



**INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
Karnataka Regional Branch, Bengaluru**

**ಭಾರತೀಯ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಆಡಳಿತ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆ
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- Chief Editor



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A Note from the Chief Editor



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I am happy to place before our readers the **October 2024** issue of our **Virtual Newsletter**. This is our **51st issue**, since we began this initiative.

Our **Lead Feature** is on the theme identified by the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi for its **Annual Conference-2024**, namely **“One Nation One Election”**. As is customary, Regional and Local Branches organize Prelude Conferences on the theme. We did this, in collaboration with the **Department of Political Science** of **St. Joseph’s University**, where we had **Prof. Sandeep Shastri** deliver the **Keynote Address**, followed by a **Panel Discussion** by eminent academicians. We have included abridged versions of all their presentations here.

In our occasional column on **Audit Matters**, we have **Shri T. Sethumadhavan** reflecting on a recent report of the **Comptroller and Auditor-General of India** on the implementation of the **Rights of Persons with Disability Act, 2016**.

In our regular column on **Communication Pulse**, **Dr. Annapoorna Ravichander** asks and answers the question, **“Will Blanket Policy work in Public Policy?”**

In our **Reports of Karnataka Branch events**, we carry reports of the following:

- (1) Our **Prelude Conference**; and
- (2) The Special Lecture delivered by **Shri S.V. Ranganath, IAS (Retd.)** on **“Public Policy and Governance”** at Kristu Jayanti College.

Our **Book Review** this time is by **Smt. Kathyayini Chamaraj**. She has reviewed **Dr. A. Ravindra’s** book, **Governing Urban India: Policy and Practice** (Concept Publishing Co., New Delhi, 2024).

In our section on **Branch Members’ Writings in the Popular Media**, we carry the links to thought-provoking articles penned by our **Life Members, Mr. Gurucharan Gollerkeri, IAS (Retd.)**, and **Smt. Uma Mahadevan-Dasgupta, IAS**.

We end the issue with our column on **Food for Thought**.

I wish to add a disclaimer here that the views expressed by the contributors in this issue of the Virtual Newsletter are personal and do not represent the views or position of the Editorial Board or the Executive Committee of the Branch. Do write in, with your responses, views and ideas for improvement of the Newsletter.





Lead Feature – ONE NATION ONE ELECTION

Prelude Conference Papers

Introductory Remarks



Shri S. Ramanathan, IAS (Retd.)
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It gives me great pleasure to make my customary Introductory Remarks at the beginning at yet another Prelude Conference of the Karnataka Regional Branch of the Indian Institute of Public Administration.

The concept of "**One Nation One Election**" refers to the idea of holding simultaneous elections for the elected bodies in India, the Lok Sabha, State Legislative Assemblies as well as Local Bodies. The objective is to reduce the frequency of elections, minimize election-related expenses, and promote stability in governance.

Its major **advantages** are as follows:

- It reduces election expenses as well as election fatigue.
- It promotes stability and continuity in governance.
- It encourages focus on governance rather than constant electioneering.
- It streamlines the electoral process

However, it is accompanied by several **challenges**. These include:

- Constitutional and legal changes that have to be made;
- Coordination among different levels of government;
- Potential impact on representation and accountability; and

- Logistical challenges in conducting simultaneous elections

The concept has been discussed and debated by political parties, expert bodies like the Law Commission, and constitutional experts. The Union Government has expressed support for the concept, but implementation remains a work in progress.

I am happy that the Karnataka Regional Branch is discussing the concept in a fair amount of detail, with a Keynote Address by the renowned psephologist Prof. Sandeep Shastri, to be followed by a Panel Discussion by very competent Resource Persons. A report of these proceedings will be placed before the IIPA, New Delhi for discussion at the Annual Conference on the same theme, towards end-October 2024.

My best wishes are with the Branch for the success of the Prelude Conference 2024.

Providing a Context



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The '**One Nation, One Election**' slogan has been heard for quite some time now. While it did figure in the 2024 Lok Sabha poll campaign, it is only after the Union Cabinet decision (one of the first major policy initiatives by the present government since returning to power) to endorse '**One Nation, One Election**', that the debate has gained momentum. **It may be useful to provide a context,**

The first three elections in India saw, by and large, simultaneous polls for the Lok Sabha and state assembly elections. Subsequently, in view of the early dissolution of legislatures, the cycle of elections for the Lok Sabha and state assemblies were as per varied schedules. Different state assembly elections were also held as per different timelines in view of the early dissolution of many assemblies prior to their completion of their five-year terms. As a result, Lok Sabha elections had their own schedules and different state assemblies had their different schedules for elections. This increasingly led to the demand for a common schedule for Lok Sabha and State Assembly elections¹. In consonance with this demand, and to consider proposals in this regard, the Government of India appointed a High-Level Committee (HLC) on 2nd September 2023. The Committee was mandated to examine and make recommendations for: holding simultaneous elections to the House of the People (Lok Sabha), State Legislative Assemblies, Municipalities and Panchayats, keeping in view the existing framework under the Constitution of India and other statutory provisions, and for that purpose, examine and recommend specific amendments to the Constitution, the Representation of the People Act, 1950, the Representation of the People Act, 1951 and the rules made thereunder and any other law or rules that would require amendments for the purpose of holding simultaneous elections (HLC Report:26:2024).

After detailed deliberations and consultations, the HLC submitted a report. It recommended that simultaneous elections will bring

¹ This includes the recommendations contained in Election Commission Report, 1983; 170th Report of the Law Commission 1999; Report of the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution (NCRWC) 2002; 255th Law Commission Report 2015; 79th report of

fundamental transformation in the electoral process and overall governance. It will result in optimising scarce resources and also encourage voters to participate in the electoral process in larger numbers. Disruptions to governance and policy paralysis resulting from the application of the Model Code of Conduct and its adverse impact on economic growth will be mitigated. As pointed out by apex business organisations, simultaneous elections will also help them maintain their production cycle, as the incidence of workers leaving for their constituencies to cast their votes will be reduced. Workers, in particular migrant workers, will avoid wage losses and minimise travel costs (HLC Report 5:2024. Emphasis added).

This recommendation of the High-Level Committee, has become the focus of discussion. The Union Cabinet at its meeting on 18th December 2024 approved, in principle, the recommendation made. Union Minister Ashwini Vaishnav announced that the government 'will now initiate nationwide consultations and establish an implementation committee to explore how the Kovind Committee's recommendations² can be brought to fruition'. The proposal has important implications for the working of federalism in India and has the potential to have a long-term impact on state politics.

The HCL Report highlights five points: *One Nation, One Election* it is felt would transform the electoral process by ensuring that the end of one election does not imply the beginning of another election! *Secondly*, it is argued that it

Parliamentary Standing Committee 2015; Working Paper of Niti Ayog 2017; Law Commission of India Draft Report 2018.

² The High-Level Committee is also known as the Kovind Committee as the former President was the chair of the Committee

would allow a focus on governance. The Model Code of Conduct that comes into force around every election, has, the report says led to disruptions to governance and policy paralysis. *Thirdly*, streamlining elections would also reduce the fiscal costs that staggered elections involve. *Fourthly*, in the interests of business and commercial activities and to maintain and sustain the business cycle, *One Nation, One Election*, would provide great support. *Finally*, voting once in five years, would reduce the need to declare holidays on voting days and thus would minimize wage losses. The arguments marshalled can be very persuasive. For many, they sound perfect to sanitize the system, ensure managerial efficiency, reduce administrative and fiscal costs and ensure efficiency, clinical perfection and precision.

While many of the arguments marshalled by the HLC appear valid it may be useful to consider a few key issues in this regard. The lens that one wears to define and decide the rightness or otherwise of having *One Nation, One Election*, is crucial in determining the stand one takes. Does one look at administrative and fiscal costs alone or do political costs also matter? There is also the argument that *One Nation, One Election* may lead to a sharp increase in costs for ensuring both national and state elections across the country at one and the same time.

Firstly, *One Nation, One Election* has at its basic premise, the need to have common elections for the Lok Sabha, Legislative Assemblies and Local bodies. By implication, the logic of choice at each of the levels of government is assumed to be the same. Evidence from at least the last decade, proves otherwise. The voters

³ It may be fair to point out that Karnataka initiated this trend in 1984-5. In the Lok Sabha elections held in late 1984, the voters in Karnataka endorsed the claims of Rajiv Gandhi to lead the Congress by giving 24 of the 28 Lok Sabha seats in the state to the Congress. This was

have often been making distinctly different choices at the national and state level³. Data makes out a strong case for the distinctiveness of State Assembly outcomes as compared to the Lok Sabha results from the said State. Given the fact that the two elections are about a distinctly different set of mandates, it may be necessary to make the distinction. This would also be in consonance with the spirit of federal governance.

Secondly, in *One Nation One Election* the expectation is that a common campaign may influence State Assembly results in the direction of national results. Yet, it needs to be borne in mind that the reverse too could be true, as the 2024 Lok Sabha polls indicated. Moreover, it could be argued that the focus needs to be on the autonomy of the two political spaces and the need for the voter to exercise their judgment independently when it comes to a national election and a state level election.

Thirdly, given that India is increasingly becoming an *election-only* democracy (Guha 2015, Shastri et.al. 2016; Shastri 2024), the right to vote and its exercise assumes critical importance. If it is to be exercised once in five years, it gives the Indian voter a more limited *tool of participation*.

Some would argue that a better option appears to be *One Nation Two Elections*. If the Lok Sabha election is held in the first year, the elections to all State Assemblies and local bodies should be held in the third year of the five-year cycle. Local government falls with the *State List* of subjects and it may be appropriate to hold the two elections together. A *One Nation Two Elections* framework could possibly

even as there was a Janata party government in Karnataka led by Ramakrishna Hegde. Hegde resigned on moral grounds necessitating mid-term State Assembly elections within a few months in March 1985. In this election, the Karnataka voter gave a clear mandate and majority to the Janata Party.

permit the voter to make a clear call when it comes to the Lok Sabha polls and Assembly polls. The Cabinet decision has called for a nation-wide debate on the issue and the jury is still out on the matter.

A Balanced Perspective



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Introduction

Free and fair elections are a significant characteristic of a healthy democracy. Elections have been the usual mechanism by which modern representative democracy has operated since the 17th century. Elections are the central institution of democratic representative governments. In a democracy, the authority of the government derives solely from the consent of the governed. The principal mechanism for translating that consent into governmental authority is the holding of free and fair elections.

According to Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, *"Democratic elections are not merely symbolic...They are competitive, periodic, inclusive, definitive process by which the chief decision-makers in a government are selected by citizens who enjoy broad freedom to criticize government, to publish their criticism and to present alternatives."*

The global use of elections as a tool for selecting representatives in modern representative democracies are quite varied and diverse. Elections are of different types viz., General Elections, Primary elections, Special elections, by-

elections, mid-term elections etc., The very success of a democracy always depends upon the proper conduct of elections.

Elections in India

India is the world's largest democracy with a population of more than 1.4 billion people. Elections in India are quite frequent. One or the other election takes places in India in a calendar year. Elections are held periodically to elect the President, Vice-president, Members of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, Members of the State Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly and Members of local bodies viz., Municipalities and Panchayats. The first Lok Sabha elections were held during the years 1951-1952. The eighteenth General elections to the Lok Sabha were held in the year 2024. During the years 1951-52, 1957, 1962, and 1967, elections for both the Lok Sabha and state assemblies were held simultaneously. However, later this sequence was broken due to premature dissolution of some assemblies, and in 1970 the Lok Sabha was also dissolved prematurely.

The process of Elections has undergone tremendous changes during the last seventy years. Voluminous increase of voters, creation of more states, constitutionalising of the Local bodies, holding of elections to Lok Sabha and State Assemblies at different times, new elections rules and regulations like the model code of conduct, increased number of candidates contesting elections, increase number of Political parties, Provision for voting from home for senior citizens and NRI voters, general election process being stretched beyond two months and a phenomenal increase election expenditure are posing a severe challenge to Indian electoral system and the administrative machinery.

The Lok Sabha and State Assemblies elections were a simple affair till the early

1980s. The expenses involved in conducting a Lok Sabha election have risen steadily over the years. For instance, during India's first election in 1951-52, the cost was a modest Rs 10.5 crore. A total of 53 parties and 533 independent candidates participated in the 1952 elections for 489 seats. The number of voters were 23,70,41,443. Fast forward to 2019, the cost skyrocketed to a staggering Rs 50,000 crore (\$7 billion), according to a report by the Centre for Media Studies. The 2024 Lok Sabha elections conducted over a span of seven phases is being considered as world's biggest and most expensive electoral exercise held ever. In order to enable 97 crore registered voters to exercise their franchise, a total of 10.5 lakh polling stations and 55 lakh EVMs were set up; 1.5 crore polling officials and security staff were deployed and 4 lakh vehicles were used for the electioneering work. The total estimated expenditure for the 2024 elections is said to be a staggering Rs 1.35 lakh crore. According to the Centre for Media Studies, the cost of a single vote in India has now reached an astonishing Rs. 1,400, which was just Rs. 46 per elector in the year 2014 and just six paise per elector in the year 1952. All these indicates the growing financial burden of conducting elections.

According to the guidelines issued by the Ministry of Law and Order in October 1979, the Centre fully covers the cost of the Lok Sabha election. Similarly, the cost of state Assembly elections is entirely borne by the state government. However, if the elections to state and Lok Sabha are conducted simultaneously, the cost is shared equally between the state and the Centre.

Proposal for One Nation One Election

The concept of "*one nation, one election*" was initially put forth in the year 1980s. In May 1999, the Law Commission, led by Justice BP Jeevan Reddy, declared in its 170th Report that "*we must go back to the*

situation where the elections to Lok Sabha and all the Legislative Assemblies are held at once."

One nation, one election refers to holding elections simultaneously in all regions of the nation, meaning that state and Lok Sabha elections will take place at the same time.

In March, 2024, the High-Level Committee under the Chairmanship of former President Ram Nath Kovind submitted its report to the President of India, on "*one nation, one election*," advocating for simultaneous elections to Lok Sabha, State Legislative Assemblies, and local bodies. The Committee was constituted in September 2023.

The Union Cabinet chaired by the Prime Minister has accepted the eleven recommendations made by the High-Level Committee on holding simultaneous elections to the Lok Sabha, State Legislative Assemblies and local bodies (Panchayats and Municipalities) on 18th September, 2024.

In its report, the committee recommended holding simultaneous elections, citing the burden on various stakeholders such as the Government, businesses, workers, Courts, political parties, candidates, and civil society. To manage the complexities, the committee suggested two steps. *Firstly*, it recommended holding simultaneous elections for the Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assemblies. *Secondly*, it proposed synchronizing the elections for Municipalities and Panchayats with those of the Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assemblies, ensuring that the former are conducted within a hundred days of the latter. It has laid out a roadmap and procedures for the implementation of the idea and has prescribed no less than Eighteen Constitutional Amendments to enable it.

The Committee has proposed the insertion of Article 82A to the

Constitution to synchronise the terms of the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies. All the State Assemblies which are constituted in general elections held after this Article is brought into effect ("Appointed Date") will come to end along with the expiry of the full term of the Lok Sabha. For example, if the Article is given effect to in October 2024, all the State Assemblies which are formed after this notification will have a term only till 2029. So, if a State election is held in 2027, the Assembly's term will end in 2029 along with the Lok Sabha.

Imperatively, as per Article 82A (4), if the Election Commission opines that the elections to any Legislative Assembly cannot be conducted at the time of the General Election, it may recommend to the President to declare by an Order that the election to that Legislative Assembly may be conducted at a later date.

In the event of a hung house and a no-confidence motion, fresh elections may take place. Notably, the tenure will only be for the unexpired term in such cases. In other words, it will be the remainder of the full term, i.e. for five years. Further, the expiration of this period shall operate as a dissolution of the House. For example, if a government falls in a no-confidence motion in the second year of the house, then fresh elections can be held. However, the new government will only have the remainder term of three years. Amendments are proposed to Articles 83 and 172 in this regard. Other proposed amendments include the introduction of Article 324A to hold simultaneous elections for local bodies.

One Nation One Election Debate

The *One Nation One Election* has kicked up a serious debate across the country. There are strong arguments in its favour and equally strong arguments against it.

Arguments in Favour

- Holding simultaneous elections reduces the substantial recurring

expenditure incurred by both the State and Central governments. Consolidating elections into one event minimises the costs associated with voter registration, polling stations, election staff, security deployment, and other logistical requirements.

- Money saved by simultaneous elections, can be effectively used for public welfare and development.
- Simultaneous elections streamline the electoral process, reducing the strain on governance and administration caused by frequent elections.
- The frequent tendency of the entire administrative machinery becoming standstill during elections, can be checkmated by simultaneous elections to Lok Sabha and State Assemblies.
- The mass-scale transfers of officials and the disruption caused by the code of conduct during separate elections can impede the smooth functioning of government machinery. This can be mitigated through synchronised polls.
- Holding simultaneous elections can lessen the role of money in politics by reducing the frequency of election campaigns and associated expenses. Campaign finance regulations can be more effectively enforced by the ECI at a national level, ensuring a level playing field for all parties and candidates.
- The '*one nation-one election*' concept aims to reduce the divisive impact of regionalism, casteism, and communalism in mobilising voters. By focusing on national issues and promoting a unified electoral agenda, simultaneous elections can help transcend narrow interests and foster a sense of national unity.
- Simultaneous elections can potentially increase voter turnout at the national level by reducing voter apathy and increasing the significance of each electoral exercise.

Arguments Against

- *One Nation One Election* goes against the spirit and reality of diversity in politics, society, and all aspects of life in the country, and is at odds with federal nature of the polity.
- Simultaneous elections may undermine the **principles of federalism by centralising the electoral process** and potentially overshadowing regional and local issues with national issues.
- *One nation one election* reflects the idea of a unitary country with one polity, one process and one character.
- Simultaneous elections will give unfair advantage to national parties and will result in rhetoric over national issues – and non-issues- overshadowing regional and state-specific issues in the elections.
- Constituent States, especially those governed by **non-dominant parties at the national level**, may feel **marginalised or inadequately represented** in a synchronised election system.
- National parties could gain an undue advantage over regional parties, undermining the federal spirit enshrined in the Constitution.
- Frequent elections at different levels of government help **maintain accountability among elected representatives** and ensure regular opportunities for voters to express their preferences and opinions.
- Synchronising elections **may reduce the frequency of electoral accountability checks** and limit the responsiveness of elected officials to the evolving needs of their constituents.
- India's parliamentary democracy allows for the dissolution of Lok Sabha and State assemblies before the completion of their five-year terms. Fixed tenure of five years for all houses necessitates constitutional amendments to Articles 83, 85, 172, and 174, dealing with duration and dissolution.

- Amendments to Article 356, governing the imposition of President's rule in States, would also be required to accommodate simultaneous elections.
- Biennial elections to Legislative councils/Rajya Sabha, by-elections and fresh elections in the light of a no-confidence motion or a hung house would still necessitate separate polling events, contributing to ongoing costs despite synchronised elections.
- The implementation of simultaneous elections would require a significant investment in procuring additional Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs), VVPATS and other stationary materials adding to the financial burden.
- Deploying large number of security force personnel for election duties during simultaneous elections, may cause undue stress and inconvenience to them

Estimate

The proposal for simultaneous elections has been debated for long, but it does not have the support of a majority of the political parties. The Government has time and again said, that it wants to create a consensus on the *one nation one election* proposal. However, the opposition parties have made clear their concerns and are opposing ONOE quite openly. The apprehensions of the majority of the political parties towards the ONOE are: Its adoption could violate the basic structure of the constitution, it is anti-democratic and anti-federal, it marginalises regional parties, supportive of national parties and takes the country towards a Presidential form of government. India's political system is worked by its political parties and if a large number of them do not support the ONOE proposal, it may not be effective and successful, if it is just forced on the people. The Indian electorate are seasoned and matured enough to judge what is beneficial and apt for them.

Untenable Arguments



Dr. V. Anil Kumar

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It is definitely true that democracies depend on elections for electing governments and mobilizing legitimacy. However, what and how these elections should be conducted is certainly more than a question of procedural economy, cost efficiency and policy effectiveness.

The arguments put forward for a single election across the nation and across the three tiers of government is made on the following grounds:

- A single election is economic and saves public exchequer
- A single election saves the time and effort of the personnel
- A single election saves the country from policy paralysis during multiple elections.

While these arguments may be true to an extent, the problem is that **multiple elections too have advantages**, such as:

One, if one election in one state, or at one level, is flawed the subsequent election can modify the pattern and take care of the flaws in the election.

Second, no single government can abrogate multiple elections with one fiat. The multiple elections have this advantage. Particularly the local self-government elections are in the jurisdiction of the states. And with the single election put in place constitutionally, there is always a danger of some government in future not holding

any governmental election at all, at any level, or in any state.

The *third* point is that different state and local self-government elections have different periodicities. These periodicities should be respected and maintained.

The *fourth* point is India is one nation but a diverse nation. The diversity of the nation is broadly on two counts, the economic diversity and non-economic diversity. The economic diversity of states indicates the differential level of development of the states. The non-economic diversity is proverbial in terms of language, ethnicity, religion, dialects etc. The Indian states reflect and are organized in such a way that the diversity is maintained within the unity of the nation-state.

To take the first aspect i.e., the economic differentiation and diversity of the Indian states, the period since the economic liberalization has seen some states growing at faster rate than the others. This has resulted in massive regional disparities contributing to the exacerbation of already existing diversity.

The trends in inter-state economic inequality as reflected in Gini-coefficient:

1980-81	0.152
1981-82	0.152
1982-83	0.152
1983-84	0.151
1984-85	0.154
1985-86	0.159
1986-87	0.157
1987-88	0.161
1988-89	0.158
1989-90	0.175
1990-91	0.171
1991-92	0.175

1992-93	0.199
1993-94	0.207
1994-95	0.214
1995-96	0.225
1996-97	0.228
1997-98	0.225

Source: Ahluwalia (2012)

As is clear from the above Table (although this data needs updating) the trend of increasing inequality between the Indian states is clear from the above Table. I am sure the latest trends support this claim.

The non-economic diversity is also accentuated and is under pressure with inter-state migration and the differences between the natives and the migrants cropping up often. Also, there is a vertical dimension of the difference between the majority community and the minority communities.

Given the above reasons, it is difficult to argue in favour of a single election, across the states and across the different levels of the government. If at all we need to protect the diversity of the nation, we would perhaps be better if we respect the present system of multiple elections.

This is the case even if democracy and multiple elections are relatively expensive and time and effort consuming. In the interest of longer-term survival of democracy, and in the interest of federal interests—the interests of federal diversity and the interests of the third tier of the government—and in the interest of better legitimacy for the democratic legislative process in the country, the change toward the one election for the entire country may not help the matters.

This is besides the role of big money in elections. If the big business can influence one big electoral battle and purchase the big election through its media and money power, we would be jeopardizing the political interests of the 1.4 billion people

for the sake of homogeneity, uniformity, and economy.

Constitutionality of One Nation One Election



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Submission 1

The Indian Constitution may be said to be founded on the Human Rights v. National Security debate, also commonly known as the Democracy v. Sovereignty dilemma.

This facet of the Constitution is apparent in its several provisions such as Article 19(1)(a) - freedom of speech and expression - which is subject to national security and state sovereignty under Article 19(2); Article 22(1),(2) - protection against arbitrary arrest and detention - which is abrogated for preventive detention under Article 22(3)(b); and Article 25 (1) - freedom of religion - which begins with the non-obstante subjections of public order and other provisions of Part III.

These three instances are indicative examples of a host of Constitutional provisions that cause most Indian laws, ranging from National policies to local by-laws, to be identified under either the Human Rights or the National Security agendas.

The ONOE proposal however, has the distinction of violating both the National Security as well as the Human Rights agendas.

How ONOE violates Human Rights

The Theory of Choice underlines the philosophy and practice of Democracy.

The core of Choice is Consent. The Theory of Consent postulates that the essence of consent lies in the ability to withdraw such consent at any time. Hence, whether true consent exists is determined by the ease of process by which consent can be withdrawn.

In the case of ONOE, there is a concern that withdrawal of consent – given by the States to the Union to implement the single election system – would not be easy. This is because just as constitutional amendments are required to introduce ONOE, they would also be required to withdraw the system if the States change their minds. The accommodation of processes by which States are permitted to change their minds is non-negotiable given India's federal tenets. Protection of withdrawal of consent is an important enabler of federalism. A case to point is Karnataka's withdrawal of General Consent for CBI investigations on the ground that the agency is biased, on 26 September 2024.

Moreover, in a country as large and complex as India, prudent leadership calls for a step-back mechanism for when the context requires it. For instance, the Constitution provides for Chief Ministers alongside Governors, and Fundamental Rights alongside Directive Principles of State Policy.

Submission 2

How ONOE violates Electoral Security

In the contemporary world, non-traditional national security concerns carry the same importance as traditional national security issues. In a democracy such as India, Electoral Security is a

crucial facet of non-traditional security. Hence, India cannot keep breaching the sanctity of her elections. Whereas electoral tinkering at the level of gerrymandering is one thing, to convert a federal electoral system into a Unitarian one is another scale altogether. Further, the precedent set by ONOE may open the floodgates for further attacks on India's electoral system.

There will always be the argument that *One Election* will incur a lesser financial, administrative, and temporal cost. It must be recognized however, that such costs are the price of democracy. Fascism may be apparently cheaper, but it costs a democracy her soul.

Submission 3

On Constitutional Amendment

The ONOE Committee Report had recommended 15 Constitutional Amendments effected through two Amendment Acts. However, the debate on Constitutional Amendment should not be restricted to questions of which Articles and what amendment language. The larger question is a fundamental one – When should the Constitution be amended? Amendment is a tool to bring the letter of the Constitution in line with its spirit. It has been established in and reiterated since the Keshavananda Bharti judgement that the spirit of the Constitution – its “basic structure” – cannot be amended. Federalism was held as an element of the basic structure, thereby rendering it unassailable. This renders ONOE *void ab initio* for its unconstitutionality.





Implementation of the Rights of Persons with Disability Act, 2016 (RPW Act, 2016) by Karnataka: Comptroller & Auditor General's Report No.2 for the year 2024



Mr. Thayyil Sethumadhavan, IAAS (Rtd.)
Formerly Principal Accountant General, Madhya Pradesh

Introduction

Government of India enacted the RPWD Act, 2016 by replacing the earlier 'Persons with Disability (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995' and issued the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Rules, 2017. The Act covers 21 disabilities in place of 7 in the earlier Act and provides for increased reservation (from 3 to 4 percent) for persons or classes of persons with benchmark disabilities. Among other things, the Act also seeks to establish District Level Committees to address the local concerns of persons with disabilities (PwDs), Central and State Advisory Bodies, a State Fund for PwDs, and incentives to promote 5% representation for them among workforces.

As per Census 2011, Karnataka had 13.24 lakh persons with disabilities, of which approximately 20% are visually handicapped, 20% orthopedically disabled and 18% with hearing impairment. The Department of Differently Abled and Senior Citizens (DEDASC) is responsible to implement the Act and provide rehabilitation, education and economic opportunities to facilitate integration of the PwDs with the mainstream society. The Department has

under it a *Director and a State Commissioner for PwDs* to assist in its task.

Scope of Audit

CAG carried out a Performance Audit of the implementation of the Act by the State of Karnataka, and has brought out the shortcomings noticed during the period of 2016 to 2021. Auditors carried out test checks in 11 District Offices and joint-inspections of 70 out of 111 institutes and schools being run by the State Government or Non-Government Organization for PwDs. The audit findings spell out a lack of focus and a strategic approach in implementing the Act, but to the credit of the Department, it has initiated measures to rectify the shortcomings pointed out in many instances.

Planning and Strategy

To start with, the Department did not carry out a comprehensive survey covering all the disabilities listed in the Act; and the survey, when attempted in 2021, did not have benefit of the advice of specialists in various disabilities. The census was held at Gram Panchayat level through Village Rehabilitation Workers and could capture only 8 or 9 disabilities against the 21 included in the Act. The limitations of the survey could be gauged from the fact in Bangalore Urban District where, as per the 2011 Census, there were 2.74 lakhs of PwDs, it covered only 3680 disabled persons. Moreover, though surveys of school going children are to be held once every five years, no such survey has been held. Inadequate surveys, in turn, led to the absence of a comprehensive data base for planning and management of activities under the Act. Delay of more than two years to issue the Karnataka Rights of Persons with

Disabilities Rules, 2019 was also avoidable.

Funds Management

The Department not only could not utilize the entire funds made available for the benefit of PwDs, (with an overall saving of 12%); but also forfeited the available central assistance.

The State was to establish a "State Fund" in consultation with the CAG for crediting grants, donations, bequests etc., for use in areas not covered specifically under any scheme or where the State schemes were not adequately funded by central assistance. Though an order for establishment of the Fund was issued in March, 2020, the envisaged State Fund is yet to materialize.

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Funds and District-wise Approach

The Department's omission to issue policy guidelines for regulating the dispersal of CSR Funds by Corporates resulted in most of the contributions (Rs. 208 crores during the period 2016 to 2022) getting distributed only in Bangalore area.

There was also omission to appoint Grievance Redressal Officers (GRO) in all districts, but at the instance of auditors, the Department has initiated necessary action.

Equal Opportunity Policy and Implementation

Under the provisions of the Act, all private establishments with 20 or more staff and all public offices are required to notify the 'Equal Opportunity Policy' detailing measures to be taken to provide barrier-free accessibility, assistive devices etc. to differently-abled employees as also identification of posts for extending such help. On auditors pointing out the restrictive nature of the orders issued in this regard, the Department issued an appropriate circular with suitable guidelines. Moreover, the Department, in

follow up of audit observations, issued an order detailing the procedure to avail high support by differently-abled persons (after undergoing the due process), which will be helpful to such PwDs.

Human Resources of the Department and Related Issues

Staff shortages in the Department appeared to be a major reason for the sub-optimal performance in the implementation of the RPWD Act. For instance, out of 464 sanctioned posts, only 162 were filled in till March 2023. While 21 of the 35 posts of District Disabled Welfare Officers were lying vacant, even the crucial post of the State Commissioner for PwDs was vacant from Feb. 21 to May 23 which was indicative of the low priority assigned to the Department.

The Act provides for imparting awareness training to caregivers such as Asha Workers, teachers, doctors and others concerned, but it remains to be carried out. In the absence of a Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) Manual, institutions were following non-uniform patterns in their practices, teaching methods etc.

Reservation for PwDs

Under Sn.37 of the Act, State Government and Local Bodies are required to make provision for 5% reservation for those with benchmark disability in allotment of land at concessional rates for housing, business enterprises etc. But no data of any such initiative taken could be produced in evidence. Auditors noticed that there were practically no efforts to create awareness of their rights among the PwDs which would be helpful. The Department also did not possess the required data of the extent of employment of PwDs in the private sector.

The State issued a policy for reservation and mandatory appointment of PwDs with benchmark disability in September

2020 and appointed an expert committee to identify the posts in various departments, but even after 5 years, its report was awaited (December 2020).

Accessibility and Infrastructure

While the State has taken certain measures to provide accessibility to PwDs in public buildings, much work needs to be done to extend barrier-free access for them in all public buildings and in transportation and tourism sectors. Central Government had released Rs.27 crores to extend accessibility in 47 public buildings during 2018 to 2020, but accessibility was provided in only 18 buildings at a cost of Rs. 8.4 crores and the work was incomplete. As a result, the State had to refund Rs.16 crores to the Central Nodal Agency.

A review by the Project Directors of Sarva Siksha Abhyan in respect of 71,830 schools showed that disability-friendly toilets were not available in 52,321 schools (73%) while ramps were available in 51,464 schools (72%) and railings were provided in 42,987 schools (60%) only. Information gathered by auditors showed that only 22 % of 229 public libraries reviewed by them had ensured accessibility and special furniture for the PwDs.

Education and Skill Development

There are 178 Special Schools under the Department (9 Government, 29 GIA, 140 Child Centric) of which 90 were verified by the auditors for their performance. While there was no uniformity in the syllabus by the GIA / CCS, in 9 out of 10 GIA Schools, the posts of occupational, therapeutic and physiotherapy experts were vacant. In CC Schools, posts of physiotherapists were filled in; but the required equipment were not made available. Less than 60% teachers in the test-checked 90 schools were registered

with the Regional Council of India while only about 40% had the requisite qualification to teach PwDs.

In a Day-Special School for Intellectually-Disabled children at Bidar, one-third of the children were girls of 18 years and about, but no lady teacher was appointed to help the girls, though Ayahs were said to be available. Auditors pointed out the inadvisability of the arrangement and urged expeditious appointment of lady teachers.

A disturbing trend noticed in the schools for blind persons was the decreasing strength of students. In some of them, the strength of teachers exceeded the strength of the students. The special schools also were short of teaching aids etc. In one residential school, 41 students ran away during the period from 2012 to 2019, but only 6 could be traced.

Absence of Higher Secondary Schools and technical training schools for PwDs forced students with disability to depend on regular schools.

Participation in Democracy

Following the concerted efforts of the State Election Commission through door-to-door surveys, enabling an application to book wheelchair support, Braille script in voters slip, and ramps with railings in voters booths etc., there was substantial improvement in the voters' turnout among the PwDs with as much as 76% and 80 % registering votes in the 2018 State Election and the 2019 Lok Sabha Election. The Commission also made available home voting facility to 19,279 PwDs in Karnataka State Assembly Election which was praiseworthy.

It only proves that with commitment and dedication, the implementation of the RPWD Act, 2016 in the State would prove to be a boon to the large number of disabled persons in the State.



Will Blanket Policy work in Public Policy?



Dr. Annapoorna Ravichander

Professor of Practice

Department of Public Policy

Manipal Academy of Higher Education-Bangalore & Freelance Consultant

Introduction

Typically, a **Blanket Policy** refers to a broad, one-size-fits-all approach or rule that can be universally applied to all situations, people in a particular domain. On the one hand, in reality it is created to address multiple cases/instances keeping in mind differences and focussed circumstances. On the other hand, it is targeted and customised and aims to be simple, easy to implement and reliable.

In the space of Public Policy, a Blanket Policy refers to an overarching policy that can be used for a range of situations and may not necessarily be customised. Ideally it addresses a genre of issues and a uniform approach for various situations. For example, it can be used in the area of health care where inoculation/vaccination is mandatory for all children.

Effectiveness of Blanket Policies

The effectiveness of Blanket Policies in Public Policy is not only dependent on several factors but also has pros and cons. Some of the factors include:



- Productive - will help in reducing the need for case-by-case assessments and encourage

- quick policy decisions when there is minimum resources - human and time
- Unbiased and equal rights - which can be applied to all to avoid favouritism
- Simple and clear - for all stakeholders to understand and implement policies
- Consistent - to address issues on a mega scale especially for huge issues like disaster management or public health.



Examples of Effectiveness

- Crisis Management* - natural disasters, wars, pandemics scenarios like these where quick decisions need to be taken
- National Security* - laws can be enforced in situations like terrorism, restrictions during travels to address public safety
- Safety and Fairness* - where basic protection is required for human rights, public health standards and environmental regulations.

Some of the **Key Disadvantages** of Blanket Policies in Public Policy include:



- Wastage of resources if there is over regulation of some issues while under regulation of others
- Does not focus on specific needs and provides an overall approach to problems, without understanding the need

- No account for inequalities with reference to education, services and resources
- Inclusion of standards that may not be useful for certain sections of a society.

Examples

- Safety in workplace: all employees require to undergo safety training to ensure a safe work environment
- Education: Ensuring a uniform dress code to ensure equality
- Protection of data: Follow same data protection across industries to safeguard personal information
- Public Health: Ensure and make it compulsory that all school going children be vaccinated



Examples of Failures

- *Education and Welfare Programmes:* Different regions will have varied literacy levels, no access to technology and may require a very focussed approach to implement policies
- *Public Health:* Broad policies are essential for localising interventions and also cater to specific populations

based on socio-economic background, cultural background and geography

- *Social and Economic Development:* Different industries, communities and regions have different needs and levels of development hence a blanket approach may not be suitable.

Challenges in implementing Blanket Policies

Implementing Blanket Policies can be challenging due to several factors:

- Burden on administrative efforts to include complying to monitoring and managing the same;
- Need to have a diverse effort to ensure the usefulness based on the need and audience;
- Feel challenged due to changes especially of the policies does not include concerns
- Find it unfit if applied uniformly and is found rigid
- Lack of appropriate communication to help people understand and adhere to the same.

Conclusion

While Blanket Policies have advantages, care should be taken to ensure that it needs to be flexible, context-specific and understand regional differences. Overall, they are often simple, clear and efficient especially since some policies are complex. If used well in scenarios like emergencies, they are suitable. In short, Blanket Policies can be effective if there is a balanced approach which can be combined with local approach and flexibility and follow broad guidelines.





Prelude Conference on “One Nation One Election”



The **Karnataka Regional Branch** of the **IIPA**, in association with the **Department of Political Science of St. Joseph’s University, Bengaluru** organized its **Prelude Conference** on the theme, “**One Nation One Election**” (**ONOE**) on 28 September 2024.

Introductory Remarks were made by **Mr. S. Ramanathan**, Chairman Emeritus of the Branch. **Rev. Dr. Victor Lobo**, Vice-Chancellor of St. Joseph’s University gave the Inaugural Address. He recalled Mahatma Gandhi’s views in *Hind Swaraj* on Parliamentary Democracy and elections. He also stated that the concept of ONOE should not serve to divide the nation.

The Keynote Address was delivered by **Prof. Sandeep Shastri**, Director of Academics at Nitte Education Trust, Bengaluru. Prof. Shastri presented the contours of the debate on “*One Nation One Election*” and looked at its wider implications. He indicated his preference for “*One Nation Two Elections*” where there would be two cycles of elections, one for the Lok Sabha and another for the Legislative Assemblies and Local Bodies, with a gap of two to two-and-a-half years between each cycle.

This was followed by a **Panel Discussion** where the following Resource Persons gave

their respective perspectives on **One Nation One Election**.

1. **Prof. P.E. Somaiah**, Head, Dept. of Political Science, St. Joseph’s University, Bengaluru presented arguments in favour of, as well as against the theme, but ended with the apprehension that it could violate the Basic Structure of the Constitution.
2. **Prof. V. Anil Kumar**, Head, Centre for Pol. Institutions, Governance and Development, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bengaluru offered several arguments why he was opposed to the theme. In his view, frequent elections bring out the vibrancy of Indian democracy with its multiplicity of discourses. ONOE smacks of uniformism and conformism and will result in plebiscitary elections.
3. **Dr. Sindhujaa Iyengar**, Deputy Director, Centre for National Security Studies, MS Ramaiah University of Applied Sciences, Bengaluru focused on the constitutionality of ONOE. In her view, the concept converts a Federal Constitution into a Unitarian one, violates the theory of consent, and adversely affects citizens’ electoral security.

4. **Dr. Aradhana Talwar**, Faculty, Department of Public Policy, School of Social Sciences, Ramaiah University of Applied Sciences, Bengaluru, looked at the concept of ONOE from a Policy perspective, by raising two pertinent questions: Is there a conscious Policy Design in it? Have its Policy Outcomes been thought out carefully?

Mr. T.M. Vijay Bhaskar, IAS (Retd.), Chairman of the Branch presided over the Prelude Conference. He complimented all the speakers for sharing their views on the subject and enlightening the audience with their views and arguments, both for and against. **Dr. Roshni**, Faculty, Department of Political Science, St. Joseph's University welcomed the guests and gathering. **Dr. D. Jeevan Kumar**, Secretary of the Branch proposed a vote of thanks.



Report of Expert Talk by Mr. S.V. Ranganath on Policy and Governance

Dr. Riddhi Sanyal

Asst. Prof. of Political Science
Kristu Jayanti College
Bengaluru

The Department of Political Science, Kristu Jayanti College (Autonomous), Bengaluru, in collaboration with the Karnataka Regional Branch of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, organized "Vidwat Sangosthi- Series 2", an expert talk on policy making processes. The insightful talk was delivered by **Mr. S.V. Ranganath**, a retired IAS Officer and former Chief Secretary of the Government of Karnataka. The lecture was organized under the leadership of Dr. Kaveri Swami, Head, Department of Social Sciences and Languages, Kristu Jayanti College (Autonomous), Bengaluru.

The talk began with an introduction to the components of Public Policy and interconnection between the key arms of the government, followed by a detailed insight

on the Public Policy challenges in the context of India. Discussions revolved around the *Rashomon Effect*, which refers to multiple interpretations of a single event, resulting in policy challenges. Another key theme discussed was the dilemma of government intervention in cases of market failure

Drawing on the **Public Choice Theory** by Buchanan and Elinor Ostrom's '**Management of Commons**', Mr. Ranganath discussed how governance failure often masquerades as market failures. He argued that empowering local communities can lead to better management of common resources like forests and water, as evidenced by Ostrom's work.

Other themes included essential guidelines for policymakers, examples of good and bad policies, corruption in policy making and development of state capacities. Mr. Ranganath spoke about the need for '**Systems Thinking**', as articulated in Peter Senge's "*The Fifth Discipline*" and the role of technology, drawing on Kentaro Toyama's work. Finally, he underscored the importance of strengthening the 'Government-Academia' interface for tackling the challenges in Policy Making.

His emphasis on simplicity and negotiating with the ones at the receiving end reflected a people-centric approach to Policy Making, with an emphasis on concentrating not on the benefits of a policy to be enjoyed by the majority but on the impacts of the same on the ones who might be losing out from the policy, leading to balanced policy making. **Overall, the talk served as a balanced and critical call for reforms aimed at equity in**

implementation of policies and strengthening state capacity.

Dr. Kaveri Swami, Head, Department of Social Sciences and Languages, Kristu Jayanti College welcomed the guests and gathering. **Dr. D. Jeevan Kumar**, Secretary, IIPA-KRB made some concluding remarks. **Ms. Vikshita** proposed a vote of thanks.





Resourceful Addition to Urban Governance Literature



Ms. Kathyayini Chamaraj
Executive Trustee
CIVIC, Bengaluru

Dr. A. Ravindra, in his book "*Governing Urban India: Policy and Practice*" (Concept Publishing Co., New Delhi, 2024) has given a very good historic and panoramic overview of the development of cities from the Harappan period to the present. A lot of painstaking research has gone into it. But what illuminates the whole book are his personal reminiscences, which give an insider's view of his experiences as a bureaucrat, while he held several positions that dealt with urban areas.

Most entertaining, but tragic from the perspective of good governance, are his narrations of how political economy has impacted life negatively in cities. While he was Chairperson of the BDA, a CM interfered and stopped demolition of unauthorized occupation of public land and surrendered public land to land grabbers; how when he as BCC Administrator undertook demolition of illegal constructions, the government announced a policy to regularize illegalities! His attempt to raise municipal bonds as BCC Commissioner, to get quality work done by reputed companies to fill potholes, was scuttled by the Mayor. The highlight is that Dr. Ravindra preferred to be transferred rather than agree to lower quality works.

One finds sympathetic narration of rising inequality in our cities and how slums exist next to gated communities due to skewed allocation of resources. That our

priorities need to be set right has been correctly premised by voicing his opposition to flyovers, the unnecessary Metros in cities with less than 25 lakh population, the hauling of water from distant areas, etc. Instead, he has correctly pleaded for investment in an Urban Employment Guarantee Act, education and skill development, strengthening of local economies, social rental housing, higher minimum wages in the private sector, and so on, to ensure inclusive development.

His sympathetic concern for the poor compensation received by land-losers to 'development'; the lack of social security to unorganized workers; the lack of space for street vendors are, one would like to say, are not common in a bureaucrat!

What is contentious, however, is Dr. Ravindra's assertion that many of the 18 functions listed in the 12th Schedule attached to the 74th CAA, such as water supply, forestry, social development, etc., refer to State government functions and hence the 12th Schedule should be revised to remove this overlap. One would like to suggest that what is missing is "**Activity Mapping**" of the functions that need to be performed by the State government and by the ULSGs where there is an overlap.

He has also advocated that several Statutory Planning Authorities should remain with the State government. But the CAG has noted that "*the existence of parastatals significantly eroded the autonomy of the ULBs in the implementation of functions such as urban planning*". Especially since the 74th CAA calls for decentralising planning to the district level through the **District Planning Committees** (DPCs) and **Metropolitan Planning Committees** (MPCs), these State-level Planning Authorities are an anomaly.

Also, if the chief function of ULSGs is to “**Plan for Economic Development and Social Justice**” as mandated in the 74th CAA, one would argue that many more functions should have been included in the 12th Schedule to fulfil this aim, especially since the parallel 73rd CAA has mandated that 29 functions should be devolved to the Rural Local Self-Governments to fulfil this chief function. Moreover, decentralization of functions that deal with basic rights, such as food security, ECCE, education, health care and social security, to enable inclusive development and localization of the achievement of SDGs, are much-needed.

One is also missing a report in the book on the **status of implementation of the 74th CAA** after 30 years of its passage. More elaboration was necessary on what changes are necessary to make the composition and jurisdiction of the MPC clearer, given that there are suggestions that an MPC for a city like Bengaluru should cover not just a single district but the three districts that comprise the Bengaluru Metropolitan Region. Clarity was needed on whether such a large jurisdiction for an MPC would not clash with the jurisdiction and plans of the independent District Planning Committees of each of these districts. It is doubtful if the 74th CAA envisioned that the MPC should be a body over and

above the DPCs. Rather, one feels that the 74th CAA saw these as independent bodies with their own jurisdictions.

Dr. Ravindra has mentioned ‘**Swabhimana**’, which he himself set up, while being the Commissioner of Bangalore City Corporation. *Swabhimana* was a pioneering attempt to formalize citizen participation in Bangalore, of which **CIVIC-Bangalore** was proud to be a founder-member. CIVIC-Bangalore also feels truly honoured that Dr. Ravindra has cited its role in enhancing citizen participation through the formal ward committees in Bangalore.

Given Dr. Ravindra’s contribution to enhancing citizen participation, one would have liked to have his views on how the composition and functioning of **Ward Committees** could be strengthened to make them the building blocks for genuine empowerment of citizens to make grassroots democracy and planning a reality. Currently, they are nominated bodies of ‘Yes-Men’ and ‘Yes-Women’ beholden to the Councillor.

All in all, a resourceful addition has been made by Dr. Ravindra to the literature on urban governance.





Branch Members' Writings in Popular Media

The Precarity of Jobless Growth



Mr. Gurucharan Gollerkeri, IAS (Retd.)
Director, School of Social Sciences
M.S. Ramaiah University of Applied Sciences (MSRUAS), Bengaluru

It is hard to ignore the sharp rise in the number of young people searching for jobs. Especially in rural areas, gainful employment is scarce, and opportunities for systematic job searches are even rarer.

in *Deccan Herald* dt. 1 October 2024

Read more at: <https://www.deccanherald.com/opinion/the-precariety-of-jobless-growth-3213895>

The Kashi Vidyapeeth founder who wrote of the Essential Unity of all Religions

in *Deccan Herald* dt. 13 October 2024

Read more at: <https://www.deccanherald.com/opinion/the-kashi-vidyapeeth-founder-who-wrote-of-the-essential-unity-of-all-religions-3230492>



Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay - The Rebel who saw Tomorrow

Smt. Uma Mahadevan-Dasgupta, IAS
Additional Chief Secretary & Development Commissioner
Government of Karnataka

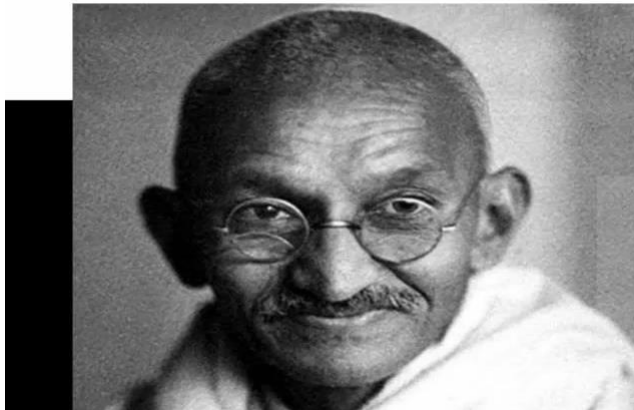
In *Frontline* dt. 12 October 2024

Nico Slate highlights how much of today's feminist dialogue echoes feminist freedom fighter Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay's ideas from decades ago.

Read more at:

<https://frontline.thehindu.com/books/kamaladevi-chattopadhyay-indian-feminist-freedom-fighter-biography-nico-slate/article68712957.ece>





MK GANDHI

FAMOUS QUOTES

- ✓ “The best way to find yourself is to lose yourself in the service of others.”
- ✓ “First they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight you, then you win.”
- ✓ “Live as if you were to die tomorrow. Learn as if you were to live forever.”
- ✓ “The weak can never forgive. Forgiveness is the attribute of the strong.”
- ✓ “You must be the change you wish to see in the world.”
- ✓ “Anger and intolerance are the enemies of correct understanding.”
- ✓ “Man should forget his anger before he goes to sleep.”
- ✓ “A man is but the product of his thoughts and what he thinks he becomes.”
- ✓ “Prayer is not asking. It is a longing of the soul. It is a daily admission of one's weakness. It is better in prayer to have a heart without words than words without a heart.”
- ✓ “The essence of all religions is one. Only their approaches are different.”
- ✓ “It is health that is real wealth and not pieces of gold and silver.”
- ✓ “Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will.”
- ✓ “In a gentle way, you can shake the world.”



IIPA - KRB Virtual Newsletter

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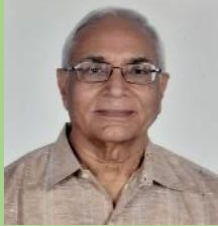
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