

**RIGHTS BASED  
DEVELOPMENT AND LOCAL  
GOVERNMENTS**

**- AN OVERVIEW WITH SPECIAL  
REFERENCE TO KERALA -**

**S.M. VIJAYANAND  
SECRETARY  
MINISTRY OF PANCHAYATI RAJ  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA**

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**I. RIGHTS-BASED  
DEVELOPMENT  
– THE CONCEPT**





# **RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT**

## **EVOLUTION**

- **First Human Rights Revolution**
  - ❖ **1776 – US Declaration of Independence**
  - ❖ **1789 – French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen**
- **Second Human Rights Revolution**
  - ❖ **Mid-twentieth century led by United Nations**
- **Early focus on political rights followed by civil and cultural rights – also economic rights**
- **Development rights emerged much later and are still in the making**

# **RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT**

(contd....)

## **MILESTONES**

- ❖ **1948**
  - **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**
- ❖ **1959**
  - **Declaration of Rights of the Child**
- ❖ **1966**
  - **International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights**
- ❖ **1975**
  - **Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons**
- ❖ **1986**
  - **UN Resolution on Right to Development**
- ❖ **1990**
  - **UN Convention on the Rights of the Child**

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# **RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT**

(contd....)

## **❖ 1992**

→ **Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities**

## **❖ 1995**

→ **Copenhagen Summit on Social Development**

## **❖ 2003**

→ **Statement of Common Understanding of UN Agencies on Human Rights Based Approach**

## **❖ 2006**

→ **The Declaration of Montreal on LGBT Rights**

## **❖ 2007**

→ **Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People**

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# **RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT**

(contd....)

## **CHANGING PARADIGMS OF DEVELOPMENT**

### **❖ 1950s**

→ **Trickle down approach to development**

### **❖ 1960s**

→ **Focus on technology – for food security**

### **❖ 1970s**

→ **Importance of Basic Minimum Needs**

### **❖ Late 1970s and 1980s**

→ **Shift to direct attack on poverty**

✓ **Family based approach**

✓ **Then Group approach**

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# RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT

(contd....)

## ❖ 1990s

→ Focus on participation and community based development

✓ Decentralization

→ Importance of Human Development

## ❖ 2000s

→ Increasing emphasis on Rights-Based Development

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# RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT

(contd....)

## THE PHILOSOPHY

- Rooted in the faith in human rights and adherence to the principles of human rights in development
- All human beings have an inherent right to certain kinds and specific levels of development
  - ❖ For a decent and dignified life realizing full potential
- Rights to be conceptualized, understood, defined, struggled-for, negotiated, realized and protected
  - ❖ Often not 'granted' or 'given' but 'taken'

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## **RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT**

(contd....)

### **NEW APPROACH**

➤ **In a sense, it is an alternative to both state- directed development and the market-oriented approach**

❖ **Trickle down and charity**

→ **market-based**

❖ **Need-based and welfare**

→ **planned**

❖ **Rights-based**

→ **the new paradigm**

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## **RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT**

(contd....)

➤ **Development as politics**



**Development as economics**



**Development as a combination of politics and economics**

❖ **blended by humanist ethics**

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# **RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT**

(contd....)

## **KEY PRINCIPLES**

- **Democratic community**
- **Awareness**
- **Participation**
- **Access**
- **Empowerment**
- **Accountability**

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# **RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT**

(contd....)

## **IMPLICATIONS**

- **It involves a shift from techno-managerial analysis and solutions to socio-political action**
- **Redefines development into rights, duties, access to rights and performance of duties**
- **Calls for solutions to discrimination, unjust power relations and inequalities**
- **Re-politicization of development**
- **Depends on the socio-political process by which citizens claim rights and also construct new rights**

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# **RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT**

(contd....)

## **ANTYODAYA**

- **Respect for dignity and worth of each and every human being as individuals and as members of society**
- **The perspective, understanding and aspirations of the ordinary person given importance**
- **It calls for change in the ways of functioning of government**
  - ❖ **especially at the interface with people**
- **Provides space for intervention by the people and means for accessing it**

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# **RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT**

(contd....)

- **Individual is seen as an active agent**
- **Beneficiaries are seen as “actors” and activities are designed for empowerment**
- **It is beyond creating the enabling environment and the opportunities**
  - ❖ **emphasis on attainment of entitlements**
- **Rights-Based approach and participatory governance are two sides of the same coin**
  - ❖ **They are linked through concern for social justice**
  - ❖ **Both focus on defining needs and priorities by the people themselves**
  - ❖ **Participation as an instrument to secure rights**

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# **RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT**

(contd....)

## **NEW PLANNING**

- **Re-orientes planning from fitting needs into a scheme to developing schemes in response to needs**
- **Planning focuses on –**
  - ❖ **Causality analysis**
  - ❖ **Pattern analysis**
  - ❖ **Capacity gaps analysis**
  - ❖ **Programme design**
- **Emphasis on going to the roots of a problem and analyzing the causes**
- **It gives equal importance to processes and outcomes and believes in a strong link between the two**

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# **RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT**

(contd....)

## **ACCESSING RIGHTS**

- **Rights related to development, focus on justice more as a social process than a legal process**
- **Calls for legal and institutional reforms so that the ordinary citizen can make claims and realize rights**

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## **RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT**

(contd....)

- **At the same time, it is not about battles in the court and indiscriminate challenges to the authority of the State; it is more about dialogue and dialectics, contestation and convincing, pressurizing and persuading, negotiating and realizing**
- **Focus more on engagement than adversarial action**

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## **RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT**

(contd....)

### **SUMMING UP**

- **Development becomes a responsibility for the State, an obligation for its officers and an entitlement for citizens**
- **It reshapes relationships and gives a new role to duty bearers in relation to right-holders**
- **Imposes moral, legal and financial obligations on the society and the State**
- **Need for synergy between top down and bottom up processes**
- **Very attractive and appealing as a guiding philosophy and a rallying point but empirical evidence and outcomes only emerging**

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## **II. LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT – THE POTENTIAL**

### **LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT – THE POTENTIAL**

➤ **The closeness of Local Governments to the people provides advantages vis-à-vis the “principles” of Rights-Based Development**

❖ **Universality**

→ as local governments reach out to everyone

❖ **Indivisibility**

→ as local governments are in a better position to give equal importance to all rights

❖ **Inter-dependence and inter-relationships**

→ **as** local governments are non-departmental and tend to see things holistically

↳ **Responding to people’s needs**

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## **LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT – THE POTENTIAL** (contd...)

- ❖ **Participation and inclusion**
  - most conducive in local government scenario
- ❖ **Accountability and rule of law**
  - as local governments have the highest natural accountability and tend to be normative
- **It is less of Government and more of governance at local level**
  - ❖ **Less formal and more intimate interface with the citizens**
  - ❖ **Continuity between officials and citizens through the elected representatives**

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## **LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT – THE POTENTIAL** (contd...)

- **Ways of working of local governments are inherently in tune with Rights-Based Approaches**
  - ❖ **Face to face democracy – especially Gram Sabha**
  - ❖ **People influencing decisions**
  - ❖ **Plural democratic formations**
  - ❖ **Natural responsiveness**

→ **Co-governance**
- **Local Governments are naturally participatory**
- **Culture of deliberation inbuilt in local governments**
  - ❖ **Through natural and created fora**

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## **LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT – THE POTENTIAL (contd...)**

- **Alliances and networks develop in relation to local government activities**
  - ❖ SHG network
  - ❖ Watershed groups
  - ❖ User groups
- **Community capacity development happens**
- **Reduces efforts/costs of political involvement of poor**
  - ❖ Can directly observe and understand how levers of power can be pulled
  - ❖ Learning by seeing
    - may be acting after a lag

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## **LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT – THE POTENTIAL (contd...)**

- **Closer to grassroots**
  - ❖ Better understanding of the granular realities of underdevelopment
- **Normative spread of resources – flowing to every nook and corner**
  - ❖ Enabling wider access to resources and decisions on their use

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## **LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT – THE POTENTIAL** (contd...)

### ➤ **Space for fuller citizenship**

❖ **People have a sense of playing key roles in governance**

→ enables mobilization of people for local level development and change

### ➤ **Naturally transparent**

❖ **Citizens have more information about local government functioning**

### ➤ **High levels of social accountability**

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## **III. HISTORICAL ROOTS OF RIGHTS-BASED DEVELOPMENT IN KERALA**

# HISTORICAL ROOTS OF RIGHTS-BASED DEVELOPMENT IN KERALA

- **Long tradition of public action**
  - ❖ **Petitions and memorials**
  - ❖ **Social movements of the excluded – focussing on education as the liberating force**
  - ❖ **Protests and agitations**
    - but not violent conflicts
- **Matched by an accommodating State**
  - even during monarchy
- **Co-existence of ‘lunatic asylum’ in society and ‘developmental laboratory’ in governance – before independence**
  - social exclusion and development inclusion

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# HISTORICAL ROOTS OF RIGHTS-BASED DEVELOPMENT IN KERALA (contd....)

- **‘Organization culture’ in society and polity**



- **A rights-conscious citizenry**

- ❖ **Constant claims and negotiations**
- ❖ **Continuous refining and redefining**
- ❖ **Progressive enhancement**

→criticism that Rights-Duties balance is ignored

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## **HISTORICAL ROOTS OF RIGHTS-BASED DEVELOPMENT IN KERALA (contd....)**

### **➤ Vibrant democratic politics**

- ❖ **First elected Communist government in the world - 58 years ago**
- ❖ **Only one government voted back to power in the last 58 years – over 15 general elections**
- ❖ **Pioneer of stable coalition politics – balancing divergent ideologies**
- ❖ **Democratic politics of intra-party formations and allied organizations**
- ❖ **Cadre-based political parties with grassroots level formations**

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## **HISTORICAL ROOTS OF RIGHTS-BASED DEVELOPMENT IN KERALA (contd....)**

### **➤ Welfare State**

- ❖ **Land reforms**
- ❖ **Conscious reduction of intra-state developmental differentials**

**PROBABLY THE FIRST STATE TO  
EXPOUND THE PHILOSOPHY OF  
DEVELOPMENT AS A RIGHT**

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## **DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE OF KERALA – SPECIAL FEATURES**

### **➤ Rights-Based features in governance and development**

#### **❖ Human Development focus**

- **Easy access to health**
- **Right to Education**
  - ↳ in practice over a long time
  - ↳ more a performed duty to get educated
- **Universal food security**
  - ↳ a kind of Right to Food
- **Land reforms**
  - ↳ focus on Right to Homestead

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## **DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE OF KERALA – SPECIAL FEATURES**

(contd....)

#### **❖ Pioneer in social security**

- **Welfare Funds**
- **Pensions including for agricultural labour**

#### **❖ Widespread provision of Labour Rights**

- **Very high level of realization**
- **Mechanisms to ensure realization**

→ **Only state without “unorganized” labour**

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# IV. RIGHTS BASED APPROACH AND DECENTRALIZATION IN KERALA

## PHILOSOPHICAL ROOTS OF DECENTRALISATION IN KERALA

➤ **Gandhian concept of village democracy and local economic development**

❖ **With special emphasis on Antyodaya**

➤ **Paulo Freire's belief that people, ordinarily treated as mere objects, known and acted upon, are capable of becoming subjects of their destiny, knowing and acting.**

- Analysis
- Reflection
- Action

↑  
→ **breaking the “culture of silence”**

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## **OBJECTIVES OF DECENTRALISATION IN KERALA**

- **Democratization and humanization of the State**
  - not rolling back
- **Widen and deepen participation**
  - ❖enabling people to have a role and a say in local developmental governance
  - ❖with special emphasis on the poor – and that too, women
- **Shift from bureaucratic top-down planning and budgeting to participatory, bottom-up planning and budgeting**
  - ❖the People's Plan
    - With involvement of professionals and practitioners from outside government

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## **OBJECTIVES OF DECENTRALISATION IN KERALA**

(contd...)

- **Move from official and political patronage to societal norms and criteria for benefits to people**
- **Enhance responsiveness of government**
- **Increase transparency and accountability - especially social accountability**
  - and reduce corruption
- **Transform conflictual politics into a new politics of development**
  - responding to local demand and potential
- **Facilitate co-operative and creative public action**
  - as opposed to the adversarial mode

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## **APPROACH TO DECENTRALIZATION IN KERALA**

### **APPROACH EMBODIES THE SPIRIT OF RIGHTS-BASED DEVELOPMENT**

- **Reveals itself in policies, laws, programmes, plans, operational systems and instructions**
- **Focus on addressing root causes**
  - ❖ **Core of People's Plan**
- **Expanding the space for intervention by people**
  - ❖ **Steps for effective citizenship**

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## **APPROACH TO DECENTRALIZATION IN KERALA**

(contd...)

- **Taking the State to the doorsteps of the citizen**
  - ❖ **Increasing interface and points of contact with people**
  - ❖ **Promoting continuous to and fro flow of information**
- **Providing the legal, administrative and developmental framework to mandate and promote participation**
  - ❖ **Inbuilt in the design of local planning**

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# APPROACH TO DECENTRALIZATION IN KERALA

(contd...)

- **Campaign for participatory planning**
  - ❖ **Consciousness raising**
  - ❖ **New narratives on development**
- **Building capacities**
  - ❖ **Of the State to understand the new paradigm**
  - ❖ **Of local governments to function differently**
  - ❖ **Of the citizens on new rights**
    - ↳ **Not achieved as desired**
- **Very rare for a State to push such development**
  - ❖ **Attempt to re-vision the role of the State**
  - ❖ **New politics of development**

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# KEY POLICIES

- **Laying down a methodology for participatory planning**
- **Clarity in assignment of people-related functions with most functions to the cutting edge level**
  - ❖ **Key service delivery functions devolved**
- **Devolution of funds in a untied manner**
  - ❖ **Freedom for local decision-making**
- **Due process in identification of beneficiaries**
  - ❖ **With emphasis on socially acceptable construct of merit and deservingness**

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## **KEY POLICIES** (contd...)

### ➤ **Citizens' Charter mandated**

### ➤ **Right to Information**

- ❖ **And protocols for proactive disclosures**

### ➤ **Social Audit**

- ❖ **More informal and concurrent than formal**

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## **KEY POLICIES** (contd...)

### ➤ **PROACTIVE INCLUSION**

- ❖ **Decentralization need not automatically bring about inclusion so proactive policy measures introduced**

- ❖ **Categories for Affirmative Inclusion**

- **The poor – including ultra poor**
- **Socially disadvantaged groups – Scheduled Castes/ Scheduled Tribes**
- **Women**
- **Youth**
- **Children**
- **Aged**
- **Differently-abled**
- **Terminally ill**

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## KEY POLICIES(contd...)

### ➤ **Ensuring Inclusion**

#### ❖ **Reservations in power structures**

- 50% for women
- Proportionate to population for SCs / STs

#### ❖ **Earmarking of funds**

- Scheduled Castes Sub Plan (SCSP) - Around 25% of devolution
- Tribal Sub Plan (TSP)
- Women component Plan - 10%
- Plan for disadvantaged Groups - Children, Aged and Other-abled - 5%

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## KEY POLICIES(contd...)

#### ❖ **Process mandates**

- Preparation of SCSP for Scheduled Castes
- Preparation of TSP for Scheduled Tribes
  - ↳ through tribal hamlet assemblies
- Special Gram Sabha for fisher-folk
- Idea of Gram Sabha of excluded groups
  - ↳ Emerging

#### ❖ **Preparation of Anti-poverty Sub Plan**

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## **KEY POLICIES**(contd...)

### ❖ **Programmes of care and compassion**

- Asraya for destitutes
- BUDS for mentally challenged
- Palliative Care for terminally ill

### ❖ **Status studies**

- Gender
- Child
- Other-abled

↳ **For understanding and advocacy**

### ❖ **Safeguards**

- Social maps for SC/ST
- Non-diversion conditions for Fund
  - ↳ shortfalls to be made up in the next year

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## **KEY POLICIES**

(contd...)

### ➤ **Multiple accountability system**

#### ❖ **Social accountability**

#### ❖ **Formal accountability**

- Ombudsman
- Appellate Tribunal

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# V. PERFORMANCE OF RIGHTS BASED DEVELOPMENT BY LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN KERALA

## PERFORMANCE

### SPECIFIC RIGHTS

#### ➤ RIGHT TO INFORMATION

##### ❖ Culture of disclosure inculcated

- Aided by IT applications
- Refined by Office Management Systems like Front Office
- Considerable improvement in transparency of functioning
  - ✓ intended or otherwise
- in spite of the shocking incident in the news recently – but an isolated one

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## PERFORMANCE (contd...)

### ➤ RIGHT TO WORK

❖ MGNREGA incorporates a “bundle” of Rights – as such it is a unique legal expression of Rights-Based Development.

The Rights include:-

- Right to employment
- Right to basic social security
- Right to participate and decide local plans
- Right to equal wage
- Right to decent wage
- Right to Service Delivery
  - ✓ Timely payment
  - ✓ Basic facilities at worksite
  - ✓ Health of the worker
- Right to Information

In combination, it is Right to Livelihood – a critical step towards Right to Development itself.

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## PERFORMANCE (contd...)

❖ Unique partnership with the women’s groups through Kudumbashree

- women’s groups organized the works
- 92% of the workers are women

❖ Excellent outreach and social security

❖ Improvement in the status of women especially in spending decisions

❖ But need to reduce delays in payment of wages

❖ Need to link works with livelihoods

❖ Shocking absence of good Social Audit

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## **PERFORMANCE** (contd...)

### ➤ **RIGHT TO HOUSING**

❖ **Universal housing scheme under implementation**

→ **With substantially enhanced subsidy**

❖ **Quality of public housing quite good**

❖ **But access to homestead stuck due to high costs**

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## **PERFORMANCE** (contd...)

### ➤ **RIGHT TO EDUCATION**

❖ **Significant improvement in quality of infrastructure in schools**

❖ **Good models in improving quality education**

→ **Yet a long way to go in skilling and vocationalization**

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## **PERFORMANCE** (contd...)

### **➤ RIGHT TO FOOD**

- ❖ **Involvement of local governments marginal**
- ❖ **Emerging models in reaching out to the hungry few**
- ❖ **Quality of nutrition in ICDS needs huge improvement especially in tribal and coastal areas**

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## **PERFORMANCE** (contd...)

### **➤ RIGHT TO LIVELIHOODS**

- ❖ **A national best practice on partnership between Local Governments and Community Based Organizations of the poor through Kudumbashree.**
  - reaching out to about 40 lakh families
- ❖ **Strong working relationship**
  - CBOs seen as sub-systems of local governments but not subordinate systems
- ❖ **CBOs utilized in participatory assessments and surveys**
  - Gender status
  - Status of children
  - Status of destitutes
  - Status of terminally ill

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## **PERFORMANCE** (contd...)

- ❖ **Facilitating the CBOs in creative activities**
- ❖ **Actualizing the idea of gender sensitive plans**
- ❖ **Use the women groups for organization of MGNREGS**
- ❖ **Moving on to Child Rights through the women's groups in the form of Bal Sabhas and Bal Panchayats**
- ❖ **CBOs successful advocates of the poor in articulating demand for development**
- ❖ **CBOs deepening accountability**
  - through silent Social Audit
- ❖ **CBOs contributing to local government leadership**
  - 54% of the elected women representatives are from Kudumbashree

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## **PERFORMANCE** (contd...)

### ➤ **RIGHT TO SERVICE DELIVERY**

- ❖ **Interesting experiments in e-services**
- ❖ **Effective grievance redressal through Front Office**
- ❖ **Gram Seva Kendras in every ward**
- ❖ **Citizens Charter in all local governments**
- ❖ **ISO 9001 : 2008 certification in 31 local governments**

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## **PERFORMANCE** (contd...)

### ➤ **UNTO THE LAST**

- ❖ **Excellent work in identification and care of destitutes through Asraya programme**  
→ a package of services
- ❖ **Outstanding performance in palliative care covering 86,000 persons in dire need**

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## **PERFORMANCE** (contd...)

### ➤ **GENERAL RIGHTS**

- ❖ **Improved levels of participation**
- ❖ **Active engagement between the citizen and local governments**
- ❖ **Space for intervention of people in development decision-making effectively used**
- ❖ **High levels of natural transparency**

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## **PERFORMANCE** (contd...)

- ❖ **Widespread practice of analyzing root causes**
  - Gender status
  - Status of child
  - Status of persons with disabilities
  - Status of aged
  - Status of those who need care
- ❖ **Good local models of sustainable and equitable development**
  - BUDS schools for mentally challenged
  - Anti-poverty plans
- ❖ **High levels of accountability**
  - Electoral
  - Social
  - Less of formal accountability

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## **SPECIAL PERFORMANCE**

- ❖ **The role of Perumatty Gram Panchayat in the agitation against Coca-Cola factory at Plachimada in Palakkad**
- ❖ **The role of local governments in assisting the victims of Endosulfan tragedy in Kasaragod**

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## AREAS OF CONCERN

- **Hyper democracy – constituency mentality**
  - ❖ Division of funds equally
- **Lack of a working relationship with Civil Society Organizations**
- **Inability to understand and respond to Rights of Tribals**
  - ❖ Inexplicable part of Kerala's development
    - with no improvement after decentralization
- **Risk of causality analysis not being pursued to the logical end**
- **Response to Rights of Scheduled Castes limited to provision of basic minimum needs**
  - ❖ Human development potential not fully realized
  - ❖ Not in tune with aspirations
  - ❖ Signs of alienation
- **Emerging issues of the basic rights migrant labourers**

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## AREAS OF CONCERN (contd...)

- **Localizing of Environmental Rights not common**
  - For example –**
    - ❖ Filling up of paddies
    - ❖ Onslaught of real-estate lobbies
    - ❖ Sand mining
    - ❖ Quarrying
- **Conflict between self-interest and collective interest in sanitation particularly solid waste management**
- **Social Audit largely perfunctory**
- **Gram Sabha meetings getting routinized**
- **Continuity and sustainability of innovations**

# VI. WAY FORWARD AND CONCLUSION

## WAY FORWARD

- **Need to strengthen Gram Sabhas**
  - ❖ Neighbourhood groups as sub-systems of Gram Sabha
- **Creating more participatory fora**
  - ❖ Like Citizen Juries, Thematic Expert Panels, Bi-partisan or Multi-partisan, Reconciliation Committees, etc.
- **Citizen education as a priority**
- **Social Audit to be operationalized in spirit**
- **Introduce a regime of mandatory disclosures**
  - ❖ Prescribing mode, format and periodicity
- **Using IT for transparency and accountability**
  - For example –**
    - ❖ Photo-based monitoring of assets

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## **WAY FORWARD** (contd...)

- **Promoting tools like Community Based Monitoring and Citizen Score Card**
- **Special capacity building of elected representatives on rights-related concepts like fairness and justice**
- **Environmental education for elected representatives**
- **Mandating a simple environment framework for local government projects**
- **Social entrepreneurship model for local economic development**
- **Expanding care and compassion schemes**
  - ❖ **At least upto 10% of the plan**
- **Organizing SHGs of people with disabilities**
- **Benchmarking services and independent assessment of performance**

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## **WAY FORWARD** (contd...)

- **Assessing outcomes**
- **Introduction of a Rights-Based legislation on the lines of the Andhra Pradesh Act on SCSP and TSP**
- **Concerted preparation of SCSP and TSP on a campaign mode**
  - ❖ **Intermediated by experts and professionals**
- **Operationalizing zero tolerance for corruption**
  - ❖ **Corruption is what converts rights into a favour**
- **Explore possibility of auditing of Rights-Based Development in local governments by an independent institution**

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## **CHALLENGES**

- **Rights vis-à-vis local governments and vis-à-vis the State**
- **Deciding the pace of progressive realization of rights**
- **Balancing individual and collective rights**
- **Avoiding false hopes and hype**
- **Deciding when to go for legal remedies**
- **Transforming socio-economic structures responsible for denial of rights**
- **Avoiding domestication/trivialization**

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## **CONCLUSION** (contd....)

- **Has great normative and analytical value**
- **Even if only a moral fiction, it provides a rallying point for movements and motivates achievements**
- **Its transformational potential is enhanced if it flows out of people's experiences, values and aspirations**
- **It is more sustainable if it is rooted in institutions**
  - ❖ **Beyond whims of policy-makers**

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## **CONCLUSION** (contd...)

➤ **It calls for convergence of all democratic media**

- ❖ **People**
- ❖ **Civil Society**
- ❖ **Media**
- ❖ **Parliament**
- ❖ **Judiciary**

➤ **Ultimately it is about state-citizen relationship**

- ❖ **The local government eco-system is most conducive for Rights-Based development**

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