, one of the principal exponents of the "second generation" Frankfurt School of critical theorists, in his book structural transformation in Public Sphere (1991) discussed civil society and the public sphere along. The public sphere, he assumed, is created in and out of civil society. The public sphere involved public policy based :

1. On a notion of public goods as distinct from private interest.
2. On social institution (like private property that empower individuals to participate independently in the public share because their livelihood and access to it are not dependent on political power or patronage and.
3. On forms of private life (notably families) that prepare individuals to act as autonomous, rational-critical subjects in the public sphere.

Arato and cohan J.L. (1994) in the book Civil society and political theory, searching the condition of utopia of civil society, explore the pre-modern and post-modern situations. They tried to established contemporary connotation of civil society. The authors concluded that civil society trends are all against state-ism and further the best way to characterize the new and common contemporary form of self organization and self constitution. They observed that some dramatically changes occurring in Latin America and Eastern Europe suggest the concept of civil society as indispensable if we have to move in these regions towards democracy especially through institutionalized public sphere i.e. parliaments. The positive side of civil society, if rationalized may include institutional domain of family culture and association and the domain of loyalty as well which is important for modern sub-system. They even associated the concept of civil society with the development of Western liberal democracies unlike soviet type societies.

J.C. Alexander (2001) contributed a chapter 'The Binary Discourse of civil society' in the book The New social theory reader highlighted the importance and dispute on the subject of civil society. He viewed that the kind of society can be defined in moral terms. He listed the constituents of civil society as the presence of the courts, the institution of mass communication and the public opinion polls. The civil society here is constituted by its own distinctive structure of elite and by those exercise power and identity through voluntary organizations and social movements. Another important point he advanced that is civil society is not merely an institutional realm. It is also a realm of structured, socially established consciousness, a network of understating. Civil society has a subjective dimension that deserves to be recognized by focusing on symbolic codes of society. Civil society developed through binary process since the democracy depends upon self-control and individual initiative and that means activism and autonomy of people rather than they being passive and dependent and they are seen as rational and reasonable rather than irrational and hysterical. He draws discussion on structure of social motive relationships and of social institutions.

David Lewis (2004) focused on the difficulties of studying civil society by exploring the activities of NGO's in a democratic state of Bangladesh. Lewis finds the concept of civil society in Bangladesh after 1971 expressed in two – old and new traditions. The explorations of N.G.O. activities reveals that relationship between citizens and the state were changing along with the changes in public policy and changes in institutional landscape. He found that there was a little written on civil society in Bangladesh either as an idea/concept or as an empirical reality. He applied ethnographic work as technique, theoretical analysis and historical study he made for purpose. He also highlighted the normative character of civil society as a 'good thing' that becomes a matter of building. However, he counted second problem, the notion of public space where it locates beyond the household and kinship sphere.

Thomas Carothers (1999) assumes NGOs as the Heart of Civil Society and states that not really, At the core of much of the current enthusiasm about civil society is a fascination with nongovernmental organizations, especially advocacy groups devoted to public interest causes--the environment, human rights, women's issues, election reform and monitoring, anticorruption, and other "good things." Such groups have been multiplying exponentially in recent years, particularly in countries undertaking democratic transitions. Nevertheless, it is a mistake to equate civil society with NGOs. Properly understood, civil society is a broader concept, encompassing all the organizations and associations that exist outside of the state (including political parties) and the market. It includes the gamut of organizations that political scientists traditionally label interest groups---not just advocacy NGOs but also labor unions, professional associations (such as those of doctors and lawyers), chambers of commerce, ethnic associations, and others. It also incorporates the many other associations that exist for purposes other than advancing specific social or political agendas, such as religious organizations, student groups, cultural organizations (from choral societies to bird-watching clubs), sports clubs, and informal community groups. Nongovernmental organizations do play important, growing roles in developed and developing countries. They shape policy by exerting pressure on governments and by furnishing technical expertise to policy makers. They foster citizen participation and civic education. They provide leadership training for young people who want to engage in civic life but are uninterested in working through political parties. In many countries, however, NGOs are outweighed by more traditional parts of civil society. Religious organizations, labor unions, and other groups often have a genuine base in the population and secure domestic sources of funding, features that advocacy groups usually lack, especially the scores of

new NGOs in democratizing countries. The burgeoning NGO sectors in such countries are often dominated by elite-run groups that have only tenuous ties to the citizens on whose behalf they claim to act, and they depend on international funders for budgets they cannot nourish from domestic sources.

Neera Chandhoke (2003) in his book *State and civil society: explorations in political theory* states that the concept of civil society, a companion concept of formal/minimalist/procedural democracy that has been subject to conflicting interpretations in political theory and philosophy, has also become a consensual concept receiving uncritical universal acclaim in the post-communist era. She argues that civil society is the exclusive and exclusionary as it privileges the politically and economically organized groups of society.

The review of Literature suggest following points:

1. Theoretical and empirical study in India appeared not in sufficient number.
2. India reference with regards to civil society is very scanty.
3. Conceptual and empirical study attempted a few.
4. The more attention to the question of civil society especially in developing countries has been recommended to be looked upon.
5. Concept of civil society differ society to society and from one time to another time of history.

#### IV. THE CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN SOCIOLOGICAL AND OTHER LITERATURE

According to Antony McGrew (1998:69) Civil society refers to those agencies, institutions, movements, cultural forces and social relationships which are both privately and voluntarily organized and which are not directly controlled by the state. In simple terms, civil society refers to the realm of private power and private organizations whereas the state is the realm of public power and public organizations.

J.C. Alexander (2001:193) defined civil society as a sphere or subsystem of society that is analytically and to various degrees, empirically separated from the spheres of political, economic and religious life.

Kaldnor (2007: p154) sees civil society as the process through which individuals negotiate, argue, struggle against, or agree with each other and with the centers of political and economic authority.

The concept of civil society may be summarized thus:

- The emerging meaning of civil society is far from old meaning of civilized society.
- Civil society indicates presence and strength of public sphere.
- Civil society is an idealized conception.



- Civil society refers to not only institutions but agencies, movements, cultural forces and social relationship which are privately and voluntarily organized and which are not directly controlled by state.

Civil society in concrete way includes household religious group, trade union, private company, political parties, humanitarian organizations, the women movement, environment group, parent teacher association

## V. THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN INDIA

Mishra, Kailash K. (2002) explores the roots of civil society in ancient India and concluded that India is a wonderful country where the people of thousands of castes, all major religions and more than 427 odd Tribal communities have been living maintaining an exemplary communal harmony. It is rooted in its traditions. The thousands of years of Indian history confirms that we had civil society right from the Vedic period. Vedic hymns describe about egalitarian and democratic norms of their society. In this context some people's assemblies like vidath, sabha and samiti have been mentioned. Vidath was a general meeting of the jana (whole community), which had redistributive functions. Vedic seers also described about kilvis samprat that means general consensus. In all the Vedic assemblies' decisions were taken on the basis of consensus only. Sabha was a body of village elders and it assisted the janasya gopah. The etymological meaning of janasya gopah is the protector of the people or fellowmen as well as their cattle wealth. But in practice it was used for the rajanya i.e., ruler. Samiti was a general assembly in which all the members of the community participated. Its main function was to elect the ruler. The most remarkable fact about all these assemblies was that women also participated in it. Sabha and samiti had been depicted as the two daughters of Prajapati and especially samiti has been termed as narista that means a place where intellectual discourses or discussions can be made. Sardh, vrat and gana are the three other assemblies about them also we have a number of references. Mention can be made of gosthi that was like a modern days Chaupal in which discussions regarding day today socio-economic problems of village life were discussed. The Vedic seers used a fascinating term, madhyamsiriv i.e., in case of indecision or altercation in the assembly the elders should opt the middle path to maintain the harmony and solve the problems. So, ancient Indian social system assures a balanced and ordered civil society. Later also all rulers, political thinkers and seers tried hard to honor the individual as well as the group liberty.

Popular mobilization within the Indian civil society was evident already in the colonial period but

the formation of both state and civil society in India were different from that of Western Europe (Kaviraj and Khilnani. 2001). While the modern state in the west developed simultaneously with civil society, a process covering centuries and included a gradual shift towards a more powerful and efficient state, but also towards a stronger and more independent civil society, the development of civil society in the rest of the world has not followed the same pattern.

The powers of both the pre-colonial and the colonial state were not absolute: the state co-existed with influential religious and traditional power structures outside its immediate reach and the effects of these alternative power structures were evident also in the formation of the civil society. One example is the tendency of the British colonial state to respect religious differences and to divide the population according to faith. In the Indian case, this practice led to a strong position of the native religious elites, and the strengthening of religious identity in both the private sphere and in civil society (Amir. Ali. 2001).

Numerous religious reform movements were formed throughout the 19th century, some of them with social and political issues on their agendas. While some were influenced by Christianity, others saw the spread of foreign religions as an affront to Hindu culture. The Brahmo Samaj, founded in 1843, worked for the reform of Hindu traditions and practices, as did the Ramakrishna Mission under Swami Vivekananda, and the Theosophical Society in Madras, led by Annie Besant. The Arya Samaj, formed later in the 19th century, had similar features as the other reform movements, e.g. the renunciation of idolatry and polytheism, as well as urging for a unification of all Hindus, but it differed through its aggressive nationalism. All these organizations emphasized Hindu unity, played an important role in the freedom movement, and strengthened Indian civil society.

The national resistance movement, spearheaded by the Indian National Congress (INC), became the main source of civil society activity in early 20th century British India. Partly outside of the INC also other forms of social movements gained in strength during the first half of the 20th century.

Despite the dismantling of the colonial state, the pattern of a state dominated economy remained also after independence. For decades various forms of central planning was promoted, which did not focus on civil society, but rather on state action. After the successful anti-colonial struggle it took some time before civil society was restructured and able to adapt to the new regime.

Ghanshyam Shah (1990) analyses the social movements in India and wrote, In the 1960s, as India was hit by drought, subsequent wars, and a related food crisis, both urban and rural groups started to protest. While the protests addressed material needs

they soon became attached to several larger ideological movements, both Gandhian and revolutionary Marxist, which challenged the Indira Gandhi-led government. The threat became so potent that Prime Minister Gandhi in June 1975 declared the country to be in a state of emergency, which remained until the elections in 1977. While the Emergency meant a breach with the Indian democratic practice, and a severe curtailment of civil and political rights, it also had a vitalizing effect on civil society which after 1977 witnessed an increase of activities within traditional social movements such as peasants, workers and students, but also amongst the so called "new social movements", including environmental groups and women's organizations.

Gail Omvedt (1994) asserts that mobilizing new political identities, many groups challenged the state on local, regional and national level, as these NGOs were often based in strong grass root networks. While the emphasis on environmentalism and gender issues was a global phenomenon of this period the experiences from the Emergency also contributed. First, the oppression of the state provoked social and political forces to organize against the oppression; secondly, the image of a democratic and progressive state was seriously dented. As a consequence, new groups understood the necessity to actively claim their rights and to fight against perceived injustices.

State developmentalism as a project was questioned, and from the 1980s and onward also the Indian state itself have encouraged NGOs to take more responsibility for social development. The numbers of NGOs in India are growing all the time, but one estimate puts the figure to over 30000 (Baviskar, 2001). A general international trend towards more of individual and private initiatives and less of government planning is of course also behind this expansion. The neo-liberal reforms of the IMF and the World Bank which have had such drastic global consequences in the Third World have affected also India where the partial withdrawal of the state has resulted in a more active civil society. Due to their preference to work with NGOs, the presence of international aid organizations have contributed further to this development.

It is apparent that the partial failure of the state to address social and economic needs has had effects on the levels of development, but also on the quality and character of civil society. In some sense this failure has spurred groups and individuals to engage in civil society, but the inability to provide basic education and other forms of social services has seriously hampered the development of civil society, with low levels of literacy being a case in point. As a consequence the Indian state, and various aid agencies, has utilized the competence and infrastructure of civil society in order to encourage social development. NGOs such as women's organizations have been incorporated in the governmental development plans. This of course

compromises the independence of these NGOs and strictly speaking they do not qualify as NGOs or after accepting governmental support. But this form of cooptation, as well as the general trend of state withdrawal, also has important consequences for future plans of social development. While the state is increasingly seen as inefficient and corrupt, the NGOs are defined as committed and accountable. Leaving the negative description of the state aside, the positive image of civil society rests more on an ideological and theoretical definition rather than an accurate appraisal of civil society in India today. Due to the inherent social, religious, ethnic and economic cleavages of Indian society, the civil society is permeated by inequality and various forms of conflict, as noted in the current Indian debate (Mahajan, G. 2001).

The expectations of efficiency, commitment and accountability of civil society should be seen in this light also, as various forms of inequality are likely to influence civil society. A more realistic view would be to define Indian civil society as a public arena in which various interests meet and compete, battling against the state, but also against other groups within civil society. This arena would be affected also by the power relations in society at large, reproducing various cleavages and inequalities.

Berglund, Henrik (2009) concluded that the relative failure of the Indian state created feelings of exclusion amongst large segments of the population, and allegations that the state is not neutral, but biased on the basis of class and caste interests. These alleged biases have in turn created sentiments of apathy and also facilitated negative mobilization and manipulation of various primordial identities such as ethnicity, religion and caste. This segmentation of Indian society has had ambiguous consequences and has led to demands and actions which have seriously undermined the democratic system by the strengthening of exclusivist identities. These are based on religion, caste or ethnicity and are now at the centre of political mobilization, which involves political parties as well as other parts of Indian civil society.

Amir Ali (2001) suggests that the colonial experience included the development of a public sphere, but that the private sphere was left not to the individual citizens, but to the native elites. According to Ali this resulted in the cementing of the community based identities also after independence, which has obstructed a democratization of Indian society, with the current Hindu nationalist challenge as a case in point. The movement uses civil society to strengthen the Hindu identity and to weaken the position of the minorities, undermining the secular Indian democracy. It is in many senses a struggle of ideology and meaning, reminiscent of the Gramscian definition of the continuous battles in civil society where the outcome cannot be explained solely by class interest and

economic power. The Hindu nationalist challenge is also met with resistance from other sectors of civil society, in an attempt to defend the established forms of democracy and minority rights.

It is very difficult to classify the Civil Society Organizations or the NGOs in the country because of the enormous diversity in organizations of the or in the purpose, size, promoters and the size of such organizations; Ramesh Sharan framed a typology of civil society organization in India:

1. Gandhian influenced voluntary groups-there number has fallen.
2. Professional rural development agencies by professionals, by Corporate and by smaller groups
3. Civil and political rights groups
4. Missionary organizations Christian Mission, R.K. Mission
5. Student, worker and women movements related to left and other political parties
6. Independent social movements of dalits, adivasis, women, environmentalists.
7. Movements and groups of minorities (Muslim, Christian, Buddhist etc)
8. Religious movements; both of spiritual and fundamentalist types.

The roles played by the civil society and their importance have now been increasingly been recognized. Civil society is now expected to play important multiple roles. Civil society organizations (CSOs) and networks are important players in national political life, with the potential to improve governance and transform state – society relations. The main objectives of these new social movements led by CSOs are :

- Having a responsive political and bureaucratic system.
- Having appropriate policies for the poor and adequate allocations for the schemes.
- Having participatory, decentralized and efficient implementation of the programs.
- Having transparent and accountable system.
- Having a quick and fair justice where poor can get justice at low cost and quickly.

It may be mentioned here that there has been a general acceptance that governance is very important for economic development. A number of indicators for good governance has been developed which capture six key dimensions of institutional quality or governance:

1. *Voice and Accountability* - Measuring political, civil and human rights.
2. *Political Instability and Violence* - measuring the likelihood of violent threats to, or changes in, government, including terrorism.
3. *Government Effectiveness* - measuring the

competence of the bureaucracy and the quality of public service delivery.

4. *Regulatory Burden* - measuring the incidence of market-unfriendly policies.
5. *Rule of Law* - measuring the quality of contract enforcement, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence.
6. *Control of Corruption* - measuring the exercise of public power for private gain, including both petty and grand corruption and state capture.

#### Indian Civil Society in Action: the Areas:

Several areas can be counted with which civil society interests contributed a lot. The areas of their thought and action follows:

1. *Transparency and Right to Information* - training and sensitizing communities and people for its use and strong mobilizations against diluting the provisions of the Act.
2. *MNREGA* - This limited employment guarantees has been also possible due to the intense pressure of the Civil Society. The important role being played is in dissemination and sensitizing people, social audits and exposing the corruption demanding action.
3. *Education* - CSOs are also playing important role in innovations in teaching methods for children, bringing out of school children in the mainstream both as partners community mobilization.
4. *Policy Advocacy* - participation in policy dialogues with various levels in government, policy focusing youth, women and child, tribal and forest etc.
5. *Implementation of programs* - like watershed, innovations, livelihood programs, Self Help Groups and micro finance.
6. *Demanding accountability* - through public watch reports , social audits and public hearings and budget analysis has important impact on the government functioning.
7. *Environment and resettlement / rehabilitation issues* - making them national and international agenda / sensitizing and dialogues with the government / multilateral funding agencies
8. *Panchayati Raj Institutions strengthening* - voter awareness, helping the most unprivileged to come and participate, and sensitizing people
9. *National Rural Health Mission and Right to health* - Health concern are sparked off the participation and debated the issue.
10. *Human Rights watch Groups* - The Indian Universities came up with curriculum on human rights under UGC special program and, NGO's raising the issue and pleading to minorities, women and other vulnerable groups and individuals.

## VI. CIVIL SOCIETY FOR JAN LOKPAL BILL

In India, the civil society movement that forced parliament to accommodate Gandhian activist Anna Hazare's demand for tougher anti-corruption legislation is being seen as a new force impacting Indian politics. In 2011, Anna Hazare, a 74 year-old 'self-styled' Social-Activist, initiated fast unto death Satyagraha movement, using nonviolent means, pressed for passing a stronger anti-corruption Lokpal (ombudsman) bill in the Indian Parliament. The Jan Lokpal Bill (People's Ombudsman Bill) was drafted earlier by N. Santosh Hegde, former justice of Supreme Court of India and Lokayukta of Karnataka, Prashant Bhushan, a senior lawyer in the Supreme Court and with Arvind Kejriwal, a young and enthusiastic social activist under the banner of India Against Corruption organization. The draft incorporated more stringent provisions and gave wider power to the Lokpal (Ombudsman) than the government's 2010 draft. However, bill is still pending in Parliament's upper house.

The peaceful movement led by Hazare was joined by people of all ages. Social activists, including Medha Patkar, Arvind Kejriwal, and former IPS officer Kiran Bedi lent their support. People showed support in social media. In addition to spiritual leaders Sri Sri Ravi Shankar, Swami Ramdev, Swami Agnivesh and former Indian cricketer Kapil Dev, many celebrities supported him. And for the first time in decades it saw the urban middle class emerge spontaneously on the streets in huge number for a para-political cause. Social activists hope this will ensure a tougher law in place of a weaker version presented by the government.

Protests spread to Bangalore, Mumbai, Chennai, Ahmedabad, Guwahati, Shillong, Aizawl and other cities. On 8 April the Government accepted the movement's demands. On 9, April it issued a notification in the Gazette of India on formation of a joint committee. On the morning of 9, April Hazare ended his 98-hour hunger strike. He addressed the people and set a deadline of 15 August to pass the bill.

"Real fight begins now. We have a lot of struggle ahead of us in drafting the new legislation. We have shown the world in just five days that we are united for the cause of the nation. The youth power in this movement is a sign of hope."

During the meetings of the joint drafting committee, the Union government members opposed the inclusion of the prime minister, higher judiciary and the acts of the MPs under the purview of the Lokpal in the draft bill. Anna Hazare and other civil society members decided to boycott the 6 June draft committee meeting to protest the forcible eviction of Swami Ramdev and his followers by the Delhi Police from Ramlila Maidan on 5 June, while they were on a hunger strike against black money of Indians in foreign banks and corruption, doubting the government's seriousness.

On 6 June, the civil society members wrote to Parnav Mukherjee, Draft Committee Chairperson, explaining reasons for their absence and also asking government to go public on the major issues. They also decided to attend only future meetings that were telecast live. On 8 June at Rajghat, describing his movement as the second freedom struggle, Anna criticized the Government for trying to discredit the draft committee and threatened to go on indefinite fast again from 16th August if the Lokpal Bill had not passed. He also criticized the Government for putting hurdles in front of the Bill and for maligning the civil society members.

On 28 July the union cabinet approved a draft of the Lokpal Bill, which kept the Prime Minister, judiciary and lower bureaucracy out of the ombudsman's ambit. Hazare rejected the government version by describing it as "cruel joke" and wrote a letter to Singh announcing his decision to begin an indefinite fast from 16 August at Jantar Mantar, if the government introduced its own version of the bill without taking suggestions from civil society members.

On 16 August, Hazare was arrested, four hours before the planned indefinite hunger strike. Rajan Bhagat, spokesman for Delhi Police, said police arrested Hazare for 'illegal' gathering in a Delhi's park to begin his hunger strike, claiming that Hazare refused to meet police conditions for allowing the protest. The conditions included restricting the fast to three days and the number of protesters to 5,000. Later in the afternoon, Hazare refused bail. The magistrate dispatched him to Tihar jail for seven days. Media reported that about 1,300 supporters were detained in Delhi, including key members of the India Against Corruption movement such as Arvind Kejriwal, Shanti Bhushan, Kiran Bedi and Manish Sisodia. Other reports other protests with people courting arrests in different parts of the country. Opposition parties came out against the arrests by government.

After four hours in detention he was released unconditionally on a request by the police, but refused to leave Tihar Jail. He demanded unconditional permission to fast at Ramlila Maidan (Ground) and refused to leave. Hazare continued his fast inside the jail.

After his arrest, Hazare received tremendous support from people across the country. There were reports of "nearly 570 demonstrations and protests by Anna supporters across the country". Due to the millions of protesters nationwide, the government allowed him to begin a public hunger strike of fifteen days. After talks with public authorities, Hazare decided to hold his protest at Ramlila Maidan, New Delhi. On 20 August Hazare "left the Tihar Jail for the Ramlila Grounds". Hazare promised reporters "he would fight to the 'last breath' until the government gets his team's Jan Lokpal Bill passed in this session of Parliament, which ends on 8 September."



Within a few days of Anna Hazare's first fast demanding a strong Lokpal (on 5 April 2011), supporters started a campaign known as "I Am Anna Hazare". During Anna Hazare's second fast, his topi, the cap which became synonymous with Anna Hazare, became almost a fashion statement. Sales of the topis hit an all-time high.

Independent political analyst Prem Shankar Jha in New Delhi said the success of the anti-corruption movement marks a turning point in Indian democracy. The political class, which analysts say was taken aback by the strength of the movement, appears to be heeding that message. Leader of the opposition Bharatiya Janata Party, Arun Jaitley, told parliament that people's voices will have to be heard while framing legislation.

"In any developing society and any mature society, there will be a role for civil society," he said. "They are a hard reality, they will exist. Some of them may take positions which seem a little excessive, they may not be implementable, but we must realize that their role is one of a campaigner, a flag bearer, a crusader on several issues."

Ashutosh Varshney write in Indian Express that from the cloistered walls of academia, the term civil society has now fully penetrated our everyday discourse, thanks to Anna Hazare and Baba Ramdev. Those working at the local level, sensitive to movement politics, or familiar with the history of Gandhian modes of political conduct, had always known the potency of civil society organizations. He, further, states the distinction between civil and political society, thus, does not make sense. They are deeply intertwined. A more precise definition of civil society has to do with its relationship with the state. Civil society is not necessarily non-political, but it inhabits the non-state space of our life. It deploys any political means it can get to pressure the state to achieve its goals, but it is not part of the state. Indeed, the classic definition of civil society is that it is the organizational space between the family on one hand and the state on the other.

## VII. CONCLUSION

Civil society in India has shown considerable response to the political, social and economic problems in the post independent India and has been able to influence policies, demanded accountability and also created social harmony in the wake of communalism and fundamentalism in the country. The growth of the civil society organizations and change in their composition in India can also be traced at the changing scenario. However, a number of internal and external constraints limit the effectiveness of the interventions of civil society in governance for effective delivery of the entitlements for the.

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