

UPSC CIVIL SERVICES · PRELIMS & MAINS GS PAPER II

Governance for UPSC

The complete GS Paper II governance book: institutions, laws, schemes and reforms, every Mains PYQ from 2013 to 2026 with an expert approach, and banks of schemes, committees and judgments. Updated to October 2026.

Compiled by Arvind KrS

32 chapters • 110 PYQs • 11 units • 210 diagrams



IN THIS BOOK

- | | |
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| I Governance, Transparency and Accountability | II Citizen-Centric Administration |
| III E-Governance | IV Government Policies and Interventions |
| V Development Processes and the Development Industry | VI Civil Services in a Democracy |
| VII Integrity Institutions | VIII Regulatory, Statutory and Rights Bodies |
| IX Dispute Redressal Mechanisms and Institutions | X Elections and the Representation of the People Acts |
| XI Answer-Writing Resources | |



Governance for UPSC

Notes for UPSC Civil Services Prelims and Mains General Studies Paper II

2027 Edition · Compiled October 2026 · Compiled by Arvind KrS

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UNIT I

4 CHAPTERS

Governance, Transparency and Accountability

Important aspects of governance, transparency and accountability; institutional and other measures — good governance and its measurement, accountability mechanisms, parliamentary and financial accountability, and the Right to Information.

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TOPICS COVERED IN THIS UNIT

01 Governance and Good Governance: Concepts and Indicators

Government and Governance · Good Governance: Meaning and Pillars · Indian Roots of Good Governance · From Administration to Governance · Minimum Government, Maximum Governance · Citizens at the Centre of Governance · Measuring Governance · Barriers to Good Governance in India · Reforms and the Way Forward

02 Transparency and Accountability: Concepts and Mechanisms

Transparency and Accountability · Types of Accountability · Constitutional and Legal Base · Tools of Proactive Transparency · Social Accountability · Whistleblowing and Its Protection · Media, Courts and Civil Society · Limits, Trade-offs and Trust · Challenges and the Way Forward

03 Parliamentary and Financial Accountability of the Executive

The Executive Answerable to Parliament · Tools of Parliamentary Control · Parliament's Power of the Purse · The Committee System · The Financial Committees · Joint Parliamentary Committees · The Comptroller and Auditor General · Fiscal Rules and Financial Systems · Legislative Oversight in the States · Strengthening Parliamentary Oversight

04 Right to Information: Law, Practice and Challenges

The Right to Know: Roots · The RTI Act, 2005: Architecture · Who Must Disclose: Public Authorities · Exemptions and Overrides · Information Commissions · The 2019 Amendment · Privacy, the DPDP Act and RTI · Secrecy Laws and Contested Domains · Performance and Challenges · Reforms and the Way Forward

GOVERNANCE

PRELIMS & MAINS · GS PAPER II

Governance and Good Governance: Concepts and Indicators

On 7 April 2026 the President gave assent to the Jan Vishwas (Amendment of Provisions) Act, 2026. In one stroke it amended 79 Central laws so that 717 minor and procedural lapses would invite a warning or a civil penalty instead of a criminal prosecution. The government called it a step towards "trust-based governance". The law is a good way into this chapter, because it shows that the quality of governance depends less on how large the State is than on how it uses its authority, whom it trusts, and whether ordinary citizens feel the difference.

SYLLABUS

PRELIMS

Indian Polity and Governance – Constitution, Political System, Panchayati Raj, Public Policy, Rights Issues, etc

MAINS · GS PAPER II

Important aspects of governance, transparency and accountability, e-governance- applications, models, successes, limitations, and potential; citizens charters, transparency & accountability and institutional and other measures

CONTENTS

01	Government and Governance	02	Good Governance: Meaning and Pillars
03	Indian Roots of Good Governance	04	From Administration to Governance
05	Minimum Government, Maximum Governance	06	Citizens at the Centre of Governance
07	Measuring Governance	08	Barriers to Good Governance in India
09	Reforms and the Way Forward	10	Previous Year Questions

This chapter covers:

- government and governance: meanings, actors and levels;
- good governance: features, pillars and Indian roots;
- paradigms from public administration to digital-era governance;

- "minimum government, maximum governance" and citizen-centric administration;
- how governance is measured, in the world and in India;
- barriers to good governance in India and the way forward.

Transparency and accountability are in Chapter 2, citizen's charters in Chapter 5, e-governance in Chapters 7–9, decentralisation in Chapter 12, civil society and SHGs in Chapters 13–14, and anti-corruption bodies in Chapter 19.

01 Government and Governance

Government is an institution: the organised body of legislators, ministers, officials and judges that holds lawful authority. **Governance** is a process: the way authority is exercised, decisions are made and carried out, and conflicts are settled. The World Bank, in *Governance and Development* (1992), described it as the manner in which power is used to manage a country's economic and social resources for development, and in 1994 separated three aspects: the type of political regime, the process of exercising authority, and the capacity of governments to frame and implement policy. The UNDP (1997) widened it to economic, political and administrative authority at every level, including the institutions through which citizens voice interests, claim rights and settle differences.

Who Governs? Governance as a Network of State, Market and Civil Society

Government is one actor among many; governance is the web of rules, relationships and partnerships through which decisions are made and carried out.

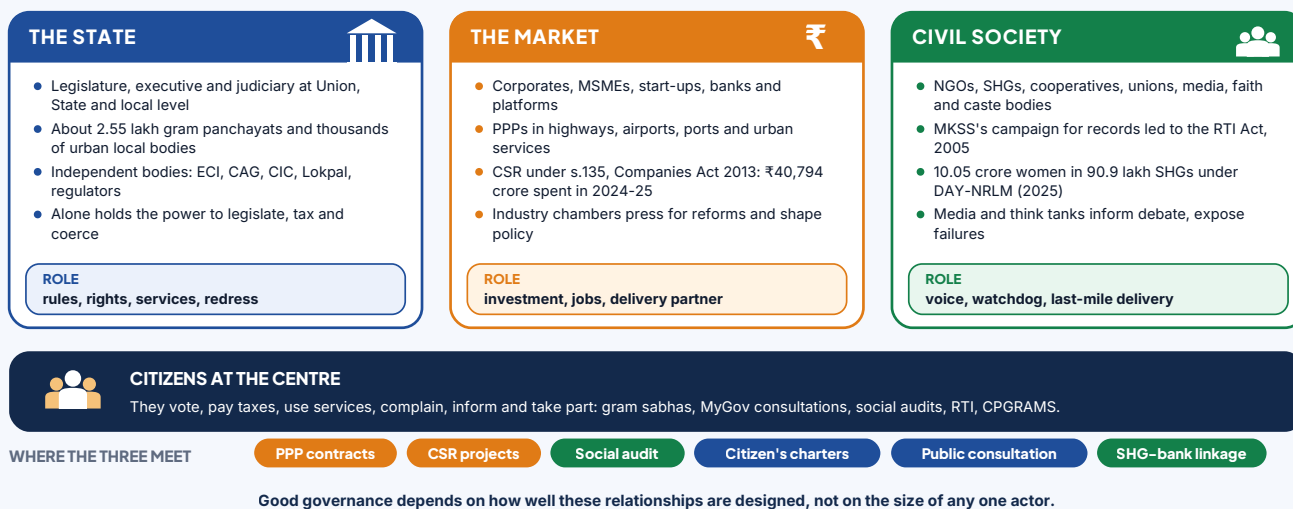


Fig. 1.1 The three sets of actors in governance, the citizen at the centre, and the interfaces where they meet.

BASIS	GOVERNMENT	GOVERNANCE
Nature	A structure or institution	A process and a set of relationships
Actors	Elected and appointed office-holders	State, market, civil society and citizens
Means	Law, command and, if needed, coercion	Law plus negotiation, partnership and persuasion

BASIS	GOVERNMENT	GOVERNANCE
Direction	Largely top-down	Networked and multi-directional
Accountability	Elections and the official hierarchy	Also courts, media, auditors, social audit
Levels	Union, State, local	Also global, corporate, sectoral (water, internet)

Non-State Actors: Marginal or Central?

India's governance has long been State-led, and in formal policy-making the voice of non-State actors is often weak. In agenda-setting and delivery, however, their role is far from marginal. A people's movement in rural Rajasthan produced the **RTI Act, 2005**; public interest litigation and the media have reshaped policy on food, prisons and the environment; SHGs anchor rural livelihood missions; private partners run highways and airports; and CSR funds flow into schools and clinics. The limits are real too: the State sets the rules, foreign funding of NGOs is tightly regulated, lobbying is opaque, and local elites can capture participatory forums.

02

Good Governance: Meaning and Pillars

"Governance" is a neutral word; **good governance** is a normative one. It entered development debates when the World Bank's **1989** report on Sub-Saharan Africa blamed a "crisis of governance" for failed growth. The Bank's **1992** framework named four areas: public sector management, accountability, a legal framework for development, and transparency with information. Bilateral donors, led by Britain, read it more politically, with four components that the Bank's **1994** review also noted: **legitimacy, accountability, competence** and **respect for law and human rights**. The eight features quoted most often come from the UN's Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP).

FEATURE	WHAT IT REQUIRES	INDIAN INSTRUMENT
Participatory	Informed, organised voice of women and men, directly or through representatives	Gram sabha; MyGov; women's reservation in panchayats
Consensus oriented	Mediation of interests; a long-term view of the common good	GST Council; NITI Aayog's Governing Council
Accountable	Answerability and sanctions, for private and civil bodies too	CAG, parliamentary committees, Lokpal
Transparent	Rules followed; information free, accessible, understandable	RTI Act 2005; proactive disclosure
Responsive	Services and complaints handled within a reasonable time	CPGRAMS; Right to Services Acts

FEATURE	WHAT IT REQUIRES	INDIAN INSTRUMENT
Effective and efficient	Results that meet needs; best use of resources, including nature	DBT; outcome budget; PM Gati Shakti
Equitable and inclusive	Every group, above all the vulnerable, has a stake	Reservations; NFSA; Aspirational Districts
Rule of law	Fair laws, impartially enforced; independent judiciary, honest police	Fundamental Rights; judicial review; free legal aid

The UNDP adds a ninth, **strategic vision**: leaders and the public share a long-range view of development rooted in the country's history and culture. The **2nd Administrative Reforms Commission** (12th Report, **2009**) rested the whole edifice on four pillars: **ethos of service, ethics, equity and efficiency**. The Eleventh Plan added a point often missed: the system must also be *seen* to be fair, because perception is part of legitimacy.

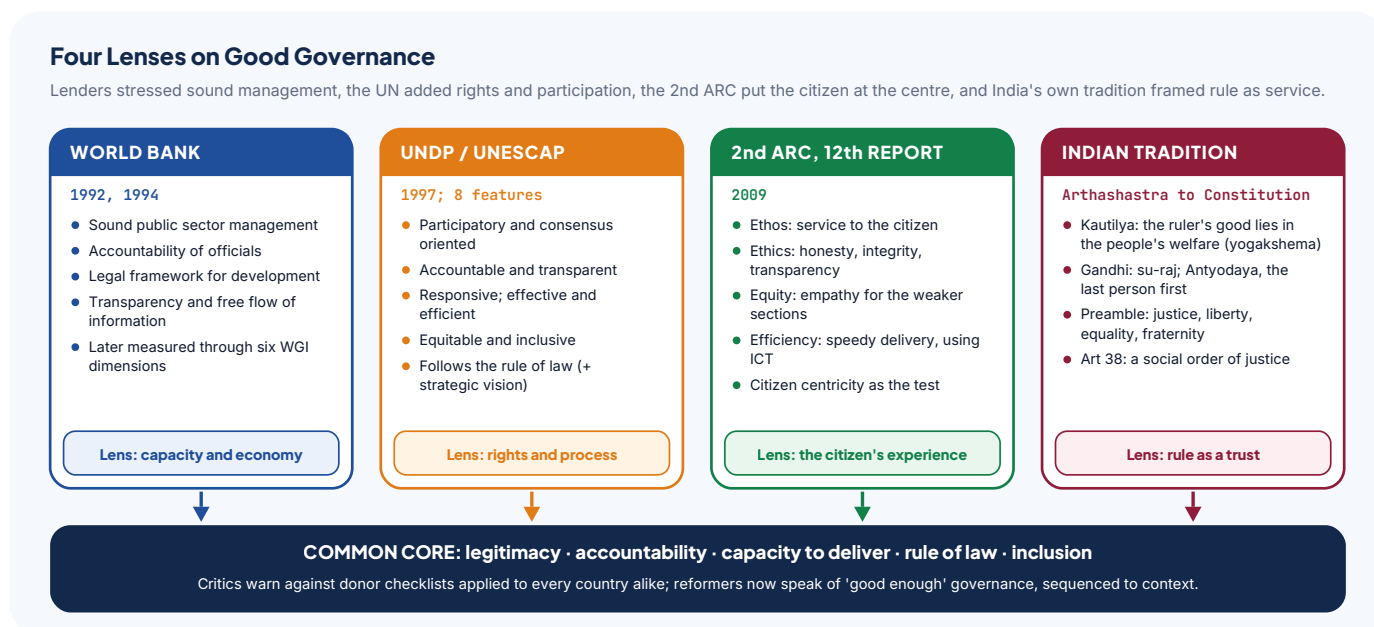


Fig. 1.2 How the World Bank, the UN system, the 2nd ARC and Indian tradition define good governance, and what they share.

03

Indian Roots of Good Governance

The idea is old in India. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* tells the king that his happiness lies in the happiness of his subjects and his good in their welfare (*prajasukhe sukham rajnah*), and makes **yogakshema**, the security and well-being of the people, the purpose of rule. It was also realistic: it listed some forty ways in which officials embezzle revenue and prescribed audit, inspection and punishment. Gandhi distinguished **swaraj** (self-rule) from **su-raj** (good rule) and offered his talisman: test every step by its value to the poorest person you have seen, the idea of **Antyodaya**.

The **Constitution** turned these ideals into a charter of governance. The Preamble promises justice, social, economic and political. Fundamental Rights are enforceable in the Supreme Court (Article **32**); the Directive Principles ask the State to secure a social order based on justice (Article **38**), distribute resources for the

common good (Article 39), organise village panchayats (Article 40) and separate the judiciary from the executive (Article 50). Parts IX and IXA (1992) carried self-government to villages and towns. Dr Ambedkar warned that a good Constitution works only if those who run it practise **constitutional morality**.

INDIA: GOOD GOVERNANCE DAY AND WEEK

Since 2014 India has marked **25 December**, the birth anniversary of former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, as Good Governance Day. Since 2021 it has grown into a Good Governance Week with a campaign called **Prashasan Gaon Ki Ore** (administration towards the village): district collectors hold camps down to panchayat level. The 2025 week (19–25 December) recorded over 45 lakh grievances redressed, mostly on State portals, more than 3.1 crore service applications disposed of and about 57,000 camps held.

04

From Administration to Governance

The **traditional model**, from Woodrow Wilson's separation of politics and administration (1887) and Max Weber's bureaucracy, valued hierarchy, written rules, merit and impersonal procedure. It gave India a stable "steel frame" but also red tape and, in the Plan era, the licence-permit raj. **New Public Management (NPM)**, named in 1991 and driven by Britain, New Zealand and the United States, told the State to steer rather than row: contract out, set targets, measure results and treat citizens as customers. The **New Public Service** answered that the State should serve rather than steer, putting rights, dialogue and the public interest first; India's rights-based laws of 2005–13 (RTI, rural employment, forest rights, education, food) fit this mould.

From Administration to Governance: How the Idea of the State Has Changed

Each paradigm added to, rather than erased, the one before; Indian administration today carries layers of all five.

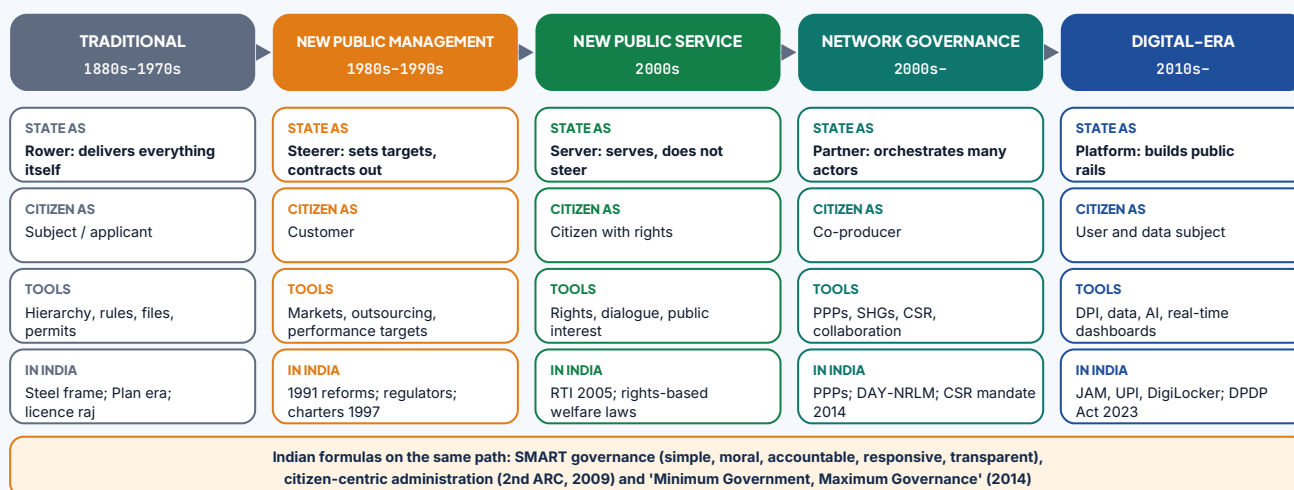


Fig. 1.3 Five paradigms of public administration and governance, with the role each gives the State and the citizen, and its Indian expression.

Network or collaborative governance makes the State an orchestrator of partnerships, as in PPPs, SHG federations and the Swachh Bharat campaign. **Digital-era governance** rebuilds the State around data and platforms; India's digital public infrastructure of identity, payments and data exchange (Chapter 8) was

endorsed as a model by the G20 New Delhi Declaration of **2023**. Indian formulas such as **SMART governance** borrow from all of these.

Did Governance Keep Pace with 1991?

DEMAND OF LPG	GOVERNANCE RESPONSE	GAP THAT REMAINS
Rules for open markets	Statutory regulators: SEBI (1992), TRAI (1997), IRDA (1999), CCI (2003)	Vacancies, overlapping mandates, fears of capture (Chapter 21)
One national market	GST (2017) and the GST Council; simpler rate structure from September 2025	Compliance burden and disputes for small firms
Easy entry and exit	Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (2016); single-window clearances; Doing Business rank from 142 (2014) to 63 (2019)	Insolvency cases overrun the 330-day limit; slow contract enforcement
Predictable policy	Retrospective tax of 2012 withdrawn in 2021 ; Jan Vishwas Acts	Sudden rule changes; inspector raj in States and towns
Capable, specialist State	Lateral entry trials (2018); Mission Karmayogi (2020)	Generalist services; thin domain expertise

05

Minimum Government, Maximum Governance

Minimum Government, Maximum Governance: Less Control, More Capacity

The slogan is about the form of the State, not its size: fewer permissions and prosecutions, more services, data and trust.

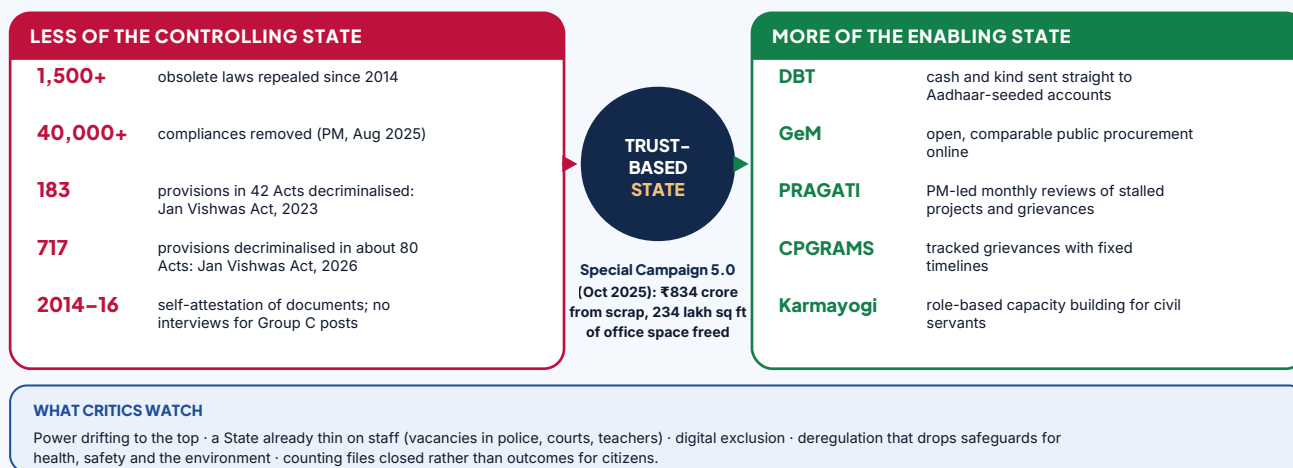


Fig. 1.4 What "minimum government, maximum governance" removes, what it builds, and the risks critics watch.

Coined as a political promise in **2014**, "**Minimum Government, Maximum Governance**" means a State with a smaller footprint of procedure and discretion and a larger footprint of results. Its tools are simpler processes, repeal of obsolete laws, decriminalisation, digital interfaces, delegation and outcome monitoring. The **2026**

theme of the National Conference on e-Governance in Jaipur, "Viksit Bharat 2047: AI-enabled, Data-driven and Secure Digital Governance", shows how the slogan is now tied to the goal of a developed India by **2047**, in which **ease of living** for citizens is the yardstick.

IN THE NEWS 2026: NEXT-GENERATION REFORMS AND "JAN VISHWAS"

After the Prime Minister's Independence Day call of **2025** for next-generation reforms, two high-level committees under Rajiv Gauba were set up on 19 August, one for the Viksit Bharat goals and one on **non-financial regulatory reforms**. The latter's trust-based approach favours self-registration over prior approval, risk-based and randomised third-party inspection, and licences that do not need constant renewal. The **Jan Vishwas Act, 2026** (assent 7 April) carried the **2023** Act's work forward across **784** provisions, of which **717** were decriminalised; its amendments take effect law by law. Supporters see an end to criminalising honest mistakes; critics ask that health, safety and environmental safeguards not be diluted along the way.

COMMON CONFUSION: MINIMUM GOVERNMENT IS NOT A MINIMAL STATE

The slogan targets permissions, paperwork and discretion, **not** the welfare role of the State. Free food grains under the PM Garib Kalyan Anna Yojana were extended for five years from January **2024** for about **81** crore people. Many sanctioned posts in police stations, courts and schools lie vacant. **Maximum governance needs a more capable State at the cutting edge, not simply a smaller one.**

06

Citizens at the Centre of Governance

The 2nd ARC's twelfth report called citizen-centric administration "the heart of governance" and built a three-tier formula for it.

PREREQUISITES	CORE PRINCIPLES	TOOLS
Sound legal framework	Rule of law with zero tolerance of violations	Re-engineering processes around the citizen
Robust institutions to implement laws	Vibrant, responsive, accountable institutions; transparency	Appropriate modern technology
Competent personnel, sound personnel policy	Decentralisation; civil service reform; ethics	RTI; citizen's charters; grievance redress
Right policies on decentralisation, delegation, accountability	Process reform; periodic, independent evaluation of governance	Independent evaluation; active participation and PPPs

Citizen participation marks a shift from citizens as *recipients* of development to *participants* in it, and from a top-down to a bottom-up approach. It lets people demand accountability, makes programmes durable and gives the poor a voice. The 2nd ARC described five rising forms of it.

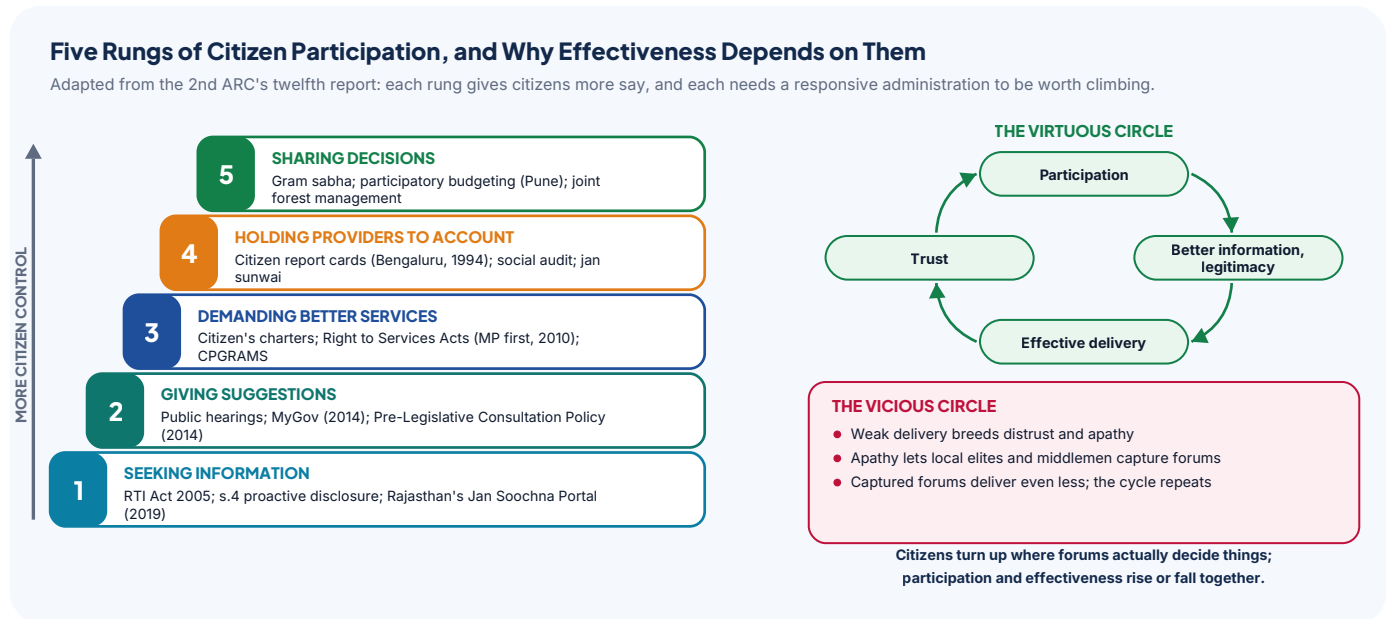


Fig. 1.5 From seeking information to sharing decisions: the rungs of participation, with Indian examples, and the circles that link it to effectiveness.

Effectiveness and Participation Depend on Each Other

Participation makes government effective because citizens hold local knowledge, spot leakages and lend legitimacy. Bengaluru's Agenda Task Force (1999) drew residents into civic planning; Hyderabad's water board sent senior managers to neighbourhood "customer meets"; social audits in gram sabhas have exposed fake muster rolls; and village water and sanitation committees, with women members, now run piped-water schemes. Effectiveness, in turn, makes participation worthwhile: people return to a grievance portal or a gram sabha only if it delivers. Participation without a responsive administration becomes ritual; administration without participation becomes remote. The bridge is built at every level: pre-legislative consultation and MyGov at the Centre, Right to Services commissions and public hearings in States, and gram sabhas, ward committees and participatory budgeting locally.

07 Measuring Governance

The 2nd ARC listed **periodic and independent evaluation of the quality of governance** among its core principles, on the sound logic that what is not monitored rarely gets done. An early DARPG framework split governance into five dimensions: political, legal and judicial, administrative, economic, and social and environmental.

Global Yardsticks

The World Bank's **Worldwide Governance Indicators** (WGI) combine about 35 surveys and expert sources into six dimensions for over 200 economies: voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption. A 2025 revision

moved them to an absolute 0–100 scale. In the **Corruption Perceptions Index 2025** India rose from 96th to **91st** with a score of **39**, while the global average fell to a record low of **42**. **SDG 16** (peace, justice and strong institutions) gives the targets: less corruption (16.5), effective and transparent institutions (16.6), participatory decision-making (16.7) and public access to information (16.10).

Measuring Governance at Four Levels

What gets measured gets managed: India is now benchmarked by global indices and benchmarks its own States, districts, cities and panchayats.

GLOBAL	Worldwide Governance Indicators World Bank · 6 dimensions, 200+ economies; 0–100 scale since the 2025 revision	Corruption Perceptions Index 2025 Transparency International · India 39/100, rank 91 of 182	Rule of Law Index 2025 World Justice Project · India 86 of 143 (score 0.49)	E-Government Survey 2024 UN DESA · India 97 of 193, up from 105 in 2022
NATIONAL AND STATE	Good Governance Index DARPG · 2019 and 2021; 10 sectors, 58 indicators; Gujarat top in 2021	SDG India Index 2023–24 NITI Aayog · India 71 (57 in 2018); Kerala, Uttarakhand 79	NeSDA DARPG · online service delivery; 2019, 2021 editions; 2025 cycle	Ease of Living Index 2020 MoHUA · March 2021; 111 cities; Bengaluru and Shimla top their groups
DISTRICT	District Good Governance Index J&K first (Jan 2022); Gujarat, Arunachal (2023), Maharashtra (2024)	J&K DGGI 5.0 (Mar 2026) 20 districts, 10 sectors, 58 indicators; Jammu tops again	Aspirational Districts NITI's monthly delta ranking on 49 indicators since 2018	District @100 (2025) Good Governance Week district vision workshops
PANCHAYAT	Panchayat Advancement Index MoPR · 9 localised SDG themes; baseline 2022–23 (April 2025)	PAI 1.0 results 2.16 lakh GPs scored; 699 front runners, no achiever	PAI 2.0 (2023–24) Scores finalised Feb 2026; indicators cut from 516 to 150	Gram sabha and social audit the oldest local 'index': people's own verdict

Perception indices (CPI, WGI) capture what experts and businesses believe; performance indices (GGI, SDG India Index, PAI) count outputs and outcomes.

Fig. 1.6 Governance indices at four levels, with India's latest results (as of October 2026).

The Good Governance Index and Its Offshoots

DARPG's **Good Governance Index** (GGI) scores States on ten sectors: agriculture and allied, commerce and industry, human resource development, public health, public infrastructure and utilities, economic governance, social welfare and development, judiciary and public security, environment, and citizen-centric governance.

FEATURE	GGI 2019	GGI 2020–21
Released	25 December 2019	25 December 2021
Framework	10 sectors, 50 indicators	10 sectors, 58 indicators
Groups	Big States; North-East and Hill States; UTs	Group A; Group B; North-East and Hill States; UTs
Toppers	Tamil Nadu; Himachal Pradesh; Puducherry	Gujarat (then Maharashtra, Goa); Madhya Pradesh; Himachal Pradesh; Delhi
Trend	First baseline	20 States improved composite scores; small gaps between States

A third edition prepared on **2023** data was **not** released in December **2024** as its data had dated; a fresh edition promised for December **2025** had not appeared, and official material still cited **2020–21**. The **SDG**

India Index 2023-24 of NITI Aayog (**113** indicators) put India at **71**, up from **57** in **2018**, with Kerala and Uttarakhand on top (**79**) and Bihar last (**57**). The **Panchayat Advancement Index** baseline (**2022-23**) scored **2.16** lakh gram panchayats on nine localised SDG themes: **699** were front runners and none an achiever.

CASE IN POINT: JAMMU AND KASHMIR'S DISTRICT GOOD GOVERNANCE INDEX

On 22 January **2022** Jammu and Kashmir released India's first **District Good Governance Index**, built with DARPG. It scored all **20** districts on ten sectors (financial inclusion replacing economic governance), using **58** indicators and **116** data points, with output and outcome indicators weighted above inputs. Jammu came first, followed by Doda and Samba. The UT then made the exercise annual: **DGGI 5.0**, released in March **2026** for **2024-25**, again placed Jammu first, with Pulwama and Samba next and Kathua last. Gujarat, Arunachal Pradesh, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh have adopted the model, giving collectors a scorecard to plan against.

Indices have **limits**. Perception indices record what experts and businesses believe, which can lag reality or reflect bias. Performance indices often rely on data supplied by the governments being ranked, and their weights are a matter of judgement. Rankings can invite "teaching to the test". They are best read as a mirror, not a trophy.

08

Barriers to Good Governance in India

The 2nd ARC traced poor governance to three sources: the attitude of some officials, defects in institutions, and some citizens themselves. Today's evidence adds hard numbers. In **2024**, **251** of **543** newly elected Lok Sabha members (**46%**) declared criminal cases, **170** of them serious, against **30%** in **2009** (ADR data). About **5.64** crore cases were pending across courts in July **2026**. Women hold only **74** Lok Sabha seats (**13.6%**), and the one-third reservation of **2023** awaits delimitation after the census, though they hold about **46%** of panchayat seats.

- **Criminalisation:** a politician–official–business nexus bends policy.
- **Corruption:** petty bribes at counters, grand graft in contracts and land (Chapter 19).
- **Delayed justice:** crowded dockets and undertrials erode the rule of law.
- **Weak accountability:** authority without responsibility; penalties rare.
- **Red tape and attitude:** rules as ends; service treated as a favour.
- **Thin capacity:** vacancies, little training, few specialists at the cutting edge.
- **Centralisation:** local bodies short of funds, functions, functionaries.
- **Gender gap:** women under-represented in legislatures and senior posts.
- **Digital divide:** failed authentication and weak connectivity exclude the poorest.
- **Low awareness:** citizens unaware of rights, or careless of duties.
- **Violence:** insurgency and ethnic or communal conflict break trust in the State.
- **Marginalisation:** some caste, tribal and minority groups still left out.

Reforms and the Way Forward

The **2nd ARC (2005–09)** produced **15** reports that remain the fullest reform agenda: the RTI as the "master key to good governance" and repeal of the Official Secrets Act (1st report), a code of ethics and faster corruption trials (4th), devolution to local bodies (6th), performance agreements and stable tenures (10th), e-governance principles (11th) and a seven-step model for citizen's charters (12th). Many ideas have since been adopted; police reform and real decentralisation still wait.

- **Rule of law:** police reform (*Prakash Singh, 2006*), judicial vacancies filled, e-Courts and mediation.
- **Cleaner politics:** fast trials of legislators; transparent party funding (Chapter 30).
- **Capable civil service:** Mission Karmayogi, specialists, stable tenures (Chapter 18).
- **Real decentralisation:** the 3Fs, strong State Finance Commissions, own revenues.
- **Trust with safeguards:** Jan Vishwas principles in States; risk-based inspection.
- **Citizen-centric delivery:** service guarantees, timely redress, assisted digital access.
- **Regular measurement:** GGI on schedule, open data, independent evaluation.
- **Antyodaya:** judge every reform by its effect on the poorest citizen.

Good governance is an ideal no country fully attains. What matters is the direction of travel: from a State that controls to one that enables, from schemes delivered to citizens to services shaped with them.

USING THIS CHAPTER IN MAINS

Begin answers by separating government (institution) from governance (process involving State, market and civil society), then anchor "good" in UNESCAP's eight features or the 2nd ARC's four pillars. Support claims with current Indian data (Jan Vishwas 2026, GGI and DGGI, CPI 2025, SDG India Index), show India's layered mix of Weberian, NPM and digital-era practice, argue two-way links with examples, and close with a reform-oriented way forward.

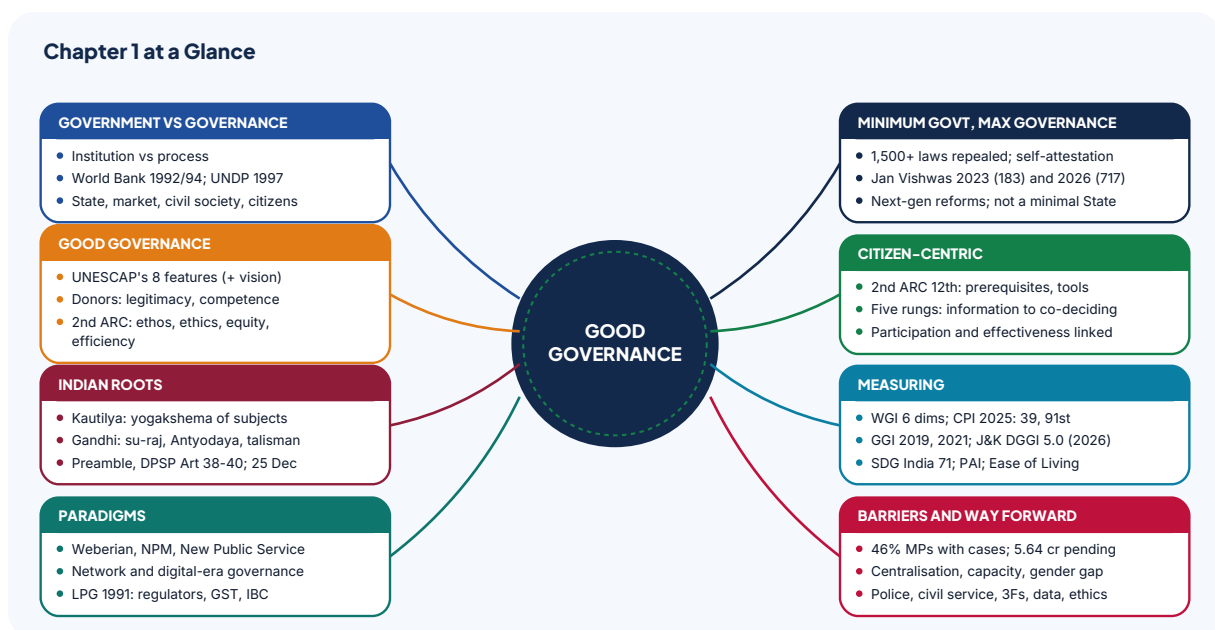


Fig. 1.7 Chapter 1 at a glance: the whole chapter on one page for quick revision.



Previous Year Questions



2016

GS II · 12.5 MARKS

"In the Indian governance system, the role of non-state actors has been only marginal." Critically examine this statement.

Approach: Define governance as a State–market–civil society network and name the non-State actors. Accept the statement for formal policy-making, which stays State-led. Contest it for agenda-setting and delivery: the MKSS movement and the RTI Act, 10 crore women in DAY-NRLM SHGs, PPPs, CSR spending of ₹40,794 crore (2024-25), PILs and the media. Note the limits: FCRA curbs, unregulated lobbying, elite capture. Conclude that the role is growing but uneven and needs formal, accountable space. (Sections 01, 04, 06)

2016

GS II · 12.5 MARKS

"Effectiveness of the government system at various levels and people's participation in the governance system are inter-dependent." Discuss their relationship in the context of India.

Approach: Explain the two-way link: participation supplies knowledge, monitoring and legitimacy; effectiveness makes it worthwhile. Use the 2nd ARC's rungs of participation and examples at each level: MyGov and pre-legislative consultation nationally, Right to Services commissions in States, gram sabhas, social audit and participatory budgeting locally, plus the Bengaluru and Hyderabad experiments. Show the vicious circle of weak delivery, apathy and elite capture, and its causes (centralisation, low awareness). Conclude with decentralisation and responsive grievance systems as the bridge. (Sections 06, 08, 09)

2016

GS II · 12.5 MARKS

Has the Indian governmental system responded adequately to the demands of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization started in 1991? What can the government do to be responsive to this important change?

Approach: Frame 1991 as a shift from a controlling to a facilitating State, akin to NPM. Credit the responses: statutory regulators (SEBI, TRAI, IRDA, CCI), GST, IBC, single windows, the rise in the Doing Business rank, DBT. Then show the gaps: regulatory capacity, slow contract enforcement, inspector raj, policy unpredictability, generalist services. Suggest trust-based regulation (Jan Vishwas Acts 2023 and 2026), regulatory impact assessment, Mission Karmayogi and lateral expertise, and cooperative federalism for State-level reforms. Conclude that responsiveness must be measured in ease of living. (Sections 04, 05)

UNIT III

3 CHAPTERS

E-Governance

E-governance — applications, models, successes, limitations, and potential; digital public infrastructure and data-led governance.

CHAPTERS

07	E-Governance: Concepts, Models and Evolution	77
08	Digital Public Infrastructure and Data-Led Governance	89
09	E-Governance in Practice: Successes, Limitations and Potential	101

TOPICS COVERED IN THIS UNIT

07 E-Governance: Concepts, Models and Evolution

E-Governance: Meaning and Scope · Technology and the Use of Information · Stages of E-Government · Types of Interaction · Models of E-Governance · The Interactive Service Model · Evolution of E-Governance in India · NeGP 2.0 and Digital India · Legal and Policy Framework · Measurement and the 2nd ARC Agenda

08 Digital Public Infrastructure and Data-Led Governance

What Is Digital Public Infrastructure · Aadhaar: The Identity Layer · Payments and Data-Sharing Layers · Platforms Built on the Stack · India's DPI Diplomacy · Data-Led Governance · Artificial Intelligence in Governance · Data Protection: The DPDP Framework · Cyber Security of Public Systems · Concerns and the Way Forward

09 E-Governance in Practice: Successes, Limitations and Potential

State Pioneers and Their Lessons · National Platforms at Scale · What E-Governance Has Delivered · The Digital Divide · Exclusion and Authentication Failures · Back-End Bias vs User-Centric Design · Why ICT Projects Fail · The Potential Ahead · The Way Forward

GOVERNANCE

PRELIMS & MAINS · GS PAPER II

Digital Public Infrastructure and Data-Led Governance

In August 2026 the Unified Payments Interface handled 2,451 crore transactions in a single month, about 79 crore a day, a decade after it began with 21 banks. A street vendor in Varanasi and a shop in Paris now use the same public rail. That rail, together with a national identity system and a consent-based way of sharing data, is what the world calls India's digital public infrastructure. This chapter asks how it was built, how the State now governs through data and artificial intelligence, and what safeguards such power demands.

SYLLABUS

PRELIMS

Indian Polity and Governance – Constitution, Political System, Panchayati Raj, Public Policy, Rights Issues, etc

MAINS · GS PAPER II

Important aspects of governance, transparency and accountability, e-governance- applications, models, successes, limitations, and potential; citizens charters, transparency & accountability and institutional and other measures

CONTENTS

01	What Is Digital Public Infrastructure	02	Aadhaar: The Identity Layer
03	Payments and Data-Sharing Layers	04	Platforms Built on the Stack
05	India's DPI Diplomacy	06	Data-Led Governance
07	Artificial Intelligence in Governance	08	Data Protection: The DPDP Framework
09	Cyber Security of Public Systems	10	Concerns and the Way Forward
11	Previous Year Questions		

This chapter covers:

- the idea of digital public infrastructure and the India Stack;
- Aadhaar, UPI, DigiLocker, Account Aggregators and sectoral platforms;
- India's DPI diplomacy after the G20 of 2023;

- data-led governance and artificial intelligence in administration;
- the DPDP framework and cyber security of public systems;
- concerns about exclusion, privacy and power, and the way forward.

E-governance concepts, models and Digital India are in Chapter 7, e-governance in practice and the digital divide in Chapter 9, DBT and targeting in Chapter 11, and the RTI's privacy exemption in Chapter 4.

01 What Is Digital Public Infrastructure

Digital public infrastructure (DPI) is a set of shared digital systems, built on open standards and interoperable by design, that deliver public and private services at the scale of a whole society under rules that protect rights. The **G20 New Delhi Leaders' Declaration** (September 2023) adopted this idea in its Framework for Systems of DPI. Roads and power lines are physical public infrastructure; DPI is its digital counterpart: the State or a public body builds the rails once, and banks, start-ups, departments and citizens run their own services on them.

This marks a shift from the e-governance of the NeGP era (Chapter 7), in which each department built its own application. India's version, often called the **India Stack**, has three foundational layers: **identity** (Aadhaar, e-KYC), **payments** (UPI, AePS) and **data exchange** (DigiLocker, Account Aggregators, consent managers).

BASIS	SILOED E-GOVERNMENT	DPI APPROACH
Unit of design	One department, one application	Shared building blocks reused by all
Who builds services	Government alone, often through one vendor	Government and a market of private apps
Data and links	Copies in every office; citizens carry paper between them	Minimal, federated data; open APIs; shared on consent

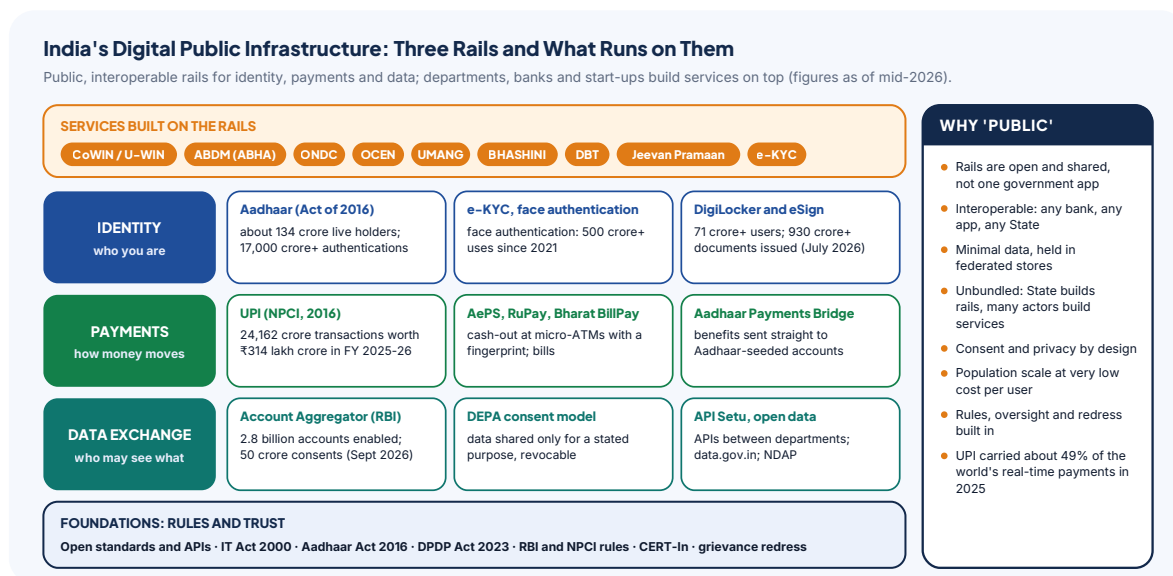


Fig. 8.1 The three rails of India's digital public infrastructure, the services built on them, and the design principles that make them "public".

CONCEPT: DIGITAL PUBLIC GOODS AND DPI

A **digital public good** is open-source software, data, standards or AI models that anyone may adopt, such as the MOSIP identity platform built at IIT Bangalore and used by the Philippines, Morocco and Ethiopia. A **DPI** is such technology *deployed* at population scale with institutions, rules and redress around it. Code alone is not infrastructure; **governance turns a digital public good into public infrastructure**.

02

Aadhaar: The Identity Layer

The **Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI)** was set up by an executive notification in January **2009**, and the first numbers were issued in September **2010**. The **Aadhaar (Targeted Delivery of Financial and Other Subsidies, Benefits and Services) Act, 2016** made UIDAI statutory. Aadhaar is a random **12-digit** number linked to minimal demographic data and biometrics (ten fingerprints, both irises, a photograph). It is open to any *resident* who has lived in India for **182** days in the preceding year. By March **2026** there were about **134** crore live Aadhaar holders and more than **17,000** crore authentications to date; the AI-based face authentication launched in **2021** crossed **500** crore uses by September **2026** and is widely used for pensioners' digital life certificates.

Aadhaar and the Law: From an Executive Scheme to Proportionate Use

How the identity layer was built, tested by the Supreme Court and recalibrated by Parliament and the executive.

- 2009** UIDAI set up by executive order under the Planning Commission
- 2010** First Aadhaar numbers issued (September)
- 2016** Aadhaar Act passed as a Money Bill; UIDAI made statutory
- 2017** Puttaswamy (9 judges): privacy a fundamental right
- 2018** Aadhaar verdict (5 judges, 4:1), 26 September
- 2019** Amendment Act: voluntary KYC use, offline verification, penalties
- 2025** Good-governance rules let approved private entities authenticate

UPHELD (2018)

- Aadhaar for subsidies, benefits and services paid from the Consolidated Fund (s.7)
- Mandatory PAN-Aadhaar linking for income tax (s.139AA)
- Passage as a Money Bill (majority view)
- Minimal data, no profiling: the scheme passes the proportionality test
- A 'unique' identity empowers the marginalised (majority)

STRUCK OR READ DOWN

- s.57: use by private companies on the strength of a contract
- Mandatory linking with bank accounts and mobile numbers
- Mandatory for school admission, CBSE and NEET
- Storing authentication metadata beyond 6 months
- s.33(2) disclosure on 'national security' grounds
- Children: parental consent; may opt out at 18
- Dissent (Chandrachud J.): Money Bill route a 'fraud on the Constitution'

Fig. 8.2 From executive scheme to statute: the Aadhaar timeline and what the Supreme Court upheld and struck down in 2018.

In *K.S. Puttaswamy v. Union of India* (**2017**) nine judges made privacy a fundamental right; in the Aadhaar case (**2018**) a five-judge bench, by **4:1**, upheld the scheme for welfare as a proportionate intrusion but barred its compulsory use by private firms. The **Aadhaar and Other Laws (Amendment) Act, 2019** allowed voluntary use for bank and telecom KYC through offline verification and virtual IDs, and added civil penalties. The **Aadhaar Authentication for Good Governance Amendment Rules** of 31 January **2025** let approved government and private entities authenticate users for public-interest purposes such as health, travel and e-commerce, on application through a ministry and UIDAI.

Aadhaar and the NPR: Two Registers, Two Purposes

BASIS	AADHAAR	NATIONAL POPULATION REGISTER
Legal basis	Aadhaar Act, 2016	Citizenship Act, 1955 (s.14A, 2004) and Citizenship Rules, 2003
Agency	UIDAI under MeitY	Registrar General of India under MHA
Nature	Voluntary number for any resident	Compulsory listing of every usual resident
Purpose	Authentication for benefits and services	A resident register; first step towards a National Register of Citizens
Status (2026)	Near-universal	Built in 2010, updated in 2015; no decision to update it with Census 2027 (RGI, March 2026)

Running both has meant duplicate biometric capture and a turf dispute between the two agencies, settled in **2012** by dividing enrolment between them. The case for keeping both rests on different purposes: Aadhaar proves *who* a person is; the NPR records *where* residents live and, under the 2003 Rules, can lead to a citizenship register, which is why its revival in **2019–20** drew protests and resolutions in several State assemblies. The developmental case for Aadhaar is strong: direct benefit transfers to seeded bank accounts, portable ration entitlements under One Nation One Ration Card, and paperless KYC. Its equity gains depend on fallback options when biometrics fail (Chapter 9).

COMMON CONFUSION: AADHAAR PROVES IDENTITY, NOT CITIZENSHIP

Aadhaar is issued to residents, including foreign nationals who qualify, so it is **not** proof of citizenship or domicile. In *Saroj v. IFFCO-Tokio* (October **2024**) the Supreme Court held that it is **not** proof of date of birth either. In September **2025** the Court let Aadhaar be used as an identity document in Bihar's Special Intensive Revision of electoral rolls while noting it does not establish citizenship (Chapter 28).

03

Payments and Data-Sharing Layers

UPI and Interoperable Payments

Run by the **National Payments Corporation of India** (NPCI), a not-for-profit company owned by banks, **UPI (2016)** lets any bank account pay any other through any app, instantly and at zero merchant charge. In **2025–26** it carried **24,162** crore transactions worth about ₹**314** lakh crore, **85%** of India's digital payments by volume and about half of the world's real-time payments. Add-ons such as UPI Lite, UPI 123PAY for feature phones, credit lines on UPI and AutoPay widen its reach, and it now works in **11** countries, among them the UAE, Singapore, France, Mauritius, Sri Lanka and Nepal. The **Aadhaar Enabled Payment System** lets a

villager withdraw cash at a micro-ATM with a fingerprint, and the Aadhaar Payments Bridge routes DBT to seeded accounts.

DigiLocker, eSign and Account Aggregators

DigiLocker (2015) holds documents pushed by issuing agencies, such as mark sheets, licences and PAN, which are legally valid under the IT rules; by July **2026** it had over **71** crore users and had issued more than **930** crore documents from over **2,800** issuers. **eSign** gives an Aadhaar-based legal e-signature. The **Account Aggregator** framework (RBI directions of **2016**, live since September **2021**) applies NITI Aayog's **Data Empowerment and Protection Architecture (DEPA)**: personal financial data moves only on the user's specific, revocable consent, through an intermediary that cannot read it.

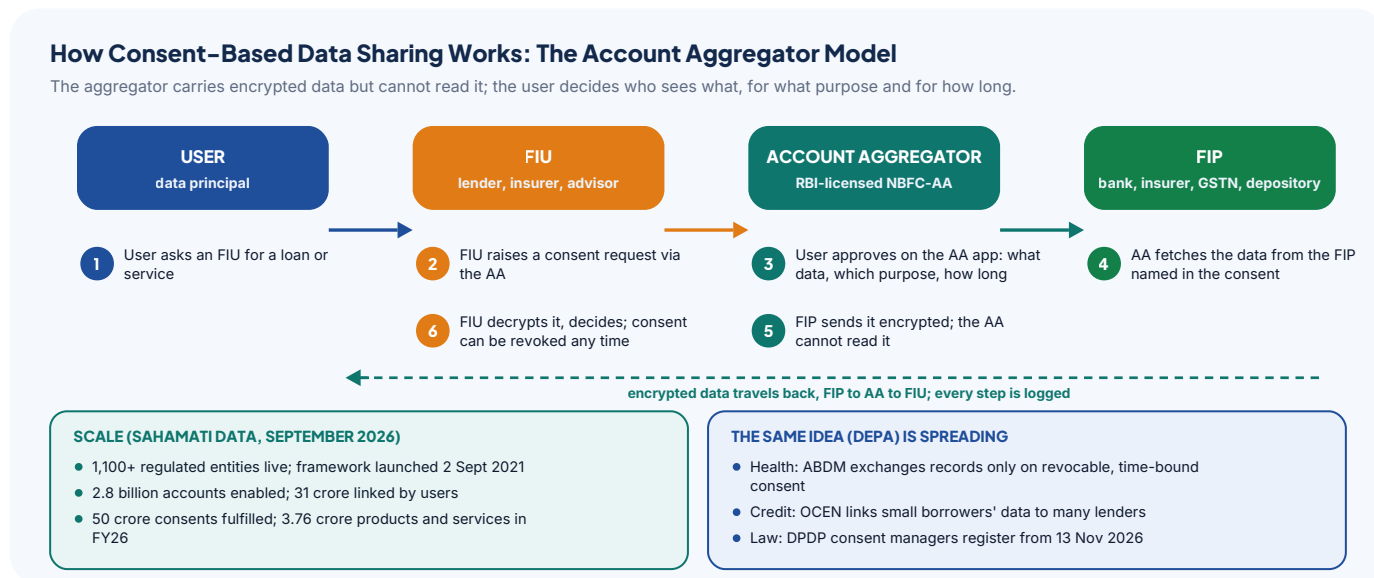


Fig. 8.3 The Account Aggregator consent flow, its scale in 2026, and the spread of the same consent idea to health, credit and the DPDP Act.

INDIA: UPI AT TEN, AND THE CONCENTRATION PROBLEM

UPI is public rail but private storefront. In May **2026** two apps, PhonePe and Google Pay, still handled **79%** of transactions. NPCI's **30%** market-share cap for any single app, proposed in **2020**, has been deferred twice and is due by 31 December **2026**. Concentration creates a single point of failure; zero charges leave the system's upkeep unfunded; and UPI frauds, not the rail, are now the main threat to trust.

04

Platforms Built on the Stack

Once the rails existed, sector after sector built on them. Each platform below reuses identity, payments or consent rather than starting afresh.

PLATFORM	YEAR, OWNER	WHAT IT DOES	SCALE (2026)
CoWIN, U-WIN	2021, 2024 ; Health Ministry	Vaccine slots and certificates; routine child immunisation	220 crore+ COVID doses recorded
ABDM	2021 ; National Health Authority	ABHA health ID, registries, consent-based record exchange	About 98 crore ABHAs; 121 crore records linked (Sept)
ONDC	2022 ; not-for-profit under DPIIT	Open network: any buyer app reaches any seller app	1.16 lakh+ retail sellers in 630 + towns (Dec 2025)
UMANG	2017 ; MeitY	One app for Central and State services	2,575 + services from 241 departments
BHASHINI	2022 ; MeitY	AI translation and speech for Indian languages	36 text and 23 voice languages; 800 + govt websites

Others follow the same pattern: the **Open Credit Enablement Network** (OCEN) protocol for small-ticket loans, **API Setu** for government-to-government data exchange, **Jeevan Pramaan** for pensioners' life certificates and **e-NAM** for farm markets.

05 India's DPI Diplomacy

India's G20 presidency put DPI on the global agenda. The New Delhi Declaration (**2023**) welcomed a voluntary **G20 Framework for Systems of DPI** and India's **Global Digital Public Infrastructure Repository**, and at the virtual G20 summit of November **2023** India pledged an initial US\$**25** million to a **DPI Social Impact Fund** for pilots in low- and middle-income countries. By July **2026** India had signed India Stack MoUs with **24** countries, from Armenia and Sierra Leone to Brazil, Sri Lanka and the Maldives; an agreement to implement DigiLocker in Kenya had been concluded and work on a DigiLocker for Cuba had begun. India presents DPI as a third path between a market-led model, where a few platforms own the rails, and a State-controlled one, where the rails serve surveillance: **open rails, competitive services, rights-based rules**.

06 Data-Led Governance

Data-led governance means using timely, reliable data at every stage of policy: to identify needs, target beneficiaries, choose projects, track delivery and evaluate results. The **National Data Sharing and Accessibility Policy** (**2012**) created the Open Government Data platform *data.gov.in*; NITI Aayog's **National Data and Analytics Platform** (NDAP, **2022**) lets users combine official datasets; and a draft National Data Governance Framework Policy (**2022**) proposed a non-personal datasets programme. Census **2027**, with houselisting from April to September **2026**, is India's first digital census, with mobile apps, geo-tagged buildings and self-enumeration, and the first since Independence to count caste.

The Data-Led Governance Cycle and Its Indian Tools

Each stage has a platform; the chain is only as strong as its weakest link, usually the quality of data at the source.

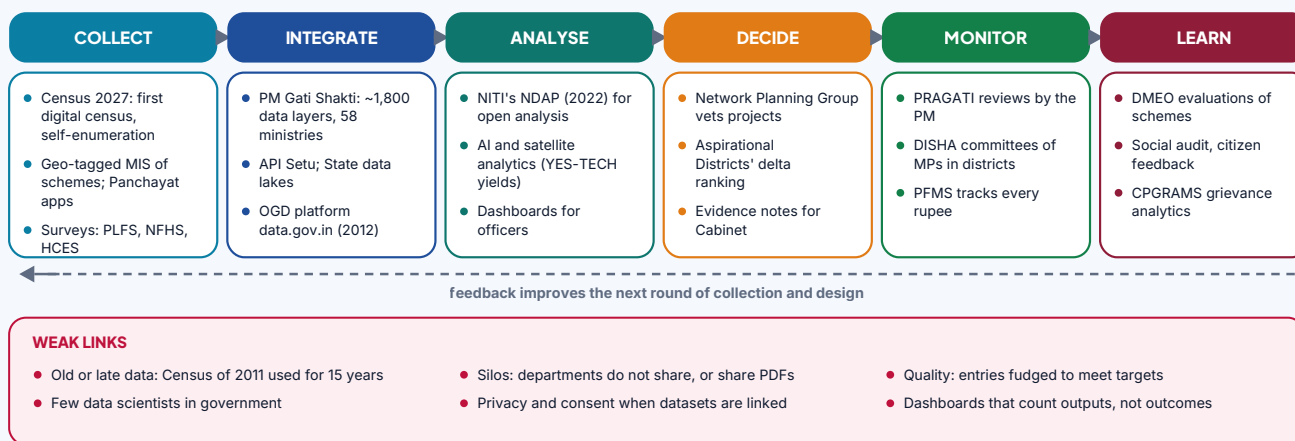


Fig. 8.4 Six stages of data-led governance with an Indian tool at each, and the weak links that break the chain.

Constraints and the Steps Needed

India still leans on large surveys that arrive late: the population count of **2011** guided policy for fifteen years. Real-time administrative data are thin, departments rarely share, much of what is shared is not machine-readable, and data fudged at the source to meet targets corrupt everything built on it. The remedies are well known: digitise collection at source with geo-tagging, link databases through APIs, set up State data repositories with quality checks, reform the statistical system (MoSPI's new monthly labour-force estimates are a start), hire data scientists and train generalist officers, and protect personal data before linking datasets.

CASE IN POINT: PM GATI SHAKTI'S NETWORK PLANNING GROUP

Launched in October **2021** and built by BISAG-N, the **PM Gati Shakti National Master Plan** overlays about **1,800** data layers, from forests and pipelines to schools and railway lines, contributed by **58** Central ministries and all **36** States and UTs. Before a large Central project is sanctioned, an inter-ministerial **Network Planning Group** checks its alignment on the map; by mid-**2026** it had evaluated **396** projects worth ₹**18.66** lakh crore. A public query portal opened in September **2025**, and States are being encouraged to use the platform for district-level planning. Overlapping clearances and route clashes can now be seen before work begins.

07

Artificial Intelligence in Governance

AI is entering administration as a language bridge (BHASHINI on **800+** government websites), a verifier (face authentication), a triage tool (sorting CPGRAMS grievances), an estimator (technology-based crop-yield estimates for insurance) and a research aid in courts. India's strategy has three parts: build capacity, guide use with light-touch rules, and shape global norms.

The **IndiaAI Mission** (March **2024**, ₹**10,371.92** crore) has made over **45,000** GPUs available at subsidised rates and, by August **2026**, sanctioned **93** lakh GPU-hours for **237** projects. The **India AI Governance Guidelines** (5 November **2025**) prefer no separate AI law for now: existing laws on data, consumers and

intermediaries apply, gaps are to be filled by targeted amendments, and liability is graded by function and risk. That leaves high-risk public uses, such as policing or welfare eligibility, without binding duties of human review and appeal, and on 8 October **2026** the IT Minister announced that a regulation-focused consultation paper would be published within a month, a shift towards binding rules. The Supreme Court's ruling of 2 July **2026** (*Pooja Ramesh Singh v. J&K Bank*) setting aside tribunal orders that relied on AI-invented case law reaffirmed that whoever signs a decision owns it.

AI in Governance: Build Capacity, Guide Use, Shape Global Rules

India's three-part approach: a funded mission, light-touch guidelines that rely on existing laws, and summit diplomacy for the Global South.

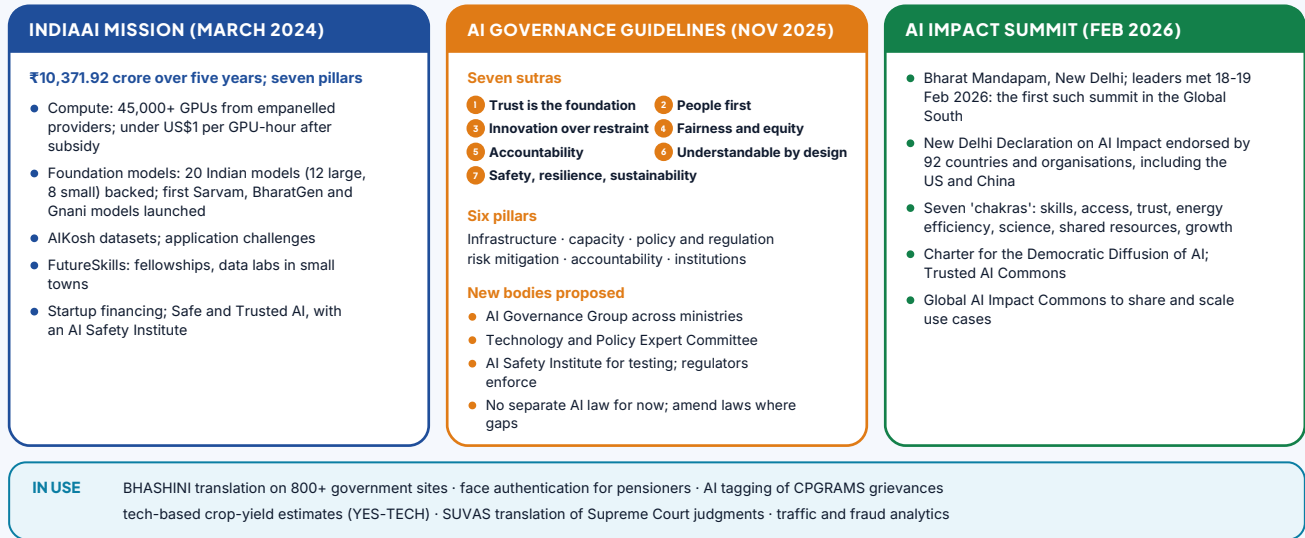


Fig. 8.5 The IndiaAI Mission, the AI Governance Guidelines of November 2025 and the AI Impact Summit of February 2026, with current uses in government.

IN THE NEWS 2026: THE NEW DELHI DECLARATION ON AI IMPACT

The **AI Impact Summit** at Bharat Mandapam (summit week from 16 February **2026**; leaders' sessions 18–19 February) was the first in the series held in the Global South, after Bletchley Park, Seoul and Paris. Its declaration, endorsed by **92** countries and organisations including the United States and China, rests on seven "chakras": human capital, access, trusted AI, energy efficiency, science, democratised resources and growth with social good. It backed a Charter for the Democratic Diffusion of AI and a Trusted AI Commons. Critics noted that it is voluntary and says little on binding safety duties.

The **Digital Personal Data Protection Act, 2023** (assent 11 August) followed the Puttaswamy judgment and the Justice B.N. Srikrishna Committee (**2018**). It covers digital personal data processed in India, and abroad if it concerns offering goods or services to people in India. Processing needs free, specific, informed consent, or one of the listed "legitimate uses" such as State benefits, legal duties or medical emergencies. Transfers abroad are allowed except to countries the government blacklists.

The DPDP Framework: Who Owes What to Whom, and When It Applies

The Digital Personal Data Protection Act, 2023 and its Rules of November 2025 come into force in three phases.

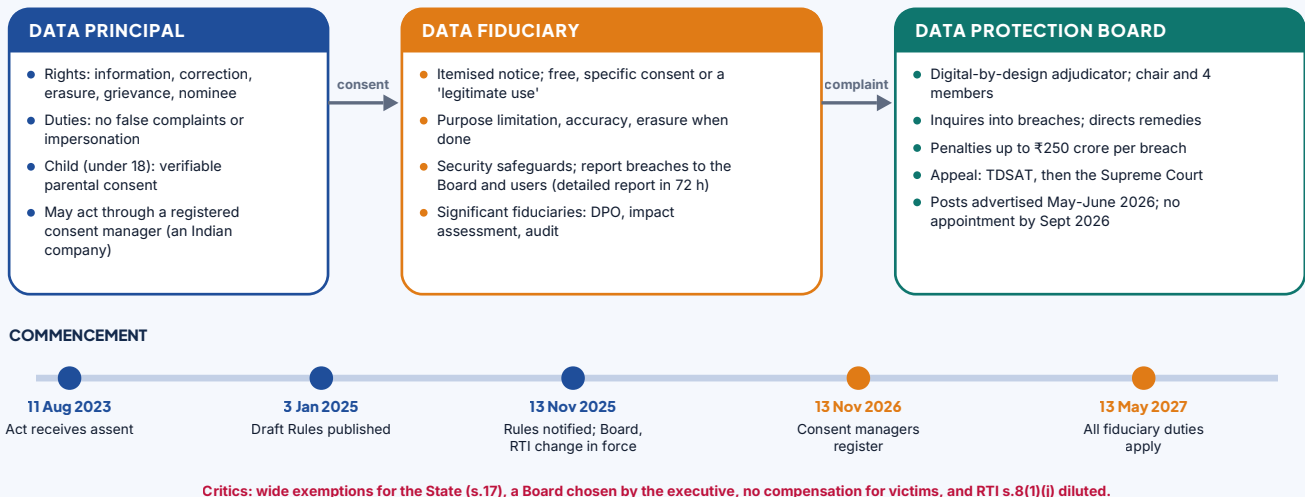


Fig. 8.6 Rights, duties and the adjudicator under the DPDP framework, and its three-phase commencement.

The **DPDP Rules, 2025** (Gazette of 13 November) phase in the law over eighteen months, with breach reports to the Board in **72** hours, verifiable parental consent for children and a three-year erasure rule for large platforms. Section 44(3), already in force, rewrote **RTI s.8(1)(j)** so that all personal information is exempt, dropping that clause's own public-interest test (Chapter 4). Critics also cite s.17's power to exempt any State agency, a Board appointed and serviced by the executive, and the absence of compensation for victims. The Board exists in law, but posts advertised in May–June **2026** were **not** filled by early October, so its adjudicatory work had not begun.

09

Cyber Security of Public Systems

As services move online, an attack on a server becomes an attack on citizens. Cyber security incidents tracked by CERT-In rose from **14.03** lakh in **2021** to **29.44** lakh in **2025**. The ransomware attack on AIIMS, New Delhi in November **2022** forced the hospital to run manually for about two weeks. CERT-In's **directions of 28 April 2022** require incidents to be reported within **6** hours, logs to be kept in India for **180** days, and VPN and cloud providers to retain subscriber details for five years; VPN firms protested and some moved servers abroad.

BODY OR RULE	BASIS	ROLE
CERT-In	IT Act s.70B; MeitY	National incident response, alerts, audits, binding directions
NCIIPC	IT Act s.70A; under NTRO (2014)	Protects critical information infrastructure: power, banking, telecom, transport, strategic
I4C	MHA (2020)	Cybercrime coordination; cybercrime.gov.in and helpline 1930

BODY OR RULE	BASIS	ROLE
National Cyber Security Coordinator	National Security Council Secretariat	Policy coordination; the 2013 policy still awaits a new strategy

Sector regulators add their own layer: RBI's cyber norms for banks, SEBI's Cybersecurity and Cyber Resilience Framework (**2024**) and the Telecom Cyber Security Rules (**2024**). The gaps are a dated national policy, a shortage of skilled staff in State departments, legacy software in many offices, and weak security in the vendors who build government apps. The 2nd ARC's call for a protection strategy for **critical information infrastructure**, with better warning and threat-sharing, remains the right frame.

10 Concerns and the Way Forward

DPI gives the State great power to include, but also to exclude and to watch. **Infrastructure built for empowerment needs institutions built for restraint.**

Oversight of the builders is uneven. UIDAI is a statutory authority, NPCI is regulated by the RBI under the Payment and Settlement Systems Act, 2007, while ONDC is a not-for-profit company and the National Health Authority an executive body. Audit helps: the CAG's performance audit of UIDAI (tabled in April **2022**) found that residency claims were not verified, about **4.75** lakh duplicate numbers had to be cancelled, and children under five were enrolled without unique biometrics.

CONCERN	ILLUSTRATION	SAFEGUARD
Exclusion	Failed fingerprints of manual workers and the elderly; no phone, no OTP	Face or iris options, offline fallback, assisted access (Chapter 9)
Privacy and surveillance	Linked databases build profiles; Aadhaar sought where no law requires it	Purpose limitation; working DPDP Board; judicial oversight of surveillance
Concentration and lock-in	Two apps run 79% of UPI; single vendors for big portals	Market-share caps; open standards; in-house skills at NIC
Accountability	NPCI and ONDC are companies, not covered by the RTI Act	Statutory DPI governance; audits; parliamentary review
Federal balance	Central platforms hold data on State subjects	Co-design with States; State access to their data

- **Techno-legal design:** privacy and consent built into code, backed by law.
- **A DPI governance law:** clear mandates, audits, grievance duties for DPI bodies.
- **Inclusion first:** no denial for authentication failure; human override.
- **Independent oversight:** fill the Data Protection Board; reform surveillance law.

- **Risk-based AI rules:** human review, explanation and appeal for public decisions.
- **Data quality:** statistical reform, open data, honest reporting at the source.
- **Cyber resilience:** a new national strategy, audits, skilled staff.
- **Measure outcomes:** judge DPI by services received, not accounts opened.

USING THIS CHAPTER IN MAINS

Define DPI with the G20 2023 framing and its three rails, then give current scale (UPI's 24,162 crore transactions in 2025-26, 134 crore Aadhaar holders, DigiLocker's 71 crore users). Anchor any Aadhaar or privacy answer in Puttaswamy (2017, 2018) and the DPDP Rules timeline; distinguish identity from citizenship. For data-led governance and AI, pair a tool (Gati Shakti, NDAP, IndiaAI) with its limits, and end with a safeguard: consent, offline fallback, human review or independent oversight.

Chapter 8 at a Glance

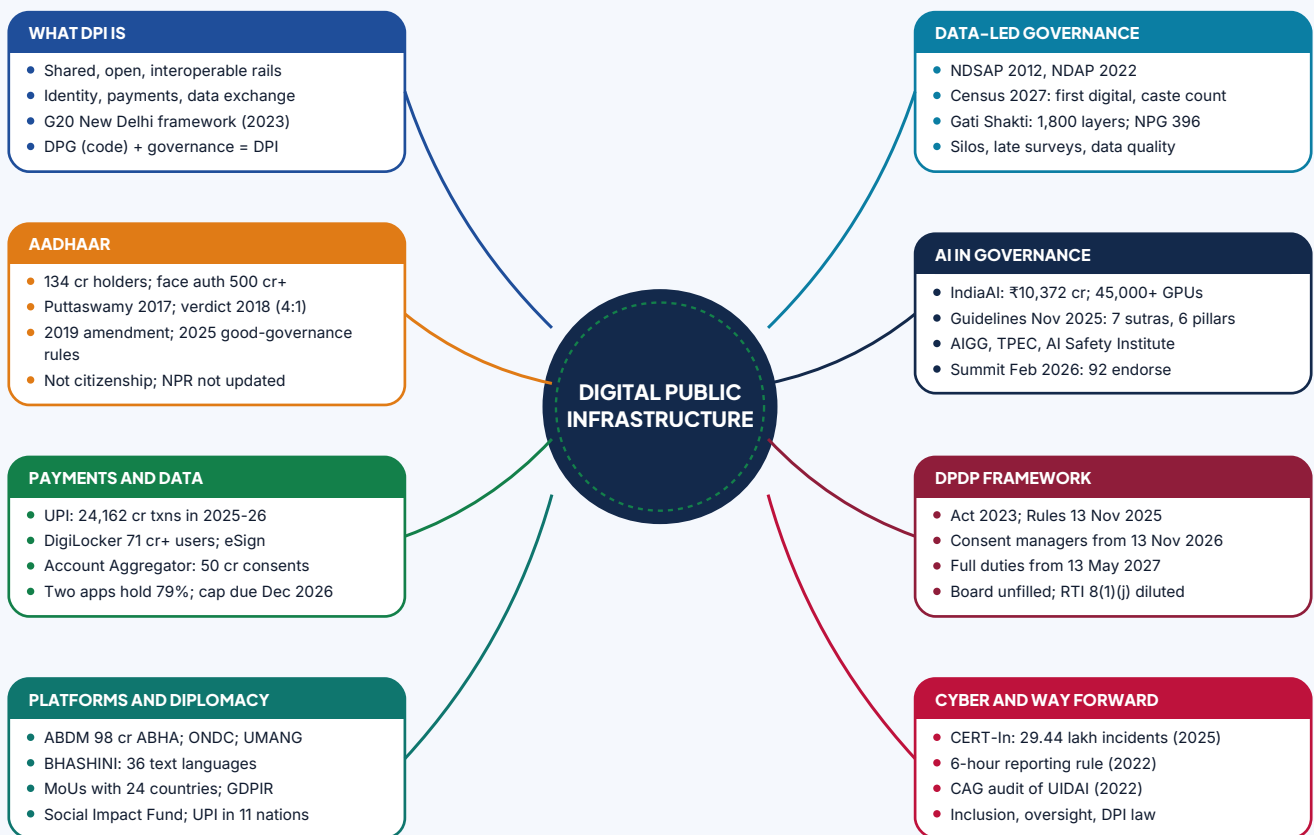


Fig. 8.7 Chapter 8 at a glance: the whole chapter on one page for quick revision.



Previous Year Questions



2014

GS II · 12.5 MARKS

Two parallel run schemes of the Government, viz. the Aadhaar Card and NPR, one as voluntary and the other as compulsory, have led to debates at national levels and also litigations. On merits, discuss whether or not both schemes need run concurrently. Analyse the potential of the schemes to achieve developmental benefits and equitable growth.

Approach: Distinguish the two: Aadhaar (UIDAI, Aadhaar Act 2016), a voluntary identity number for residents, and the NPR (RGI, Citizenship Rules 2003), a compulsory register of usual residents. Note the overlap: duplicate biometrics, cost, the 2012 turf dispute and the privacy litigation ending in Puttaswamy (2017, 2018). Argue that purposes differ (authentication versus a resident register), so merge data collection, not mandates. Show development gains: DBT, ONORC, paperless KYC; set them against exclusion when biometrics fail and NPR's citizenship anxieties. Conclude with safeguards and an update on NPR's status. (Sections 02, 03, 10)

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ORIGINAL DIAGRAMS

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VI	Civil Services in a Democracy	2 ch · p199
VII	Integrity Institutions	2 ch · p222
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