

# BRINGING PEOPLE IN FROM THE COLD

– ENSURING INCLUSIVE GROWTH IN INDIA

A Study Report



VOICE OF THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR  
VANI

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Voluntary Action Network India (VANI)

## **Bringing People in From the Cold — Ensuring Inclusive Growth in India**

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# Bringing People in from the Cold

- Ensuring Inclusive Growth in India

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Published by



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## Preface

India has emerged as one of the fastest growing economies of the world and is widely regarded as one of the biggest beneficiaries of the Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation (LPG) process. While India continues to enlarge its global footprint and assume a greater role in international affairs, the Indian voluntary sector has been criticized for being largely disengaged from policy concerns and decision making processes at an international level. The resultant insulation leads to a lack of awareness among many NGOs, especially those working at the grassroots, about various international commitments and developments which directly or indirectly affect them.

Also, due to the prevailing dissonance between the policies formulated at an international and national level and praxis, many positive experiences and good practices of domestic NGOs remain unacknowledged by policy makers.

For the past decade and a half, the international development agenda was shaped by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). However, the MDGs were widely criticized for being a process led by international governmental and non-governmental organisations, where the onus of meeting quantitative targets was placed solely on developing countries, with no or little regard for quality and sustainability.

Currently, the global community is discussing the framework and modalities of a new global development compact to succeed the MDGs in 2015. This process has so far been extremely inclusive, holding consultations with various stakeholders and emphasizing the need to develop sustainable goals which shall form the basis of action for both developed and developing countries.

In this scenario, the institutions of SSC such as BRICS, IBSA and G20 have assumed greater significance as they need to ensure that the specific issues and challenges of developing countries are adequately articulated and represented so that the agenda is comprehensive and dynamic and not based solely on parameters set by developed countries. With this in mind, VANI conducted research studies on four thematic issues namely Sustainable Development, Financial Inclusion, Inclusive Growth and Corruption and Governance. These themes were identified as central to the international development agenda as well as to the voluntary sector in India after widespread consultations with partner organisations and other stakeholders through various meetings. The objective of these studies is to establish linkages between global thematic campaigns and Indian grassroot movements and thereafter carry out advocacy at three levels: concerned line ministries, global thematic networks and multilateral forums.

As an outcome of the study, four reports were prepared namely "Bringing People in From the Cold-Ensuring Inclusive Growth in India", "Critical Review of Financial Inclusion-In G20 Countries with Focus on India", "Sustainable Development in India-Review and Way Forward" and "Corruption and Governance in India-Review and Way Forward". The research for each report was carried out by the leading thematic NGO in that field. In this regard, I would like to thank Confederation of Voluntary Associations (COVA), Development Alternatives, Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA) and Wada Na Todo Abhiyan (WNTA) for their participation in the study and in particular Dr. Mazher Hussain, Mr. Roberto G Lescrauwaet, Mr. M. Murali Krishna, Mr. Manoj Rai and Mr. Rahul Banerjee for authoring the various reports.

I would also like to thank Dr. Mrs. Jyotsna Singh and Ms. Divita Shandilya of VANI for coordinating and finalising the study and Mr. Rajkumar Sharma for his help on the design and publication of the reports.

I would like to thank Dr. Axel Harneit-Sievers, Director, India Office, Heinrich Boll Foundation and Ms. Shalini Yog, Programme Coordinator, Heinrich Boll Foundation for their valuable inputs and continuing interest in the development of this project and the Heinrich Boll Foundation for supporting the project.

We hope that this study will not only help fill the lacunae that exist among Indian voluntary organisations about the policies and decision making processes at an international level but also act as a representative voice of the sector, domestically and globally.

Harsh Jaitli  
Chief Executive Officer

# CONTENTS

Preface.....	02
1. Executive Summary.....	05
List of Abbreviations.....	08
1. Non-Inclusive Growth in Independent India in the First Three Decades.....	10
2. Political and Civil Society Response to Non-Inclusion in the 1950s - 1970s.....	11
3. Spurt in Growth and Exclusion in the 1980s.....	12
4. Neo-liberal Policies and the Increase in Growth and Exclusion from the 1990s.....	13
5. The Rise of the Civil Society Sector in Response to increasing Non-inclusion.....	14
6. The Programmes and Institutions for Ensuring Inclusive Growth in India.....	16
7. Status of Inclusive Growth in India.....	20
8. Civil Society Interventions for Ensuring Inclusive Growth.....	36
9. Situation with regard to Inclusiveness in other BRICS countries.....	39
10. Limitations of the MDG Approach to Inclusion.....	41
11. Civil Society Efforts Towards Shaping a Sustainable Development Framework.....	43
12. Way Forward for Inclusive Growth.....	44
References.....	48

## Executive Summary

Inclusive Growth has become an important policy goal globally and in India since the turn of the century due to the United Nations having focused on the stark poverty and lack of access to social services that bedevils a majority of the population in most developing nations and also now, since the financial meltdown of 2008, sections of the population in the developed countries. This paper describes the history of non-inclusion in independent India, its current status, the various steps being taken by the Government and Civil Society Organisations to remedy the situation, the inadequacy of the Millennium Development Goals and the evolution of a sustainable development strategy for the future.

- 1. Non-Inclusive Growth in Independent India in the First Three Decades** - British colonial rule had left India a severely de-industrialised economy bereft of financial and skilled human resources resulting in low savings and growth rates in the 1950s-70s. The resources for development were garnered from the exploitation of the majority and the expectation of the planners that development would trickle down to the poor and add dynamism to the economy was belied. The main reason for this was that the historically strong forces of social exclusion which had been further reinforced during colonial rule, continued to be considerably dominant in these first three decades, thereby restricting the participation of the marginalised sections in particular and the population in general in the formal democratic institutions that had been constitutionally established.
- 2. Political and Civil Society Response to Non-Inclusion in the 1950s - 1970s** - Initially there was the Gandhian response in the form of the Bhoodan movement for redistribution of agricultural land in the 1950s but this did not succeed. Consequently, in the late 1960s there was the armed rebellion of the Maoists and later in the 1970s social movements like that of the Chipko Andolan and finally the Sampoorna Kranti Andolan led by Jayaprakash Narayan which all put pressure on the Government to become more inclusive.
- 3. Spurt in Growth and Exclusion in the 1980s** - The decade of the 1980s saw an incipient liberalisation of the rigid controls over the economy allowing the private sector to make greater imports resulting in greater competitiveness and also there was greater public expenditure and so the savings and investment gap of the Government which used to be around 3.7% of Gross Development Product (GDP) in the first three decades began increasing by leaps and bounds and reached 8.1% by 1991. Simultaneously the current account deficit in external trade which averaged about 2% of the GDP in the first three decades also shot up to an unsustainable 3.2% of the GDP in 1991. Consequently, despite a GDP growth rate of about 5.5% in this decade, the exclusion of the poor increased because of a high inflation rate of 9%, a high indirect tax proportion of 80%, a high level of fiscal deficit and public debt and siphoning of funds into the burgeoning black money.
- 4. Neo-liberal Policies and the Increase in Growth and Exclusion from the 1990s** - An extensive neo-liberal structural reform programme involving the liberalisation of foreign trade, reduction in fiscal deficit and social and agricultural sector spending

and greater flexibility for businesses in setting up or closing industries and hiring and firing workers was initiated in the 1990s at the behest of the International Monetary Fund. While this resulted in maintaining the GDP growth rate at an average of 5.5% in this decade by pushing up exports and imports and domestic economic activity, there was an increased casualisation of labour and so the returns to the labouring class were reduced and the returns to the propertied classes especially the business classes increased substantially. The move to open up the economy was accompanied by the Rupee not only being devalued sharply but being allowed to float in accordance with a basket of currencies initially and more or less freely later on. While this made exports from the country more competitive, it at the same time made imports, crucially that of crude oil, gold and capital goods which form the major components of India's imports, to become costlier and so push up prices in the economy as a whole and for common people in particular. Subsequently following the financial meltdown of 2008 there has been a slowdown in growth and runaway inflation to add to the problem of joblessness and non-inclusion.

- 5. The Rise of the Civil Society Sector in Response to increasing Non-inclusion -** The Maoists, the Gandhian movements like the Ekta Parishad and various new social movements like the Narmada Bachao Andolan gained in strength since the 1980s as discontent grew among the people at their increasing exclusion. Non-Governmental Organisations also proliferated to provide services to the poor and conduct advocacy on their behalf. The civil society sector came into its own in the new millennium and was a major force behind the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals and later in critiquing its deficiencies and formulating a new sustainable and equitable development framework for the future.
- 6. The Programmes and Institutions for Ensuring Inclusive Growth in India -** The Government of India being a signatory to the Millennium Declaration accepted the goals (MDG) for multi-dimensional poverty reduction and instituted elaborate laws, policies and programmes to achieve them as part of its overall policies for ensuring inclusion and the Civil Society Organisations (CSO) also did their best to aid this process.
- 7. Status of Inclusive Growth in India -** Overall the performance of India with regard to ensuring inclusion is poor on all the dimensions of poverty like income, education, health, gender equity, shelter, financial access and environmental sustainability. This is confirmed by the fact that the Human Development Index for India has moved up from 0.411 in 1990 to 0.461 in 2000 and 0.554 in 2012 while in the same period that for the world as a whole has moved from 0.558 in 1991 to 0.634 in 2000 and 0.686 in 2012. Consequently in recent years the ranking of India has been going down and in 2012 it was 138 among 187 countries. When multi-dimensional poverty as calculated by the United Nations is taken into account, then it turns out that as much as 55 per cent of the population are poor in India. The laggard states like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Odisha and West Bengal not only had higher levels of poverty but also showed the least improvement over the last decade.

8. **Civil Society Interventions for Ensuring Inclusive Growth** - Following the Fourth World Social Forum conclave held in Mumbai in January 2004, the CSOs in India came to the conclusion that concerted and focused action was necessary to remedy the dismal situation in India where one fourth of the world's poor resided in deprivation and indignity. This led to the formation of the coalition named Wada Na Todo Abhiyan - Do Not Break Your Promises Campaign (WNTA), to hold the Government accountable to the promises it had made by signing the UN Millennium Declaration and in formulating the Common Minimum Programme. This coalition and other CSOs apart from implementing various programmes of their own have continually pointed out the lack of oversight and the resultant absence of accountability in the government development programmes and the need for awareness building at the grassroots and the conduct of independent evaluations to correct this.
9. **Situation with regard to Inclusiveness in other BRICS countries** - Taking the number of people living below the extreme poverty line of \$1.25 per capital per day at purchasing power parity as the criterion, India is at the bottom of the BRICS nations as far as ensuring inclusion is concerned. South Africa is marginally better, China is further up the ladder and Brazil is ahead of China. Russia, by virtue of being a developed country does not have any one living below the extreme poverty line.
10. **Limitations of the MDG Approach to Inclusion** - The main criticism is that the the top down reductionist approach of the MDG 2015 framework does not address the structural barriers to socio-economic and political participation, without the removal of which inclusion is not possible. Neither does it integrate the social, economic and environmental concerns in a combined approach nor is there an appreciation of the ways in which the lack of grassroots democracy can affect the rights and entitlements of the poor. It is also blind to the geographical and socio-economic variations in the factors that prevent inclusion. Finally it does not hold the developed countries to account for their negative role in creating instability in the global financial system and in aggravating the problem of climate change.
11. **Civil Society Efforts Towards Shaping a Sustainable Development Framework** - The WNTA has led the efforts of the CSOs in India in developing the new framework for the future. It has held a number of nationwide consultations and campaigns to popularise the new agenda for sustainable inclusive growth and build up a groundswell in its favour within the country given the fact that India has the worst record of non-inclusion among the BRICS countries despite such a vocal and active CSO sector. It has also taken part in various international campaigns to this end.
12. **Way Forward for Inclusive Growth** - In India, among developing countries, in developed countries, in the multilateral institutions and in the United Nations and in the CSO sector globally, the barriers to inclusive growth and the measures necessary for removing them have been identified quite comprehensively. The civil society organisations globally are mounting considerable pressure for the adoption and implementation of a sustainable and equitable development framework. So there will in future be greater progress in this regard than there has been in the past.

## List of Abbreviations

ASER	— Annual Survey of Education Report
ASHA	— Alliance for Sustainable and Holistic Agriculture
BJP	— Bharatiya Janata Party
BPL	— Below Poverty Line
BRICS	— Group of Brazil, Russian Federation, India, China and South Africa
C 20	— Group of Civil Society Organisations of the G 20 Nations.
CAAM	— Citizen's Alliance Against Malnutrition
CAPART	— Council for Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology
CEDAW	— Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CGWB	— Central Groundwater Board
CSD	— Campaign for Survival and Dignity
CSO	— Civil Society Organisation
CSS	— Centrally Sponsored Scheme
CII	— Comparative Inclusiveness Index
EWR	— Elected Women Representative
FRA	— Forest Rights Act or Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forestdwellers (Recognition of Rights Act)
FSA	— National Food Security Act
G 20	— Group of Twenty Developed and Emerging Economy Nations
GCAP	— Global Call to Action Against Poverty
GDS	— Gross Domestic Savings
GDP	— Gross Domestic Product
GoI	— Government of India
IHD	— Institute for Human Development
IMF	— International Monetary Fund
INC	— Indian National Congress
IIPA	— Indian Institute of Public Administration
IIPS	— International Institute of Population Sciences
IPCC	— Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change
IRMA	— Institute of Rural Management
LARRA	— Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act
LIDC	— London International Development Centre
MDG	— Millennium Development Goals
MGNREGA/S	— Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act/Scheme
MMP	— Mines Minerals and People
MoPR	— Ministry of Panchayati Raj
MoRD	— Ministry of Rural Development
MoSPI	— Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation

MRA	— Mahila Rajsatta Andolan
NABARD	— National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development
NAC	— National Advisory Council
NBA	— Narmada Bachao Andolan
NCEUS	— National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector
NDA	— National Democratic Alliance
NER	— Net Enrolment Ratio
NFHS	— National Family Health Survey
NGO	— Non-Government Organisation
NAPM	— National Alliance of People's Movements
NIPFP	— National Institute of Public Finance and Policy
NSM	— New Social Movements
NSSO	— National Sample Survey Organisation
OECD	— Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development
PDS	— Public Distribution System
PGR	— Poverty Gap Ratio
PHCR	— Poverty Head Count Ratio
PRADAN	— Professionals for Development Action
PRI	— Panchayati Raj Institutions
RBI	— Reserve Bank of India
SEWA	— Self Employed Women's Association
TB	— Tuberculosis
ULB	— Urban Local Body
UN	— United Nations
UNDP	— United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	— United Nations Children's Fund
UNMP	— United Nations Millennium Project
WHO	— World Health Organisation
WNTA	— Wada Na Todo Abhiyan

## Bringing People in from the Cold - Ensuring Inclusive Growth in India

Inclusive Growth has become an important policy goal globally and in India since the turn of the century due to the United Nations having focused on the stark poverty and lack of access to social services that bedevils a majority of the population in most developing nations. This exclusion of the majority from the benefits of the impressive aggregate economic growth achieved by these countries in recent years and also the sharply increasing inequality and erosion of public services in the developed nations where growth is stagnating since the financial meltdown of 2008 is a matter for serious concern. The increasingly alarming environmental problems that threaten to further aggravate the problems of exclusion faced by the majority add to the seriousness of the situation.

This paper begins with a brief history of the non-inclusive growth process in India since independence and describes the processes of political and civil society mobilisation that have challenged the established power structures and forced the Government to legislate and make policies to improve the access of the poor and deprived to the fruits of development and reduce its costs to them. It then details the current extent of non-inclusion in India and concludes with the various efforts being made by the Government and the civil society organisations to ensure inclusive growth and people centric development and governance in India.

### 1. Non-Inclusive Growth in Independent India in the First Three Decades

Given the fact that colonialism had severely deindustrialised the economy and choked agriculture while systematically draining resources from the country for a century and a half and forcing it into a long period of under-development, rapid economic growth was an imperative for India at the time of independence (Bagchi, 1989). However, for this huge public investments were necessary in infrastructure, industry, agriculture, education and health which were not possible given that the gross domestic savings (GDS) was a dismal 9.6% of the gross domestic product (GDP) which was itself very low in the 1950s and rose to only 17.2% in the 1970s. Thus, due to constraints on public investment arising from the low savings rate, and the inability of the private sector to do anything more than import substitution in the consumer goods sector, the GDP growth rate was a low 3.9% in the 1950s rising slightly to 4% in the 1960s and then falling to 2.9% in the 1970s, when matters were compounded by a deceleration in agricultural growth and a consequently high Wholesale Price Index inflation rate of 9% (Mohan, 2008). The wars fought in 1962, 1965 and 1971 and the consequent need to spend heavily on a regular basis on building up and maintaining the armed forces also acted as a drag on the economy by pulling away vital resources from the social and economic sectors.

Another aspect of why little aggregate savings and growth were achieved is that these were secured by forcing the majority of the population, especially the Adivasis, Dalits and women, to bear the costs of this development and depriving them of its benefits and so belying the expectations of the planners that the benefits of macro-economic growth would trickle down to the poor and add dynamism to the economy (Chakraborty, 1987). Involuntary displacement due to development projects coupled

with inadequate rehabilitation and resettlement has been a major cause of non-inclusion (Fernandes and Paranjpye, 1997). The interests of the smallholder agriculturists and the landless agricultural labourers who formed the bulk of the rural population too were ignored by the Government as were those of the workers in the unorganised industrial and service sectors who constitute 90% of the urban workforce (Dev, 2007). The main reason for this was that the historically strong forces of social exclusion which had been further reinforced during colonial rule, continued to be considerably dominant in these first three decades, thereby restricting the participation of the marginalised sections in particular and the population in general in the formal democratic institutions that had been constitutionally established (Chandra, 1988). There was no systematic estimation of poverty at the nationwide level in the first three decades as this began only in the late 1970s, however, the mounting discontent among the poor was palpably visible and it manifested itself in a lesser and lesser vote and seat share for the Indian National Congress (INC) Party, which had ruled at the Centre and in the States since independence and a burgeoning of political and social movements at the grassroots (Banerjee, 2008a).

## **2. Political and Civil Society Response to Non-Inclusion in the 1950s - 1970s**

There were in the decade of the 1950s fairly strong communist and socialist movements in several pockets in India which tried to bring up people's issues through grassroots mobilisation and in the legislatures and parliament. However, the big majorities in terms of seats won that the INC got in the elections as a result of the first past the post system of elections, gave them control over the repressive State apparatus which had been retained intact from the colonial era and enabled it to marginalise these parties and continue to exclude the poor majority (Banerjee, op cit). Grassroots mobilisation for economic swaraj along Gandhian lines was undertaken after independence under the Sarva Seva Sangh (Dhaddha, 1997). Vinoba Bhave, took up the mission of Gandhian mobilisation and began the Bhoodan Movement for redistribution of agricultural land in 1951. Unfortunately, despite the support of the INC, in reality this movement was not able to bring about a major redistribution of land and so rural poverty continued to exist (Mazumdar, 1979).

The problems of non-inclusion began mounting to such an extent that from the mid 1960s protests began gaining in strength. The first serious grassroots challenge to this non-inclusive hegemony came with the armed Maoist rebellion that started off in Naxalbari in West Bengal among the Santhal Adivasi peasants in protest against their exploitation by the non-Adivasi landlords in 1967 (Banerjee, 1984). The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) or Naxalites as they were known then, stressed the need for educating the peasant and working class masses and giving them a taste of blood by following a policy of physical annihilation of class enemies and the police. The rebellion was crushed soon in West Bengal by the use of armed force by the State. A later Naxalite spurt in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh in 1968 too was similarly obliterated.

The decade of the 1970s saw another Gandhian, Jayaprakash Narayan, take up the

issues of lack of decent livelihoods in rural areas, agricultural decline, inflation and corruption and launched the Sampoorna Kranti Andolan in 1975. This movement was able to create a mass upsurge in North India and especially in the states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, which were among the poorest in the country, against exclusionary policies of the Central Government of the INC led by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The INC invoked the clause in the Constitution that provided for imposing of an emergency in case there was an internal security threat and clamped down on civil rights and freedoms and imprisoned most of the opposition leaders and agitationists including Jayaprakash Narayan. Draconian measures were adopted thereafter, leading to further exclusion of the poor. Even though the movement was suppressed, when the emergency was withdrawn and fresh elections held in 1977, the INC was routed and for the first time the country got a non-Congress Government at the Centre and subsequently when the legislative assemblies were dissolved in the States and elections held, there too, non-Congress governments came to power.

The decade of the 1970s also saw the emergence of new social movements (NSM) with the Chipko movement in the Garhwal Himalayas distinguished by their abhorrence of party politics and religious connections and their sole concern with rights issues (Baviskar, 1995). NSMs lay stress on politically mobilising people to demand their rights guaranteed in the Constitution and various other enabling statutes. NSMs try to put pressure on the Government to perform better and demand accountability and transparency from it. They posit a decentralised governance and development that is more appropriate to the grassroots whether in urban or rural areas. In this sense these movements have a lot in common with the European green movements which are motivated not by "problems of distribution but concern the grammar of forms of life" (Habermas,1981).

There is, thus, an environmental dimension to these movements based on a vision of living in harmony with nature. As eloquently expressed by scholars - "rural women and indigenous people still retain the aranyasanskriti which is based on the creative interdependence between human evolution and the protection of forests" (Parajuli, 1991). Again - "the forest as the source also means that forests and trees must be treated as sacred. The sacred is inviolable: its integrity cannot be violated... If Asian civilisations have survived over centuries it is because they learnt to be like the forests... For these cultures, all life, both human and non-human, is in symbiosis. Human society is not predatory but in rhythm with the forest" (Shiva and Bandyopadhyay,1990).

### **3. Spurt in Growth and Exclusion in the 1980s**

A major constraint on growth for developing countries is their low tax to GDP ratio which severely constrains the ability of Governments to increase public spending in infrastructure and services and provide a push to growth (Bagchi, 1997). The Tax-GDP ratio was 6.69% in 1951 and rose steadily to a peak of 16.93% in the 1980s. However, the contribution of direct taxes to the total tax revenue fell from 36% to 14% during this period. Indirect taxes are considered to be regressive because they put a disproportionately greater load on the poor but in developing economies where

the unorganised sector constitutes 90% of the economy it is difficult to mobilise resources through direct taxes and so there is a higher proportion of indirect taxes. As the economy grows this proportion should reduce but in India's case it has steadily gone up and this has further increased the exclusion of the poor. Since the 1980s the Tax-GDP ratio has fallen further and stands at around 15% in 2013. While direct tax share has increased to 37%, it is still less than what prevails in other developing economies.

Thus, from the beginning Governments at the Centre and in the States have had to rely on deficit financing and debt to boost investments and provide services and so push economic development and growth. However, if the money pumped into the economy through deficit financing and debt does not result in productive use and is instead siphoned off through corruption or mismanagement into the black economy then it pushes up the inflation rate and the debt and interest burden instead. The former is a further load on the poor and the middle classes while the latter reduces the resources available for productive investment. While in the 1950s and 1960s the black economy was less than 1% of the GDP it shot up to 20% of the GDP in the 1980s due to heightened tax evasion and corruption (NIPFP, 1985). The decade of the 1980s also saw an incipient liberalisation of the rigid controls over the economy allowing the private sector to make greater imports resulting in greater competitiveness and also there was greater public expenditure and so the savings and investment gap of the Government which used to be around 3.7% of GDP in the first three decades began increasing by leaps and bounds and reached 8.1% by 1991. Simultaneously the current account deficit in external trade which averaged about 2% of the GDP in the first three decades also shot up to an unsustainable 3.2% of the GDP in 1991. Consequently, despite a GDP growth rate of about 5.5% in this decade, the exclusion of the poor increased because of a high inflation rate of 9%, a high indirect tax proportion of 80%, a high level of fiscal deficit and public debt and the siphoning of funds into the burgeoning black money.

#### **4. Neo-liberal Policies and the Increase in Growth and Exclusion from the 1990s**

A high current account deficit and the tendency to finance the internal deficit also through short term external borrowing led to a balance of payments crisis in 1991 which had to be met with a loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the initiation of an extensive neo-liberal structural reform programme involving the liberalisation of foreign trade, reduction in fiscal deficit and social and agricultural sector spending and greater flexibility for businesses in setting up or closing industries and hiring and firing workers (Chandrashekhar and Ghosh, 2001). While this resulted in maintaining the GDP growth rate at an average of 5.5% in the 1990s by pushing up exports and imports and domestic economic activity, there was an increased casualisation of labour and so the returns to the labouring class were reduced and the returns to the propertied classes especially the business classes increased substantially.

Moreover there was a reduction in capital expenditures from 5.6% of GDP in 1991 to 3.1% in 1997 and a drastic reduction in the Tax-GDP ratio from 10.3% in 1991-92 to

8.1% in 2000-01 due to the lowering of both direct and indirect taxes (Mohan, op cit). This resulted in lower public expenditures in the social and agricultural sectors, further jeopardising the livelihoods of the poor and marginalised sections. Finally there was a policy shift in the public sector enterprises and they were asked to become profitable including the biggest public sector enterprise in terms of permanent and casual employment - the Indian Railways. Once again this primarily meant squeezing the incomes of the employees, laying them off, increasing casual labour through outsourcing and cutting down recruitment, all of which contributed to significantly reducing job opportunities not only in the public sector enterprises themselves but also in enterprises that were their vendors and buyers. These exclusionary trends became more acute in the 21st century despite growth rates spurting close to 9% a year before the financial meltdown of 2008.

The move to open up the economy was accompanied, at the behest of the IMF, by the Rupee not only being devalued sharply but being allowed to float in accordance with a basket of currencies initially and more or less freely later on. While this made exports from the country more competitive, it at the same time made imports, crucially that of crude oil, gold and capital goods which form the major components of India's imports, to become costlier and so push up prices in the economy as a whole and for common people in particular. Moreover, public investment after reaching a peak of 33.7% of GDP in 2007-08 declined continuously thereafter as did private and foreign direct investment adversely affecting the growth potential of the economy (Ahluwalia, 2013). Huge scams which siphoned off investment added to the problems. The large amounts of black money generated amounting to 40 per cent of the GDP in 1995-96 (Kumar, 2002) and certainly close to 50 per cent currently, along with a surge in crude oil prices created a double digit inflation. This in turn led the Reserve Bank of India to adopt a tight money policy which further squeezed growth prospects of the economy through high interest rates.

Finally the trend of cutting down on regular well paid employment continued as a reflection of the global trend in the first decade of the 21st century resulting in "jobless growth" (Thomas, 2012). The latest NSSO survey on employment indicates that there has been some growth in non-agricultural employment in 2010 but the quality of this employment in terms of wages and other benefits and security of tenure are still suspect (Mehrotra et al, 2013). What is of greater concern, however, is the crisis of employment and income in the agricultural sector as will be discussed in detail later. Subsequently following the financial meltdown of 2008 there has been a slowdown in growth and runaway inflation to add to the problem of joblessness and so non-inclusion.

## **5. The Rise of the Civil Society Sector in Response to increasing Non-inclusion**

Not surprisingly the Maoists, the Gandhian movements like the Ekta Parishad and various new social movements like the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) gained in strength since the 1980s as discontent grew among the people at their increasing exclusion arising from the neo-liberal growth policies being pursued, irrespective of their political affiliation, by Governments at the Centre and in the States, at the

behest of international agencies. The new social movements came into their own in the 21st century. Initially there were the movements for the Right to Information and Right to Work which resulted in the enactment of the Right to Information and the Rural Employment Guarantee Acts. Then there was the Campaign for Survival and Dignity that through its consistent mass mobilisation and lobbying brought about the enactment of the Forest Rights Act benefiting mainly the Adivasi forest dwellers. The long standing movement for the Right to Food ensured that the Supreme Court passed orders for food security of the poor and eventually an Act to ensure food security was passed. Finally there was the anti-corruption movement from 2010 onwards that resulted in unprecedented mass mobilisation and media support for the campaign to rein in runaway corruption in the country. There have also been many movements for environmental justice which have taken their cue from the tenacious struggle against the dams on the Narmada. One of the greatest victories was that of the Dongria Kondhs in Odisha who were able to combine grassroots protests with media and legal advocacy and international lobbying to stall a powerful Multinational Corporation like Vedanta Resources from mining the Niyamgiri Hills for bauxite. These movements have considerably increased the power of the people to intervene in formal democratic processes and make development and governance more people friendly.

In addition to the political and social movements, another sector became more visible throughout India from the 1980s. This was the Civil Society Sector comprised by Non-Government Organisations (NGO). The presence of NGOs which try to deliver social and economic services that are primarily the responsibility of the State has been there from the time of independence. These developmental NGOs have to be differentiated from religious trusts which exist solely for the purpose of managing religious properties and doling out charity. When the State welfare system began to wither due to reduced social expenditures, a new NGO movement began in the decade of the 1980s. Greater bilateral and multilateral aid was disbursed to India in return for the opening up of its economy to trade and investment combined with a reduction of social sector spending and subsidies so as to be able to pay back the debt that was incurred. This was sought to be compensated through grant funding of NGOs in India which started to bring about greater participation of the people in development. There was a mushrooming of NGOs of all kinds engaged in service delivery, rural development, mass mobilisation and policy and legal advocacy around the various rights that have been enshrined in the Constitution and in International Covenants of the United Nations. In this new dispensation the Indian State and international development agencies encouraged mass mobilisation by NGOs through such programmes as the National Literacy Mission, National Watershed Mission and the like and the formation of the Council for Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology (CAPART).

The crucial input of these NGOs was that they mobilised the community and then offered services like education, health and watershed development with the help of grant funding from funding agencies and from the Government. These NGOs were different from the traditional religious trusts and the Gandhian Ashrams and they

proliferated greatly as the World Bank, the United Nations and other funding agencies promoted them as a means to overcome the lack of community participation in development which had hindered Government implementation in the social and economic sectors at the grassroots (Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001). This process got a boost when the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) were set by the United Nations to halve the extent of poverty, hunger and disease prevailing in the world in 1990, by the year 2015 in a bid to ensure inclusive growth (UNMP, 2014). The UN Secretary General commissioned the UN Millennium Project in 2002 under the direction of the economist Jeffrey Sachs to draw up a systematic global plan to achieve these MDGs and NGOs were given an important role in their implementation alongside International Agencies and National Governments. (UNMP, 2005).

Overall, faced with the broad policies of non-inclusion adopted by Governments, both at the Centre and in the States, fringe political and social movements and NGOs have taken up the cause of the poor and have fought in many ways to ensure greater inclusiveness.

## **6. The Programmes and Institutions for Ensuring Inclusive Growth in India**

The concept of inclusive growth was first mooted at the turn of the century and defined as "one that enables the poor to actively participate in and significantly benefit from economic activity" (Kakwani and Pernia, 2000: 3). This has been further augmented by stating that it "grants equal, nondiscriminatory access to growth and is disadvantage-reducing" (Klasen, 2010: 3). Defined in this way inclusive growth broadens the sphere of action beyond livelihoods and income to social services like education and health and political participation in governance.

Thus, in the light of the above definition, the key requirements for inclusion are participation of the people and non-discrimination towards them. The MDGs encompass the mitigation of poverty and hunger, the provision of education, health and sanitation, gender justice and child welfare and the ensuring of environmental sustainability and fair trade and development. However since they do not mention the need for ensuring participation and non-discrimination, they are not a comprehensive blueprint for achieving inclusive growth as will be discussed in more detail later. Nevertheless, for the past decade and a half or so these goals and the programmes and institutions for their achievement have been the main means of ensuring inclusive growth globally and so national level quantitative data regarding the status of inclusion is available mostly for the MDGs.

The Government of India being a signatory to the millennium declaration accepted these goals and instituted policies and programmes to achieve them as part of its overall policies for ensuring inclusion as did the Civil Society Organisations (CSO), which are here defined as a combination of the NSMs, Gandhians and the NGOs, which are all working within the framework of the Indian Constitution and the various international covenants for rights. In this section a review of the policies and programmes of the Government and CSOs has been done. In the next section a review of the various dimensions of poverty in India has been undertaken to quantitatively

assess the status of inclusive growth in India accompanied by an analysis of the failure to achieve inclusion.

The Sachs Report (UNMP, op cit) mentioned earlier, noted in 2005 that the progress in achieving the MDGs was being hampered globally because of the following reasons-

1. **Governance Failures** - the weak implementation of the rule of law, inadequate public investments, mismanagement of public administration, lack of protection for basic human rights, lack of participation of civil society organizations, especially those representing the poor, in national decision-making.
2. **Poverty Traps** - Many of the countries are too poor to have either resources of their own or attract resources from abroad for the investments required in basic infrastructure to eradicate poverty and so remain trapped in a low-income economy.
3. **Policy failures** - Policy makers were unaware of how to tackle the serious problems of gender discrimination against women and environmental devastation, which prevent sustainable social and economic solutions to poverty, hunger and disease.

India too suffers from all these problems in some measure (Bardhan, 1999). Even though, it does not as a country face a poverty trap, certain sections like the Dalits (the previously untouchable and socially excluded communities who constitute about 16 per cent of the total population of India and are referred to in the Constitution as Scheduled Castes for affirmative action by the Government) and the Scheduled Tribes (The indigenous communities who constitute about 8 per cent of the population and are referred to in the Constitution as Scheduled Tribes for affirmative action by the Government) do suffer from this problem. Similarly women too, due to patriarchal oppression, suffer from a poverty trap as they lack access to resources that can enable them to become economically empowered.

The Commonwealth Foundation carried out a review of the implementation of the MDGs in some developing countries from all the regions of the globe in 2005 and came up with the following recommendations for achieving the MDGs (Commonwealth Foundation, 2005) -

1. Adoption of macro and micro economic policies promoting stable economic growth.
2. Increased and more effective public expenditure on social services.
3. The quality of services provided should be improved along with access.
4. Social protection should be in place to guard against losses to the poor from shocks.
5. Inequality in the distribution of assets, especially land, human capital, financial capital and access to public assets must be reduced.

6. Partnerships with civil society organisations should supplement state-led initiatives.
7. Special emphasis must be laid on the empowerment of women and improving their access to quality health and education services.
8. Forge global partnerships for development involving developed country initiatives related to aid, fair trade and debt relief.

All these recommendations have been addressed by the Government of India. The Planning Commission from the 1950s to date was the nodal body for giving direction to growth and development in the country, even though the new National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government led by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has now decided to scrap it. It decided on the resources to be allocated for this even though eventually the various government departments in the centre and the states were actually responsible for the implementation. The Planning Commission not only drew up the central Five Year Plans and Annual Plans but also sanctioned the annual plans of the States and then monitored their implementation. The Prime Minister was the Chairperson of the Planning Commission with a full time Deputy Chairperson and members in addition to other Cabinet Ministers as ex officio members and an Indian Administrative Service officer as the full time member secretary (Planning Commission, 2014a). The Planning Commission specifically mentioned the objective of achieving inclusive growth from the Eleventh Plan onwards and in the Annual Plans from 2007 onwards and especially in the current Twelfth Five Year Plan, human development and the mitigation of poverty were made the cornerstone of inclusive planning.

A National Advisory Council (NAC) was set up and chaired by the President of the INC which was in power at the Centre from 2004 till 2014, consisting of members of CSOs, Social Movements and Academia. The NAC tried to ensure that the Government implemented the electoral promises that have been made in its policies and programmes, especially in the key areas of poverty and hunger eradication (NAC, 2014). The NAC, responding to the demands of popular movements, was the prime mover behind such progressive legislations as the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA 2005), Right to Information Act (RTI 2005), Forest Rights Act (FRA 2006), Right to Education Act (RTE 2009), The National Food Security Act (FSA 2013) and The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (LARRA 2013), which have increased the entitlements particularly of people living below the poverty line (BPL) to employment, nutrition, education and justice and which have all come as a result of CSO mobilisation and advocacy. There are also Parliamentary Standing Committees that oversee the work of the various ministries which are directly concerned with ensuring inclusive growth. The Supreme Court too has played a proactive role in ensuring nutrition, education and environmental sustainability in response to Public Interest Litigation cases filed by responsible and aware citizens and CSOs. Therefore, currently in India, all three arms of the State, the executive, the parliament and the judiciary are giving a fair amount of attention to addressing

the persistent crisis of livelihoods and lack of infrastructure through government schemes, policies and legislation and so focusing on inclusive growth.

The Central Government runs close to 150 inclusive centrally sponsored schemes (CSS) that are implemented by the State Governments and these constituted about 45 per cent of the State Governments' own resources in 2002 (Saxena, 2004). With the initiation of the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) in 2006 the proportion of tied transfers through CSS has gone up substantially to 75 per cent of the State Governments' own resources. Thus, the CSS are the major means of ensuring inclusion for the poor in this country. Some of the major CSS being implemented by the Government of India include the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), National Rural Livelihoods Mission, Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission, Sarva Shiksha and Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyans for universalisation of primary and secondary education, National Rural Health Mission, National Urban Health Mission, National Health Insurance Scheme, the Janani Suraksha Yojana for safe motherhood, the Integrated Child Development Scheme and the National Aids Control and TB and Malaria Eradication Missions.

There is also a system of subsidies and public investment in agriculture, including a support price, procurement system and post harvest processing facilities for various crops and the food grains are stored, processed and later distributed at a subsidised rate through the Public Distribution System and through the mid-day meal scheme in schools to the poor and undernourished citizens. In addition there are crop insurance systems, provision of subsidised credit and debt waivers for farmers.

Finally, since 1993 local governance in rural and urban areas has become operational with reservation for women and additionally many of the CSS and legislations like the FRA and LARRA have provisions to ensure evaluation and monitoring by the beneficiaries. Worldwide there has been a significant trend towards regionalism in government resulting in a widespread transfer of powers downwards towards regions and communities since the decade of the 1990s as it became clear that local development, to be efficacious, has to be undertaken by local populations in accordance with the subsidiarity principle (Keating, 1998). The World Bank in 2001 in its World Development Report (World Bank, 2001) stressed that political participation was a must for proper planning and implementation of development projects and especially those that were to mitigate poverty and hunger as this ensures accountability and prevents both mis-planning and leakage. The elected members of the local governance institutions have been gradually empowered because they have had an increasing say in the planning and implementation of CSS due to the continuous stress of the Union Government that they should be involved to ensure better utilisation of the funds, especially in the flagship MGNREGS.

This has helped in increasing political participation and ensuring non-discrimination as over the years a larger and larger number of people and especially women have become experienced in democratic governance and development implementation. The Finance Commissions which are constituted every five years under a constitutional

provision to review the scheme for devolution of finances from the Centre to the States have also provided for direct devolution of resources from the Centre to the local governments. Therefore, the increasing devolution of powers and resources to the local government institutions has in practice positively impacted the implementation of development programmes. Thus, for ensuring inclusive growth, there is in place in India an elaborate public support system to combat multi-dimensional deprivation arising from non-inclusion.

## 7. Status of Inclusive Growth in India

Despite all the institutional and programmatic arrangements for ensuring inclusive growth detailed above, the status of various dimensions of inclusiveness such as income, food intake, education, health, gender justice, environmental sustainability and political participation, still leave a lot to be desired. The status of all these dimensions is detailed here based on a review of secondary sources.

**7.1 Income** - The Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (MoSPI) has adapted the methodology and indicators for MDG tracking, developed by the United Nations Statistics Division and has been regularly monitoring the progress on MDGs. It has recently published the latest India Country Report on MDGs 2014 (GoI, 2014) which will be referred to as the MDG2014 Report hereafter. According to this report, in 2011-12 the Poverty Head Count Ratio (PHCR) in India, which is the proportion of people below the poverty line as determined by the Planning Commission from the consumer expenditure survey conducted by the National Sample Survey Organisation in 2010, was 25.7 per cent in rural areas and 13.7 per cent in urban areas. The PHCR was 47.8 per cent in 1990 and therefore the target to be achieved in 2015 is 23.9 per cent whereas the overall PHCR for the country was 21.9 per cent in 2011-12 and so the goal has already been achieved for the country as a whole as per the Government report. However, nine states are still way above the national average and these will not be able to achieve the target. These states which can be designated as poverty pockets of the country are shown in Table 1 below: -

**Table 1: States with High Level of Poverty 2011-12**

Sl. No.	State PHCR	(% of population)
1.	Uttar Pradesh	29.43
2.	Madhya Pradesh	31.65
3.	Assam	31.98
4.	Odisha	32.59
5.	Bihar	33.74
6.	Arunachal Pradesh	34.67
7.	Manipur	36.89
8.	Jharkhand	36.96
9.	Chhattisgarh	39.93

Source: GoI, 2014.

The MDG Report also mentions the Poverty Gap Ratio (PGR), which is the extent to which the mean consumption of the poor falls short of the established poverty line consumption and this is an indicator of the depth of poverty. In 2011-12 for the country as a whole PGR was 5.05 in rural areas and 2.7 in urban areas. In the poverty pocket states mentioned above, the PGRs are once again above the national average both in rural and urban areas.

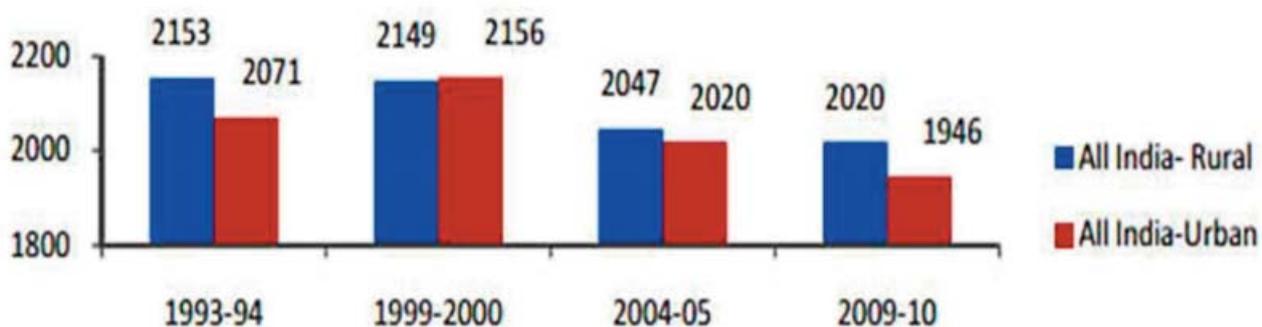
Some economists have questioned the methodology of estimation of poverty adopted by the Planning Commission. Over the years the proportion of household expenditure on food items and within food items on cereals has gone down as compared to those on education, health, clothing, consumer durables and shelter. Moreover, the consumer price index only partially reflects the actual rise in the cost of living. Consequently the inflated household consumer expenditure now does not provide a calorie intake of 2400 kcal in rural areas and 2100 kcal in urban areas that had been decided as the minimum required for adequate nutrition in Indian conditions. If the household consumer expenditure corresponding to these calorie intake levels is taken as the poverty line, then the proportion of population below the poverty line in 2010 in rural areas was 75.5 per cent and in urban areas it was 73 per cent (Patnaik, 2012). Alternatively, the proportion of the population in 2010 that was suffering from under nutrition or hunger as defined by the calorie norms adopted in 1974, was an alarming 90 per cent in rural areas and 70 per cent in urban areas (Basu and Das, 2014). The National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector headed by Arjun Sengupta estimated in 2007 that people spending less than Rs 20 per capita per day were poor and from an analysis of the NSSO consumer expenditure survey data of 2005 concluded that 77 per cent of the population were living below this poverty line (NCEUS, 2007). The Ministry of Rural Development set up a committee headed by N. C. Saxena to recommend a suitable methodology for conducting a Below Poverty Line household census and this committee recommended that 50 per cent of the population should be considered to be living below the poverty line taking into consideration various food and non-food needs of the people (MoRD, 2009). The Planning Commission, faced with criticism for its low estimate of the poverty line, constituted an Expert Group under the Chairmanship of Prof. Suresh D. Tendulkar in December 2005 to recommend changes in the existing procedure used for official estimates of poverty. This Committee assumed a particular level of expenditure as the poverty line and gave an estimate of the all-India rural poverty head count ratio for 2004-05 of 37.2 per cent (Planning Commission, 2009). This methodology was accepted by the Planning Commission and used with the 2010 NSSO consumer expenditure data resulting in the low estimates of poverty for 2010 mentioned earlier.

The reality is that, regardless of the method of poverty estimation, a situation has arisen on the ground wherein a person may have a mobile handset but still be on a half empty stomach. Consumerism, fostered by aggressive media advertising has diverted expenditure from essentials to luxury or comfort. The widespread privatisation of essential services like health and education combined with the inefficient and inadequate functioning of the Government services has dangerously

impacted the poor as they have to spend more from their meagre incomes on these services, thus squeezing their expenditures on food. This decline in calorie intake despite a real increase in household consumption expenditure has been called the "calorie consumption puzzle" and has much exercised experts because this goes against the international trend of calorie intake increasing with increase in household expenditures even if the expenditure on food declines as a proportion of the total expenditure (Deaton and Dreze, 2009). One explanation for this is that the preference of people has changed for more expensive and less nutritious food and also other non-food items of expenditure which seems to be a plausible explanation but is still deficient as will be discussed a little later (Banerjee and Duflo, 2011).

**7.2 Food Intake** - The MDG2014 report paints a very dismal picture of the status of food intake in this country. Based on the estimates of per capita calorie intake prepared from the National Sample Survey data shown in Fig. 1 below, in the rural areas the intake has gone down from 2153 kcal in 1993 to 2020 in 2009-10, which is 16 per cent below the norm of 2400. Similarly in urban areas the intake has gone down from 2071 kcal to 1946 which is 7.3 per cent below the norm of 2100.

**Fig. 1: Trend in Estimated Per Capita Calorie Intake - All India**



**Source: GoI, 2014**

**Table 3:**  
**Statewise Per Capital Calorie Intake 2009-10**

Sl. No.	State	Rural	Urban
1	Andhra Pradesh	2047	1975
2	Assam	1974	2003
3	Bihar	1931	2013
4	Chhattisgarh	1926	1949
5	Gujarat	1982	1983
6	Haryana	2180	1940
7	Jharkhand	1900	2046
8	Karnataka	1903	1987
9	Kerala	1964	1941
10	Madhya Pradesh	1939	1854
11	Maharashtra	2051	1901
12	Orissa	2126	2096
13	Punjab	2223	2062
14	Rajasthan	2191	2014
15	Tamil Nadu	1925	1963
16	Uttar Pradesh	2064	1923
17	Uttarakhand	2179	1984
18	West Bengal	1927	1851

*Source: GoI, 2014*

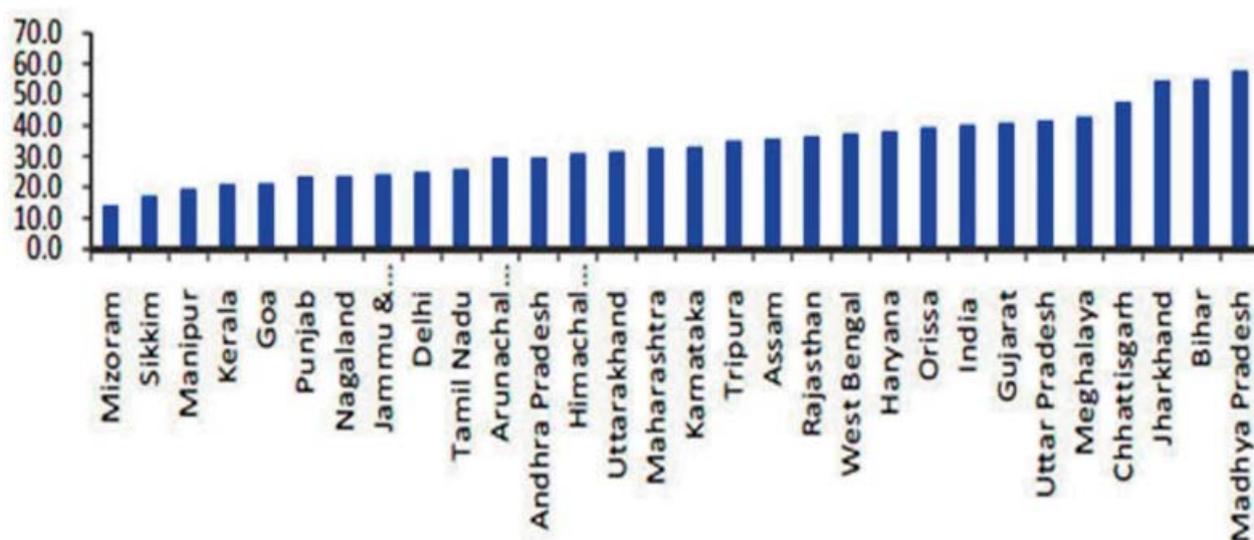
The statewise data given in Table 3 above shows that in 2009-10 only Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Orissa and Maharashtra are above the national average in rural areas. In urban areas the states of Haryana, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal were below the national average in 2009-10.

The situation with regard to child under-nutrition too is equally dismal. The MDG2014 Report relies on the National Family Health Survey III conducted in 2005 for data on one indicator of child under nutrition - underweight children of age three years and this is shown in Fig. 2 below. The national average of underweight children in 2005-06 was 40% with Madhya Pradesh having the highest proportion at 57.9 per cent and Mizoram the lowest at 14.2 per cent. The level of underweight under nutrition is taken because it signifies current malnutrition whereas stunting is a result of malnutrition over generations and may persist even if the child has got good nutrition. The proportion of underweight children in 1992 at the time of NHFS I was

53 per cent and so the reduction in under nutrition had been only 13 per cent till 2005 and some states remained severely affected.

A subsequent sample survey of child under nutrition that was carried out in 2010 in nine states confirms that there had not been much improvement till then also (CAAM, 2011). Known as the Hungama Report this survey reinforces the earlier findings. The survey was conducted in over a hundred districts with a sample size of over a lakh with the focus being on the severely affected states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Jharkhand, Bihar and Rajasthan and for comparison three control states of Tamil Nadu, Himachal Pradesh and Kerala which were better placed were also taken.

**Fig. 2: Prevalence of Underweight Children in 0 - 3 Years Age Group 2005-06 (%)**



Source: Gol, 2014

The results of the Hungama survey show that underweight children constituted about 42 per cent of the total in the severely affected states and 22 per cent of the total in the control states indicating that under nutrition among children continues to be a serious problem. There is thus little possibility of the country as a whole meeting the MDG of halving the prevalence of hunger from 1990 levels by 2015 even though some states are better placed than others.

Apart from regional gaps in tackling under nutrition there are also social gaps with the Dalits and Adivasis being more affected than the other communities. Even greater is the gender disparity. Even though girls are born with better nutrition status at birth they invariably lose ground and fall behind later (CAAM op cit). An analysis of the NFHS III data also shows that women are severely under nourished as compared to men (Jose and Navaneetham, 2008). The analysis is undertaken of

both the parameters of energy deficiency as calculated from the Body Mass Index and anaemia due to iron deficiency as calculated from haemoglobin levels. At the all India level, 35.6 per cent of women show chronic energy deficiency while 55.3 per cent are anaemic with rural women being more affected than urban. This is to be compared with only 28.1 per cent chronic energy deficiency and 24.3 per cent anaemia among men. Moreover, another analysis of NFHS III data establishes a correlation between domestic violence and the prevalence of under nutrition (Ackerson and Subramanian, 2008). The withholding of food and excessive beatings render women incapable of taking food were two causes of food deprivation for women which were the extreme forms of patriarchal oppression of women. Finally another analysis of NFHS III data establishes that educated women and especially those engaged in well paid work are more likely to suffer domestic violence than uneducated ones who are mainly home makers due to the patriarchal control of men (Weitzman, 2014).

**7.3 Reasons for the Dismal Income and Food Intake situation** - The crucial MDG targets of poverty and hunger will be unmet mainly due to the fact that agriculture in India is in severe crisis (Reddy and Mishra, 2009). This is also a more plausible reason for the calorie consumption puzzle as a substantial proportion of the rural population has to now buy its food along with various other social services like education and health which have all become expensive. Especially problematical is the fact that the production of pulses has gone down drastically to be replaced by soyabean which does not provide direct nutrition to the farmers unlike the former. While 70 percent of the population of the country resides in rural areas, the contribution of agriculture to the GDP is only 14 percent. In fact, there has been a steady decline in this proportion from 1990 when it was 34 percent while the proportion of rural population then was 74 percent. This has primarily been due to the fact that the share of public investments in agriculture, which are in large infrastructure support like the building of dams and canals, has gone down from 5 percent in 1980-81 to 1.2 percent in 2009-10 remaining stagnant at around Rs 10,000 crores annually at 1999-00 prices (Planning Commission, 2014b).

The investments that have taken place in agriculture have not yielded the desired results because of the problems arising out of the mismanagement of dam irrigation on the one hand and the consequent over dependence on ground water for irrigation purposes on the other (Dharmadhikary, 2005). The biggest problem is that the canal networks in most cases are not completed or even if they are, they are not lined properly and so there is either much less water available for irrigation or much heavier losses through seepage than were designed at the time of construction. There has been a tendency among water resource managers to just build the walls of the dams and not pay enough attention to building and maintaining the canal network. An assessment shows that in the sixteen year period from 1991 to 2007 there was no net addition to the canal irrigated area despite an expenditure of Rs 142000 crores on major and medium irrigation projects in this period (Thakkar, 2010). There is, thus, a serious over exploitation of groundwater resources as detailed by the Central Groundwater Board (CGWB, 2012). This increasing dependence on ground water has

resulted in an increasing inequity in water usage among the rich and the poor arising from the creation of water markets (Prasad, 2002).

Moreover, this has happened at a time when the ecological sustainability of modern chemical agriculture has come into question increasing its economic costs (Shiva, 2000). This has led to a situation where many farmers have had to give up farming (NSSO, 2005) or commit suicide (Banerjee, 2009). In fact the suicides by indebted farmers have been rising continually and the Central Government had to initiate a massive debt moratorium scheme in 2008 of Rs 72000 crores (MoF, 2008).

The net result of this crisis in agriculture is that there is massive rural-urban migration estimated to be about a 100 million people annually as people move to cities and towns in search of employment (Deshingkar and Shakter, 2009). This, in turn, is part of an increasing trend of "contractualisation" of labour in industries and services with even established organised sector manufacturing firms relying more and more on contract labour as mechanisation reduces the requirement of the number of permanent skilled workers (Annavajhula and Pratap, 2012). The contract workers are paid very low wages and they have to live in highly unsanitary conditions in slums leading once again to the calorie consumption puzzle as they have to spend more on food and other social services. This leads to social and industrial unrest. Matters have been compounded by the fact that since January 2008 the consumer price inflation rate began increasing from a mild 5.8% and reached a peak of 16.1% in February 2010 and is still uncomfortably high at 8.1% (Trading Economics, 2014) mainly due to food inflation and rising prices of crude oil. This forced the Central Government to adopt a tight monetary policy and increase interest rates continually, which has led to investments and industrial output going down, affecting the GDP growth rate which has now come down to 5.3% from a high of 9.6% in 2010 after it recovered from the effects of the financial meltdown (World Bank, 2014a). Thus, overall the livelihoods of the majority are in jeopardy and both, incomes and food intake are low with 75 percent of the rural population in 2010 living on Rs 45 or less per day (equivalent in real terms to 1.25 US \$ in 2000 prices at purchasing power parity conversion rates which is the World Bank poverty line (Chen and Ravallion, 2008)) and the proportion for the same in urban areas being 48 percent (NSSO, 2011).

Finally, there is the inadequacy of Government economic support measures for the poor. The outlay for the MGNREGA, which has been undoubtedly a major economic support scheme for the rural poor has gone down over the years in real terms. The other major support is the distribution of subsidised foodgrains through the Public Distribution System (PDS). However, the amount of support provided is inadequate and the system is riddled with corruption. Even though with the passage of the Food Security Act the coverage of the Public Distribution System will increase, the support to be given will be much less than what is required and so the legislation has been criticised as a half measure by activists of the Right to Food Campaign (Sahai, 2012).

**7.4 Education** - An important indicator with regard to education is the level of

literacy among the youth aged 15 -24 years because this is the population that is immediately going to provide the country the demographic dividend from its huge population if it is adequately educated and skilled. Literacy in this age group is a proxy for the skill level. The national sample survey in 2007-08 on expenditure in education (NSSO, 2008) reveals that overall youth literacy was 86 per cent with 80 per cent for females and 91 per cent for males. In rural areas youth literacy was 83 per cent and in urban areas it was 93 per cent. Even though this is a fairly encouraging situation there are some laggard states which more or less correspond to the states lagging in income and food intake as shown in Table 4 below.

**Table 4:**  
**Youth Literacy in States below the National Average (%)**

State Name	% literates among youth: NSSO (2007-08)				
	all	female	male	rural	urban
Rajasthan	78	64	90	74	89
Uttar Pradesh	80	73	87	79	84
Bihar	67	55	77	64	86
Arunachal Pradesh	84	77	90	80	97
Jharkhand	75	62	86	70	93
Orissa	84	78	91	82	95
Madhya Pradesh	85	77	92	82	93
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	85	63	99	83	97

Source: NSSO, 2008.

The Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) for primary education which is the proportion of children in the age group 6 to 10 years who are going to school had reached a commendable 99.89 per cent in 2010-11 (GoI, 2014). However, there are two problems with this. The first is that the survival rate of children who were enrolled in class one upto class five was still 83.2 per cent in 2009-10 and this fell to 76.8 per cent upto class eight (EdCIL, 2013). The second is the quality of education and the children's performance in school as determined by the large and statistically sound sample survey Annual Status of Education Report 2013 (ASER, 2014).

**Table 5:  
Learning Levels of Children in Primary and Secondary Education 2013**

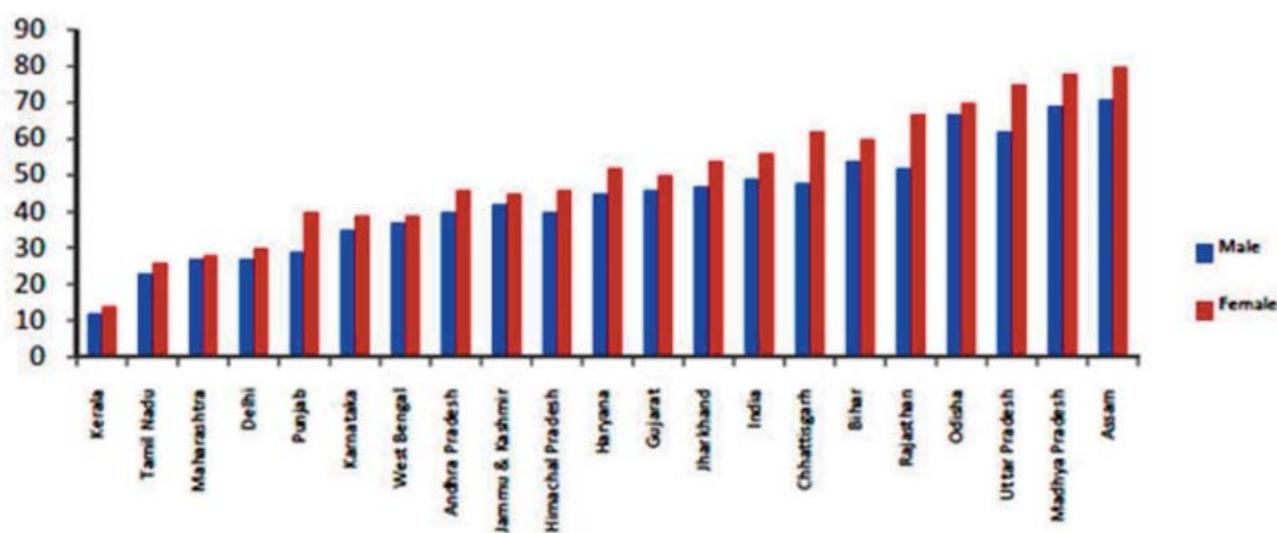
State	Std III-V: Learning levels		Std VI-VIII: Learning levels	
	% Children (Std III-V) who CAN READ Std I level text or more	% Children (Std III-V) who CAN DO SUBTRACTION or more	% Children (Std VI-VIII) who CAN READ Std II level text	% Children (Std VI-VIII) who CAN DO DIVISION
Andhra Pradesh	68.3	57.6	72.3	51.9
Assam	46.4	30.1	52.6	19.0
Bihar	47.9	41.1	66.1	54.5
Chhattisgarh	53.8	27.7	72.3	26.9
Gujarat	59.2	32.3	67.8	26.8
Haryana	72.5	62.7	78.9	58.4
Himachal Pradesh	78.5	65.3	86.4	59.1
Jammu & Kashmir	63.6	53.6	60.9	35.8
Jharkhand	45.4	34.9	61.0	42.8
Karnataka	56.6	45.0	63.1	37.4
Kerala	77.8	60.6	87.9	56.0
Madhya Pradesh	38.1	22.3	51.2	25.2
Maharashtra	70.3	31.7	72.5	28.9
Manipur	78.7	67.2	83.1	62.6
Meghalaya	80.0	46.9	78.0	29.5
Mizoram	80.2	77.8	82.5	72.3
Nagaland	75.8	57.0	72.6	43.7
Odisha	55.6	38.3	63.3	34.9
Puducherry	51.9	41.2	49.8	35.0
Punjab	72.3	66.6	82.0	61.7
Rajasthan	52.8	37.4	70.1	42.6
Sikkim	75.2	72.3	77.4	63.3
Tamil Nadu	50.2	39.2	56.9	30.9
Tripura	53.6	41.6	55.3	28.2
Uttar Pradesh	47.8	36.0	62.8	37.6
Uttarakhand	64.2	45.1	76.2	47.8
West Bengal	59.1	43.6	66.1	33.7
All India	54.8	39.7	65.7	38.9

Source: ASER, 2014

Table 5 above details the sorry levels of learning both in reading and mathematics in primary and secondary schools as revealed by the survey. In many states a substantial proportion of children are in private schools and yet the learning levels are very poor.

**7.5 Health** - The health situation remains a cause for concern and this is reflected in the data given in the MDG2014 Report. The under five mortality rate for India as a whole was 52 per 1000 live births which is still very high. As shown in Fig. 3 below female mortality is higher and some states are significantly worse than the average.

**Fig. 3: Under Five Mortality Rate by Sex 2012**



**Source: Gol, 2014**

Similarly the situation with regard to infant mortality rate too is bad with the national average being 42 per 1000 live births. Once again some states which are the usual laggards in all poverty indicators are significantly worse than the national average as shown in Fig. 4 below. Matters are compounded by the fact that universal immunisation is still a distant possibility with the level being only about 85 per cent in 2012.

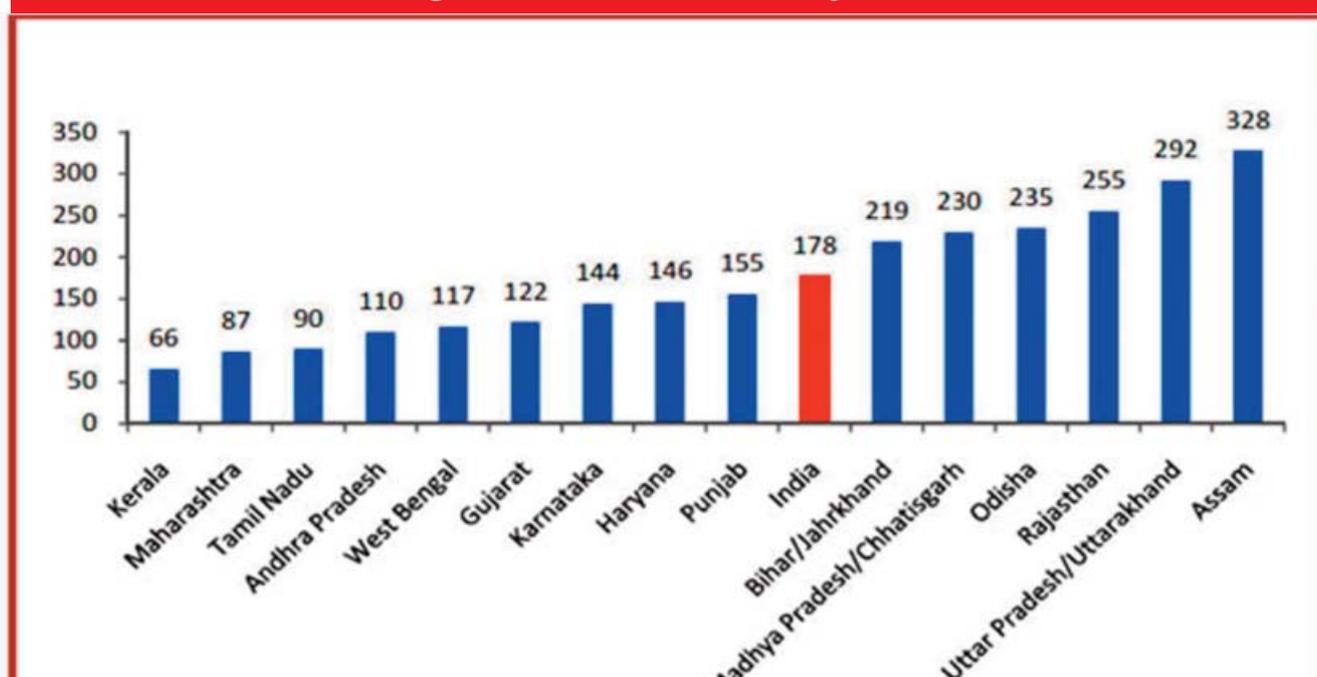
**Fig. 4: Infant Mortality by Sex 2012**



*Source: GoI, 2014*

Maternal mortality too remains high with the national average at 178 per 100,000 live births in 2011-12. A few states are significantly worse than this figure as shown in Fig. 5 below.

**Fig.5: Maternal Mortality 2012**



*Source: GoI, 2014*

Apart from the under nutrition, anaemia and prevalence of domestic violence discussed earlier, another major reason for this high level of maternal mortality is the low level of skilled health assistance available to women at the time of delivery. The national average was 76.2 per cent in 2009 and once again quite a few of the laggard states have a lower percentage as shown in Fig. 6 below. Also only about 80 per cent women get ante-natal care and 60 per cent get post natal care.

**Fig. 6: Deliveries Attended by Skilled Health Personnel - 2009**



**Source: GoI, 2014**

Generally Malaria, Tuberculosis, Diabetes, Diarrhoea, Cholera and such other endemic diseases continue to present a public health challenge as their incidence is still very high even though there has been a significant decline in morbidity and fatality. These cause greater loss of earnings for the poor in whose case due to under nutrition the morbidity and fatality is more compounded also by poverty which prevents them from taking proper treatment. Consequently the health scenario is still a major cause of concern for the poor in this country (IIPS, 2007). Lack of potable water and sanitation too adversely affects health and according to the 2011 Census data only 46.6 per cent households had drinking water facility within the premises and 46.9 per cent had latrines.

Taking the indicators in education and health the Dalits and the Adivasis have consistently done much worse as compared to other sections of the population and the Muslims too have lagged behind as detailed in Table 6 below adapted from a recently published report of a human development survey conducted by the National Council of Applied Economic Research (Desai et al, 2010)

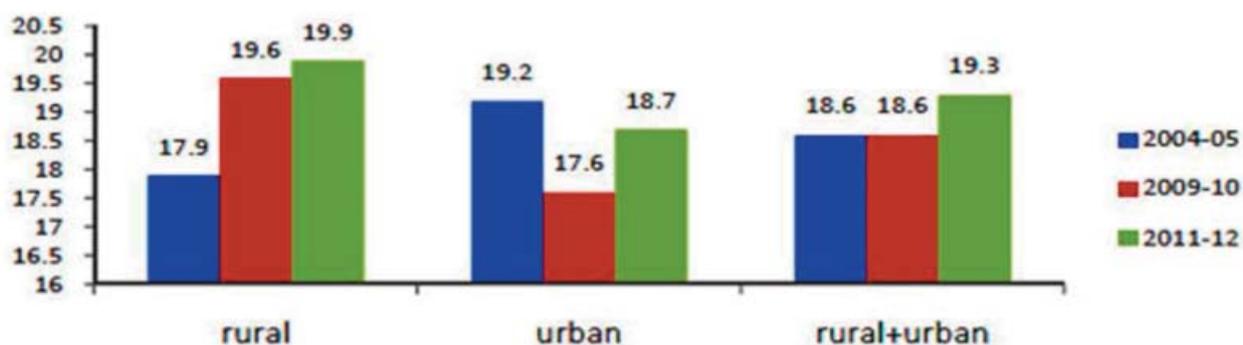
**Table 6: Access to Health Facilities and Education by Social Group**

	Treatment for Minor Illness (%)			Treatment for Minor Illness (%)		Dropout Rate Between Classes 5 & 10 (%)	
	In Govt. Facility	In Private Facility	No Treatment	In Govt. Facility	In Private Facility	Men	Women
High Caste Hindu	16	78	6	20	80	37	48
Other Backward Caste	17	74	9	21	79	52	61
Dalit	17	72	11	26	74	61	66
Scheduled Tribe	24	56	20	32	68	65	69
Muslim	22	73	5	24	58	34	42

Source: Desai et al, 2010

**7.6 Gender** - The Gender Parity Index which is the ratio of girl's enrollment to boy's enrollment in schools was 0.98 at the primary level and 0.87 at the elementary level in 2011 but it drops sharply thereafter so that at higher levels, especially in professional courses there is a high level of disparity (Arora, 2008). Another important indicator of gender equality is the share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector. This is defined as the proportion of female workers in the non-agricultural sector. This measures the extent to which labour markets are open to women in industry and service sectors, which ensures not only equal employment opportunity for women but also economic efficiency through flexibility in the labour market and is a measure of the economic empowerment of women. As shown in Fig. 7 below not only is the proportion low but it has not shown any significant improvement over the past decade or so. In 2011-12, the State of Manipur (41.6 per cent) reported the highest proportion of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector, followed by Tripura (33.8 per cent), Tamil Nadu (32.5 per cent), Kerala (30.8 per cent) and Meghalaya (30 per cent). The lowest proportion of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector was in Bihar (6.1%), Daman & Diu (6.6%), Jharkhand (9.1%), Uttarakhand (9.1%) and Uttar Pradesh (10%). Finally, with regard to political empowerment of women, India in 2013, had only 11.46 per cent women as members of both houses of parliament combined, which placed it at the rank of 108 among the nations of the world (GoI, 2014). Similarly the Global Gender Gap index which measures the relative gaps between women and men in the areas of health, education, economics and politics placed India at a lowly 101 rank in the world (WEF, 2013). When the sub-indices are taken then India performs well in politics ranking a high 9th primarily because of the huge participation of women in local governance due to fifty per cent reservation for them.

**Fig. 7: Proportion of Women in Non-Agricultural Sector Workforce**



**Source: GoI, 2014**

Gender justice in India is a distant dream given the high level of patriarchy that still exists. A report on the implementation in India of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) has categorically pointed out that there is widespread gender based violence, adverse gender division of labour, trafficking of women, lack of proper reproductive health services, lack of property rights for women, and discrimination against women in education and employment all together resulting in a declining sex ratio (UNSE, 2012). Supriya Sule, Member of Parliament and the Chairperson of the Parliamentary Group on MDGs, has stated, "How can we talk about reducing maternal mortality rates when essential medicines, well trained public health workers and functioning health centres are inaccessible to vast sectors of the populace? What chance does a rural woman really have if her health has suffered from childhood, she is malnourished, underweight and anaemic, and has not been reached by the public health system until the moment when she is going into labour? We are not addressing the wider problems that endanger her health over a longer-term basis - health problems that are largely a consequence of the gender imbalance, inaccessible health systems, lack of preventive and potentially life saving interventions, limited prenatal care, inaccessible, overpriced medicines or high dropout rates, all of which will determine whether or not India can achieve the MDGs by the 2015 deadline. Growth alone will not provide a solution to abject poverty. In order to create the holistic strategies needed to deal with India's bleak underside, there must be a reconsideration of an entire policy approach."(PG-MDGs, 2008)

**7.7 Environmental Sustainability** - The increasing unsustainability of natural resource use, especially of renewable common property resources like forests, land and water, has become a serious problem all over the world and especially so in developing countries like India where the number of poor people dependent directly on these resources for their livelihoods is much higher in number (Dasgupta and Maler, 2000). Specifically in the Indian context due to the skewed distribution of property rights that prevails currently, the demographically numerous rural poor are mostly either in marginal control of these vital resources or have no access to them (Beck and Ghosh, 2000). This means that they have no incentive to gainfully use the other important resource, their abundant labour power, to conserve and develop these natural resources for ensuring sustainable livelihoods that can assure the fulfillment of their basic economic and social needs while simultaneously ensuring ecological sustainability. Moreover, imperfect functioning of markets combined with faulty government regulation has meant that equity and sustainability considerations have been further sidelined (Beardsley, Davis and Hersh, 1997). This has led to a deterioration in both the stock and flow of natural resources and the quality of human resources causing the rural economy and culture to fall into crisis all over the country (Dasgupta, 1993).

The Governments both at the Centre and in the States and big private sector Corporations cavalierly flout the Environmental Impact Assessment guidelines and try to bulldoze development projects through, without taking mitigating measures regarding devastation of the environment, especially in the mining industry which

causes the greatest environmental destruction (Kohli, 2010) or the rehabilitation and resettlement of the people to be displaced by these projects (Banerjee, 2008b). The biggest sufferers of this have been the Adivasis who mostly reside in resource rich areas that are the target of development projects. Moreover, the Adivasis, especially in the Central Indian region, are neglected and do not get served by existing social and economic development schemes due to governance problems (Sharma, 2001). Apart from this there is a serious water crisis in the country as surface water bodies are being depleted and polluted, rivers being dammed into dryness and groundwater aquifers are being exhausted due to untreated release of wastes into the environment and excessive drawals in blatant violation of laws that are there to prevent this (DRP, 2012). Thus, environmental sustainability which is an important requirement for ensuring inclusive growth has been seriously compromised in the pursuit of corporatised economic growth and led to an increase in the problems of the poor (Shrivastava and Kothari, 2012). These problems have been further compounded by the fact that the adverse effects of climate change are likely to fall more heavily on the poor and especially the rural poor engaged in agriculture (IPCC, 2014).

**7.8 Local Governance** - The Constitution of India provides for 29 functions and the associated funds and functionaries related to local development in rural areas and 18 for urban areas to be devolved to the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRI) and Urban Local Bodies (ULB) respectively. The many centrally sponsored schemes and missions like the National Rural and Urban Livelihoods Missions, the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission, National Rural and Urban Health Missions also mandate that the planning and implementation should be carried out with the active participation of the PRIs and ULBs. However, in reality ULBs have not been given all of the powers and most ULBs have not implemented the rules of constituting Mohalla Sabhas and so effectively what little powers they have are concentrated in the hands of the elected representatives with very little participation by the citizens and especially those living in slums (Mahadevia, 2011). Similarly several reports have established that actual devolution has not taken place in PRIs and the control of the three Fs - functions, functionaries and funds are still substantially with the State Governments, thus reducing participation of the citizens in rural local governance to a modicum (IRMA, 2010, MoPR and IIPA, 2011). There have been many studies which have shown that women have to overcome gender discrimination in the PRIs and proxy governance by male relatives (Buch, 2010). In the only comprehensive all India survey conducted for the Ministry of Panchayati Raj in 2007, 40 per cent of the elected women representatives surveyed said that there was gender discrimination against them (MoPR, 2008). Thus, even though, overall PRIs and ULBs have evolved as a viable third tier of local governance that has increased the participation of citizens and especially women in the planning and implementation of programmes for ensuring inclusive growth, there is still scope for improvement.

**7.9 Financial Services** - A major requirement of any economic activity is the

availability of adequate cheap credit. This is more so in the case of small and marginal farmers, small businesses and labourers who constitute the huge informal sector in India which provides employment to 86 per cent of the working population of this country (NCEUS, 2009). The major problem here is that of moral hazard wherein the lenders are not sure as to whether the people they advance loans to will pay them back. This moral hazard is there for all loans big and small and regardless of whether the debtor is financially sound or not or whether they have a sound business plan or not. However, this hazard increases for the poor who do not have sustainable income generating sources. It is very costly to monitor loans to such people and also to provide them with banking services. There is a provision that scheduled banks must provide 40 per cent of their credit to the priority sector which includes agriculture and small industries. However, because of the lower economic viability of the priority sector the proportion of non-performing assets of banks is twice as much from the loans to this sector than from those to the non-priority sector. Consequently, financial institutions generally avoid providing services to the poor. Thus, the situation with regard to financial inclusion in India is very bad as 90 per cent of small businesses do not have any links with formal financial institutions and 60 per cent of the population does not have a bank account (RBI, 2013).

The situation with regard to financial inclusion is equally dismal in the agricultural sector. Despite there being a widespread cooperative credit system with close to a lakh of primary agricultural cooperative societies supplemented by nearly 18000 Regional Rural Bank branches reaching out to six lakh villages, only 20 per cent of farmers had access to institutionalised credit (GoI, 2010).

India has one of the strongest micro-finance sectors in the world, which provide much needed cheap finance to millions of poor families who are otherwise excluded from institutionalised financial services and have to rely on usurious moneylenders. CSOs have generally played an important role in furthering the self help group bank linkage programme promoted by the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development for providing access to subsidised credit to families who are otherwise excluded from institutionalised financial services (Murthy, 2014). However, here too there are many problems. Instead of the CSO approach in which there is a considerable amount of subsidy in interest rates and management costs transferred to the poor loanees, there has been a mushrooming of commercial micro-finance companies which have accessed credit from the scheduled banks under the priority lending segment and then have charged much higher annual interest rates upto 40 percent which reduce the possibility of the loanees to make any substantial savings to take their businesses to a higher level (Ghosh, 2012). In effect these institutions have become organised players who have eaten into the share of the informal credit markets dominated by moneylenders taking advantage of lack of regulation of this sector and have not really increased financial inclusion.

**7.10 Conclusion** - The overall poor performance of India with regard to ensuring

inclusion detailed above is also confirmed by the fact that the Human Development Index for India has moved up from 0.411 in 1990 to 0.461 in 2000 and 0.554 in 2012 while in the same period that for the world as a whole has moved from 0.558 in 1991 to 0.634 in 2000 and 0.686 in 2012 (UNDP, 2014). Consequently in recent years the ranking of India has been going down and in 2012 it was 138 among 187 countries. Primarily because the economic growth achieved has been non-inclusive, causing destitution of the poor and concentration of wealth among the rich. Thus, when instead of the income poverty as calculated by the Planning Commission and the World Bank, multi-dimensional poverty as calculated by the United Nations is taken into account then it turns out that as much as 55 per cent of the population are poor in India (Alkire et al, 2013). The laggard states like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Odisha and West Bengal not only had higher levels of poverty but also showed the least improvement over the last decade.

This spectre of non-inclusion arising from a combination of the failure in implementation of many of the pro-poor development programmes and the overall anti-poor thrust of the larger neo-liberal development policies is confirmed in other independent reports like that of the United Nations (United Nations, 2014a) and a consortium of NGOs (AARTH-ASTHA, 2014). Consequently, the role of CSOs in providing oversight and also piloting implementation becomes very important.

## **8. Civil Society Interventions for Ensuring Inclusive Growth**

CSOs have always been working in the spheres of service delivery and rights based action to ensure social, economic and environmental justice in India right from the time of independence when this sector was largely dominated by the Gandhian institutions (Gangrade, 2005). Thus, their work has always been contributing to ensuring inclusive growth in a big way. The Fourth World Social Forum conclave was held in Mumbai in January 2004 and after that the CSOs in India came to the conclusion that concerted and focused action was necessary to remedy the dismal situation in India where one fourth of the world's poor resided in deprivation and indignity. This led to the formation of the coalition named Wada Na Todo Abhiyan (WNTA - Do Not Break Your Promises Campaign) to hold the Government accountable to the promises it had made by signing the UN Millennium Declaration and in formulating the Common Minimum Programme (WNTA, 2014). The WNTA has a wide membership of more than 150 of the better known NGOs, People's Movements and Advocacy Groups which in turn have their own membership of more than 4000 organisations and gets funding support from a wide variety of multi-lateral institutions, the government and foreign and India funding agencies. The WNTA is allied internationally to the Global Call for Action against Poverty which is coordinating the civil society fight against poverty at the global level (GCAP, 2014). Important Dalit rights organisations such as the National Conference of Dalit Organisations and the National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights are a part of this coalition.

Similarly, the National Alliance of People's Movements (NAPM, 2014) and the

Campaign for Survival and Dignity (CSD, 2014) are two other coalitions which have a very large membership among CSOs concerned with the issues of sustainable and equitable development. While the first is a broad-based coalition against unjust development, the latter is a coalition of mostly Adivasi rights organisations fighting for justice for the Scheduled Tribes and other Forest Dwellers who have borne the worst of the ill effects of modern industrial development. Then, there is the Right to Food Campaign which focuses on ensuring food security for the poor through the universalisation of the Public Distribution System (PDS) and a greater amount of distribution of food through it. The Alliance for Sustainable and Holistic Agriculture (ASHA, 2014) campaigns for policies for greater sustainability of agriculture. The Mines Minerals and Peoples is an alliance of organisations and individuals fighting against the environmental devastation and socio-economic injustice wrought by indiscriminate mining in various parts of the country (MMP, 2014). There are other CSO fora for the enactment and then implementation of the Right to Information, Right to Employment, Right to Education and a Lokpal or Ombudsman to tackle corruption in public office, a faction of which has now become a political party - Aam Aadmi Party. Finally there is the pioneering and robust microcredit movement in this country for the financial inclusion of the poor initiated by the organisation Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA, 2014) and substantially supported currently with cheap credit from the government by the bank linkage scheme (NABARD, 2014).

Funding agencies such as Oxfam India, Save the Children, Caritas, Hivos, Action Aid, Ford Foundation, Tata Trusts, Mahindra Rise and others and finally business entities implementing corporate social responsibilities, which have now been made compulsory under the newly amended Companies Act, have provided generous support to the CSOs in their programmes for ensuring inclusion.

These organisations have all done grassroots development work, undertaken rights based actions, filed public interest litigation and engaged in robust policy and media advocacy for all round development generally and especially for ensuring inclusion.

**8.1 Income and Food Intake** - CSOs have very successfully implemented sustainable agriculture projects in many locations across the country which have improved the livelihoods of the small and marginal farmers and rolled back the trend of seasonal migration. Combined with watershed development, decentralised income generation and micro-credit programmes these have led to all round positive impact on income and food intake (PRADAN, 2014). Even though overall the implementation of the MGNREGA is not very good, there are many instances of CSOs having conducted social audits and put pressure on the administration to ensure transparency and proper planning in implementation leading to commendable impact on incomes and environmental sustainability (GoI, 2012). Similarly the Right to Food Campaign conducts a strong country wide campaign at the grassroots and at the level of legal action and public advocacy for proper functioning of the public distribution system and its extension supported by the supervision of the Supreme Court and the media. There are two National Commissioners with Advisors in every state who

regularly report to the Supreme Court on the status of food availability in the country and this ensures oversight of this crucial support measure of the Government. Finally, there are many organisations in the sphere of sustainable and equitable agriculture that have established viable decentralised community models of organic farming based on locally available natural resources eschewing all external chemical and energy inputs (Sustainet, 2014).

**8.2 Education and Health** - These are the two areas in which CSO intervention was first initiated during the colonial times by such stalwarts as Jyotiba Phule and Pandita Ramabai and these are the areas in which there are the most number of CSOs working and where there is the highest amount of funding. Currently there are a huge number of organisations that are doing worthwhile work in these fields that has been internationally recognised, the most notable being the Azim Premji Foundation, Eklavya and Pratham in education and Population Council, Public Health Foundation of India, Jan Swasthya Sahayog, Chetna, Cehat and the like in health.

**8.3 Gender** - CSOs have been especially active in this sphere and organisations like Caritas India, Care, Save the Children, Child Fund India, The Hunger Project and Welt Hunger Hilfe have through their partners ensured the following measures -

1. Women have been provided with support for undertaking independent livelihoods.
2. Reproductive health and rights awareness campaigns have been conducted and special clinics have been held for women.
3. Recognising that most rural women in India will deliver babies at home, viable models of ensuring safe motherhood at home have been developed which have now been recognised internationally by WHO and UNICEF (Shetty, 2011)
4. Many organisations have worked tirelessly for the empowerment and training of elected women representatives (EWR) in Panchayati Raj institutions and this has paid a rich dividend in terms of gender issues being raised in the work of these institutions. Mahila Raj Satta Andolan in Maharashtra has found that those EWRs who worked on women's issues were more likely to be re-elected (MRA, 2014).
5. Special programmes have been implemented to save and educate the girl child especially among the Dalits, Scheduled Tribes and Muslims where gender exclusion is the highest.

**8.4 Environment** - The WNTA in a report prepared in collaboration with the Planning Commission brings out the poor quality of planning and wrong implementation with regard to the environment and concludes that, "Our inputs emphasise that the crucial need to move to more aware and informed planning and action to ensure climate justice and the sustainability of the environment

cannot be postponed to a future Plan. A core concern is the issue of the ownership, control, management, and utilisation of all natural resources and national assets that are in the interest of the people. We believe that social, economic, and environmental marginalisation are at the root of a great deal of engineered violence and conflict, much of it promoted by state agencies, that may be easily addressed by making planned efforts to ensure justice." (WNTA, 2011).

The grassroots environmental movement in this country is quite strong and there have been a number of notable successes where these movements have used a combination of mass mobilisation, public advocacy and legal activism to thwart the big corporations and retain control of their resources. The most notable example, as mentioned earlier is that of the Dongria Kondh Adivasis in Odisha who have won a great victory in retaining control of their resources in the Niyamgiri Hills against the multinational company Vedanta and have in the process strengthened the power of the Gram Sabha vis a vis the state and central governments (Bera, 2013).

Overall the CSOs have continually pointed out the lack of oversight and the resultant absence of accountability in the government development programmes and the need for awareness building at the grassroots and the conduct of independent evaluations to correct this. The inability of PRIs and ULBs to fulfill their constitutionally mandated potential and instead their being forced to become appendages of the higher level state and central governance systems and the need for CSO intervention to revitalise them as the best participatory, rights based and accountable institutional frameworks for ensuring inclusive growth has been stressed time and again by CSOs.

## **9. Situation with regard to Inclusiveness in other BRICS countries**

Income inequality has risen at a much faster rate than economic growth across the world in the past two decades mainly due to globalisation which has facilitated the concentration of incomes in the hands of a few, swiftly brought in skill biased technological changes which by greatly reducing the need for unskilled labour in core manufacturing and services has promoted outsourcing and the consequent reduction in the power of labour vis a vis capital (Balakrishnan et al, 2013). The developed countries too have witnessed this rise in inequality (OECD, 2008). Thus, growth has generally been non-inclusive throughout the world and not just in India. However, some regions have shown greater inclusiveness than others. Comparatively the countries in Latin America have had much more inclusive growth as compared to those in Asia. The former region had only 3 per cent of the world's poor living on less than \$1.25 per capita per day at purchasing power parity which is the extreme poverty line, while it had 6 per cent of the total world population in 2008, while the latter region had 66 per cent of the world's poor though it had 61 per cent of the world population (World Bank, 2014 d). In the case of India this difference is starkly more negative as 33 per cent of the world's poor resided here while it was home to only 16 per cent of the world population. China had 13 per cent of the world's poor and 19 per cent of the world's population and so it was much better placed than India as far

as inclusion is concerned. Brazil had 0.9 per cent of the world's poor and 2.7 per cent of the world's population doing better relatively than both India and China. South Africa had 0.9 per cent of the world's poor and 0.7 per cent of the world population so it was worse off than Brazil and China but much better than India. Russia being a developed country had none of its population living below the extreme poverty line. This has been shown below in Table 7 where a Comparative Inclusiveness Index has been calculated by subtracting the proportion of total world population from the proportion of total world's poor for a country and dividing by the proportion of the total world population for normalisation. A higher positive indicates higher inclusiveness. India and South Africa have a higher proportion of the world's poor as compared to the proportion of total world population and so their indices are negative. States which have spent comparatively more of the revenue generated from the higher growth to increase allocations on health, education and social safety nets, instituted labor market reforms to ensure job security and increased financial access have ensured greater inclusiveness (Balakrishnan et al, op cit).

**Table 7: Comparative Inclusiveness of BRICS countries**

Country	Proportion of World Population (%)	Proportion of World 's Extreme Poor Population (%)	Comparative Inclusiveness Index
India	16	33	-1.06
South Africa	0.7	0.9	-0.29
China	19	13	0.31
Brazil	2.7	0.9	0.66
Russia	2	0	1

Source: Author's Calculation based on data from World Bank (2014d)

One other parameter that has a bearing on inclusive growth on which these countries can be compared is that of income inequality across the population. The Gini Coefficient is a measure of inequality with 0 indicating complete equality and 1 indicating complete inequality. Therefore, the higher the value of the Gini Coefficient the higher is the inequality and so higher the possibility of non-inclusion. Another parameter that influences inclusiveness to a certain extent is the amount of resources the Governments of countries mobilise through taxes and this is normally expressed as a ratio of the tax garnered to the GDP. Generally, if the Government of a country has a higher tax to GDP ratio then it has greater resources at its disposal for redistribution to the poor through the provision of various social services and safety nets. The Scandinavian countries are at the top in this respect with tax to GDP ratios greater than 40 per cent and high social sector spending. Finally, there is the amount of Government spending in a country and this is measured by the ratio of this spending to the GDP. Though, it might not always be the case that a higher

amount of Government spending means a higher proportion of spending on the social sector. For example the USA has a Government spending to GDP ratio higher than 40% but the largest chunk of that is on maintaining its armed might. These three parameters have been compared for the BRICS countries in Table 8 below. The Gini Coefficient has been expressed as a percentage instead of a ratio.

**Table 8: Comparison of Some Other Parameters of Inclusiveness of BRICS countries**

Country	Gini Coeff. of Income Inequality (%) (2009)	Tax to GDP Ratio (%) (2014)	Government Expenditure/ GDP Ratio (%) (2014)
India	33.9	10.1	27.2
South Africa	63.1	27.3	32.1
China	42.1	19.0	23.9
Brazil	54.7	34.8	39.1
Russia	40.1	29.5	35.8

*Source: Gini Coeff. from World Bank (2014e). Tax/GDP and Govt. Exp/GDP from Heritage Foundation (2014)*

South Africa has the highest inequality among the BRICS countries followed by Brazil, China and Russia and India has the lowest amount of inequality. However, when it comes to mobilisation of resources by the Government India is once again a very distant laggard and this is a serious cause for concern because it is affecting the country's ability to adequately provide for the poorer sections through redistribution. Brazil has the highest tax to GDP ratio followed by Russia and South Africa. China too is not doing too well and this is the reason for much of the discontent that is surfacing in that country. Brazil also has the highest Government Expenditure to GDP ratio close to that of developed countries. A considerable portion of this is in the provision of social services and safety nets, the success of which in bringing about inclusion have now been widely acknowledged (Balakrishnan et al, op cit). Russia too has a fairly high ratio as does South Africa. India and China bring up the rear with considerably lower ratios. Thus, apart from inequality of income in all other parameters of inclusion India is lagging far behind the other BRICS countries and this needs to be addressed through effective programmes of inclusion.

## **10. Limitations of the MDG Approach to Inclusion**

The lack of participation of the poor in the conceptualisation and implementation of the MDG achievement programmes and their consequent failure to ensure inclusion was further accentuated by the Global Financial Crisis of 2008 (World Bank, 2009a). As the developed economies went into recession following the crisis, the import of goods and services by them and their Governments' capacity to generate tax revenue was affected. This resulted in a slump in demand for exports from the developing economies and a reduction in the aid that they were receiving. There was, thus, a serious risk of the progress towards inclusive growth as envisioned in the MDGs being derailed. Therefore, the international financial institutions led by the World Bank

and the International Monetary Fund suggested some remedial measures in 2009 to ensure that the MDG achievement programme and poverty alleviation remained on course (World Bank, 2009b)-

1. Adoption of adequate fiscal measures in developing countries to support the poor and vulnerable and stimulate economic growth like provision of social safety nets and sustaining infrastructure programs that create jobs while ensuring future productivity and growth.
2. Provision of support for the private sector through an improvement in the climate for recovery and growth in private investment and especially help to small and medium enterprises, which employ the most number of people outside agriculture to get access to finance and other services.
3. Initiation of special programmes to ramp up investments in health and education to promote human development.

The Government of India undertook some corrective steps to provide a stimulus to the economy following the financial meltdown by reducing taxes and interest rates and increasing investments in social and economic development programmes for the poor from 2009 onwards (Economy Watch, 2010). However, the proportion of investments in the social and economic development programmes for the poor and fiscal reliefs granted to them was much less than that for the richer sections of the population leading to a reduction in growth and increase in inequality (Rakshit, 2009). Consequently, there was a significant slowdown in the process of inclusive growth despite the continuing stress on MDG implementation by the international institutions and the Government of India.

The main criticism of the MDGs internationally, as mentioned earlier, is that they were not formulated after a process of inclusive analysis and need prioritisation and so do not address the important parameter of achieving equity in development (LIDC, 2010). This analysis has been seconded by other development experts also who have said that deep rooted inequalities tend to get reinforced due to MDG implementation which favours only some of the better placed among the poor (Kabeer, 2010). That is, the structural barriers to socio-economic and political participation, without the removal of which inclusion is not possible, have not been addressed in the top down reductionist approach of the MDG 2015 framework. Neither were the social, economic and environmental concerns integrated in a combined approach nor was there any appreciation of the many ways in which the lack of democracy at the grassroots can affect the rights and entitlements of the poor. Broadly the problems with the MDG framework may be summarised as follows (WNTA, 2014a) -

- A narrow reductionist concept of development was adopted that did not take into account the negative impacts of political & social deprivation, vulnerability, distributional inequality, lack of sustainable employment generation and the violation of human rights. The goals were arbitrarily decided without underpinning them with a robust theory.

- The processes necessary to achieve the goals were not discussed and laid out leading to poor planning and distorted national priorities.
- The goals refer to aggregates only and there is no reference to distributional & disaggregated outcomes.
- The targets are quantitative and do not mention anything about the quality and there are also problems with regard to measurement.
- There is an insufficient attention to the aspect of sustainability.
- MDGs have been set out to monitor comparative performance of the developing countries only and the setting of collective targets for the world as one in which the developed countries also have to contribute has been neglected.

Consequently, the following changes have been proposed to make growth and multi-dimensional poverty alleviation more inclusive and sustainable by the Commission on Growth and Development set up by the UN (United Nations, 2013) -

1. The MDG Framework instead of being based on a limited Human Development perspective that is completely bereft of a Human Rights perspective, especially the right to an equitable, sustainable and dignified livelihood, should include these rights which are enshrined in the various Declarations and Covenants of the United Nations like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, The Convention on Economic and Social Rights, CEDAW and The Convention on Indigenous People's Rights. Public participation especially at the grassroots is a must for this to materialise.
2. Sustainable development, integrating and synergising the economic, social and environmental goals, will have to be pursued with emphasis on making agriculture locally sustainable and thus ensure food security of large sections of the population.
3. The pyramid has to be inverted and instead of looking at the world or a country as a whole, focus must be placed on the demographics and geographies which are particularly disadvantaged like women, indigenous people and Dalits.
4. There must be accountability for the Developed Countries in the actions that they have to take to improve the development scenario globally in terms of providing enhanced aid, reining in financial speculation and maintaining financial prudence, curbing military spending and adhering to climate change mitigation targets.

## **11. Civil Society Efforts Towards Shaping a Sustainable Development Framework**

The WNTA has been at the forefront of civil society efforts to devise a more inclusive and sustainable agenda for the post 2015 development framework. In 2011, in partnership with the UNDP and the Planning Commission, the WNTA conducted an elaborate exercise involving hundreds of CSOs across all parts of the country and across all groups and areas of development work to make the 12th Five Year Plan Document truly reflect its theme of "inclusive development" (WNTA, 2011). The

Planning Commission at that time being aware of the huge development deficit that the poor in this country were suffering from, despite there having been high economic growth over most of the first decade of the millennium, had put the stress on more inclusive policies. The document prepared by the WNTA provided a thorough critique of the reasons for the poor performance of India in bringing about inclusive development across all sectors and especially in the alleviation of poverty and hunger. Most importantly, it stressed that while the CSOs are working diligently in ensuring justice for the poor they are continually facing difficulties due to the rigidities of the government and administration and the exclusion emanating from private sources.

The WNTA has held a number of nationwide consultations and campaigns to popularise the new agenda for sustainable inclusive growth and build up a groundswell in its favour within the country given the fact that India has the worst record of non-inclusion among the BRICS countries despite such a vocal and active CSO sector. It conducted detailed reviews of the performance of the INC led Central Government from 2004 to 2014 pointing out the increasing slippages in social sector spending and implementation (WNTA, 2013). A people's manifesto was drawn up, subsequently, after extensive grassroots consultations across the country prior to the recently concluded general elections in 2014 (WNTA, 2014b). Given the obvious infirmities of the current MDG approach an extensive consultative process with CSOs all over the country and in other countries has been carried out by the WNTA to ensure that a more inclusive agenda is adopted post 2015 (WNTA, 2014a). This process involved the following activities -

1. Capturing community expectations through community hearings preceded by popular education and dissemination of publicity materials.
2. Building a Civil Society Consensus through two national consultations for reframing the goals and one dialogue with members of other South countries.
3. Critical research and analysis with contributions from academic networks in India and the global south. A consultation has been held with academics from across the world who are well known experts in inclusive development (WNTA & IHD, 2014).
4. Influencing Policy through dialogues with legislators, parliamentarians and political parties and national policy makers, contribution to the 'My World' campaign of the United Nations (United Nations, 2014b) with over one lakh responses.
5. Engaging in global advocacy with civil society organisations and enabling strategy sharing and development and participating in UN processes and negotiations.
6. Conducting a vigorous media campaign.

## **12. Way Forward for Inclusive Growth**

The foregoing analysis shows that inclusive growth, in the Indian context, entails a strong commitment on the part of the Government towards a substantial

redistribution through public provision of sustainable livelihoods, education, health and shelter to the poor to mitigate multidimensional poverty because these are the spheres in which there is maximum exclusion. The central problem is that India since the 1990s has followed a neo-liberal policy of freeing up the economy and encouraging greater private enterprise, which, while resulting in economic growth that has ensured a rise in real incomes across the board, has increased inequality, destitution and environmental degradation. The National Alliance of People's Movements and other CSOs have been critical of this process stating that the Government's neo-liberal agenda facilitated the concentration of wealth and resources in the hands of a miniscule upper class while neglecting the interests of the majority of the poor and has thus kept them permanently in a poverty trap (Nilsen, 2007).

The great Indian debate with regard to poverty, arising primarily from a lack of sustainable livelihoods and the way to mitigate it, is dominated by two extreme schools of thought that may be called income fundamentalism and the calorie fundamentalism (Deaton and Kozel, 2005 and Nandi, 2008). The former tend to concentrate on the significant improvement in the total real consumption expenditure turning a blind eye to the decreasing proportional spends on food and the correspondingly higher spends on education, health and shelter, while the latter stress solely on the substantial decline in calorie intake and the corresponding increases in expenditure on education, health and shelter. The reality as always lies somewhere in between as reflected in the level of multi-dimensional poverty which, as we have seen, lies in between the very low and very high levels of poverty that are arrived at by the above mentioned fundamentalists.

These extreme views stem from market fundamentalism in the case of the former and State fundamentalism in the case of the latter (Chandrashekhar and Ghosh, op cit). While the former view stresses that markets are the best allocators of resources and payments to factors of production and so even social services like education and health should be market driven, the latter view insists on the State not only providing social services but also intervening to control the market and ensure that it functions in the public interest instead of for the profit of monopoly corporations. The slow down of the economy in the last two years combined with rising inflation has affected all sections of the population, including the richer ones and so this has led to the debate on growth and inclusiveness becoming shriller as exemplified by the recent sharp face off between the economists Jagdish Bhagwati and Amartya Sen who are the leading lights of the two opposing camps (Ghosh, 2013).

The reality lies in between these two views and both the United Nations and the World Bank now recommend a mix with private enterprise ensuring economic growth and the State and civil society engagement ensuring the proper functioning of the social sector and protection of the environment. Significant public spending is prescribed to bring about sustainable and equitable development and growth and for ensuring inclusiveness (Soubotina, 2004).

In the Indian context this policy prescription has been confirmed by academia with a stress on increasing the public spending in the social sector and improved

governance to ensure proper utilisation of resources (Dreze and Sen, 2013). It has also been pointed out that macro level policies do not always translate into alleviation of poverty because of specific local problems which can be addressed only through localised solutions devised in consultation with the poor and for this to be possible a greater role is envisaged for CSOs (Banerjee and Duflo, op cit). The management sector too has come round to the view that more efficient public spending in the social sector with a stress on empowerment of the poor will give huge dividends with the Mckinsey Global Institute developing an empowerment metric similar to the multi-dimensional poverty index and suggesting greater public investment in the social sectors to improve these metrics (Gupta et al, 2014) and Deloitte Consulting too advocating the same (Deloitte, 2011). The Twelfth Five Year Plan has also endorsed this view with its push for inclusive growth and much higher outlays than earlier for the social sector (Planning Commission, 2013). The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development too has advocated higher social spending targeted towards the poor, with resources garnered from better tax collection to go with economic reforms that remove bottlenecks to growth (OECD, 2012).

India or the developing countries cannot ensure inclusive growth on their own unless there is a commitment towards this from the developed countries which dominate the global economy. One important requirement for inclusion is that the developed countries have to act in a more responsible manner to rein in the speculative activities of their financial institutions. The BRICS countries in their joint declaration at the Delhi Summit in 2012 specifically mentioned that the developed countries had to ensure the stability of the global financial system volatility which was the primary cause of deprivation globally and also reform the global financial architecture to make it more representative and friendly to developing countries - "We believe that it is critical for advanced economies to adopt responsible macroeconomic and financial policies, avoid creating excessive global liquidity and undertake structural reforms to lift growth and create jobs. We draw attention to the risks of large and volatile cross-border capital flows being faced by the emerging economies. We call for further international financial regulatory oversight and reform, strengthening policy coordination and financial regulation, and promoting the sound development of global financial systems..... We recognize the importance of the global financial architecture in maintaining the stability and integrity of the global monetary and financial system. We therefore call for a more representative international financial architecture, with an increase in the voice and representation of developing countries and the establishment and improvement of a just international monetary system that can serve the interests of all countries and support the development of emerging and developing economies ..... In the current global economic environment, we recognise that there is a pressing need for enhancing the flow of development finance to emerging and developing countries. We therefore call upon the World Bank to give greater priority to development finance, reducing lending costs and adopting innovative lending tools" (BRICS, 2014a).

However, since the developed economies have not done anything in response to this demand and both corporate and multilateral financial institutions have continued to

behave irresponsibly, the BRICS countries in their recently held summit in Fortaleza in Brazil have decided to set up a development bank of their own and have also expressed concern at the proliferation of the tax free havens which promote tax avoidance and seriously eat into the tax revenues that should accrue to countries where corporations carry out their economic activities (BRICS, 2014b). Finally, the BRICS countries have made a strong statement at Fortaleza for making the post 2015 Development Agenda more inclusive and sustainable - "We are committed to working towards an inclusive, transparent and participative intergovernmental process for building a universal and integrated development agenda with poverty eradication as the central and overarching objective. The agenda should integrate the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainable development in a balanced and comprehensive manner with concise, implementable and measurable goals, taking into account differing national realities and levels of development and respecting national policies and priorities. The Post-2015 Development Agenda must also be based on and fully respect all Rio principles on sustainable development, including the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities".

The Civil Society Organisations in the Group of 20 (G20) nations have created a forum, C20, to lobby for a more inclusive development agenda with the leaders of this powerful group of countries and have drawn up a set of recommendations for the same (Civil 20, 2013) -

1. Laws and policies must be in place to sustainably provide stable and quality employment that is recompensed adequately so that the poor are able to permanently climb out of poverty and live dignified lives.
2. Fiscal policies must check concentration of wealth through progressive taxation and promote redistribution through provision of quality public services, especially in education and health. Tax avoidance must be checked both nationally and internationally to get more resources for development expenditure by Governments.
3. Transparency and greater participation of civil society in governance must be fostered and Information and Communication Technology should be deployed extensively to facilitate this.
4. Obstacles to access to public services, financial services and livelihood opportunities faced by severely excluded groups must be pro-actively removed.
5. Fair trade, within nations and internationally, in goods and services must be ensured so that the poor in developing countries are not cheated of the just desserts of their labour and intellect.

Thus, in India, among developing countries, in developed countries, in the multilateral institutions and in the United Nations, the barriers to inclusive growth and the measures necessary for removing them have been identified quite comprehensively and CSOs globally are campaigning for the adoption and implementation of a sustainable and equitable development framework that will ensure greater progress than there has been in the past.

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- Civil Society Accountability Principles and Practice (India Toolkit) (English)
- Enabling environment for Voluntary Organisations A Global Campaign (English)
- Model Policies for International Good Governance in Voluntary Organizations
- The Hand Book in Good Governance for the Voluntary Sector
- Status of the Voluntary Sector in India A Report
- Status of the Voluntary Sector in India (Primer) (English & Hindi)
- Civil Society Engagement in Aid Effectiveness Discourse
- Changing Dynamics Between VOs and Private Sector
- Involving Voluntary Organizations in Governments Plans and Projects
- India's Global Footprints
- India's Development Assistance: Trends, Challenges and Implications for CSOs
- India's Role in the G20: A Civil Society Approach
- Contribution and Challenges of Voluntary Organizations Working on Religious Minority A Primer of the Study Report (English & Hindi)
- Contribution and Challenges of Voluntary Organisations Working with Women A Primer of the Study Report (English & Hindi)
- Role and Contribution of Voluntary Organisations in Health & Nutrition A Primer of the Study Report (English & Hindi)
- Challenges of the Grassroots Voluntary Organisations A Primer of the Study Report (English & Hindi)
- Role and Contribution of Voluntary Organisations on Water & Sanitation A Primer of the Study Report (English & Hindi)
- Contribution and Challenges of Voluntary Organizations Working with Dalits A Primer of the Study Report (English & Hindi)
- Contribution of CSR on Thematic Issues of Education, Health and Nutrition, and Water and Sanitation A Primer of the Study Report (English & Hindi)
- Revisiting the National Policy on Voluntary Sector and Need for a National Policy on Volunteering (English & Hindi)
- Policy Brief of Revisiting the National Policy on Voluntary Sector and Need for A National Policy on Volunteering (English & Hindi)
- Enabling Environment of the Voluntary Sector in India A Study Report (English)

## About Heinrich Böll Foundation

"The Heinrich Böll Stiftung / Foundation (HBF) is the Green Political foundation from Germany, affiliated to the "Greens/Alliance '90" political party represented in the Germany's federal parliament. Headquartered in Berlin, and with 30 international offices today, hbs conducts and supports civic educational activities and projects worldwide.

HBF understands itself as a green think-tank and international policy network, working with governmental and non-governmental actors and focusing on gender equity, sustainable development, and democracy and human rights.

With a presence in New Delhi since 2002, the HBF India office coordinates the interaction with stakeholders and partners in the country. Its programme focus areas include climate and resource policy, socio-economic policy from a gender perspective, the dynamics of democracy, and India's role in the new global order."

## About VANI



Voluntary Action Network India (VANI) is an apex body of the Voluntary Organisations.

- Founded in 1988 to act as a promoter/Protector and collective voice of the voluntary sector.
- Base of 8000 non-governmental organisations spread in 25 states of India.
- Resource Centre for publications, research work, articles, important documents and information about and related to the voluntary sector.

### **Objectives:**

- As a platform, to promote voluntarism and create space for voluntary action.
- As a network, attempt to bring about a convergence of common sectoral issues and concerns for building a truly national agenda of voluntary action in India. In addition, facilitate linkages of various efforts and initiatives of the Indian voluntary sector, which succeed in strengthening a united and sustainable movement of change.
- An an association, work towards fostering value based voluntary action and long term sustainability especially amongst our members.

### **Areas of work**

- Promoting practices of good governance in the voluntary sector.
- Strengthening networks
- Articulating independent voices of the sector.
- Research and advocacy of policies and law effecting the voluntary sector.

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