



INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
Karnataka Regional Branch, Bengaluru

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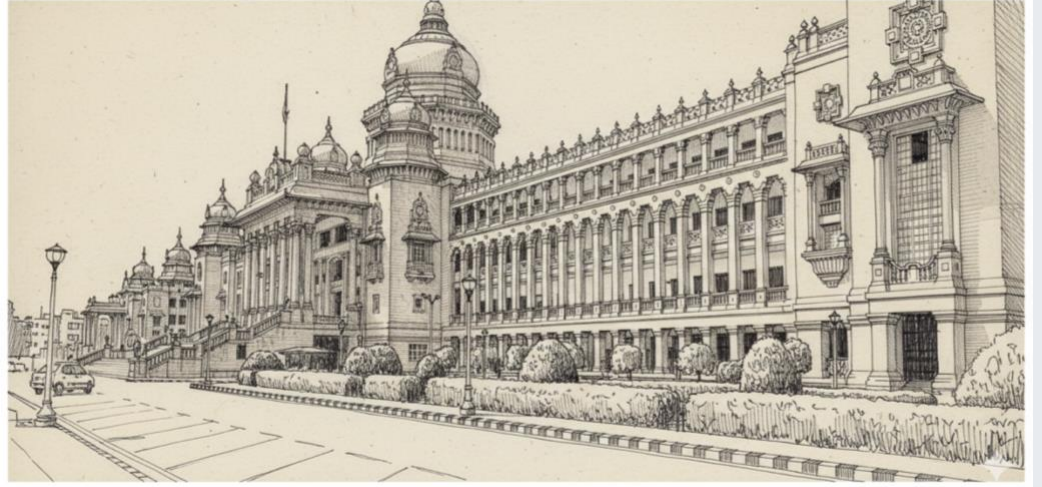


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WHAT'S NEW

LEAD STORY

KARNATAKA TAKES FLIGHT

The State's Bold Push to Build Five World-Class Aerospace & Defence Parks

LEAD ARTICLE

Shri T. Sethumadhavan, IAAS (Retd.)

WELFARE OF BUILDING AND OTHER CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

Performance Audit Report of the Comptroller & Auditor-General of India (CAGI), Implications and Policy Recommendations



From the Chief Editor

At the outset, let me wish all our readers and well-wishers a bright and happy **New Year**.

I am happy to place before readers the **January 2026** issue of our **newsletter**, the **66th issue** since we began this initiative.

Our **Lead Story** is on Karnataka's bold push to build five world-class **Aerospace & Defence Parks** in North Bengaluru, Mysore, Belagavi, Tumakuru, and Kalaburagi. The five-park initiative isn't merely industrial expansion. It is Karnataka signalling its intent to shape the next generation of Indian manufacturing—one that is clean, high-tech, research-driven, and globally integrated. Karnataka already contributes **over 65% of India's aerospace component exports** and nearly half of the country's R&D in the sector. With the new parks, the state aims to become **Asia's most attractive aerospace supply-chain hub**; reduce India's import dependence on defence equipment; feed into global OEM supply chains with Tier-1/2 capabilities; and create 1.2–1.5 lakh skilled jobs over the next decade.

The **Lead Focus** is on **Welfare of Building and other Construction Workers**. Based on the **Performance Audit Report** of the **Comptroller & Auditor-General of India (CAGI)**, **Mr. T. Sethumadhavan** analyzes the implications and makes a few pertinent **Policy Recommendations**.

In our **Opinion** column, we carry the essence of **Prof. Anshuman Behera's** article in ORF Special Report of December 2025. Titled "**Guns, Grievances, and Governance: An Assessment of the Maoist Legacy in India**", the scholar assesses the historical trajectory and status of the Maoist (Naxalite) insurgency in India—which has been one of the country's most significant internal security challenges for decades. We also carry its Kannada translation for the benefit of our Kannada readers.

In our column on **Branch Activities**, we carry **Ms. Dipanwita Jena** and **Prof. Anil Kumar Vaddiraju's** detailed report on the 3-day **National Seminar**, jointly organized by our Branch and the Centre for Political Institutions, Governance and Development at ISEC, Bengaluru on the theme "**Governance and Welfare**".

Shri T.M. Vijay Bhaskar,
IAS (Retd.)

Former Chief Secretary,
Government of Karnataka
Former Chairman, Karnataka
Administrative Reforms
Commission-2

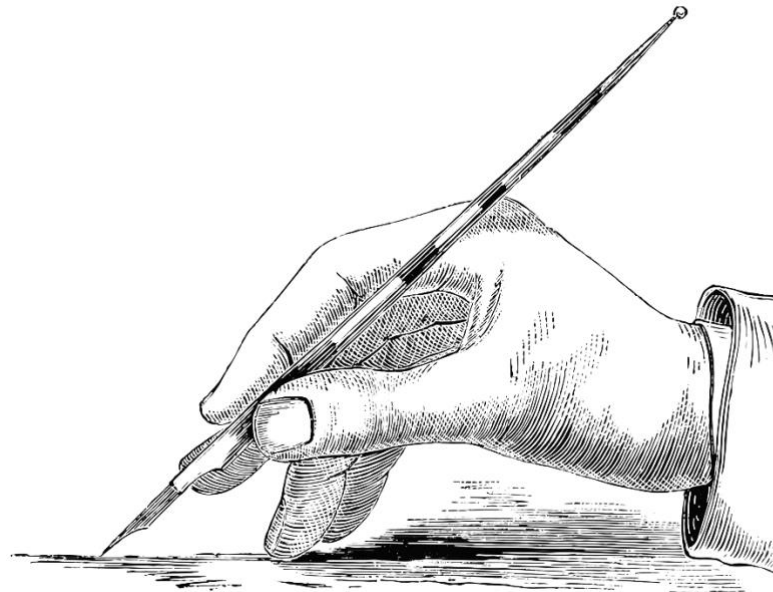
Chairperson, Karnataka Regional Branch
Indian Institute of Public Administration



Measures in India: Policies, Challenges, and the Way Forward last month.

In our column on **Lead Faculty and Branch Members' Writings in the Media**, we provide links to thought-provoking articles published by **Prof. V.N. Alok, Dr. A. Ravindra, Shri G. Gurucharan, Dr. Annapoorna Ravichander** and **Dr. D. Jeevan Kumar**.

We end the issue with **Feedback** and **Food for Thought**.





Lead Story

KARNATAKA TAKES FLIGHT The State's Bold Push to Build Five World-Class Aerospace & Defence Parks

Karnataka, the state that gave India its first aerospace cluster, its first dedicated aerospace policy, and one of the world's most successful public-sector aviation hubs, is now preparing for its most ambitious leap yet: five world-class Aerospace and Defence Parks, spread strategically across the state.

If executed with clarity and speed, this could be one of the most consequential industrial transformation stories of the decade.

Karnataka's new push isn't just about building industrial parks. It's about reshaping India's aerospace future, fortifying supply chains, and positioning the state as the undisputed nerve centre of high-technology manufacturing.

A Legacy That Sets the Stage

Few states can claim the depth of Karnataka's aviation footprint. Bengaluru alone houses:

- **HAL**, one of Asia's oldest and largest aeronautics companies
- **NAL**, the cradle of civil aircraft R&D
- **DRDO labs** powering strategic defence technologies
- **ISRO**, whose satellites and launch vehicles have redefined India's global space profile
- Over **2,000 SMEs** supplying precision components to global OEMs

This ecosystem gives Karnataka a natural runway for expansion. What the new initiative does is scale these strengths into a **multi-hub, multi-city architecture**—ensuring that innovation, jobs, and investment are not concentrated only in Bengaluru.



The Five Parks: A New Industrial Geography Emerges

While the final contours are being formalized, the emerging plan is driven by three principles:

1. **Decentralization of high-tech manufacturing**
2. **Creating integrated supply-chain corridors**
3. **Building plug-and-play industrial ecosystems on global standards**

The proposed hubs include expansions or new parks at locations such as:

1. **Bengaluru Aerospace Park (North Bengaluru / Devanahalli belt)**

The flagship cluster, already home to major Tier-1 and Tier-2 firms, will be expanded with:

- A **Testing & Certification Centre**
- **MRO facilities** for civil and defence aviation
- A **skills hub** to meet the rising demand for avionics and aerostructure technicians

2. Mysuru Defence & Electronics Park

Designed to leverage Mysuru's emerging electronic systems design base.

It is expected to host:

- Defence communication systems
- Secure electronics manufacturing
- UAV and drone assembly lines

3. Belagavi Precision Engineering & Aerospace Park

Belagavi already produces precision components for global OEMs. The new park will strengthen:

- CNC machining
- Forging and casting for aerospace-grade alloys
- Export-driven component manufacturing

4. Tumakuru Aviation Systems Park

With HAL's helicopter complex already operational, Tumakuru will anchor:

- Helicopter sub-systems manufacturing
- Composites and rotor technologies
- A logistics & warehousing grid for aviation parts

5. Kalaburagi Defence Manufacturing & Testing Zone

A strategic move toward **regional balance**, enabling North Karnataka to enter the high-tech economy:

- Artillery systems
- Armoured vehicle sub-assemblies
- Ballistic testing facilities
- A dedicated defence procurement facilitation cell

★ Policy Architecture: The Real Engine of This Push

Karnataka's industrial philosophy remains the key differentiator. The state understands that infrastructure alone doesn't build a high-tech sector — **policy precision** does. Some of the major initiatives underlying the five-park vision include:

★ Karnataka Aerospace & Defence Policy (2022–27)

- Production-linked incentives for aerospace OEMs
- Subsidies for R&D, testing, certification
- Special incentives for MSMEs and start-ups
- A single-window system that works

★ Skill Acceleration Through KADETP and KDEM

The government is setting up multi-skill academies with:

- HAL, Boeing, Airbus, Safran, and DRDO as industry partners
- Training modules on aerostructures, UAV operations, MRO, simulation
- Apprenticeship-to-employment pipelines for youth across districts

★ Strategic Land Banks and Plug-and-Play Infrastructure

Each park will offer:

- Ready-built factories
- Testing labs onsite
- Common effluent treatment/environmental infrastructure
- Dedicated power & water systems
- Logistics connectivity through highways, ports, and airports

★ A Clear Mandate to Integrate Start-ups

The parks are being conceived not just for giants but for innovators. Karnataka's start-up policy enables:

- Open test ranges for drones
- Common R&D facilities
- Grants for dual-use technologies
- Pathfinder programmes for defence-tech start-ups

Why This Matters for India—and the World

Karnataka already contributes **over 65% of India's aerospace components exports** and nearly half of the country's R&D in the sector. With the new parks, the state aims to:

- Become Asia's most attractive aerospace supply-chain hub
- Reduce India's import dependence on defence equipment
- Feed into global OEM supply chains with Tier-1/2 capabilities
- Create 1.2–1.5 lakh **skilled jobs** over the next decade

A Future Built on Precision, Vision, and Collaboration

- The five-park initiative isn't merely industrial expansion. It is Karnataka signalling its intent to shape the next generation of Indian manufacturing—one that is clean, high-tech, research-driven, and globally integrated.
- Aerospace and defence industries are not built overnight. They grow where ecosystems, institutions, and policy coherence converge. Karnataka, more than any other state, checks all three boxes.

As India aspires to become a global aerospace power by 2047, Karnataka is taking the lead — again — to build the wings of that future.



Lead Focus

WELFARE of BUILDING and other CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

Performance Audit Report of the Comptroller & Auditor-General of India (CAGI) with Implications and Policy Recommendations

Preamble

The **Karnataka Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board** was constituted under the *Building and Other Construction Workers' (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1996*, to provide social security to construction workers—one of the most vulnerable segments of India's unorganized workforce. It is estimated that about 82% of the labour force is in the unorganized sector¹.

Funded primarily through a **cess on construction activities**, the Board is mandated to register workers, collect and manage cess, and implement welfare schemes covering health, education, housing, pensions, skill development, and emergency assistance. Over time, the Board has expanded its ambit to nearly **25 welfare schemes**, and its financial footprint has grown substantially, with average annual expenditure exceeding **₹1,500 crore**.

Given the scale of funds handled and the socio-economic vulnerability of beneficiaries, **institutional integrity, financial discipline, and governance capacity** of the Board are crucial. It is in this context that the **Performance Audit by the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India (2018-2023)** assumes critical importance, as it evaluates not only compliance but also the effectiveness, integrity, and governance capacity of the institution.

Performance Audit Report

Good Things First

The Board undertook measures to ameliorate the condition of the workers and their families during the

Covid period through the supply of cooked food and dry food ration kits, cash assistance, temporary accommodation, waiver of subscription, etc., by

Shri Thayyil Sethumadhavan, IAAS (Retd.)



Former Principal Accountant-General, Madhya Pradesh

spending **Rs.2,070 crores**, which reportedly benefited 20 lakh construction workers.

Major Audit Findings

The Board's procedures for budgeting, accounting and internal control were deficient. Despite the annual average expenditure of **Rs.1,580 crores**, there was no Internal audit wing; the task was carried out by Chartered Accountants. The Board did not maintain required Registers and Control Documents to ensure sound financial management. Instruments for supervision and control, namely, Advisory Committees, Investment Committees, State-level Monitoring Committee etc., were non-existent or non-functional.

Registration of Workers

The Ministry of Labour had directed in 2018 to allot Unique Identification Numbers (UIN) to all registered workers and upload their details on National BOCW portal to facilitate inter-state welfare programs, which was not complied with to the disadvantage of migrating workers.

A verification of random names from the '**Seva Sindhu**' portal revealed that due to non-verification of employment certificates and such, ineligible persons were registered and were availing benefits of schemes.

The number of registered workers increased from 2.2 lakh in 2018 to 12 lakh in 2023. The Board migrated to the '**Seva Sindhu**' portal in 2019 for registration and claims without fully migrating legacy data from manual entries and the subsequent e-karmic portal, leading to deficiencies. Verification of the data relating to 42.5 lakh registered workers on '**Seva Sindhu**' by auditors brought out several discrepancies. Data regarding the number of beneficiaries maintained by

¹ Economic Survey, 2021-22.

the Board's Office and those provided by field offices varied significantly, rendering them unreliable.

Collection and Remittance of Labour Cess

BBMP issued 38,434 building licenses during 2016 to 2023, but only 5,022 (13%) were registered in the 'Labour Online' portal, indicating large-scale omissions. The GST Portal had 45,495 active contractors on its list in the state, which was not captured by the Board, contributing to a possible loss of Cess collection. In the absence of established methodology, assessing officers depended on rates issued by the Central Valuation Committee for previous periods, which impacted assessment.

Collection and Remittance of Cess

The system of reconciliation of cess collection and remittance was ineffective. An amount of Rs.12 crores pertaining to 257 works stated to have been remitted by DD/cheques by KSDB during the period 201 to 2023 could not be traced in the Board's accounts.

There was a discrepancy of Rs. 92 crores in the amount of cess claimed to have been remitted by KIADB and actually received, Rs. 5.2 crores in the case of KSDB and Rs. 7.2 crores in the case of two other agencies. BMTC had not remitted Rs.6 crores collected as cess.

Cess deducted from running account bills in respect of public works/public sector units and retained in the Treasuries (under Public Account) came to Rs.612 crores at the end of November 2023, but Treasury acknowledged only Rs.339 crores out of the above.

Welfare Schemes

The Board implemented as many as 25 welfare schemes, including pension, marriage, medical, and educational assistance, etc. Review of ten schemes during the PA brought out the following shortcomings.

- The Board did not have the actual number of beneficiaries under the pension scheme. Besides, in some cases test-checked, applications for pension were rejected wrongly.

- There were significant delays in sanctioning pensions in several cases; no time limits were fixed for sanctioning.
- In settling medical claims, the dealing officers did not follow the laid-down procedures, causing distress to the workers.
- The Board paid KSDB a sum of Rs.434 crores as 'beneficiary share' under PMAY without getting details of all beneficiaries for verification.
- In a case where KSDB furnished the list of beneficiaries, auditors noticed allotment to ineligible persons, inclusion of non-beneficiaries in the list, and names of family members of beneficiaries instead of beneficiaries themselves.
- In respect of an amount of Rs.8.7 crores released to Rajiv Gandhi Housing Corporation, neither information of beneficiaries nor the status of construction could be provided.

Preventive Healthcare Checkup

During the Covid period of 2021-22, an amount of Rs. 258 crores was spent on preventive healthcare for an estimated 5 lakh workers by awarding contracts to 30 individual providers. The PA revealed several lapses in implementation of the scheme starting with the process of tendering itself. In a typical case, claims were admitted for multiple tests on the same worker, while another was stated to have been tested 29 times. Auditors noticed 1.3 lakh duplicate entries in the list of beneficiaries,² raising doubts about the genuineness of the claims.

Names of 79,280 minors were included in the beneficiary list, though the scheme was for only those above 18 years. Besides, tests were said to have been conducted for even persons who were not registered workers.

Supply of Toolkits to Workers

The Board procured 5.2 lakh toolkits of different trades for distribution to workers. One-fifth of them (in test-checked districts) were handed over to Trade Unions or to alleged public representatives instead of direct distribution without getting details of beneficiaries. Where details were available, instances of supply to non-eligible persons (engaged in other vocations) were noticed. Auditors also noticed a single

² Amount paid was Rs. 38 crores.

worker getting toolkits multiple times for different trades.

DBT Payments

During Covid, the Board disbursed Rs. 823 crores as cash assistance to 16.5 lakh workers by means of DBT, NEFT etc. Details of all such payments were unavailable.

Analysis of the available data showed that 2.3 lakh transactions were made multiple times using the same bank account number.

Further, 1.08 lakh workers received benefits multiple times through different modes of payment.

Auditors identified 1,18,43 repetitive transactions resulting in excess payments of Rs.59.3 crores. The government admitted that details were not available for verification.

Diversion of Welfare Funds

An amount of Rs.10.4 crores was used in contravention of the rules for the construction of an office building, which also houses some other agency's offices.

Utilization Certificates for Rs. 21.2 crores were pending from different implementing agencies.

Bypassing Rules and Regulations

The Board routinely resorted to splitting contracts to avoid the tendering process and Cabinet approval. Examples cited include the construction of transit accommodation for Rs.54 crores, awarded to seven contractors, restricting the amount of each to less than 10 crores. Another contract for the purchase of IT equipment worth Rs.74 crores was given to KEONICS by issuing several split work orders.

Concluding Observations

The **Performance Audit** of the Karnataka Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board by the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India is a sobering reminder that ***large welfare allocations, by themselves, do not guarantee social protection.***

The audit does not question the intent behind welfare schemes. Instead, it exposes how **weak governance, fragile data systems, inadequate human resources, and poor financial controls** can undermine even the most well-meaning welfare architecture. Leakages in cess collection, unreliable beneficiary databases, delayed pensions, questionable procurement practices, and idle funds together point to a deeper institutional malaise.

The audit must therefore be seen not as an indictment, but as an **opportunity for course correction.** ***Strengthening oversight, professionalizing administration, restoring financial discipline, and ensuring transparency are not optional reforms—they are prerequisites for dignity of labour and credibility of the State.***

Policy Recommendations

The **CAG Audit** reveals systemic weaknesses that call for **structural correction** rather than piecemeal fixes. Some policy recommendations are suggested as follows:

Governance & Oversight

Statutory committees such as **Advisory and Monitoring Committees** must be revived and made functional. A **permanent Internal Audit Wing** should be created, and annual governance reports should be placed in the public domain.

Human Resources

Core functions cannot be run indefinitely through outsourced staff. **Regular recruitment, specialized training,** and a stable professional secretariat are essential.

Data Integrity & Registration

End-to-end **data cleansing across legacy systems and *Seva Sindhu*** is urgent. Unique Identification Numbers for workers must be implemented and integrated with national platforms to protect migrant workers.

Cess Collection & Financial Management

Mandatory Demand-Collection-Balance registers should be maintained. Board systems must be integrated with BBMP, KIADB, GSTN, and Treasury systems to ensure real-time reconciliation and prevent leakage.

Welfare Scheme Delivery

Schemes should shift from input-driven expenditure to **outcome-based delivery**, with fixed timelines, beneficiary verification, and periodic social audits.

Procurement & Fund Utilization

Contract splitting and rule bypassing must be strictly prohibited. Transparent e-procurement, audit trails, and recovery of misused funds are imperative.

Transparency & Accountability

CAG Action Taken Reports, annual performance statements, and grievance redressal outcomes should be proactively disclosed.





Opinion

GUNS, GRIEVANCES, AND GOVERNANCE An Assessment of the Maoist Legacy in India

Overview & Context

Anshuman Behera’s article in *ORF Special Report* (December 2025) assesses the **historical trajectory, current status, and enduring legacy of the Maoist (Naxalite) insurgency in India**. The conflict—which began in 1967 in West Bengal’s Naxalbari and evolved into a prolonged left-wing extremist movement—has been one of the country’s most significant internal security challenges for decades.

Key Themes & Findings

1. Origins and Evolution of Insurgency

The Maoist movement drew strength from deep-rooted **socioeconomic grievances**—landlessness, exploitation of tribal communities, marginalization, and poor governance in resource-rich but underdeveloped regions of central and eastern India. These conditions provided fertile ground for insurgency, as disenfranchised populations sought alternative avenues for justice and redistribution.

2. Security Dynamics & State Response

Behera traces the evolution of government responses from purely security-centric counter-insurgency operations to more **comprehensive strategies** that combine development efforts with rights protection and policing. Over the past decade, the insurgency has significantly **declined** in intensity and geographic reach, with the “Red Corridor” shrinking and many cadres surrendering or being neutralized.

3. Grievances & Governance Deficits

A core argument highlights the **perpetual governance deficits** in Maoist-affected areas. Despite reduced violence, unresolved issues—poor land rights, limited access to services, corruption, and inadequate local participation in decision-making—continue to sustain structural grievances. Behera argues that addressing these deficits is pivotal to long-term peace and stability.

Dr. Anshuman Behera

Professor, School of Conflict and Security Studies, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru



4. Legacy & Policy Implications

Behera’s assessment emphasizes three interlinked legacies of the Maoist conflict:

- The **security legacy**: How counter-insurgency reshaped policing, special forces, and rural security infrastructure.
- The **socioeconomic legacy**: Heightened attention to tribal welfare, land policy, and inclusive development.
- The **governance legacy**: Recognition that state legitimacy hinges on responsive governance, citizen rights, and institutional delivery.

5. The Path Ahead

Behera concludes that while the insurgency’s kinetic phase may be waning, its **root causes remain salient**. Sustainable peace demands a calibrated blend of responsive governance, economic inclusion, rights assurance, and political dialogue—beyond the narrow frame of security solutions alone.

Policy Recommendations

1. Strengthen **cooperative federalism** for tailored development in tribal and backward regions.
2. Embed **community engagement** in governance reforms.
3. Prioritize **land tenure and resource rights** for Adivasi and marginalized communities.
4. Integrate security with **development and rights frameworks** to build trust between the state and local populations.

Overall Assessment

Behera’s report underscores that the Maoist legacy in India is **not merely a question of armed rebellion versus state force**. It reflects deeper structural grievances and governance challenges that require **holistic policy responses** centred on justice, rights, and inclusive governance.

ಬಂದೂಕುಗಳು, ಕುಂದುಕೊರತೆಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಆಡಳಿತ:
ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾವೋವಾದಿ ಪರಂಪರೆಯ ಮೌಲ್ಯಮಾಪನ

ORF ವಿಶೇಷ ವರದಿ, ಡಿಸೆಂಬರ್ 2025

ಅಂಶುಮಾನ್ ಬೆಹೆರಾ

ಪ್ರೊಫೆಸರ್, ಸ್ಕೂಲ್ ಆಫ್ ಕಾನ್ಸ್ಟಿಟ್ಯೂಷನಲ್ ಸ್ಟಡೀಸ್, NIAS,
ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು

ಸಾರಾಂಶ ಮತ್ತು ಹಿನ್ನೆಲೆ:

ಅಂಶುಮಾನ್ ಬೆಹೆರಾ ಅವರ ಲೇಖನ ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾವೋಯಿಸ್ಟ್ (ನ್ಯಾಕ್ಸಲ್ ಬೆಟ್) ಬಂಡವಾಳದ ಇತಿಹಾಸ, ಈಗಿನ ಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಮತ್ತು ವ್ಯಾಪಕ ಪರಿಣಾಮಗಳನ್ನು ವಿಶ್ಲೇಷಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. 1967 ರಲ್ಲಿ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಬಂಗಾಳದ ನಕ್ಸಲ್ಬರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭವಾದ ಈ ಸಂಘರ್ಷವು ದೀರ್ಘಕಾಲದ ಎಡಪಂಥೀಯ ಉಗ್ರಗಾಮಿ ಚಳುವಳಿಯಾಗಿ ವಿಕಸನಗೊಂಡಿತು - ಇದು ದಶಕಗಳಿಂದ ದೇಶದ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಮಹತ್ವದ ಆಂತರಿಕ ಭದ್ರತಾ ಸವಾಲುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದಾಗಿದೆ.

ಪ್ರಮುಖ ವಿಷಯಗಳು:

1. ಬಂಡಾಯದ ಮೂಲ ಮತ್ತು ವಿಕಸನ:

ಮಾವೋವಾದಿ ಚಳುವಳಿ ಆಳವಾಗಿ ಬೇರೂರಿರುವ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ-ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಕುಂದುಕೊರತೆಗಳಿಂದ ಬಲವನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯಿತು - ಭೂಹೀನತೆ, ಬುಡಕಟ್ಟು ಸಮುದಾಯಗಳ ಶೋಷಣೆ, ಅಂಚಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವಿಕೆ ಮತ್ತು ಮಧ್ಯ ಮತ್ತು ಪೂರ್ವ ಭಾರತದ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲ-ಸಮೃದ್ಧ ಆದರೆ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯಾಗದ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಳಪೆ ಆಡಳಿತ. ಈ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಗಳು ಬಂಡಾಯಕ್ಕೆ ಫಲವತ್ತಾದ ನೆಲವನ್ನು ಒದಗಿಸಿದವು, ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಹಕ್ಕು ವಂಚಿತ ಜನಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯು ನ್ಯಾಯ ಮತ್ತು ಪುನರ್ವಿತರಣೆಗಾಗಿ ಪರ್ಯಾಯ ಮಾರ್ಗಗಳನ್ನು ಹುಡುಕಿತು.

2. ಭದ್ರತಾ ಕ್ರಮಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ರಾಜ್ಯ ಪ್ರತಿಕ್ರಿಯೆಗಳು:

ಬೆಹೆರಾ ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ಭದ್ರತೆ-ಕೇಂದ್ರಿತ ದಂಗೆ ನಿಗ್ರಹ ಕಾರ್ಯಾಚರಣೆಗಳಿಂದ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಗಳನ್ನು ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳ ರಕ್ಷಣೆ ಮತ್ತು ಪೊಲೀಸ್ ಭದ್ರತೆ ನೊಂದಿಗೆ ಸಂಯೋಜಿಸುವ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಸಮಗ್ರ ತಂತ್ರಗಳಿಗೆ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಪ್ರತಿಕ್ರಿಯೆಗಳ ವಿಕಸನವನ್ನು ಪತ್ತೆಹಚ್ಚುತ್ತದೆ. ಕಳೆದ ದಶಕದಲ್ಲಿ, ಬಂಡಾಯದ ತೀವ್ರತೆ ಮತ್ತು ಭೌಗೋಳಿಕ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಗಮನಾರ್ಹವಾಗಿ ಕುಸಿದಿದೆ, "ರೆಡ್ ಕಾರಿಡಾರ್"

ಕುಗ್ಗುತ್ತಿದೆ ಮತ್ತು ಅನೇಕ ಕಾರ್ಯಕರ್ತರು ಶರಣಾಗುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ ಅಥವಾ ತೆಟಸ್ಕರಾಗುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

3. ಕುಂದುಕೊರತೆಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಆಡಳಿತದ ಕೊರತೆಗಳು:

ಒಂದು ಪ್ರಮುಖ ವಾದವು ಮಾವೋವಾದಿ ಪೀಡಿತ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿನ ಶಾಶ್ವತ ಆಡಳಿತದ ಕೊರತೆಯನ್ನು ಎತ್ತಿ ತೋರಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಕಡಿಮೆಯಾದ ಹಿಂಸಾಚಾರ, ಬಗೆಹರಿಯದ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳು - ಕಳಪೆ ಭೂ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು, ಸೇವೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಸೀಮಿತ ಪ್ರವೇಶ, ಭ್ರಷ್ಟಾಚಾರ ಮತ್ತು ನಿರ್ಧಾರ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಳ್ಳುವಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ಥಳೀಯ ಭಾಗವಹಿಸುವಿಕೆಯ ಕೊರತೆ - ರಚನಾತ್ಮಕ ಕುಂದುಕೊರತೆಗಳನ್ನು ಉಳಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದನ್ನು ಮುಂದುವರಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಈ ಕೊರತೆಗಳನ್ನು ಪರಿಹರಿಸುವುದು ದೀರ್ಘಕಾಲೀನ ಶಾಂತಿ ಮತ್ತು ಸ್ಥಿರತೆಗೆ ಪ್ರಮುಖವಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂದು ಬೆಹೆರಾ ವಾದಿಸುತ್ತಾರೆ.

4. ಪರಂಪರೆ ಮತ್ತು ನೀತಿಪರ ಪರಿಣಾಮಗಳು:

ಬೆಹೆರಾ ಅವರ ಮೌಲ್ಯಮಾಪನವು ಮಾವೋವಾದಿ ಸಂಘರ್ಷದ ಮೂರು ಅಂತರ್ನಿರೂಪಿತ ಪರಂಪರೆಗಳನ್ನು ಒತ್ತಿಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ:

- ಭದ್ರತಾ ಪರಂಪರೆ: ದಂಗೆ ನಿಗ್ರಹವು ಪೊಲೀಸ್ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆ, ವಿಶೇಷ ಪಡೆಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಗ್ರಾಮೀಣ ಭದ್ರತಾ ಮೂಲಸೌಕರ್ಯವನ್ನು ಹೇಗೆ ಮರುರೂಪಿಸಿತು.
- ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಪರಂಪರೆ: ಬುಡಕಟ್ಟು ಕಲ್ಯಾಣ, ಭೂ ನೀತಿ ಮತ್ತು ಸಮಗ್ರ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಗಮನ.
- ಆಡಳಿತ ಪರಂಪರೆ: ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಕಾನೂನುಬದ್ಧತೆಯು ಸ್ವಂದಿಸುವ ಆಡಳಿತ, ನಾಗರಿಕ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಸಾಂಸ್ಥಿಕ ವಿತರಣೆಯ ಮೇಲೆ ಅವಲಂಬಿತವಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂಬ ಮಾನ್ಯತೆ

5. ಮುಂದಿನ ಹಾದಿ:

ಬಂಡಾಯದ ಚಲನಶೀಲ ಹಂತವು ಕ್ಷೀಣಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೂ, ಅದರ ಮೂಲ ಕಾರಣಗಳು ಇನ್ನೂ ಎದ್ದು ಕಾಣುತ್ತಿವೆ ಎಂದು ಬೆಹೆರಾ ತೀರ್ಮಾನಿಸುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಭದ್ರತಾ ಪರಿಹಾರಗಳ ಕಿರಿದಾದ ಚೌಕಟ್ಟಿನ ಆಚೆಗೆ ನೋಡಿದರೆ ಸುಸ್ಥಿರ ಶಾಂತಿಯು ಸ್ವಂದಿಸುವ ಆಡಳಿತ, ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಸೇರ್ಪಡೆ, ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳ ಭರವಸೆ ಮತ್ತು ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಸಂವಾದದ ಮಾಪನಾಂಕ ನಿರ್ಣಯದ ಮಿಶ್ರಣವನ್ನು ಬಯಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ನೀತಿ ಶಿಫಾರಸುಗಳು:

1. ಬುಡಕಟ್ಟು ಮತ್ತು ಹಿಂದುಳಿದ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸೂಕ್ತವಾದ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗಾಗಿ ಸಹಕಾರಿ ಒಕ್ಕೂಟ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಬಲಪಡಿಸುವುದು.
2. ಆಡಳಿತ ಸುಧಾರಣೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮುದಾಯದ ಭಾಗವಹಿಸುವಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ಸೇರಿಸುವುದು.
3. ಆದಿವಾಸಿ ಮತ್ತು ಅಂಚಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಸಮುದಾಯಗಳಿಗೆ ಭೂ ಹಿಡುವಳಿ ಮತ್ತು ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳಿಗೆ ಆದ್ಯತೆ ನೀಡುವುದು.
4. ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮತ್ತು ಸ್ಥಳೀಯ ಜನಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯ ನಡುವೆ ವಿಶ್ವಾಸವನ್ನು ಬೆಳೆಸಲು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಮತ್ತು ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳ ಚೌಕಟ್ಟುಗಳೊಂದಿಗೆ ಭದ್ರತೆಯನ್ನು ಸಂಯೋಜಿಸುವುದು.

ಒಟ್ಟಾರೆ ಮೌಲ್ಯಮಾಪನ:

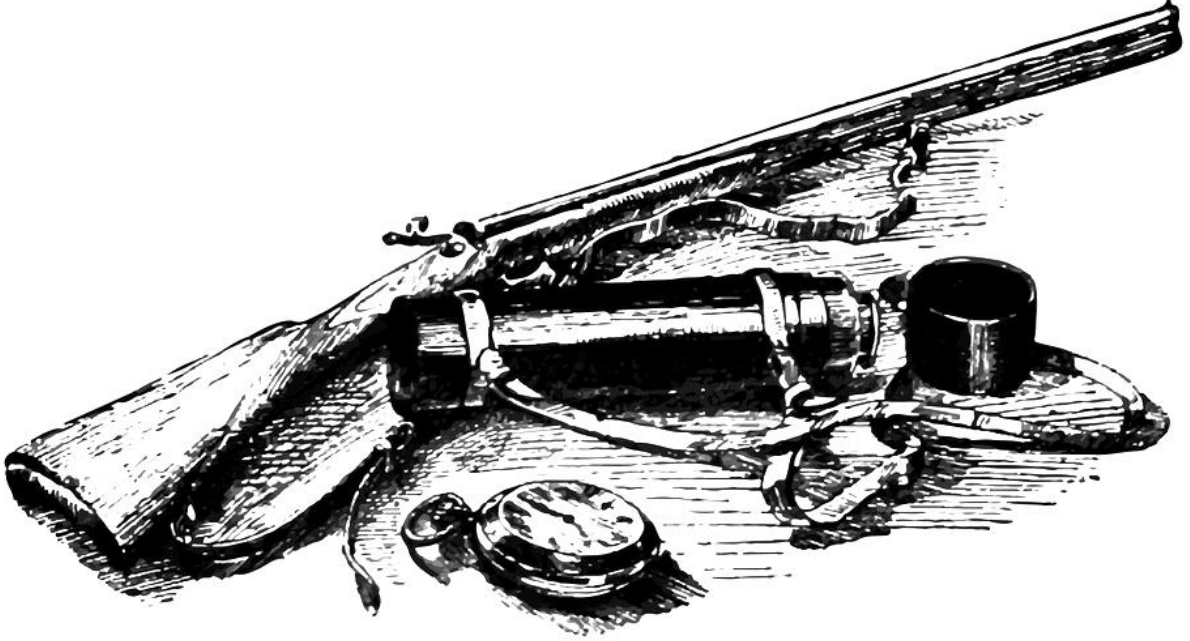
ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾವೋವಾದಿ ಪರಂಪರೆ ಕೇವಲ ಸಶಸ್ತ್ರ ದಂಗೆ ಮತ್ತು ರಾಜ್ಯ ಬಲದ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಯಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ಬೆಹೆರಾ ಅವರ ವರದಿ ಒತ್ತಿಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದು ನ್ಯಾಯ, ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಅಂತರ್ಗತ ಆಡಳಿತದ ಮೇಲೆ ಕೇಂದ್ರೀಕೃತವಾದ ಸಮಗ್ರ ನೀತಿ ಪ್ರತಿಕ್ರಿಯೆಗಳ ಅಗತ್ಯವಿರುವ ಆಳವಾದ ರಚನಾತ್ಮಕ ಕುಂದುಕೊರತೆಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಆಡಳಿತ ಸವಾಲುಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರತಿಬಿಂಬಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ಅನುವಾದಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ

ಡಾ. ಮೈಥಿಲಿ ಪಿ. ರಾವ್

ಶಿಕ್ಷಣತಜ್ಞ ಮತ್ತು ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರ ಅನುವಾದಕಿ

+91 9880145514





Branch Activities

Report on three-day National Seminar on “GOVERNANCE AND WELFARE MEASURES IN INDIA—Policies, Challenges and the Way Forward” - 17-18-19 December 2025

Ms. Dipanwita Jena



Prof. Anil Kumar Vaddiraju



The Karnataka Regional Branch of IIPA (IIPA-KRB), with the active collaboration of the Centre for Political Institutions, Governance, and Development of the Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC), Bengaluru, organized a three-day National Seminar on “Governance and Welfare Measures in India: Policies, Challenges, and the Way Forward” on 17-18-19 December 2025 in the premises of ISEC.

The Inaugural Address was delivered by **Shri T.M. Vijay Bhaskar, IAS (Retd.)**, former Chief Secretary of Karnataka and Chairperson of IIPA-KRB. He critically interrogated the selective and often patronizing use of the term “freebies”, arguing that corporate incentives such as tax exemptions and subsidized land are rarely subjected to similar scrutiny. He emphasized that the real policy concern lies in targeting, effectiveness, and outcomes rather than moral judgments on welfare transfers. Drawing on economic reasoning, he noted that cash transfers to poorer households are more likely to be spent and stimulate demand, whereas similar transfers to middle-income groups are often saved. Referring to Amartya Sen’s capability approach,

he argued that welfare schemes should be evaluated in terms of their ability to enhance human capabilities such as education, health, and labour force participation.

The **Keynote Address** on “Welfare Discourses in India”



was delivered by **Prof. Prakash C. Sarangi**, former Vice-Chancellor of Ravenshaw University, Cuttack. He traced the evolution of welfare policy in India through four overlapping phases—paternalistic, clientelist, basic needs, and responsive welfare—each shaped by distinct political and economic contexts. He argued that contemporary welfare reflects a shift towards rights-based entitlements driven by democratic competition, civil society activism, and decentralization, even as elements of patronage persist.

Prof. Parmod Kumar, Acting Director, ISEC, welcomed the gathering. Introducing the seminar, **Prof. V. Anil Kumar**, Head, CPIGD, ISEC, situated the event within the broader national debate on welfare, fiscal prudence, and political competition. **Dr. D.**

Jeevan Kumar, Secretary, IIPA-KRB, proposed a vote of thanks.

The **Panel Discussion** following the inauguration focused on the theme '**State, Welfare, and Political Economy**'. Chaired by **Shri T. M. Vijay Bhaskar**, the panel brought together **Prof. Narender Kumar** of Jawaharlal Nehru University, **Prof. K. Srinivasulu** of Osmania University, and **Prof. Ashutosh Kumar** of Punjab University.

Prof. Narender Kumar presented a comparative analysis of Dalit-led politics in Uttar Pradesh and Haryana, examining the relationship between political representation and governance outcomes. He argued that while Dalit political mobilization has enhanced symbolic representation and social dignity, it has not always translated into transformative governance outcomes. His analysis highlighted the limitations of identity-based politics in achieving substantive welfare without sustained institutional reform.

Prof. K. Srinivasulu offered a critical political economy perspective on the role of the state as a welfare agency. He argued that the modern state, particularly in the post-liberalization period, prioritizes capital accumulation and market expansion, with welfare functioning largely as a mechanism to manage social conflict. He contended that contemporary welfare provisioning has increasingly taken populist forms driven by electoral considerations, rather than being anchored in long-term, rights-based social policy.

Prof. Ashutosh Kumar situated welfare within India's constitutional and historical framework, highlighting the Directive Principles of State Policy as a foundational articulation of the welfare mandate. Drawing on Granville Austin's conception of the Constitution as an instrument of social revolution, he argued that democratic pressures have consistently compelled the state to address welfare concerns despite structural constraints imposed by capital and elite interests. He also noted the relative success of southern states in welfare provisioning due to sustained investments during the planning era.

The **Technical Sessions** spread over the 3-day seminar dealt with the following themes:

1. **Basic Services and Welfare** (5 presentations chaired by Prof. N. Sivanna);

2. **Welfare and Indian States-I** (4 presentations chaired by Prof. D. Jeevan Kumar);
3. **Welfare and Indian States-II** (3 presentations, chaired by Prof. Anil Kumar);
4. **Gender and Welfare-I** (4 presentations chaired by Dr. Channamma Kambar);
5. **Gender and Welfare-II** (4 presentations chaired by Prof. Lekha Subaiya);
6. **Welfare in Karnataka** (5 presentations chaired by Prof. Devendra Babu);
7. **Marginalized Sections and Welfare** (5 presentations chaired by Dr. K.C. Smitha);
8. **Rural Sector and Welfare** (5 presentations chaired by Prof. Sunil Nautiyal); and
9. **Urban Sector and Welfare** (5 presentations chaired by Prof. Kala Sridhar).

The **Valedictory Address** was delivered by **Prof. Himanshu Prasad Roy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. While providing a "**Conceptual Matrix of the Developmental State in India**," he stated that the reforms of 1991 in India were a continuation of the Welfare State measures initiated in 1947 and that the narrative of '*populism*' and '*freebies*' is a construction of business and media. The critical question is whether the state is able to generate a surplus to meet welfare needs, which Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Maharashtra and Haryana are able to do. He concluded by quoting Dr. Amartya Sen who said that democracy is growth in itself.

Dr. Ashok Dalwai, IAS (Retd.), Chairman of the Board of Governors of ISEC, presided over the Valedictory session and made pertinent observations on the theme of the seminar. **Ms. Dipanwita Jena**, Ph.D. scholar, CPIGD, ISEC, summarized the seminar. **Mr. T.M. Vijay Bhaskar, IAS** (Retd.), Chairperson, IIPA-KRB, gave concluding remarks. **Dr. D. Jeevan Kumar**, Secretary, IIPA-KRB, proposed a vote of thanks.

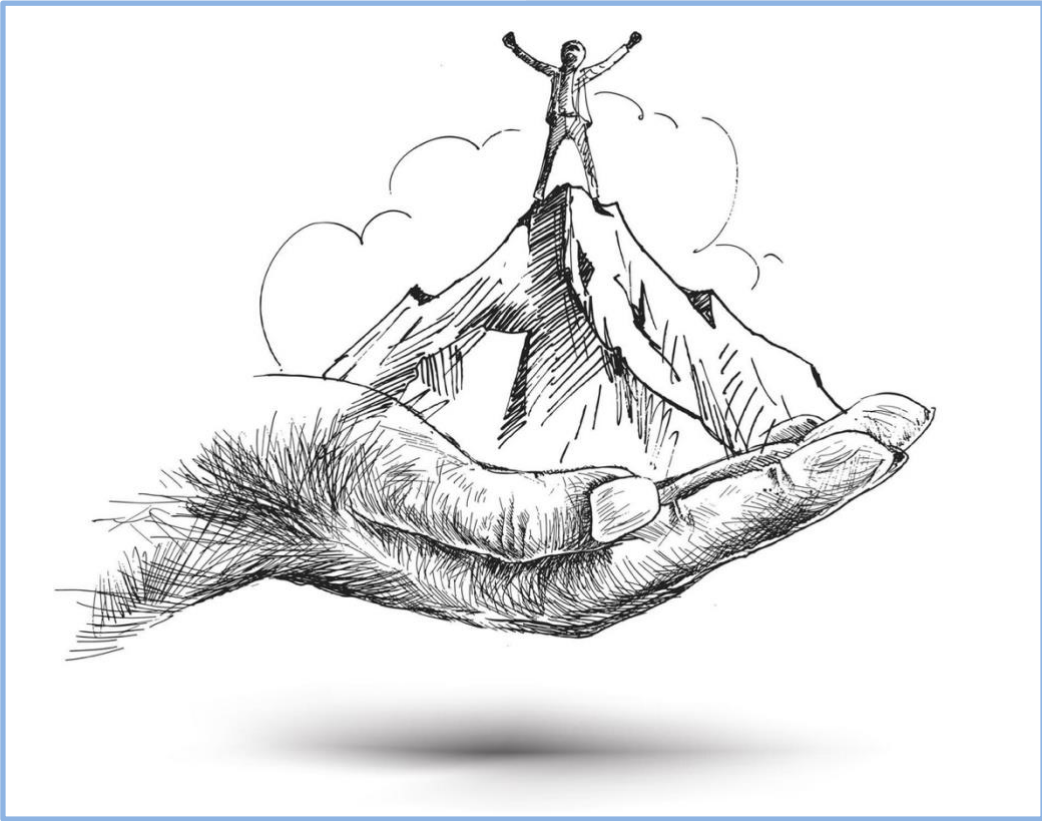
Across all three days, several **cross-cutting themes** emerged with clarity. **First, governance capacity** and **institutional coordination** were repeatedly identified as decisive factors shaping welfare outcomes. **Second, digitalization** emerged as a double-edged process—offering efficiency and transparency while simultaneously producing new forms of exclusion. **Third, the political economy of welfare**—particularly the tension between rights-based provision and competitive populism—remained a central concern throughout the seminar.

From a **policy perspective**, the national seminar highlighted the need for mixed-method approaches that combine quantitative evaluation with qualitative and ethnographic insights. **Welfare policies must move beyond scheme-centric metrics towards assessments of capability enhancement, dignity, and long-term sustainability.** The discussions also underscored the importance of decentralized planning, outcome-based evaluation, and stronger institutional accountability mechanisms.

In conclusion, the national seminar made a significant contribution to contemporary debates on welfare governance in India by bringing together diverse theoretical perspectives, empirical methodologies, and regional experiences. It reaffirmed that welfare is not merely a matter of redistribution but a deeply political and institutional process that shapes citizenship, inclusion, and democratic legitimacy. The deliberations collectively underscored the urgency of rethinking welfare frameworks in ways that are inclusive, context-sensitive, and grounded in lived realities.



Photo of participants at the Valedictory Session of the National Seminar



Lead Faculty and Branch Members' Writings in the Media



Dr. V.N. Alok
Professor, IIPA, New Delhi

What can Local Bodies expect from the 16th Finance Commission?

In *The Hindu* dt. 19 November 2025

[What can local bodies expect...](#)



Dr. A. Ravindra, IAS (Retd.)
Former Chief Secretary of Karnataka

Our Cities deserve Mayors who can truly Lead

In *Deccan Herald* dt. 6 December 2025

<https://www.deccanherald.com/opinion/our-cities-deserve-mayors-who-can-truly-lead-3821514>



Dr. D. Jeevan Kumar
Hon. Professor, Mahatma Gandhi Rural Development & Panchayat Raj University, Gadag, Karnataka

Reconstructing the Global Order - Challenges in the Post-Pandemic World

Book Review in *Southern Economist* dt. 15 December 2025

State Outsourcing: A Conscience Check

In *Deccan Herald* dt. 6 January 2026

<https://www.deccanherald.com/opinion/state-outsourcing-a-conscience-check-3852425>



Shri G. Gurucharan, IAS (Retd.)
Director, School of Social Sciences
MS Ramaiah University of Applied Sciences
Bengaluru

When Magical Thinking Shapes Security Strategy

In *Deccan Herald* dt. 21 December 2025

<https://www.deccanherald.com/opinion/when-magical-thinking-shapes-security-strategy-3838219>

India must outgrow, not erase, Macaulay.

In *Deccan Herald* dt. 5 December 2025

<https://www.deccanherald.com/opinion/india-must-outgrow-not-erase-macaulay-3820272>



Dr. Annapoorna Ravichander
Freelance Consultant

Policy Writing or Political Writing: Does It Matter?

In *Meghalaya Monitor* dt. 7 December 2025

<https://meghalayamonitor.com/policy-writing-or-political-writing-does-it-matter/>

Aim for a future-ready world of work

In *Deccan Herald* dt. 2 December 2025

<https://www.deccanherald.com/opinion/aim-for-a-future-ready-world-of-work-3816428>



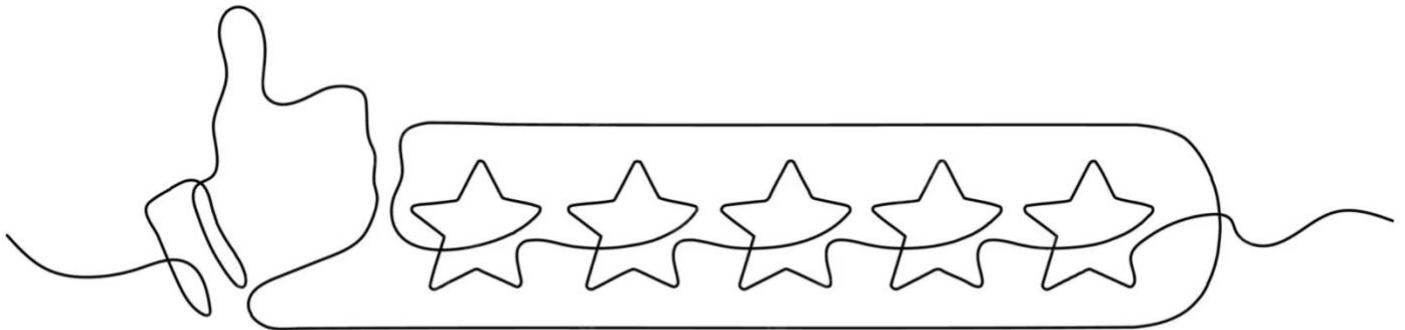
Feedback

Dear Sir,

I glanced through our IIPA Newsletter, which has come out elegantly, both in content and quality, and is relevant to themes or messages of public interest and good governance. I enjoyed the brief write-up by Dr. A. Ravindra on ' Ethics in Politics and Governance'. Also, Dr. Jeevan Kumar's equally good review of the book on Post-Pandemic Challenges in Restructuring the Global Order. Overall, the newsletter is worth reading and reflecting on our current and future aspects of proper governance and pro-people public administration and service to the people, always. My hearty congratulations to the Editorial Board for bringing out such a fine newsletter from our IIPA of Karnataka Regional Branch.

Dr. Chambi Puranik

Former Professor of Political Science
University of Mysore and
Karnataka State Open University
Mysore





Significance and Reflections

Good Governance Day is observed annually on **25 December** to commemorate the birth anniversary of **Atal Bihari Vajpayee**, one of India's most respected statesmen and former Prime Minister. The Government of India designated this day to reaffirm its commitment to the principles of **transparent, accountable, responsive, and citizen-centric governance**.

The observance of **Good Governance Day** seeks to highlight that governance is not merely about administrative efficiency but about **ethical leadership, institutional integrity, rule of law, inclusiveness, and public participation**. It underscores the idea that development must be people-centered, equitable, and sustainable, and that public institutions must serve citizens with fairness and dignity.

In the Indian context, the day also resonates with constitutional values—**democracy, social justice, accountability, and welfare orientation**—and with long-standing debates in Public Administration on the state as an *ideal employer* and trustee of the public interest.

Selected Quotes on Good Governance

- **Atal Bihari Vajpayee**
"Good governance is the key to a nation's progress. Transparency, accountability and dedication to public service must guide those in power."
- **Mahatma Gandhi**
"The best form of government is that which governs the least."
- **Kofi Annan**
"Good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development."
- **World Bank**
"Good governance is epitomized by predictable, open and enlightened policymaking; a bureaucracy imbued with professional ethos; and an executive accountable for its actions."
- **Second Administrative Reforms Commission (India)**
"Good governance is about the processes for making and implementing decisions that are responsive to the needs of the people."
- **Amartya Sen**
"A country does not have to be deemed fit for democracy; it has to become fit through democracy."



Editorial Board

Chief Editor

**Shri T. M. Vijay Bhaskar, IAS
(Retd.)**



**Shri S. Ramanathan, IAS
(Retd.)**



**Shri S. V. Ranganath, IAS
(Retd.)**



Dr. A. Ravindra, IAS (Retd.)



**Shri T. Sethumadhavan,
IA&AS (Retd.)**



**Dr. Annapoorna
Ravichander**



Dr. Priyanca Mathur



Editor

Dr. D. Jeevan Kumar



Feedback/Contributions/Ideas/Book Reviews/Report Summaries may kindly be mailed to

iipakrb.bangalore@gmail.com with a copy to jk4942893@gmail.com