

## WADANA TODO ABHIYAN

Wada Na Todo Abhiyan (WNTA) is a national campaign focused on promoting Governance Accountability to end Poverty, Social Exclusion & Discrimination, through tracking government promises and commitments at the national and international levels.

WNTA emerged from the consensus among human rights activists and social action groups who were part of the World Social Forum 2004 (Mumbai). The purpose was to create an environment through focused and concerted effort and try to make a difference in India where one-fourth of the world's poor live and experience intense deprivation from opportunities to learn, live and work with dignity. In this regard, WNTA highlights the aspirations and concerns of the most marginalized sections of the society – Dalits, Adivasis, Nomadic Tribes, Minorities, Women, Sexual Minorities, Children, Youth and the Person with disability to the government through People's Manifestoes before elections. Further, WNTA reviews and monitors the performance of the government on its promises and plans towards the marginalized sections on the framework of Constitutional mandates, National development goals and International commitments set in the UN Millennium Declaration (2000) / The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals. We work to ensure that the concerns and aspirations of the marginalized sections are mainstreamed across programs, policies and development goals of the central and state governments.



### Wada Na Todo Abhiyan

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Citizens' Report on Year Two of the NDA II Government  
2020-2021



# Promises & Reality

**Civil Society Initiative**

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

'Promises & Reality 2020-21' report is an important document in WNTA's milestone of activities. As in previous years, this year's annual review and report monitoring the Union Government's performance is done in partnership with several civil society organisations and expert contributors. It examines some of the key policies of the government and interventions made during May 2020- April 2021 through the impact these have had on the lives of India's citizens, and particularly marginalized sections. As a very special exception this year, the report also centers its assessment of governance during the past year on COVID-19 – the spread of the pandemic in the country, the lockdown imposed to contain it and the second, sheer deadly wave.

While the first year of the second term of the BJP-led government was replete with expressions of intent to reduce poverty and take on the global pandemic, the second year has been a tumultuous one – exhibited first by the introduction of the Citizenship Amendment Act and later, by the lockdown to contain the spread of COVID-19. The year has also been tough on human rights defenders and also for civil society organisations working selflessly to ameliorate the suffering of the people.

## **COVID-19 only catalysed the process of the economy's de-acceleration**

The pandemic struck in India at a time the process of de-development was under way for a few years. Few, if any, serious policies and rectification measures had been taken, with virtually all growth and development indicators declining rather dramatically. As the chapter on the economy points out, the pre-pandemic economic scenario had already witnessed a fall in ranking in almost all growth and development indicators including India's ranking on the global hunger index; nourished children; inequality index; gender equality index; environment performance; water and air quality (*De-development catalysed*).

This scenario after the pandemic has actually worsened in the absence of policy responses that need to take into account demand factors focusing especially on those who have been impacted the most at all levels both economic and extra-economic.

The pandemic has created a humanitarian crisis and socio-economic inequalities, severely affecting the disadvantaged section of the population. The most detrimental effects impacted the vast majority of the citizens, with in fact, resulting in the reversal of whatever progress that had been attained – massive rise in income inequality, with the top one per cent population holding more than four times the wealth held by lowest 70 per cent. India's high unemployment rate goes in tandem with the country's least monthly minimum wage in South Asia at ₹ 4300.

As the authors argue, India also recorded the lowest female work participation rate in South Asia, the maximum fall impacting the most vulnerable sections covering Adivasi, Dalit and OBC sections besides other minorities. This process of gender de-equalisation has been further exacerbated by a rise in the gender wage gap at three per cent between 2011-12 and 2017-18. Three out of every four rural households could not afford a nutritious diet, combined

with a decrease in demand and consumption expenditure. Subsequently, the proportion of persons below the poverty line rose for the first time in 42 years by five per cent.

As if on cue, the Finance Minister's budget speech did not discuss specific interventions on generating employment and boosting consumption expenditure. The Union Budget 2021-22 was presented in the face of low consumption demand and high unemployment due to the pandemic and the subsequent lockdown. The negative impact of the pandemic resulted in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) witnessing the sharpest decline since 1952. The pandemic has also made the situation worse at the revenue collection front which has a direct impact in terms of budget cuts on economic and social sector services.

## Inequality

The chapter on Inequality (*Inequality in the Minds of the Executive*) points out, the wealth of the top 11 Indian billionaires increased by ₹ 7 lakh crores in just six months – enough to run the health ministry for 10 years. Clearly, COVID-19 was anything but 'the great equalizer' – as it has been touted as due to its ability to impact lives to a certain degree, transcending the divides of wealth, fame, prestige, age, or social privilege.

Our authors argue that efforts to reduce inequalities should have been guided by values of equity, justice and fraternity. The first step to move towards equality is to acknowledge that inequities exist. Instead, the government devoted the annual Economic Survey to argue why India should focus on growth and not addressing inequality. The Union Budget 2021-22 did not take any new measures to reintroduce wealth tax or introduce inheritance taxes and the government had introduced a 'COVID fiscal stimulus' that claimed to account for 10 per cent of GDP. However, this was calculated to be actually close to being one per cent in terms of actual public spending.

COVID-19 and the stringent lockdown that followed destroyed the economy and forced millions of India's poor into poverty and hunger, while leaving the elites largely unscathed. Little wonder, billionaires cheered the stimulus package announced during the lockdown. Policy responses to COVID-19 only served to intensify existing class, caste and gender inequalities.

## Marginalised pushed further to the margins

While still on the issue of inequality, the authors address that, seven per cent men who were employed prior to the lockdown lost work during the lockdown and remained unemployed even after the lockdown (i.e. they followed the no-recovery trajectory), the corresponding share for women was much higher at 37 per cent (*Bad for Workers. Worse for Women Workers*). This flies in the face of 'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas' in a developing country that was ranked the world's fifth largest economy in 2019 and attests more to the fact that it featured as the five worst performing country in terms of economic participation according to the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report 2020.

Also, the allocation to most of the central sector schemes and projects for the welfare of persons with disabilities (PwDs) has either decreased, remained the same or received no allocation at all (*Persons with Disabilities: Doubly Challenged*). The guidelines for supporting PwDs during the pandemic issued by the government were initially inaccessible, and left

several without support of ration and social security provisions. Further in implementation too, several loopholes kept relief measures out of reach for many in the community.

A chapter on bonded labour essays the lives of indentured workers in the brick kilns of Varanasi – Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Lok Sabha constituency (*The Unending Trap of Servitude*). "Women workers are deprived of all statutory benefits and amenities like maternity benefits, crèche, fixed working hours, etc. They face sexual abuse, violence and exploitation. They are too vulnerable to defend themselves. There are numerous instances of rape and even of women enslaved for sex."

Unfortunately, there is still a section of India's population who are made to feel they belong to a bygone era of violent discrimination. One would like to imagine that, given the need for physical distancing and spread of the virus impacting so many, violence against the Dalit community would have reduced during a pandemic. This, however, was not the case as atrocities continued unabated against Dalits (*Exacerbated Vulnerabilities of Dalits*). There is an equally alarming facet of violence against Dalit Christians who are denied redress under the SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act (*Religious Persecution immune to COVID-19*). The authors call for an increased allocation of funds in the Union Budget under the welfare of Scheduled Caste (AWSC) for the effective implementation of the SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act.

COVID-19 also came as a double whammy for the tribal people. For instance, tribal women had to face an aggravated State machinery during the lockdown. Cases of rape of tribal women in rural areas, unnecessary intimidation, extortion etc. have been beyond records during the lockdown period. Simultaneously, tribal lands in Bastar and Surguja districts of Chhattisgarh were grabbed by industries and mining companies with the help of the State during the lockdown. The lockdown conditions were approached as an opportunity for those in authority to evict tribal people from their land (*Confusion and Chaos in Tribal Areas*).

The report also voices the need to prepare an official categorisation for people from De-Notified and Nomadic Tribal communities across the country as a first step to enable them access their entitlements. They are among the most voiceless of Indians. The Habitual Offenders' Act, 1952 should be abolished towards de-criminalisation of DNTs and prevention of atrocities by police (*COVID-19 exacerbates vulnerabilities of the marginalised*).

From lynching to stigmatising Muslims for the spread of COVID-19, the year gone by has been a tough one for Indian Muslims. Authors recommend that the pending demand for enactment of a law against communal riots and persecution should be fulfilled as soon as possible which may now include lynching and spreading of fake news as heinous crimes (*COVID-19 added to the burden of stigma*).

Yet another section of people who need the government's attention in these tough times are people living with HIV/AIDS – the lockdown meant that the services being provided to them came to a standstill. India needs to stay on course to achieve its commitments to reduce HIV/AIDS. It is appalling that NACO, the nodal agency for combatting the menace of HIV/AIDS, has not published its annual report since 2016 (*PLHIV left to fend for themselves*).

## A Diminishing Civic Space

Arbitrary arrests, excessive force, unfair trials and impunity of the perpetrators have scarred the rule of law in India while voices countering hate and discrimination have found themselves being hounded rather than protected by law enforcement agencies. (2020-21 saw the State Hound Civil Society).

The amendments to the FCRA in September 2020 which crippled the civil society response to the second wave of the pandemic have also had a huge impact on the morale of civil society in India. Civil Society Organisations mobilised resources and supported government efforts to fight the pandemic by providing services to the affected. Ironically, however, the government restricted their activities and voices, further shrinking their civil space (*Disempowered, Yet Committed to Serve*).

The atmosphere of fear that has been created has led to unprecedented self-censorship. Unsurprisingly most of the critique and resistance to state policies at a broader societal level is now from the non-institutional spaces – students, youth, celebrities and social media influencers – rather than NGOs (*Dissent Must be Curbed. Even Crushed*).

The most marginalised sections have had to bear the brunt of the heavy hand of the State on civil society organisations. As the chapter on Adivasi people notes, “The lockdown conditions came as an opportunity for those in authority to evict tribal people from their land. In Dang district of Gujarat, for instance, forests officials torched the huts of six tribal villagers accusing them to be living there illegally. In East Sikkim, forest official served a notice to 90 tribal families of Dzuluk to evict the area” (*Confusion and Chaos in Tribal Areas*).

Life was equally cruel for the Dalit communities during the lockdown. Data from a survey conducted during the past year revealed that many of the schemes announced during the pandemic last year were not being fully accessible by the Dalit communities. Many of the community members were unaware of the schemes and even if they were aware, they were not able to access these schemes (*Exacerbated Vulnerabilities of Dalits*).

Even children were not spared of the cruelty of the lockdown that exposed the huge gaps that already existed in the child protection system in the country. ‘Childline India’, a government-led helpline, received over 92,000 SOS calls on child abuse and violence in just 11 days of the country’s shutdown (*Low public investments aggravate inequalities*).

## Health, Environment, Education a casualty

Universal access to healthcare is a global health goal and also included in the SDGs, but in the case of India, it has faced budgetary neglect (*The Failed Promise of Universal Access to Healthcare*). The review advocates for the government to enact a National Health Rights Act, enabling right to healthcare and mandate health as a public good. This should be enforced with a budgetary commitment of at-least 2.5 per cent of Gross Domestic Product.

A beginning could be made with upgrading existing health infrastructure to a minimum level as specified by the Indian Public Health Standards (IPHS) norms, requiring the strengthening of Health and Wellness Centres (HWCs) through creation of mid-level healthcare providers and upgrading primary health centres (PHCs) and strengthening of the sub-district hospitals (Community Health Centres) as per IPHS and upgrading the district hospitals to teaching hospitals.

The chapter argues that there is a deficit of Governance and implementation, especially in view of the centralisation of all decision making in health going against the spirit of participatory governance. “Top-down decision making cannot work in a sector like health which is highly local-oriented. Decision-making and management has to be left to the local institutions and governments and not a top-down bureaucratic mechanism.” The authors say that the Constitutional provision of District Planning Committees under the 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Amendment need to be made effective for robust local governance.

Health and the environment are closely related and this is where this year’s Governance Review makes a mark: It argues that, contrary to the prevailing perception, the lockdown year 2020 was not a breather for climate and the environment. Indeed, 2020 was hottest year on record tied up with 2016 – as ice melted quicker; oceans accumulated heat faster; wildfires raged more dangerously; heatwaves became more severe; and carbon emissions hardly saw any thawing. According to the WMO’s State of the Climate Report 2021 released on 19 April 2021, “there was a relentless intensification of climate crisis, increasing occurrence of extreme events, and severe loss and damage affecting people communities and economies.”

The chapter *Industry Before Environment* argues that India has witnessed bad environmental governance in recent years. The government, motivated to improve its record on the ‘ease of doing business’ index, is trying to change environmental and forest regulations. The authors argue, “in the race to (re)gain economic strength, environmental standards were relaxed, monitoring reduced, penalties for environmental violation waived and fossil fuel and other businesses having profound adverse impacts of environment and climate were rescued with huge bailouts.”

The sustainability question is as important as ever: What are we doing for the next generation and the generations to come? Education could be an answer, one might argue, but with COVID-19 not allowing our young citizens to attend school for an entire academic year (and more), there is much that the government could do. In the chapter, *Still A Long Way to Go*, authors argue that framers of the National Education Policy 2020 alienated themselves from the needs of children, particularly children from historically marginalized groups and communities. Children faced unequal access and outrageous inequalities.

That is bringing us back to where we began – citizens being heaped with the indignities of inequalities, as it were a policy of the State. This is what the intent came to resemble in 2020-2021 as COVID-19 exacerbated what was an already agonising pain.

# POLICY ASKS

## **ECONOMY: De-development catalyzed**

1. Given the desperate economic situation of the majority of India's citizens, budgetary allocations should be fully utilised and in fact, also should expand beyond the revised estimates.
2. The various 'relief' measures and packages as well as the 2021-22 budget focus not on the ethically and logically necessary demand-side policies, but on loans and 'easy' credit. A large stimulus is urgently required, irrespective of whether the already large fiscal deficit existing before the pandemic increases or not.
3. The most efficient and just way to combat inflation would be to increase direct taxes, because as is well accepted, indirect taxes disproportionately affect the poor.

## **BUDGET: Marginalized further in the pandemic**

1. There is a need to focus on allied services that contribute a significant share of rural income, especially in rainfed/dryland regions.
2. Increase Union Budgetary support towards schemes such as PM-KISAN to benefit farmers.
3. Enhance the budgetary provision for MGNREGA. This has been drastically cut by ₹ 38,500 crore in FY 2021-22.
4. Strengthen public provisioning of essential public services for groups such as Dalits, Adivasis and Muslims.
5. The allocations to the Department of Social Justice and Empowerment and Ministry of Tribal Affairs need to be increased for the economic and educational empowerment of SCs and STs. The implementation challenges persisting in SCSP and TSP must be addressed urgently.
6. Furthermore, there is a need to increase the allocation for PMS-SC to clear the arrears accumulated over many years. There is a need for identification of all the manual scavengers in the country. The government has to make necessary changes in the SRMS Guidelines to address the bottlenecks constraining utilisation of the allocated budgets.
7. Further, an increase in demand can be created by raising awareness about the scheme among potential beneficiaries as well as within the government apparatus.
8. It is suggested that the total budget allocation for MoMA should be significantly increased, given the level of deprivation in the educational attainment of minorities. The hike in total budget allocation of MoMA would help increase the coverage of students and raise the unit cost in Pre-Matric, Post Matric and Merit Cum Means Scholarship.

## **INDIAN CIVIL SOCIETY: Disempowered, yet committed to serve**

1. As India battles the second wave of the deadly virus and prepares for the third, CSOs must be supported and valued by the government.
2. The perspectives and assets of the Indian civil society must not only be acknowledged but also supported in every way possible to overcome the exodus imposed by the pandemic.
3. Strengthening the external environment of civil society and providing opportunities to expand their horizons will aid the civil society organisations to deliver their services to the most marginalised and vulnerable.
4. Strategies must aid building strong partnerships, both vertical (within an organisation) and horizontal (between the government and other stakeholders).
5. The COVID-19 crisis and the humanitarian work CSOs have undertaken should help achieve increased trust and collaboration between all the pillars of growth.

## **JUDICIARY: The missing judiciary, a year in review**

1. In order to ensure the independence of the judiciary, it is of critical importance to secure the independence of the Chief Justice and insulate CJIs from any post retirement jobs in which the government plays any role whatsoever.
2. These jobs, as well as judicial appointments themselves, should be controlled by a multi member independent and transparent judicial appointments commission. Such a commission should also facilitate the appointment of more robustly independent judges.
3. There must be an independent, high powered judicial complaints authority which can investigate complaints against judges which cannot be left to the government or its agencies. No permission of the Chief Justice can be required for such investigations as is the present law because of the Supreme Court judgment in the Veeraswami case.
4. There has been a pending proposal to allow live streaming of court proceedings. This will have a salutary effect on the transparency of functioning of the courts and therefore on the conduct and independence of the judiciary. These reforms are essential for the independent and robust functioning of the Supreme Court, as custodian of fundamental rights of citizens.

## **INEQUALITY: Inequality in the minds of the executive**

1. Track data on income inequality and design a plan of action every year to reduce inequality.
2. Make India's super-rich pay their fair share of taxes.
3. Impose a 2 per cent COVID-19 cess on individuals earning more than INR 2 crore per annum.
4. Introduce a temporary tax on companies making windfall profits during the pandemic.

5. Introduce and fund a peoples' package that addresses the needs of India's 99 per cent and builds a more equal and fair society.
6. Introduce a people's vaccine that is free, procured at a low, regulated price, procured centrally and distributed equally to support a quick return to normalcy.

### **MUSLIM MINORITIES: COVID-19 added to the burden of stigma**

1. The pending demand for enactment of law against communal riots and persecution should be fulfilled as soon as possible, which may now include lynching and fake news as heinous crimes.
2. The budget of the Ministry of Minority Affairs should be increased to 10-times the present budget for making it justifiable in the wake of comparative fiscal support for SCs and STs.
3. Disaggregated data regarding religious minorities, particularly on Muslims, should be regularly compiled and made public for understanding their conditions and taking corrective measures.

### **DALITS: Exacerbated vulnerabilities of Dalits**

1. Introduce livelihood support compensation packages and undertake a systematic process of enumerating informal/migrant sector workers, together with immediate relief compensation in the form of direct cash assistance as a well-established practice during the times of natural disasters in India to prevent them from distress-induced indebtedness and exploitation.
2. Enhance financial assistance for the informal sector workers and extend provisions as per the Unorganised Workers' Social Security Act of 2008 and the Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013, to ensure they have access to state entitlements and legal assistance to meet their cumulative needs after having lost or being at the brink of losing/restricted livelihoods.
3. Increase allocation of funds under the Welfare of Scheduled Caste (AWSC) for the effective implementation of the SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act.
4. Ensure that the pre and post matric scholarships continue to be transferred to the students even during the pandemic and also ensure that there is increased allocation to enable the students to access online classes.
5. Institute inclusive relief measures through relief packages (food stocks etc.), and social security measures (like pensions), unemployment allowances for marginalised/informal sector/self-employed/casual workers, until such time till the pandemic passes.

### **ADIVASIS: Confusion and chaos in tribal areas**

1. Implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), Constitutional, and Legal rights of the tribal people at the grassroots.
2. Government should ensure that the rights and entitlements of tribal people are not compromised and that the Gram Sabha, as provided for in the Constitution, and

statutory laws like P-PESA, Forest Rights Act, Supreme Court judgments related to the powers of Gram Sabha, should not be violated.

3. Utilize the District Minerals Fund (DMF), and Compensatory Afforestation Fund Management and Planning (CAMPA) to provide facilities and resources to the tribal people living in the villages during the time of crisis.
4. Implement the recommendations of the UN Secretary General to not include coal in the COVID-19 recovery plans and cancel the allocated and auctioned coal mines.
5. Remove the Forces from Sukma (Bastar) and Surguja districts which was illegally deployed to help the mining companies to acquire the tribal lands during the pandemic.
6. Ratify and implement ILO Convention 169 in letter and spirit.
7. Provide health and education infrastructure facilities and resources in the tribal areas.
8. Avoid using coal to generate energy, rather go for green energy that is more sustainable.

### **DNT-NT: Exacerbated vulnerabilities of the marginalised**

1. The Habitual Offenders' Act, 1952 is similar in spirit to the repealed Criminal Tribes Act of 1871. It should be abolished as the first step towards de-criminalisation of DNTs and prevention of atrocities by police.
2. Both central and state governments should prepare the official list of NT-DNT communities across India. All the NT-DNT should be classified separately and should be given reservation.
3. Amendments should be made to legislations such as the Wildlife Protection Act, the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act, the Drugs and Magic Remedies Prohibition Act, and the Prevention of Beggary Act, taking into consideration that these laws have criminalised the traditional professions of the NT-DNT and specifically targeted street performing nomadic communities such as acrobats, tight rope walkers, dancers and singers, leaving them with no alternate source of livelihood.
4. There should be formulation of a social protection framework (policies and schemes) that focuses on access to entitlements, land, housing, livelihood, education and health of NT-DNT communities. The central and state government should allocate a fixed budget based on their population.
5. The Government of India should create a separate category for NT-DNT in the census and National Family Health Survey (NFHS). It will help in generating data for policymakers.
6. The Government of India should constitute a permanent commission for the NT-DNT in line with the Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribe commission at the central and state level. Also, National and State commissions like Human Right Commission, Women Right Commission and Commission on Protection on Child Rights must have a separate unit within the commission to address the issues of the NT-DNT.

7. An intervention and action plan needs to be devised to ensure basic citizenship entitlements, including access to basic citizenship documents, food security, caste certificates, health facilities, shelter needs, political rights and other socio security programs are made available specifically for the NT-DNT.
8. NT-DNT should get free education with good hostel facilities, particularly for girls. Special effort should be made to sensitise the teaching and non-teaching staff in education institutions on the issues related to NT-DNT.
9. There should be a separate reservation in private sector for NT-DNT.
10. Government should provide employment opportunities for nomadic tribes by offering loans for small enterprises. Some of those practising traditional occupations, including street performers, are struggling due to changes in laws and need to be revived. Companies that are hampering traditional occupations and polluting the local environment should be discouraged as it further marginalises these communities. There needs to be strengthening of irrigation as well as other input facilities to serve NT-DNT communities engaged in farming so that they do well in agriculture.
11. The land belonging to the NT-DNT should be restored to them. Landlessness is high among NT-DNT communities, and in some places, influential people have grabbed land belonging to NT-DNTs. There are also instances where businesses and government have taken over their land for developing project sites. There should be active consultation before taking any step that can result in their displacement and allocation of land at an alternate site must be made. The government should recognise the rights of the pastoral community over their grazing land and provisions should be made to transfer the ownership of these land to the pastoral communities.

## **INFORMAL SECTOR: The struggle for recognition continues**

1. As forefront workers and a significant component of the economy, informal workers should be officially recognised as 'essential service providers' by policymakers.
2. Generate official database in terms of who they are, what kind of livelihood they're engaged with, where they work, how they contribute to the economy and how they are recruited.
3. Immediate and long term relief measures such as direct cash transfers, pension schemes and maternity benefits.
4. Statutory protection and regulation frameworks: For self-employed workers, legal license/certificate, membership in trade unions, social welfare protections must be promoted. For daily wage labourers like construction workers, provisions like minimum wage, formal contracts and social welfare should be implemented.
5. City planning documents must prioritise the spatial reservations and provisions for informal workers to secure their 'right to city and livelihood'.

## CHILD RIGHTS: Low investments aggravate inequalities

1. It is important to provide effective, flexible and inclusive distance learning programmes for the most deprived and marginalised children. It is equally important to provide support to parents to ensure continuity of education with the help of digital learning tools.
2. The teacher and school administration should be provided with resources and support for continuity of education of children through digital and other modern mediums of learning.
3. It is important to strengthen community-based child protection mechanisms to identify vulnerable children who are either out of school/drop outs or on the verge of engaging in child labour. Strengthening the community-level child protection system for children to report violence safely, including when schools are closed, is also crucial. Adequate efforts need to be taken to ensure that children in Child Care Institutions (CCIs) stay safe and do not get infected by the virus.
4. There is also a need to focus on family strengthening services to strengthen parenting skills, relieve psychological stress and alleviate material deprivation. This will help parents in becoming better able to care for children and meet their needs, and in turn preventing risk of neglect, violence and abuse.
5. There is a need to improve equitable coverage of healthcare services by removing financial and non-financial barriers. It is important to prioritise efforts and resources to make services available free at the point of use for vulnerable children and families.
6. Ensuring food security by continuing existing social protection schemes is important (including those announced during the pandemic) so that the most deprived and marginalised families can provide for themselves and for their children's healthy development.
7. Considering that COVID-19 and its after-effects will continue to impact the lives of children in the near future, there is a need to increase the investments on children. Hence, it is important to ensure that health, nutrition, education and protection services are well-resourced and inclusive.
8. There is also a need to strengthen the mechanisms and support to ensure effective implementation of programmes for children during COVID-19. Ensuring the availability of trained and skilled workforce is crucial to reach out to children. Strengthening the delivery of services to vulnerable children, families is important.
9. A coordinated and synergised effort is required to have state, civil society organisations, private sector, academia, media, community leaders, citizens and children work together to address the violation of child rights during the COVID-19 pandemic and come up with innovative solutions to address this complex problem.
10. There is a need to listen to the voices of children, especially girls. It is important to ensure that dialogue and interaction with children captures their experience about the impact of COVID-19 on them. These experiences and interactions should be used to design preventive strategies and develop appropriate response plans.

## **PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES: Doubly challenged**

1. Build a Disability Index to collect and report disaggregated data on disability, as a sub-set of the SDG India Index which synthesizes and disaggregates data from all data sources of socio-economic parameters on a real time basis.
2. Disability cells and budgets created in all relevant ministries and government departments including NITI Aayog. Specific disability budgets to incorporate accessibility in all efforts, assistive technology, community-based services, social protection programmes, and employment assistance.
3. Prioritize persons with disabilities in the COVID-19 economic recovery and stimulus packages.
4. Provide all persons with disabilities, irrespective of their economic, social or residential status, with vaccinations at their doorstep and after-care.
5. All provisions relating to disaster management in the RPWD Act should be implemented and monitored.
6. Caregivers and other assisting personnel of persons with disabilities should be expressly exempted from social distancing norms and issued curfew passes.
7. Mechanisms should be created so that persons with disabilities are ensured their food, pensions and medical requirements and are able to travel to hospitals/medical facilities for their treatment.

## **WOMEN'S RIGHTS: A lot happened after COVID-19 hit**

1. The adoption of the National Policy for Women Draft (2016) along with a Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) action plan to all policies and programmes.
2. An Urban Employment Guarantee Scheme specifically targeted at women should be devised and implemented urgently. Provisions regarding preferential employment for women in Public Works Departments can also be considered.
3. The government should increase preferential procurement from women enterprises from its current 3 per cent to at least 10 per cent.
4. Increased allocations for creches in both rural and urban settings.
5. Cash transfers by expansion of the Jan Dhan scheme in women's accounts. Also, moratorium on interests and / or loans of women entrepreneurs from lower socio-economic strata.
6. Enhanced allocations of the Maternity Entitlement Benefits scheme to cover all women with amounts equivalent to wages foregone, and without disqualifying criteria.
7. Wage subsidies should be provided to women employed in the MSME sector.
8. It is crucial to see violence against women as a public health issue and build synergies with the Health and Social Justice and other ministries of the government. A range of crucial support services must be made available at the one stop centres with adequate budgetary allocation from the Nirbhaya Fund, including activating

confidential helplines, counselling, safe shelters, one-stop centres, mental health services and legal aid 24/7. Transwomen, women with disabilities, migrant or homeless women are especially vulnerable, and special protocols are required to ensure their access to services. All districts should have OSCs attached to hospitals.

9. Universalise PDS, and increase budgetary support for Midday Meal, ICDS and SAG to ensure women do not suffer from food insecurities for the households. Special emphasis must be laid on expenditure under RKSK.
10. Adequate budgetary provisions under NRLM to focus on legal literacy and capacity building of women as frontline workers, paralegals and barefoot counsellors on issues of VAWG.
11. Funds from Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao scheme can be utilized to make girls' education up to 18 years free across government/aided schools. These funds can also be used to provide girl students in rural districts free mobile plans in their name.
12. Central and state governments should increase their education expenditure from 3 per cent of GDP, as established in 2018-2019, to 6 per cent, ensuring that at least 50 per cent of funding directly supports girls' education.
13. Free skill training should be provided to women who have lost jobs during the pandemic.

## **LGBTQIA+: Homophobia in the times of COVID-19**

1. Pass a law on non-discrimination in the context of LGBTQIA+ persons.
2. Ban the practice of conversion therapy in India.
3. Engage CSOs working on LGBTQIA+ issues and rights to assess the situation of queer persons during the ongoing COVID-19 crisis and work with them to deliver required relief.
4. Establish nationwide safe homes and queer affirming mental-health helplines in different regional languages to address the detrimental effect of being under lockdown with implicitly and/or explicitly violent families, and the subsequent loss of support networks.
5. Sensitise medical healthcare professionals to the particular needs of the LGBTQIA+ community in order to combat discrimination and stigma.
6. Implement the Supreme Court's guidelines issued as accompaniments to the Navtej Singh Johar V/s. Union of India judgement reading down of the IPC Section 377 to sensitise the public and government officers and eliminate social stigma and structural discrimination against LGBTQIA+ persons.
7. Ensure that LGBTQIA+ persons' access to social security benefits in times of crises is dislodged from the need of the state to procure or assess identity documents like ration cards or Aadhar cards which the community often finds difficult to acquire. This leads to LGBTQIA+ persons' curtailed access to the state's social welfare schemes and benefits.

## HEALTHCARE: The failed promise of universal access to healthcare

1. Enact a National Health Rights Act enabling right to healthcare and mandating health as a public good.
2. Immediate budgetary commitment of at-least 2.5 per cent of GDP with 35 per cent burden on Union government and 65 per cent on state governments.
3. Develop healthcare system as per Indian Public Health Standards norms.
4. Compulsory public service of at least two years by all graduates and postgraduates from medical, nursing and paramedical schools to eliminate health human resource deficit.
5. Strengthening the public health infrastructure of both HWCs and Hospitals to establish robust primary healthcare.
6. Say no to privatisation policies in healthcare and insurance-based programs as they divert public resources towards private profiteering.
7. Implement compulsory licensing to ramp up COVID-19 vaccine and drug production.
8. Legislate strong regulation of the private health sector, including price control.
9. Devolution of healthcare planning, decision making and budgets to local governments under oversight of local communities through Community Based Monitoring and Planning and the District/Ward Planning Committees.

## MIGRANT WORKERS: Hidden in plain sight

1. **The draft migrant policy needs to be finalized:** the draft policy penned by NITI Aayog is a step in the right direction. The policy needs to be finalized after due consultations and be given teeth and powers through financial allocations and units within the ministry of labour for implementation.
2. **Portability of all social security schemes:** All migrant workers, along with informal workers must be covered by universal, portable social protection schemes. Labour laws should not be onerous, must be enforced strictly, and must make remedial justice accessible for migrant workers.
3. **Make cities and urban development inclusive for migrants:** Policy reforms should focus on building up adequate infrastructure and resources, including human resources, to implement welfare measures across state and central departments for making cities more inclusive for migrant workers by having housing, live, recreation facilities for migrant workers and families in the cities.
4. **Recognize gender as an important parameter and especially the needs of vulnerable groups such as migrant women and children must be addressed:** Any policy on migrant workers should also include domestic workers who are not covered by any protective law since India has not ratified the International Labour Organization's Domestic Workers Convention, 2011.
5. **Registration of migrant workers and allowing self-registration process:** The problem could be solved by developing a countrywide self-registration process for

migrant workers. This would provide the foundation for inter-state coordination on the fiscal costs of migration.

6. **Using technology and mobile networks to promote access to finance and banking:** Although one in four Indians have a smartphone, mobile phones are available to over 90 per cent of the population. A mobile application for the self-registration of migrant labour workers — containing their personal information, Aadhar number, place of residence and place of work — can be part of a proposed framework for capturing much-needed data of migrant workers. A welfare scheme enabling the digital transfer of funds to workers could then be dispensed through a digital or mobile outlet.
7. **Vaccination on priority for migrant workers:** While vaccinations have helped reduce COVID-19 caseloads, the country fears another lockdown situation and closure of borders between states just like the previous year due to growing COVID-19 cases. It is painful to see that migrants are still not being prioritised for vaccination drives even when specialised drives for various age groups have started. It is true that the sick and the elderly need to be vaccinated first, and this might take another year, but the migrant workers should not be made to wait until then. They were the most affected during the lockdown.
8. **Urban livelihoods schemes for migrants and urban workers:** Urban employment schemes designed like MGNREGS, but without the payment delays that have marred the central government's marquee rural jobs programme, could provide jobs and income security for the low-skilled urban poor. The government must ensure that migrant workers are purposefully included in the ambit of such schemes.

## **URBAN POVERTY: The urbanization of poverty in a raging pandemic**

1. **The multidimensionality of urban poverty must be addressed within a rights framework:** Urban poverty highlights issues in housing, basic services (water, sanitation), basic infrastructure (health, education), social security and livelihoods along with special needs of vulnerable groups. To address urban poverty would mean addressing each of these aspects. Thus, a rights framework is important to holistically address the multidimensionality of urban poverty.
2. **A shock responsive social protection system for the urban poor should be developed:** Vulnerable sections among the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Denotified Tribes, Nomadic Tribes, women, children, the elderly, transgender persons, persons with disability were affected disproportionately during the lockdown. The pandemic has shown that there is an urgent need to expand the welfare net for the poor through measures such as universalisation of the PDS, prioritisation of Direct Cash Transfers and social security for informal workers. A robust social protection system for the urban poor must be responsive to evolving challenges and crisis situations and be able to ensure people's rights and dignity are constantly safeguarded.
3. **Accurate, updated data to inform policy must be prioritised:** The lack of data to inform policy on the urban and urban informal workers is stark. Comprehensive

surveys categorise urban informal workers broadly and vary from survey to survey. With limited definitions of various types of informal work and limited occupation lists, the number of workers engaged in these occupations remain estimates at most. It is altogether another even more serious matter that updated data doesn't exist. Policy therefore is unable to respond to needs of informal workers.

4. **Strengthen urban local governance and people's participation:** In order for urban India to respond to its challenges it is crucial to ensure strong local governance systems. The 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act mandates the powers of urban local bodies and people's participation in urban governance. Central and State governments must facilitate decentralisation of governance and devolution of powers as mandated by the Constitution. Local governments must further ensure people are engaged and have avenues to participate meaningfully in decisions that impact them. It is through decentralised local governance structures that some of the biggest challenges in delivery of social protection schemes, basic services and planning can be tackled. A decentralised, participatory urban governance structure can ensure the realisation of a more equal urban future.

## **LIVELIHOOD: Millions outside ambit of government support**

1. It is also critical, in the immediate context of the COVID-19 pandemic and moving forward, to build a diverse and socially inclusive lens to livelihoods at the policy and practice level, with a focus on intersectionalities (gender, non-binary identities, religion, caste, disability, migration, etc.).
2. The reality of livelihood itself and livelihoods with dignity is desperate and struggling workers can only be supported through direct safety nets, public distribution of food and essentials to tide over while they wait in queues for their right to vaccination and safe recoveries from COVID-19.
3. There is a need to actually think deeply about equity in access to skills and livelihoods, especially considering marginalised sections across intersections of gender, caste and geographical regions.
4. Access to basic infrastructural requirements like a mobile phone/television in case of online learning, or subsidised travel to educational or skill institutions, presence of creches, care giving facilities so that women can also join and sustain training.
5. There is a need to address basic requirements within the market as well, which include minimum wages, safe and secure environment and basic security net even for informal and gig economy jobs (which constitute almost 90 per cent of the jobs in India).
6. There is a need to perceive linkages, interconnectedness of life events, of morbidity and violence of marriage and caregiving roles, of menstrual, reproductive health as well as mental health on access to and sustenance of livelihoods.
7. In a post-COVID-19 scenario, we need to emerge beyond the silos of education, livelihoods, health, food security, violence to understand that people's lives are interconnected and impacted by structural norms like occupational segregation.

## **LIVELIHOOD — WOMEN: Bad for workers. Worse for women workers**

Building gender sensitive infrastructure and social security (provision of crèches in factories, plantations, construction sites, etc. or minimum wage standards, hygienic washrooms) along with gender-sensitive markets that enable women to join the workforce becomes an immediate need for a gender-just economic recovery.

## **DIGITAL DIVIDE: Access defines India's leap into cyberspace**

1. Digital Literacy: Access is crucial but not sufficient. People will have to be trained to understand i) how to operate devices, ii) how to access essential government services iii) how to protect themselves from the various risks that internet as a medium presents.
2. Digital Equality: Mitigating the digital divide in the education sector is the need of the hour which can be done by leveraging public-private partnerships. This will provide last mile connectivity and ensure that the gender divide in education is bridged.
3. Digital is Global: The state of global internet governance, whether it is with respect to net neutrality or with respect to tackling platforms which have become hotbeds of misinformation, leaves much to be desired. The global community needs to view this crisis with a fresh urgency and seriousness. The pandemic must also make us understand that a challenge to unhindered access to internet anywhere is a challenge to human rights everywhere. The world's capacity to deal with global challenges depends on every human being having access to internet and the ability to share information about any emerging crisis.
4. Digital Governance: Schemes like Prime Minister Wi-Fi Access Network Interface (PM-WANI) need to be expanded and implemented as soon as possible. It will widen the access to Internet in rural India.

## **WASH: Newer initiatives needed to build in sustainability**

1. Hand hygiene facilities with soap and water to be present on premises, specifically in households (rural and urban), schools and anganwadis, health care facilities, worksites and public spaces. Handwashing facilities can consist of a sink with tap water, and can also include other devices that contain, transport or regulate the flow of water. Buckets with taps, tippy-taps, portable basins, and multi-user handwashing stations are all examples of handwashing facilities. Soap can be bar soap, liquid soap, powder detergent and adequately soapy water – all work well against germs.
2. Minimal requirements of handwashing stations and spaces are for these facilities to be functional (equipped with water and soap), adequate in number (as per the population served in the setting); designed to be responsive to the needs of users in specific contexts (e.g., child friendly height), facilitate sustained use, and prevent the spread of infections (e.g. contactless handwashing stations); and placed conveniently where people most need to wash their hands (e.g., in/near toilet, in/near cooking and eating spaces).

3. In resource constrained settings, hand washing solutions must be of low-cost design, durable for long term use, appropriate and feasible to operate and maintain in low-resource settings especially where water is scarce.
4. The supply of hand hygiene facilities must be matched by the demand for such facilities.
5. Awareness of handwashing with soap has increased during the pandemic, yet consistent usage needs to be encouraged through continued awareness generating through mass media channels, and more intensive inter-personal communication or social and behavior change communication at the community and institutional levels.
6. As schools and anganwadis prepare to reopen post the second wave, handwashing must be an integral part of preparedness activities.
7. Communication efforts across the board must focus on the importance of handwashing for the prevention of infectious diseases (including COVID-19) and mechanisms by which this action prevents pathogen transmission, the critical times for handwashing with soap, and how the personal practice of handwashing has larger public health benefits.
8. Most importantly, clear-cut budgetary allocations for hygiene promotion and essential infrastructure is needed at the state level.
9. The sustainability of the Jal Jeevan Mission lies in building capacities of authorities at all levels and promoting ownership among communities towards their water resources.
10. Several steps and consultations with the sanitation workers' community should take place before passing the new Bill to amend the Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation (PEMSR) Act.
11. In order to support sanitation workers and improve the quality of their lives, an inclusive approach including technology adaptation, sensitization among authorities and common public and consultations with sanitation workers' organizations is important, while keeping caste, gender and social injustices in the society at the centre.

## **SOCIAL PROTECTION: Is social security a function of employment?**

1. Access to essential health care, including maternity care.
2. Basic income security for children, providing access to nutrition, education, care and any other necessary goods and services.
3. Healthcare for all, both OPD and IPD services – preventive, promotive, curative and rehabilitative services on par with the CGHS or defence services.
4. Pension for the elderly of half of the statutory minimum wage.
5. Provident Fund and gratuity for all workers based on contributions.
6. Sickness, Injury, disability and death compensation/benefit for all workers.

7. Maternity benefit for all women whether economically active or not.
8. Unemployment allowance for those registered as seeking work and not getting employment.
9. Social Housing for those who do not have a home.
10. Food security for all.
11. Fixed living wages for all, including those working in the informal sector and the new economy.

## **URBAN HOMELESS: Harsh reality of urban homelessness post-COVID-19**

1. **Implementation of NULM provisions:** The provisions of DAY SUH NULM on paper such as providing eco-friendly shelters, security guard in case of special shelters, etc. needs to be implemented.
2. **Discrimination on the basis of caste and religion:** There have been cases where food cooked by people from the Dalit community was rejected. Also Muslims have been targeted as carriers of COVID-19. Such incidents are the violation of Article 15 of Indian Constitution and call for strict actions for ensuring the safety of homeless people.
3. **Mechanisms within relevant government spaces to resolve issues of the homeless:** All the shelters should be connected with different ministries and departments of the government such as the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, National Commission for Women and others to ensure that entitlements reach the homeless people.
4. **Revisit NULM SUH guidelines:** NULM SUH guidelines need to be revisited so as to broaden these to include disasters and the role that NULM-SUH provision should play in such scenarios.
5. **Allocating more resources and developing an action plan for homeless under NULM SUH:** The increased allocation of resources will help in setting up more shelters and further the livelihood/training by NULM SUH in the post-COVID-19 scenario.
6. **Formulating a national policy for the homeless:** This is also an opportunity and time to also think beyond a scheme to address such a complicated and grave challenge as homelessness. The MoHUA can begin with drafting a policy on urban homeless to be adopted by states. This policy can be further linked to housing and other urban development schemes and be inclusive of the post-COVID-19 reality of various kinds of urban disasters.
7. **Precautions from COVID-19 infection:** Spread of COVID-19 has adversely impacted the homeless among the other group of communities. There is a dire need of arranging the water at shelters, sanitizer, mask and soap to tackle this situation. Apart from this, the vaccination drive needs to be prioritised by arranging camps at the shelters.

## **PLHIV/AIDS: PLHIV left to fend for themselves**

1. There are seven lakh people who still do not yet know their HIV status. A focussed intervention is needed to identify missing people.
2. Health insurance needs to be given for the PLHIV under Ayushman Bharat policy.
3. Uninterrupted supply of ART medicines and HIV testing kits, condoms and PPE kits supply at all public health service deliveries.
4. State rules need to be finalised in all states in India for HIV Act, 2017. This needs to be implemented across the country.
5. Increase health spending to 2.5 percent of the GDP immediately to strengthen the public health care system.
6. Emergency and other health services should be continued even during the second wave of COVID-19 situation.
7. Ramp the investment towards fulfilling the commitment to control the AIDS epidemic, in general, and to achieve the NSP targets, in particular. In absence of such financial and political commitments, India is most likely to miss the financial, and therefore, physical targets of the national HIV response.

## **EDUCATION: Still a long way to go**

1. Proper assessment of the schools and local situation will be required before reopening of schools. Even though WASH facilities have been prioritised and are relatively uniformly present as a policy initiative across all states; quality WASH facility and the basic infrastructure should be made available in all schools. Since there has been a long break in school education, there will be need to work on behavioural change and good habits of children which may have been disrupted during the lockdown period.
2. A back to school campaign is extremely important for children to continue education. There is a high risk of children from vulnerable families dropping out. So, tracking such children will be important. This will have a huge financial implication. Admission of 25 per cent of children from Economically Weaker Section in unaided schools promises a lot for inclusive education in the society. Therefore, there is a need to ensure flow of funds by State to unaided schools to ensure implementation of 25 per cent reservation of seats for EWS.
3. The dire need of the hour is a high level of investment in the social sectors, particularly education. This will also provide additional employment, besides helping build social infrastructure necessary for ensuring sustainable growth. Investment in education is the most effective way of realizing the objectives of equity, justice and democracy laid down in the Constitution. The experience of most developed countries and a number of emerging economies bears testimony to this fact. The gestation period for investment in social infrastructure is likely to be much shorter than that for building physical infrastructure (which is equally important for accelerating and sustaining growth).

4. Budgetary provisions for education need to be enhanced substantially also to meet the requirements of the states which are principally responsible for education, particularly school education. The generally fragile and precarious financial position of the states and the local governments have been aggravated by the pandemic. Unlike the centre, they cannot resort to deficit financing; nor can they fall back upon educational cess as a measure of raising additional revenues. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the centre to compensate the states for the revenue loss suffered by them during the pandemic. The best way to do it would have been to directly transfer resources to financially vulnerable States and Local Governments. The first step towards this in India will be for the centre to raise its share for financing Centrally Sponsored Schemes.
5. The key policy asks could be formulation of a new legislation that brings accountability among private schools with regards to the fees charged along with better enforcement of existing regulations. This would involve putting in place effective grievance redress mechanisms to allow parents to voice their concerns and grievances with private schools. In addition, there is a need to increase parental voice in private school decision-making.
6. India as a country and successive governments in power at the centre have, for a long time, been reiterating the objective of achieving the public expenditure target of devoting six per cent of the GDP to education. The reaffirmation of this objective in the NEP 2020 has given rise to the hope that this would be implemented without any further delay. This will be possible through a nation-wide campaign on bringing back all children to school, especially children who have been differentially impacted and may eventually be pushed out of the school system.

## **ENVIRONMENT: Industry before environment**

1. Coming clean on coal: India is yet to have a definite position on coal. It's understandable that due to having the fourth largest reserve, there is temptation to use it to the optimum. The government is committed to increase the current production of around 700 million tonnes per year to 1 billion tonnes per year. However, the problem is that irrespective of how much India mines, the country cannot fully stop the coal import due to quality issues. With an increasing number of thermal power plants turning uneconomic, India needs to have a clear position on retiring old plants. Many of these plants, supported by the troubled banking sector are at the root of India's thermal power sector's huge non performing or stranded assets. Another compelling logic is also the dramatically reducing solar energy costs.
2. Must do more on pollution: Pollution is no longer a silent threat or foreign media gimmick. India needs to respond to it with more determination and resources and urgently. The NCAP is city centric and monitors only 339 of 6,166 cities for air quality, and only 60 cities have Continuous Ambient Air Quality Monitoring Stations (CAAQMS). Rather than waiting to make resources available for putting up CAAQMS, which costs more than one crore each, the government can encourage participatory environmental governance with low cost monitors. This might help in creating a campaign against air pollution in several cities.

Draw a comprehensive roadmap using climate action planning tools and climate smart communities to assist local governments in developing strategies for reducing greenhouse gas emissions. For a beginning, planning for climate action will entail setting goals and documenting inventory emissions.

3. **Water emergency:** Water is an urgent emergency likely to take disturbing proportions in our lifetimes itself. With one third of the districts already facing drought-like conditions, 70 per cent of the surface water polluted many cities are looking at Day Zero scenario. There is no meaningful effort on source sustainability and rain water conservation, even though NITI Aayog and other agencies working on water are aware of this. According to CAG findings, no more than 63 per cent of the allocated money has been spent on Namami Gange (started in 2014 with an outlay of ₹ 20,000 crore) during 2014-17. The Jal Jeevan Mission has spent more resources on infrastructure and the urban sector rather than ensuring sustainability of water. Providing tap water to all houses (by 2024) is the promise that the government of India has made the twelfth time.
4. **Addressing renewable energy and other land conflicts:** Renewable energy is the silver lining in India's environmental story. Out of the promised 175 GW by 2022 (and 450 GW by 2030) India has already installed about 90 GW. There are challenges related to finance and evacuation. India needs to install about 35 GW every year from now till 2030 to reach the target of 450GW by 2030. Solar energy has huge land requirements. According to the calculation of the Central Electricity Regulatory Commission, every MW of solar photovoltaic will require at least 2.5 ha of land as against thermal power plants which require only 0.5 ha per MW. India will have to set aside 0.7 to 0.9 per cent of the country's land area to source 54 per cent of the country's total energy production from the sun by the year 2050. Offset measures like reforestation and afforestation might lead to land conflicts as India tries to create carbon sink to sequester 2.5 to 3 gigatone of carbon.
5. **Supporting SAPCCs and adaptation:** All the states developed State Action Plan on Climate Change with much enthusiasm during 2010-15. However, majority of them remain just on paper due to lack of financial support. National Adaptation Fund came to rescue some of them by providing projects worth 20 crores. However, for the last few years the budget of the fund has been cut drastically. Except for little support under Green India Mission, Water and Solar, there is practically no support for implementation of the SAPCCs. SAPCCs have an important role for any decentralised action on adaptation and climate change and should, therefore, be supported with adequate funding.

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Contributing organizations

Azad Foundation, Campaign for Judicial Accountability and Reforms, Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability (CBGA), New Delhi, Digital Empowerment Foundation (DEF), Human Rights Alert (HRA), Institute of Policy Studies and Advocacy (IPSA), Indian Social Institute (ISI), Indo-Global Social Service Society (IGSSS), Jagori, National Alliance Group for Denotified and Nomadic Tribe (NAG - DNT), National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR), National Coalition of People living with HIV in India (NCPI+), New Delhi, National foundation for India (NFI), Nazariya: A Queer Feminist Resource Group, National Centre for Promotion of Employment for Disabled People (NCPEDP), Non-Traditional Livelihoods Network, Oxfam India, People's Vigilance Committee on Human Rights (PVCHR), Public Advocacy Initiatives for Rights & Values in India (PAIRVI), Right to Education Forum, Sight Savers, Voluntary Action Network India (VANI), Water Aid, Working Peoples Charter network (WPC), Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA)

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