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OVER THE BARREL

# From State vs society to State and society

The hope for the new decade must be that our 'State' and 'society' will find a narrow corridor where both can be in balance (shackled leviathan). This would reinvigorate our institutions, and accelerate the resolution of outstanding critical issues

the blurring of the lines of responsibility and accountability, and the lack of clarity on where power truly resides.

Third, 'society' and the 'State' are in conflict. This conflict is structural. A youthful, vibrant, ambitious and connected 'society' is pitted against a hesitant, at times paralytic, politically-shackled and precedent-bound 'State'. How this clash will evolve is a matter of uncertainty, but what is clear is that constructive change will be difficult to bring about in the absence of a balancing of interests—a modus vivendi between these two entities.

I have been a columnist for the past nearly two decades. I have written mainly on energy and business, but my op-eds have also covered the economy, finance, environment and governance. I have endeavoured to write about issues of contemporary significance. I was flipping through my articles recently, and I noted that many of the topics I had written about in the past remain unresolved issues of concern today.

I have, for instance, written about our vulnerability to energy imports, and the need for developing and implementing an integrated energy strategy. Today, we import 85% of our oil requirements and, more worrying, our imports of thermal coal are increasing despite the abundance of indigenous deposits. Further, there is still no one executive authority responsible for energy policy. The banking crisis has been staring us in the face for years, and reforms have been written about it, including by economists of world-class renown. Solutions have been proffered, and some steps have been taken. But, clearly, not enough has been done. For the contagion has now spread to the non-banking financial institutions. The consequent credit choke is a major contributor to the current economic downturn.

Disinvestment was first brought onto the governments' policy agenda 20 years ago. Several Maharatnas, including the PSU petroleum companies, were identified for strategic sale. I

advocated the government hold fast to its policy in the face of the inevitable challenge from trade unionists and vested interests. The government was not persuaded, and the process was aborted. Today, BPCL (and Air India) are back on the table. Interested investors will be wondering whether the countervailing forces that stalled the process earlier are now firmly in check.

One could continue to cite examples of policies that everyone agreed needed to be implemented, but which remain unresolved and unimplemented to date. Issues like 'second generation' factor market (land, labour, capital) reforms, environmental pollution and administration overhaul.

The question is, 'why'? The simple answer is, it is because of the nature of our democratic system of governance. This is a system that does not allow pragmatic politics and good economics to share the same bedspread. And when political push comes to economic shove, it pushes economics off the mattress.

But some issues do not impact politics. Why has there been no progress in tackling those issues? Why have governments not effectuated good economics when politics has not been a constraint? Here, the answer is more complex and, in my view, rooted in the erosion of our institutions of governance. This erosion commenced decades ago, in the 1970s, when for the first time since Independence appointments to the bureaucracy and the judiciary were made on the basis of personal and political preference, not professional integrity. The erosion has continued unabated, and as a result, today, the institutional checks and balances embodied in our constituency have got corroded and power has shifted from the constitutionally embedded organs of governance towards extra-constitutional authorities and individuals. There is now lack of clarity about who is responsible for what, and this has further calcified decision-making. A senior bureaucrat on the edge of retirement is now understandably cautious. Why risk the fallout from an 'act of commission' when there are no sanctions attached to 'acts of omission'.

The consequence of the hollowing out of our institutions, the 'personalisation' of power and the 'personal gap' between the promise of policy and its delivery is compounding the tensions between the 'society' and the 'State'. These relations have been tense since 1991-92 when economic reforms unleashed the 'animal spirits' of our youthful population, and since the forces of globalisation and technology heightened expectations.

We are witness today to public manifestation of these tensions. The trigger is the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), but there is a deeper message underlying the current protests. The 'society' will not allow the 'State' to rewrite the social contract to reflect narrow and partisan predilections.

Professors Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson have recently published a book entitled "The Narrow Corridor: States, Societies, and the Fate of Liberty". They write that

squeezed between the lawless chaos of a failed State ('absentee leviathan') and the choke on civil liberties by autocracy ('despotic leviathan'), there is a narrow corridor where the 'State' and the 'society' can be in balance ('shackled leviathan'). It is within this corridor that the State can discharge its duties to "resolve conflicts, enforce law, provide public services, and create economic opportunities," but without "encroaching on the rights and liberties of the society." The hope for the new decade must be that our 'State' and 'society' will find a way into such a corridor. This would reinvigorate our institutions, and accelerate the resolution of outstanding critical issues.

**Our 'society' and the 'State' are in conflict. A youthful, vibrant, ambitious and connected 'society' is pitted against a hesitant, at times paralytic, politically-shackled and precedent-bound 'State'**

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## DATA PROTECTION BILL Game-changer for fintech?

How the personal data protection Bill will impact the Indian fintech sector

**UNION IT MINISTER** Ravi Shankar Prasad recently presented the draft Personal Data Protection Bill, 2019, in Parliament. The Bill provides a framework for protecting citizens' privacy, barring technology companies from storing and processing 'sensitive' personal data without explicit consent from individuals. But it empowers the central government to "exempt any agency of government from the application of Act in the interest of sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the state, friendly relations with foreign states, public order." It also provides exemptions for 'reasonable purposes', such as prevention and detection of any unlawful activity including fraud, whistle blowing, merger and acquisitions, network and information security, credit scoring, and recovery of debt, among others.

The Bill intends to bring more 'accountability and transparency' into the country's information ecosystem while addressing the loopholes and major data security concerns. Once implemented, it is expected to create disruptions across industries and verticals. One such sector is fintech, which includes digital lending, mobile payment companies and investment platforms. RBI and SEBI are yet to release separate, comprehensive guidelines for the fintech sector. Hence, ambiguity over regulations continues to be a pain point for fintech participants in India. With standardised rules in place, even smaller companies will have to adhere to practices that are on par with global standards.

The Bill can pave way for a true consent-based data sharing in the financial services industry. Financial institutions often fail to accurately price risk, mainly because of lack of relevant data on each individual and, so, it is largely a game of averages applied over an aggregate. If enforced retroactively, customers may be willing to disclose personal data as the chances of data misuse will go down. With more data available, fintech companies will be able to better customise their services and products.

**With more data available, fintech companies will be able to better customise their services, products**

At the same time, the Bill has sparked concerns within the industry as it necessitates fintech companies to prepare for additional compliance obligations. Fintech companies deal with large volumes of sensitive customer data—names, cellphones, address, bank account number, credit history, PAN, etc. The Bill classifies all forms of personal financial data as 'sensitive personal data'. As such, most companies operating in the fintech space could be categorised as 'Significant Data Fiduciaries' by the data protection authority (DPA).

The Bill proposes restrictions on cross-border data transfer, and prohibits processing of sensitive personal data and critical personal data outside India. Another challenge is the provision of 'right to be forgotten', where organisations are not allowed to access customer data after the purpose of which it was shared is met, unless they have explicit consent from the customer. This can create new regulatory bottlenecks for fintech companies. But it is the large internet companies, both global and domestic, that will face severe consequences. Since they won't be able to assume ownership of consumer data as their own, it will not only eliminate their dominance on consumer data, but also erode their competitive edge where data was their moat. In contrast, opportunities will open for new players like consent brokers who facilitate data sharing, storage and management of end-user data across multiple platforms on behalf of users.

Companies should start making investments in data systems to comply with the Bill; they would need to put the control of customer data back in the hands of their true owner, the customer. This is essential to obtain informed consent from the customer to use the data for specific purposes and share the same with other providers as well, if needed.

It might take a while for fintech companies to adapt to the new data protection guidelines. A quick makeover won't suffice; they must make continued efforts to build a robust privacy system for storing and processing of personal data. Despite initial hiccups, however, the Personal Data Protection Bill can be a game-changer for fintech companies wherein they can derive immense value from free sharing of data between the customer and the service provider as a result of new-found end-user comfort.

**AS I REFLECT ON** the decade just ended and the year ahead, three thoughts cross my mind. First, most of the issues that are front and centre on this government's policy agenda are those that have been on the previous government's priority list for years. Irrespective of the acronym defining the politics of the government or the personalities in charge, the need

of change has hardly moved on these issues.

Second, there are multiple reasons for this policy stasis, but the one that is relevant for all governments is the steady erosion of the institutional underpinnings of governance and the consequential concentration of power in the hands of extra-constitutional authorities and individuals. Decisions have been held in abeyance because of

**OPENING UP PROFESSIONAL** services to the competition is necessary. The time is opportune when audit firms—as well as secretarial practice firms—be allowed to graduate to the next level, and along with the freedom to advertise with some reasonable restrictions.

In a rapidly growing interdependent global economy, the Indian audit and secretarial practice community cannot, and should not, lock itself up into a corner. It is in the best interest of Indian firms to globalise by adopting best practices, state-of-the-art technology and invest in people, rather than resisting international networking, especially when we have one of the best talent pool.

Restrictions on advertising and marketing by Indian accountants that have been applied by the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India (ICAI), over and above internationally accepted rules, need to be reviewed. If the Indian chartered accountant (CA) firms, in their own right, aspire to have a global presence, it may be necessary to adopt the internationally accepted and applied policies under the laws of the country. Instances may be drawn from the mature audit markets such as the US, the UK, France, Germany, China, Singapore and many others on advertising and branding that is allowed for public accountants.

# Audit lessons from across the world

Why Indian audit and secretarial business needs to globalise?

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(CSs), too, should be allowed to perform advertising and marketing activities that do not bring the profession into disrepute. In such activities, the professional advertising should be honest and truthful, and not make exaggerated claims for the services offered, qualifications possessed, or experience gained, or make disparaging references or unsubstantiated comparisons to the work of a fellow professional. Objective and non-misleading advertising and marketing activities will help in spreading awareness and knowledge-

sharing. CAs and CSs would be able to organise leadership conferences on new accounting, secretarial and auditing standards, changes in laws and regulations.

Regulation 190 of the Chartered Accountants Regulations, 1988, requires a CA firm established in India after 1988 to apply to the ICAI for approval to use a firm name. Subsequently, since 2005, the ICAI has allowed Indian CA firms to enter into contractual or other arrangements with an international network and become a member of the said network. In



fact, the ICAI's Revised Guidelines of Network, 2011, allow the use of a familiar brand name.

Consequently, Indian audit firms that are members of an international network are often associated with the brand name of the network. Regulation 190 does not explicitly prohibit the use of international brand names of networks. It gives power to the Council of the ICAI to reject a trade/firm name that, it thinks, may smack of publicity. In addition, the Council of the ICAI reserves the discretion to

refuse registration of a trade or firm name, if that name is undesirable in the opinion of the members.

The current guidelines to approve firm names followed by the ICAI and the Institute of Company Secretaries of India (ICSI) seem to be too restrictive. The guidelines require that the name should include the name of the proprietor/partner as they appear in the Register of Members. A trade or firm name that has no relationship with the name of the member(s) is not allowed. Similarly, descriptive trade/firm name is

not allowed. Therefore, it's time that these guidelines are reviewed and liberalised as long as the name applied for does not smack of publicity.

Indian audit and secretarial firms need to equip themselves to manage stakeholder expectations, disclosure of financial information, and global accounting practices, as domestic companies are looking to move beyond the country. MNCs are seeking to invest in growth hotspots such as India.

Indian firms need to be as nimble-footed as some of the domestic companies that successfully turned MNCs by expanding overseas by drawing from the templates of global companies that set shop here in 1991. There could be a lot to gain by allowing audit firms to market themselves in India.

A government-appointed committee of experts (COE) in its report on Regulating Audit Firms and the Networks last year also held out similar views, concluding that branding with international networks would increase the competitiveness of Indian audit firms. Indian companies may benefit from using Indian audit firms that are members of international networks with a brand name.

The COE has recommended that the National Financial Reporting Authority (NFRA) and the ICAI make appropriate changes to respective laws and regulations, including Regulation 190, and the Code of Ethics, 2009.