A Toolkit

Orientation Programme

On

Rethinking Rights, Justice, and Development

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Preface

This toolkit for an orientation programme on 'Rethinking Rights, Justice and Development' is an outcome of an ongoing South Asian project "*Regional initiative for the sustainable livelihood and the enabling of social and political participation*". The programme in past has studied state policies and practices with regard to globalisation process and sustainability of rights of marginalised communities. In collaboration with human rights organisations working with the marginalised groups in India and across South Asia, activists, policy analysts, and individuals working on these themes.

The Programme is aimed at exploring relations and bridge three sorts of divides: (a) Between rights, justice, development and dignity; (b) Between civil and political rights and the social and economic rights; (c) And, between human rights and humanitarianism.

It aims to reach out to the human rights and peace activists and thinkers, development activists, community leaders, social workers, protection workers, women's rights activists, engaged in community protection activities in India and across South Asia.

The toolkit has evolved over a period of time through many consultations and discussions around various drafts produced in past two years. I gratefully acknowledge the significant inputs from our partners SEHD, and Centre for Alternatives, Bangladesh; Peoples' Watch – Tamil Nadu, India; NESAC and FOHRID, Nepal; South Asia Partnership Pakistan; and CHA, Sri Laka in the development of this toolkit. We would also like to acknowledge Dalit Study Circle, CACIM (Critical Action - centre in Movement), Wikipedia, Vanessa Andreotti and Ranjita Mohanty whose works we have reproduced here for reference and educational purposes only.

Lastly, my sincere thanks to Jeevan Thiagrajah and Dhanya Ratnavale of CHA, Colombo, and Ranabir Samaddar and other members of CRG for all the support and constant encouragement in this long process.

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Section 1
Programme

1.1

A Note on the Content Design

- This draft for the orientation programme on 'Rethinking Question of Rights, Justice and Development' is suggested for teaching and training throughout South Asia. Keeping in mind the regional diversity relating to language, religion, culture and pattern of economic, social and human development, etc. the programme would have to be customised according to the context.

- The methodology and design presented here have evolved after discussions and will form the foundation for the programme but the case studies, reading materials, films etc. can be included or excluded according to the specific requirements.

- The suggested reading list in Section 11 is a broad indicative list, though not exhaustive, for selecting 2-3 core texts for each module. These texts can be collated to prepare a programme reader for the participants. The remaining books and texts are to be used for future reference by the participants on module themes.

- Important web resources in Section 12 are given to cull additional information on related themes of the module and to prepare the assignments for the programme.

- One of the sample case studies in Section 13 is for teaching the impact of globalisation and the resistance strategies for securing socio-economic rights by the communities. Similarly, there would be module and country specific case studies for discussion during the programme to explain various concepts of human rights, development, justice and resistance.

- The model questions for discussions in Section 14 are to be used by the resource persons to initiate discussion on case studies or films. The sample model questions for the theme 'globalisation and its impact' are only indicative and accordingly depending on the case study or texts the questions will have to be re-framed by the resources person prior to the commencement of the programme.

- The fact-finding mission report given in Section 15 is for the guidance on preparing assignments by the participants.

- The review or feedback session for recapitulating the programme's format and discussion will be organised by one of the resource persons in a creative participatory way keeping in mind the framework suggested in the Section 16.

- Lastly, the role of resource persons becomes very crucial since the whole programme puts a lot of emphasis on participation and dialogue between the resources, resource persons and participants. Hence, it is suggested that to take the maximum benefit from the course design and module as proposed, a fist step should be to organise a one or two day orientation programme for resource persons and organisers.

1.2
The Problem

According to Human Development Report 2004 South Asia is home to world's 39.2% people living on less than one Dollar a day (global total 1,1000 million in 2000); 37.6% undernourished people of total population (global total 831 million in 2000); 31.7% primary age children not in school (global total 104 million in 2000); 36.6% primary age girl's not in school (global total 59 million in 2000); 33.4% children dying each year under age five (global total 11 million in 2002); 20.6% population without access to improved water sources (1,197 million in 2000); and 39.0% people without access to adequate sanitation (2,742 million in 2000). These seven issues are part of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted at the UN Millennium summit in September 2000. The leaders of the world have committed themselves to the eradicating poverty, hunger, promoting human dignity and achieving peace, democracy and environmental sustainability.

The above-mentioned figures are for us and our governments to see and even though these may not find a direct reference, SAARC social charter adopted in January 2004 is geared towards meeting MDGs.

Some of the significant objectives of SAARC social charter are:

1. Place people at the centre of development and direct their economies to meet human needs more effectively;
2. Recognise that the achievement of sustained social development requires sound, equitable and broad-based economic policies;
3. Promote participatory governance, human dignity, social justice and solidarity at the national, regional and international levels;
4. Promote the equitable distribution of income and greater access to resources through equity and equality of opportunity for all;
5. Ensure that disadvantaged, marginalized and vulnerable persons and groups are included in social development, and that society acknowledges and responds to the consequences of disability by securing the legal rights of the individual and by making the physical and social environment accessible;
6. Recognize the promotion of health as a regional objective and strive to enhance it by responding to urgent health issues and outbreak of any communicable disease in the region through sharing information with each other, imparting public health and curative skills to professionals in the region; and adopting a coordinated approach to health related issues in international fora;
7. Recognize that empowering people, particularly women, to strengthen their own capacities is an important objective of development and its principal resource. Empowerment requires the full participation of people in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of decisions and sharing the results equitably;
8. Strengthen policies and programmes that improve, broaden and ensure the participation of women in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life, as equal partners, and improve their access to all resources needed for the full enjoyment of their fundamental freedoms and other entitlements.

These goals have been put on paper by SAARC countries governments in year 2004 but they have been drafting policies towards achieving them since their independence. However, the language still remains that of *welfare* rather than of *rights*. This can be amply demonstrated by a critical reading of the charter itself. Every nation in South Asia on one hand has acknowledged the problems of people and put them on paper in forms of policies and programmes but in no way

guaranteed basic rights and access to resources to people, which could achieve sustainable livelihood and justice for them. There has also been no attempt towards democratising public institutions at all levels, which would ensure greater political participation of marginal and vulnerable communities in public life.

Our study of select policies in South Asia has shown that governments on one hand has acknowledged the demands of peoples for greater social and political participation, economic equality, and sustainability of livelihood but on other hand has not established administrative and operational mechanisms, which could put them to practice. This poses new challenges for the civil society and rights activists at large, which demand greater attention towards devising newer approaches and strategies to demand accountability and democratisation of public institutions. The inadequacies in the political and administrative processes have been supplemented by the neo-liberal economic policies initiated by these governments.

The neo-liberal model of globalisation vigorously promotes the rights of free trade and capital, which brings it in direct conflict with basic tenets of universal human rights. There is a constant tension between the 'social' yearning for democratic values and 'economic' competition for unhindered profit, trade and movement of capital. Although globalisation is a contested concept, it is nonetheless a process that affects everyone at many different levels. From the 1980s onwards, the countries of South Asian region have moved to varying degrees, to a strategy of development based on export-orientation, liberalisation and privatisation based on the marketist neo-liberal economic paradigm. The process of globalisation gained impetus in the early 1990s, when all the governments in the region (barring that of Nepal, which had a very different situation) went through fairly comprehensive policies of internal liberalisation, reduction of direct state responsibility for a range of goods and services and privatisation. This commonality of policy experience meant in turn that outcomes were also quite similar, despite the very different initial conditions in the different economies. Some of these outcomes are:

a) Growing income inequalities in all the economies of the region;
b) Deceleration in employment generation;
c) Stagnation or increase in levels of poverty;
d) Deterioration in quality of employment;
e) Growing informalisation and marginalisation of labour;
f) Increased hardship and vulnerability of marginalised communities;
g) Decrease in expenditure and subsidies on social sector such as food, agriculture, education, health, poverty alleviation, employment generation etc.
h) Dismantling of handicrafts and cottage industries;
i) Loss of rights of communities over Common Property Resources (CPR);
j) Growing integration of village economy with wider economic processes increasing their susceptibility and vulnerability with respect to changes at broader marketing processes etc.

The process of globalisation in India since beginning has witnessed a range of popular struggles against it is raising the question of securing sustainability of socio-economic rights for marginalised communities. These struggles operate at various levels and involve almost all sections of civil society. However, young students, rights activists, researchers, and other professionals especially in cities somehow remain critically unconnected from these struggles and there is a need to forge linkages between them and perhaps this is equally true of other countries in the region. These linkages would help broaden the base of these struggles and also raise awareness and thinking levels of these groups. The enhanced understanding amongst them of the globalisation processes and anti-globalisation struggles would

strengthen the struggle for basic human rights for all. Failing to understand these dimensions may result in their alienation and increasing apathy,, which can have negative impact on the rights of marginalised communities in particular and society in general.

The process of globalisation has also created multiple centres of power and governance. With increased privatisation now it is no more possible for the people at all levels to hold the state responsible for its failure to provide basic services. The emergence of these new spheres of authority at local, regional, national and global level demands increased co-operation between all actors and at all levels. Since the inequalities and disparities in such a system are quite high the groups at the lower levels are often ignored from these processes. These groups have to find ways and means to assert their rights in this age of hegemonic capital. In the process of assertion the support of all other classes who are in some way slightly privileged is also essential to deal with "complex sovereignty". Since the ruling argument has often been that some one will have to bear the price of 'Development' in the larger interest of 'Nation'. However, the people have started challenging and asking, why should only the vulnerable and marginal communities always suffer? Why can't the gains of the process be distributed equitably? Why should the reforms carried in the name of generating employment and high economic growth result in further impoverishment and disempowerment? It is these issues, which are now beginning to gather the centre stage all over the world.

The peoples' movements and struggles throughout South Asia have contributed to the evolution of a new perspective on issues of development, governance, transparency, and accountability, which include:

- A model of development that will be truly inclusive and not exclusionary.
- People's power is superior to state power and they are agents for social change.
- Women are equal partners at all level of decision-making and development.
- Ensure a participatory democratic, transparent, and accountable government.
- Nurture a culture of protest against all forms of injustice.
- Promote constructive work at the village level through efforts of voluntary action and government.
- Bring policy changes, which would ensure equitable development, and ensure a just and sustainable livelihood to millions of poor.
- Emphasise non-violent direct action as a tool of basic change.
- Control of livelihood resources should be in the hands of the local people/communities so that people's basic survival is guaranteed.
- Protect the indigenous peoples culture and their way of life, especially that of the indigenous tribes, which is increasingly being threatened by a 'mainstream' model of development.
- Implement pro-poor policies and legislations that have been enacted but never implemented for example, a minimum wage act, equal wage for equal work, bonded labour release rehabilitation act, or scheduled caste and scheduled tribes atrocities act.
- Develop an ethos of conservation that is based on the synthesis of human rights of forest dwellers and required conservation needs.

These struggles have also thrown new light on the administration and delivery of justice mechanisms, which is closely linked with the governance and various forms of governmental justice – retributive justice, restorative justice, conciliatory justice, minimal justice, affirmative prescriptions, autonomy as justice etc. They have introduced new ways of seeking justice with some success through Public Interest Litigations and explored the relations between rights, capabilities, entitlements and

law in terms of governance of justice. Finally, its significance has been sought in the notion of accountability and responsibility – responsibility of the state, its various organs, various governmental institutions, and their national and international commitments – to provide social justice by ensuring social, political and economic rights.

One of the offshoots of the Globalisation process has been corporatisation of education with decreasing funds from the government and increasing privatisation of higher education system. The whole system is now geared to meet the needs of market. In the name of higher education, vocational and professional education, educational shops in form of private universities are mushrooming throughout the country. These centres are reinforcing the factory schooling and preparing South Asian countries to become the backyard of West by employing cheap labour in BPO sector and sweat shops established by MNCs. Education is losing its ideals of knowledge and learning for creative living and serving the community. The economic reforms in a way are posing greater challenge for the education system and the need to explore alternative means to sustain creativity and interest in the quest for knowledge and scientific reasoning today is more evident than ever before in past.

Hence in a situation of political and administrative failures, and nation states losing its legitimacy due to non-performance and bureaucratic corruption in changing economic circumstance we need to rethink the concepts of rights, justice and development. It is also necessary to understand the key concepts of the globalisation process, its impact on various communities, notion of sustainable livelihood and socio-economic rights of communities at the margins of development. The globalisation process has affected communities differently and we need to explore them critically. For example, there are a small group of women and Dalits who have benefited from the process,, which has opened up spaces hitherto closed for them. In a contrary like India, there are millions of women, Dalits, indigenous peoples and other marginalised communities who have been at the receiving end of the process. This indicates towards the inherent complexity of the systems,, which need to be understood. There is also a need in the education system to explore the relationship between education, dynamics of globalisation and its impact on the communities. It also needs to address the question of human rights of all in general and marginalised communities in particular. The struggle for bringing the marginal voices to the centre has to be fought at all levels and education and training is only one of the ways in, which it can be achieved.

1.3
The Programme

It is to address these concerns that a 6 days orientation programme on rethinking question of rights, justice and development is to be held across South Asia. The programme is an outcome of ongoing South Asian project "*Regional initiative for the sustainable livelihood and the enabling of social and political participation*". The programme in past one year has studied state policies and practices with regard to globalisation process and sustainability of rights of marginalised communities in collaboration with human rights organisations working with the marginalised groups in India and across South Asia, activists, policy analysts, and individuals working on these themes.

The education Programme will explore relations and bridge three sorts of divides:

  (a) Between rights, justice, development and dignity;
  (b) Between civil and political rights and the social and economic rights;
  (c) And, between human rights and humanitarianism

It aims to reach out to human rights and peace activists and thinkers, development activists, community leaders, social workers, protection workers, women's rights activists, engaged in community protection activities. It will combine the best of the institutionalised education of rights and peace available in the country, and the non-institutionalised training and education that goes on continuously in the making of rights constituencies in the region in various ways, locations, and forms. The programme will thus gather strength from the ongoing work of human rights, and provide sustenance and service to the work of justice, dignity, protection, and human rights.

The programme would position itself at the interface between human rights and humanitarian work and would encompass the work on policy reviews and mapping the profiles of sustainable livelihood and socio-economic rights of marginalised communities across South Asia. It would be an opportunity to discuss the interpretation of rights prescribed and the antecedents found in international instruments such as ICCPR, ICESCR, SAARC Social Charter, and in national constitutions of each country, methodology for analysis of the rights, advocacy and development strategies, administering justice mechanisms, globalisation and the question of sustainability of rights and most importantly, transfer of knowledge, which empower groups and people to define, plan and forge their development. It would contribute towards the understanding of the rights based approach to development and governance making it more democratic and participatory. The enhanced understanding amongst participants of the globalisation processes, strategies of peoples' struggles, key concepts of rights, justice, gender, peace, and development would strengthen the struggle for basic human rights for all. It is understood that understanding the roots and implications of these processes is fundamental for individuals if they are to effectively shape their own lives and play a role in democratic processes to influence local and global agendas.

1.4
Objectives

The programme intends to serve these objectives:

- To train and equip community representatives, human rights and peace activists, gender rights activists, academics and researchers and young professionals working at policy level, with key concepts of human rights and justice especially those of marginalised communities, their link with development processes, and popular development alternatives in order to prepare leaders for the grassroots movements and struggles.

- To acquire a comprehensive knowledge of national social and economic policy regimes in order to empower vulnerable and marginalised communities in their struggle for sustainable livelihood and social and political participation across South Asia.

- To sensitise participants from government or civil society that are engaged in the formulation and implementation of policies about the special needs of the women, Dalits, indigenous communities, specially challenged people, and other marginalised groups in society during the crisis situation such as Tsunami, floods, ethnic conflicts, internal displacement, etc.

- To enhance understanding of the globalisation process, the inherent conflicts in the process, the resistance it provokes, and its impact on women, indigenous people, Dalits, and other marginalised communities and rights scenario in changed circumstances on the model of participatory and dialogic process.

- To intervene in the interface between human rights and humanitarian work for protecting and promoting the rights based agenda of development making the governance democratic, participatory and plural.

- To assess the role of the South Asian governments in the implementation of the goals of SAARC social charter and its dissemination.

- To review governments' policies in the light of the rights and justice.

- To use the methodology of participatory and decentralised educational processes in a dialogic 'educational space' to facilitate the process of building bridges between popular struggles and civil society.

- To enable participants to un/learn and deconstruct their own understanding and belief of the developmental processes and systems and critically engage with them and think of alternative sustainable approaches, which would enhance the sustainability of livelihood and ensure greater social and political participation of marginal communities across South Asia.

Section 2

Programme Methodology

A Note on Method

The aims of this programme are different from those of the formal systems of teaching and learning so the methodology here would employ different means of established teaching and training.

The programme would consist of initiatory lectures, face-to-face discussion with resource persons drawn from a variety of fields and experiences, panel discussions, workshops, case study discussions, policy discussions, films on development, and issues of rights and justice etc. The programme would use interactive principles to develop participatory and critical approaches to learning, teaching and training aimed at developing a sense of critical engagement with the processes and systems, which govern society, its development and inter personal relations. These principles would also be used to create a dialogic, interactive and participatory 'educational space' owned collectively by the participants of the programme. The significant characteristics of the educational space for dialogue would be its horizontal structure, informal nature, exposure to non-mainstream perspectives, critical engagement with both mainstream and non-mainstream perspectives and a creative environment for learning and training. The dynamics of the educational space itself and the methodology will be open to critical questioning and will be discussed in the feedback sessions towards end, which would lead to improvement in design and methodology of the future programmes (See feedback / review form later).

Assumptions

The activities and the ideas expressed above are premised on the following assumptions:
- Assume and recognise the fact that the participants may or may not have similar levels of understanding of the issues, parental background and education but are connected by their desire to participate in the programme.
- Participants are willing to critically engage with the themes of the programme and are sufficiently interested.
- Participants have read the key texts, other reading materials and understood the context of it.
- They also understand the idea of a participatory and interactive dialogic space and are willing to critically engage with it and think for development of the methodology and the programme.
- They are comfortable with the language and willing to participate in spite of their problems with the language with the help of others.

Role of Resource Persons

Since the programme emphasises a lot on the interaction and participation of the participants in the programme, it is crucial that the principles are understood by the resource persons very carefully. They need to understand the value of the participation and the ways it can be ensured. Hence care should be taken in the finalisation of the resource persons and if possible they should have a brief orientation programme together prior to the beginning of the course and to maximum possible extent they should be staying with the participants and plan to be there with the participants for the full duration of the course.

It is also essential that they pay enough attention to each of the participant keeping in mind their needs and socio-economic and cultural context in mind, in order to

achieve the maximum result from the programme and have a sustained impact on participants.

Follow Up

As the programme progresses the participants together with the resource persons engage in drawing up of a follow up procedure amongst them either through creation of list serves or establishing of networks or through some common activities. This would mean that a significant group of them would add to the strength of the human rights defenders and also be willing to take forward the message of the rights, justice and development in their organisations and networks in a much more collective fashion.

2.1
Participants

The participants in the programme would be students, teachers, activists, government officials, and professionals with civil and political organisations, grassroots movements etc. the effort will be to have at least fifty percent women participants in the programme. Participants should be above 20 yrs of age and should be proficient in the language of discussion (to be decided in keeping with the regional needs in each country). Interested participants will need to send their curriculum vitae with a 500-1000 word write-up on reasons for applying to the programme and its relevance to her/his work, ideas, or life.

The programme would be non-residential in nature (residential, if resources are available) and participants will have to make their own arrangements for stay and travel to the venue. Selected participants will have to pay a nominal registration fee and organisers will bear the expenses for programme material and other related expenses for all participants during the programme.

On the successful completion of the programme participants will be awarded a certificate of appreciation by organisers.

Selection Criteria and Procedures

- ➢ Participants with a keen interest in the issue of socio-economic rights and associated with some civil or community organisations.
- ➢ Preference to be given to women participants or those from minorities, Scheduled Castes or indigenous communities.
- ➢ Participants to secure references from two or three community organisations or individuals working in the region.
- ➢ Selection of participants to be made by selection committee comprising members from community organisations, human rights activists and academics working on these issues.

2.2
Modules

Though the process of globalisation touches every aspect of humanity but our concern here would be to look critically at the neo-liberal economic process of globalisation and its impact on the livelihood of marginalised communities namely indigenous people, Dalits, women, workers in unorganised sector, seasonal migrants, small farmers etc. The programme would draw on experiences and case studies from across South Asia and other parts of the world. It is suggested that each of the modules includes case studies and examples according to needs of the particular contexts and countries wherever needed.

The element of gender justice, equality, and non-discrimination would be central to the questions, deliberations and debates running through all the modules of the programme.

These are the four core modules of the programme:

  ➢ Module A: Rethinking Foundational concepts of Rights and Justice
  ➢ Module B: Setting the Agenda of Rights and Justice in the Age of Globalisation
  ➢ Module C: Policies and Practices Relating to Development and Justice: Governmental mode or Dialogic Mode
   i. Administration and Delivery of Justice
   ii. Development Strategies and Alternatives: People's Movements and Struggles
  ➢ Module D: Conflicts, Peace and Justice: The Case of the IDPs

All the modules will be preceded by a set of readings (basic texts, web based material, films etc.) provided one month before the beginning of the programme. Based on these readings and their understanding participants would be required to prepare a case study of rights violation or protection of marginalised communities in the context of globalisation process. Discussion on the modules will start either with case studies, films, relevant presentations by resource persons or reading of important texts,, which would act as 'stimulators' and throw questions challenging the established notions of key concepts underlying the programme. The presentation would be followed by a set of questions to ignite discussions among participants. The educational space would emphasise on the notions of social and economic justice, solidarity, shared consciousness and criticality. It would be created and owned by the participants who would try and grapple with the strategies, methods, and notions of rights, justice, gender, peace, development, humanitarianism and sustainability.

MODULE A: Rethinking Foundational Concepts of Rights, Justice and Development

Human Rights, Humanitarianism, Justice, Peace, Development, Marginality, Vulnerability, and Gender Equity etc. are the terms often used by the people engaged in human rights and humanitarian work. However, there is a need to understand their detailed meanings and various interpretations due to socio-political and cultural diversity amongst them. For example, the meaning of development for indigenous peoples is different from that of rural or urban people and even there from those of developing or developed countries. This module would explore relations and bridge these three divides:

  a. Between rights, justice, development and dignity;
  b. Between civil and political rights and the social and economic rights;
  c. And, between human rights and humanitarianism

So, in order to understand these processes and bridge the divides this module would focus primarily on building conceptual knowledge of participants mainly on the issues of rights, justice and development and in the process also discuss related concepts of marginality, vulnerability etc. This module would also discuss the meanings and concepts of these terms enshrined in key national and international documents such as ICCPR, ICESCR, SAARC Social Charter, UN Guiding Principles on IDPs, CEDAW principles etc.

To illustrate the approach towards understanding the definitional and conceptual variations in the meaning of these terms below we provide an example of the concept of 'Human Rights'.

At its most fundamental, a right is a claim on other persons that is acknowledged and perhaps reciprocated among the principals associated with that claim. Other interpretations consider the right as a sort of freedom of something or as the object of justice. One of the definitions of justice is in fact the obligation that the legal system has toward the individual or toward the collective to grant respect or execution to his/her/its right, ordinarily with no need of explicit claim. Rights can be divided into individual rights that are held by citizens as individuals (or corporations) recognised by the legal system, and collective rights, held by an ensemble of citizens or a subgroup of citizens who have a certain characteristic in common. Human Rights meaning has some degree of variance between its use in different local jurisdictions —difference in both meaning as well as in protocols for and styles of application and is affected by localising factors, such as ethnicity, nationality, and religious principles. So, it has been difficult to find a universally accepted definition of human rights even though member states of United Nations have agreed at some commonality in various international human rights instruments such as ICCPR, ICECSR, and UDHR. Some of the controversies regarding human rights are:

1. Are human rights political, moral or legal entities (or all three at the same time)?
2. Which rights should be defined as fundamental human rights? Is there or should there be a hierarchy of human rights?
3. Do human rights impede state sovereignty? What if the state itself has ratified international conventions?
4. Should human rights be used as a context for economic or military intervention? (Often leads to a worsening of the human rights situation in the target country)
5. Questions of cultural relativism—e.g. "Political participation is not a part of African culture. Who are you to say that we should have political participation?" These arguments can also be made on religious basis: e.g., "In our religion marriages have always been arranged; why should we not continue this practice?" Some arguments claim that human rights policies are a form of cultural imperialism in, which powerful countries dictate, which rights they consider most important to less powerful countries.
6. Who should hold the moral duty to uphold rights? For civil and political rights, the answer is the state but it is not quite so clear who should be responsible for promoting economic, social and cultural rights (do we have a global duty?).

Similarly, there are controversies and differences in meaning of terms such as justice, Justice, Peace, development, marginality and vulnerability, sustainable livelihood, gender, justice etc.

MODULE B: Setting the Agenda of Rights and Justice in the Age of Globalisation

The question of rights and its sustainability in the era of globalisation is quite complex and is indicative of the constant tension between the 'social' yearning for democratic values, and 'economic' pursuits for unhindered profit, trade, and movement of capital at the peril of social. The neo-liberal model of globalisation vigorously promotes the rights of free trade and capital bringing it in direct conflict with the two essential rights of marginalized communities right to 'food' and 'work'. The actors in the process are a) Nation states, b) International Institutions (UN, WTO, World Bank, IMF), c) Multinational Corporations, and d) Global Civil Society. The conflict of interests among them is primarily a rights conflict. Nation states fighting to hold their sovereignty, international institutions for right of global governance, multinational corporations for right of free trade and commerce, and global civil society for the basic human rights.

The process of globalisation means different things to different people in different contexts and persuasions. It means formation of a global village with freedom and ability of individuals and firms to initiate voluntary economic transactions with residents of other countries; neo-liberal economic globalisation represented by four different flows across boundaries, namely of goods/services, i.e. 'free trade', of people (migration), of capital, and of technology; spread of capitalism from developed to developing nations; compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole. Due to its inherent multi-faced nature, its meaning, origin, dynamics and different aspects are shrouded in controversy. Some consider it to be a product of 20th – 21st century where as some argue for a date much before it. There is a strand of thought, which doesn't see any link between growing poverty and globalisation and blame it on inefficient administration, corruption and poor implementation in the system. This module would look at the various controversies surround its meaning, origin, dynamics and its impact on other processes and systems.

The breakdown of social security mechanisms in the third world due to rapid privatisation has led to increased inequality and hardship especially to marginalised communities. It has impacted the rights scenario and justice delivery mechanisms in an unprecedented way and to an extent eroded the authority and responsibility of the state. Post 9/11 the link between multinational corporations, conflict, and struggle for control over resources has assumed a new proportion. This has raised important questions related to control over resources by the people on one hand for now and for the future generations. The role of World Bank, IMF and WTO in third world countries has also been criticised for leading to crises mainly in Latin America and Africa. This module would not go in to the finer aspects of these situations but would take a critical look at the role of globalisation process on the agenda of rights and justice.

Apart from the controversies this module would discuss in particular impact of globalisation on common property resources (CPRs), livelihood issues, and sustainability of rights of women, farmers, Dalits, indigenous people and other marginalised communities. Emphasis will be also to find answers to these questions:

- How the economic reforms have impacted different classes in the society, especially marginalised communities?
- How has globalisation contributed towards an increase in inequality in the society?
- How has it penetrated into the rural hinterland and attacked on the CPRs?

- What is the relationship of the process of globalisation with nation states and questions of sovereignty and identity?
- What is the relation between the globalisation process, ethnic conflicts, development patterns, ensuing internal displacement and human rights of marginalised communities all over South Asia?
- What has been the impact of the International Financial Institutions on the development patterns, rights and justice delivery systems and processes?

MODULE C: Policies and Practices - Governmental or Dialogic Mode

From 80s onwards governments across South Asia have drafted a many new policy measures mainly with two aims: 1) To mitigate the effects of globalisation process on the society especially on the pressures from social movements and people struggles; 2) To meet the demands posed by neo-liberal economic policies on the economy, environment and resources.

Past few decades have been tumultuous for the civil and political struggles across South Asia and seen birth of 'new' social and political movements centred on issues of identity, caste, gender, environment, development paradigm etc. and then networking of these movements at global levels in the forums such as Peoples Global Action, World Social Forum, etc. leading to 'globalisation of resistance'. The networking of these movements has contributed to the evolution of a whole new perspective on the issues of rights, justice, development, governance, transparency, and accountability. The struggles have not been limited to the resistance but have struggled to develop alternative modes of development, reclaiming the commons, and democratise development to make it meaningful for greater common good. The resistance has become fierce from the time neo-liberal economic policies have occupied the centre stage of governance and development. The protests have been stringent especially because of its predatory effects on the poor and marginalised communities, now pushed further along paths of impoverishment and disempowerment. These protests emanate from the enhanced understanding of the globalisation process among people who are beginning to see the linkages between the government's policies, wider economic processes and the impact on their livelihood.

This module is to critically engage with the government's policies and analyse its effects on the socio-economic rights of the marginalised communities in the context of changing national and global realities and see how far they go in achieving the aims of governance, socio-economic equality, well-being of people and demands and challenges posed by peoples movements and struggles. By critically reviewing these policies and practices we aim to analyse the justice delivery and programme implementation mechanisms of the government and their gendered nature. The policies on the following provisions and themes would be discussed during the programme:

1. Programmes and Policies relating to sustainable livelihood, social and political participation: Access to food, shelter, work, education, health and common property resources.
2. Promotion of the status of women
3. Promotion of the rights and well-being of the child
4. Armed conflict and the vulnerable groups [Module D]
5. Internal Displacement, Resettlement and Rehabilitation [Module D]
6. Globalisation and the vulnerable groups. [Module B]

These programmes and policies would be studied in context of these significant questions:

- Have these policies been able to help the sustainability of rights and administering justice especially to marginalised communities under globalisation?
- If these policies form part of what has been called as "safety net", what kind of safety do these policies provide?
- Where and to what extent do rights feature in this landscape of policies?
- To what extent the concerns of various marginalised groups are reflected in these policies, which could ensure their enhanced social and political participation, in governance structures and civil society?
- To what extent these policy measures bridge the divide between civil and political rights and social and economic rights?
- To what extent the justice delivery mechanism established by the state and Non-governmental actors has been efficient?

Significant case studies of the alternative development practices and resistance strategies developed by these communities and popular struggles would be used for teaching and training here.

MODULE D: Conflicts, Peace and Justice: The Illustrative Case of the IDPs

South Asian region is a zone of conflict, in India there are situation of ethic conflict in North Eastern region, then social and political conflicts led by of Maoists in the eastern India, inter-religious conflicts in various parts of India, conflicts for autonomy in Kashmir, and then conflict with neighbours. Similarly there are regions of conflict in Nepal due to Maoists violence; in Bangla Desh due to religious fundamentalism, and ethnicity; in Pakistan due to ethnicity, and religious fundamentalism; and in Sri Lanka largely due to ethnic conflicts. Apart from these there has been a great upsurge in the resource conflict largely due to neo-liberal economic policies. These polices have increased the demand for the control of natural resources by the multinational corporations to a great extent. The state has also responded in the name of the faster economic growth by designing multipurpose infrastructure projects Special Economic Zones (SEZs) etc. All of this have cumulatively resulted in far greater social and economic costs and displaced millions of people across South Asia.

In the last one-decade the numbers of internally displaced persons (IDP) are on the increase in South Asia just as in many other parts of the world. Discrimination against minorities, violence, war, ethnic hatred, state repression, demands for self-determination, natural and man made disasters such as famines and floods, ill-conceived development projects such as highways and dams – all have contributed massively to internal displacement. In the absence of legal or constitutional mechanisms in any country of South Asia for the IDPs they have organized rehabilitation and care on an ad hoc basis for the IDPs in the same manner as they have dealt with refugees. During conflict situations the rights of an individual come under tremendous pressure and create exigencies for the agencies involved in the work of humanitarian relief. The basic needs of women, children and elderly people become acute in such situations. Even though the relief is necessary the important aspect is restoration of rights and special measures has to be devised for this purpose. However, when we talk of providing rights, justice and relief and rehabilitation to IDPs we have to talk of conflict resolution and establishing peace.

Since the causes of conflicts are many the ways to achieve peace and justice have to be seen in their plurality. From this perspective, peace may not only mean the absence of violence or war but also the presence of justice, as articulated by Martin Luther King, Jr. In this conception, a society in, which one group oppresses another lacks peace even in the absence of violence, because the oppression itself constitutes evil. The peace and justice also have to be seen in terms of a harmonious balance

between human beings, the rest of the natural world, and the cosmos, which extends its limits from a mere "absence of war" or even a "presence of justice" standard. Mahatma Gandhi's model of development as articulated in 'Hind Swaraj' is also in the backdrop of larger goals of establishing peace, mitigating socio-economic and political conflict and securing justice for all. So, the multi pronged strategies have to be devised by the state and civil society in order to mitigate conflict, establish peace, and administer justice.

This module, in particular, would discuss:

- The concepts of conflict, peace and justice beyond the obvious and seek the interrelationship
- Typography and nature of the displacement due to various factors.
- Examine the programmes and policies as enshrined in the national and international provisions for relief, and rehabilitation of IDPs.
- Concerns and specific needs of the women, elderly, children and other marginalised sections I the time of the displacement.
- The role of national or international agencies in mitigating conflict.
- Ways of transforming the conflict and contributing towards the overall development of individuals, community and the nation.

2.3
Programme Tools

The tools for learning, teaching and training during the programme are:

- A primer on key terminologies associated with the modules
- Presentations by resource persons
- Face to face discussion with human rights activists, researchers' policy analysts etc.
- A programme reader including key texts on each modules
- Selected case studies
- Films on development, human rights issues, alternatives, strategies and important campaigns
- Prose or poetry on related themes
- Model questions for discussions

Format of Interactive sessions based on Films, Case Studies, and Key Texts

- Opening remark by the moderator on the theme based on the text, film, case study etc.
- All the participants would be expected to have studied the texts or case study before coming for that particular session. (However, one of the participants would be asked to summarise the key points of the text before the discussion starts, for the benefit of those who have not read that.)
- Model questions to be distributed or raised by moderator to the participants for their reflection and discussion.
- In the interactive workshop session participants are to be divided in groups of 5-6 to discuss the salient questions raised by moderators and by themselves during the group discussion. [Approx. 20 mins. If a film is screened or else 30-45 mins]
- Moderator / Resource Persons to try and shape the discussion on principles of horizontality, mutual trust, shared consciousness, informality, solidarity and critical engagement
- At the end participants to come out jointly with some definitions of the concepts discussed and or the solutions for the problems discussed during the session and present it to everybody. [Approx. 30 minutes]

Film Resources

1. Development Flows from the Barrel of the Gun
2. Naka Naka, Dupont Naka, India
3. Jari Mari, India
4. Kaise Jeebo Re
5. In the Dust of Development
6. Bhopal Express
7. Ladies Special
8. Swaraj
9. Words on Water
10. Film on Right to Information

See Section Three for important texts and web resources.

2.4

**Model Questions for Discussion for Session
on Globalisation and its Impacts**

1. What do you understand by 'poverty', 'freedom' and 'development'? Do people in different contexts understand these terms in the same way? What do you understand by globalisation? By 'global capitalism'? By 'neo-liberalism'? By 'Free Trade'?

2. How does globalisation affect your life (think about how you consume, how you think about the world, how you relate to others, what you aspire in life)? How does it affect the lives of other marginalized people (in your area, your country, in other countries)? Are these effects positive? Negative? Both? Neither?

3. Do you think the response of the government in dealing with the effects of the globalisation processes by way of designing safety nets are adequate?

4. Do you feel globalisation is going to lead us to the end of national, local or traditional cultures? Would this be a positive or negative thing? What traditions or cultural practices would you like to keep, and, which would you like to see change?

5. Is globalisation inevitable? Is globalisation desirable? Can you imagine what a completely 'globalised' world would be like? What would it take for this globalised world to be just for everyone? Is there anything that you think should not be globalised?

6. Can you imagine a world without countries? Are countries (or 'nation states') necessary for the organisation of society? How were countries formed? What are their functions? What advantages and limitations can you see in this form of organisation?

7. What challenges and possibilities does globalisation bring for social relations? Cultures? The environment? Equality? Peace? Justice? The 'eradication of poverty'? What has been done to address the challenges? What progress has been made?

8. Was there ever a pre-globalised world in the contemporary modernity?

**2.5
Assignments**

- Based on the provided reading material and their understanding participants would be required to prepare a case study of rights violation or protection of marginalised communities in the context of globalisation process, prepare a rights manifesto, policy document, frame resistance and advocacy strategies or something, which they think would be beneficial for the discussion during the programme.

- Towards the end of the programme participants would be engaged in an exercise aimed at drafting / evolving solutions for the problems affecting their communities to be decided consensually by the participants. The steps would be:

  a)   to identify the needs or problems of the community
  b)   to choose a certain need or problem as a focus of activity
  c)   to plan a programme for its solution
  d)   to carry out steps involved in the plan.

Both the exercises would help participants in developing their ability to *research* (observe, report, pinpoint) - all related to the social and physical geography of the community. It will help them in setting goals or objectives, plot steps towards achieving the objectives and finally evaluate their progress towards that objective.

2.5.1
Chilika Bachao Andolan
(Save the Chilika Movement)

An Illustrative Case Study for Teaching

Ranjita Mohanty, Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), New Delhi[1]

Preface

This study was undertaken as a part of the comparative global research project on civil society and governance, co-ordinated by the IDS at the Sussex University and funded by the Ford Foundation. In India, PRIA coordinated the study. The study seeks to explore the interface between civil society and governance with an aim to understand the role and contribution of civil society towards the promotion of good governance in India. In this case study I have followed the broad parameters set by the project co-ordinators at IDS and our own conceptualisations and the framework we developed at PRIA. Not withstanding the parameters given by the IDS, since the study demanded that we look at civil society, governance, and their interface in the specific Indian context, it led to challenging some of the dominant conceptualisations, which permeates this understanding particularly in the West.

Chilika Bachao Andolan (Save the Chilika Movement) was a movement by the people, mostly fishermen, who posed a successful resistance in the early 90's to the Integrated Shrimp Farm Project (ISFP) - a joint venture agreed upon by the Tata Iron and Steel Company and Government of Orissa for intensive prawn cultivation and export. The project was a direct threat to the livelihood of fishing communities living around the lake. The fishermen were supported in their struggle by the non-fishermen (mostly farmers but some of them also engaged in fishing), students, intellectuals, and human rights activists. The lake, an otherwise quiet scenic spot, was stirred by voices of resistance opposing the Tata business house, the government, and the developmental idiom, which gives priority to the commercial use of the resources over their local subsistence use. The movement was episodic in nature and uneven in speed. There were different streams of thought and action among, which it was not always possible to achieve synchronisation. Yet all these separate formations together gave the resistance the form of a movement. Despite the internal conflicts and contestations among the people and the leaders, the worth of the resistance lies in raising some critical governance issues pertaining to policy formulation, resource use and control, socio- economic equity not only with regard to the specific instance, but with regard to the broader question concerning the prevalent paradigm of development, as well, and more importantly in pointing out the way the Indian state relates to ordinary people and the way ordinary people would like to refashion this relationship.

The relationship between civil society and good governance rests on the assumption that a vibrant civil society enhances the quality of governance. There is no denying of the fact that collective initiatives in many ways restrain and reform the state and in that sense indeed contribute towards good governance. Nonetheless, the exploration of the interface between civil society and governance reveals in more than one way the tensions,, which underlie this interface. Thus while the efficacy of

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collective action would lead to the conclusion that people are capable of interrogating the state and conceptualising a good life and a good society, the conflict of interest in civil society and the appropriation of the benefits by the dominant and powerful sections would suggest that this emancipatory version of civil society and an uncritical faith on it need to be questioned. That is civil society needs to look both back and forth it needs to question the state when the state becomes overbearing and at the same time it needs to question the power equations within its own sphere. As Allen Touraine says social space is both the locus and target of contemporary movements (Touraine 1983). The agenda of good governance therefore, not only includes the democratisation of the state, it must involve the democratisation of society, as well. How effectively actors in civil society perform this dual, albeit interrelated roles, and what constraints their action, is the subject of this case study.

Context

The wide popularity, rather it would not be inappropriate to say the celebratory status civil society has received within the last two decades is due to the democracy wave, which swept through the erstwhile communist countries in Eastern Europe and authoritarian regimes in Latin America and Africa. It is now too well known that it began in 1989 with the fall of Berlin Wall and the collapse of Soviet block, and the wave moved further with the challenge posed to the military regimes in Argentina, Chile and the hegemonic apartheid and single party rulers in Africa. The people languishing without civil rights and rule of law under authoritarian hegemonic regimes could come together to challenge the state and overthrow it, thus supporting through their action the notions of efficacy of collective strength in curbing state power. Whether this triumph of civil society, which has generated so much euphoria among a wide variety of actors, does really make civil society that celebratory and emancipatory is open to debate because this resurgence in civil society is closely tied up with the march of free market and the actors in civil society, as experience of East European countries show, soon after the overthrow of the hegemonic state, fall victims to political bureaucracy and capitalist elites. However, few would disagree, with the fact that these contemporary civil society assertions prove the strength and determination of ordinary men and women and their collectives to challenge the authoritarian states and thereby testify that people are not only capable of defining their vision of good society and polity; they can also organise themselves to demand for rights and freedom necessary to actualise this vision.

It is not the intention of this paper to go into the conceptual history of civil society or the contemporary conceptualisations in the growing literature on civil society. The aim is to tease out the unique thread, which makes civil society a distinct concept worth exploring, and, which lends the concept an air to attract a wide variety of people who critically or uncritically subscribe to it. Except perhaps for Gramsci in whose writing we find civil society as a site for the perpetuation of the hegemony of the state, the conceptualisations on civil society make it an independent, non-political realm between family and state [2] or a third sphere different from the state and the market[3]. Conceptualisations like this fill the space of civil society with a

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[2] Conceptualisation of civil society as a non-political sphere does not mean that civil society remains unaffected by the structures and dynamics of power or that there can always be a distinction between civil and political. Civil society initiatives can take a political turn, but they are not equivalent to political actions in the sense that neither they are initiated by party politics nor they form a part of state structure.
[3] Taylor 1991; Hanneth 1993; Issac 1993, view civil society as different from the state. See Cohen and Arato 1992, for the conceptualisation of civil society as the third sphere and for the relational aspects between the state, civil society and market see Oommen, 1996.

variety of actors- movements, trade unions, NGOs, non-profit organisations. These collectives may counter pose to the state to curb its power, or may collaborate with the state to enhance its performance, and in that process reform it [4]. This formulation is extremely attractive to people fighting authoritarian regimes as well as to those who believe in the efficacy of people's associations to restrain and reform the state. The later version may well be applicable to the democracies like India where the state is not overtly authoritarian and there are constitutional rights and laws to safeguard the freedom of the citizens. Thus while in the overtly authoritarian and military regimes people crave for a space to form associations and engage in the politics of good life in a sphere, which is not under the surveillance of the state and pressurise the state to grant them the rights and liberties to transform the vision in to reality, since a democratic state gives people this space through institutionalisation of the rights, freedom and laws, people assert their collective strength in civil society when the state deviates from its role or becomes overbearing. Conceptualisations like this make civil society extremely desirable for it reflects on the strength and responsibility of ordinary men and women to throw their own conceptions of good life, the kind of society they would like to live in and the kind of polity they would like to be governed by. What these conceptualisations fail to capture or ignore is that civil society is equally capable to be undemocratic, discriminatory, and exclusionary. Civil society is as much susceptible to be corrupted by the inequalities in society as the state. Civil society is attractive to people because it is informed by the values of egalitarianism and it is emancipatory, but that should not blind us to the power struggles in this sphere or the conflicts and contestations, which mar the democratic values of civil society. As we proceed to analyse the Chilika movement it will be clear how the inequalities in society prompt collective action, but also how collective action is constrained by these inequalities and divisiveness. Therefore, the process of democratisation of the polity,, which takes place in civil society is intrinsically related to the democratisation of society.

Another problematic with this conceptualisation is that in locating civil society as the realm between the family and the state, or as the third realm different from market and the state, civil society is organically delinked from the state. In their over zealousness to emphasise on the autonomy and independence of the third sphere, the theorists of civil society ignore the fact that in countries like India, where governance is in the hands of a constitutional democratic state, however inadequate or formal that may appear to be, the state in fact, on the one hand provides the framework in the form of rights, freedom and laws to enable people to come together for collective action, and on the other, inadvertently conditions the initiatives in civil society. And if we were to capture the essence of the state and civil society on the basis of their ultimate ideals, we have to concede that notwithstanding the deviations, they share the same vision - the vision of universal freedom and universal rights (Mohanty 1999). That is to say the overlapping between the boundaries of the state and civil society is as much a concern in this discussion as their differences.

Coming to governance, in contemporary times the World Bank is credited with making the term popular in development discourse (World Bank 1989, 1991, 1992, 1994). Failure of its economic policies in the African countries led the Bank to conclude that something was terribly wrong with governance in these countries and the Bank equated administrative inefficiency, corruption, lack of transparency, lack

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[4] For Keane 1988 (a), 1988 (b), 1998 and Chandhoke 1995, civil society performs the important task of reforming the state. Tocqueville 1900, finds civic associations working as watchdogs in a democratic state and Putnam 1999, finds a strong linkage between civic associations and democracy. Civil society however, is not always conceptualised vis-à-vis the state. Walzer1992, for instance, views civil society as the uncoerced aspect of human association.

of accountability, violation of the rule of law etc with bad governance. The solution to this was sought in achieving in the Bank's terminology "good governance"- enhancement in the quality and process of administration. The Bank nevertheless, avoided taking a stand on the type of political regime or form of governance as a requisite for good governance and reduced good governance to mere administrative reforms (Guhan 1998). The conceptual gap is filled by the bilateral donors who by making the developmental aid conditional to democracy and the granting of civil rights have equated good governance with the political regime of democracy.[5] Around the same time as governance was being thought problematic in many countries around the globe, the manner of the overthrow of authoritarian regimes in Eastern Europe, Latin America and Africa, made civil society the new *mantra* for achieving good governance. The linkage of civil society and good governance therefore rests on assumptions that a vibrant civil society, the collective engagement of people with governance structures will result in the ushering of a liberal-democratic political environment and make the administrative agencies efficient and responsive to people's needs. The emphasis on good governance therefore, is sought to provide congenial political and administrative conditions for the growth of market and also to reform the state in the badly governed developing countries by making civil society the vanguard in promoting liberal-democratic ideals. Thus, the earlier sanctions imposed through making development aid conditional to the presence of democracy and civil rights, have been replaced by rewards in the form of support to civil society in the developing countries, with the hope that they will foster democracy, transparency, accountability, and rule of law in these countries. Therefore, historically speaking, the timing of the tying up of the two terms - civil society and good governance - could not have been better.

While it is important to remember that governance, which beginning with the World Bank is making the rounds in development aid vocabulary, is intrinsically linked to liberalisation of the economy and opening of space for the market, it also needs to be reiterated that irrespective of the genesis and popularity of the term, "good governance" is itself a desirable *state de affaire.* Nevertheless, the definition of governance and the linkage between civil society and good governance raise some questions and concerns:

The conceptualisations of governance are not embedded in the wider social context in, which inequalities and divisiveness of various kinds affect the governance structures and the celebratory status bestowed upon civil society hides the conflicts and contestations taking place in this sphere. These conceptualisations do not take in to account the wider social and political system in, which political and social are not distinct but overlapping, and that mars the autonomy and independence of the state and makes civil society vulnerable to conflicts and contestations of various kinds.

This simplistic understanding of governance and civil society is behind the exceedingly optimistic assumption that everything else remaining the same civil society initiatives *alone* can help in promoting good governance. That the agencies of governance often get vitiated by the dominant interests and power structures of society can not be overlooked in any discussion of governance in India This brings us to the heart of the civil society and good governance assumption that given the legitimacy of political regime of democracy, the enhancement in quality and competency of administration would result in good governance, and collective

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[5] Before the terms governance and democracy became popular in development vocabulary the need to make governance more humane in the existing democracies like India was emphasised by Kothari. See Kothari, 1987, 1988 for a discussion on the desirability of humane governance.

initiatives in civil society can effectively pursue this end. Arguments like this resting on assumptions of social neutrality as they are do not take into consideration the entrenched inequalities and divisiveness in a country likes India. The contexts of inequalities put different groups in unequal relations with each other and vis-à-vis the state, and therefore not only collective action is constrained in myriad ways, the instances of allying of powerful groups with the governance agencies may well mean that actors in civil society can not deal with the governance agencies in complete isolation from the wider social setting in, which unequally placed groups compete with each other to appropriate the scare resources and in, which fulfilment of political aspirations makes electoral politics of democracy manipulate the sectarian interests. In such a situation can bad governance be only ineffective and incompetent administration, and can improvement in quality and performance of administration be called good governance and last but not the least, can we assume that in the same environment in, which dominant interests oppress and alienate the marginalised, civil society actors can always elicit positive response from the sate? If the relationship between the state and civil society is far from congenial what implication does that have for civil society and its democratic agenda? This case study raises these questions in the context of collective action in Chilika. By doing so it suggests that the existing notions of governance needs to be expanded to accommodate both the wider social and political system. It also reveal that notwithstanding the tremendous odd against, which civil society actors have to sail, instances of collective action show that the disadvantaged and marginalised people are capable of not only interrogating and challenging the state, they are equally capable of refashioning their relationship with the state. These notions of governance coming from people are what I suggest, to be considered as constitutive elements of good governance.

Development, Resource Use and People's Movement

Mobilisation by the marginalised groups to protect their livelihood resources against commercial use is not new in India. During the colonial regime there were tribal and peasant uprisings against the state intervention in the customary practices of the people. The replacement of customary management of the common property resources by the state management led to conflict of interest and it manifested in people asserting their claim, right, and control over their subsistence resources. After independence, the developmental ideal prompted the state to pursue a path of economic growth through optimum utilisation of the natural resources. Thus economic growth through industrialisation and commodity production became the core of Indian economy and industry, mining, and giant irrigation projects took shape in quick succession to change the economic and social landscape. The developmental path of a democratic state was ideally designed to benefit the disadvantaged and promote equity and social justice. Ironically the democratic developmental agenda of the state was subverted by the dominant forces as they appropriated the benefits of development much to the disadvantage of the marginalised who had suffered social and economic vulnerability in the past and who the developmental projects were designed to bring benefit (Kothari 1986; Bardhan 1984, 1988; Kohli 1987, 1988; Dhanagre 1987). Not only developmental projects did not benefit them; they added new dimensions of disadvantages to their already disadvantaged position. As the techno centric economic growth took off and huge irrigation, hydel projects, and heavy industries took shape, thousands of people were displaced from their original habitat and without a comprehensive resettlement and rehabilitation policy displacement became the inevitable fall out of development. As the natural resources were put into commercial use a large number of people directly dependent on nature for their subsistence lost their access and control over their resources. It is no surprise then that they have resisted the policies formulated to bring benefit to them. While the resistance to the colonial state was prompted by an

understanding that it was an alien and oppressive state, the post- colonial assertions are against the Indian state, the developmental logic of whose is legitimised in the name of people[6]. What prompts people to question this logic and legitimacy? How do the hitherto voiceless people get the voice to question the state, which they have regarded as their benefactor? From where do they get the resources to mobilise themselves? How does civil society formulates its own discourse vis-à-vis the state? How does the state respond to these interrogating voices of the marginalised? Do the marginalised groups always find collective action enabling? How do these assertions in civil society vis-à-vis the state shapes the democratic polity and society in, which we live? The study is intended to answer these questions.

These contemporary assertions by the marginalised to gain control over their resources reveals on the one hand the tenuous relationship between the neglected citizenry and the state and on the other the potential of these people to redefine and refashion this relationship. As Melucci puts it " The public spaces, which are beginning to develop in complex societies are points of connection between political institutions and collective demands, between the functions of government and the representatives of conflict" (Melucci 1988: 259). The conflicts over natural resources as I pointed out earlier are not new, but the contemporary movements have added a new dimension to the struggle by articulating the issues in terms of survival of the majority dependent on nature, and the related issues of dominance, unequal distribution of developmental benefits, sustainable development and people's involvement in the decision making[7]. These movements have given people new identities and have inspired them to imagine a kind of society they would like to live and the kind of polity they would like to be governed by; at the same time they have provided people with new strategies to pose resistance to the forces, which hinder the realisation of these ideals. The movements like the resistance in Chilika are reflection of this new self-reflection among people - who are they and what kind of life they would like to live? What would be their relationship with nature, with fellow human beings, with public institutions and with the state that governs them? As people address these questions collectively they bring these questions to the public sphere where they are debated, discussed and democratised.

Chipko Movement, which heralded the people's resistance for control over their sustenance resources, was a movement by the local people particularly women in the hills of Garhwal, Uttar Paradesh to save their forest from commercial felling. It was the continuation of the old peasant struggle, but it added new dimension to the struggle by raising the issue of survival, dependence and control of people over their resources and by directing the struggle not against any class *per se* but against the state (Guha 1991). It happened in the early 1970's, a period significant for the Stockholm Conference on Environment. Chipko brought home the truth that environmental degradation and social inequalities are intrinsically linked in more than one way (Guha 1991; Bhatt 1991). The overuse of natural resources for commercial purposes not only deprives people from their resource base and widens the gap between the elites and the impoverished masses, it does not leave any choice for the people to use their resources sustainably, because the people dependent on the dwindling material base for their sustenance can not be asked to be prudent users of nature. The success of Chipko was followed by resistance against big dams, mines,

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[6] There is a growing body of literature available on people's resistance to environmental consequences and loss of subsistence natural resources in different regions in India. See Agarwal 1985; Baviskar 1995; Bhatt 1991; Fernandes 1991; Gadgil and Guha 1994; Guha 1989, 1991; Omvedt 1993; Mohanty 1995; Pathak 1994.

[7] It is not the intention of this paper to go into the debate whether these contemporary movements can be categorised as new social movements. Suffice is to say that because these movements are different from the earlier class based movements, which mobilised people along party lines they reflect a distinct approach towards people's issues and they herald the emergence of a new phase of collective action.

and industry. In Tehri, Neramada, the Western Ghats, Kaiga, Baliapal people started raising voices against the developmental policies of the state, against the loss of their productive resources like forest, water, and land and against the large-scale displacement, which has become a common feature of all the big developmental projects. The local resistance have performed two significant tasks: they have amplified the voice of the marginalised against the dominant interests and have shown us that the disprivileged, when mobilised, are capable of not only defining what constitutes a good life, a good society and a good polity, they are equally capable of suggesting the ways to execute and actualise these ideals

Methodology

In pursuance of the research framework and the research questions suggested by the Project, the study focused on the key governance problems- the issues and the processes that crystallised people's resistance into a mass movement; support / alliance the movement built with other actors in civil society – other civil society organisations, intellectuals, students, human rights activists; collective mobilisation in Chilika; mechanisms and strategies the movement adopted to interact with the government at local, provincial and national level to influence the policy; and the long term impact of the movement on governance, as far as policy decisions are concerned.

Information for the study was collected from various sources- interviews were conducted with people from the villages (Panaspada -Gopinathpur, Siara and Satpada in Puri District) adjacent to the ISFP; with students who were involved with the movement; with the leaders of the *Chilika Bachao Andolan* and with other civil society leaders who gave active support to the movement; with journalists who not only supported the cause but also by providing wide coverage to the movement raised public opinion; with intellectuals; and with political leaders. Pamphlets, press releases and other literature of the movement provided insight into the way the movement articulated the issues and mobilised people. Various studies and government reports on Chilika were a rich source of information on the lake, its ecosystem and the complexities of its socio- economic mosaic.

Contextualising the Resistance

Chilika, located in the Puri, Khurda and Ganjam districts of Orissa, is the largest brackish water lake in India. It is home to large varieties of fish and plants that thrive in the brackish water. The lake is separated from the Bay of Bengal by a long sandy ridge varying between 100 to 300 yards in width with one natural opening near Arakhkuda, which permits the flow of water and migration of fish from the sea to the lake. The lake maintains a sweet- saline ecosystem during the year. It becomes sweeter (less saline) between July and December due to inflow of floodwater and becomes more saline between January and June due to the ingress of seawater. Chilika has been identified as a wetland of international importance at the Ramsar Convention, held in Iran in 1971 to, which India was a signatory. Government of India has also declared Chilika as a bird sanctuary for facilitating the migration of nearly 132 species of birds from Siberia every winter.

A large number of villages in and around the lake are inhabited by a heterogeneous population comprising of both fishermen and non-fishermen belonging to different castes. Fishing and agriculture are the two primary sources of livelihood for these people. The fishermen belong to the lower castes and most of them are either landless or posses tiny landholdings. They therefore, are completely dependent on fishing. The non-fishermen belong to higher castes and are engaged in agriculture. A large number of them however, have taken to fishing to supplement their income

because the productivity of the land is low due to salinity, erratic monsoon and lack of irrigation facilities. Many non-fishermen are now engaged in fishing, particularly after prawn became a lucrative market commodity. Ever since the white prawn and the tiger prawn became lucrative export items, besides many non-fishing families, traders and rich and influential people from outside have taken to shrimp farming thus displacing the fishing communities from their resource base.

Since fishing is done by the lower castes in earlier times it was looked down upon as a lowly occupation and higher castes in the past shunned fishing. Now that the higher castes are themselves engaged in fishing, the stigma attached to the occupation is removed. Nevertheless for social purposes the upper castes still maintain their distance from the lower castes. The low social status of the fishermen gets intensified by their low economic status. They live in conditions of poverty, there is not much education among them, and many of them are in debt, taken from moneylenders, middlemen, and traders for household expenses and for buying fishing equipment. The caste and class differences are thus very sharp in the area.

Traditional Fishing Grounds

On the basis of general slope of land and the depth of water in the lake the fishing grounds can be grouped as follows:

Jano: Jano fishing grounds are mostly located around the various islands of the lake. *Jano* fisheries are barricaded fisheries (barricaded with split bamboos) in sallow water and are operated from October to February.

Khati: Khati fisheries are shrimp fishing grounds in, which fishing is done with traps. *Khati* fishing is done mostly with the help of bamboo traps set in shore areas and are operated between March and September.

Bahan: Bahan refers to net fishing,, which is done in the deeper portion of the lake. Net fishing is done throughout the year but to a lesser extent during October to December.

Dian: Dian fishery ground is confined to upland areas and is operated during September to January.

Uthapani: Uthapani refers to shallow water fishing during monsoon

The fishing practices differ for the fishermen belonging to different caste groups:

Keuta (also known as *kaibarta* or *khatia*) form 68%of the traditional fishermen and they fish with nets. *Kandara*, the second largest group use traps - *dhaudi* and *tata*, for catching crabs and prawns. *Tiar* people use bamboo traps called *baja. Karatias* use both traps and nets for fishing.

Besides there are *Nolias* - the telegu immigrants who fish mainly in the sea and partly in the lake mouth and in some parts of the outer channel with drag nets and cast nets and a lrge number of refugees from East Bengal who have taken to fishing as their means of livelihood though they donot posses any legal right to fish in the lake.

In the past the castes were required to follow their respective fishing practices and any violation of the rule was considered as a serious social offence. The *kandaras* and *Tiars* thus could use only bamboo implements like traps and the rest used nets.

The fishermen had to go to their prescribed fishing grounds even if it was at a distance from the village.

Fishing Rights of the People

The traditional fishing communities claim their fishing rights to the British period. When Chilika fishery sources were in the hands of the kings of Parikuda and Khalikota, the fishermen used to obtain most of the fishery sources by paying royalty to the king. In order to protect the interest of fishermen and eliminate the non-fishermen and traders encroaching on the rights of the fishermen, the first co-operative society, Balugaon Fishermen Co-operative Store, was established in 1926 at Balugaon, in the Puri District. It brought 24 fisheries under it. After the abolition of the estates and with the fishery sources coming within the preview of the government of Orissa in 1953, they were leased out by the Anchal Adhikari through open auction to the fishermen. The non-fishermen were allowed to take a limited number of *dian* fisheries and in some cases a few *jano* fisheries. Besides the unleased *bahani* areas were open for the non-fishermen to catch fish by paying a nominal fees to the government.This practice continued till 1959 when the Central Cooperative Marketing Society was established in Balugaon.The Central Society was designed to act as an apex body that would take lease from the government and sublease them to the primary fishermen co-operatives. A dual co-operative structure was thus established to protect and regulate the fishing right of the people. The Central Society was to take lease from the Revenue Department through the Collectorate of Puri and Ganjam to sublease them to primary co-operatives at that time numbering 48. Most of the important fishery sources were subleased to the primary societies. In case there was no primary society *dian* fisheries were subleased to villages dominated by fishermen. Those sources, which were not taken on lease by the Central Society, were auctioned. The tehsildards (government officials from the revenue department operating at the block level) of Puri, krushnaprasada, Banpur and Ganjam had the right to settle the unleased fisheries through auction. The Chilika reorganisation scheme thus made a clear cut distinction between fishermen and non-fishermen and gave non- fishermen limited right on the lake

Till 1988 however, there was no clear cut demarcation of fishing sources, type of net to be used, and barricades to be set up to catch prawn. This resulted in considerable difficulty for the primary societies to operate. There was a dispute in 1986 between two primary societies relating to the fixing of barricades for catching prawn. It was a dispute between fishermen inhabiting the upper and lower region of the lake. The fishermen in the upper region had fixed very lengthy barricades, which obstructed the flow of fish to the lower region. Following this dispute the 1988 policy demarcated the fishery sources; it also increased the annual lease of fisheries to three years.

In 1991 the Government of Orissa issued an order, which divided the fisheries in Chilika into two categories- capture and culture, without however, adequately defining the meaning of the terms. Capture rights were confined to the fishermen and culture was opened to the non-fishermen and those villages, which were not member of primary societies. Since the government order did not lay down any guidelines for the operation of capture and culture fisheries, the Collector was free to act according to his discretion. This policy created further confusion and conflict. The fishermen feared that their traditional rights were being curtailed by leasing out culture sources to the non-fishermen.

Despite the time and again reiteration by the government that the policies were meant to safeguard the traditional rights of the fishermen, the policies did not yield

the desired effect for various reasons- they were ill defined, there was lack of rational and equitable distribution of fisheries; there was widespread illegal subleasing of fisheries and there was no mechanism to prevent it. The Central Society was given limited power and it acted merely as a body between the Revenue Department and the primary societies. The Central Society itself made erratic distribution and illegal subletting. Most primary societies bypassed the Central society and marketed directly through commissioned agents. The very purpose of a dual co-operative structure designed to protect the interest of the fishermen was thus vitiated

Initially the culturing of prawn began in the peripheral landmass of chilika. The leased out *dians*, *uthapani*, and upland *jano* fishries were converted into prawn culture ponds with mud embankment. Later the lake, deeper chilika, was also enclosed with bamboo poles and net for prawn culture.

Since 1980's the lake is witnessing widespread subletting of leased out fisheries by the Central Society and the primary societies and illegal encroachment by non-fishermen and outsiders [8]. This culturing of prawn on a big scale has resulted in the widespread conversion of traditional fisheries into prawn culture ponds or net enclosed *gheries*(barricaded space*).* Culture fishery requires heavy capital investment but ensures big profit. Hence many primary societies have found it a source of making money by leasing it out to resourceful persons.

This widespread culturing of prawn has threatened the livelihood of traditional fishermen as well as the ecosystem of the lake. Thousands of fishermen and non-fishermen families have lost their livelihood due to conversion of traditional fishing sources in to culture fishery. Cases of litigation and *prawn politics* now define the lives of the people in Chilika. Besides large scale obstruction and blockade in the water channels obstructs the free flow of water, free migration of fish juveniles and loss of grazing ground for the fish. The *gheries* also act as silt trap and accelerate the process of siltation.

It is in this socio- economic and political background that the Government of Orissa made an agreement with the business house of the Tatas for a joint semi- intensive prawn culture project called the Integrated Shrimp Farm Project (ISFP) and allowed the business house of the Tatas an advance possession of 400 hectares of land in Chilika for the IFSP.

The Integrated Shrimp Farm Project

In 1986 the then Congress government of Orissa entered in to deal with the Tata Acquatic Farms Ltd. to lease 1400 hectares of land in Chilika for prawn cultivation for a period of 15 years. The government had 10 % shares in the deal. The Janata Dal had opposed the project then. When it came to power in 1989, it merely changed the name of the farm into Chilika Acquatic Farms Ltd and increased the share of govt to 49%. In December 1991, the Governmnet of Orissa leased a landmass of 400 hectares in advance (from Barakudi village in Brahmagiri block to Gamhari village in Krushna Prasad block in Puri District) to the business house of Tata for the prawn culture.

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[8] See the Report of the Fact Finding Committee On Chilika Fishereies, submitted to the High Court of Orissa, Cuttack on 16th august 1993, for an extensive account of the government policies relating to fishing in Chilika, the ambiguities inherent in these policies and the consequent illegal subletting of the fishery sources and illegal encroachment on the lake by outsiders.

The project envisaged the creation of an artificial lake inside Chilika by enclosing the landmass with a 13.7 kms long ring embankment. This artificial lake was to be divided into a number of ponds in, which the prawns are to be nurtured and reared commercially.

The project comprised of the following units:

Shrimp farm: 300 ha. Pond area in Chilika to produce 1500 M.T of shrimp per annum.
Shrimp hatchery near Puri to produce 200 million post- larvae shrimp seeds.
Shrimp feed mill to be established in due course
Processing plant: to process 1500 M.T of shrimp for export initially in a leased out plant.

The entire output of the farm was to be processed and exported. The annual turn over from the farms was to be of RS. 3000 lakhs, which was to be in foreign exchange.

As a part of the extension service to small scale farmers and co-operatives in Chilika region, the project mentioned that about 70 million post larvae would initially be made available to them along with technical advice. As the requirement for feed increases due to increase in farm areas and production, a captive feed mill would be established in due course. The project stated that the shrimp produced by the farmers would be brought by the project at fair market price. The training, technical assistance, and services would be imparted to the framers free of cost and the Government of Orissa would render any infrastructure help required in this regard.

The Project emphasised that the direct as well as indirect employment of people in the project and opening of new farms would elevate the socio - economic status of the people around the farm[9].

Civil Society Assertion

Though the fishing communities had been resisting the commercial use and their consequent loss of control over their resources, never a mass mobilisation could take place in Chilika till the ISFP took shape and the threats became more visible, imminent and gigantic. The people of the villages adjacent to the Tata project were aware about the project but there was little awareness about the threats it would pose to their livelihood. In fact, the people anticipated a good bargain for their fish catch and employment in the project. Initially a few educated people in these villages became sceptical about the project. Later *Meet the Students* (MTS) group, an informal group of students who took active interest in social change, from Utkal University, Bhubaneswar (the capital city of Orissa) took initiative to visit the villages and discussed the issues with the villagers. Chitta Ranjan Sarangi, though not a student from the university, worked closely with the MTS group and played an important role in awareness raising and organising the people against the Tata project during the initial stage. The students from the University with the local students began visiting the villages regularly. The MTS group was a group of young people pursuing radical ideas of social change and their aim was to make people conscious of the injustices perpetrated both by the society and the state. Later a provincial level students forum *Krantadarshi Yuva Sangam* (KYS) was formed to mobilise the youths against the Tata project. Its core group was formed by the

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[9] See the Integrated Shrimp Farm Project Report of Chilika Aquatic Farms Limited, July 1991, for a detail account of the project.

students who were earlier members of MTS and as they passed out of the university they joined the KYS. Thereafter it was decided that MTS would function at the university level and KYS would function as a forum to mobilise the youths against the project.

This was in August 1991. With the initiatives of the students a meting of the intellectuals was convened at Bhubaneswar. Out of this meeting grew Chilika Suraksha Parishad, which was assigned the task of creating public opinion regarding the issues in the cities of Orissa, mainly in Bhubaneswar, Puri and Cuttack It was a forum, which invited the think tanks of oriya society to deabte and discuss the issue and provide moral support to the cause, which MTS was trying to promote.

Gradually the students also realised that the local organisations could be an effective vanguard for carrying the resistance against the project. Their grounding on the local issues and the trust local people have in their own organisations would help the local organisations carry the resistance forward more effectively. Steps were thus taken to involve the *Chilika Matsyajibi Mahasangha*, a mass organisation of 122 revenue villages in Chilika, which works towards the protection of interests of the fishermen. *Chilika Matsyajibi Mahasangha*,, which was fallen to the politics of rivalry between political parties, was revived to take up the cause of the fishermen vis-à-vis the Tata project. The *Chilika Bachao Andolan* (CBA) was formally launched in January 1992 to work as an extension of *Chilika Matsyajibi Mahasangha* in the areas adjacent to the project to spearhead the movement. Sri Govind Behera of was nominated as the convenor of the movement.

CBA was extended support by many other civil society organisations like *Ganatantrik Adhikar Suraksha Sangathan* an organisation based in Bhubaneswar and working towards the protection of the democratic rights of the people, and *Orissa krushak Mahasangha* (OKM), which works for the cause of the farmers. Mr. B.B Das, the president of OKM, played an important role in highlighting the environment hazards of the project and persuaded the government to undertake an environment impact assessment study relating to the project. He was also instrumental in inviting the attraction of the international community to the issue by campaigning that the Government of India must honour the Ramsar Convention in, which Chilika lake was declared as one of the endangered wetland, which needed to be protected.

All these civil society initiatives and formations gave the local people's protest the form of a movement, which raised economic, social, legal and environmental issues related to the project. The followings were some of the prominent issues raised by the movement:

1. The land allotted to the ISFP was traditionally being used by the neighbouring 26 villages for harvesting prawn. The shallow water collected during monsoon was ideal for the natural breeding of prawn.

2. The threats of flood and water logging due to the construction of the embankment on the Bhubania canal, which forms the outlet of the lake into the sea.

3. The embankment would obstruct the movements of the fish and prawn from brackish water to the sea during the breeding season. This would obstruct the natural regeneration of the prawns.

4. Long-term availability of fish within the lake would be adversely affected due to the pollution caused by protein feed chemicals and pesticides.

5. The project had moved ahead without the mandatory Environment Impact Assessment.

6. The land given on lease to the ISFP was classified as reserved westland and community pasture land. Hence the leasing of the lake was illegal as the lake was not classified under leasable property.

The above immediate issues were linked by the movement with the central question on development and resource use. As the movement put it:

"*The Tata project is not the central point of attack of this people's movement. The prime focus of opposition is the policy of the government towards Chilka and its people, and the Tata project is only an instance of this policy* " (From a booklet titled, Chilika: Voice Of The people, published by *Chilika Bachao Andolan, Kantadarshi Yuva Sangam,* the year of publication is not available)*.*

The movement articulated the issues in the three questions it posed:

1. Whom does Chilika belong to - the people or the state?
2. If the big business houses enter into prawn culture what will be the fate of the people for whom fishing has been the only source of livelihood?
3. In a situation where the commercial use of resources comes into conflict with the livelihood pursuit of poor people, what should be the priority of the state?

These questions contain what I cited earlier in this paper as notions of governance coming from the people. The movement thus helped redefine the priorities the state must keep in view in formulating and executing its developmental objective. It also redefined the relationship between the state and the marginalised. At the risk of repetition I would like to emphasise that it showed the capacity of ordinary people to refashion their relationship with the state and with other sections in society. These notions of governance do not merely speak of administrative inefficiency of the state, they reveal flaws in the decision-making, the wrong priorities of the state, and they demand that the state must correct its priorities keeping in view the interests of the poor and the marginalised.

Initially the mobilisation against the Tata project was confined to a few villages adjacent to the project. On September 20,1991 the date on, which the three year lease to the Central Co-operative Society was expiring thousands of fishermen gathered at the state capital, Bhubaneswar and protested in front of the Vidhan Sabha (provincial assembly), which was in session. A written memorandum was given to the Fishery Minister who in turn assured people that not even an inch of Chilika would be leased out to the business house of the Tatas. The Janata Dal, which was in opposition, favoured the people against the ruling Congress party. Demonstrations, meetings, dharnas and rallies at the project site and in the state capital summarise the activities of the movement during this phase.

In its second phase the movement became more broad based and adopted a somewhat militant tone when the people broke the embankment of the project[10]. The bureaucracy and the police tried brutal measures to suppress the resistance at the local level. Many people were injured as police beat them mercilesslessly and many were put in the jail. It is important to note that in this period the Janata Dal was in power and given its earlier support to the movement it was expected that it

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[10] For a chronological account of the movement see Chilika: Voice of the people, Published by *Chilika Bachao Andolan and Krantadarshi Yuva Sangam,* the date of publication is not available.

would favour the people. But the trust people had in their leaders got a set back when not only the party when it came to power tried to promote the Tata project, it also resisted the movement[11]. Nevertheless, the protest continued and the broader environmental issues pertaining to the project was beginning to be addressed by the movement along with the livelihood issues. The fragile ecosystem of the lake and the threat to the livelihood of fishermen were articulated to put pressure on the government. In advocating the environmental aspects of the issue emphasis was given on India's commitment to the international community to preserve the lake, which was declared as an endangered wetland in the Ramsar Convention and to, which India was a signatory It was reiterated repeatedly that preserving the environment was the fundamental duty of the citizen.

At this stage, disagreement appeared regarding the leadership of the movement between the Chilika based *Chilika Bachao Andoaln* and Bhubaneswar based *Orissa Krushak Mahasangha*[12]. There was a strong resistance to the leadership of Mr.B.B Das, President, *Orissa Krushak Mahasangha* as it was felt by the local leaders that the by overemphasising on the Ramsar Convention he was not only limiting the scope of the movement, it was feared that he was hijacking the movement in his favour. The student activists, who worked relentlessly in making the people aware of the threat from the project, had tried hard to put the responsibility of leadership on the local people. The movement at the local level thus time and again gave emphasis on the local leadership and saw the movement as a reflection of the initiatives taken by the people and a manifestation of their strength - *gan udyam avam gan sakti* (people's initiative, people's power) . The motive was to make people aware of their situation so that they can articulate the issues for themselves. Hence it purposefully defied any notion of leadership while recognising that every mass movement does need a charismatic leader to initiate the process and articulate the issues for the masses. But ultimately the people themselves carry the process forward. Hence no one should claim the leadership of any such movement[13].

Thereafter *Chilika Bachao Andoaln* continued its activism at the village level and *Orissa krushak Mahasangha* operated at the provincial capital and national level. People at the village level raised issues pertaining to the loss of their livelihood resources, loss of their control over these resources and kept the resistance confined to the local area. *Orissa krushak Mahasangha* articulated the issues in environmental terms linking the threat from the project with the fragile ecosystem of the lake and livelihood of the fishermen and as a strategic choice emphasised on the Ramsar Convention[14]. It's aim was to stop the project and as its president B.B Das puts it " To win the battle one must know where the week point of the opposite party lies and the issue on, which the public opinion- local, national, and international- can be created. We therefore, purposefully chose the environmental aspects of the project because we could site the Ramsar Convention on the one hand, and the absence of an Environmental Impact Assessment by the pro ject, on the other. Our weakness lies in the fact that we could not involve the local people as we could not use their language to further the cause" (personal interview). At the same time the government was interrogated on the ground of legality of the issues by invoking the

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[11] It is interesting to note that the Janata Dal leader Biju Pattnaik earlier had taken an oath that he would rescue the people and the lake from the clutches of Congress and the Tatas. Due to its resistance to the ISFP, the Janata Dal won all the five provincial assembly seats from the Chilka region.
[12] Personal interview with the leaders of the movement. This aspect also is briefly mentioned in *Maa, Mati, Chilika*, Published by *Chilka Bachao Andolan and Krantadarshi Yuva Sangam*, 1993.
[13] Personal interviews with the leaders of the movement
[14] For an account of the views of Mr.B.B. Das see two of his writings Chilka: The Nature's Treasure: Will it be Allowed to Die, a booklet giving the details of the ecology of the lake and the dependence of local people on the lake for their survival and Chilika Lake: Will it be Allowed to Die, a collection of letters (dates of publication of both are not available)

Land Settlement Act according to, which Chilika is a 'reserved Westland' and therefore cannot be leased to any individual or company.

Unlike the advocacy campaign, which was carried on at the provincial and national level away from the villagers, and therefore was not affected by the inequalities and power equations prevalent at the local level, the local struggle had not only to constantly negotiate with the dynamics prevalent in the sphere of civil society; it had to struggle hard to keep the spirit of resistance alive. This had significant bearing on the nature of the movement. The movement was primarily a resistance by the fishermen, as a strategic choice to make the mobilisation broad based the non - fishermen were persuaded to join the movement. Since the Project was perceived as a threat even by the non-fishermen both engaged in fishing as source of livelihood or in Prawn cultivation for commercial purposes, they eagerly joined the struggle. Nevertheless, this solidarity was confined only to resistance against the Tata Project; in the day to day living the two groups continued with their traditional rivalry. The fishermen historically exploited by the powerful and dominant non- fishermen were suspicious of the latter's motive and in reiterating their claim over the fishery resources alienated even those non-fishermen for whom fishing has become a source of livelihood. The leaders of *Chilika Bachao Andoaln* tried to keep the resistance against the Tata project shield from the local conflicts between the groups and assured the fishermen that the priority was to fight the bigger enemy, the house of the Tatas, and once that battle was won, the other exploiters of the fishermen's resources (which were called mini Tatas) will be dealt with [15].

After a letter signed by 21 Members of Parliament belonging to different political parties was given to the Prime Minister and a memorandum to the Union Minister of Environment and Forests that the Central Government started paying attention to the problem. The then Union Minister for Environment and Forest Mr. Kamal Nath intervened and the Ministry issued an order putting ban on further work on the project till an environmental impact assessment study was conducted. The business house of Tata assigned this task to the Water and Power Consultancy Services (WAPCO)- a government of India undertaking, even when there were objections from the side of the movement relating to the credibility of WAPCO to undertake such a study. Both the Government of Orissa and the business house of Tata were emphatic on the positive aspects of the projects The Chief Minister of Orissa dismissed the movement as politically motivated and as the handi work of certain local hoteliers and marine exporters. The stand of the corporate house throughout was that the Project had very good foreign exchange potential and that the fishermen in the area would get a better price for their catch. It dubbed the movement as an act of prawn middleman, disgruntled politicians, ill informed beaureucrats, and environmentalists. WAPCO's report gave a clean chit to the project- it found the project to be environment friendly and having no adverse effect on the environment of the lake. There was opposition and criticism of the report both by the movement and by the Union Ministry of Environment and Forests. The Ministry much to the dissatisfaction of the government of Orissa maintained that the project could precede only after a proper environmental impact assessment was done by a competent body of experts. A three member team deputed by the Central Government to assess the situation in the lake expressed apprehension that the effluent discharged form the pond might affect the water quality of the lake. Furthermore, since the total water requirement of the farm ponds was proposed to be met by ground water extraction, the team feared that it might affect water availability in the area.

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[15] This aspect of the movement was gathered from the personal interview with the people involved in the movement and from the leaders.

While the rift between the Government of Orissa and the Union Ministry was going on and the movement was advocating vociferously against the project, the judgement of the High Court of Orissa relating to the fishing rights of the fishermen in Chilika clearly put a stop on intensive or semi-intensive prawn cultivation in the lake [16]. Some primary fishermen societies had filed a case against the 1991 policy of the Government of Orissa and the subsequent encroachment on the rights of the fishermen. The report of the Fact Finding Committee (popularly known as Das Committee) constituted to study the situation in the area reported widespread prawn cultivation and its adverse effect on the livelihood of people and the ecosystem of the lake. The High Court verdict in 1993, though not directly related to the Tata project, by putting a ban on intensive and semi- intensive prawn cultivation, barred the Tata project.

It may be argued that the verdict of the High Court was not a direct response to the movement. Nevertheless, the very fact that the resistance to the project was grounded on same issues, which the Das Committee report substantiated and that the government by recognising the negative impact of intensive prawn cultivation on the eco system of the lake and on livelihood of people did recognise the validity of people's voice against the project, speaks about the triumph of people's collective resistance to the project.

The battle with the corporate house was won, but the battle with the mini Tatas was soon forgotten. The temporary alliance between the fishermen and non-fishermen was broken with this victory and the illegal encroachment on the lake continued. The leadership was amateur, the movement was episodic in nature and the duration was too short to make people conscious of long-term goals. The rivalry between the city based advocacy campaign and the local resistance further weakened the chances of a unified struggle as both claimed the victory to be theirs[17].

Civil Society and Governance: Summing Up the Argument

The case study indicates that collective assertions by the marginalised takes place when the state abdicates its responsibility towards them. The insensitive and inadequacies of the governance agencies to protect the interest of the marginalised groups provide the context for collective action. Civil society actions in such situations address the concerns the state is expected to address and the effort is to reform the state and bring the state back to perform the role for, which it came into existence or to use a popular expression - not let the state off the hook. In Chilika the protest began when the state showed its insensitivity to people by putting their livelihood resources to commercial use. Moreover the shifting of responsibility of the regulation of the sphere from the state to the market further accentuated the dissatisfaction and apprehension among the fishermen who could not visualise the business house of Tata, governed by profit motive, giving priority to their needs.

It is not the distinction between the state and civil society but the blurring of boundaries between the two, which informs their relationship and this in turn must inform any analysis of the interface between civil society and governance. This

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[16] See the Orissa High Court Verdict, 23rd November 1993 in the matter of an application under Articles 226&227 of the constitution of India and in the matter of an application challenging the Government notification of the date 31st December 1991 laying down the principles of settlement of fisheries of Chilika lake.

[17] It was gathered during the personal interviews.

overlapping of the boundaries between the state and civil society is evident in two ways: civil society offers resistance to the state within the state given framework. In this case it were inadequacies in the existing structure of rights and threat to the existing rights that created ground for civil society to come into prominence. The movement's discourse on rights defined, which rights were important for whom and who should possess, which rights as a matter of priority and that the role of the state was not merely to recognise and grant these rights but to protect them, as well. It upheld the state's commitment to international community to preserve the lake and referred to the constitution to validate the cause of environment protection as the moral duty of the citizens. Secondly, civil society uses the legally sanctioned means such as dharna, demonstration, and meetings. The state when challenged even by peaceful ways tried to suppress the collective voice but civil society witnessed the worse when it used violent means such as breaking the embankment. However, the operation of civil society within the state given framework does not necessarily imply that civil society remains subservient to the state or the framework is unamendable. While interrogating the state within the framework provided by the state, collective action can significantly alter the contents of this framework. Thirdly, as mentioned elsewhere in this paper civil society and the state share the same ideals - ideals of universal freedom and universal rights (Mohanty 1999). Beneath the conflict between the state and civil society therefore there is an underlying unity of principles. When the state deviates from its ideals, shuns its responsibility towards its people, or does not fulfil its promises, collective action emerges to fill the space lying vacant due to the withdrawal of the state. However it is important to note than even in such situations civil society does not strive to replace the state; it aims at reforming the state so that the state lives up to its ideals.

The movement dispelled the myth about an unproblematic ideal of civil society. Differences of opinion, interests, the language in, which issues were articulated among groups, and disputes over leadership were distinct in this particular instance of people's mobilisation. This has significant implication for civil society. The conflicts of interest between fishermen and non-fishermen created considerable damage to the movement because while civil society needed to engage the non-fishermen in the struggle, it was their involvement,, which limited the scope of the movement and it could not address the issues of illegal encroachment on the lake and widespread prawn cultivation by these dominant groups. Due to the inability of the movement to address these issues it could not be sustained once the victory over the common enemy - the house of the Tatas was achieved. Furthermore, the divided interest among the leaders who led the advocacy campaign and those who led the local struggle damaged the efficacy of collective action. In this case the two campaigns going on simultaneously helped each other, but they never met to form a single coherent ideological base or strategy. The advocacy campaign though successfully negotiated with the Central Government, could not engage the local people in the campaign. Besides by advocating the issues in a language,, which was not familiar to the people (the emphasis on the Ramsar convention), it further alienated people from the process. This has far reaching consequence for sustainability of collective action because if people do not become an integral part of the struggle they fail to internalise the intensity of it and the moment the immediate goal is achieved the wider context of assertion is forgotten. Hence every new threat and challenge people face would require groundwork once again.

Inequalities in society provide context for collective action, but collective action is also hindered by these inequalities. It was the existing socio-economic inequalities and their further perpetuation as a consequence of what people perceive as wrong developmental priorities of the state,, which propelled civil society in to action. However, these inequalities also limited the scope for collective action. For instance, the traditional antagonism, which the fishermen in Chilika have towards the non-

fishermen limited their vision to the fact that for the poor non- fishermen fishing is also a livelihood pursuit. That is while assertions in civil society raise critical questions regarding "public good/ collective good" among unequally placed marginal groups there may not always be an unanimity of opinion and interest with regards to "collective good" [18]. This conflict of interest between the two equally deprived groups have significant implication for civil society: How can the every day existence be democratised when the groups because of their traditional caste differences and rivalries do not acknowledge their common fate when it comes to questioning the state? Secondly, in the context of this lack of unity among the dispriviledged can assertions in civil society be effectively carried against the powerful and the dominant? Civil society therefore, has to fight a two-way battle in its effort to promote good governance - it must strive to democratise the state; at the same time it must strive to democratise its own sphere. The contexts of inequalities in, which collective action takes place demand that civil society must strive to reform the state and society at the same time

The state's response towards the collective action by the marginalised can be both repressive and supportive. The governance agencies at the local and provincial level adopted an antagonistic stand towards the movement in Chilika and in extending support to the ISFP, opposed the movement and tried to suppress it by unleashing violence on people. But there was supportive response from the Union Minister for Environment and Forests and this alliance with the key functionaries strengthened the ability of civil society to interrogate and put pressure on the provincial government.

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[18] Many authors have linked civil society with public good. Seligman 1995, views civil society as an ethical idea, which balances between individual and public good; according to Tandon 1999, civil society represents the sum total of individual and collective initiatives for common public good

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2.5.2
Sample Assignment: Preparing Fact Finding
Study of a Human Rights Violation

FACT-FINDING INVESTIGATION REPORT

ON KILLING OF ADIVASI YOUTH

NEAR JINDAL INDUSTRY IN RAIGARH

Dalit Study Circle[19]

Fact-Finding Investigation Report

1. Introduction

On 05th May 2005, news appeared in the local daily in Raigarh concerning the firing of Adivasi youth by guards of Jindal. Since it was read by many journals, advocates, social activists, and others the news spread like a wildfire.
Followed by this many social activists from different parts of the state contacted members of Dalit Study Circle and enquired if a fact-finding mission could be undertaken.

Subsequently DSC contacted with people in Raigarh and tried to collect some information about the incident. Since the details of the incident were not as lucid as it was needed, DSC felt the urgent need to set up a fact-finding investigation. A four-member team was constituted in order to investigate the different dimensions of the incidents. On 7-8 May the team visited different areas in Raigarh concerning the case and came forward with several significant findings.

2. Facts of the incident

Village Saraipalli comes within Saraipalli panchayat in Raigarh district of Chhattisgarh, at a distance of 8 km from the district headquarters. This village comes under Kotraroad thana.

Saraipalli has a population of nearly 600 with a combination of Adivasis, Dalits and backward communities viz. Gond, Bhaina, Ganda, Sarathi, Agharia, Yadav, Dhobi, and Bairagi. Beyond the complexities and disparities of caste, people are more victimized by the industrial house adjoining their village viz. Jindal.

On the evening of 4th May 2004 Sariapalli was immersed with the celebration of a marriage ceremony. It was around 9.30-10 pm in the night, when a few security guards entered the village picked up Digambar Siddar – an Adivasi youth – and dragged him out of the village towards the Jindal's expansion area, said Kesar Prasad Siddar. From Digambar's home the expansion site is just 60 metres far away. Milantin, Digambar's mother saw her son being rapidly whisked away by the guards, she confirmed before the investigation team. She further said that he was sitting outside the house without knowing what was happening to him and we also didn't know what has happened. She saw the whole tussle but didn't understand what was going on.

Some people standing nearby rushed when the guards of Jindal pulled Digambar to the factory area. Before anyone could understand what was happening, one of the guards pointed gun at Digambar and shot. The bullet pierced the neck of Digambar, said Meharlal Siddar. The gun also emits pellets during firing. Another youth – Fanindra Kumar Patel, a first year student of BSc –approaching the spot was stuck on his chest with the pellet discharged during the firing. However he is out of danger.

According to Keshar Prasad Siddar, he reached the spot hearing the gunshot and found Digambar in a pool of blood. Kesar along with few others took Digambar to the hospital where he died. However Kesar remained there till further proceedings were complete.

People heard of some sound like that of crackers and didn't care much since the marriage ceremony was already on, said one of the youths during the investigation. However within a few minutes of the incident it spread like a wildfire in the whole area.

3. Background of the incident

People narrated the immediate background of the incident was suspecting Digambar as a theft. According to them Digambar was taken by the security guards of Jindal under the pretext of theft of construction material from the site, adjoining to the village settlement.

Was Digambar a thief? His mother says that he had never taken anything from anyone. How could her son be a thief? She continues, if he had stolen the material then where it has gone. If he takes it to the market to sell it, he has to pass through the construction site of factory only. Can he go on his own and sell it in the market without anyone's knowledge? Gauribai, the grandmother of Digambar said that, if he had secretly hidden it somewhere, where did he hide it? Did the guards find the stolen material?

When the factory management and the security guards discovered that some things from the premises are missing, what did they do? Did they register FIR with the nearby police station? What evidence did the company management had to endorse that the things lost was stolen by Digambar Siddar only.

The fact is that he didn't steal anything. Then why did the guards take him? Rajesh Tripathi of Raigarh Bachao Sangarsh Morcha establishes it, when the expansion project of Jindal was designed; they needed land in the vicinity. And the best option was Saraipalli. Applying different tactics the factory management succeeded in buying land from the people and appropriating the government land too. Most of the purchased land was cultivable land.

The company's expansion project is planned on this land. With the expansion work, the new fencing is as close as 5 ft. from the settlement. Due to expansion project the routes on two sides had been already blocked, which the villagers used for various purposes, yet people hadn't opposed as the land was already sold.

If the land was already sold then why was the tension between the village people and Jindal's security guards? Was there any personal enmity between the guards and people? As reported by Rajesh Tripathi that tension groomed between the people and factory administration when the management went on to dig pits in the graveyard of the Adivasis. The Adivasis opposed the act of digging their graveyard and registered their disagreement. People's argument was that till the time they live in the same settlement their graveyard should not be disturbed, as it was closely associated with their faith and culture. In fact they were undisputed on disturbing their forefather's holy land once they move out of the settlement. The dispute had been going for some days. Perchance this was the beginning of the story that led to the killing of Digambar Siddar.

The logical end from the above facts draws a clear line of understanding. Since people had voiced against the industrial bullying, it was not tolerable and as a part of teaching them a lesson such an act was unavoidable.

Intimidation tactics of different nature was already on the rise in Saraipalli. Rajesh Patel informed us that about two months back, the guards of Jindal

entered the village around 12.30-1 at midnight and asked the villagers why they were still awake. Who are the private guards of Jindal to ask such a question to the villagers? His duty is within the boundaries of Jindal premises not outside it. Do we have some rights within our village or not, continued Rajesh.

Recollecting the night Suresh Kumar Siddar said that people were awake that night because one patient was brought from another village named Kalmi.
Referring to another episode of similar nature, Khemchand Patel said that employees of Jindal come to the village at midnight and blow horns. We had restricted them from entering our village or lances and blow horn during night. Such incidences were already brought to the notice of the company management, yet no concrete action had been taken in this regard.

Much earlier gazing the possibility of fake allegation of stealing and pilfering materials from the Jindal's construction site, the villagers had taken a decision through their village panchayat that they won't touch a single thing that of Jindals. Whoever does such an act would be handed over to the police by the villagers as well as excommunicated from the village, updated Suresh Kumar Siddar.

Then why was Digambar murdered? Khemchand Patel says, Jindals want to establish their terror; with this purpose they killed Digambar. Perhaps the guards wanted to finish everyone. After they killed him, the company management had established a means to escape legal measures. Then after we had been hearing that Digambar had stolen something from the construction site. Doubtlessly this is a concocted story. It is to throw dust into the eyes of everyone about the real intension behind.

Hemlal Siddar another Adivasi in his early forties, who runs a petit-shop in the village says that, he and his brothers Khemlal, Narayan, Jawahar, Babulal didn't sell their land to the Jindals. But the company's motive was bad and they had dumped iron on the land. He feels that by killing Digambar, perchance the company wanted to convey a strong message to the villagers that anyone who will oppose the motives of Jindal will face the similar consequences. So the motives are clear about Digambar's killing.

4. Opinions about the killed youth

Digambar Siddar was just 19 years and the eldest in the family. He had one younger brother who is approximately 10 years, as told by his family members.
Khemchand Patel described Digambar as a simple man. He continues to say, if anyone slaps on his face, he is someone who wouldn't say anything back. Rather he would just walk back his way. How can such a humble person do such a crime, who never had any background of criminal character or even the moderate temper. While Khemchand was speaking about Digambar's background others standing nearby supplemented to it.
Milantin, Digambar's mother had this to say. He wasn't a thief nor had habits of moving here and there with friends. Contrary to this he used to be there for anyone in distress.
Reena Choudhary, a young girl about 15 years, hails from Ganda community. She says that the one who was killed was meek and very ordinary.
According to Anita Choudhary, another young lady from the Ganda community, the deceased one was a good man. She doesn't believe that Digambar had stolen anything. She is of the opinion that it is part of the strategy applied by Jindal to pressurize and threaten them.

This is the same feeling of many people in the village about Digambar Siddar. This puts clear questions on the corporate ethics being followed by the company in the past. Hence an attempt was made to look into some of the activities of Jindal in Raigarh in the past.

5. Brief history sheet of Jindal in Raigarh

Raigarh is situated at the eastern boundary of Chhattisgarh, towards its east it touch the eastern boundary of Orissa and Bihar. To the north it is surrounded by Surguja and Jashpurnagar districts, to its west is the Janjgir district. Its southern boundaries touches Mahasamund district.

Jindal industry entered Raigarh in 1989 and established its unit in 1991 under the banner Jindal Steel and Iron Ltd., currently it is known as Jindal Steel and Power Ltd. The plant has been established approximately at a distance of 7 km from Raigarh township. Patrapalli was one of the first villages to come under seize.

According to the people of Pathrapali village, they were told that only 13 acres of land would be taken with their demand for compensative returns. The land will be turned into a beautiful garden, where the children in the countryside could play alike those in the cities. The villager got ensnared in the colourful dream and they could not understand the reasons behind the interest of making a garden by a corporate house for them. However when it came to the demarcation and subsequent fencing a much larger area was covered.

According to Jayant Bohidar, the tranquillity of people in Raigarh had lost after the arrival of Jindal group. Social activists in Raigarh accuse Jindal with forceful displacement, repercussion of workers, applying contract labour system, negligent of air, water, and soil pollution from the factory, environmental impact of mining, despoliation of land, exploitation of water sources, corrupt practices, violation of Constitutional rights, gross violation of human rights, irregularities in mining areas, and so on. Embezzlement and filch is a common episode.

Whenever there are opposition to any of these aspects, Jindal strikes back, says Ramkumar Agrawal, former MLA from Raigarh. He continues to say; in the encyclopedia of Jindal company the major terminologies are *"Khareed Lo, Hatta Do, Mitta Do, Phasaa Do"* (Buy or remove or eliminate or entrap). How much ferocious and brutal attitude has been adopted by Jindal to fight the gullible masses who are demanding for their sole right to live and livelihood legitimately.

Despite the many hurdles innovated by the company struggle against the Jindals have been going on for more than a decade in Raigarh. Satyabhama was a firebrand Adivasi woman in this area. She was struggling against the government decision to give away water from Kelo river to Jindal. On 19.1.1998 they declared hunger strike till death. And she died on 26.1.1998; the day the country was celebrating its republic all across. Her death had put forward several questions.

Recalling the past experience Jayant Bohidar says, many social activists have been threatened on a number occasions. When the activists refrained from succumbing to the opposition, they were ensnared in fake court cases in different places. People were pressurised to sell their land without opposition.

The present case of Hemlal Siddar and others in Sariapalli where the land has been forcefully taken over for dumping of construction material has ample similitude.

Anita Choudhary narrated different incidences how the workers in Jindal look at the girls in a different way. Most of them are contract labourers. They live in nearby village where Jindal had provided them accommodation. Most of them pass through the village to and fro the factory. Verbal comments, whistling, trying to establish eye contacts, and other harassment are on the rise, she added. Going to school is difficult; Anita had to stop her schools with Std. 8. The reason is that the school was far away from the village and going to schools is never safe for the girl. Now the roads had been blocked then how could we go to schools, she asked the investigation team.

As a part of the Corporate Social Responsibility Jindal has adopted Sariapalli village for social development. While enquired about this then Anita responded like this. The only thing that they do in a year is to distribute some laddu (sweets) to the children in the schools on 15th August and 26th January. If this is what is called as CSR?

Chalmati another lady from Sariapalli said that their land has been despoiled with the dust and now dumping of waste, sand, and iron. This has increased in recent time. She reiterated that it is difficult for girls to move around alone. Dust emission also makes it difficult for students from going to schools as they fall sick quite often.

Contract labour has been the trademark of Jindal in Raigarh. Balmukund Yadav one of the worker's Jindal from Saraipalli village says that hundreds like him are contract workers. He works as a worker under a contractor named Mohanlal gets a payment of 4100/- since he is a mason. When enquired if they get any Provident Fund or Gratuity or Bonus, Kesar Prasad Siddar told us that there was never any appointment letter, no identity cards or anything, then how could we get any PF or gratuity or bonus? He is working with another contractor for 9 years. He gets a payment of 2800/-. He also pointed that there is not much of occupational safety within the factory. Accidents are very common, but often go unreported.

While talking on these aspects about a dozen labourers from the factory site walked through the lane and when spoke with them they were from Bengal and Jharkhand again working with some contractors. None of them know the exact number but they informed that hundreds from Bengal and Jharkhand are there engaged with their respective contractors.

6. Situation After the Incident

People of Saraipalli are fear stuck after the incident. Apparently this was evident from people's versions. Although there was a long existing fear in the mind of people, this particular incident has prompted the fear psychology.
Anita Choudhary says, she doesn't like to live in the village anymore. She feels like leaving the village and going somewhere. She is very much afraid after the murder.

Chalmati also resorted to a similar conclusion. She said that the benevolent atmosphere had been badly polluted due to the presence of Jindals. We are not sure how we could continue in this village under this situation.

Rajesh Patel expressed the present state of insecurity as a matter of serious concern. No sense of security is felt within the village. Though the situation was not different earlier, yet people were living in a better-secured state. Today

Jindal's security guards ask us why are we awake at night and tomorrow they will ask us why are we living in this village.

7. The Police Action

The investigation team was not able to meet with many police officers. However we were able to meet with the CSP B. M. Puri in a flash. While enquiring about the status of the case he informed us that four security guards who were working in Jindal had been arrested. While asked for a copy of the FIR he refused to give us a copy of the same.

Police had registered a case under sections 147, 148, 149, 302, 307 of IPC, sections 25, 27, 30 of Arms Act and section 2(5) of SC/ST Atrocities Act against the four accused guards.

Apart from this the district collector had announced a compensation of Rupees One Lakhs to the family of the Digambar Siddar another Rupees Two Lakh had been given by the Jindal administration.

CSP Puri also informed the investigation team that one guard was also admitted during the same night at 10 pm. He claimed that a case had been filed against the security guards. However he confirmed that no case had been registered against anyone from the Jindal management.

When enquired with the family members of Digambar if they had got a copy of the FIR or copy of the Post Mortem (Autopsy) Report, the answer was a big no!

8. Arising Concerns

First and foremost is that the corporate houses often cash such incidences since it easily passes the message of money power to the people. People living in terror and fear are not healthy sign for democracy. The fear psychology has been crucially designed in this case of proving that anyone who would try to break the shackles of power and domination will be defeated without any response.

In Raigarh people have got less faith in the police and administration, since they strongly feel that the Jindal runs it. Here is how Rajesh Tripathi puts it. There is no administration or police or even legal framework for the poor. All is perfectly reserved for the rich. Jindal is running a parallel government in Raigarh. Everything is bought and sold, just like a commodity in the market. For the administrative officials Raigarh is the pastureland in the whole of Chhattisgarh.

Constitutional bodies like the gram sabha, panchayats never heard. Even there are plenty of agents to overt the panchayat in the big man's favour as and when wanted. Then what is law and order or administration to the ordinary person? People are compelled to accept their life as per the whims and wishes of the corporate empire. The present status of accepting whatever is going on is taken as a part of their fate.

The fact that police is acting in a disreputable manner is clear in various incidences. Since there was a pressure, the guards have been arrested. But the real people behind are not brought into limelight. It should be noted that the assassination of trade union leader Com. Shankar Guha Niyogi was a planned move of the industrialists in Bhilai. Hence there is an underlying factor in this case too about the involvement of Jindal management,, which hadn't ever taken by the police into serious account. The Jindal management is equally responsible

in this case since it has a clear track of such incidences and tendencies in the past.

Killing of Adivasi youth is a clear violation of human rights. Violations of human rights in the past haven't taken into serious account in Raigarh particularly related with Jindal group. This in particular had been the weakness of police and administration in Raigarh.

Whenever such incidences happen what utmost is done is to provide some monetary compensation. But human rights violations cannot be compensated with money only. It is vital to take appropriate measures to prevent violation of human rights and occurrence of such incidences in future. Furthermore, non-existence of such a mechanism gives a free hand to the culprits with criminal tendencies. If such measures are not taken it will be in a way or other leaving the culprits. Leaving the Jindal management scot-free in the past had in a way armed it with renewed confidence and courage to carryon such activities without any difficult in future. Hence in a way the police are also party in continuity of human rights violation.

Article 21 of the Constitution ensures the right to live and livelihood as a fundamental right of every citizen. Article 39(a) states the right to earn a dignified livelihood. Article 39 (b) upholds that the State shall in particular direct its policy towards securing – that the ownership and control of the material resource of the community are so distributed as best to sub-serve the common good; that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of the wealth and means of production to the common detriment. Article 46 states that the State shall promote….the Scheduled Caste and the Schedule Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. The activities of Jindal plant near Saraipalli in Raigarh – in particular the recent killing of Adivasi youth – constitutes a gross violation of the constitutional rights determined and asserted in it.

India has been a signatory to the UN Declaration on Forced Eviction ever since 26.8.1991 and is duly obliged to respect that commitment,, which categorically states that "the ultimate responsibility for preventing evictions rests with the government" and "Forced Evictions constitute a gross violation of Human Rights". The declaration adds, "Consciously that Governments often seeks to disguise the violence that may be associated with forced eviction by using terms as 'cleaning the urban environment', 'urban renewal', 'overcrowding' and progress and development'. Conscious that misguided development policies can result in mass forced eviction".
        "Aware that forced evictions can be carried out, sanctioned, demanded, proposed initiated or tolerated by a number of actors, including but not limited to occupation authorities, national governments, local governments, developers, planners, landlords, property speculators and bilateral and international financial institutions and aid agencies." Verily Jindal is a case of planned development or planned eviction. This needs to be challenged at all levels. There are many other laws being violated.

Violation of right over livelihood is a gross violation of human rights; whether it is forest, or land or aqua resources. There are sufficient provisions to protect people right over livelihood resources based on Constitution of India. These rights of the people should be upheld by the administration rather than functioning as puppets of industrial houses.

The trust of the disinherited had been shattered and disowned by the disingenuous attitude of proximity of industrial houses with the state. In the past even the highest offices of the President and the Governor closed eyes and remained disabled to use their prerogative powers. Certain isolated attempts were made, that too under tremendous pressure. All attempts were only to sugarcoat and water-down the efforts of democratic protests and peaceful opposition, which give an impetus to the Jindal to capitalise the situation and overthrow the people's aspirations.

9. Recommendations

Under the above-mentioned circumstances it is vital to initiate an impartial investigation into the whole incident of the killing of Digambar Siddar and indirect pressure tactics of Jindal Company. All the cases of human rights violation should be seriously looked into since there are clear narrative chronologies of many incidences of similar nature in Raigarh in the past.

All those behind the killing of Digambar Siddar including the overall management of Jindal as well as the tardy police and administrative officials should be brought under the clutches of law. Unless there is an uncorrupt, honest, sincere and strong administrative and police set-up all such anti people activities will continue as in the past.

Ensure security to the inhabitants of Saraipalli and also to all other villages in the vicinity affected by the Jindals as well as other industries in Raigarh. Proper direction should be given to the administration to ensure the safety and security of people living under utter terror and fear, particularly the villages in the surrounding areas of the plant. Failure in doing so will have severe impact.
The state government should take precautionary measure of preventing such atrocious incidences on ordinary villagers, particularly weaker section in future since it is a constitutional right.

Ensure the constitutional rights, human rights, political rights, educational and health rights of the people in Raigarh, which has been thrashed by the corporate houses. Any infringement of these rights are violation of a whole set of human values and particularly the very right to existence and survival. It is recommended to set-up a vigilance committee comprising of social activists and local villagers from the affected villages in Raigarh in order to continuously monitor violation of any of these.

The killed persons family should be properly compensated so that they resume their lives anew and afresh. Compensation is not just in terms of monetary disbursement but also at large in creating an environment of justice and peace. Sense of liberty and tranquillity needs to be inculcated, which had been lost due to the demise of their beloved one. In reality no compensation could fill their psychological and cerebral wound to the family, but all possible efforts should be made.

Fanindra Kumar Patel, who survived the pellets, should be provided with protection as his life is still on the point of Jindals. It is not impossible, as in the past, that he and his family could be bribed and threatened to shut their mouth. Such aspects should be taken into serious account. It is not to be debated that the treatment cost of the injured person should be borne by the factory management.

Immediately stop the expansion project and look into the legitimacy of the expansion program. If the permission had been granted or not? Also the questions such as environmental clearances, the extents of land purchased from people, the extents government land appropriated vis-à-vis actual acquired land, occupational security to the workers, etc. should be investigated by an independent body.

The state should become more responsible and accountable to the masses. In a globalised era, the sweeping changes in political structures, coupled with the disempowerment of state, it won't be so easy for the people to survive. All measure of a 'welfare state' has disappeared in the whirlwind of planned development and further outgrown with the globalisation liberalisation policies. Democratic space should be defended in its best form or the situation will instigate people to become anti-social elements.

10. Conclusion

The picture is lucid in Raigarh how the concept of industrialisation under planned development had gone against the people. How intensively the anti people policies had come up in the past to the extents of eliminating ordinary people like Digambar is as clear as black and white.

Industrial revolution,, which made a colourful and dreamy entry, is turning out to be the worst form of human development. The steady economic growth of industries with active support from the state machinery is directly proportional to the unchecked exploitation of masses. Most of them belong to marginalised communities such as Dalits, Adivasis, women, are the sufferers of this trauma.
Decolonisation of erstwhile colonies invariably saw the elite take control of political power. Naturally they were inclined to capitalism preferring to inherit the colonial state – its laws, structure and character – rather than to transform it fundamentally in ways to respond to the most urgent needs of the oppressed sections.

With the advent of globalisation, sweeping changes have come about already, throwing to the winds the earlier pretensions and legitimacy, of the state and the political system that controls the state. This has become possible in many ways, one of, which is the extension of economic rationality to all spheres of public and even private lives. The corporate houses easily flout even laws and rights. This unique phenomenon is the salient features in the case of Jindal industry in Raigarh.

Until such situation remains, many more Digambars will have to sacrifice their life on the altar of industrial development. This challenge still remains in its crude form. We appeal to all progressive forces, media, and concerned people and individuals to undertake the challenge.

On behalf of the fact-finding investigation team: Goldy M. George, Sandya Bodelkar, Virendra, and V.K. Prasoon

2.6

Draft Review / Feedback Form for Participants

Name:

Age:

Gender:

Languages Spoken:

1. Anything you would like to add about who you are and where you come from (write or draw)

2. Educational Space (Did you feel there was an atmosphere where people could feel at ease about expressing themselves, being challenged and challenging others? Did you feel your input was valued? Was language a barrier?)

3. Methodology (Do you feel the methodology used here is different from traditional system? If yes, then how and why? What changes you think should be made to improve the system?)

4. Perspectives (So far, what have you learned about yourself? What have you learned about rights of others? Has this programme helped you become clearer about your own perspectives and those of other people? Have your perspectives changed in any way?)

5. Programme (How would you describe this programme to a friend? What would you say are the objectives and expected results? Do you think they are possible? Do you have any comments on the materials used?)

6. General comments (Feel free to express yourself in writing or drawing)

Section 3
Modules

3.1

Programme Details

• Three sessions of approximately two hours a day
• A review and feedback session of half an hour on the process and the method of the programme every alternate day.
• If the programme is residential then meetings with local community organisations, or visit to a nearby locality could be organised in the evenings. More films and talks on appropriate modules can also be screened and organised in the evenings.

Day 1: Module A

Session	Time	Activity
Session 1	9:00 – 10:30	Inaugural session Participants' introduction. Introduction to the programme and lecture on the theme, "Rethinking Question of Rights, Justice and Development "
Session 2	11:00 - 12:45	Lecture on the theme 'From Humanitarianism to Human Rights: agenda of rights and justice'. (Module A)
Session 3	1:45 - 3:45	Panel discussion on 'Interpreting Rights, Justice, and Development in National Constitutions and International Legal Instruments' (Module A)
Session 4	4:00 – 5:45	Film screening 'Development Flows from the Barrel of the Gun' followed by discussion on concepts and profiles of 'Development', 'Administration of Rights and Justice', 'Marginality and Vulnerability', 'Sustainable Livelihood' and Issues of Gender. (Module A)

Probable Case Studies

1. Land Rights Struggle in Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, and Bihar
2. Anti communalism struggles in Gujarat and India
3. Peace Accords in North East of India or in Sri Lanka
4. United Struggle Committee (Sanyukta Sangarsha Samiti) – Siraha & Saptari: *Campaign for land, citizenship and reservation*

Probable Sample Films

1. Development Flows from the Barrel of the Gun

Day 2: Module B

Session	Time	Activity
Session 1	9:00 - 11:00	Lecture on the theme 'Globalisation and Its Discontents: Meanings and Challenges' (Module B)
Session 2	11:30 - 1:30	Participants' workshop on 'Globalisation and its Impact', in 5 sub-groups. a) Women and children, b) Indigenous People and Dalits, c) Farmers, d) Workers, e) Nation state (Module B)
Session 3	2:30 - 4:30	Participants' presentation of their prepared assignments on the theme protection or violation of rights of marginalized communities in the context of globalisation process or resistance and advocacy strategies. Each participant 8-10 mins. Time to be adjusted depending on the number of participants. (Module B)

Module B:

Probable Case Studies

1. Anti-coca cola struggle in Kerala, India
2. Farmer's suicide in Andhra Pradesh, India
3. Beej Bachao Andolan, India

Probable Films

1. Naka Naka, Dupont Naka, India
2. Jari Mari, India

Day 3: Module C

Session	Time	Activity
Session 1	9:00 – 11:00	Theme lecture on 'Administering Rights, Justice and Development: Governmental Mode or Dialogic Mode' (Module C)
Session 2	11:30 - 1:30	Panel discussion on policies and programmes ensuring right to food, work, and housing (Module C)
Session 3	2:30 - 4:30	Participants' workshop, 'What do we mean by the Dialogic path to development?' (Module C)

Module C:

Probable Case Studies

1. Right to Information campaign in Rajsthan and other places in India
2. Right to Food Campaign in India
3. Right to Work campaign in India
4. Bhote Majhi Musahar Sewa Samiti (BMMSS), Nepal: *A grassroots movement towards local people's right to natural resource*
5. Sex workers movement in Kolkata and Maharashtra
6. Regional Dalit Network, Nepal
7. Pakistan Institute of Labour Education & Research (PILER), Pakistan
8. Self Employed Women's Association, Gujarat, India
9. National Alliance for Peoples Movement, India
10. Kamaiya Mukti Samaj (Bonded Labour Liberation Society), Nepal
11. Mahila Atyachar Virdohi Jan Andolan in Rajsthan
12. Anti Eviction Campaign in Kolkata and other parts of India
13. Anti Arrack Movement in Andhra Pradesh
14. Movement of construction workers, India
15. Nepal Street Vendors Union (NEST), Nepal
16. Society for Preservation of Shelters and Habitations in Nepal, (SPOSH-Nepal)
17. The Working Women Association (TWWA)-Pakistan
18. Affected Women Forum, Sri Lanka

Day 4: Module C (Contd.)

Session	Time	Activity
Session 1	9:00 – 11:00	Roundtable discussion on government's programmes and policies on civil and political rights and social and economic Rights with special reference to those of ethnic communities, Dalits, and indigenous communities. (Module C)
Session 2	11:30 - 1:30	'Seeking Gender Justice', Lecture on government's programme and policies leading to promotion of status of women. (Module C)
Session 3	2:30 - 4:30	Participants' presentation of assignments on policy formulation, resistance and advocacy strategies and plan implementation. (Module C)

Probable Films

1. Kaise Jeebo Re
2. In the Dust of Development
3. Bhopal Express
4. Ladies Special
5. Swaraj
6. Words on Water
7. Film on Right to Information

Day 5: Module D

Session	Time	Activity
Session 1	9:00 – 10:30	Initiatory lecture on 'Conflicts, Peace and Justice: the case of IDPs' (Module D)
Session 2	11:00 - 1:00	Panel discussion on the situation of IDPs due to conflict, and natural and man-made disaster situations. Case studies from, a) Bangladesh, b) India, c) Nepal, d) Pakistan, e) Sri Lanka. (Module D)
Session 3	2:00 - 3:00	Presentation on the policy review of national provisions of relief, resettlement and rehabilitation. (Module D)
Session 4	3:30 - 5:30	Participant's workshop on the provisions of relief, resettlement and rehabilitation in the light of UN Guiding principles and various national provisions. (Module D)

Day 6: Concluding Day

Session	Time	Activity
Session 1	9:00 – 11:00	Participants Assignment: Problem solving participatory exercise on a problem decided during the programme / designing of a rights manifesto or policy document
Session 2	11:30 - 1:30	Final analysis and feedback
Session 3	2:30 - 4:00	Closing address on the theme of "Ensuring sustainable Livelihood and rights of marginalised communities" and certificate distribution

Sample Texts for the Programme

1. Key international documents such as ICCPR, ICESCR, SAARC Social Charter, UN Guiding Principles on IDPs, CEDAW principles etc.
2. Policy critiques developed in the project "Regional initiative for the sustainable livelihood and the enabling of social and political participation" by all the South Asian partners.
3. Important books, articles and chapters on the theme of globalisation and human rights according to the needs of the specific countries (Section 11 and 12).

Note: The list of the films and case studies given for each of the module is only indicative. Organisers are required to include relevant case studies, films and texts according to the theme rooted in their regions. However, it is also expected that to maintain South Asia regional focus reading materials should also be included from other countries.

Section 4
Programme Resources

4.1

A Primer on Rethinking Rights, Justice and development

This primer is intended as a reference document for the participants of the course and to make it a more pleasurable and meaningful experience which attempts to provide basic working definitions or explanations for the less-familiar ideas and concepts that would be mentioned in the course; and also for the many often very important ideas and concepts that we refer to all the time but that most of us do not really always know the full meaning of. By no means it is a comprehensive reference source and we would request participants to look for various online and offline sources.

Most of the entries in this glossary are sourced from the cultural-political glossaries developed by CACIM (www.cacim.net) for their book series "Are Other Worlds Possible ?" and "Samrajayon Se Sangharsh", both invaluable reference sources. We acknowledge their support in this endeavour for the benefit of participants, for more details write to them @ cacim@cacim.net

Alter-globalisation (or 'alter-mondialisation' from the French *altermondialisation*): The name given to a widespread way of thinking that supports international / global integration but demands that values of direct democracy, economic justice, environmental protection, and human rights be put ahead of purely economic concerns. The term, implying 'another globalisation' or an alternative globalisation, is a positive spin on the more widely used and somewhat pejorative word 'anti-globalisation'. People believing in alter-globalisation oppose the way international institutions (such as the WTO, the IMF, and the World Bank) work towards promoting First World economic interests. Alter-globalisation approaches and is sometimes confused with 'internationalism', as put forth by communists, since both oppose any globalisation that prioritises capitalists over ordinary people.

Anti-globalisation movement: Also referred to as the Global Justice or Fair Trade movement, the Global Justice and Solidarity Movement (GJ&SM), the 'Movement of Movements' or simply 'The Movement'. It uses, and is known for, slogans such as 'Globalise justice!'. The movement is heterogeneous and includes diverse, sometimes opposing, understandings of this process, alternative visions, strategies and tactics. Some parts of the movement reject globalisation as such, but the overwhelming majority of its participants are aligned with movements of indigenous people, human rights NGOs, anarchism, green movements, and to a minor extent communism. Some sections of the movement object not to capitalism or international markets as such but rather to what they claim are non-transparent and undemocratic mechanisms of the market and of capitalism, and the negative consequences of unregulated globalisation.

Anti-immigrant (or 'anti-immigration'): Labels that are often considered inaccurate or prejudicial by those to whom they are applied. The distinction is that the term 'anti-immigrant' implies xenophobia, nativism, and/or racism; though not all who oppose immigration hold these views. Some feel that 'anti-immigration' is also inaccurate because many who wish to *reduce* immigration do not want to eliminate it entirely. The main reasons behind the opposition to immigration and immigrants' rights include unemployment, crime, harm to the environment, and deteriorating public education. However, the critics often argue that while the problems are real, blaming immigrants is only a form of scapegoating.

Authoritarianism: Term used to describe an organisation or state that enforces strong and sometimes oppressive measures against people. Authoritarianism

generally presumes to know Truth, with a capital 'T', and has almost no tolerance of disagreement. It is characterised by moral and philosophical certainty coupled with a taste for the use of force by the State. It is distinguished from 'totalitarianism' both by degree and scope, authoritarian administration or governance being less intrusive and in the case of groups, not necessarily backed by the use of force. In an authoritarian state, citizens are subject to state authority in many aspects of their lives, including many that other political philosophies would see as matters of personal choice.

Bhopal Declaration: Released at a conference held in Bhopal, India on January 12-13 2002 organised by the government of Madhya Pradesh when headed by Digvijay Singh, to focus on the theme 'Transforming India Through a Dalit Paradigm'.
The Bhopal Declaration declared its belief in Ambedkar's ideal of Social Democracy and his prophecy that "A democratic form of government presupposes a democratic form of society. The formal framework of democracy is of no value and would indeed be a misfit if there was no social democracy".
The Declaration put forward and demanded a 21-Point action agenda for the 21st century that mainly demanded increased participation by Dalits in social, political, and economic activity in India and to ensure this, proposed that government needs to take proactive approaches by enacting necessary legislations and by ensuring equal access to rural and urban common property resources. It also demanded mandatory reservation in the private and corporate sector in the same proportion as in the public sector and government institutions and develop the capacities and skills of Dalits to help them cope up with the demands of these different sectors.

Biodiversity: Also 'Biological diversity'. A measure of the relative diversity among organisms present in different ecosystems. 'Diversity' here includes diversity within species, among species, and comparative diversity among ecosystems. It also stands for the totality of genes, species, and ecosystems of a region.

Bonded labour: Bonded labour, or debt bondage, is probably the least known form of slavery today, and yet it is the most widely used method of enslaving people. A person becomes a bonded labourer when his or her labour is demanded as a means of repayment for a loan. The United Nations Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery estimated that in 1999, some 20 million people were held in bonded labour around the world. The system has existed for thousands of years and in South Asia it took root in the caste system and continues to flourish in feudal agricultural relationships. Bonded labour are routinely threatened with and subjected to physical and sexual violence. They are kept under various forms of surveillance, in some cases by armed guards.
Typically, bonded labour in India and south Asia are Dalits. There are many different variants, and many paths on the basis of which a person, or family, becomes bonded.

Bourgeois / Bourgeoisie: In common modern usage, the term 'bourgeoisie' refers to the wealthy or propertied social class in a capitalist society, and the term 'bourgeois' to refer to someone with materialistic, consumerist values.

These are originally words in French. The early Anglicisation 'burgess' is derived from the old French *burgeis* (cf also middle English: *burgeis*, *burges*, *borges*, and also old Dutch: *burgher* = the inhabitant of a borough, or burgh). In the French feudal order, 'bourgeois' was formally a legal category in society, defined by conditions such as length of residence and source of income.

The French term in turn seems to have derived from the Italian *borghesia* (from *borgo* = village), which in turn derives from the Greek *pyrgos)*. A *borghese* was a freeman dwelling in a burgh or township.

The word evolved to mean merchants and traders, and until the 19th century was mostly synonymous with the middle class (persons in the broad socioeconomic spectrum between nobility and serfs or proletarians). Then, as the power and wealth of the nobility faded in the second half of the 19th century, the bourgeoisie emerged as the new ruling class.

Perhaps because the term is a little difficult for a native English speaker to spell or pronounce, it is not used as often in politics in English-speaking countries as in other Western ones.

From the late nineteenth century through the Great Depression in the 1930s, the pronunciation '*bushwah*' was used in political satire in the US to portray radical leftists.

Bretton Woods: A small town in the state of New Hampshire, US, where World War II allies agreed in 1944 on the shape of the post-war world economic order. The term 'Bretton Woods' now refers particularly to two multilateral organisations founded there, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which together were designed to promote exchange rate stability and economic development within a free market system. There is also a third, less-prominent arm of the Bretton Woods institutions, the IFC (International Finance Corporation).

Capital: In classical economics, capital is one of three factors of production, the others being land and labour. Goods with the following features are capital: Used in the production of other goods; human-made, in contrast to, say, 'land'; and - not used up immediately in the process of production, unlike raw materials or intermediate goods. The third part of the definition was not always used by classical economists. The classical economist David Ricardo would use the above definition for the term 'fixed capital' while including raw materials and intermediate products are part of his circulating capital. For him, both were kinds of capital. Karl Marx, who also wrote *Das Kapital*, made the distinction that *variable capital* refers to a capitalist's investment in labour-power, seen as the only source of surplus-value. It is called 'variable' since the amount of value it can produce varies from the amount it consumes, ie it creates new value. On the other hand, *constant capital* refers to investment in non-human factors of production, such as plant and machinery, which Marx takes to contribute only its own replacement value to the commodities it is used to produce. It is constant, in that the amount of value committed in the original investment, and the amount retrieved in the form of commodities produced, remains constant.

Capitalism: In common usage, the term 'capitalism' means an economic system in which all or most of the means of production are privately owned and operated, and in which the investment of capital and the production, distribution, and prices of commodities (goods and services) are determined mainly in a so-called 'free market', rather than by the state. In capitalism, the means of production are generally operated for profit.

Capitalism is contrasted with *feudalism*, where land is / was owned by feudal lords who collect rent from private operators; with *socialism*, where the means of production are owned and used by the state; and with *communism*, where the means of production are owned and used by the community collectively.

Some emphasise the private ownership of capital as being the essence of capitalism, or emphasise of the importance of a free market as a mechanism for the movement and accumulation of capital, while others measure capitalism through class analysis (ie, the class structure of society and the relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie). Some emphasise the growth of a global market system.

Others focus on the application of the market to human labour. Still others, such as Hayek, note the *self-organising character* of economies that are not centrally planned by government. Many, such as Adam Smith, point – in relation to the characteristics of capitalism - to what is believed to be *the value of individuals pursuing their self-interest* as opposed to altruistically working to serve the 'public good'.

Many of these theories call attention to various economic practices that became institutionalised in Europe between the 16th and 19th centuries, especially involving the right of individuals and groups of individuals acting as 'legal persons' (or corporations) to buy and sell capital goods, as well as land, labour, and money, in a free market, and relying on the state for the enforcement of private property rights rather than on a system of feudal protection and obligations.

Caste/Casteism: In ancient India, the ruling sections developed a social system in which people were divided into separate closed communities where the position of individuals in society was decided by descent. These communities are known in English as castes. The caste system in the religious form is a simple division of society made up of four castes arranged in a rigid hierarchy (Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra); and below them the outcastes or the *Dalits*, earlier referred to (by the upper castes) as 'untouchables', who have historically suffered and continue today to often suffer extreme discrimination and violence. But socially the caste system is far more complicated than this, with many castes, sub-castes, and other divisions. The origin of the caste system is in Hinduism, but has affected the whole of Indian society. Because they include and suggest definite economic stratification, both the term 'caste' and the system of casteism lend themselves to a functional explanation in terms of economic roles, but they are also deeply social and defy definition only in economic terms.

Child Rights Convention: The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child is an international convention setting out the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of children. It is monitored by the Committee on the Rights of the Child.

Most member nation states (countries) of the United Nations have ratified the Convention, either partly or completely; the US is a major exception. The United Nations General Assembly agreed to adopt the Convention into international law on November 20 1989; it came into force in September 1990, after it was ratified by the required number of nations.

The Convention generally defines a child as any person under the age of 18 years, unless an earlier age of majority is recognised by a country's law, and acknowledges that every child has certain basic rights, including the right to life, their own name and identity, to be raised by their parents within a family or cultural grouping and have a relationship with both of their parents even if separated.

The Convention obliges states to allow parents to exercise their parental responsibilities. The Convention also acknowledges that the child has the right to express its own opinions and to have those opinions heard and acted upon when

appropriate, to be protected from abuse or exploitation, to have their privacy protected and requires that their lives not be subject to excessive interference.

The Convention also obliges signatory states to provide separate legal representation for a child in any judicial dispute concerning their care and asks that the child's viewpoint be heard in such cases. The Convention forbids capital punishment for children.

The Convention is child-centric and places the child's needs and rights first – ahead of the parents or others. It requires that states act in the best interests of the child. This approach is different to the common law approach found in many countries that had previously treated children and wives as possessions or chattels, ownership of which was often argued over in family disputes. In many jurisdictions, properly implementing the Convention requires an overhaul of child custody and guardianship laws, or, at the very least, a creative approach within the existing laws.

The Convention also has two Optional Protocols, adopted by the General Assembly in May 2000 and applicable to those states that have signed and ratified them: The Optional protocol on the involvement of children in armed conflict and the Optional protocol on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography.

Civil society: Civil society can be defined to be "a sphere of association in society in distinction to the state, involving a network of institutions through which society and groups within it represent themselves in cultural, ideological, and political senses", but where in a Gramscian sense, "the institutions of civil society [also form] … the 'outer earthworks' of the state, through which the ruling classes [maintain] their 'hegemony' or dominance in society". In terms of power, civil society and the state are therefore dialectically interlinked. But since civil society is a value-based, ideological construct, *membership of civil society* takes place through acceptance to civil institutions (with 'institutions' used in the broadest sense, including customs) by those who already belong, not in the sense of membership in a club but rather acceptance on account of an acceptance and sharing of values, and loyalty to those values. This in turn means that 'civil society' is a self-defined and hegemonic concept by those who consider themselves to be 'civil', and where through civil society and its institutions, they practise a project in history of excluding and keeping out large sections of society and then periodically subjugating, taming, and selectively including – 'civilising' – sections of the excluded, including in certain circumstances when the excluded contest power. The term 'civil society' does not, therefore, refer to all sections of society outside the state.

Given structural segmentation in all societies, whether on the basis of caste, race or colour, sexual preference, and also class, civil society in the first instance excludes all those who are considered 'incivil' by those leading institutions of civil society that define the norms of civility (whether at local, national, or transnational levels), such as religious institutions, educational and research institutions, the media, etc, as well as other more voluntary associations of civil society such as clubs. The incivil would therefore typically in today's conditions include working class refugees, migrants, and displaced peoples, the labouring poor in general in all contexts, followers of fundamentalist religious sects, so-called 'indigenous peoples' and first nations in most parts of the world, 'people of colour' in most Caucasian-dominated societies, and in the Indian / South Asian context, the mass of Dalits (the earlier so-called 'untouchable' outcastes) and Adivasis (literally, 'original dwellers', or indigenous peoples), who till date have through the institution of caste been excluded from participation in this definitional process and therefore, by definition, from membership; and in general, all those considered deviants by the civil. Similarly, their equivalents in different parts of the world. These boundaries are however

constantly changing, as different subordinate sections mobilise and assert themselves and their own values and come, in time, to contest power (both cultural and political), such as is today happening in India in terms of caste, and in Bolivia and elsewhere in Latin America, by indigenous peoples.

The condition of women in civil society, and their relation to the norms and requirements of civility, is a special one. Under the patriarchal structures that still prevail widely in most societies, to greater or lesser degree and in both open and covert forms, women are disenfranchised and/or excluded to greater or lesser extent degrees, in both overt and/or covert, subtle ways. This is normally not considered within the dynamics of civility, but if civil society is considered in structural terms as suggested here, these processes could also be considered directly related to, if not actually part of, the dialectics of 'civility'.

Colonialism: Permanent rule of one country or region by another, usually based on conquest. Feature of European expansion since sixteenth century, as Western powers took control of people and territory across much of globe. Last wave in Africa, late-nineteenth century. South American colonies gained independence in nineteenth century, African and Asian after WW II.

Communalism: In most of the world, 'communalism' is a modern term that describes a broad range of social movements and social theories which are in some way centred upon the community and is associated with various branches of socialism. 'Communalism' can take the form of communal living or communal property, among others.

However, the term has a very specialised and different – opposite - usage in South Asia, in the sense of sectarianism as *a force separating different communities based on some form of social or sectarian discrimination* and to stimulate violence between those groups. In contemporary India, the word 'communalism' has taken the sense of 'undue favour towards one religious community', with most politicians labelling their opponents as 'communal' and their party a as 'communal party'. For example, the so-called Hindu nationalist BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) is always labelled by its opponents, such as the Congress Party and the Communist Parties (who label themselves as 'secular') as being 'communal', meaning giving undue favour to the majority Hindus, whereas the BJP counter-labels the Congress and the Communists as communal in the sense that they give undue favour to the minority religions at the expense of the majority.

Communist (Communism): Generally defined as a believer in communism, which in its original meaning is a social theory and political movement for the direct and communal control of society towards the common benefits of all members. The theory of communism, one of the first comprehensive revolutionary philosophies, was first formulated and espoused in the 19th century by Karl Marx, along with his collaborator Friedrich Engels.

Conflict : In political terms, "conflict" refers to an ongoing state of hostility between two groups of people or defined as "when two or more parties, with perceived incompatible goals, seek to undermine each other's goal-seeking capability". One should not confuse the distinction between the presence and absence of conflict with the difference between competition and co-operation. In competitive situations, the two or more parties each have mutually inconsistent goals, so that when either party tries to reach their goal it will undermine the attempts of the other to reach theirs. Therefore, competitive situations will by their nature cause conflict. However, conflict can also occur in cooperative situations, in which two or more parties have consistent goals, because the manner in which one party tries to reach their goal can still

undermine the other's attempt. Conflict can exist at a variety of levels of analysis: intrapersonal conflict, interpersonal conflict, group conflict, organizational conflict, community conflict, intra-state conflict (for example: civil wars, election campaigns), international conflict

Consumerism: The tendency of people to identify strongly with products or services they consume, especially those with commercial brand names and obvious status-enhancing appeal, eg an expensive automobile, or rich jewellery. It is a pejorative term which most people deny, having some more specific excuse or rationalisation for consumption other than the idea that they are 'compelled to consume'. 'Overcoming Consumerism' is a growing philosophy that embodies the active resistance to consumerism. It is being used by several universities in the North as a term for course material and as an introduction to the study of marketing from a non-traditional approach. Consumerism has been attacked by anti-globalisation / alter-globalisation movements because of its ability to reduce healthy human relationships to that of production, consumption, and profit.

Dalits: The so-called *achuta*, or 'untouchables', are a group of castes outside the four main categories in India's caste system. They include people such as leather-workers, sweepers (*bhangis*), etc. Mahatma Gandhi called them *Harijan*, a term meaning 'Children of God' (Hari is another name for Vishnu, a Hindu God). Untouchables generally consider this term to be condescending and prefer the name *Dalit*, variously translated as '*crushed*', '*stepped on*' or '*oppressed*'. Based on a British colonial system of categorisation, the term 'Scheduled Caste' is still used in the Indian legal system to refer to this group, along with other non-caste 'tribes' ('SC&ST' – Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes).

Empire: In conventional usage, an empire (also known technically, abstractly, or disparagingly as an *imperium*) comprises a set of regions locally ruled by governors, viceroys, or client kings in the name of an emperor. By extension, one could classify as an empire any large multi-ethnic state ruled from a single centre. Like other states, an empire maintains its political structure at least partly by coercion. Land-based empires (such as the Russian Empire in the 19th century, or Achaemenid Persia) tend to extend in a contiguous area; sea-borne empires, also known as *thalassocracies* (the Athenian and British empires are examples), may feature looser structures and more scattered territories. One can also compare these kinds of physical and political-economic empires with more abstract or less formally structured *hegemonies,* such as patriarchy, caste systems, racism, etc, which add cultural influences to their power repertory within their spheres of influence.

Femininity: The physical and mental attributes *thought to be* associated with the female sex, and therefore culturally determined. Some of these attributes can be traced to the female reproductive role. Others are rooted in the socialisation of a girl's early development and adjusted throughout adulthood by picking up or reacting to societal cues. Feminine characteristics are sometimes expressed through female gender roles, which can vary between societies and eras. Roles which are thought of as feminine change from culture to culture and generation to generation, the only constant being the role of mother.

Traits that are considered feminine can be categorised into the physical (such as breasts, narrower hips in relation to shoulders, softer facial features without facial hair, etc) or into the realm of the soul, manifested in such things as a concern for relationships (sympathy, sensitivity, high language skills, receptivity) and aesthetics (decoration and ornamentation of home and person).

Distinctly feminine attributes are hard to pin down, as are the masculine, because each attribute can be manifested in either gender.

Femininity, like masculinity, is a gender identity constructed socially, historically, and politically.

Feminism: A social theory and political movement primarily informed and motivated by the experience of women. Feminist theory aims to understand *the nature of gender inequality* and focuses on gender politics, power relations, and sexuality. Feminist political activism campaigns on issues such as reproductive rights, domestic violence, maternity leave, equal pay, sexual harassment, discrimination and sexual violence. Themes explored in feminism include discrimination, stereotyping, objectification (especially sexual objectification), oppression and patriarchy. The basis of feminist ideology is that rights, privilege, status, and obligations should not be determined by gender.

Foreign Direct Investment: Investment by firm based in one country in actual productive capacity or other real assets in another country, normally through creation of a subsidiary by a multinational corporation. Measure of globalization of capital. Effects on growth and inequality in developing countries disputed.

Fundamentalism: In comparative religion, fundamentalism has come to refer to several different understandings of religious thought and practice, including literal interpretations of sacred texts such as the Bible, the Quran, or the Vedas, and sometimes also anti-modernist movements in various religions. In popular usage, 'fundamentalist' refers to any fringe religious group and also to extremist ethnic movements with only nominally religious motivations. The term however, also has a more precise denotation: It denotes *a movement to return to what are considered to be the defining or founding principles of the religion or practice*. As such, the term is now also used to refer to political and political-economic practice, such as the implementation of Thatcherism in Britain in the 1980s.

In some ways religious fundamentalism is a comparatively modern phenomenon, characterised by a sense of embattled alienation in the midst of the surrounding culture and even where the culture may be nominally influenced by the adherents' religion. The term can also refer specifically to the belief that one's religious texts are infallible and historically accurate, despite contradiction of these claims by modern scholarship.

G7: Group of seven major economic powers (US, Japan, Germany, France, UK, Italy, Canada), engaged in regular consultation on financial stability and economic growth (occasionally G8 in deference to Russia; see University of Toronto G8 Information Centre)

G8: The Group of Eight (G8) consists of eight of the world's leading industrialised nations (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America). The hallmark of the G8 is an annual economic and political summit meeting of the heads of government with international officials discussing property rights, global warming, poverty, global economics, international politics, morality, and other issues. The G8 has its roots in the 1973 oil crisis and subsequent global recession. These troubles led the United States to first form a 'Library Group', a gathering of senior financial officials from the United States, Europe, and Japan, to discuss economic issues. In 1975, French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing invited the heads of state of six major industrialised democracies to a summit in Rambouillet, in France, and proposed regular meetings. The participants agreed to an annual meeting organ ised under a rotating presidency,

forming what was dubbed the Group of Six (G6) consisting of France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. At the subsequent annual summit in Puerto Rico, it became the Group of Seven (G7) when Canada joined at the behest of US President Gerald Ford. Russia was invited to join the G7 after 1991, and the summit in Birmingham, UK, in 1998 of the group marked the formation of the G8.

Unofficially called the 'world government', the annual summits are often also the focus of protest by members of the Global Justice and Solidarity Movement, notably at the 27th G8 summit in Genoa in 2001. Critics assert that members of G8 are responsible for global issues such as global warming due to carbon dioxide emission, poverty in Africa and developing countries due to debt crisis and unfair trading policies, the AIDS problem due to strict medicine patent policies, and other problems that are directly related to globalisation.

G77: The Group of 77 at the United Nations is a loose coalition of developing nations designed to promote its members' collective economic interests and create an enhanced joint negotiating capacity in the United Nations. There were 77 founding members of the organisation, but the organisation has since expanded to 133 member countries. The group was founded on June 15 1964 by the 'Joint Declaration of the Seventy-Seven Countries' issued at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). It grew out of the NAM (Non-Aligned Movement) formed in 1955. The first major meeting was in Algiers in 1967, where the *Charter of Algiers* was adopted and the basis for permanent institutional structures was begun. There are *Chapters of the Group of 77* in Rome (FAO), Vienna (UNIDO), Paris (UNESCO), Nairobi (UNEP), and the Group of 24 in Washington DC (IMF and World Bank).

Globalization : Globalization is a relatively new term used to describe a very old process. It is a historical process that began with our human ancestors moving out of Africa to spread all over the globe. In the millennia that have followed, distance has been largely overcome and human-made barriers lowered or removed to facilitate the exchange of goods and ideas. Propelled by the desire to improve one's life and helped along by technology, both the interconnectedness and interdependence have grown. This increasing integration of the world or 'globalization' has enriched life but also created new problems.

GNP (Gross National Product): The total value of final goods and services produced in a year by a country's nationals (including profits from capital held abroad).

The rules that are followed to compute the GNP are as follows:
1.   'Final goods' are goods that are ultimately consumed rather than used in the production of another good. For example, a car sold to a consumer is a final good; the components such as tyres sold to the car manufacturer are not; they are intermediate goods used to make the final goods. The same tyres, if sold to a consumer, would be a final good.
2.   Only final goods are included when measuring national income. If intermediate goods were included too, this would lead to double counting; for example, the value of the tyres would be counted once when they are sold to the car manufacturer, and again when the car is sold to the consumer.
3.   Only newly produced goods are counted. Transactions in existing goods, such as second-hand cars, are not included, as these do not involve the production of new goods.
4.   Income is counted as part of GNP according to who owns the factors of production rather than where the production takes place. For example, in the

case of a German-owned car factory operating in the US, the profits from the factory would be counted as part of German GNP rather than US GNP because the capital used in production (the factory, machinery, etc) is German owned. The wages of the US workers would be part of US GNP, while the wages of any German workers on the site would be part of German GNP.

Hegemony: The cultural, ideological, and political dominance, in civil society, of a social class or group or bloc of social classes and groups.

Human Rights. Rights of persons to freedom of speech and conscience, equal treatment, work and health, among others, as defined in Universal Declaration adopted by UN in 1948, supplemented by 1960s Covenants on social, economic, political, and civil rights. Variously interpreted by states, hence subject of global debate.

IGO: Intergovernmental organization. Formed by and membership restricted to states. Examples: UN, NATO.

IMF (International Monetary Fund): Like its sister organisation the World Bank, the IMF was established in July 1945 by an international treaty called the Bretton Woods Treaty and made responsible by those taking part for managing the global financial system and for providing loans to its member states to help alleviate balance of payments problems. The IMF has become the central institution of the international monetary system—the system of international payments and exchange rates among national currencies that enables formal business to take place between countries. Its official objectives are to aim to prevent crises in the system by encouraging countries to adopt sound economic policies. It is also—as its name suggests—meant to be a fund that can be tapped by members needing temporary financing to address balance of payments problems. In return, the countries accepting IMF loans are obliged to launch certain 'reforms' such as privatisation of public enterprises. These reforms however, and the policies that the IMF demands of countries that receive its loans, have become major points of controversy and protest across the Third World because of the associated problems and resulting economic crises, and – especially - debt.

Imperialism: A policy and practice by nation-states of extending control or authority over foreign entities as a means of acquisition and/or maintenance of empires. This is either through direct territorial conquest or settlement, or through indirect methods of exerting control on the politics and/or economy of other countries. The term is often used to describe the policy of a nation's dominance over distant lands, regardless of whether the nation considers itself part of the empire. The 'Age of Imperialism' usually refers to the New Imperialism period starting from 1860, when major European states started colonising the other continents.

Imperialist globalisation: Marxist term for economic globalisation.

Internationalism: A political movement that grew out of a revulsion for the intense and brutal nationalism that led to World War II; which advocates a greater economic and political cooperation between nation-states for the benefit of all. Partisans of this movement, such as supporters of the World Federalist Movement, claim that nations should cooperate because their long-term mutual interests are of greater value than their own individual short-term needs. Internationalism is by nature opposed to ultra nationalism, jingoism, and national chauvinism as well as to strict economic globalisation, which deny the value of individual cultures and the differences that exist between societies. Internationalism presupposes the recognition of other

nations as equal, in spite of all their differences, as well as a total respect of each other's nationalism.

MNC, or multinational corporation, or transnational corporation (TNC): A corporation, or company, that spans multiple nations. These corporations are often very large, and have offices and/or factories in different countries. They usually have a centralised head office where they coordinate global management. Very large multinationals have budgets that exceed those of many countries. They are today seen as a major power in global politics. The first multinational appeared in 1602 and was the Dutch East India Company.

INGO : International nongovernmental organization. Members can be individuals, companies, or associations. Examples: Amnesty International, Red Cross, International Olympic Committee, International Organization for Standardization.

Indigenous Peoples : Groups held to be original residents of certain areas, especially nonliterate groups under threat of displacement due to development, now possessing globally recognized claims to autonomy and identity fostered by supportive movements.

Justice, or a condition thereof, is the ideal state of humanity: a morally-correct state of things and persons. Whether this ideal can ever be attained is an open question. According to most of the many theories of justice, it is overwhelmingly important: John Rawls, for instance, claims that "Justice is the first virtue of social institutions, as truth is of systems of thought." But, according to many theories, justice has not been achieved: "We do not live in a just world." Most people believe that injustice must be resisted and punished, and many social and political movements fight for justice worldwide. But the number and variety of theories of justice suggest that it is not clear what justice and the reality of injustice demand of us, because it is not clear what justice is. We are in the difficult position of thinking that justice is vital, but of not being certain how to distinguish justice from injustice in our characters, our institutions, our actions, or the world as a whole.

This problem of uncertainty about fundamentals has inspired philosophical reflection about justice, as about other topics. What exactly justice is, and what it demands of us, are among the oldest and most contested of questions. For example, the proper distribution of wealth in society — should it be equal? meritocratic? according to status? — has been fiercely debated for at least the last 2,500 years. Philosophers, political theorists, theologians, legal scholars and others have attempted to clarify the source, nature and demands of justice, with widely various results.

Kyoto Protocol (or 'Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change'): An international treaty on climate change; in actuality, an amendment to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Countries which ratify this protocol commit to reduce their emissions of carbon dioxide and five other greenhouse gases, or engage in emissions trading if they maintain or increase emissions of these gases.

The objective of the Kyoto Protocol is to cut global emissions of greenhouse gases; in technical terms, the "stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system".

The treaty was negotiated in Kyoto, Japan, in December 1997, opened for signature on March 16 1998, and closed on March 15 1999. The agreement came into force on February 16, 2005 following ratification by Russia on November 18, 2004. As of April

2006, a total of 163 countries have ratified the agreement (representing over 61.6% of emissions from Annex I countries. Notable exceptions include the United States and Australia. Other countries, like India and China, which have ratified the protocol, are not required to reduce carbon emissions under the present agreement.

Mandal Commission: A body established by the government of India in 1979 to by the Janata Party government under Prime Minister Morarji Desai with a mandate to "identify the socially or educationally backward" and to consider the question of seat reservations and quotas for people to redress caste discrimination. The Indian parliamentarian B P Mandal headed the commission.

In 1980, the Commission's report affirmed the practice under Indian law whereby members of lower castes (Other Backward Classes, and Scheduled Castes and Tribes) were given exclusive access to a certain portion of government jobs and slots in public universities.

In 1989 the government of India led by Vishwanath Pratap Singh ordered implementation of the Commission's report, which had lain unimplemented for nearly a decade. The report, its recommendations, and this order then became both a great source of controversy in India. On the one side, it was strenuously opposed by the middle and upper caste youth in the country, who saw it as an attack on their chance sin life, and on the other, it was also argued as a substantial source of empowerment for the lower castes to which it applied.

Its implementation and the controversy around it became the ultimate cause of India's Prime Minister V P Singh's resignation.

Masculinity: Traits or characteristics that are traditionally *thought to be* typical of or suitable for men. Most importantly, masculinity is not 'natural'. Unlike the biological state of maleness, masculinity is a gender identity constructed socially, historically, and politically. It is the cultural interpretation of maleness, learnt through participation in society and its institutions.

Like femininity, masculinity operates politically at different levels. At one level, it is a form of identity, a means of self-understanding that structures personal attitudes and behaviours. At another, distinct but related level masculinity can be seen as a form of ideology, in that it presents a set of cultural ideals that define appropriate roles, values, and expectations for and of men.

Multinational Corporations (MNC): A multinational corporation or multinational enterprise (MNE) or transnational corporation (TNC) is a corporation or enterprise that manages production establishments or delivers services in at least two countries; but typically in many countries. Multinational corporations are often divided into three broad groups: Firstly, horizontally integrated multinational corporations managing production establishments located in different countries to produce same or similar products. Secondly, vertically integrated multinational corporations managing production establishment in certain country/countries to produce products that serve as input to its production establishments in other country/countries. Thirdly, diversified multinational corporations managing production establishments located in different countries that are neither horizontally nor vertically integrated.

Multinationals are playing a key role in neoliberal economic globalisation and are the main beneficiaries of economic reforms being introduced by the World Bank and the IMF, such as SAP, and have therefore often become the target of anti-globalisation

protests. The vast majority of MNCs are US companies, so the US economy benefits most.

Given their international reach and mobility however, prospective countries, and sometimes regions within countries, must compete with each other to have MNCs locate their facilities (and subsequent tax revenue, employment, and economic activity) within. To compete, countries and regional political districts offer incentives to MNCs such as tax breaks, pledges of governmental assistance or improved infrastructure, or lax environmental and labour standards. This process of becoming more attractive to foreign investment can be characterised as a 'race to the bottom'.

Very large multinationals have budgets that exceed those of many individual countries. They have a powerful influence in international relations, given their large economic influence in politicians' representative districts as well as their extensive financial resources available for public relations and political lobbying.

NAM/Non-Aligned Movement: Formed in 1961 on the initiative of Josip Broz Tito, then president of Yugoslavia, who brought together the states of the world which did not wish to align themselves with either of the Cold War superpowers. Important members included India (led by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru), Egypt (President Abdul Nasser), Indonesia (President Suharto), and, for a time, the People's Republic of China. (Brazil has never been a formal member of the movement.) On the one hand, NAM constituted a major and bold new concept in world politics, historically unprecedented, when seen in the historical context of colonialism that had dominated and oppressed most of the world till just the decade before, and was only just beginning to fade into the past; and in this sense, was a direct outcome of anti-colonial freedom struggles and their aspirations and a step towards another world. On the other, while the organisation was intended to be as close an alliance as NATO or the Warsaw Pact, it never had much cohesion and many of its members were induced, or unable to resist, aligning with one or another of the great powers.

NAM (Non-Aligned Movement): An international organisation of over 100 state-nations of the Third World that consider themselves not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc. NAM focuses on national struggles for independence, the eradication of poverty, economic development and opposing colonialism, imperialism, and neo-colonialism. They represent 55% of the planet's people and nearly two-thirds of the UN's members.

The NAM, founded in 1961, grew out of the Bandung Conference held in Indonesia in 1955.

Important NAM members include India, Egypt, South Africa, and, for a time, the People's Republic of China. Brazil has never been a formal member of the movement, but the country shares many of the aims of NAM and frequently sends observers to NAM summits. While the organisation was intended to be as close an alliance as NATO or the Warsaw Pact, it has little cohesion and many of its members were induced or unable to resist aligning with one or another of the great powers. For example, NAM member Cuba was closely aligned with the former Soviet Union during the Cold War era.

The term 'non-alignment' was coined by Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru during a speech in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 1954. In this speech, Nehru described the five pillars to be used as a guide for Sino-Indian relations, which had first been put forth by the-then Chinese Premier Zhou En Lai. Called *Panch Sheel* ('five pillars'), these principles would later serve as the basis of the Non-Aligned Movement. The five principles were:

1   Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
2   Mutual non-aggression
3   Mutual non-interference in domestic affairs

4   Equality and mutual benefit

5   Peaceful co-existence.

The origin of the non-aligned movement can be traced to the Bandung Conference held in Indonesia in 1955. At this Conference, the world's 'non-aligned' nations declared their desire not to become involved in the East-West ideological confrontation of the Cold War. Bandung marked a significant milestone for the development of NAM as a political movement.

It was only six years later however, in September 1961, and largely through the initiative of Josip Broz Tito, then-president of Yugoslavia, that the first official Non-Aligned Movement Summit was held. Aside from Tito and Nehru, the other prominent world leaders instrumental in getting NAM off the ground were Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and Sukarno of Indonesia.

The Non-Aligned Movement has struggled to find relevance since the end of the Cold War in the early 90s. Yugoslavia, a founding member, has expressed little interest in the NAM since the country's break-up, and in 2004, Slovenia, along with Malta and Cyprus, ceased to be a member of the NAM when it joined the European Union. Malta and Cyprus presently have the status of observer. In some ways, it could be said in the post Cold War period, NAM has evolved into the G77, a collective of nation-states of the South that have come together at the UN and the WTO to represent and fight for their common interests on the world stage.

NAPM (National Alliance of People's Movements): An all-India alliance of social and popular movements in India. Among the prominent constituents of the NAPM are:

- NBA (*Narmada Bachao Andolan* – 'Save the Narmada Movement')
- *Azadi Bachao Andolan* ('Movement to Save Independence', working against MNCs)
- *Samajwadi Jan Parishad*, a political party.

NAPM's structure is a team of 15 national conveners to represent the movements that meets once in three months to discuss actions and future plans. There is one national meeting each year where all the constituent organisations and activists meet to discuss current activities and future programmes. The broad ideology of the NAPM is Gandhian-socialist. Its working style is quite flexible. The NAPM has made it clear so far that it will not be part of electoral politics. The constituent organisations / movements mostly work independently but come together during struggles. It is a flexible structure where the different groups maintain their identity but seek each other's strength during various movements. For the Enron struggle, they all came together to make a national impact.

Nationalism: An ideology that holds that the nation, ethnicity, or national identity is a 'fundamental unit' of human social life, and makes certain cultural and political claims based upon that belief; in particular, the claim that the nation is 'the only legitimate basis for the state', and that 'each nation is entitled to its own state'. Nationalism should nevertheless be distinguished from *patriotism*, since the former focuses on the national community that is situated, for the most part, within civil society while the latter stresses instead the civic or political community, that which is expressed by a state or government. Nationalism also refers to the specific ideologies of various nationalist movements, which make cultural and political claims on behalf of specific nations.

Nation-state: A nation-state is a specific form of state (a political entity), which exists to provide a sovereign territory for a particular nation (a cultural entity), and which derives its legitimacy from that function. The compact Oxford English

Dictionary defines it as: "A sovereign state of which most of the citizens or subjects are united also by factors which define a nation, such as language or common descent." Typically, a nation-state is a unitary state with a single system of law and government. It is by definition a sovereign state, meaning that in theory there is no external authority above the state itself.

The political reality of the neoliberal globalisation that is prevalent in the world today however, is that the concept of sovereignty is deeply challenged and that most nation-states, and especially in the South, are – even if technically sovereign - answerable to and dependent on, in one way or another, international regimes and institutions such as the WTO, the World Bank, and the IMF, and also to the dictates of the US as the current world hegemonic power. This in turn is widely fuelling deeply nationalistic, and in places fundamentalist, reactions, both in the South and the North.

Neocolonialism: A term used to describe certain economic operations at the international level that have alleged similarities to the better-known, traditional colonialism of the 16th to the 19th centuries. The contention is that governments have always aimed to control other nations through indirect means; and that in lieu of the traditional, direct military-political control, neocolonialist powers employ economic, financial, and trade policies to dominate less powerful countries. Those who subscribe to the concept maintain this amounts to a *de facto* control over targeted nations.

Neoconservatism: The term refers to the political movement, ideology, and public policy goals of 'new conservatives', especially in the United States, who are mainly characterised by their relatively interventionist and hawkish views on foreign policy and their lack of support for the 'small government' principles and restrictions on social spending, when compared with other US conservatives such as traditional conservatives. Neoconservatives are also referred to by others as 'neocons'. In the context of US foreign policy, the term 'neoconservative' has another, narrower definition: One who advocates the use of military force, unilaterally if necessary, to replace autocratic regimes with democratic ones. This view competes with liberal internationalism, realism, and non-interventionism.

The prefix 'neo' refers to the comparatively recent emergence of a 'new wave' of conservative thought and to a 'rediscovery' of conservative principles which have however then been more imitated in form rather than substance, It also serves to distinguish the ideology from the viewpoints of 'old' or traditional American conservatism. It is also used by some to denote that many of the movement's founders, originally liberals or from socialist backgrounds, were new to conservatism.

Neo-liberalism: A political philosophy and a political-economic movement that emerged in the 1970s, and grew more prominent since 1980, which de-emphasises, or rejects, government intervention in the economy. Instead, it focuses on achieving progress and even social justice by free-market methods, especially through an emphasis on economic growth, as measured by changes in so-called 'real gross domestic product'. This is the philosophy that underpins and drives the current phase of economic globalisation (therefore also known as 'neo-liberal globalisation'). The four pillars of this philosophy involve *liberalisation* (or the reduction of rules and restrictions): capital account liberalisation, trade liberalisation, domestic liberalisation, and privatisation.

New International Economic Order (NIEO): Two closely related terms, the 'New International Economic Order' and the 'New International Information Order', popular in the United Nations and its specialised agencies (especially UNESCO) in the 1970s

and 1980s. Used mainly by developing country groups (for example NAM and the G-77) to refer to the redistribution of wealth on a global scale and to the international control of the media, the latter to stop distorted reporting of developments in Third World countries and to develop independent, South-based media. Western countries attacked these initiatives as attempts to destroy the free market and freedom of speech and threatened to withdraw from United Nations bodies, after which the programmes faded.

New Social Movement (NSM): The term refers to the plethora of social movements that have come up in various societies, initially (in the mid-1960s) especially in the North but more recently also in the South, and which have departed significantly from the conventional paradigm of social movements. In particular, traditional social movements, such as the labour movement, had centred on economic concerns. The new movements include the women's movement, the human rights movement, the ecology movement, various peace movements, and others. NSM theorists have argued that many of these NSMs tend to emphasise changes in lifestyle and culture rather than pushing for changes in public policy or in areas of economic or social structure. They also argue that the key actors in these movements tend to be members of the 'new middle class' or service-sector professionals (such as academics). Some have also related the emergence of these new movements with the post materialism hypothesis as put forth by Ronald Inglehart and others. Other sociologists who have contributed in this field include Alain Tourraine, Claus Offe, Jürgen Habermas, Jean Cohen, and Sidney Tarrow. But the actual reality of social movements across the world has now dramatically exploded, encompassing also the political, and requires constant further and new theorisation.

New World Order: The phrase first used by Woodrow Wilson in the period just after World War I (1914-1918), during the formation of the League of Nations. It has subsequently come to have different meanings. In the South the term is associated with the New International Economic Order, and in the North to refer to post-Cold War conditions and to represent a dramatic change in world political thought and balance of power. See also Wilsonian World Order.

NGO / Non-governmental organisation: Technically, an organisation that is not part of a government and was not founded by a state, in other words a civil organisation; though in reality, many governments also float and form NGOs, for tactical reasons, often with government servants as the office-bearers. NGOs are therefore in theory independent of governments – but equally, many NGOs apply for and accept funds from the state, usually with conditions attached. Although the definition can technically include for-profit corporations, the term is generally restricted to social, cultural, legal, and environmental advocacy groups having goals that are primarily non-commercial and non-profit. NGOs are therefore usually non-profit organisations that gain at least a portion of their funding from private sources.

Current usage of the term is also today associated with the United Nations, and where some say that 'authentic NGOs' are those that are so designated by the UN – but on the other hand, where the number of NGOs accredited to the UN is a miniscule number of the total number of such organisations in the world, and generally restricted to elite, metropolitan organisations.

Because the label 'NGO' is considered too broad by some, as it might cover anything that is non-governmental, some NGOs in some countries now prefer the term 'private voluntary organisation' (PVO). Till the forced 'liberalisation' and 'globalisation' of India in the 1990s, the most common term for civil organisations in India was 'voluntary organisation', where voluntary work has a long tradition in the

country, but where a good proportion of the wave of so-called 'voluntary organisations' that got established from the 1970s had salaried workers, and from the 1990s, became increasingly professionalised; and the 'voluntary' aspect declined.

Aside from local and national NGOS, a 1995 UN report on global governance estimated that there are nearly 29,000 international NGOs. National numbers are even higher: The United States has an estimated 2 million NGOs, most of them formed in the past 30 years. Russia now has 65,000 NGOs; India has 1.5-2.0 million.

Ngo-isation: A term expressing a growing criticism of the cultural-political influence that NGOs (non-governmental organisations), and as well their lionisation since the 1990s by bilateral aid agencies, the World Bank, and the UN as being key actors in 'civil society' (and by implication, of their culture of working), are having on other spheres of socio-political life, especially social and political movements, trade unions, alliances, and coalitions, and also broader platforms such as the World Social Forum.

This critique arises from various points of view: (i) The fact that interventions made by NGOs often tend to be short-lived and where this therefore comes into conflict with the input made by other actors involved in joint processes – such as campaigns, where long-term input is often required. The short life input may have to do with the NGOs' funding patterns, or shifting priorities because they tend to be programme-based, both of which in turn have to do with the fact that many NGOs are today financed by aid organisations and are therefore subject to the conditionalities of that aid. (ii) The fact that many NGOs, and especially the bigger ones, are supported by big aid and development agencies that are in turn funded by Northern governments, the World Bank, the United Nations, and / or multinational corporations – and so are often subject to 'internal' pressures that limit what they can do and positions they can take, on social and political issues. (iii) The fact that NGOs, and especially the bigger ones, come into issues with far larger resources than non-funded organisations – and therefore often end up taking over key functions (such as campaign secretariats) even while being subject to their internal pulls – and thereby retarding the processes at very fundamental levels. And (iv), the fact that NGOs are often, by their constitutions, social and class composition, and ways of working, 'professional' organisations with very defined, corporate ways of working and decision-making – and given the key roles they often end up playing, their culture tends to end up influencing how others work as well.

Finally, a classical Marxist critique is that NGOs give the impression that they are filling a vacuum created by a retreating state, whereas their real contribution is that they defuse political anger and dole out as aid or benevolence what people ought to have by right; and that in the long run, NGOs are accountable to their funders, not to the people they work among.

These critiques are not true however of all NGOs, and this is in fact also partly a definitional problem, where the term 'NGOs' has come to be used to describe all kinds of voluntary, non-profit work. On the one hand, there are many grassroot organisations that are also called 'NGOs' under UN and World Bank categorisation but that have devised transparent and accountable ways of working and of building their credibility in the communities with which they work; and/or accept resources only from organisations that have sympathetic social and political goals, and therefore do not face these pressures. On the other, there are many new organisations that are today taking shape that are technically 'non-governmental organisations' in the broadest sense but that are organising themselves and their resourcing in entirely new ways. The criticism of 'ngo-isation' therefore tends unfortunately to tar all such initiatives, and thereby needs to be more nuanced; and more basically, a wider and more careful terminology is required.

OBCs (Other Backward Castes): A group of castes that are officially recognised in India as being traditionally subject to exclusion while still having a higher status than 'Scheduled Castes' (SC) or 'Scheduled Tribes' (ST). OBCs comprise about half of India's population. As a consequence, in India's Constitution OBCs are described as "socially and educationally backward classes" and governments are enjoined to ensure their social and educational development. So far they had been entitled to 27% of job reservations in government employment. As of 2006, and following implementation of the 93rd Constitutional Amendment (which is now Article 15(5) of the Constitution) they are also entitled to 27% of seats in all state-supported institutions of higher learning (universities, institutes of technology, medical schools, etc).

Patriarchy: Derived from the Greek word *patria*, meaning 'father' and *arché*, meaning 'rule', patriarchy - literally meaning 'rule of the father' - is the anthropological term used to define the sociological condition where male members of a society tend to predominate in positions of power. In many societies, one man, usually an elder, the patriarch, has absolute power over everyone else in the family. Equally, outside the family, the more powerful the position, the more likely it is that a male will hold that position.

The term 'patriarchy' is also used in systems of ranking (male) leadership in certain hierarchical churches or religious bodies, for instance the position of 'Patriarch' in the Greek Orthodox and Russian Orthodox churches.

Many feminist writers consider patriarchy to be the basis on which most modern societies have been formed, and argue that the only way to achieve gender equality is to get away from this model.

Peace : The concept of peace ranks among the most controversial in our time. Peace undoubtedly carries a positive connotation; almost nobody admits to opposing peace; world peace is widely seen as one of the most noble goals of humanity. Various groups, however, differ sharply about what peace entails, how best to achieve peace, and whether peace is even truly possible.

Peace is many things: the meaning of the word peace changes with context. Peace may refer specifically to an agreement concluded to end a war, or to a lack of external warfare, or to a period when a country's armies are not fighting enemies. It can also refer more generally to quietude, such as that common at night or in remote areas, allowing for sleep or meditation. Peace can be an emotion or internal state. And finally, peace can be any combination of these defintions.

A person's conception of "peace" is often the product of culture and upbringing. People of different cultures sometimes disagree about the meaning of the word, and so do people within any given culture.

Positive discrimination: Positive discrimination (British English) or affirmative action (in US usage) is a policy or a programme providing access to systems for people of a minority group who have traditionally been discriminated against, with the aim of creating a more egalitarian society. This consists of access to education, employment, health care, or social welfare. In employment, affirmative action may also be known as employment equity or preferential hiring. In this context affirmative action requires that institutions increase hiring and promotion of candidates of mandated groups. There is much debate concerning claims that the practice is itself racialist, that it fails to achieve its desired goal, and that it has unintended and undesirable effects.

Racism: Often used in a loose and unreflective way to describe hostile or negative feelings of one ethnic group or 'people' toward another and the actions resulting from such attitudes. Racism refers to the belief that race is the primary determinant of human capacities, that a certain race is inherently superior or inferior to others, and/or that individuals should be treated differently based on their ascribed race. Hitler invoked racist theories to justify his genocidal treatment of European Jewry, as did white supremacists in the American South to explain why Jim Crow laws were needed to keep whites and blacks separated and unequal; and so also the Apartheid regime in South Africa. There is a growing, but controversial, tendency to define racism is 'a system of oppression that combines racist beliefs, whether explicit, tacit or unconscious, with the power to have a negative effect on those discriminated against at a societal level'.

Reproductive rights: Reproductive rights are a series of rights that enable all women - without discrimination on the basis of nationality, class, ethnicity, race, age, religion, disability, sexuality or marital status to decide whether or not to have children. This includes the rights to reproduce (such as opposition to forced sterilization) as well as the rights not to reproduce (such as support for access to birth control and abortion), the right to privacy, medical coverage, right to contraception, family planning and protection from discrimination and harassment. The right of access to safe, legal abortion is a basic right.

The term encompasses the political framing of contraception and abortion as rights, particular to women—as women, exclusively, are the biological vessels of human reproduction. In this context, 'reproductive rights' are largely perceived as being synonymous with the 'pro-choice' position, which states that a woman ought to be in control of her own body by deciding if and when she reproduces.

The Women's Global Network for Reproductive Rights strives for women's right to self-determination in keeping with their freedom, dignity, and personally held values. Transforming social, political, and economic conditions are part of the reproductive rights agenda so that all women are able to fully enforce reproductive rights.

SAARC (**South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation**): is the largest regional organization in the world, covering approximately 1.47 billion people. SAARC is an economic and political organization of eight countries in Southern Asia. The organization was established on December 8, 1985 by India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Maldives and Bhutan. Afghanistan was accepted as the eighth member of SAARC on November 13, 2005. Commonly agreed five areas of cooperation between these nations are:
- Agriculture and Rural Development
- Telecommunications, Science, Technology and Meteorology
- Heath and Population Activities
- Transport
- Human Resource Development

Self-determination: A theoretical principle that a people ought to be able to determine their own governmental forms and structures. It is the basis for many forms of nationalism, particularly ethnic nationalism. Self-determination is now embodied in international law. At the ratification of the UN Charter in 1951, the signatories introduced 'the right of all people to self-determination' into the framework of international law and diplomacy.

Sexuality: The expression of sexual feelings due to genetic predisposition or one's own personal experimentation. Sexuality, which can be influenced by hormonal

changes in the development of the foetus during pregnancy, strongly influences social behaviour. Human sexuality can also be understood as part of the social life of humans, governed by implied rules of behaviour status in quo.

Shudra, Sudra: The fourth caste or *varna* in the traditional four-section caste division in Hindu society in India and south Asia. Their assigned and expected role in Vedic India was that of artisans and labourers. The four *Jatis* are Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Shudra. *Mlechha* is sometimes referred as fifth varna.

Like most of the other castes, *Shudras* are also either totally dismissive of caste identities or fiercely proud of the caste or Jati that they belong in rather than the Varna itself.

In South Indian society both the dominant castes and weaker castes are classified under *Shudra*s. This caste model is also true for Bengal, Orissa, Assam and even Maharashtra states, areas in central and east India. Hence the mapping of four *varna*s over these areas is incomplete.

Socialist / Socialism: The terms 'socialist' or 'socialism' refer to several related things: an ideology, and economic system, a nation-state, and in Marxist theory, the society that will succeed capitalism and develop further into communism. The terms essentially refer to societies operating according to principles of solidarity and egalitarianism. The philosophy dates back to the first half of the 19th century. It originally included Marxists and non-Marxist followers of the Second International, who subsequently parted ways with the Marxists forming the Third International and the Socialists going on to form the Socialist International. Socialists have led industrial and agricultural workers' struggles and have formed governments in both the North and the South.

South: A geo-political concept that gained currency in the 1980s, to collectively describe what had till then been described as 'developing countries' as a collective political force in world politics. Together with its opposite, the 'North' -- composed of advanced capitalist countries --, this duality established a dynamic and dialectical opposition of wealthier and poorer countries as collectivities that respectively had common interests in world politics. The duality however fails to account for (wealthy) countries such as in the Middle East, which are still 'developing' but do not see themselves as belonging to the 'South'.

Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP): 'Structural adjustment' is a term used by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for the changes it recommends for 'developing countries'. These include 'internal' changes, notably the cutting of social expenditures by the state, also know as 'austerity'; Implementing user fees in basic services such as education and health; the privatisation of public enterprises; Removing price controls and state subsidies, and in general, the deregulation of the economy and a focus on exports; and - The cancellation or dilution of labour laws and what the IMF says is "Enhancing the rights of foreign investors vis-à-vis national laws", in other words, preferential treatment. They also include 'external' ones, especially the reduction of barriers to trade, the opening of domestic stock markets, and an insistence that all tenders for projects have to be global, in other words, the national market has to be opened to global competition. In the IMF's understanding, these changes are designed to promote economic growth to generate income to pay off debts that the countries have accumulated. Imposition of these changes has been a condition for getting new loans from the IMF and the World Bank for many developing countries. Due to the near universality of Third World debt, and the growth of the World Bank and IMF's programmes, the terms of structural adjustment

policies became a template for the governance of much of humanity during the 1980s and 90s.

The serial impacts of the imposition of structural adjustment policies on Third World countries across the world since the 1980s however – with experience in Latin America being referred to as 'The Lost Decade' - has generated deep criticism and opposition across the world, at local, national, and global levels. This opposition has been a major part of the growth of emerging global 'anti-globalisation' movement, and arguably also of the G77 – the group of countries in the UN that seeks to represent the interests of the countries of the South. Critics claim that SAPs threaten the sovereignty of national economies because an outside organisation is dictating a nation's policy. They also criticise the economic impact of SAPs. The lowered wages that are a result of SAP causes local purchasing power to be reduced; the privatisation of public enterprises reduces state capacity, export expansion often displaces or even destroys local production systems; and SAP only adds to indebtedness and to the flow of capital from the South to the North rather than reducing it. The anti-land reform and food trade policies associated with SAPs have been pointed out as a major engine in the growth in urban poverty and slums, the urbanisation of the global South, the ballooning of megacities, and accompanied by lowered wages and the shutting down of local industries, consequent worldwide migration towards the global North.

Worldwide opposition to SAP has been growing since the 1980s, and coalesced into a global movement during the 1990s, Since 2000, the emerging global movement has staged several actions in protest of IMF and World Bank policies, including A16 / Washington DC, Prague 2000, and elsewhere. Eminent economists such as Joseph Stiglitz have also deeply criticised SAP, and the IMF's policies in general. This combined force of these criticisms have forced the World Bank and the IMF to change their policies.

Since the late 1990s, partly in response to criticisms and partly as a consequence of internal evaluations showing the ineffectiveness of SAP, the World Bank and the IMF have replaced the term 'structural adjustment' with an emphasis on 'poverty reduction', with developing countries encouraged to draw up Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs); but where the content of these is often quite similar to Structural Adjustment

Sustainable Development: Policy of promoting growth consistent with protection of environment, e.g., via shift to renewable resources and local community participation in development projects. Compromise reached in international negotiation, recognizing interests of developed and developing countries. Normative principle with mixed practical effect.

Sustainability: A concept relating to the continuity of economic, social, institutional and environmental aspects of human society. It is intended to be a means of configuring civilisation and human activity so that society, its members and its economies are able to meet their needs and express their greatest potential in the present even while preserving biodiversity and natural ecosystems, and planning and acting for the ability to maintain these ideals indefinitely.

True sustainability affects and requires participation from every level of organisation, from the local neighbourhood to the entire planet.

Swadeshi: Hindi word, literally meaning 'indigenous', but now has deep cultural and political connotations in India. This term first gained currency in Indian political philosophy when Mohandas Gandhi used it as an economic concept during India's

freedom struggle against the British. His idea of *swadeshi* was directed at making India self-reliant and at removing the British Empire from power by following principles of *swadeshi* (indigenously self-sufficient, self-reliant) production and consumption. Strategies of the *swadeshi* movement involved mass boycotting of British products and the revival of domestically-made products and production techniques. As a strategy, *swadeshi* was a key instrument for Gandhi, who described it as 'the soul of *Swaraj*' (self-rule).

The Left in India has by and large kept away from using this term, but some sections of the Right have begun to use it since the late 1990s. This term has now expanded beyond its earlier limits and acquired some rather xenophobic undercurrents.

Terrorism: The use of violence against non-combatants for the purpose of achieving political goals, on a scale smaller than full-scale warfare. Even though most people can recognise terrorism when they see it, experts have had difficulty coming up with an ironclad definition. Acts of terrorism can be perpetrated by individuals, groups, or states, as an alternative to an open declaration of war, and are often carried out by those who otherwise feel powerless. States that sponsor or engage in the use of violence against civilians use neutral or positive terms to describe their own combatants, such as freedom fighters, patriots, or paramilitaries.

Third World: A term used to distinguish those nations that neither aligned with the West nor with the East during the Cold War – therefore constituting a 'third' sector, or world. These countries are also known in academic circles as 'the global South', developing countries, or 'least developed countries'. Development workers and activists also tend to call them The South. Many dislike the term developing countries as it implies that industrialisation is the only way forward, which they believe is not necessarily the most beneficial route to equality, justice or to 'development'. The term 'third world' was coined by economist Alfred Sauvy in an article in the French magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur* of August 14 1952. It was a deliberate reference to the 'Third Estate' of the French Revolution. The term gained widespread popularity during the Cold War when many 'poorer nations' of the South adopted the term to describe themselves as being aligned neither with NATO / the West nor the USSR, but instead composing a non-aligned 'third world'. Leading members of this original 'Third World' movement were Yugoslavia, India, and Egypt – the founders of NAM, the Non-Aligned Movement.

The term 'First World' was generally understood to mean the United States and its allies in the Cold War, which would have made the Eastern or Soviet bloc the 'Second World' by default; however, the latter term was seldom actually used. Most 'Third World' countries, as the term is understood now, are located in Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

Trade union: A union ('labour union', in American English; 'trade union', sometimes 'trades union', in British English and Indian English) is a legal entity consisting of employees or workers having a common interest, such as all the assembly workers for one employer, or all the workers in a particular industry. Formed for the purpose of collectively negotiating with an employer (or employers) over wages, hours and other terms and conditions of employment. Unions also often use their organisational strength to advocate for social policies and legislation favourable to workers.

The political structure and autonomy of unions varies widely from country to country. The concept began early in the industrial revolution when it was illegal for many years in most countries. The labour movement has an outgrowth of the disparity between the power of employers and the powerlessness of individual employees.

Trafficking: Often referred to as 'human trafficking', trafficking involves the movement of people (mostly women and children) against their will by means of force for the purpose of sexual or labour exploitation. Examples include abduction for sexual and domestic service (including boys), abduction for debt release, the exchange of women for settlement of disputes, forced prostitution, and sexual exploitation of children. It is different from people smuggling, and is an international, organised, criminal phenomenon that has grave consequences for the safety, welfare, and human rights of its victims.

UN (United Nations): The United Nations (UN) is an international organisation that describes itself as a "global association of governments facilitating cooperation in international law, international security, economic development, and social equity." It was founded in 1945 by 51 states, replacing The League of Nations. As of 2005 it consists of 191 member states, including virtually all internationally-recognised independent nations except the Vatican City (which has declined membership), Palestine (whose status is still one of a de facto state and has not yet legal declared statehood), Niue (whose foreign affairs are dealt with by the New Zealand Government), and the Republic of China, or Taiwan (whose membership was superseded by the People's Republic of China in 1971). Palestine and the Vatican City however both have Permanent Observer Missions to the UN. From its headquarters in New York City, the UN's member countries and specialised agencies give guidance and decide on substantive and administrative issues in regular meetings held throughout each year. The organisation is divided into administrative bodies, including the UN General Assembly, UN Security Council, UN Economic and Social Council, UN Trusteeship Council, UN Secretariat, and the International Court of Justice, as well as counterpart bodies dealing with the governance of all other UN system agencies, such as the WHO, UNHCR, UNDP, and UNICEF. The UN's most visible public figure is the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan is the present Secretary General.

Unorganised sector: The working poor in the economies of all developing societies. The labour force in all developing economies consists of two broad sectors, the organised and the unorganised. The organised sector can be defined as the sector consisting of labour in activities carried out by private and public corporate enterprises and the government at the central, state and local levels, solely with the help of wage-paid labour which, in a great measure, is unionised. In this sector labour productivity is likely to be high, incomes even of the unskilled category are relatively high, and conditions of work and service are protected by labour legislation and trade unions.

The unorganised sector, on the other hand, covers most of the rural labour and a substantial part of urban labour. It includes activities carried out by small and family enterprises, partly or wholly with family labour, and in which wage-paid labour is largely non-unionised due to such constraints as the casual and seasonal nature of employment and scattered location of enterprises. This sector is marked by low incomes, unstable and irregular employment, and a lack of protection either by legislation or trade unions. Apart from those who are poor because they are unemployed, the people in the unorganised sector can be referred to as the 'working poor'.

In India, the struggle for the recognition of unorganised sector workers – as a first stage in the improvement of their conditions - gained significant momentum with the formation of the National Centre for Labour (NCL) in 1995. Six lakh (hundred thousand) workers are now members of the NCL. One key issue in the NCL's campaign has been that of the government providing identity cards to workers of the unorganised sector. This has been their key demand as it establishes their worker

status and also makes them visible to the world at large. In 1999, an important breakthrough was made when the ILO (International Labour Organisation, a UN agency) organised a special discussion on the unorganised sector and trade unions.

Welfare state: There are three main interpretations of the idea of a welfare state: The provision of welfare services by the state; An ideal model in which the state assumes primary responsibility for the welfare of its citizens. This responsibility is comprehensive, because all aspects of welfare are considered; a "safety net" is not enough, and nor are minimum standards. It is universal, because it covers every person as a matter of right; and - The provision of welfare in society.

In many 'welfare states', especially in continental Europe, welfare is not actually provided by the state, but by a combination of independent, voluntary, mutualist, and government services. The functional provider of benefits and services may be a central or state government, a state-sponsored company or agency, a private corporation, a charity or another form of non-profit organisation.

The term 'welfare state' is believed to have been coined by Archbishop William Temple during the Second World War, contrasting wartime Britain with the 'warfare state' of Nazi Germany.

World Bank: The World Bank, often referred to as 'The Bank', came into formal existence on December 27 1945 following international ratification of the Bretton Woods agreements between state-nations led by the USA and the UK on July 22 1945. It is headquartered in Washington DC, USA.

The World Bank is not a 'bank' in the common sense. It is one of the United Nations' specialised agencies, and is made up of 184 member countries (though the Bank has also made clear its independence from the UN and has refused to be accountable to it). These countries are jointly responsible for how the institution is financed and how its money is spent.

There is in fact no such institution as a 'World Bank'; its correct name is the 'International Bank for Reconstruction and Development' (IBRD).

Commencing operations on June 25 1946, it approved its first loan on 9 May 1947 (US$250m to France for post-war reconstruction, in real terms the largest loan issued by the Bank to date). The World Bank is one institution within the 'Bretton Woods institutions'. These include International Monetary Fund (IMF), created along with the World Bank in 1945, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), created on July 20 1956, and the International Development Association (IDA), on September 24 1960. The World Bank says its current activities are focused on 'less economically developed countries' in fields such as education, agriculture, and industry. Among other things, it is meant to provide loans at preferential rates to member countries that are in difficulty. In counterpart, it also often asks that political measures be taken to, for example, limit corruption, foster democracy, and liberalise economies by opening them up to multinational corporations.

The work of the Bank, as well as its sister institution the IMF, is subject to long-standing and strong criticism from a range of civil (non-governmental) organisations and academics, and in some cases from the Bank's own internal evaluations. It has been accused, including by some its own members such as Japan, of being a US or western tool for imposing economic policies that support western interests such as SAP (Structural Adjustment). Critics argue that the free market reform policies which the Bank advocates in practice are often harmful to economic development,

especially if implemented badly, too quickly, in the wrong sequence, or in very weak, uncompetitive economies.

World Economic Forum (WEF): In technical terms, the WEF is only a Geneva-based foundation whose annual meeting is attended by chief executives of the world's richest corporations, some national political leaders (presidents, prime ministers, members of parliaments and senates, and others), and selected intellectuals and journalists, about 2,000 people in all. It is usually held in Davos, Switzerland. There are also regional meetings throughout the year. It was founded in 1971 by Klaus M Schwab, a business professor in Switzerland, and has helped fund his family foundation, the Schwab Foundation for Social Entrepreneurship.

According to its supporters, the WEF is an ideal place for dialogue and debate regarding the major social and economic problems of the planet, since representatives of both the most powerful economic organisations and the most powerful political organisations are present, since intellectuals also participate, and since there is a generally informal atmosphere encouraging wide-ranging debate. Journalists have access to every session at the Annual Meeting in Davos and the majority of sessions are webcast live so that the debates can be open to a wider public.

According to its critics, the WEF is really just a business forum, where the richest businesses can easily negotiate deals with one another and lobby the world's most powerful politicians, and that the aim is profit-making rather than solving economic problems like poverty. The WEF's membership, the membership of its board, and the attendance at its annual meetings is heavily composed of representatives from Europe, the USA and industrialised Asia, with the rest of the world excluded. It has a very low participation of women. Moreover, given the domination of the WEF by corporations, with the status of corporate personhood, and the influence of the WEF in global decision making, it is seen by some critics as an unelected, non-democratic, elitist, secretive world Senate.

Since 2000, an 'Anti-Davos Davos' meeting has also taken place at Davos at the same time as the WEF, made of critics and protestors; and since 2001, the World Social Forum has also taken shape, as a counterpoint to the World Economic Forum, making the point that the world is not only made up of its economy.

WSF (World Social Forum): Originally an annual meeting held by members of the alterglobalisation movement to coordinate world campaigns, share and refine organising strategies, and inform each other about movements from around the world and their issues. It tends to meet in January each year when its 'great capitalist rival', the World Economic Forum, is meeting in Davos, Switzerland.

The first WSF was held from January 25 to 30 January 2001 in Porto Alegre, in southern Brazil, organised mainly by Brazilian organisations involved in the alterglobalisation movement along with ATTAC, the French Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens. The first WSF was sponsored, in part, by the Porto Alegre government, led by the Brazilian Worker's Party (PT). The town was experimenting with an innovative model for the local government that combined the traditional representative institutions with the participation of open assemblies of the people. 12,000 people attended from around the world. At the time, Brazil was also in a moment of transformation that later would lead to the electoral victory of the PT candidate Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.

The second WSF, also held in Porto Alegre from January 31 to 5 February 2002, had over 12,000 official delegates representing people from 123 countries, 60,000

attendees, 652 workshops, and 27 talks. One famous speaker was famed American author and dissident Noam Chomsky.

The third WSF was again held in Porto Alegre, in January 2003. There were many parallel workshops, including, for example, the Life After Capitalism workshops that focussed discussion on non-communist, non-capitalist, participative possibilities for different aspects of social, political, economic, and communication structures.

The fourth WSF, in January 2004, was held in Mumbai, India, the first time the world meeting of the WSF was held outside Brazil. This was attended by some 140,000 people, and marked by the participation of Dalits, Adivasis, and women.

While the fifth WSF was again held in Porto Alegre, the sixth WSF marked a new phase of the initiative, being organised as a Polycentric World Social Forum – held in Bamako, Mali, and Caracas, Venezuela, in January 2006, and then in Karachi, Pakistan, in March 2006 (postponed from January on account of the major earthquake that had taken place in the country in November 2005).
The seventh WSF is to be held in January 2007 in Nairobi, Kenya.The World Social Forum is now a world movement where there are also regional social forums taking place (for instance, the European Social Forum and the Asian Social Forum) as well as thematic social forums and country and local social forums, all over the world. For details, see

WTO (World Trade Organisation): An international organisation that oversees a large number of agreements covering the 'rules of trade' between its member states. Created in 1995 as a secretariat to administer the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), a post-war trade treaty that laid much of the groundwork for the WTO. The WTO is the long-delayed successor to the project of the International Trade Organisation, which was intended to follow GATT and whose charter was agreed at the UN Conference on Trade and Employment in Havana in March 1948, but which was blocked by the US Senate. The WTO's headquarters are located in Geneva, Switzerland. As of October 13 2004, there were 148 members in the organisation. All WTO members are required to grant one another Most Favoured Nation status. Since the late 1990s, the WTO has become a major target for protests by the global justice and solidarity movement, with demonstrations taking place at every WTO meeting, including the ministerial meetings at Seattle, USA, in 1999, where the meeting was disrupted, at Cancun, Mexico, in 2004, and in Hong Kong, China, in 2006.

Xenophobia: A phobic attitude toward strangers or of the unknown. It comes from the Greek words *xenos*, meaning 'foreigner' or 'stranger', and *phobos* meaning 'fear'. The term is typically used to describe fear or dislike of foreigners or in general of people different from one's self. For example, racism is sometimes described as a form of xenophobia. In science fiction, it has come to mean 'fear of extraterrestrial things'. Xenophobia implies a belief, accurate or not, that the target is in some way alien. The word 'xenophobic' is used by some as a way to collectively describe the positions held by racists and isolationists. The term 'xenophilia' is used for the opposite behaviour, of attraction to or love for foreign persons.

4.2

Reading List for the Programme

*The suggested reading list is a long indicative list, though not exhaustive, for selecting 2-3 core texts for each module. These texts would be collated to prepare a programme reader for the participants. The remaining books and texts are to be used for future reference by the participants on module themes.

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4.3

Important Web Resources for the Programme

The AgBioIndia mailing list

The AgBioIndia mailing list is an effort by the Forum for Biotechnology & Food Security to bridge the yawning gap in our understanding of the politics of food. We believe this mailing list will create wider awareness and understanding of the compexities of the crisis facing Indian agriculture and food security. This list will keep you posted on the intricacies and games being enacted in the name of eradicating hunger. It is a non-commercial educational service for non-profit organisations and individuals. Subscribers are welcome to contribute information. You can view previous issues at http://www.agbioindia.org/archive.asp

Infochange News and Features

The website offers comprehensive coverage of several different issues including the environment, water resources, poverty, livelihoods, women, children, public health etc. This one-stop website on India's social sector provides daily uploads on development news, the background and context to development issues in India, features, profiles, interviews, and dozens of stories of change about alternative models of development and individuals and organisations working to make a difference at the grassroots. http://www.infochangeindia.org/index.jsp

Poorest Areas Civil Society Programme

The Poorest Areas Civil Society (PACS) Programme stems from the overall aim of the UK's Department For International Development (DFID) to reduce global poverty and promote sustainable development http://www.pacsprogramme.org

DevNetJobsIndia.org

This website contains listings of jobs and consultancies in national and international NGOs, the UN and inter-governmental organisations working in India as well as fellowship announcements in the Indian development sector. www.DevNetJobsIndia.org

Indian government's online directory

A one-point resource for all Indian government websites at all administrative levels http://www.goidirectory.nic.in/

id21

id21 is a research reporting service that aims to put international development policy into practice. By producing summaries of the most recent UK-resourced development research, id21 is increasing the communication of research findings and policy recommendations to policy-makers worldwide. The site provides free access to an online database of over 2000 highlights of recent social, economic, education and health and natural resources research in developing countries www.id21.org

IndianNGOs

A comprehensive online directory of non-governmental organisations active in India; events and news on the social development sector www.indianngos.com

Indev- India development information network

A British Council initiative, the website acts as a gateway to development information on India http://www.indev.nic.in/

The Communication Initiative

The Communication Initiative is a partnership of development organisations promoting communication interventions for positive international development. The site is a source for publications, events, training opportunities and strategic thinking about communication as an instrument of change http://www.comminit.com/

The International Labour Organisation

The International Labour Organisation is the United Nations specialised agency, which seeks the promotion of social justice and internationally recognized human and labour rights www.ilo.org

United Nations Development Programme

The United Nations Development Programme.is concerned with integrating human rights in all global development activity, such as democratic governance, poverty reduction, crisis prevention and recovery, energy and environment, HIV/AIDS http://www.undp.org

Export Credit Agencies (ECA) Watch

ECA Watch is an outreach mechanism of a larger international campaign to reform Export Credit Agencies (ECAs). Non-governmental organisations working on issues related to the environment, development, human rights and anti-corruption participating in this campaign lobby national and global ECAs to improve their environmental policies and practices www.eca-watch.org

50 Years Is Enough: U.S. Network for Global Economic Justice

A coalition of over 200 American grassroots, women's, solidarity, faith-based, policy, social- and economic-justice, youth, labour and development organisations dedicated to the profound transformation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The Network works with over 185 international partner organisations in more than 65 countries. The Network focuses on action-oriented economic literacy training, public mobilisation, and policy advocacy. www.50years.org

Asia-Europe Dialogue on Alternative Political Strategies

The objective of this German-based organisation is to encourage a dialogue between the civil society organisations in Asia and Europe that could engender alternative political strategies, which could ultimately lead to alternative models of development. This web site analyses and documents ongoing debates, popular responses, campaigns and struggles related to these themes related to two main themes, globalisation and global security http://www.ased.org

Alternative Information and Development Centre (AIDC)

Through research, information production and dissemination, popular education and campaigns AIDC aims to contribute to the development of regional and global challenges to the currently dominant global economic system. Through the empowerment and mobilisation of progressive organisations and popular social movements, AIDC aims to contribute to the development of alternatives that ensure fundamental socio-economic transformation www.aidc.org.za

The Bank Information Centre (BIC)

BIC is a US- based NGO that aims to empower affected communities, indigenous peoples, and grassroots movements in developing countries to address the negative side effects of economic globalisation. Supported by private organisations working for the environment and development, BIC supports and informs those working to influence the activities of multilateral development banks in a manner that fosters social justice and ecological sustainability www.bicusa.org

CEE Bankwatch Network

CEE Bankwatch Network, one of the strongest environmental NGO's in Europe, comprises a network of organisations in 12 countries of the Central and Eastern Europe and CIS region whose mission is to prevent the environmentally and socially harmful impacts of international development finance. Its aim is to monitor the activities of International Financial Institutions (IFIs) in the region, and to propose constructive alternatives to their policies and projects and to promote public participation www.bankwatch.org

World Agroforestry Centre

The World Agroforestry Centre is an autonomous, not-for-profit research and development institution supported by nearly 60 different governments, private foundations regional development banks and the World Bank whose primary mission is to improve food and nutritional security and enhance environmental resilience in the tropics. www.worldagroforestry.org

Food and Agriculture Organisation

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations leads international efforts to defeat hunger. Serving both developed and developing countries, FAO acts as a neutral forum where all nations meet as equals to negotiate agreements and debate policy. www.fao.org

International Food Policy Research Institute

Aimed at identifying and analysing policies for sustainably meeting the food needs of the developing world, the research at IFPRI focuses on economic growth and poverty alleviation in low-income countries and the sound management of the natural resource base that supports agriculture. IFPRI seeks to make its research results available to all those in a position to use them and to strengthen institutions in developing countries that conduct research relevant to its mandate www.ifpri.org

Consultative Group on Agricultural Research

CGIAR is a strategic alliance of countries, global and regional organisations and private foundations supporting 15 international agricultural centres. It works with

national agricultural research systems and civil society organisations to achieve sustainable food security and reduce poverty in developing countries through scientific research and research-related activities in the fields of agriculture, forestry, fisheries, policy and the environment.www.cgiar.org

Harvest Plus

Harvest Plus, one of the CGIAR's Global Challenge Programs, seeks to reduce the effects of micronutrient malnutrition by harnessing the power of plant breeding to develop staple food crops that are rich in micronutrients, a process called Biofortification.
www.harvestplus.org

International Rice Research Institute

The International Rice Research Institute, an autonomous, nonprofit agricultural research and training organisation with offices in more than ten nations aims to find sustainable ways to improve the well-being of poor rice farmers and consumers while protecting the environment www.irri.org

Oxfam International

A confederation of 12 organisations, Oxfam International works together with over 3000 partners in more than 100 countries to find lasting solutions to poverty, suffering and injustice. Oxfam seeks increased worldwide public understanding that economic and social justice are crucial to sustainable development and aims to shift in public opinion in order to make equity the same priority as economic growth.
www.oxfam.org/eng

Developments

The publication *Developments* is a free quarterly magazine produced by the UK-based Department for International Development (DfID) to increase awareness of development issues. Its website provides an overview of international development issues and the latest news on how British development assistance works in partnership with developing countries to help eradicate poverty.
www.developments.org.uk/

Friends of the River Narmada

The Friends of the River Narmada is an international coalition of individuals and organisations (primarily of Indian descent), which acts as a support and solidarity network for the **Narmada Bachao Andolan** (Save the Narmada movement), which has been fighting for the democratic rights of the citizens of the Narmada Valley.
www.narmada.org

International Water Management Institute

IWMI is a non-profit scientific research organization specialising in water use in agriculture and integrated management of water and land resources. The institute works with partners in the developing world to develop tools and methods to help these countries eradicate poverty and ensure food security through more effective management of their water and land resources
www.iwmi.org

United Nations Development Fund for Women

UNIFEM provides financial and technical assistance to innovative programmes and strategies that promote women's human rights, political participation and economic security.www.unifem.org

UNAIDS

The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, UNAIDS, is the main advocate for global action on the epidemic. It leads, strengthens and supports an expanded response aimed at preventing transmission of HIV, providing care and support, reducing the vulnerability of individuals and communities to HIV/AIDS, and alleviating the impact of the epidemic www.unaids.org

World Health Organisation

The world's foremost health agency, the World Health Organisation is the United Nations specialised agency for health, established with the objective is to achieve attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health www.who.int

The Centre for Economic and Social Rights

Established in the United States in 1993, the Centre for Economic and Social Rights (CESR) promotes the right of every human being to housing, education, a healthy environment, food, work. CESR works with communities, activists and civil society groups to strengthen local initiatives for economic justice, by connecting them with global institutions and legal agencies to ensure human rights.www.cesr.org

Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative

The Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI) is an independent, non-partisan, international non-governmental organisation, mandated to ensure the practical realization of human rights in the countries of the Commonwealth http://www.humanrightsinitiative.org/about/default.htm

Amnesty International

Amnesty International (AI) is the foremost global human rights organisation, which campaigns for internationally recognised human rights http://www.amnesty.org

Human Rights Watch

Human Rights Watch is an independent nongovernmental organisation dedicated to protecting the human rights of people around the world http://www.hrw.org

The International Red Cross

The International Committee of the Red Cross is an international or intergovernmental organisation. The website provides a brief overview of the organisation's major activities throughout the world in the fields of protection, assistance and prevention. http://www.icrc.org

Alternative Law Forum

The Alternative Law Forum is a lawyers collective, which uses law to address situations of marginalisation and disempowerment faced by people on the basis of caste, class, religion, gender, sexuality, disability or any other status www.altlawforum.org

Humanity Foundation

The Humanity Foundation website is a host for cross cultural understanding, possibilities for positive action and a conversation with the world http://www.humanity.org

South Asia Citizens Web

The SACW is an independent space on the internet to promote the exchange of information between and about citizens initiatives from South Asia and its Diaspora communities.http://www.sacw.net

UN-HABITAT

The United Nations Human Settlements Programme, UN-HABITAT is the United Nations agency for human settlements. It is mandated by the UN General Assembly to promote socially and environmentally sustainable towns and cities with the goal of providing adequate shelter for allwww.unhabitat.org

The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI)

A research institute with five Indian centres and four overseas affiliates, TERI is committed to every finding innovative solutions to critical energy and environment-related issues and the challenges posed by sustainable development -- from providing environment-friendly solutions to rural energy problems to helping shape the development of the Indian oil and gas sector and from tackling global climate change issues across continents to enhancing forest conservation efforts among local communities.www.teriin.org

United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)

Established in 1972, United Nations Environment Programme acts as a catalyst, advocate, educator and facilitator to promote the wise use and sustainable development of the global environment. To accomplish this, UNEP works with a wide range of partners, including United Nations entities, international organisations, governments, non-governmental organisations, the private sector and civil society. www.unep.org

Wildlife Trust of India

Wildlife Trust of India (WTI) is a non-profit conservation organisation committed to urgent action that prevents the destruction of India 's wildlife. Its principal concerns are crisis management and the provision of quick, efficient aid to those areas that require it the most.www.wildlifetrustofindia.org

Endocrine Disrupters Website

A European Commission website that seeks to provide a basic understanding of endocrine disrupting chemicals and that introduces and explores the central issues at

hand. A number of reports as well as the Commission's strategy are also presented in detail. http://europa.eu.int/comm/environment/endocrine/index_en.htm

Environmental Health News

A daily news service that works to increase public understanding of emerging scientific links between environmental exposures and human health. The site provides daily breaking news from newspapers, new science from scientific and medical literature and new reports from organisations working to protect human health from environmental exposures.http://www.environmentalhealthnews.org/

Our Stolen Future

The web home of the authors of *Our Stolen Future*, a book that explores the emerging science of endocrine disruption -- how some synthetic chemicals interfere with the ways that hormones work in humans and wildlife. Access regular updates about the latest scientific research on endocrine disruption, information about ongoing policy debates, and suggestions about what you can do as a consumer and citizen to minimize risks related to hormonally-disruptive contaminants. http://www.ourstolenfuture.org/

World Wildlife Fund for Nature

WWF's efforts to increase scientific understanding of toxic chemicals and to restrict or ban harmful chemicals stem from evidence that some chemicals can undermine the basic functions of entire ecosystems, as well as harm wildlife and human health. WWF has done some of the path-breaking work on endocrine disrupting chemicals. http://www.worldwildlife.org/toxics/

Centre for Science and Environment

Centre for Science and Environment (CSE) is an independent, public interest organisation, which aims to increase public awareness on science, technology, environment and development.www.cseindia.org

Environment News Service

The Environment News Service provides daily international news updates on the environment. http://ens-news.com

Greenpeace India

Greenpeace is a global non-profit organisation, which focuses on the most crucial threats to the planet's biodiversity and environment http://www.greenpeaceindia.org/

Toxics Link

Toxics Link is an information exchange mechanism that aims to strengthen campaigns against toxics pollution in India, help push industries towards cleaner production and link groups working on toxics issues into a National Toxics Movement in India.http://www.toxicslink.org/

Making India Green

Making India Green provides simple ways to support environmental causes and campaigns. It also features news and articles on the environment. http://www.makingindiagreen.org

Kalpavriksh

Kalpavriksh is a voluntary group working on environmental education, research, campaigns, and direct action.http://www.kalpavriksh.org/

Ashoka Trust for Research in Ecology and the Environment

ATREE is a not-for-profit organisation,, which utilises an interdisciplinary approach to address issues of environmental degradation and economic development. http://www.atree.org/

Development Alternatives

The Development Alternatives group is a non-profit organisation committed to creating large-scale sustainable livelihoods. http://www.devalt.org/

Global Movement for Children

The Global Movement for Children is the worldwide movement of 10 organisations and thousands of people, including children, uniting their efforts to build a world fit for children.www.gmfc.org

UNICEF

The world's foremost children's organisation, UNICEF is an arm of the United Nations. Works to improve the conditions of children and ensure their rights in over 158 countries.www.unicef.org

UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre (IRC)

A part of UNICEF, the Innocenti Research Centre (IRC) works to strengthen the capacity of its parent body and its cooperating institutions to respond to the evolving needs of children and to develop a new global ethic for children. It promotes the effective implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, in both developing and industrialised countries.http://www.unicef-icdc.org

Children's Rights India

The website of the Indian chapter of the international Terre des Hommes, an association that believes that children's rights need to be part of the human rights agenda and strives to raise funds to support action and advocacy on behalf of children who have no means of defending themselves against poverty, oppression, abandonment or discrimination.www.childrensrightsindia.org

Children First – International Campaign for Children's Rights

As the name suggests, the members of the international organisation Children First believe the rights of children come before any geographical, national, political,

cultural, religious, ethnic or economic considerations, and work towards promoting this agenda http://www.childrenfirstinternational.org/

CRY - Child Relief and You

One of India 's foremost child aid organizations, CRY is a non-governmental organisation works for the benefit of underprivileged children across India.
www.cry.org

Free the Children

An international network of children helping children at a local, national and international level through leadership and action Free the Children was founded by 12 year-old Craig Kielburger. The primary goal of the organisation is not only to free children from poverty and exploitation, but to also free children and young people from the idea that they are powerless to bring about positive social change and to improve the lives of their peers. http://www.freethechildren.org

Save the Children India

Save the Children India is a non-governmental organisation, which works for the empowerment of disadvantaged women and children mainly focusing on the spheres of education and health. More recently, it has concentrated on the combating and preventing the trafficking of children from rural areas.www.savethechildrenindia.com

Save the Children

A global child aid organisation, Save the Children works in 17 states across the United States and over 40 developing to help children and families improve their health, education and economic opportunities. The NGO also mobilises rapid life-support assistance for children and families caught in the tragedies of natural and man-made disasters. The International Save the Children Alliance, an association of 26 independent organisations provides child-oriented emergency response, development assistance and advocacy of children's rights in more than 100 countries.www.savethechildren.org

Global March against Child Labour

Global March is an international movement that aims to eradicate child labour and create an awareness of the extent of the problem and its impact on children lives. This commitment is reflected in its advocacy of the International Labour Organisation's Convention Against the Worst Forms of Child Labour. The website contains articles and news about child labour from around the world.
www.globalmarch.org

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)

The world's largest international source of funding for population and reproductive health programmes, UNFPA works to promote the idea that reproductive health is recognised as a human right. It works with governments and non-governmental organizations in over 140 countries on programmes that help women, men and young people plan their families, avoid unwanted pregnancies, undergo safe pregnancies and childbirth, avoid sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and combat violence against women.www.unfpa.org