Right to Public Service in India: The Experience from Select States

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Abstract: Democracy ensures the highest form of accountable and responsible governance. Legitimacy, accountability and transparency are the cornerstones of good governance. IT is a matter of great pride that India is the largest democracy in the world. A democratic government is expected to achieve the aims laid down in the constitution of India. Human development is the prime aim of governance in a democracy set up and it implies a quality of dignified life which can be possible if the citizens get all the facilities for their development and progress without harassment and humiliation. But this is the harsh reality that rampant corruption, inefficiency and lack of transparency, apathy in conduct of government affairs have made citizens doubtful and distant from the government. The situation is even more worse for the marginalized, remote, illiterate and poor section of the society. The development of such an attitude among citizens is undemocratic. The people suffer a lot due to utter indifference shown by authorities to their problems and issues. Anyone visiting a government department will rarely find sympathetic response.

A good development strategy of the government always requires an efficient and timely delivery of public services to its citizens in order to ensure proper and good governance system in the society. The need is to make the public authorities accountable to the common man especially when the conduct of these authorities has been resulting in the gross violation of fundamental rights of the citizens. With this view, initiative was taken which has led to the passing of Right to Services law in India which entitles every citizen the right to timely delivery of services and for the redressal of their grievances.

Therefore the present paper intends to highlight the various issues related to subject matter like, Citizen Charter to Public Service Guarantee; Right to Service law in India –Parliamentary Initiatives, Right to service Act: A glance at select state level experiences, A review of State level Trends Major challenges.

Key Words: Right to Service, Accountable, Service Delivery.

1. INTRODUCTION:

With some exceptions, public service delivery, the most critical function of public administration continues to remain slipshod, ineffective and ridden with corruption and official indifference in India. There have been a dozen of official reports (most recently the Second Administrative Reform Commission Report) and a tsunami of studies and scholarly analyses highlighting the glaring inadequacies in state of service delivery in India with little success¹. In the recent past, India's state of service delivery was aptly captured By the Harvard economist Lant Pritchett the Public Service Delivery situation convinced Pritchett to call India a 'flailing state' for its incapability to implement programs and policies crucial to maintain public trust in the governance².

However, since past couple of years, some positive turn around seems to be happening in India's much derided service delivery system. Triggered largely by a sort of positive convergence of competitive politics with good governance ideals such as citizen friendly administration, timely compliance of grievances and service delivery no longer being the "holy cow" of rents/corruption (areas like natural resources, spectrum, land /real estate have emerged as most lucrative sources of rents³), service delivery has received some serious push by a number of Indian states in the recent times, A number of Indian states have launched a bold initiative in the form of Service Guarantee Act (SGA) to revamp critical Service Delivery functions.

2. A JOURNEY OF CITIZENS CHARTER TO PUBLIC SERVICE GUARANTEES:

The Public Services Law in India owes its origin from the Citizens Charter of UK promulgated in 1991. Though not been a legal document in the strict sense of law, being an Agreement of Contract entered into between the citizens and the Public servants, providing for competent and time bound delivery of services. It sought to add consumer rights to those citizens rights, equipping users with the means of seeking personal redress if the services

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¹ Paul, Samuel, India's Citizens Charter: In Search of a Champion, Economic & Political Weekly, 2008 February 16.

² Lant Pritchett "Is India a flailing State? Detours on Four Lane Highways to modernization", *HKA FacultyResearch Working Paper series* RWP09-013, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University 2009.

³ Niranjan Sahoo, "The New Land Acquisition Bill and its Challenges", ORF Occasional paper, December 2011.

they received were inadequate. The objective of the Charter was to make public services accountable. That idea arose from a simple question in UK that if the public service which people have paid for is no good, why should they not get their money back, as they would have the right to purchase with any shop or service provider in the private sector. The then Prime Minister of UK, John Major explained the intention of the Citizens' Charter in the following way⁴.

The Twelfth Report of Session 2007-08, of the House of Commons was third on the series of Public Administration reform in UK. The first of that was the Fifth Report of Session 2007-08, "When Citizens Complain" and the second was the Sixth Report of the session on "User Involvement in Public Services." Following the Sixth Report, a volume of oral and written evidence was published as "Public Services: Putting People First⁵."

In the Meantime, in 1997, the Right to Services moved from Citizens Charter Programme and its impact on how public services were viewed, to Charter Mark, in 1997, with the inception of the government headed by Mr. Tony Blair. The Charter Mark stuck upon quality of services in ensuring that public services focus on the needs and views of service users, followed by its successor scheme, the Customer Service Excellence Standard. By 2002, that shifted to Public Service Guarantees, which like the National Charters introduced under the Citizen's Charter, was intended to act as a mechanism for setting out the standards of service provision that people can expect from public services utilities.

The Charter Mark Scheme, launched in 1992, in UK intended to work till 2011, laid down the then most recent criteria as follows:

- 1. Set standards and perform well.
- 2. Actively engage with your customers, partners and staff.
- 3. Be fair and accessible to everyone and promote justice.
- 4. Continuously develop and improve.
- 5. Use your resources effectively and imaginatively.
- 6. Contribute to improving opportunities and quality of life in the communities one serves.⁶

The Public Service Committee, 2007-08, finally recommended that there should be clear, precise and enforceable statements of people's entitlements to public service which should be in the form of Public Service Guarantees. The Guarantees should specify the minimum standard of service provision that service users can expect, and set out the arrangements for redress, should service providers fail to meet the standard promised⁷.

The scenario was thus shifted from Citizens Charter to Public Service Guarantees in UK. The institution of the guarantees was taken to be a very strong case by the committee to empower users by allowing them to claim their services. It was also clearly indicated that in the provision of public services, it genuinely intended to put "People First".

The Citizens Charters were introduced in India in 1997, which was voluntary in character. That was based on the logo "Services First" as in UK. The Charters gradually spread through Central to State Ministries and to their local bodies and organisations. In 2002, a website was launched by the Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances (DARPG) towards consolidating the write up on the progress and improvements resulted out of Citizens Charters.

In 2005, the service excellence model "Sevottam" was initiated to give a new thrust to the implementation of the Citizens Charter, both at the Central and State levels. The Centralised Public Grievance Redress and Monitoring system (CPGRAMS), a web based portal was launched for lodging complaints by the public, in 2007. In 2009, the Report of the Administrative Reforms Commission of Citizen Centric governance recommended for making Citizens Charters effective through implementing Charter for each unit with redress mechanisms and periodic evaluation of Charters ⁹. It also recommended for holding officers accountable for results. It too suggested for suitable mechanism assuring citizens' participation in administration.

In view of the above circumstances, the Government of India felt it necessary to legislate upon such a contingency. They were to make law on Entry 8 of Concurrent List, viz; actionable wrongs. Public Service Guarantee Acts have been passed by fourteen States till this date. The Central Bill No.131 of 2011, having been introduced in Parliament, the Right to Service Law in India encompasses those Central and State Legal initiatives.

3. RIGHT TO SERVICES LAW IN INDIA-THE PARLIAMENTARY INITIATIVES:

⁴ Speech by Mr. John Major MP to the Conservative Central Council Annual meeting on 23rd March, 1991, referred in the *Twelfth Report of the House of Commons Public Administration Select Committee, Session* 2007-08 titled "From Citizens Charter to Public Service Guarantees; Entitlements to Public Services", United Kingdom, 15th July, 2008 at Para.6

⁵ Id Para 1

⁶ Id Para 20, "Charter Mark Standard Back," Cabinet Office, UK (2004)

⁷ Supra n.5at Para 45

⁸ Id. Para 79

⁹ .Supra n. 4. See "Statement of Object and Reasons" to the Central Bill, 2011

The Central Bill, 2011, that has recently been introduced in Parliament, confers on every individual citizen, the right to time bound delivery of goods and services, and for redress of grievances. It requires every public authority, to publish within six months of the proposed legislation, a Citizens Charter specifying therein, the category of goods supplied and services rendered by it. The time within which such goods shall be supplied or services be rendered and the names and addresses of individuals responsible for the delivery of goods or rendering of services shall also be specified. It requires every public authority to establish Information and Facilitation Centre which may include establishment of customer care centre, call centre, help desk and people's support centre. It provide for appointment by every public authority within six months from the date of implementation of the legislation, through designating as many officers as may be necessary, as Grievance Redress Officers (GRO) in all administrative units or officers at the Central, State, District and sub District levels, Municipalities, and Panchayats. They are duty bound towards supplies of goods or render services, to receive, enquire into and redress any complaints from citizens in the prescribed manner. It was further required to remedy the grievances in a time frame not exceeding thirty days from the date of receipt of the complaint. The aggrieved individual may, if he so desired, within thirty days from the expiry of the period or from the receipt of such decision, prefer an appeal to the Designated Authority (DA) who shall dispose of such appeal within another thirty days from the date of receipt of such appeal

The Bill provides for the constitution of the State Public Grievance Redressal Commissions and the Central Public Grievance Redressal Commission consisting of Chief Commissioner and other Commissioners. The person aggrieved by the decision of the Designated Authority falling under the jurisdiction of the State Government may prefer an appeal to the State Public Grievance Redressal Commission and any person aggrieved by the Designated Authority falling under the jurisdiction of the Central Government may prefer an appeal to the Central Public Grievance Redressal Commission 14.

The Bill confers power upon the DA, the State and Central Public Grievance Redressal Commissions to impose a lump sum penalty, including compensation to the complainant, against the designated official responsible for delivery of goods and services for their failure to deliver goods or services to which the applicant is entitled, which may extend up to fifty thousand rupees which shall be recovered from the salary of the official against whom penalty has been imposed. Such portion of the penalty imposed, shall be awarded as compensation to the appellant, by the Appellate Authority, as it may deem fit. If found guilty of any offence, disciplinary action also shall be initiated against the public servant. Which include punishment and penalty, as decided by the disciplinary authority 11. In the case of non-redress of complaint, the burden of proof shall be upon the GRO, who denied the request 12. If the appellate authorities find the grievance complained of is a part of corrupt practice, that shall be referred to the appropriate Competent Authority to take action on such corrupt practice, under *the Prevention of Corruption Act*, 1988 13.

As the third stage of Appeal, the Bill provides that any aggrieved person by the decision of the Central Public Grievance Redressal Commission may prefer an appeal to the Lokpal. Any person aggrieved by the decision of the State Public Grievance Redressal Commission, may prefer an appeal to the Lokayukta, constituted under the *Lokpal and Lokayuktas Act*, 2011 ¹⁴. The jurisdiction of other Courts is barred by the Bill ¹⁵.

In the Dispute provisions for Redress Mechanisms, the Central Bill hasn't made clear provisions for imposition of penalty, and compensation. It only entrusts the Appellate Authorities to impose a lump sum penalty including compensation, and states that on imposition of penalty, the appellate authority may order such portion of it to be awarded as compensation, as it may deem fit, not exceeding the amount of penalty.

4. SERVICE GUARANTEE LAW: A GLANCE AT SELECT STATE LEVEL EXPERIENCES

4.1 Madhya Pradesh Pradesh Public Service Guarantee Act

Madhya Pradesh (MP), a state that carried the burden of BIMARU tag for too long, is on the forefront of service delivery revolution! A pet initiative of Shivraj Singh Chauhan, "The Madhya Pradesh Public Service Guarantee Act 2010" or Lok Sewaon Ke Pradan Ki Guarantee Adhiniyam, (enacted in August 2010), is a bold initiative that guarantees citizens the 'Right to Services' in a time-bound manner. For the first time in India, a government makes services as entitlements; giving citizen legal rights on issues of access to services and grievance, redress. The legislation covers 52 services across 16 departments under its ambit including key public services such as issuing caste, birth, marriage and domicile certificates, drinking water connections, ration cards, copies of land

¹² Id. Sections 27& 40

¹⁰ See, *the Central Bill* No.131 of 2011, for provisions of "Stipulated time limit"; "Grievance Redress Officer" (GRO); and "Designated Authority" (DA).

¹¹ Id. Chapter IX

¹³ Id. Sections 28& 44

¹⁴ Id. Section 47

¹⁵ Id. Section 48

records, etc. The most distinct feature of the MP Act is the penalty provision for failure to comply with the service request. The Act has a fixed time frame for each service and if the concerned official fails to perform the duties enshrined in the Act, s/he will have to pay a fine starting from Rs. 250 per day to a maximum of Rs. 5000. There are various appeal processes in the Act for non-compliance of complaints or demands.

Other notable feature of the MP Act is its added emphasis on online or single window system for service delivery. The government of Madhya Pradesh has announced to open 400 Lok Seva Kendras through Public Private Partnership (PPP) mode at the block levels offering end to end services from a single window through an online system that would fix and track accountability. Drawing largely from Kerala's PPP model (Akshaya Jana SevanaKendram), the proposed Lok Seva Kendras will be run by private entrepreneurs with active involvement of the government department. Most noteworthy feature of the MP Act is that a separate Public Service Management Department (PSMD) has been established with required financial and administrative support to oversee the effective implementation of the Act. Overall, the Act seems to be a bold initiative to clean up key bottlenecks surrounding service delivery.

A peek into some of the initial trends from the implementation of the MP Act shows plenty of promises. In a span over two years, the Act has enabled officials to dispose a record number of complaints and service request. Despite good beginning and many promises, the MP Act is muddled with several shortcomings and -challenges. A fact finding survey conducted by the Madhya Pradesh Government in 32 offices, 22 revenue blocks and 8 districts found that in 20% of the cases there was serious discrepancy in the information compiled, registers and display boards were missing from 25% of the offices and only 28% of the citizens and public officials were aware of the general provisions of the Act." apart, there are other issues such as rigid attitude of officials, lack of capacity, availability of resources and most importantly 'quality' of services delivered to citizens.

4.2 Bihar Right to Public Services Act

Once regarded "ungovernable", the State of Bihar under the leadership of Nitish Kumar has emerged as India's poster boy of good governance. Following the footstep of Madhya Pradesh, the state enacted "The Bihar Right to Public Services Act (BRTPS Act) in 2011¹⁶. The Bihar Act intends to address some of the key public service delivery bottlenecks experienced in 50 critical public services across 10 departments .Apart from having basic provisions on timeframe, different appellate for grievances, penalty provisions for non-compliance, the Bihar Act has gone marginally better over the MP Act because of its added emphasis on Information Communication Technology (ICT) tools¹⁷. The Government of Bihar is now considering implementing a single window service provision on the lines of the Lok SevaKendras in Madhya Pradesh.

The initial field reports indicate the Bihar Act is beginning to take serious traction on number of provisions. Having embedded a robust ICT tools in the system (makes it simpler and accessible for citizens to file their grievances), the new law is attracting maximum attention and responses from the ordinary citizens. For instance, within the very first month, some 16 lakhs applications had been filed under the Bihar Act with more than 9 lakh disposed successfully ¹⁸. The Act has now able to dispose of more than a crore service requests and complaints. Most notable outcome of this fledging initiative is that more and more people including the most excluded populations are seeking solutions to their complaints/grievances through online mode.

Notwithstanding some early successes, the implementation of this promising law has been caught up with numerous challenges. The biggest impediment in the smooth functioning of the Bihar Act is its limited reaches to the local or block level. Further, there has been tremendous pressure on frontline offices; queues are long and sometimes citizens have to return another day to submit their applications. The key reason for such poor delivery of services is largely lack of needed capacity among the delivery institutions to perform such tasks¹⁹. Importantly, the state faces daunting challenges of covering the "last miles" (most excluded and most marginalized populations who are unfamiliar about key provisions of the Act).

4.3 Punjab Right to Service Act

Considered a pet initiative, ²⁰ the deputy Chief Minister of Punjab, "the Punjab Right to Service Act" was enacted on October 10, 2011 initially covering 67 key services for their time bound delivery. The Punjab government in September 2013 has decided to include 80 more services under the ambit of Right to Service Act, taking the total number of services to 149. Punjab is the first State which has brought 20 police services under the purview of the Act

Available online on - WWW.IJIRMF.COM

¹⁶: http://gad.bih.nic.in/Acts/BRTPS Act -2011.pdf accessed online on 20th August 2017.

¹⁷ These ICT tools include a Adhikar –a software for monitoring delivery of services and issues of acknowledgement slips) an interactive Voice Response System called Samadhan wherein citizens will be able to call a helpline and get clarifications about their entitlements and services covered under the Act, procedure for filling applications.

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ http:// outlookindia.com/article.aspx.accessed online on 22nd August 2017.

http://www.tribuneindi.com/2011/20111011/dh1.htm accessed online on 22nd August 2017.

Among the major services that come under the purview of this new Act are land records, mutation, sanction of water, certified copies of birth/death certificates, vehicle licenses, copy of FIR, caste certificates, registration of all kinds of documents and so on. In a significant departure from other states, the Punjab Act brings 20 police services under its purview.

Similar as other Acts, the Punjab Act has laid out a strict time limit for the provision of services. For example, registration of documents such as sale deed lease deed agreements, partnership deed will have to be done same day, while birth/death certificates have to be provided in two working days. Passport verification has to be completed in 21 days.

The PRTSA has provided the time limit for the delivery of notified services and also has a provision of penalty between Rs. 500 to Rs. 5000 to the errant officials for not adhering to the time limit provided in the Act.

Another important feature of the PRTSA is that the Act has provision of appellate authority for appeal against designated officer. The first appellate authority has to take decision within stipulated time and convey to the service provider for the time bound compliance. The first appellate authority has the right to reject the appeal. The aggrieved citizen can make appeal to the second appellate authority which takes decision within stipulated time. The second appellate authority gives order to the service provider to deliver service within stipulated time; the second appellate authority can also reject the appeal.

4.4 Institutional Mechanisms for Delivery of Services in Punjab

In Punjab, for the implementation of Punjab Right to Service Act, three institutional mechanisms are involved. These are Suwidha Centers, Saanjh Centers and Fard Centers. The Suwidha Centers provide various services that have been notified under the Punjab Right to Service Act. These Centers have been set up at district, sub-divisional and block level. Saanjh Centers are the extension of the concept of Community Policing Centers and provide services relating to policing²¹. The third institutional mechanism, namely, FARD Kendras provide service relating to land record under the Department of Revenue. The use of ICT is very explicit in these centers for delivering time bound services. At present, Punjab has 123 Suwidha Centers, 153 Fard Centers and 83 Saanjh Centers across the state²².

5. A REVIEW OF STATE LEVEL TRENDS:

While it may be too early to study the impact and draw any clear inferences about long term changes in service delivery scenario, one can safely observe some initial trends and key lessons emerging from these important good governance initiatives. First, because of considerable political backing that these Acts have received from the top leadership of several states as mentioned above, their implementation (at least in the first leg) is being carried forward with some degree of seriousness. Regardless of reports indicating the continued resistance and apathy to such initiatives by a section of state bureaucracy, many of the key provisions are increasingly being adhered by the officials as these are seen pet projects of the Chief Ministers. For instance, MP and Bihar demonstrate their seriousness by registering quick lessons and bringing required changes or amendments to improve the process of implementation. As has been brought out by a recent study, 23 the government of Madhya Pradesh has standardized the process of providing services to citizens in quick times. The right to public service has streamlined governmental activities by checking inefficiencies, preventing delays and lack of coordination across various departments. Further, to facilitate the implementation of the Act, the Government of Madhya Pradesh has set up a new Department for Public Services Management having an independent minister to oversee the enforcement of the Act. In addition, the MP government's announcement of setting up 400 Lok Seva Kendras in through PPP mode at the block-and sub-block level to provide services from a single window through an online interface will add more teeth to the process.²⁴ Similarly, in the case of Bihar, despite limited capacity and severe resource constraints, the state government is showing its strong resolve and commitment to take these initiatives to the lowest and most excluded populations.

Second, this fledging initiative has triggered a chain of reaction from other states creating thereby a new wave of innovation. In fact, states are seen competing with each others to improvise' key provisions of the act especially the operational aspects to accelerate the redressal rate. For instance, while Madhya Pradesh Government has gone on to create a new Department of Public Services Management to streamline the implementation process and has set up 400 Lok Seva Kendras to be run through PPP mode, Bihar is investing heavily on the electronic delivery mode (appointed IT manager at each block'and tehsils) to reach out its most excluded and marginalized Population.

The initial reports of implementation of the Punjab Act show plenty of promises. Compliance records are very high.²⁵Given the political capital that the Act enjoys, officials are showing greater urgency in adhering to key

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²¹Pardeep Mittal and, Amandeep Kaur, "E-Governance Initiatives in the State of Punjab", *International Journal of Research in Computer and Communication Technology*, Vol. 2, Issue 3, 2013

²² Sushil Singla and Himanshu Aggarwal, "Impact and scope of e governance Initiatives in State of Punjab", *International Journal of Research of Computer applications*, Vol. 44, 14 April 2012.

²³ One-World Foundation Report 2011.

²⁴ Niranjan Sahoo, "Service Gurantee Law: Governance Game Changer", Governance Now, November 2012.

²⁵ http://dailypostindia.com/news/8622-Making –babus-change-through-the RTS.html accessed online on 16th August 2017.

provisions of the Act. Importantly, the Act has, in fact, generated lots of interest and curiosity among ordinary citizens particularly dalits, economically weaker section of the populations and this is evident from number of field reports.

6. MAJOR CHALLENGES:

Notwithstanding impressive trends and many promises, SGAs are riddled with limitations and Challenges, partly systemic and partly by raising a level of hope. The following is a quick summary of various limitations and bottlenecks, which if unaddressed can hinder positive outcomes.

First, while service guarantee legislations contain many enabling provisions and innovative mechanisms, many critical provisions (grievances, penalty, officials responsible, etc) to strengthen downward accountability among the concerned departments have not been defined adequately. No state has adequately specified the number and type of services covered in a scenario along with the different kinds of complaints and grievances. In fact, most of the state legislations do not have any provisions for publishing citizens' charters and making information available in the open sources. No wonder, the surveys conducted by some state governments have revealed that the awareness levels of citizens and those of service providers with respect to the provisions of the acts are quite low."

Second and related to the preceding observation, the scope of SGAs are restricted to the delivery of documents (certificates, licenses, passport), cash (pension, stipends) and services in kind (electricity, water connections), ²⁶ let alone services addressing issues of human development such as nutrition, food, health, education, etc. Delivery of major services such as healthcare, education is equally urgent as these are the areas where state agencies (with some exceptions) have most defiant presence.

Third, these legislations have ignored a very important aspect of citizens' welfare that is implicit in the imposition of services delivery standards and quality marks. While there is a focus on timely delivery of services, there are no provisions that enforce quality standards yet.

Fourth, notwithstanding- strong legal sanctity behind timely delivery of services and redressal of grievances, most of initiating states are yet to place crucial supporting instruments - adequate and trained manpower and required financial resources to meet the objectives enshrined in SGAs. Baring MP, no other states have put in place incentives such as promotions, rewards, performance assessments to motivate government officials to carry out jobs that many consider as peripheral.

6. CONCLUSION:

Ideally, governments of all hue ought to have accomplished the same fit by effecting changes in the work culture within the bureaucracy and strengthening internal accountability mechanisms to ensure appointed officials fulfill their basic obligations to citizens rather than resorting to 'legalistic' solutions. Simple executive action would have been enough to ensure the bureaucracy does its primary jobs. However, considering the pathetic state of public administration that exist in most of Indian states and continued resistance and apathy among the officials particularly the senior level functionaries to reforms (comprehensively reflected in 2nd ARC report 2008), this has to be imposed, albeit through forced legal routes.

Despite many flaws and daunting challenges as listed above, the initial reports of implementation show considerable promises and barring few states, SGAs are gaining traction. Unlike many right based legislations (Forest Rights Act 2006, Right to Education 2009, Employment Guarantee Scheme, Child Labour 2006) that have been implemented in their breaches, thanks to the endorsement from the top political leadership of the states, these are enthusiastically implemented in many states. Even considering these are baby steps and states concern have to initiate greater action in various segments (including information availability on services and grievance redress, online programmes, show genuine commitment in terms of providing requisite resource including manpower, taking complimentary reforms in other areas), this fledging initiative can give traction to many more bolder governance reforms in related spheres and possibility create a 'new ecology' for improved citizen-state relationship.

The least that the Union Government can do is to consolidate this promising initiatives by quickly passing Grievance Redress Bill (The Right of Citizens for Time Bound Delivery of Goods and Services and Redressal of their Grievances Bill, 2011) that can provide a broad legal and institutional architecture for state governments to address citizens grievances with regard to services. Importantly, being late in its passage, the Union bill will have the benefits of state level experiences to address many of its loopholes²⁸. Additionally, the Centre can play seat anchor role by expediting the enactment of the Electronic Service Delivery Bill 2011, which would have direct bearing on the successes of SGAs. In short, SGA offer a great opportunity for the Centre to regain some crucial lost ground in ensuring public faith on transparent and accountable governance.

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²⁶ Ashok kumar Sircar, "The Right to – Public Service Laws", *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVII, No 18, May 2012.

²⁷ Sircar, 2012, Ibid

²⁸ Niranjan Sahoo and Arjun Kapoor, "India's shifting Governance Structure: From Charter of promises to Service Guarantee", ORF Occassional Paper, No 35 July 2012.

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