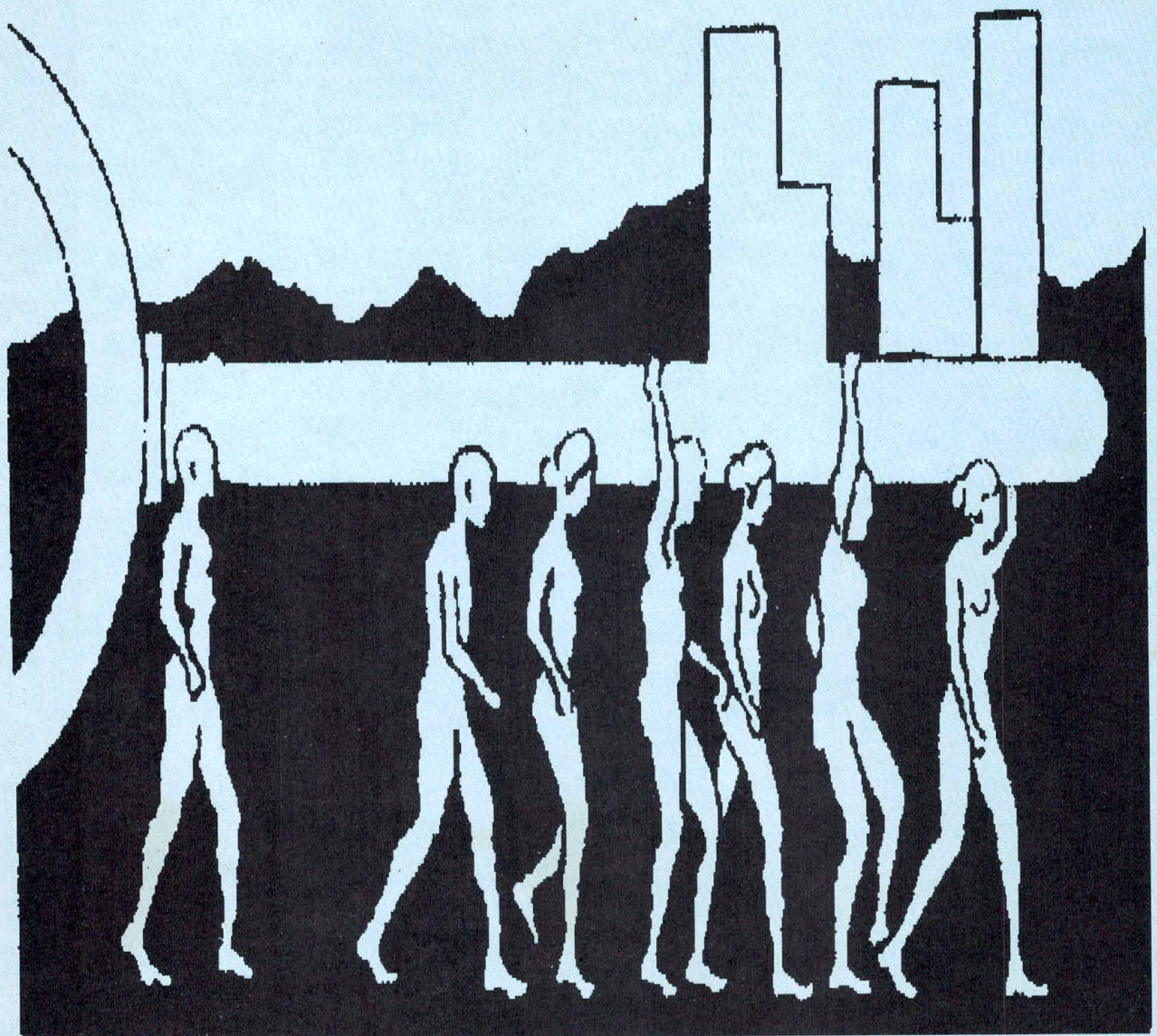


A NEW GENERATION

— A Training Manual for Young
Consumer Leaders



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कट्स ✕ CUTS

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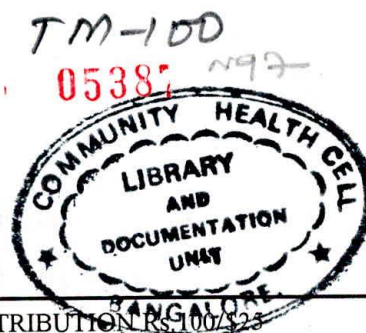
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कट्स ✕ CUTS

Established in 1983, Consumer Unity & Trust Society (CUTS) is a leading social action group in India, and an active member of Consumers International (CI), [erstwhile International Organisation of Consumers Union (IOCU)] working at the grassroot, national, regional and international levels by pursuing social justice and economic equity within and across borders.

It is represented in several Government of India policy bodies: the National Road Safety Council, the Technical Committee on Ecomark and the Think Tank of the Ministry of Commerce. Internationally CUTS is associated with CI's Global Policy & Campaigns Committee on Economic Issues and the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, Geneva.



Consumers International

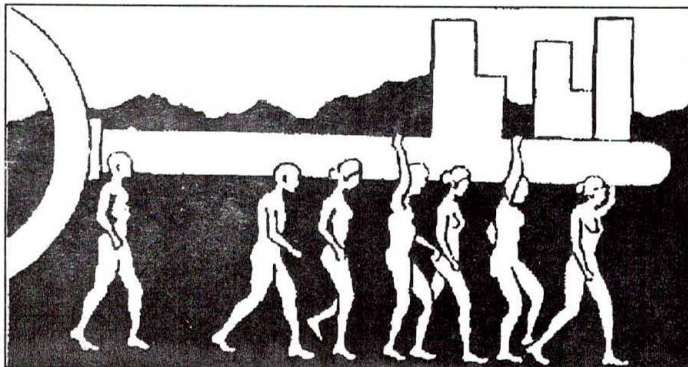
Founded in 1960, Consumers International (formerly the International Organisation of Consumers Unions) is a federation of consumer organisations dedicated to the protection and promotion of consumers' interests worldwide through research, information and education. An independent, non-profit foundation, CI currently links the activities of some 240 members in about 100 countries, and represents consumer interest at international level.

USING THE MANUAL

The following pages present all about the exciting training workshops. We, the organizers feel that it can serve as a very useful training manual. The document has been designed and written in the following sequence:

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This includes the welcome address by Shanthi Ramanathan; the background of the consumer movement; and finally the report of the four workshops.	
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It takes the reader through the theory of social change and also attempts to answer what it is and why it is necessary.	
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This chapter includes the know-how and do-how of organising a successful campaign and carries SWOT analyses of its causes.	
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5. Essentials of Advocacy and Lobbying	67
How to deal with the governments and courts in furthering the cause of consumers is an imperative of successful campaigning. This chapter is on dealing with the government and courts. It also includes two papers — on communication and environment and the law.	
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Foreword



"Problems which are too complex to be handled by one can be solved by many. One voice might be moved by a chorus of voices. Socially conscious persons have immeasurable quantities of creativity, energy and generosity of human spirit."

— Ralph Nader

Consumer Unity and Trust Society was born in 1983 as a purely voluntary organisation — the product of a burning zeal and a desire to change the wrongs in and around the world we live in. The founder members and other rural activists who joined us went on to make CUTS one of the largest consumer groups in the country. We learned the art of consumer activism through a simple process of trial and error, avoiding past mistakes. There was no training involved, just the belief that we were capable of doing it and a strong commitment to the cause.

But that was another time. Today's world has become much more complex. Borders are crumbling in the wake of globalisation of several protected economies, including that of India. Liberalisation of the economy has heralded newer forms of products and their marketing, and created a very complex market leaving consumers confused and bewildered.

Simultaneously, there has also been a spurt in the growth of voluntary organisations. The issues and consumer rights' abuses are many; and activists few.

In such a scenario CUTS realised that the present consumer movement dominated by a handful of consumer activists, is incapable of tackling the new challenges. An urgent need was felt to scientifically promote a generation of young consumer leaders who could carry the flag for achieving consumer sovereignty into the 21st century. These people would be taught the skills required to make successful activists to avoid repetition of past mistakes and learn from them. Today there is a need to know what to do and how to do it apart from possessing a strong commitment.

The regional office of the International Organisation of Consumer Unions (IOCU) saw reason in this viewpoint. As part of its programme to strengthen the consumer movement in India, the IOCU selected CUTS to organise a training workshop to impart leadership traits among the young leaders. Thus resulted a unique training programme i.e. the Training Workshop for Young Consumer Leaders launched in 1994.

One workshop led to another, and eventually a series of four workshops evolved. About 25 young activists were taken through a course in skills impartation, campaigning, media advocacy, strategic planning and organisational development. As a successful experiment an action project was woven into the programme to keep the interest of the participants alive. Modestly speaking, I have not come across a similarly designed, effective and innovative training programme elsewhere in the world. Most

such programmes are run in isolation leading to low absorption. A Voluntary Consumer Action Network (V-CAN) also evolved from this unique project viz., a national campaign on Prescription Audit.

During the last workshop, it was decided that we would compile the valuable learnings of the series into a report cum manual so that other groups could a) organise training workshops in future on similar lines, and b) replicate the procedure required to conduct a national campaign; and c) incorporate the learnings in their daily work as consumer activists.

We were fortunate in being able to learn from qualified resource persons who are skilled in their respective fields and receive hands-on training from them. An attempt has been made to incorporate information presented by including papers wherever possible and for the rest annotating the material presented by them.

The editors of this volume have tried their best to maintain as much accuracy as possible in producing the document. However, we apologise for any errors which may remain.

Jaipur
1997

Pradeep S. Mehta
Secretary General

Section One

**Welcome Address by Shanthi Ramanathan
(IOCU-ROAP)**

**The Background of the
Consumer Movement**

**The Report of the
four TWYCL - Workshops**

Coordinating a Stronger Consumer Movement

— Welcome address by Shanthi Ramanathan* IOCU-ROAP

Madam Chairperson, Mrs. Sathi Nair, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Consumer Affairs, Government of India, Mr. Pradeep Mehta, my respected colleague, Ms. Minaxi Shukla, our esteemed workshop facilitator, honoured guests, fellow consumer activists, ladies and gentlemen. I bring you warm greetings from the regional office for Asia and Pacific of the IOCU (International Organisation of Consumers Unions.)

IOCU as the internationally recognised federation of consumer organisations worldwide is very proud to be associated with this training workshop. For IOCU the Indian consumer movement has always been somewhat of an enigma. Nowhere else in the world have consumer activities progressed so rapidly as they have here. Since the enactment of your Consumer Protection Act in 1986, consumer groups have sprouted up endlessly like wild flowers all over this big beautiful country.

This tremendous growth poses a real challenge for us in IOCU in terms of deciding how best to foster support and serve a more coordinated and stronger consumer movement in India. We strongly feel that this training workshop on consumer campaigning — one of the backbones of all consumer successes —

targeted at young consumer activists, who will someday be at the forefront of the consumer movement in this country, is a big step in the right direction.

Consumer power after all, is firstly people power and secondly organisation power. Until and unless we can empower people, in this case, young consumer activists who will in turn empower their organisations, who in turn will empower every consumer and citizen in this country, India will never experience the real meaning of consumer power. It will never have a real consumer movement. All it will have is pockets of isolated consumer activism. And so my dear fellow participants, there is a big challenge before you today.

We have gathered here some of the best and most experienced consumer activists, campaigners and trainers in India. They will over the course of the next four days share with you all their knowledge, experiences and skills in consumer campaigning. They have made great sacrifices to come here and assist us with the training workshop, but at the end of the day, it will not be how well Mr. Parigi spoke, or how well Ms. Mala Banerji's case study presentation was organised or even how brilliantly Ms. Minaxi Shukla was able to facilitate the workshop that will determine its success.



The final evaluation of the success of this workshop lies in how much each and everyone of you young activists is able to grasp and internalise from these presentations and how much of it will be used when you return to your respective organisations when this workshop is over. In short, it is how many campaigns that spring forth as a result of this workshop that will determine its success.

All consumers have a right to have their basic needs fulfilled, the right to safe products and technologies, the right to choice, the right to information, and education, the right to redress, the right to a safe and healthy environment, the right to be represented, to speak out and be heard.

We have described these rights in many ways over the years such as the right to a fair and just marketplace; the right to a decent standard of living and quality of life, and the right to economic and social justice.

Whatever we call these rights, it is only sound and strategic consumer campaigning that will move us closer to the day when they become a reality for each and every citizen in India. And it is vital that in all our campaigns, we do not lose sight of the real problem at the root of most of the consumer ills that plague people in this country — sheer poverty.

My former director Mr. Anwar Fazal used to make this analogy: "If you see a baby drowning in the river, you jump in to save it. Then you see a second baby and a third, and you do the same. You get so busy saving the babies, you never look up to see that there is someone there throwing those babies in the river. Those babies need saving of course and that seems like the immediate problem, but one needs to stop the person from throwing the babies."

So if we want to design successful consumer campaigns that really make a difference, then we have to begin to look more closely at the source of the problem we choose to address.

At this workshop we will be sharing information, knowledge, experiences and skills, and I urge all of you to learn from each other, to inspire each other, and to strengthen each other. There is no greater strength than that which is provided by unity. Despite all your differences, if you can speak as one movement, one voice, I have no doubt that you will take the Indian

consumer movement forward by leaps and bounds into the 21st century. This is the challenge before each and everyone of you today. I am confident that you will rise to that challenge with confidence and determination.

We are also honoured here today by the presence of the honourable Mrs. Sathi Nair, Joint Secretary of Ministry of Consumer Affairs in the Government of India, who will address and inaugurate this training workshop shortly. The presence of Mrs. Nair serves as a sign of the commitment of the Indian Government to consumer protection and we are indeed grateful for this support.

I would also like to place on record our enormous gratitude to the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) for their financial support without which there would be no training workshop.

And finally our deepest appreciation goes out to our co-organizers, the Consumer Unity and Trust Society (CUTS) under the capable leadership of Mr. Pradeep Mehta. Time does not permit me to list out each and every person on the organising committee but the excellent venue and arrangements so far are only an indication of how much dedicated work has gone on behind the scenes to make this training workshop possible.

Thank you CUTS for agreeing to be the local organisers of this important event. We are proud to have worked together with you on this project and last but not least, I would like to thank some of the staff back home in our office in Penang who have also contributed in some way or the other to this event.

I wish everyone of you a truly inspiring and fruitful four days of learning and deliberations in this 'City of Joy'.

[Thank you.]

* Ms. Shanthy Ramanathan, a Post graduate in Industrial Communications and a Malaysian citizen, joined the IOCU as a trainee three years ago and now as Projects Officer is responsible for development activities in its Asia Pacific regional office at Penang.

Role of Consumer Movement in India

In India the consumer movement as a social force originated with the necessity of protecting and promoting the interests of consumers against unethical and unfair trade practices. The movement initially reflected the outlook of consumers that characterised traders and manufacturers as people who bothered about their profits with scant regard for consumers' well being. Consumer resistance initially took the form of selective shopping. 'Buyers Beware' was the basic principle which governed the legal position of consumers.

Gradually the movement found expression in efforts to bring pressure on business firms as well as government to correct business conduct which may be unfair and against the interests of consumers at large. Over time it embraced the assertion of certain rights of individual consumers.

Four basic rights held sway for sometime:

- Right to safety,
- Right to be informed,
- Right to choose and
- Right to be heard.

With mounting pressure on Government for remedial legislation, the right to seek redress and the right to consumer education came to be recognised as crucial to the upholding of basic rights. In the wake of these assertions, particularly in developing countries, it has found expression through the recognition of two other rights:

- Right to healthy environment and
- Right to satisfaction of basic needs.

In 1989, CUTS decided to look closer into the existing framework as it did not actually complete the bill of

ROOTS

The international consumer movement has its roots in the United States of America. In 1900 the American Consumer League was formed to also tackle an increasingly complex marketplace following the Industrial Revolution. "If the consumers' interest suffers, the national interest suffers", said the illustrious US President, John F. Kennedy, while advocating the famous Bill of Rights for Consumers before the US Congress on March 15, 1962.

Ten years later, the International Organisation of Consumer Unions (IOCU), adopted March 15 as World Consumer Rights Day to be celebrated from 1983. In 1985 the IOCU achieved another milestone when its ten-year's efforts succeeded in the United Nations adopting the UN Guidelines for Consumer Protection—a tool for nations to adopt measures for protection of consumers, and for consumer advocacy groups to press their governments to do so. Since then the consumer movement has never looked back.

rights. To begin with the right to satisfaction of basic need was meaningless unless consumers had the 'right to opportunity'. That is to say that a person can acquire his/her basic needs if only an enabling framework exists i.e. the social contract between the state and the citizen.

Furthermore, consumers have been using the weapon of boycott for long, thus there is an inherent right to boycott. Thus, in 1990 CUTS declared these two more rights in a Memo to the State as a Consumer's Ten Commandments. In the 3rd National Convention of Consumer Activists organised at Calcutta in November 1991, it was also adopted as a resolution.

- Right to opportunity
- Right to boycott

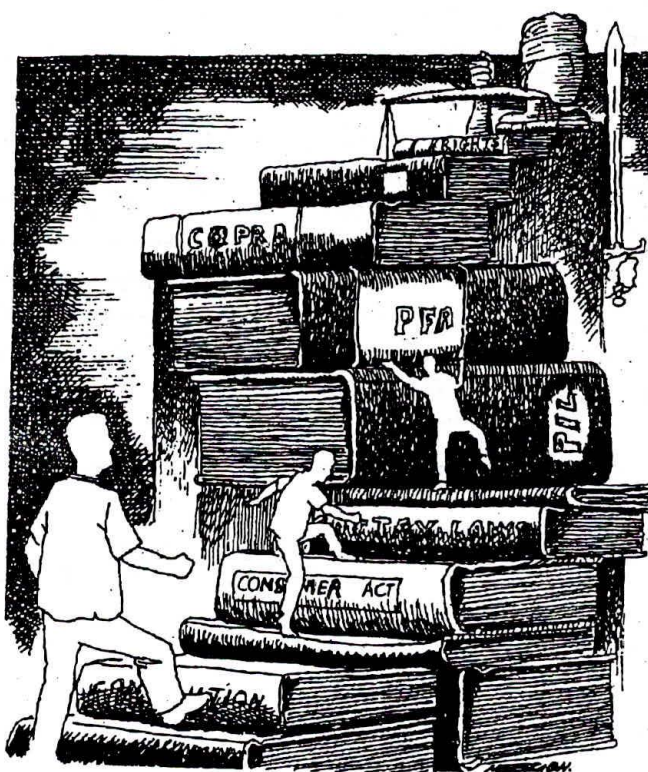
While the consumer movement has enlarged in scope and coverage, its strength and spread among the Indian masses cannot be said to have advanced much, though one may contend that the movement has made considerable progress during the last one decade.

There are today more than 700 consumer groups in the country of which about 20-25 groups are well organised and recognised for their work.

So far it seems the consumer movement has made considerable progress in terms of numbers of organised groups and their activities. In the 1990s the movement has struck roots in rural areas as well in many of the states in India. However, the organisations which exist in cities enjoy much higher profile and several resources, than the who operate in villages, but with lesser outreach and/or resources. This imbalance is changing, but slowly. One reason is that professionalisation of the consumer organisations is also far to go. The movement is still spearheaded by volunteer activists.

"A customer is the most important visitor in our premises. He is not dependent on us, we are dependent on him. He is not an interruption in our work, he is the purpose of it. He is not an outsider to our business, he is part of it. We are not doing him a favour by serving him, he is doing us a favour by giving us an opportunity to do so."

—Mahatma Gandhi



Why the Consumer Movement

Adaptation of a speech by Dr. Sriram Khanna of VOICE, New Delhi*

A new movement is slowly sweeping across the world. It is democratic in nature; it speaks of the urges and aspirations of the people. It is unified and embraces all people irrespective of age, sex, caste, colour and creed.

Any person, man or woman, young or old, rich or poor, in every second of his or her life, is a **consumer**. The end purpose of all economic activity is to satisfy the consumer. In a developing country like India, a large portion of the population lives below the poverty line. Their purchasing power is also limited. It is the duty of the government and all kinds of producers not only to be fair to its consumers in quality and price, but also to actively participate in the upliftment of society, while ensuring certain basic rights to the consumer e.g. right to safety, right to choose, right to be informed, right to fair contracts, right to quality goods, right to redress and compensation, right to representation and right to a safe and healthy environment.

The consumer movement basically starts from the helplessness and anger of the citizens caused by social injustice. As history speaks, inequity between buyer and seller, a totally sellers market, and unfair trade practices act as the ignition to the mass movement. Several voluntary organisations in India have been endeavouring to create awareness amongst consumers and leading them in order to create a better environment.

The objective of the consumer movement is to protect the consumers' interest. The alert consumer reacts and moves to change the situation to his/her advantage. Consumer organisations function as the spokespersons of the people. Consumer leaders are not made, they emerge out of ordinary people and don the role of torch bearers of the peoples' movement against injustice. A "Diksha" in consumerism makes a leader professional which helps to develop a positive attitude towards service which is very much necessary to make a movement successful.

However, there are certain key factors which give birth to a dissatisfied consumer, such as:

Public Sector: In theory, the public sector is supposed to protect the interests of consumers; it is supposed to act in the public interest and ensure consumers' rights. In practice a very different course is followed.

Unfair Trade Practices: Most of the unethical traders are ruthlessly exploiting consumers through black marketing, using defective weights and measures, poor quality goods and fake goods. Even essential commodities in the public distribution system are being subjected to these unethical trends.

Inconsistent government policies: Frequent changes in governments and their divergent economic policies have enhanced the rate of price rises and inflation, causing a dent in self sufficiency aspects and increased foreign debts.

According to the Hindu philosophy of universal brotherhood we have to ponder as to where we are now and where we should be.

After 50 long years of protectionism during post independence period, the door is now opening to liberalisation. During this period, India has achieved a moderate development, modernisation, liberalisation. The result was that markets came to be dominated by sellers.

The concept of consumer protection first emerged during early seventies when Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi set the ball rolling with an aim to protect consumers' interest. In 1980s Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi

"The end purpose of all economic activity is to satisfy the consumer."

took up the issue seriously. With the initiation of economic liberalisation he simultaneously enacted the Consumer Protection Act in 1986, also known as COPRA.

If we analyse the present state of the Indian consumer movement in the light of the world consumer movement, the trend shows that, like any other movement, a consumer movement also has three phases in its life cycle i.e.

1. Infant stage
2. Stage of slow growth
3. Mass movement.

Every movement needs media coverage to get itself recognised throughout the world. During infancy it is seen that media covers consumer interest related news once in six months. During the stage of slow growth consumer news becomes visible. After eight years of enactment of COPRA, India is passing through a stage of slow growth. Today the print media is carrying consumer news more regularly.

In a democratic country like India political parties play a crucial role. During the first phase of the

"The single most important acid test of any consumer movement is the ability to boycott."

consumer movement, it has been seen that the political parties tend to ignore consumer groups. But as the movement intensifies, the polity takes up consumer issues and tries to rope in consumer groups to make their campaign credible. Consumer groups need to be wary of such

a process of co-option.

It is one of the duties of the business and industry to pay full attention to consumers. After several years of total ignorance, the Indian consumer movement has been able to attract attention of large companies. Some big business houses like Voltas, Godrej and Kelvinator have also set up separate consumer complaints/redressal cells.

A mass movement envisages professionally managed group of organisations with full-time top and middle level management and staff to take care of the issues in the society. It also foresees the change of attitudes of media, business community as well as politicians. Linkages with other important movements, especially the trade union movement is essential. Having attained that level of professionalism, the Indian movement will have reached the status of a mass movement.



* Dr. Sri Ram Khanna, Ph. D. formerly a student activist, now teaches International Marketing at the Delhi School of Economics and is the founding managing trustee of VOICE, New Delhi, pursuing several battles in courts on behalf of and for consumers.

Need for Training of Activists

The future agenda confronting the Indian consumer and the consumer organisations, is to explore the implications of globalisation on Indian economy. The big Northern consumer groups have hailed trade liberalisation as pro-consumer, because it will fight petty protectionism, bring down prices and allow greater consumer choice. But the widening definitions of consumer interests are shifting the focus of consumer movements towards projecting the consumer as a responsible and ethical citizen and not an avaricious mindless buyer. The consumer of the '90s needs to question and probe the impact of free-trade on local and global environment, as well as, on public health and ethical issues.

As the scene is dominated by a handful of activists, it was felt by all concerned activists and the organisations that there was a need to scientifically promote a generation of young consumer leaders who could professionally take over the mantle in the 21st century.

Genesis of Training Workshops for Young Consumer Leaders (TWYCL)

This need of training young idealistic young men and women to grow into future leaders gave the idea of TWYCL or Training Workshops for Young Consumer Leaders.

Genesis of TWYCL is also linked with IOCU-International Organisation of Consumer Unions renamed as Consumers International now. It is a federation of consumer organisations dedicated to the



protection and promotion of consumer interests worldwide through research, information, and education. An independent non-profit foundation registered in The Netherlands in 1960, CI currently links the activities of some 240 consumer groups in about 100 countries and represents the consumer interest at international fora.

IOCU has reached many milestones in the history of the consumer movement. It adopted March 15 as the World Consumer Rights Day to be celebrated from 1983.

In 1985, its ten years efforts succeeded in the United Nations adopting the UN Guidelines for Consumer Protection - a tool for nations to adopt measures for protection of consumers, and for consumer groups to press their governments to do so.

As a part of its programme to strengthen the consumer movement in India, the IOCU's regional office for Asia and the Pacific, in 1993 launched a series of collaborative events - one of which was TWYCL-Training Workshop for Young Consumer Leaders in association with CUTS.

Involvement of CUTS

Currently the IOCU has 17 members in India, one of which is the Consumer Unity and Trust Society (CUTS).

Launched in 1983, today CUTS is the second largest consumer group in India and at the forefront of several happenings in the history of the Indian consumer movement. It also serves on several important government committees at the centre,

Rajasthan and West Bengal, and is also a founder of two major national coalitions.

CUTS was selected as the anchor group for the TWYCL programme in view of its experience and skills in training.

THEME OF TWYCL

All organising is about the development of leadership, although this takes place in many different ways.

The skills needed to become leaders who have the following attributes:

Commitment. The leader needs a commitment to his/her organisation, a long-term commitment to social change, and a vision of what the future can be.

Positive outlook. A leader must radiate a positiveness that looks for solutions to problems instead of focusing on the difficulties.

Honesty. Honesty should be given utmost importance by the leaders.

Trust in people. Leaders must fundamentally trust and believe in people. They must draw out the best in people and urge them to live upto high standards.

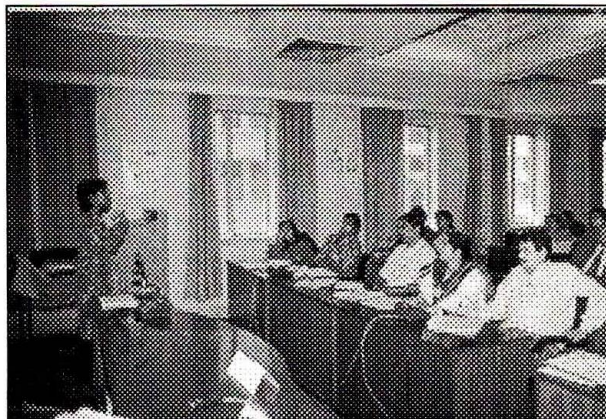
Confidence. A leader must have confidence in him/herself and should be self assured enough to ask for help and to admit weaknesses.

Goal setting. All leaders need to develop skills in setting measurable and realistic goals.

SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

In the first round it was decided to identify about 25 activists in the country between the ages of 25-35 who should be invited to participate in the first ever training programme on skills in consumer campaigning, with first preference to IOCU members.

It was also felt that a proper regional and gender balance must be maintained. There were three each from Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra, two each from Rajasthan, UP and Gujarat, and one each from West Bengal, Bihar, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, five from New Delhi including one each from Punjab and Kerala, and one from Nepal. Of the 25 participants, 13 were women and 12 men, achieving perfect gender and regional balance.



Shanthi Ramanathan addressing the workshop

REPORTS OF TWYCL

The first ever training programme on Skills in Consumer Campaigning, was held in Calcutta during first week of January.

“The success of this workshop can only be measured in what you young leaders do with the newly acquired knowledge in the months to come. It should be your commitment that your knowledge should enrich your organisation and they be better equipped to conduct consumer campaigns”, thus spoke Shanthi Ramanathan, Project Officer of IOCU, Penang, at the inaugural session of the Training Workshop for Young Consumer Leaders at Calcutta on January 22, 1994.

One key feature of the programme was to enable the trainees to interact with current consumer leaders in India. Realising the fact that the best learning can be done through actual examples, CUTS selected three successes and three failures of consumer campaigns at three levels: local, provincial and national. The participants analysed the causes for failure and success of a campaign. The rest of the event dealt with the know-how and do-how of designing and implementation of a campaign - advocacy, communicating and dealing with the government and courts.

The process was extremely interactive with trainees divided into four working groups to ensure optimum participation and interaction. Said a trainee Sonal Mehta: “The workshop was indeed exhilarating, excellent combinations of theoretical framework and practical experience with actual examples of successes and failures. It gave a lot of intellectual excitement and emotional triggering. We look forward to the next one.”

SERIES LAUNCHED

The workshop programme was such a huge success that both the participants and organisers felt that one workshop is not enough for imparting the multifarious skills of consumer activism. And thus the idea of second workshop came into being. The second on Skills in Advocacy and Media: "Reaching Out" was held at New Delhi during 14-18, August, 1994.

Instead of lectures in the abstract, the workshop was woven around four current issues of social concern:

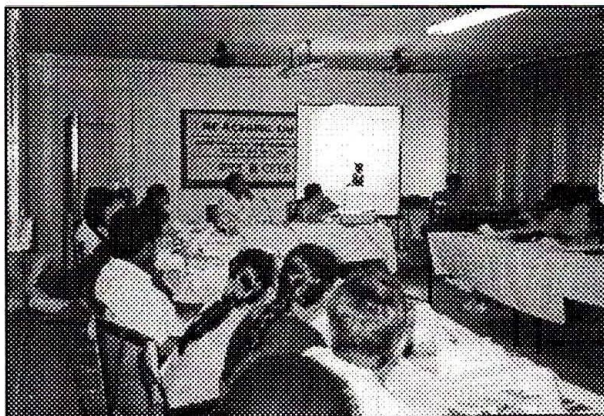
1. Legal redress, innovations and delays.
2. Pollution in cities, quality of life.
3. Safe drinking water, elusive goals.
4. Irrational and substandard drugs and prices.

The structure of the second workshop involved the imparting of skills in both advocacy and media with real persons.

The success story of first workshop was repeated in the second one also. The participants were divided into four groups and were asked to draw up workable plans on the four issues. The response of the participants was quite enthusiastic and they came out with many innovative ideas.

Eminent resource persons made presentations which can be classified in four different categories — a) overview on the four topics; b) Information and Documentation; c) Media and d) Advocacy and Lobbying.

The most interesting and exciting part of the workshop was the participation of the youngsters on the 'Question Forum' - a popular national TV programme. The young activists threw a number of questions to a distinguished panel of persons like Dr. G. Sundaram,



Secretary in the Consumer Affairs Department of the Government of India, Justice V.B. Eradi, President of the National Consumer Disputes Redressal Commission, Ms. Pushpa Girimaji, a popular consumer columnist, Mr. S.P. Virmani, a businessman and past President, Council for Indian Food Trade & Industry, and Mr. Pradeep S. Mehta, General Secretary of CUTS. The programme was an eye-opener for all the participants, as they got a hands-on exposure in using the electronic media for lobbying.

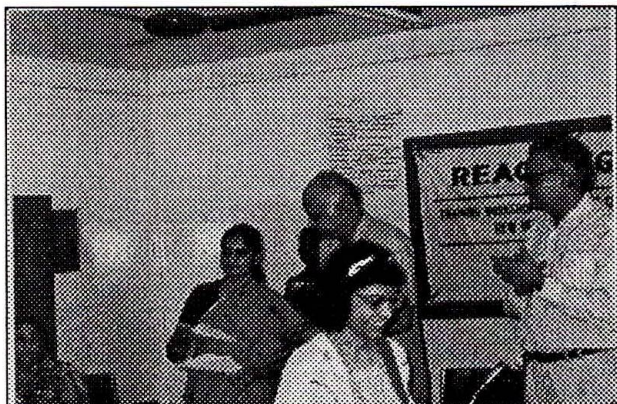
CAMPAIGN ON DRUGS & MEDICINES

At the concluding session, it was decided unanimously that one single issue should be selected for evolving a workable action plan. The issue selected was drugs and medicines - a very timely and important issue, thus a campaign was revitalised.

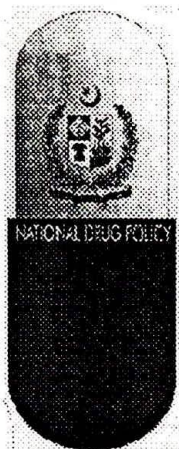
Stressing the importance of a rational drug policy, the All India Drug Action Network coordinator, Dr. Mira Shiva, as one of the resource persons at the workshop, said: "If we do not immediately gather a mass base for a rational drug policy, essential drugs required by 80 percent of our population will be beyond their reach in terms of prices."

A four point action plan was proposed by the participants to work on the drug issue:

1. A mass signature campaign on a memorandum demanding a rational drug policy be launched, so that while people are educated a pressure is also created on the government.
2. Many banned drugs are still sold in the local markets. Consumer groups should buy them and file cases in district forums under the Consumer Protection Act, so that there is a local media interaction leading to higher awareness.



3. A writ petition on banned and bannable drugs is already pending in the Supreme Court. Consumer and health groups should intervene in the same to pressure the court and build up solidarity.
4. In view of attractive incentives, doctors often over-prescribe unnecessarily. Consumer and health groups should conduct test checks at major pharmacists' shops, obtain copies of prescriptions and expose such doctors.



consumer organisations in the development context, macro trends and major problems faced by them, the present scenario in relation to drugs and medicines, the national drug policy and need for propagating and promoting rational drug therapy.

The structure of the workshop was such that the participants could practice their learnings through developing a plan of action for a workable project in relation to the drug policy. The logical frame work analysis of Voluntary Consumer Action Network (V-CAN), the network which emerged from the workshop,

gave the participants a sense of achievement. (See appendices).

A MILESTONE

Thus the final outcome of the second workshop was concrete and on a timely issue in India. This outcome charged the participants, as succinctly observed by one of the young activists Yogini Acharya of ACASH, Bombay: "It's good to be back with our respective organisations armed with the strong knowledge base and skills acquired at the workshop."

Others were overwhelming in their feedback, Said Parag Redkar of Mumbai Grahak Panchayat, Bombay: "CUTS have foresighted the need of Indian activists and organised such a unique programme for constructing a movement, itself a milestone in the consumer movement". His colleague, Raghav Narsalay acknowledged the values learnt: "The workshops are among the few instances in my life that have taught me what hard work is. Most of the resource persons were outstanding."

FROM IDEALISM TO REALITY

The third workshop was organised by CUTS in collaboration with CHETNA at Ahmedabad during February 20-24, 1995 on **Strategic Planning**. Eight activists participated in this. While some reported sick, few dropped out for several reasons.

The goal of the workshop was stated as enhancing skills of young consumer leaders in the context of the campaign on a rational drug policy with the objective of understanding the importance of strategic planning for consumer action.

Content areas like vision, mission, strategic planning of a programme and organisational issues were covered through use of participatory training methods like dialogue, discussions, case studies and role play.

The workshop content also included examining

A set of background papers and reference material was provided to the participants. Structured time for self-study followed by discussions also helped facilitate the learning process.

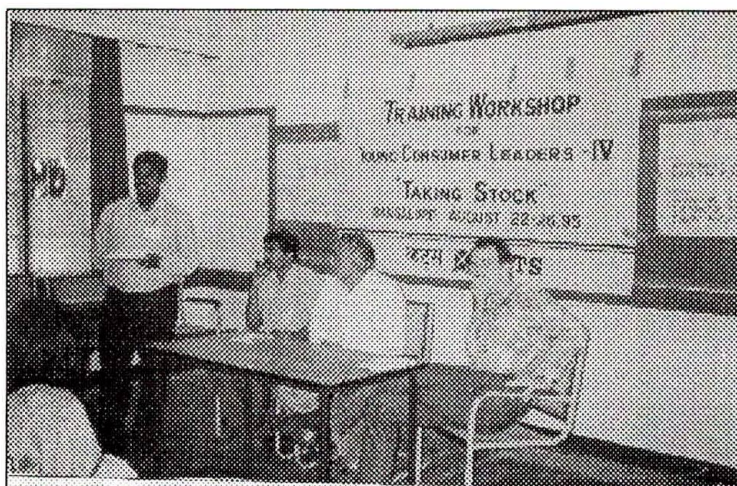
As a result of this workshop, participants were to do a national campaign on prescription audit by collecting data of over 5000 prescriptions from all over the country. Getting their rationality assessed by expert pharmacologists and using the results for advocating a standing prescription audit system with the state health authorities would complete the project.

As a follow-up to the campaign, a preparatory workshop for collecting data was organised in Calcutta during 13-14, May, wherein experts spoke about the issues as well as the methodology for collecting the data. A practical session was also organised in the city of Calcutta.

TAKING STOCK

The fourth and final TWYCL - Taking Stock was held in Bangalore during 22-26 August, 1995. The aim of this workshop was to take stock of the campaign, the workshop series and decide strategies for future. Additionally the workshop was used to impart basic skills for advocacy and lobbying, including public speaking.

Mr. Pradeep S. Mehta, General Secretary of CUTS, and the chief architect of the programme, welcomed the participants and recapitulated the earlier TWYCL workshops. He explained in brief the background of the workshop series culminating in formation of V-CAN at the third workshop at Ahmedabad and its activities.



Eminent resource persons explained in detail about the consumer movement in India and the world. Besides, the young leaders were provided with practical knowledge on public speaking, advocacy and lobbying. On the last day a public meeting was held at which the participants presented their learnings.

Raghav Narsalay of Mumbai Grahak Panchayat, Bombay, in his introduction gave a nutshell idea of all the TWYCLs. "The first one was held in Calcutta on 'Skills on Campaigning'. The workshop was such a tremendous success that a decision of organising three more such workshops was instantly taken. The second one was held in Delhi where the issue of Rational Drug Policy was selected by the participants for evolving a workable plan. Subsequently a signature campaign for rational drug policy was launched. The third TWYCL at Ahmedabad which was on Strategic Planning saw the activists forming a new coalition."

S. Martin of FEDCOT, Trichy, started with a strong comment on the present pathetic health scenario of the country. The Right to Health is enshrined in our Constitution yet good health has remained an elusive dream for most of the people. The new coalition formed at Ahmedabad named Voluntary Consumers' Action Network (V-CAN i.e. We Can) decided to take up health issues as health is the topmost priority today.

He narrated the Vision Statement of V-Can: "Affordable and sustainable health care for all", and the mission as: "Equipping activists to empower people to achieve their right to health."

Ms. Sonal Mehta of CHETNA, Ahmedabad, spoke about the future activities of V-Can:

'Equipping activists through policy research and advocacy, training and networking on health issues.'

Ms. Shivani Prasad of CUTS, Calcutta briefed the audience on the first major activity taken up by V-CAN: Prescription Audit Campaign. She gave the background information on the prevailing culture - 'a pill for every ill' and irrational prescribing by doctors in lieu of some incentives from pharmaceutical companies, which provoked the V-Can to launch this campaign. The campaign included collection of data from prescriptions and assessment of their rationality by reputed pharmacologists.

She then reported what the analysis of 1200 prescriptions collected from various parts of the country, done by Dr. Krishnangshu Ray of Calcutta National Medical College had to reveal. **She presented the interim report that revealed some shocking facts like around 60% of the prescriptions were irrational, tendency of doctors to prescribe costlier drugs and those manufactured by MNCs and the tendency to prescribe useless drugs.**

As the first step in this direction it was decided to a) translate Patient's Charter in regional languages, b) translate the comprehensive prescription audit report in major languages, and then c) launch a programme for advocacy for an essential drug list and a national health policy.

Through training and networking the activists would be imparted with necessary skills on campaigning, capacity building etc., she summed up.



Thus ended the workshop: TWYCL-IV was the last of the four workshops in the series. **The Workshop saw the rejuvenation of the coalition V-CAN and it can be concluded that the mantle of strengthening the consumer movement was passed on successfully from one generation to the next.**

LEARNINGS

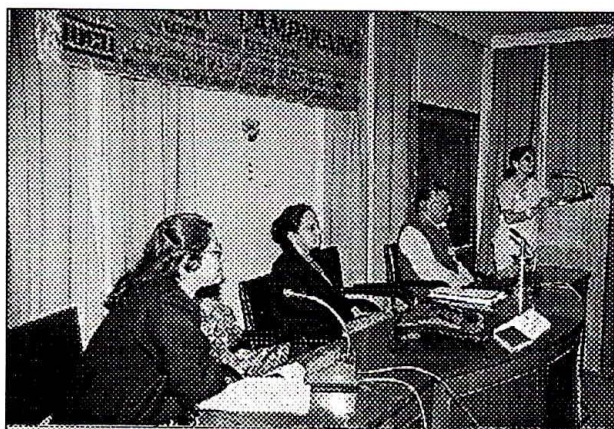
Each TWYCL was a unique experience and proved to be a rich and rewarding experience for all the young participants.

The interaction made them aware of the activities of various consumer organisations in different parts of the country. It was heartening to know that a great awakening was taking place among the masses regarding their consumer rights as many of the participants who either joined or organised some consumer group, came into this field after being themselves the victims of violation of their consumer rights.

All TWYCLs were woven around certain specific themes and as a whole these workshops tried to impart maximum possible information and practice on the chosen themes to the activists.

The first TWYCL was on 'Skills in Campaigning' and here the participants learnt to select issues for campaign, galvanise the action plans and to assess and analyse the causes behind success and failure of any campaign.

The second one was on 'Media and Advocacy' which made it clear to them how powerful media is and how its effective handling can help in achieving



desired results and in reaching out to masses and to those who frame policies for the masses.

In the third workshop the activists learnt to do strategic planning for translating the ideas into reality in a systematic manner. They also learnt organisational development and capacity building processes.

The fourth one 'Taking Stock' helped in recapitulating the whole experience once again. Besides this workshop provided ample opportunities to polish their public speaking skills which is one of the most vital qualities for a dynamic leader.

Thus, the first two workshops gave theoretical impetus to the budding consumer activists, while the last two gave more emphasis on practical aspects. The end result was very encouraging and helped in launching two important projects.

V-CAN



India is a land of myriad problems and the most important one amongst them is poverty. About one-third of our people remain half-starved. As a result their health is worse off. Many work

in a hazardous atmosphere and survive in abysmal living conditions. For them to have good health has remained a distant dream.

At one end of the spectrum are the states of Kerala, Punjab, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, while at the other are the BIMARU states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Except for the first two decades after independence, the response of the health system to these challenges has generally been disappointing, preoccupied as it is with either the sterilisation programme or externally prompted vertical programmes like immunisation or crisis management. In the areas of utmost need, the government health system is dissipated and the private sector is thriving at the cost of human misery.

One of the biggest mistake that the country has committed is that they have left health to medical personnel and pharmaceuticals to the Ministry of Fertilisers and Chemicals. Health is too precious a commodity to leave it to the medical personnel alone. There is hardly any coordination among health scientists, economists, social scientists and the ministries/departments concerned with health, consumer affairs, fertilisers and chemicals or even industry, to tackle the problem in an integrated manner.

Secondly, when economic restructuring and liberalisation was launched in 1990-91, one of the major cuts that came was on the social sector. However right from the first plan to the eighth plan the government has spent only about 17-18% of its total developmental budget on the social sector: health, education, nutrition, social welfare, water supply and sanitation etc.

The countries that have spent major part of their budgets on social development have shown relatively good progress in terms of their health and other social indicators. The best example is that of Sri Lanka. And even countries like Nepal, which are making tremendous efforts to go up, are spending 30-35% of their developmental budget on the social sector. Even within the country, if we look at the states which have shown better progress like Kerala and Tamil Nadu, they tend to spend much more on the social sector.

Thirdly, the government programmes lack drive and enthusiasm. There are a lot of vertical programmes but there is no integration of these programmes as well as any emphasis on building infrastructure. There are hardly any programmes for primary health care. And there is no national health policy statement which can put forward the issues cogently and create a coordinated response.

Fourthly, one of the prime reasons behind this pathetic situation is lack of literacy among the people. When the Constitution was drafted in 1951, it said that free and compulsory education will be given to all. Now our literacy level is 51% according to the 1991 census. But the truth is that the total number of illiterates has actually doubled. Half of the total illiterates of the world are in India. Illiteracy coupled with ignorance has made people live an unhealthy life-style.

In order to meet the goal of a healthy nation, the Voluntary Consumer Action Network (V-CAN) has articulated its vision statement as: 'affordable and sustainable health for all', with the mission of: "equipping activists to empower people to achieve their right to health".



The network has resulted from this series of Training Workshops for Young Consumer Leaders (TWYCL) organised by CUTS and Consumers International (formerly IOCU) to impart skills and create a second-line leadership in the consumer movement in India. The organisers felt that while activists have sources of information, they often lack the appropriate skills of advocacy and campaigning to strategise and bring about the crucial change.

Thus V-CAN, a coalition of 10 concerned consumer and health groups was launched as a network to provide a sustained thrust to the advocacy and campaigning programme on health issues. To name some of the organisation : CUTS, CHETNA, Consumers Guidance Society of India, FEDCOT, Mumbai Grahak Panchayat, Consumers Guidance Society (Bezwada

Consumers Council A.P.). CUTS was elected as the host agency to be responsible for implementing the programmes: capacity building, guiding research, advocacy and networking campaigns, and collecting feedback/inputs and devising the scope of future workshops.

PROJECTS UNDERTAKEN

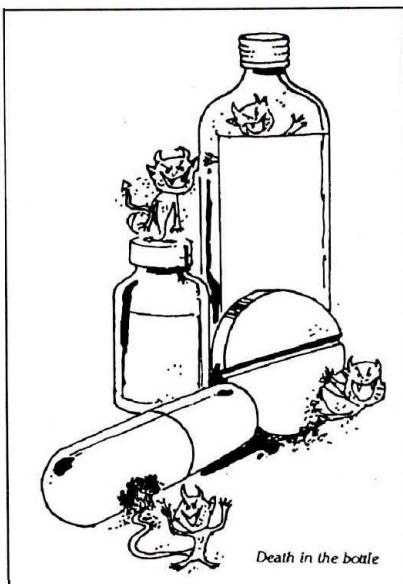
Prescription Audit

A rational drug policy is an integral part of the health policy. Unfortunately, we have never ever had a comprehensive rational drug policy. An honest effort was made in the year 1975 in the form of the Hathi Committee, that had recommended a restricted essential list of 116 drugs which were to be sold under their generic names. But the majority of the recommendations of the Hathi Committee were ignored in the first Drug Policy of 1978.

After a long gap the Government of India finally announced a New Drug Policy on September 15, 1994. Alas! The New Policy is totally industry oriented and not consumer oriented. At present there are about 153 drugs under Drug Price Control Order (DPCO), 21 of these are under category 1 i.e. drugs which are required for various national health programmes, and 132 under category 2, that of

essential drugs. According to the New Policy, now there will be only 73 drugs under DPCO.

Another significant change is the merger of category 1 and category 2 in the DPCO. Earlier for Category 1, the Maximum Allowable Post-manufacturing Expense (MAPE) was 75% - while for those in category 2, it was 100%. Now the MAPE for the merged category will be 100 percent. All these changes will increase the cost of drugs considerably, the brunt of which will be borne by consumers.



useful check against unscrupulous doctors.

In simplest terms, it means collection of prescriptions from medical stores and patients and getting them audited by expert pharmacologists and expose such doctors.

The survey of prescriptions was not an easy work as patients usually did not keep prescriptions with them. Besides, the majority of consumers especially in rural areas, were ignorant about their rights as patients.

For the genuinely concerned public, this announcement did not spring any surprise, as it is well known that government is quite helpless against the pressure of the strong pharmaceutical lobby in this era of globalisation and liberalisation.

It was felt that it was necessary to strike against not only the government policies but also unscrupulous doctors along with pharmaceutical companies, as they were equal partners in the crime against the people.

Considering these facts, a comprehensive action plan was made to make the campaign an effective one. Pharmacologists, voluntary organisations and consumers all joined hands to play the role of watchdog on unscrupulous doctors.

The volunteers used posters, charts leaflets, pamphlets for educational purposes near public places, government hospitals, nursing homes, chemist shops etc.

- Today pharmaceutical companies openly bribe doctors to prescribe their products.
- Doctors, often overprescribe drugs which may result in serious side-effects. A survey conducted by Dr. Jaishree Mitra Ghosh of National Medical College, Calcutta showed that overprescription of antibiotics by the city doctors has resulted in serious kidney and liver problems.
- Another malady is the existence of so many brand names for a single drug source, adding to the confusion.
- Some doctors were found to have switched from one brand name to another in the mistaken belief that they were prescribing different drugs. This brand name prescription could lead to dangerous consequences, since many drugs with quite different actions and use have similar brand names.

In the background of these handicaps, it is essential that consumers question doctors whenever a prescription is written out. **Prescription Audit** is a

Then the volunteers collected data from the prescriptions prescribed by doctors. Here health workers and field workers helped them considerably. Experiences of some volunteers were different as they had to face stiff resistance from chemists and doctors as well as from people.

Networking with pharmacologists was the most essential part of the action plan. For this purpose Dr. Krishnangshu Ray of Calcutta National Medical College and his team was selected to assess the rationality of the data collected by the activists.

The final comprehensive report was released on December 16, 1995 at a press conference in New Delhi. The report revealed these shocking facts:

- Doctors continue to prescribe costlier drugs than are necessary. And the prescriptions are generally for drugs manufactured by MNCs.
- Doctors have a tendency to prescribe useless medicines like tonics, restoratives, vitalisers and vitamin formulations, when they are hardly indicated.

- days to come. But the path is still full of hurdles and problems. Prominent among them being poverty, lack of awareness, social evils, traditional and cultural barriers, language problems etc. Vast majority of consumers still remain voiceless and inarticulate and at the mercy of petty traders and sellers. It will take many more years for Indian consumers to reach a position of strength wherefrom they can dictate terms to the people on the other side of the fence, an envious position many of our Western counterparts have achieved.

The consumer movement in India has to get out of the bind it is in now. For this purpose attempts should be made by all concerned activists to counter this consumer-hostile atmosphere.

For this prospect to become a reality, and to be able to face the challenges, the consumer movement should aim at new horizons with a new vision. The most essential element in this stride is to build up a cadre of “socially conscious persons with immeasurable quantities of creativity and generosity of human spirit” as desired by Ralph Nader, the doyen of consumer activism in the United States.

The TWYCL workshops tried to achieve this goal and succeeded as well. The second generation of young consumer leaders is now ready to take up the challenges and to provide a strong leadership to the consumer movement. Armed with knowledge and skills this young team has joined hands to bring about the desired social change.

CONCLUSIONS

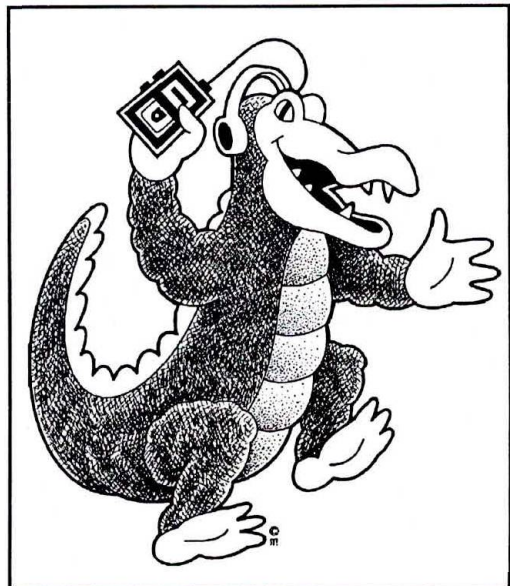
Consumer movement is definitely making strides and is going to be one of the strongest movements in



Section Two

What is Social Change?

"The exact measure of the progress of the civilisation is the degree to which intelligence of the common mind has prevailed over brute force. In other words the measure of the progress of the civilisation is the progress of the people."



**Theory of Social Change:
What it is and Why it is necessary?**

What is Social Change

— Shanthi Ramanathan

WHAT IS DEFINED AS SOCIAL CHANGE?

Having no dictionary with me, I had little choice but to try and define “social change” using my limited knowledge and understanding of those two words in English.

“Change”, as I understand it, is a process of transformation whereby the output, be it a person, object, social structure etc., is different from the input. This can be illustrated by the following diagram :



Change can both be positive and negative in nature. Change does not necessarily mean that the output is better than the input. Change can also be for the worse. Another feature of change is that it is dynamic.

“Social”, the other word in the term “social change”, gives the process of change a greater dimension. It does not refer to change in one person. It means a change in a particular society at large. This sort of change can only occur if there is some change in the inherent structures (political, economic, social and cultural) that govern society at a particular time. A mere change in the viewpoints and attitudes of individuals in the society is not enough. There must be some structural change in a society’s institutions before it can be called “social change”.

HOW DOES SOCIAL CHANGE COME ABOUT?

Now that we have defined social change, let us look at what brings it about. According to a recognised social scientist, social change comes out of a recognition of a problem and a clear vision and strategy on how to remedy the problem. Once again this change may make things better or worse. At this point, I would like to share an anecdote with you from the works of George Bernard Shaw:

*“You see what is and ask ‘Why’ ?
I see what could be and ask ‘Why Not’?”*

If we subscribe to the first sentence and just ask why, then social change will not take place. If we see how things could be i.e. have a vision for the future and ask ‘why not’ then there is a foundation to build on that can cause social change to take place. A **‘VISION’ is the seed for social change.** Someone or a group has to have a vision of how it can solve a particular problem before we can change society.

TRANSLATING A VISION INTO “SOCIAL CHANGE”

So how can we translate a vision into real social change? In order to change society, we have to change several aspects of that particular society. Using your vision of ‘what should be; and ‘what could be’ you have to try and change the inherent ideology, value and structures that exist in that society to reflect your vision. Let me briefly define what each one means:

1. **Ideology:** A set of ideas, doctrines, theories and beliefs that are formulated in order to attain a certain vision for the individual and the society.

2. **Values:** Convictions and norms which dictate what is considered acceptable behaviour in a society. The standards or norms that guide people's behaviour.

3. **Structures:** The inherent social, political, economic or cultural structures/institutions that govern how society functions.

In order for 'social change' to occur we must be able to cause **a change in the existing structure, systems and institutions** that govern a particular society at a particular point of time.

Firstly, there is a need to change the prevailing ideology and social values and norms of the time in order to effect a change in the structures/systems, but this can sometimes occur without a change in ideology and values.

Occasionally there are exceptions and I must stress the word 'exceptions'. These are occasional cases where some fearless firebrand is able to cause some structural change by single-handedly fighting the city council but is extremely rare and more often than not, this sort of crusading Ralph Nader model usually fails.

In addition, there is always a tendency that this sort of one-person campaign fails to address the root problem and therefore fails to alter the underlying structures of power. Thus, if we want to make a real change, we have to be able to organise people and get them involved in any campaign for social change.

Life is filled with problems — from the personal to the world shattering, from the rise in the price of milk to the escalation of the global arms race. Everyday, problems spring up with such alarming regularity that most of us do not take time to think strategically about what can be done. We are too caught up with making a living and addressing other day to day duties. By and large society also tends to reinforce the whole notion of individuality. Personal problems — personal solutions. It is part of the prevailing methodology of our times.

Unfortunately, society is a lot more complicated, more multi-dimensional than this focus on the individual leads us to believe. If we look at societies as living, breathing organisms comprised of competing interest groups vying for power, we come up with a different picture.

Trying to solve problems individually without looking at complex social roots that cause these problems will keep us running around in circles. Instead of joining together, we will be separated from each other and prevented from making basic changes to the economic, political and social structures which are often the source of the problems in the first place.

An acceptance of the *status quo* is part and parcel of being powerless. Isolated from each other, we all tend to lack self-confidence. And this also leads to the belief that nothing can be done. Organising, at its most basic level is an attempt to prove that ordinary people can take responsibility of their own lives. Organising is about breaking barriers between individuals, it is about people working together to solve common problems. To illustrate it, I'd like to share with you two commonly used illustrations that elaborate on how "organising" is an invaluable tool that can be used to cause social change.

Diagram 1 illustrates how we have to look for issues that will draw the participation of as many groups as possible. We will always find that in any society, there are various sectors which do not always have the same perspective (denoted by the three small circles). If we are able to pick an issue that has mass appeal or if we are able to express the issue in terms that can be understood and accepted by all three groups, then we will actually be building a campaign (a big

Diagram 1

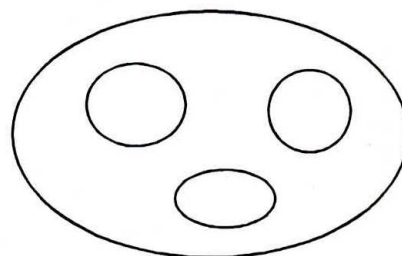
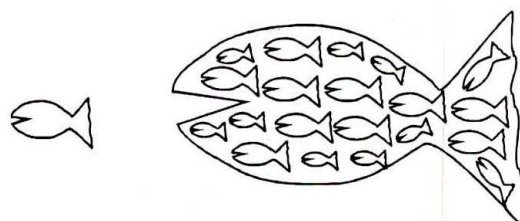


Diagram 2



circle) that will encompass all the three sectors (small circles).

Diagram 2 on the other hand illustrates how many small fish (representing single persons) swimming in an organised manner can completely overwhelm a bigger fish. Despite our differences, we must be able to rise above them and unite for a common goal. Unity in diversity allows us to overcome tremendous opposition. All major 'social change', like the right to unionise, the vote for women, 8-hour work day and even the anti-colonial struggle in the Third World - all these things were not won through single person campaigns but through organised groups campaigning for the same cause.

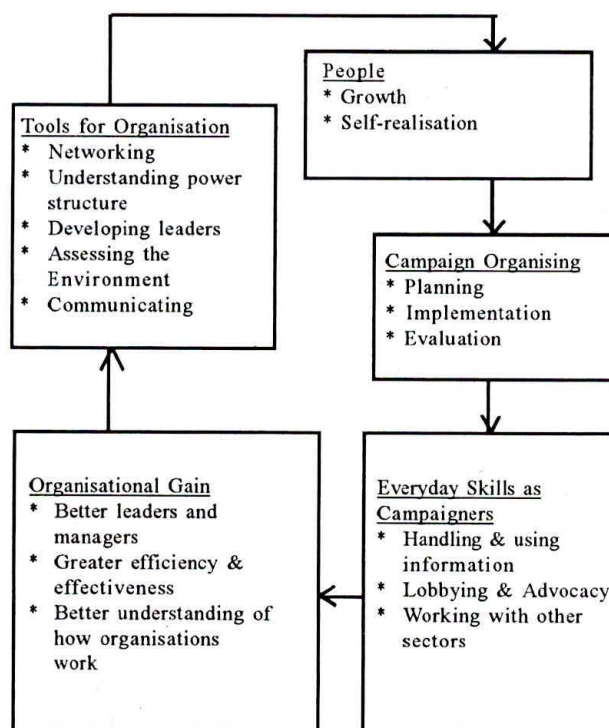
SOME THINGS TO KEEP IN MIND BEFORE WE TRY TO MAKE CHANGES IN OUR SOCIETY

- ◆ Understand how **POWER** is organised in society. Be clear about how political parties, governments, business, media etc. are organised.
- ◆ Always work at multiplying **LEADERS**, not followers. This will escalate the process of 'social change'.
- ◆ Use **NETWORKING** as a key strategy. Try and link up laterally with those working on the same issue.
- ◆ Employ **USER-FRIENDLY** campaign tactics as far as possible. These can then be easily replicated and adapted for use in local situations and will have far greater reach.
- ◆ Aim for strategic **ACTION** that encourages **PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION** - the more allies you have and the more people you get on board the better - **PARTICIPATORY ACTION**.
- ◆ Look for the **ROOT OF THE PROBLEM**. Unless we change the root causes, real social change will not take place. We have to look beyond the obvious causes that often blind us to the real cause.
- ◆ Engage in **LONG-TERM PLANNING**. Don't look for immediate solutions and instant gains.

Often it is well-thought-out and well-planned campaigns that make the greatest impact and cause real social change.

Finally, I would like to try and elaborate on how this workshop will try and share with you, skills that will allow you to cause change in society. Basically, I am going to use a diagram that will attempt to illustrate the Workshop process that will take place and how it will impart skills for social change.

As depicted by the following workshop diagram, you will be taken through a learning process through which information and knowledge will be shared in the areas of campaign organising, tools for organising and everyday skills. You will need these skills as campaigners. You will also be given a chance to participate, analyse, criticise, debate and share ideas, thoughts and experiences and through this process, we hope you will be able to grow and reach some level of self-realisation. In addition, when you return to your respective organisations, we hope that those organisations will also be enriched and be better equipped to conduct consumer campaigns.



The 5th Estate: Making Things Happen

— Sushmita Ghosh*

INTRODUCTION

Popular will to change has, historically, moved mountains. It is a force politicians defy and society depends on for regeneration. But how often do we connect this power to ourselves as individuals or groups? Whenever we have seen the connection and the potential, an idea has been born, opening a new window for society.

Take the example of Antonio Paz of Mexico whose work exemplifies what could have been done after the Latur earthquake.

When Antonio's house collapsed in the devastating Mexico City earthquake of 1985, his home, along with millions of others, became a tent in the street. But where many in the tent cities saw destruction and despair, Antonio saw opportunity. Already a veteran community organiser at the age of 26, Antonio quickly turned his talents and those of his neighbours into founding Campamentos Unidos — "Tent Dwellers United".

The three guiding principles followed by this organisation are:

- a. Autogestion — people meet their own needs doing things themselves,
- b. Trabajo Communal — it's not individuals, but teamwork that gets the job done, and
- c. Reconstruction — rebuilding not just homes but lives and families for half the cost of government housing units, with shared courtyards.

Common living areas fostered greater community cohesiveness and spurred the growth of what Paz calls "grassroots economic cooperatives". And these co-ops have been directly responsible for driving down the cost of new units as members produced more and more of their own components — from aluminium window frames to furniture made from the earthquake rubble.

Realising that his larger task was economic reconstruction, Paz went on to found the "Centro de Estudios Barrio", to provide planning, research, legal assistance and training for cooperative activities. As a result, members have more competitive products, increased market power, more jobs and — most important — financial security. And Campamentos Unidos' who sincerely try to serve it.

All that was needed for Antonio's work to grow from a tent to an institution was the will and the resultant self-taught skills to make things happen. To a lesser or greater degree these skills are present in all of us, lying dormant, perhaps, for want of confidence that there is a world out there which bends for people who sincerely try to serve it.

THE CONTEXT

- A look at the nature of citizen initiatives in India from the early nineteenth century reveals a variety of approaches and themes.
- The late colonial period (from 1810 to 1947) saw the emergence of church-based non-profit organisations, social and religious reformers from the Hindu elite, socio-religious movements and organisations formed by other religions. Introduction of political content in voluntary work and emergence of new forms of communal organisations.
- The post-independence period saw a newborn nation spawning a large number of Gandhian NPOs (Non Profit Organisations) who involved themselves in development work. Followers of the Gandhian movement who did not or could not join the government were natural recruits for this kind of work.
- "Welfare-oriented" NPOs emerged in the 1960s and "empowerment-oriented" NPOs in the 1970s — both developing in character and tone in

accordance with the socio-economic and political evolution of India.

- Currently, the increasing influence of the government on all spheres of activity, the 1980s and '90s saw the formation of "Non-Governmental Organisations" (NGOs) and the resurgence of separatist and fundamental movements and organisations.

THE MECHANICS

Armed with the will to make things happen and a knowledge of the context, the formulation of a specific strategy is a logical next step. And the nature of this strategy really depends on the kind of people we are at core. An academic, for example, will write a paper and a journalist an article. A member of the rubber chicken circuit—professional conference speakers who thrive on words and more words at forum after forum—will make a conference presentation.

The neighbourhood social worker will try to service localised neighbourhood needs. But a 'changemaker' will burn with the energy of all of the above and add a generous dose of entrepreneurial determination. S/he will not rest until the idea is followed through from design to execution, from print on paper to specific, quantifiable intervention or change in the problem being addressed.

As the organisation I represent, the Ashoka Fellowship, has as its central goal the building of a world fellowship of such entrepreneurs, I have had the privilege of meeting a wide array of exceptional individuals who have pioneered specific ideas. And we have formulated a table of very typical character traits on the basis of obvious commonalities. This kind of person is usually:

- A practical visionary with an original vision of substantial public improvement in any public service field.
- A pathfinder, who pioneers an innovative approach towards his/her vision.
- An informed, articulate spokesperson for his/her vision, able to pinpoint its innovative dimension and the reason for its importance.
- A creative problem solver, who sees the important next steps as well as the hurdles and finds innovative ways of moving on.
- An achiever who is determined, driven and gives all his/her time to the realisation of the vision.
- A skilled strategist who can not only outline concrete measures to actualize his/her vision, but also has clear plans of spreading its impact far beyond the initial demonstration.
- An independent, self measured, sensitive and persuasive leader, who is capable of managing and inspiring his/her team as well as other players in the fields.
- A sound administrator who matches his/her creativity with a strong grasp on the economics and the other practical aspects of the venture.
- A person of honour whose strong ethical fibre and commitment lends the trademark of 'quality' to his/her work.

Perhaps one of the toughest hurdles a social changemaker has to overcome is the initial one — what do we tell a family which is expecting one to follow a lucrative career groove? In the sphere of business, an entrepreneur has been understood and accepted as being one who introduces fundamental change. The gains being personal, it is easy for society to understand the drive, energy and practical flexibility that necessarily go into the dream-realisation process. Commercial incentive structures as well as family and friends recognise and support this difficult trek towards a new business horizon.

What happens though, when a clearly entrepreneurial mind decides to pioneer social change rather than a new business? Commonly, well-meant persuasion to do otherwise or incomprehension is transformed into respect only when the struggle is over and the vision in question is clearly successful reality. And even when the work as well as the person behind it ultimately wins laurels, the career path that has been carved out remains largely unrecognised. S/he is labelled an authority in a particular field of interest, but the acute similarities in thinking and approach among public service entrepreneurs of every discipline are not perceived. Thus a highly important profession is left without a definition, only open to instinctive rather than deliberative entry.

From a historical perspective why is this profession, if it is so important, so unrecognised? Arguably this may be a phenomenon associated with democracy since undemocratic societies do not welcome the dictation to change by individuals or small groups.

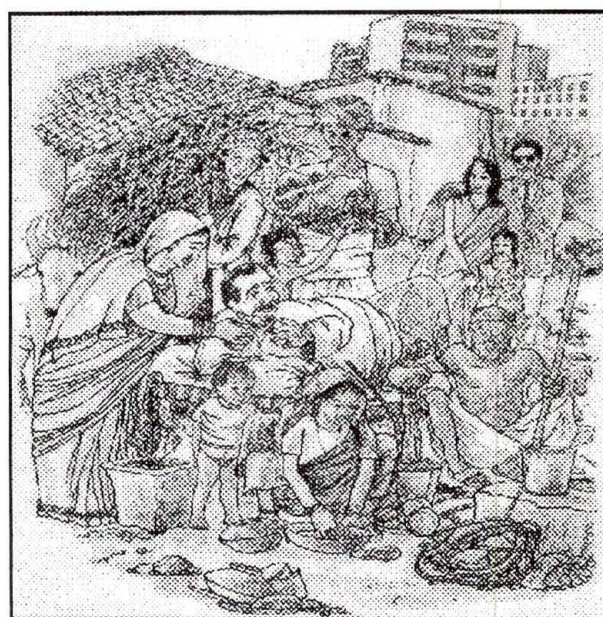
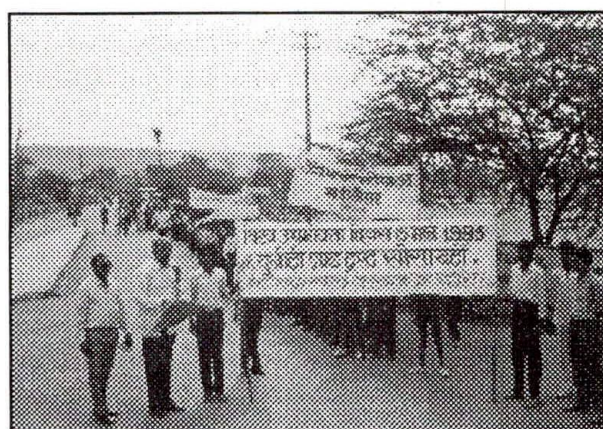
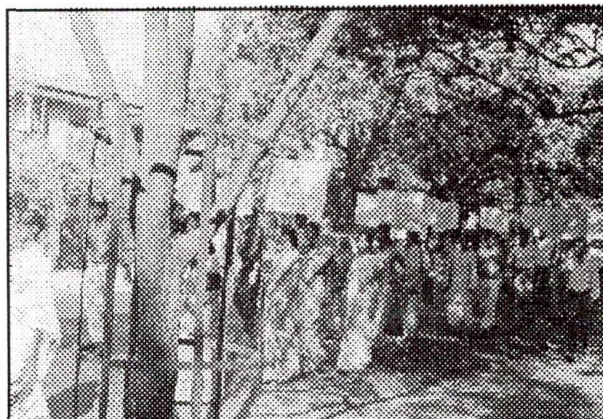
Moreover, while a period of rapid social change and emerging democracy - in a global sense - has been accompanied by an increase in scope and methods of change, support institutions have not kept pace.

This is the slot Ashoka seeks to fill by granting equal recognition to the changemaking visionary, the vision and the career being defined by the change making process.

The kind of strategies chosen by successful changemakers are almost always highly leveraged ones. Thus, networking with colleagues in same field and across subject matters and intelligently designed campaigns are essential ongoing activities - because, in these busy times, even the best of ideas have to be 'sold' well and sold persistently. Hence the stirrings of social messages in print and electronic media, designed to catch your eye with the same verve displayed by, say, a brand of television. Hence, also, the increased interest of the Corporate Sector in development work, as it begins to perceive that the "market" wants its money's worth in terms of products as well as social change. Which is why corporate visionaries such as TISCO define itself as a concern that "ALSO makes steel".

New social needs and mores are requiring the increased professionalisation of social campaigns and the sooner that analogy with the commercial entrepreneur is perceived by the social changemaker, the more professional the approach. After all, while detergent manufacturers sell detergent, Dr. Bindeshwar Pathak of Sulabh sells a combination of IDEAS of hygiene, sanitation, environment and human rights through easily-designed toilets. And the latter has a presence all over India now because he knows that people never accept ideas because they are "good" for them, but have to be persuaded to "buy" them in the same way they buy detergent — except they will be using moral support, active participation or networking support as currency.

As the struggle to develop effective campaigns is a lonely and challenging one, strong leadership and gatherings such as these which set the base for it become increasingly crucial.



* Sushmita Ghosh, formerly executive editor of SURYA magazine, is currently producing CHANGEMAKERS for the Ashoka Innovators for Public - a US-based foundation developing public service entrepreneurship in several parts of the world. Also heads its North and East India office.

Campaign as The Tool of Social Change

— V. K. Parigi*

"The exact measure of the progress of civilisation is the degree to which the intelligence of the common mind has prevailed over wealth and brute force, in other words, the measure of the progress of civilisation is the progress of people."

- George Bancroft, 1854.

A public interest group is one that seeks a collective good, the achievement of which will not selectively and materially benefit the members or activists of the organisation.

We need —

- to know what to do
- to know how to do it
- to believe we are capable of doing it
- to make a commitment to do it

Campaigning is a full time job. A campaigner's conduct should be above reproach. The importance of a strong commitment to the cause needs all the emphasis.

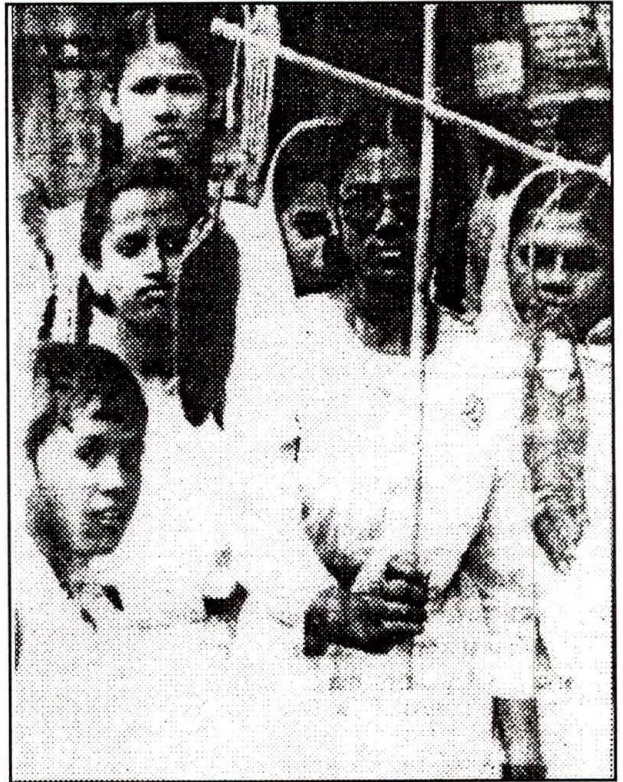
The following excerpt from "To Have or To Be" by Erich Fromm should serve as the motivating philosophy for those who are campaigners for social change.

- Willingness to give up all forms of having, in order to fully be.
- Security, sense of identity, and confidence based on faith in what one is, on one's need for relatedness, interest, love, solidarity with the world around one, instead of one's desire to have, to possess, to control the world, and thus become the slave of one's possessions.
- Acceptance of the fact that nobody and nothing outside oneself gives meaning to life, but that this radical independence and nothingness can

become the condition for the fullest activity devoted to caring and sharing.

- Being fully present; where one is.
- Joy that comes from giving and sharing, not from hoarding and exploiting.
- Love and respect for life in all its manifestations, to the knowledge that not things, power, all that is dead, but life and everything that pertains to its growth are sacred.
- Trying to reduce greed, hate, and illusions as much as one is capable.
- Developing one's narcissism and accepting the tragic limitations inherent in human existence.
- Making the full growth of oneself and of one's fellow beings the supreme goal of living.
- Knowing that to reach this goal, discipline and respect for reality are necessary.
- Knowing, also, that no growth is healthy that does not occur in a structure, but knowing, too, the difference between 'structure' as an attribute of life and order as an attribute of no-life, of the dead.
- Developing one's imagination, not as an escape from intolerable circumstances but as the anticipation of real possibilities, as a means to do away with intolerable circumstances.

- Not deceiving others, but also not being deceived by others; one may be called innocent, but not naïve.
- Knowing oneself, not only the self one knows, but also the self one does not know - even though one has a slumbering knowledge of what one does not know.
- Sensing one's oneness with all life, hence giving up the aim of conquering nature, subduing it, exploiting it, raping it, destroying it, but trying, rather, to understand and co-operate with nature.
- Freedom that is not arbitrariness but the possibility to be oneself, not as a bundle of greedy desires, but as a delicately balanced structure that at any moment is confronted with the alternative of growth or decay, life or death.
- Knowing that evil and destructiveness are necessary consequences of failure to grow.
- Knowing that only a few have reached perfection in all these qualities, but being without the ambition to "reach the goal", in the knowledge that such ambition is only another form of greed, of having.
- Happiness is the process of ever-growing aliveness, whatever the furthest point is that fate permits one to reach, for living as fully as one can is so satisfactory that the concern for what one might or might not attain has little chance to develop.



"Citizens pay their taxes and then they abdicate. They have lost their skills as citizens, they have contracted them over to public employees."

- E. S. Savas.

* V. K. Parigi is the head of Consumer Education Centre, Hyderabad and Bangalore and is a pillar of the Indian consumer movement. Formerly a corporate executive, he is now a full time consumer activist, having keen interest in responsible consumerism and studying impact of consumption patterns.

Section Three

The Making of Activists: Developing Leadership Skills



*For some people the day comes
when they have to declare the great Yes
or the great No. It's clear at once who has the Yes
ready within her/him; and saying it, s/he goes from honour
to honour, strong in her/his conviction....*

C. P. Cavafy

CAMPAIGNING:

**The What and How of Organising a Campaign
SWOT Analysis of a Successful Campaign**

Leadership Skills

Campaigning is a series of carefully planned, supported, and sequentially interconnected events spread over time; the prime objective being to change the attitude and behaviour of the target population with respect to an identified issue, product or cause. Campaigning is often necessary for consumer organisations faced with situations requiring rapid mobilisation of the general public.

AN ISSUE is by definition a problem to be solved.

Problems vary in magnitude and the amount of time required to solve each problem depends on the organising ability and the resources available to consumer organisations. The first step, therefore, is to identify the problem and get organised.

An issue should not be chosen haphazardly. It should be well thought out in terms of consumer concerns. Important issues are usually easy to identify because they motivate consumers to act, and seek solutions, hence exposing themselves.

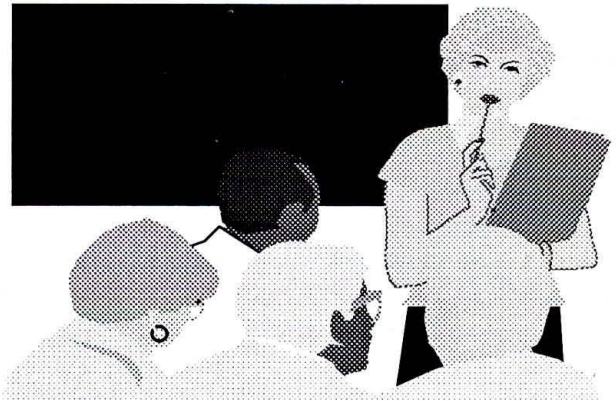
A good organising issue needs the support of all consumers or target groups. A good issue is defined by a number of important characteristics. The issue can be chosen from a survey carried out by the organisation amongst consumers, considering areas of greatest concern. An issue could also arise out of a major consumer problem that could have cropped up suddenly.

Though an issue may appear simple, it may actually be complicated and hard to solve. A complex issue is more difficult to explain to consumers. When you are confronted with such a situation, be precise and explain in a few short clear cut sentences.

Criteria for a good issue

A good issue must come from people and must be one that improves the consumers' lives. An issue must be manageable, achievable and easily understood.

A campaign must be controlled throughout by the organisation which must ensure that everything goes



according to the plan to achieve the objective(s) assigned.

The mass media (radio, television, print press) play a major part in campaigning.

The aim of a campaign varies according to the situation. It may be:

- to give correct information on a rumour; in that case, media campaign is generally enough.
- to boycott a product or denounce a service whose characteristics are harmful to the interests of the consumers. Here, the campaign uses multiple means, from the media to demonstrations of sit-ins to conferences and meetings with opinion leaders.
- to protect against an unfair measure or denounce measures which bear risks for consumers (texts, agreements, conventions etc.)

THE IDEAL CAMPAIGN MODEL

We must have a clear understanding and statement of the objective of our campaign. The objective and the mission make up the philosophical foundation of a good campaign.

Members of the campaign team should be chosen on the basis of some or all of the following qualities:

- i) ability to communicate
- ii) ability to lead
- iii) availability to work within the campaign time frame
- iv) area of interest of the group.

Developing Strategies

Strategy is the preparation of the plan about how we are going to achieve our goals. The various steps must be in a sequence that can be easily monitored or altered as the environment regarding the issue changes. The goal must be defined clearly before attempting to develop a strategy.

When a changing situation arises, we have to modify our goals and restart from the beginning by preparing our analysis of the present situation, state of environment and then present an amended **Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats (SWOT)** analysis.

Tactics for Campaigning

Different issues require different tactics. Tactics is the art of doing what we can with what we have. In a campaign, tactics refers to controlling the situation, that is, taking power.

Tactics that can be used are:

Public meetings: to inform people about our action.

Petitions: to the government to accept our proposals.

Boycott: to advise consumers not to buy certain products.

Demonstrations: to attract the attention of indecisive people.

Letter writing: to address the concerned party. Send a copy of the letter to the press.

Press conferences: to inform the public about our goals and how far we have reached in the negotiation with the target group.

Timing of a campaign

The success of any campaign largely rests on when, where, and how it is conducted. A consumer campaign mobilised on a major holiday may not win adequate following and support, it will miss a large number of followers who will be occupied elsewhere. Similarly, a campaign coinciding with national

general elections may be confused with the opposition and face political sabotage. Improper timing may be self defeating, for it may leave the organisation unpopular.

PUBLICITY

Publicity is of great importance to a consumer organisation. Good publicity spreads the word about the organisation and helps to establish its name and objectives. Publicity establishes credibility, provides a good coverage and support from various individuals or groups, fighting for a just cause. Publicity includes everything from radio, television, newspaper, posters, and word of mouth.

Publicity Method

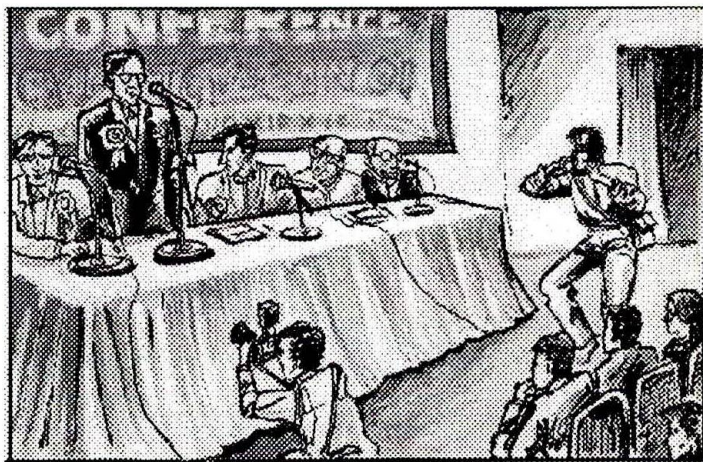
Posters: Colourful posters are “catchy”. Because people do not usually give much time to reading posters, it is vital to portray the image of the objectives of our issue with as few words as possible. At the same time ensuring that we have provided as much detail as possible. Provide your address and phone numbers to enable readers to access you for queries. Display posters in most frequented places such as shopping areas.

Leaflets: Leaflets must have the same qualities as posters. In addition, they are handy, striking, easy to distribute, and not difficult to post.

Press Releases, Letters to the Editor, Interviews: The issue needs wide media coverage such as through local news papers, television, radio stations, news conferences and letters to the editor. Press releases should be newsworthy.

Effective Press Conference

Checklist: Plan the press conference well in advance. We should provide reporters with a site plan to facilitate accessibility. The date for the press



conference should not coincide with a major event in the country.

Send the agenda for the press conference as soon as possible. If you have personal contact with reporters, invite them as well as chief editors or heads of news. Have a list of reporters to whom you have sent invitations ready so that it may be used as an attendance sheet when they sign against their names.

Prepare a written statement. Do not distribute any written statement about the subject of the press conference before the press conference. Distribute your statement after the press conference.

Answer all questions true to your knowledge as briefly as possible. Elaborate on questions which touch the issue directly.

The most important issue after the press conference is the follow up. Deliver by hand, a copy of written statement to each of the reporters who have not been able to attend the press conference. Make sure that the press conference will appear in the media.

Effective Press Release

A press release should be short. Always place the important points in a descending order, that is, the most important at the top, followed by the less important.

The date and time of the conference should always be placed at the top. Your idea should be justified with quotes. Be as brief as possible. Using the organisation letterhead will help people to identify you easily. Wherever possible, provide a photograph to the media.

PRESS RELEASE

A press release should contain the following:

LOGO/SYMBOL

TELEPHONE/FAX

DATE RELEASE

NEWS FROM ACM

Sample identification heading

HEADLINE

Brief identification of story

OPENING PARA

Summary of the issue

Highlights of issues

Not indented

Double Spacing

OTHER PARAGRAPHS

Advantages: what is new/different

Applications: use and users

Other information

Name of writer and contact person

SOLICITING SUPPORT

Without support, it is difficult to campaign or lobby. Support from other groups of NGOs is vital. Depending on the problem, we have to decide which groups we want to get support from such as, the general public, non governmental organisations, trade unions, groups related to that particular issue.

Support can be solicited through telex, telephone, public meetings, demonstrations, boycotts, bargains, and direct mail.

It is important to solicit support in rural areas to facilitate the spread of consumer activism to marginalised areas, where it is most needed.

It is vital to note that the methods used to solicit support may vary with socio-economic, cultural, religious and institutional differences. The nature of problems faced by consumers may also vary between rural and urban areas. It is therefore imperative for solicitors of support and campaign organisers to come up with relevant strategies that will capture such disadvantaged folks.

Influencing target groups: An important tactic to solve the problem. We have to place our facts in an influential manner in order to be convincing. At times, it will depend on the issue and the target population that we want to convince. As a consumer organisation, our target group may be:

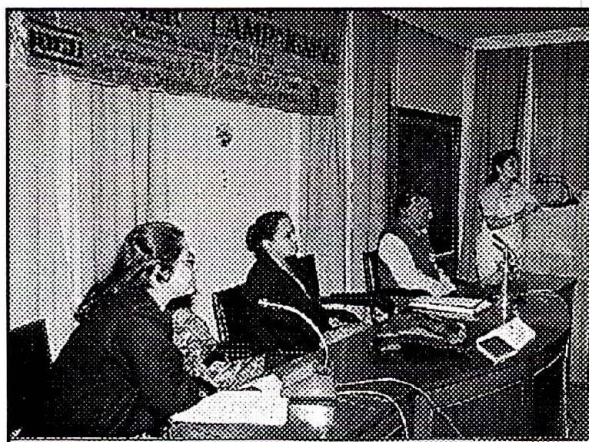
- professional group - lawyers, doctors
- business community - Chambers of Commerce and Industry
- political leaders - Ministers, political party leaders.

THE RULES OF POWER TACTICS FOR CAMPAIGNING

- ⊙ *Power is not what you have, but what the opponents think you have*
- ⊙ *Never go outside the experiences of your own people*
- ⊙ *Wherever possible, go outside the experiences of your enemy*
- ⊙ *Confine your opponents to live up to their own book of rules*
- ⊙ *Hold your opponent to decision*
- ⊙ *Keep the pressure on until you achieve your goal*
- ⊙ *Do not drag on*
- ⊙ *A good tactic is one that makes people enjoy*

Involvement and Commitment to a Campaign Strategy

- ⇒ Identify and concentrate on the strategy to be adopted
- ⇒ Develop a step by step plan
- ⇒ Organise a goal setting and realisable process
- ⇒ Develop a tight campaign time table
- ⇒ Train and equip volunteers if necessary
- ⇒ Include executive members and staff in the plan
- ⇒ Maintain written campaign policies and procedures
- ⇒ Provide a periodic campaign report to partners
- ⇒ Maintain proper campaign monitoring and accounting procedures
- ⇒ Use campaign promotional materials
- ⇒ Organise periodic reviews and appraise materials
- ⇒ Evaluate the campaign.



DISCOVERING AN ISSUE THROUGH A SURVEY: STEP BY STEP APPROACH TO CONDUCTING A SURVEY

Step 1. Get expert advice

Convene a meeting with members who are professionals in social sciences. If you do not have members, contact friends or local experts. These persons will help you to design questionnaires, pretesting and analysing results.

Step 2. Determine what your organisation wants to know (that is the aim you want to achieve).

Step 3. Identify the target group, for example, for price/quality sellers of target product/service.

Step 4. Test questionnaires.

Provide samples of the questionnaire to members of your organisation. Brainstorm on difficulties arising in answering the questionnaire from the consumer's point of view.

Step 5. Collect data.

Visit, call or write to consumers. Make sure that the information provided is correctly entered in the questionnaire.

Step 6. Interpretation of data collected.

Get expert advice from a statistician or a social science graduate.

Step 7. Result.

Present the results in a reader-friendly way so that a layman can understand it.

Step 8. Capitalise on the result of the particular issue.

When you have completed your survey, you should have enough indications of how appealing the problem is to the consumers.

Factors to be considered when campaigning

- i) It is the responsibility of a campaign organiser to campaign professionally and not haphazardly.
- ii) For consumer organisations in developing countries and with limited resources, campaigning is a challenge. Professional campaigning requires the organisation to be imaginative, responsive, to be able to show a sense of goodwill, good communication and dynamism.
- iii) A successful campaign depends on several factors such as the nature of public relations with the media; the image of the organisation; and leadership of the organisation.
- iv) Professional campaigning can be more successful if it portrays its intention to satisfy the needs of the consumers.
- v) There is need for the involvement of all concerned parties through a transfer process.

The transfer process may be as follows:

Hostility ————— → **Sympathy**

Not all the people will collaborate in a campaign. Some groups or non governmental organizations may be hostile. You must try to win their sympathy by all means necessary.

Prejudice ————— → **Acceptance**

A particular campaign may seemingly prejudice some religious, educational and social communities. It is vital to win their acceptance.

Apathy ————— → **Interest**

Some people may be disinterested due to lack of understanding. This usually happens when the subject matter has not been presented in a convincing and interesting way. Provide information on the subject matter.

Ignorance ————— → **Knowledge**

This is a common failing. As human beings we usually assume that everyone knows about the issue. Make people more knowledgeable about the issue.

LOBBYING

It is the prime role of consumer organisations to pressurise governments to give priority to human life before personal glory. To effectively exert pressure, consumer organisations require the support of the masses and other sympathisers.

Planning is of great importance in any lobbying activity. The important things that have to be considered when planning are:

- Understanding the authority you are planning to lobby.
- Finding out the functions and responsibilities of this authority in relation to other authorities.
- Following the planned steps as accurately as possible.
- Establishing contacts with the authorities and sending them material you have such as working papers, reports, research carried out etc.
- Inviting them to your organisation for discussion, allowing them to address and express their views on the issues discussed at the meeting.

The consumer organisation must be well prepared to defend its ideas from being refuted by the authorities during discussion.

EXISTENCE OF AN ORGANISATION

Lobbying can only be envisaged when the same reason and set of issues, concern a more sizeable group of people. These people should be organised, with well set objectives and strategies. The organisation then defines a cause which all its members identify themselves with. Areas of concern could be the quality and cost of products and various services, and or, laws to protect the consumer.

CONTROLLING A NETWORK

Lobbying by an organisation can only be carried out through a network, that is, a set of structures or institutions defending the organisation's cause. The success of lobbying will depend on the extent of the network, its capacity to influence, and on the nature and diversity of its field of influence and components.

Elements of the network

Creating the pillars of a network

Consumer organisations should establish relations aimed at creating a network supportive of the consumer movement's cause. Such a network may be based on the following pillars:

Political organisations and administrative structures

The representative institution of this pillar is the parliament. Parliament is made up of elected people in charge of drawing up legislation. Through the Members of Parliament (MPs) supporting their cause, consumer organisations can influence decisions, foster the revision of laws or the elaboration of new laws to enhance consumer protection.

The most adequate approach is to contact parliamentary groups on issues related to consumer rights, through specific questions to which the majority of the population (voters) are sensitive.

Civil society organisations

By definition, these are groups of people committed to participating in the life of the nation and the development of humankind outside political parties. They are:

- non-governmental organisations
- various associations
- cooperatives
- movements (youth, women etc.)
- trade unions.

This pillar is crucial because it is capable of influencing all other pillars when everyone is mobilised. To win civil societal organisation structures to their cause, consumer organisations must take interest in their activities and concerns. They must invite them to take part in public consumer activities.

The media

The role of the media in lobbying is undeniable. It has great influence on public opinion on all kinds of issues and situations.

Consumer organisations should establish good relations with all private and public media such as, television, radio and the print press.

Mobilising the network

When the network is well established, and there is a strong relationship between the organisation and supporting network, it becomes easier to act.

TACTICS THAT CAN BE USED TO LOBBY

Prove your support: Demonstrate that several people feel the same as you do about the issue. Obtain the support of representatives and sympathetic officers who would take the issue to higher organisational levels, such as Parliament. Use questions and declarations from international organisations such as the World Health Organisation and Consumers International to substantiate your issues.

Use experts' opinions: Use sympathetic professionals and scientists to build up your argument.

Develop friendly material: Materials should not be bulky or complex; they should be simple and as brief as possible. Any criticisms that the organisation puts forward should be accompanied by valid alternatives.

Know when to take a bold step: If you anger the authorities, do so in a conscious and calculated way.

Adapted from IOCU paper: "Campaigning on issues"

Mobilisation of the network arises from a situation where the organisation realises that its sole efforts can solve a given problem. The organisation must only use lobbying as a last resort, when all else fails.

The way to mobilise a network depends on the nature of the problem and the situation to be changed. In a given situation it is advisable to contact one element of the network, which you know will have repercussion on the other elements, and facilitate their mobilisation. Generally, the media makes it possible for the whole lobbying network, so as to support the pillar whose action is fundamental and decisive.

ADOPTING A COHERENT APPROACH

Coherent action is a guarantee of success and a proof that the organisation is serious. Coherence is reflected in the following elements:

a) Perfect knowledge of the situation

The organisation must gather as much information as possible on the situation so as to better understand it and inform the lobby on "What is the situation like?"

- What are its characteristics?
- What are the foreseeable consequences?
- How can it be influenced?

b) Setting clear and realistic targets

The organisation must know clearly what results are necessary, and what objective is to be pursued.

c) Identifying a strategy, a precise plan of action

The following concerns arise:

- By what means can the objectives be achieved in the most effective and least costly way possible?
- What person (private, corporate) is the best placed to influence the situation?
- Which element of the network is the most relevant at which stage of the action?
- What resources are needed?
- Are there any other alternatives?

d) Good positioning of campaign within the action

In stage (c), the organisation must decide whether it needs a campaign to support the action.

In general, the campaign is aimed at reinforcing the network's actions and involves the network. The organisation should have control over the campaign in all aspects of organisation, funding, implementation, coordination and assessment.

STRENGTHENING THE LOBBY

It is clear that lobbying requires a methodical approach and rigorous organisation. It is only workable when the organisation is credible, has managed to convince people of its public usefulness, the relevance of its interventions and the transparency of its management of affairs.

CONCLUSION

Lobbying is a strategy which should be adopted by every consumer organisation. It allows the organisation to deal with all kinds of situations, to win many battles and impose itself as an unavoidable interlocutor to all professionals.

ADVOCACY

Advocacy is an act of giving support to a cause. Any one who attempts to resolve a problem in a non-violent way by negotiation, persuasion, perseverance and by convincing the other party, is practising advocacy. When the beneficiary is an individual, the effort could be considered as private advocacy. But when the efforts are directed towards the benefit of the public at large, or a large group of individuals, they could be considered as public advocacy.

Advocacy efforts may vary in their external manifestation depending on the issue it is focusing on. Advocacy as a democratic tool consists of several independent techniques, strategies and tactics.

Advocacy may take shape with any permutation and combination of these characteristics and many more. Yet it has a single purposeful result viz., to bring about social change so that the weaker sections of the community get greater access to political power and economic resources of the country. This social change does not necessarily emerge through a sudden revolution. It may take place as a result of a peaceful and gradual transition.

Advocacy efforts arise from field situations or an individual case or a policy initiative.

COLLECTING INFORMATION

A lot of work needs to be done after the issue is identified, but before it is properly framed. In fact an issue cannot be framed unless a lot of related information is collected. The information to be collected would be regarding the following:

- Laws relating to the issues.
- Policy on the issues.
- The persons concerned in implementing the laws/schemes
- Sympathisers within the government, of the issue and opponents of the cause.

- Media coverage and its analysis
- Other groups working on the same issue.
- Possibility of forming a coalition with other groups.

The social action organisation must ensure that the issue is understood by the affected people and that they are aware and ready to take initiative in the advocacy efforts. The issue as identified, has to be properly framed before any action could be taken on it. Once the information is collected, it forms the background for framing the issue in a manner that would help achieve the desired objective.

MOBILISING INTERESTED PERSONS

For any advocacy effort to be effective, it is essential that the people interested and affected by the issues come together. This can help in projecting the importance of the issue. It is expected that the interested people can be mobilised by any of the following methods:

- Appeals, letters.
- Exhibitions, posters, leaflets, handbills.
- Speeches.
- Meetings.
- Signature campaigns.
- Dramas, rallies, demonstrations.
- Street plays.
- Conferences, workshops.

Networking

It is very important to establish links with groups and organisations having similar interests. Such groups may interact with one another primarily on matters of common interest.

FORMING ALLIANCES

After knowing the people who are interested in the issue, it is very useful to form alliances and get into close association with some of them. The groups may not always have common priorities, but as long as they have interest in the issue, they are potential allies. Greater the alliance, greater the impact it would have on decision makers, be it judiciary, bureaucracy, legislature or the media. Different allies increase the strength of the group as a whole and therefore increase the impact on the issue.

FORMING AND SUSTAINING COALITIONS

Coalitions in the context of advocacy are alliances of organisations working together for a common concern. These organisations may belong to different sectors, and may ordinarily carry out different activities. What is peculiar to the coalitions is that they form associations of different groups and organisations that are driven by common concern.

Depending on the cause of the concern, a coalition should function for a short duration or over a long stretch of time. In order to maintain good relations among the members of the coalition and also effectively pursuing the cause it is necessary to fulfil the following conditions:

- The goals and objectives of the coalitions are clearly stated.
- The tasks and responsibilities among the groups are clearly defined.
- Perfect and open communication and dialogue is maintained among the groups.
- Collective leadership should emerge from the coalition.

Coalitions provide support and strengthen the movement. They help to look at the problem from different angles and pool experience and expertise of different groups.

PLANNING CAMPAIGNS

Every advocacy campaign to be optimally effective has to be properly planned. This planning would include the following:

Collecting all relevant information relating to the campaign including legal information, policy statement, scientific information and similar activities.

Identifying the key players including:

- Those who make decisions
- Those who oppose the action
- Those who are proponents of the issues
- Those who have no opinion on the issue.

Analysing one's own and opponents' strengths and weaknesses would provide opportunities for further action.

Searching the proper tool and where it could be used and when.

INVOLVING MEDIA

Media, whether print or electronic, plays a very crucial role in the advocacy action. It is an effective tool which can give wide exposure to the cause. It can influence a large number of people including the main or the influential workers. Advocacy in fact is influencing the influential and other people involved in the cause.



If the cause is newsworthy and the media also have the policy of focusing on that cause, the task before the social activists is very easy. But if the media is unaware of the impact of the issue, an activist has to convince them of the importance and the newsworthiness of it. This can be done by creating sympathy for the cause among media personnel or by appealing to the feelings of compassion in them.

BUILDING PRESSURE ON LEGISLATURE

CONSUMER



In a democracy, the legislature is the representative of the people. They are expected to give effect to the desires and aspirations of the people whom they represent. It is therefore essential that the legislature know what people want and what they do not want.

The legislators need to be informed on different issues based on factual statistical data. This

would help the legislators to take a reasoned stand in formulating policies.

RELEVANCE OF ADVOCACY

In a democratic society it is the responsibility of the people to be vigilant. They must exert sufficient pressure on legislature, so that they are compelled to take action in a manner which is most desirable for the people, especially the poor and the politically weak. People must exhibit their strength by joining hands on common issues and compelling the bureaucracy also

to implement the laws and the schemes that are introduced for their benefit.

If all people are vigilant and alert about their rights and responsibilities there would be little work left for the social advocates. However in a country where the majority of the people are illiterate and unaware of their rights and entitlements the social activists have to step in to make these weaker sections of the community, aware of their rights. They need to be encouraged to take initiative in leading their own lives as competent members of the community.

STRATEGIC PLANNING

Strategic Planning is the process of determining what an organisation intends to be in the future and how it will get there. It is finding the best future for the organisation and the best path to reach the destination. Such planning involves fundamental choices about the future of organisation-choices about:

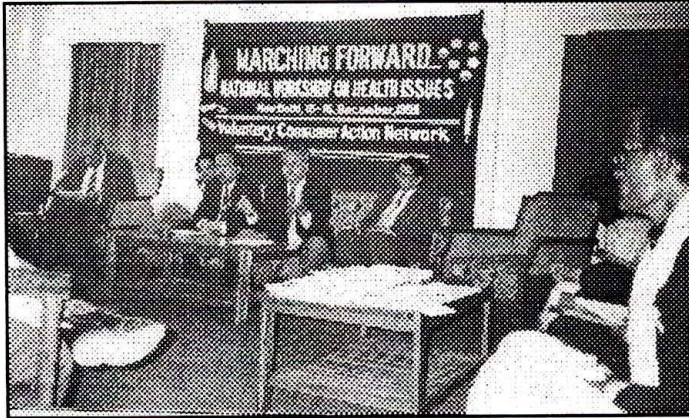
- The mission or the goals the organisation will pursue
- The programmes, services, or products to accomplish this mission
- How to attract and utilise the resources needed-people, money, expertise, facilities etc.

THE NEED FOR STRATEGIC PLANNING

- To improve performance.
- To stimulate progressive thinking and clarify future direction.
- To solve major organisational problems.
- To ensure optimum utilisation of available resources.
- To build team work and expertise.
- To influence rather than be influenced.
- To ensure professionalism in management of work.

DEVELOPING A VISION

Strategic planning can be described as developing a vision for the future of the organisation. The task in strategic planning is twofold:



the creation of that plan. These components are:

- An organisational vision
- A system of group values
- A mission statement
- A set of objectives

THE VISION

- Develop the best vision of what an organisation should look like in the future.
- Determine how to move the organisation toward that desired future.

COMPONENTS OF A STRATEGIC PLAN

Mission

The mission of an organisation is what it intends to accomplish in future. Mission is a broad term which reflects the ideology of any organisation.

Time-frame

These can be short, medium and long term plans. The time-frame is important since the development of a functional project is contingent upon a realistic period in which to finish all the related work.

Goals

When formulating a strategic plan which involves a number of related actions, it is important to prioritise the organisation's goals. The following questions need to be answered:

- Which goals are the most important ?
- Which goals is the organisation ready to work on now?
- Which goals are long term goals ?
- Which short term goals will help to achieve the long term goals ?

FORMULATION OF A STRATEGIC PLAN

To form an effective strategic plan, one must understand and define the elements which comprise

Vision can be defined as a unique insight into a problem. For an organisation, this special understanding of the situation or problem is what necessitates the group's existence. It is, therefore, crucially important for the organisation to articulate its vision statement.

The vision statement is a farsighted, well-articulated long term ambition. These statements are, generally, very broad in nature and serve more as overall motivation than as pragmatic agenda for action. The vision statement should define the problem which necessitates the organisation's existence.

VALUES

Values, on the other hand, define the character, method of operation and working environment of a given organisation.

MISSION STATEMENT

The mission is quite simply a statement of purpose. It is a simple one or two sentence statement that should address:

- An organisation's main purpose
- The target group involved
- The principal means of serving the target group

It is important that the mission statement be understood and agreed to by all members of the organisation.

Each organisation, each campaign has a mission i.e. what it wishes to achieve as the ultimate goal. In order to accomplish the articulated mission, it is required to

elaborate the ways/the system and steps which we think are appropriate for moving in the directions set by our mission.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The goals are simply those objectives which an organisation would like to accomplish. The goals need to be specific enough to allow an organisation to work towards it. To set goals, it is important to ask:

- What are our problems?
- Who do these problems affect ?
- How can we overcome them ?
- What do we need to overcome them ?

The goals should address these questions and the statement of the goals needs to be specific. Besides, they should be closely related to the mission or purpose of the organisation.

TEN STEPS OF STRATEGIC PLANNING

Step One

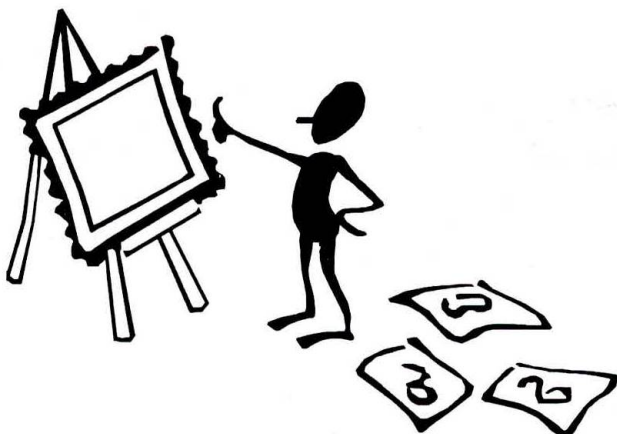
The first step is to evaluate the current situation and the activities of the organisation.

Step Two

Step two involves the assessment of the organisational strengths and weaknesses. It helps in getting the idea what the organisation is capable of achieving.

Step Three

The analysis of internal strengths and weaknesses leads naturally to an assessment of the external opportunities and constraints (threats) facing the organisation.



Step Four

The next activity is to identify the main issues that are facing the organisation. An issue can be a problem, a weakness, a question, a challenge or a concern. The issues should be limited to those concerns that have to be resolved if there is to be agreement on the strategic planning.

Step Five

The next step involves the development of vision for the organisation. It means the members should think and imagine what they wish their organisation would like to achieve in the next three or five years.

Step Six

Stage six represents the first part of the formal planning process i.e. preparation of statement of purpose. This statement may contain a reference to the vision (why we are working), the role of the organisation in achieving that vision, the direct target group (for whom we are working) and possibly the main activities (how we will work).

Step Seven

Once the statement of purpose is completed, the goals are relatively straightforward, which is the next step of the planning process.

Step Eight

The next step is to take each goal and identify the main activities, target groups, time frame and geographical location and thus to develop the planning grid.

Step Nine

This stage provides the opportunity to go back over the plan and check to see if the various ideas are both feasible and appropriate.

Step Ten

Step ten includes the drafting of final and revised plan.

How To Implement a Campaign

— V. K. Parigi

PLAN, PLAN and PLAN..., but then ACT.

Planning is anticipatory decision making.

Prepare a work plan with time schedules and monitor it. If things are not moving as per plan ask questions and reschedule the work plan if needed only. Speed and punch are important in implementing the plan. Sometimes, an element of surprise is needed.

- ✓ Begin by giving the group a name that is brief and self explanatory.
- ✓ Prepare a position paper describing the issue you are concerned with, the major problems that need corrective action and the action that is necessary to correct the situation.
- ✓ Gain public support (narrow possible base of opposition).
- ✓ Decide on a core group of volunteers.
- ✓ Organise all material into a comprehensive filing system. (A well run organisation and easy accessibility to information is essential to your credibility and effectiveness.)
- ✓ Prepare and research your data.
- ✓ Anticipate problems that your campaign/your proposals may cause.
- ✓ Develop thorough background material.
- ✓ Build coalition groups, and use networking. Contact individuals with expertise in the area concerned.
- ✓ Budget permitting, send personal letters to as many persons as possible.
- ✓ Hold press conference.
- ✓ Select a Co-ordinator for each region.

IMPLEMENTATION

- Stage I - The initial stage (getting ready)
- Stage II - The launch itself
- Stage III - The feedback and review of strategies
- Stage IV - Modify, re-orient the campaign if required
- Stage V - Evaluate progress and results
- Stage VI - Close action

Strategy may be defined as broad plan of attack or general approach. Tactics are the specific actions taken to advocate certain policy positions. Various tactics are:

1. **Signature gathering**. The best places to do so are:

- Social events
- High density traffic areas
- Public libraries
- Colleges/University campus
- Independence Day/Republic Day events

2. **Personal presentations**. Face to face contacts — Identify friends and avoid enemies.

3. **Presentation before Parliamentary Committees**.

4. **Legal Action**

5. **Political Protest**

Street demonstrations, picketing and sit-ins aimed at gaining publicity to the cause. Get the media to cover the protest when it takes place. Will help expand public awareness of the issue. For synergetic benefits, protest marches should be simultaneous on a given date at all places chosen for the purpose.

6. **Letter writing**: to MPs, MLA, Government officials.

Urge the public or members to write to a particular Minister or Parliamentarian or Government official.

7. **Press Conference**: Releasing reports/ research data.

The media event needs a great deal of planning and the cultivation of individual reporters. A sympathetic news report is invaluable to a consumer group, it is a resource to be nurtured, cherished and protected.

8. **Share-holders' Actions**:

Using the AGM of companies for a cause, through collection of proxies.

9. **Whistle-blowers**:

Getting information from insiders and using it to strengthen the facts and the campaign. Secrecy of the source should be assured.

Each tactic should be weighed against its costs and benefits.

ACTION PLAN

Week one: Getting started

Call initial meeting to explain the campaign, plan dates and determine tasks to be done.

Continue throughout the week to firm up committees and recruit volunteers.

Week two: Publicity and education

Display posters, distribute leaflets, speak to like minded groups.

Publish endorsements of campaign by prominent citizens.

Week three: Organise the key event planned for the campaign.

Week four: Analyse feedback
Evaluate results.
Decide further course of action.

How to Use and Handle Information

— Sudha Sachdeva Dhar* and Sucharita Eashwer**

In recent years, the consumer movement has grown tremendously both in scope and in size. It is constantly expanding and covering newer information about consumer related issues and their possible redressal.

More and more attention is needed towards informing consumers of bad business practices. A consumer needs simple answers to his day-to-day problems like what to buy or not buy, how much to pay, what to select etc. Consumer organisations that are responsible for creating awareness among people need also to be well equipped in terms of information. Up-to-date and current information plays a key role in their work. For the consumer groups information is power.

A successful campaign depends on gathering right and unbiased information, verifying and identifying right information, sharing relevant information with other organisations and communicating the information within the group, among likeminded groups, consumers, adversaries like government, companies etc., redressal agencies, media and policy makers.

Consumer organisations are recognised as the bank of information. With this naturally a basic question emerges: where do the consumer groups look for information?

Information can come from various sources:

- Consumers themselves and activists,
- Government policies and data,
- Corporate bodies,
- NGOs in the country, national and foreign consumer groups,

- International, national, and regional media,
- Academic research, academic and institutional libraries, libraries of other consumer and related organisations,
- Special libraries of different government bodies and world bodies like United Nations, World Health Organisation etc.

For planning and designing a consumer campaign, selection of relevant information should be done very carefully. While doing scanning and selection some fundamental questions should be kept in mind:

- How up-to-date is the information?
- Is it complete?
- Is the source dependable?
- What are the possible biases of the source?

It is advisable for a campaigner to be selective on issues and use information only of dependable as well as unbiased sources.

Information is such a raw material, proper handling of which gives success to a campaign. A campaign is a process which brings changes in structure and function. Changes in terms of service, attitude, quality of goods, accountability, awareness and empowerment.

The consumer movement - a movement for, through and with the people depends largely on input and effective dissemination of information. Information - the tool for consumer campaigning helps strengthen this democratic movement which is trying relentlessly to make this world a better place to live in.

* Sudha Sachdeva Dhar, a teacher in consumer economics and development communications in the Lady Irwin College, New Delhi, works as a volunteer with several NGOs and has coordinated the sanitation project of UNICEF in Rajasthan, Haryana and J & K. Has keen interest in issues of trade and economics as well.

** Sucharita Eashwer, a post graduate in Mass Communications, is head of Madhyam Communications, Bangalore, which brings out several journals, conducts training seminars, and workshops, and is involved with consumer advocacy and awareness.

SWOT Analysis of the BVO Case

— Pradeep S. Mehta

In order to understand the planning process of any campaign it is necessary to do a SWOT analysis before undertaking it, so that one knows where one stands and carry on the battle with full preparedness. Having made a presentation in an earlier session on a national campaign conducted by CUTS to get BVO, a toxic additive used in soft drinks like Limca and Gold Spot, banned, the SWOT analysis of the case was related thus:

Strengths:

1. Whistle Blowers in the government, i.e. honest and upright technocrats who shared the information on the continuing use of BVO, as they were inadequate in pressuring their committees to take a common stand.

Two persons who helped CUTS in this campaign were O.P.Gera of the Ministry of Food Processing, who stated on record: "128 countries in the world have banned it." And Dr S K Khanna of the Industrial Toxicological Research Centre, Lucknow, whose remarks in the minutes of the Food Additives Sub-Committee are apt: "If they can't find a substitute, why should our innocent children consume their poisonous drinks".

2. Availability of upto date and accurate information from consumer groups/standards institutions all over the world where BVO was already banned.

The Australian Consumers Association, Centre for Science in Public Interest, Washington, British Standards Institution, Consumers Association of Penang, Malaysia and Stiftung Warentest, Bonn, Germany sent the latest information. Dr Khanna gave a document of Codex, which said that the additive has been classified as a C-1 additive, i.e. unsafe for use in food.

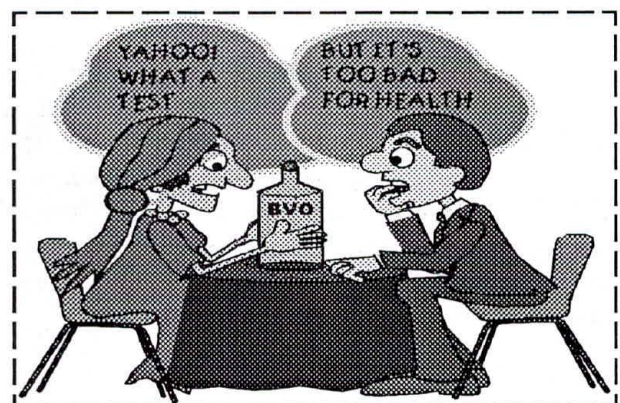
3. Availability of dedicated activists and volunteers including lawyers who were ready to devote time and energy for research, documentation and advocacy.

Besides Mehta, Naresh Sahai Mathur, honorary counsel for CUTS in New Delhi, Aniruddha Bose in Calcutta and office staff, N. K. Sinha and Champak Roy put their heart and soul in the matter.

4. Availability of allies in media and other pressure groups.

The Times of India, convinced of the credibility of CUTS, frontpaged a story (enclosed with the case study) before CUTS moved the National Commission, creating favourable public opinion. Subsequently the whole press picked it up and launched a campaign even beyond the ban date. N.Suresh, the reporter of the Times, who launched and followed up the story resolutely became a friend of CUTS and was also nicknamed as 'BVO Suresh' by his colleagues.

Following the ban, Parle, makers of Limca, relaunched their soft drink with a new additive,



but without disclosing the substitute, leading CUTS to call for a boycott. Both the *The Telegraph of Calcutta* and *Mid Day of Bombay* carried the news prominently forcing Parle to declare the substitute.

Subsequently the *Mumbai Grahak Panchayat* on seeing this news in Bombay sent a telegram to the *MRTP Commission, New Delhi* that soft drinks with the banned additive are still being sold in the market, which led to its issuing an *ex-parte* injunction ordering health authorities to immediately seize the impugned soft drinks from the market.

Weaknesses

1. Inadequate law and weak enforcement machinery to order ban and withdrawal of soft drinks containing BVO

The National Commission felt that it had only the power to order compensation if consumers came to them with proof of harm caused by consuming BVO. Its power to order removal of defects in goods was interpreted as being conditional on a laboratory test. Arguments that it is an admitted defect did not jell with the court. The apex consumer court was unwilling to develop or interpret the law in consumers' interest.

2. Lack of allies in the consumer movement due to influence or ignorance.

Consumer groups who were members of the Central Committee for Food Standards, Ministry of Health, where the issue could have been decided favourably were either ignorant or influenced. Gera mentioned the latter in one case.

3. A system which is corruptible and laden with inertia.

The decision making system in the government is often mortgaged to vested interests and/or inertia, and the political masters make hay while the sun shines. It is in their interest to have anomalies so that both business and consumers can be milked for extraneous reasons. For instance in another case, Gera informed Mehta that his minister, Jagdish Tytler put a note on the file not to take

any action against Parle for violation of the *Fruit Products Order*.

Opportunities

1. Consumer Protection Act which empowered consumer groups to file public interest petitions to seek remedy of withdrawal of defects from goods.

The law was enacted to offer better protection to consumers' interest and provided a simple and speedy redressal system.

2. Access to information from helpful sources.

Highlighted in Strength 2 above.

3. Helpful bureaucrats and politicians as countervailing forces to the unhelpful ones.

Highlighted in Strength. 1 above. Additionally the then Environment Minister, Maneka Gandhi took up the battle for consumers and impressed upon the Prime Minister and the Health Minister to enforce the ban. Her activist role sealed the fate of an impending extension.

Threats

1. Intimidation by the interested parties as it affects their business.

In a press conference and in another interaction, people told Mehta that he was writing his obituary as the affected parties were known to be powerful and unscrupulous businessmen. One of them was also a Congress Party M.P., though at the time of this action the Janata Dal was in power at the centre.

2. Influence by vested interests in purchasing decision makers and even CUTS activists.

The fact is that the concerned officers in the Ministry of Health refused to share any information or respond to CUTS embarrassing letters showed that they were influenced by the soft drinks lobby. Feelers were also sent to CUTS activists to drop the case at a certain 'price', which was of course refused.

3. Counter litigation for defamation, loss of business and reputation.

Once the CERC, Ahmedabad had to face litigation from the Birla Textile Mills for releasing a report challenging their fabric formulation. The fear that if one lost the case, the soft drinks lobby could file a similar defamation and damages suit.

4. Blackmailing and tarnishing image of CUTS by showing the campaign as a plant by competitors.

In this case the losers did conduct a quiet campaign to show that CUTS was set up by Pepsi to harm national manufacturers of soft drinks, but in the end people saw through it. One simple

reason was that even Pepsi was interested in introducing citrus-flavoured soft drinks using BVO as a clouding agent.

Turning Points:

One major outcome of this battle was that consumers started questioning the safety aspects of food items including soft drinks, which caused manufacturers to carry a slogan: "Contains no BVO" in their advertisements and on the bottles.

The second major outcome was that the COPRA was amended in 1993 empowering consumer courts to (a) order the withdrawal of any hazardous substance from the market, and (b) order the ban of any substance which is hazardous to health.



"If they (i.e. soft drink companies) can't find a substitute, why should our innocent children consume their poisonous drinks"

... Dr. S.K. Khanna

Industrial Toxicological Research Centre,
Lucknow (during the BVO case).

Section Four

**Why and How Campaigns
Fail or Succeed**

"Campaigning is a full time Job"

*Case Studies of Three Successful and
Three Non-successful Campaigns*

*Local
Regional
National*

Case Study: Campaign on Milk Prices in Jaipur

— Presenter: Anant Sharma

Background

History: Jaipur, the capital of Rajasthan is unique and very prominent among all the cities of the world. Popularly known as the PINK CITY, it was founded by Maharaja Jai Singh II in the year 1727 with proper planning and guidance by specialists in architecture in those times. Modern planners are astonished to see wide roads in a rectangular pattern having huge buildings. Present day architects also have a lot to learn from the work done by their counterparts in the 18th century.

From the historical point of view Jaipur is a new city. The founder of this city was Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji who belonged to Kacchawa clan of Rajputs of Rajasthan. The Maharaja was also an architect and astrologer who founded Jaipur in a manner befitting his knowledge and talents. The city resembles a modern city as if it were planned just a few years ago.

Geography: Jaipur is surrounded by the Aravalli Mountain Range located on the Delhi-Ahmedabad Route. Two main National Highways also pass through Jaipur. Every year a large number of foreigners visit Jaipur to see the old monuments and ancestral heritage.

Political and Economic Scenario: Situated close to Delhi (India's capital), the two have been politically connected in Mughal times, the British era and the post-independence era, having prime importance in the politics of the country. Rajasthan has a state assembly with 200 elected members, while 25 members are elected to the parliament from the state. With a population of 2 million people involved in trade and industry, the city is world famous for arts and crafts such as jewellery, stone carvings, printed cloth, ready-made garments, blue pottery, brass articles, carpets and leather goods.

The Jaipur Dairy twice increased prices of milk without considering the impact on consumers. Anant Sharma, a young activist trained in consumer protection by CUTS, had set up a new outfit — Consumer Action and Network Society. The issue was picked up by the Society which waged a successful battle by using the media through a coalition of several consumers, students and citizens groups, which included CUTS. Strategically the coalition set up a peoples court consisting of senior citizens where the Dairy made an appearance. Subsequently it bowed to public opinion and reduced its prices. This case study was selected as a successful example of a local campaign.

Consumer Activities: Despite being a state capital, awakening of a consumer agitation was difficult since most people were unaware of consumer laws and hence unable to demand their rights through consumer protection laws. The fact that people of Northern India had ignored the various changes taking place in the country so far, didn't help either.

Concerned Group: All of a sudden the prices of milk were raised in Jaipur and about 1.5 million consumers were affected. The price rise didn't affect the richer sections of society.

The issue particularly affected the middle and lower middle class consumers dependent on limited sources of income. It also affected innocent children and sick persons undergoing medical treatment. On the whole, the problem was a general one affecting the total population of Jaipur city.

The Problem:

Direct: Jaipur Dairy is a cooperative institution run by highly qualified persons for production and sale of milk under State government administration. On April

1, 1992, prices were increased by 20% while the supply of milk was only 70, 000 litres.

Due to increase in prices private milk vendors also increased their prices by 25-30% which further deteriorated the situation. The consumption of milk in Jaipur City was about 2 lakh litres per day and due to the increase in prices the household budget of low income consumers was badly affected .

Indirect: An indirect aspect of the problem was the lack of a consumer movement in Jaipur, offering resistance to offenders regarding consumer rights. Manufacturers, sellers, and other government organisations were increasing their prices repeatedly without bothering about the interest of the consumer. Inaction was combined with ignorance regarding ways of increasing consumer awareness and interest. Therefore a dire necessity was felt to approach people, make them recognise the issue and appeal to them to unite and solve the problem. Awareness had to be increased to the level that they would be willing to prepare for public agitation to realise their legitimate rights. Consumer groups had to know that they could rely on the public for support.

The problem was highlighted when various complaints were lodged by consumers in local newspapers. One such paper published a special supplement which aroused consumer interest and letters were sent to concerned authorities. As soon as the news was published in local papers the general public realised that this was a matter of common interest, and cooperation should be extended to a consumer organisation.

Strategy:

The overall strategy was to connect a large number of consumer activists so that their action may take the form of a public agitation and awaken the public.

The three-part strategy was divided thus:

1. Awakening the movement through publicity and contacting officials.
2. Wide publicity in local papers to seek cooperation of the general public
3. Direct action and agitation.

An awareness campaign was started to publicise the issue among the masses. Representations were also submitted to the officers of the state government, articles were published in local papers to spread awareness of the problem.

Further action was taken to distribute pamphlets, posters, and other publicity material. People joined the movement either directly or through their organisations. Press conferences and corner meetings were held so that people could realize their due rights as consumers.

In the third phase planning for direct action was taken such as 'Dharna' (sit-in strike), 'Pradarshan' (demonstration), and 'Jan Adalat' (citizens' courts) and other methods.



Critical strategic activities:

1. Contacting all organisations for direct action.
2. Publicity in local papers to gain the confidence of people.
3. Boosting of workers' morale till the goal was reached.
4. Arranging the method of action.

Key players and allies:

The main action — giving the United Agitation Committee's decision a practical shape—was undertaken by Consumer Action and Network Society (CANS).

Cooperation was extended by various institution of the University and College Students Union, Employees Association, Advocates Association etc. Other allies were:

1. Rajasthan University Students Union.
2. Consumer Unity and Trust Society.
3. Bar Association.
4. Sajag Consumers Association
5. Rajasthan Students Development Union.
6. Genius Students Society
7. Citizens Association for Rights.
8. Consumers Awareness Forum.
9. Socialist Youth Federation of India.
10. Janwadi Writers Union.
11. Senior Citizens Council.
12. Citizen's Action Society.
13. Public Interest Protection Society.
14. Hindu Students Union.
15. Muslim Action and Welfare Society.
16. Rajasthan University Women's Association.
17. Public Awareness Society.

Limitations of the campaign

Various problems came up during the course of the agitation. Some of these were:

a. Lack of general public support

The main problem of the agitation was that despite all efforts we could not get support of the public in general. Except for those who joined due to personal efforts, people did not assemble in demonstration programmes on a large scale.

b. Pressure of Government

Efforts were made to suppress the agitation directly or indirectly. The moral support of the workers was given by CANS to continue the agitation.

c. Lack of financial resources

The associations gave moral support to the agitation but finances posed a problem. Funds could be obtained only through the efforts of CANS.

d. Leadership related problems

Various problems (mainly personal, ego-related) of leadership occurred during the course of the agitation.

e. Legal complications and hindrances

One problem which came into light was legal hindrances. A case was filed for increase of rates of milk in a local court and when the agitation was appearing to be redundant, it was agreed to settle it mutually.

Learnings:

1. There should be complete cooperation among all the actors.
2. While conducting a public agitation, it is necessary to collect adequate funds.
3. The agitation should be planned on a sustainable basis.
4. The state government and all social action groups should be taken into confidence for which advance planning is necessary.

Action

- 18 Apr 92 Representation to Mr. S. K. Miglani, Managing Director of Jaipur Dairy; discussion on the subject of restricting preparation of 'Mawa' (product of milk) for sweets so as to save milk for the consumer. Assurance given.
- 19 Apr 92 Representation given to the Chief Minister and Food Minister Ram Kishore Mina; discussion held to stop preparation of Mawa from milk.
- 22 Apr 92 Declaration of restriction of manufacture of Mawa from milk. Chairman Ganesh Ram Khoji and MD contacted to reduce the increased price of milk.
- Sudhir Varma, Secretary to the Government Dairy Department contacted and representation given. Discussion with Food Minister for imposition of restriction on preparation of Mawa.
- 23 Apr 92 Declaration of agitation / 'Jan Jagriti' (Public awakening) to solve the problem.
- 28 Apr 92 Representation to the State Government Minister for Dairy and start of public agitation.
- 29 Apr 92 N K Verma, Commissioner Jaipur Division and B S Singh, Collector Jaipur, contacted and representations given; discussions held to take action on those who were defying the Government order on restriction of preparation of Mawa.
- 30 Apr 92 Representation to various MLAs and public representatives.
- 1 May 92 Discussion with Dr. S. P. Mittal, MD, Rajasthan Cooperative Dairy Federation.
- 2 May 92 The State Government inspected 20,000 sweet shops and CANS declared that Government did not take proper action.
- 4 May 92 Representation to the Governor to decrease the price of milk by the Cooperative Federation.
- 6 May 92 Representatives of CANS approached the Chief Minister; representation given for immediate action.
- 7 May 92 Dharna on Badi Chopar for a day for decrease in prices.
- 9 May 92 Representatives of CANS contacted the Governor; representation given and prompt action assured to decrease the prices.
- 13 May 92 Joint meeting of public organisations and federation of 30 organisations formed.
- 15 May 92 Action committee gave seven days time and ultimatum issued.
- 21 May 92 United Action Committee called upon the general public to cooperate regarding the problem, kept fast and prayers held in temples, mosques to give wisdom to authorities.
- 24 May 92 Constitution of 'Jan Adalat' and public participation.
- 27 May 92 Demonstrations postponed in view of favourable attitude of Dairy authorities.
- 28 May 92 Dairy organisation members contacted.
- 29 May 92 Reduction in milk prices declared by the cooperative dairy federation.

Case study: No Stops for Fares of Public Transport

— Mala Banerjee*

The Problem: Fare hike in public transport system in West Bengal for buses, mini-buses, taxis

Background:

• Socio Economic

Public transport is used by the lower and middle class people of the society who are economically handicapped and constitute the majority of daily commuters. Thus a sharp hike in fares affects a majority of consumers.

• Structural

The public transport system in West Bengal is operated by both government and private owners. The government transport system is inefficiently run with huge overheads, which leads to huge losses being made each year. On the contrary the private owners run their business efficiently and profitably. A rise in fare structure was in the interest of both the government which was looking for an opportunity to reduce losses and the private owners who would always look for higher profits.

Creation of Problem

In 1990 the West Bengal Government decided to hike the fare structure steeply on flimsy grounds. Reasons put forth by the government were that sharp increases in the cost of motor accessories, petroleum products etc., insurance rates and taxes, capital costs such as chassis, engine, body building etc. have necessitated a fare hike for the transport service to survive.

Unjustified Reasoning

It is true that in that period there was a sharp increase in prices of essentials required in the transport service. But the increases were indirect and, if considered over per-kilometre running of vehicle, the percentage was very low and did not justify the percentage hike in fare made by the government.

Of course the Central Government had increased the cost of petrol in that period but public vehicles do not run on petrol. Buses, mini-buses, even 99 percent taxis run on diesel which affects running of vehicles directly and can be directly related to per-kilometre pricing. The steep hike in fare structure on kilometre basis was unjustified, unwarranted, and malicious.

Consumer Interest

Due to the unjustified and malicious cause of fare hike whereby the basic interest of majority of the consumers was being severely hampered, a mass action became necessary to protect the interest of the consumers. Nearly 2000 middle class commuters drafted a petition pleading to the Consumers' Association to take necessary action to stop the unjustified steep price hike.

Strategic Action

1. The Consumers' Association protested through a memorandum to the Transport Minister Government of West Bengal, highlighting the unjustified reason of the price hike, and demanded a dialogue with the price revision committee. The latter had taken the decision of the price hike through discussions with only the owners of vehicles totally ignoring the interest of consumers. It was pointed out in the memorandum that consumers reserved the right to know the basis of the fare hike.
2. The Government of West Bengal completely ignored the consumers' memorandum and unilaterally passed the proposal of the committee ordering its implementation.
3. Since the memorandum fell on deaf ears, it was decided to file a petition before the president of West Bengal State Consumer Disputes Redressal Commission against the implementation of the revised fare.

4. The petition was made in the consumer court based on the following points:

- i) Deficiency of service. The term deficiency as per Section 2(g) of the Consumer Protection Act 1986 is directly related to the charge for a service, in as much as a service rendered for a higher charge, would make that service deficient compared to the same service rendered for a lesser charge.
- ii) The said definition to hold that a service can be considered to be deficient only if the quality of the service alone fell short of a reasonable standard of expectation whereas the definition clearly states that deficiency means any imperfection in the manner of performance in relation to any service and not an imperfection only in the quality of the service.
- iii) The said fare hike is excessive and disproportionate to all the facts and circumstances and such disproportionate fare of all transport vehicles is arbitrary as no consideration was given to the side of the commuters in whose interest the transport services are run.
- iv) The fact that the present fares of all sorts of transport vehicles have been enhanced disproportionately is a deficiency within the meaning of the act or in other words it is a defect in the services, as it is oppressive to use the mildest of terms.

Key Players and their Role

Being the petitioner or the complainant the Association will be called the key player of the episode. The legal action was taken in the name of the Honorary General Secretary. Being the executive power holder, the General Secretary was supposed to be the main responsible person.

Order passed by the State Commission

So far as consumer movement and consumer causes are concerned the association won the case by having the interim stay order of fare hike on all kinds of public and private vehicles. The stay order would be in force till reconsideration of fare structure was made by the Government of West Bengal.

Critical Problems encountered

The jurisdiction of the court regarding the interim stay order was challenged by the Government of West Bengal through Article 226 as writ petition at Calcutta High Court praying to vacate the order for smooth implementation of the proposed recommendation of the revised fare structure. The argument was based on the ground that the revision of fare structure is purely a policy matter which is not coming under the purview of the Consumer Protection Act.

The advantage and attraction of the consumer court is speedy redressal and free of cost legal proceedings for the benefit of the public. Whereas the procedures of the regular court not only take a lot of time but also involve a lot of money. Thus the advantage of moving the consumer court for the express benefit of the public was jeopardised by the West Bengal Government by challenging the consumer court verdict in a regular court. The High Court of Calcutta took three long years to decide whether the consumer court had jurisdiction in this regard or not.

Tackling the Problems

Regarding legal affairs on fundamental rights as per Indian constitution, which lies under Article 226, no one has any control over the matter. Under the circumstances, in Consumer Protection Act, when there is alternative remedial court the Association being the member of the Consumer Protection Council recommended to amend the said obstacle applying the Article 323B of Indian Constitution for not admitting such cases in high court other than National Commission, the highest authority of consumer dispute redressal.

Learning from this experience

To protect consumers interest as a whole through Consumer Protection Act without having proper amendments in Constitution and other prevailing laws is not complete. Experience says that there is a total imbalance between a victimised individual or a section of deprived consumers and a large multinational company or public sector undertaking with efficient adjudication department. It requires many more rectifications and attention to mend the loopholes of the legal system to provide a perfect grievance redressal to aggrieved consumers.

* The Government of West Bengal raised bus fares by a proper notification, and Mala Banerjee, then General Secretary of Consumer Action Group, challenged the hike by using the Consumer Protection Act. The State Commission granted an ex-parte stay order but this in turn was stayed by the Calcutta High Court, as it did not fall under the jurisdiction of COPRA. This case was selected as an unsuccessful example of a local campaign, which did not happen.

Victory for Electricity Consumers

— John Joseph

To challenge the slab system of electricity rates the Kerala State Consumers Coordination Committee, launched a grass roots campaign and their persistent effort compelled the Government to scrap the slab system and introduce a new meter reading system, where consumers would report their own consumption.

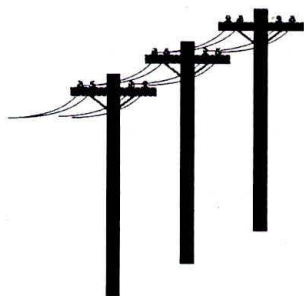
This case study was selected as an extremely successful example of a provincial campaign, which not only brought the people together but also: (a). introduced a new system for meter reading, (b). large number of consumers were made aware of their consumer rights, and (c). Kerala achieved a rapid expansion in consumer movement. In the process several consumer groups were set up at the district and lower levels.

This scenario can be replicated elsewhere subject to local socio-econo-cultural factors. It may be noted that Kerala has the highest literacy rate and the lowest population growth rate in India and Keralites are a very daring people willing to travel and live anywhere, even a remote village.

The Kerala State Electricity Board replaced the monthly meter reading billing of electricity with slab system billing. The slab system consisted of grouping consumers under different slabs on the basis of their monthly average consumption:

UNITS

1. 01 to 20,
2. 20 to 40,
3. 40 to 60,
4. 60 to 80,
5. 80 to 100,
6. 100 to 150,
7. 150 to 200,
8. Above 200.



The tariff, the cost per unit of electricity charged from consumers increased proportionately for the higher groups. Fixed monthly amounts were to be remitted by consumers belonging to each slab or group. Meter readings were presumed to be taken once in six months. If it was found that the actual consumption of a consumer differs from the average of the slab to which he belonged, an adjustment bill was served on him on the basis of which he would have to remit the amount or he would get the refund.

In theory, the slab system seems to be just and convenient. It is truly so if practised according to theory. But in practice, the employees of the KSEB converted it into an exploitative instrument. The practical demerits were as follows:

1. They fixed the slabs without carefully verifying the actual average consumption of the consumers. Thus in many cases the slabs did not have relation to the actual consumption of consumers.
2. They did not take meter reading at regular six monthly intervals. Sometimes meter reading was taken at one or two years' intervals. Naturally, the adjustment bills added heavy burden to consumers.
3. Gradually, a practice of incorporating 'table' reading developed. That is, without visiting the premises of consumers and without taking actual meter reading, the employees would incorporate a reading sitting on their table arbitrarily and adjustment bills prepared on that basis. Many a time, the Board sent signals to the lower offices that there was revenue shortage and, therefore, collection need to be vitalised. The employees issued adjustment bills cooking up table readings and forced the consumers to remit money on the basis of adjustment bills.

In a few years, the slab system became a curse to the consumers. Symptoms of protests were exhibited by consumers all over the state, but, there was no organised force to register the protest. Political parties did not care as they were all having their own trade unions, among the employees. All the trade unions, without distinction to the colour of their flags, supported the slab system as it gave opportunity for workers to idle their time.

It was at this time, in 1985, the consumer movement was initiated on a state level in Kerala. A state level convention of consumers was held in which it was decided that the movement should be launched by developing a fight against any of the serious common issues faced by the consumers. After discussion, it was decided that the fight should be against the slab system of billing of electricity.

An action committee was formed which contained an introductory note on consumer protection first, followed by a memorandum of the people demanding the scrapping of the slab system. The state level action committee initiated conventions at the district level in which district level action committees were formed. Thousands of signature campaign booklets were printed and distributed. As it related to a burning issue, people who had protests against the issue carried the booklets to houses in their neighbourhood and got the memorandum signed by more consumers. This process resulted in organising the consumers on the basis of a lively issue and simultaneously in conscientising them generally on consumer protection.

The struggle against the slab system was carried forward with determination almost in the style of the Freedom Movement adopting satyagraha and various other types of demonstrations of people's feelings. While so, a general election became due and one of the political fronts included a promise in their manifesto that they will remove the difficulties caused by the slab system.

In the elections the same political front won. It may be noted that the consumer movement or the action committees did not work for any political front, but, it raised a campaign against the slab system in the election propaganda.

Though the Front which had promised to scrap the slab system came into power, it did not do anything to ameliorate the problem for one year as its trade unions in the KSEB were dead against the demand of the consumers. While consumers waited for one year for the government to act on the basis of the manifesto,

the action committees were expanded and converted into district consumer organisations and at the state level a State Consumer Co-ordination Committee was formed. Thereafter, the Co-ordination Committee pursued the struggle against the slab forcefully with people's participation and the government was compelled to reach an agreement with the Co-ordination Committee to scrap the slab system.

The natural consequence would have been to re-introduce the Monthly Meter Reading Billing System. Here, the consumer movement caused a significant change.

The Co-ordination Committee after studying the billing systems in various states developed a proposal to introduce Self Meter Reading System. The Co-ordination Committee got the idea from Lakshadweep, a neighbouring island, where this system is practised successfully. All trade unions and political parties opposed this proposal as it would bring down the employment opportunities in the KSEB. But the Co-ordination Committee fought with vigour and the Government was brought to terms to agree that the Self Meter Reading System may be introduced in stages.

To begin with, it was introduced in four major electrical section offices. After one year, it was extended to another fourteen electrical sections thus making up the total to eighteen sections, i.e. one section in each district with self meter reading system. The struggle is not yet finished; it has to be carried on till the Self Meter Reading System is implemented all over the state.

It is logical to state that the consumer movement was built up on the slab system but it is not an easy logic. A movement similar to the Freedom Movement was launched and it is the combination of the issue and the dedicated struggle that resulted in the strength of the movement. Not less than four state level indefinite satyagrahas were launched in addition to various satyagrahas and other forms of demonstrations.

Perhaps, it may be a useful piece of information that in order to take the movement further down to the grassroots, the Co-ordination Committee has now embarked on a new struggle to build up a satisfactory system of rationing. If the struggle against the slab system took the consumer movement to the panchayat level and to the electricity consumers, the struggle for a satisfactory system of rationing, it is hoped, will take the movement to each home.

Case study of an unsuccessful campaign on the Public Distribution System in the state of Bihar, India

— Bejon Misra

Situation: Public Distribution System (PDS) is the most popular network in our country with the maximum government subsidy and touches the total population of our country. A welfare scheme for consumers, PDS is a most sensitive political issue in India.

Issues: Reaching the subsidy to the consumer; identifying the bogus consumers; providing the most important instrument—the ration card; and organising a computerised database.

Problem: Non-availability of ration cards due to lack of resources with the government and denial of subsidised food grains to the consumers.

Action:

1. Public opinion built amongst the consumers for the need of ration cards.
2. Representation to Government with the problems and Government's version of the problem recorded.
3. Resource constraints identified and research conducted on professional level with marketing experts to find the solutions.
4. Government presented with the proposal for consideration and approval.
5. Lobbying done with the Government to give consent as it would be the first time in the country it agreed to private funding of government schemes.
6. Government approval obtained.

7. Test run conducted at Jamshedpur, Bihar.
8. Opposition from vested groups affected by the new approach.
9. Public opinion organised and Government support obtained for implementation of the project but the concept failed due to delayed government action which made it risky for the private sponsors to continue. Hence the campaign failed.

Learnings:

- ♦ Government involvement should be at all levels.
- ♦ Should look for government sponsorship at first and then go to private sponsors.
- ♦ The task should have been given to an established professional marketing agency instead of local small time advertising agencies.
- ♦ The ration card should be priced so that there is a revolving fund for consumer welfare projects.
- ♦ This project could be undertaken under the aegis of the consumer welfare fund, in cooperation with a reputed advertising agency or a consumer organisation.
- ♦ There is an urgent need to provide ration cards to every consumer and complete information should be computerised for research and development.

'BVO' Triggered Consumer Consciousness on Health and Safety

— Pradeep S. Mehta, CUTS, Calcutta

Brominated Vegetable Oil, a toxic additive banned in 128 countries of the world, continued to be used in India due to a relaxation in USA. However the Government did ban it on 15 April 1988, but illegitimately relaxed the ban for two years. When fighting for declaration of fruit juice percentage in tetrapack drinks CUTS stumbled upon this fact. Faced with several odds, in a well orchestrated research, advocacy and boycott campaign CUTS led by Pradeep Mehta succeeded in bringing about the implementation at the end of the two years of the relaxation. This case was selected as a successful case study of national dimensions for two other reasons. First, it led to a turning point in consumer consciousness on health and safety issues and secondly as a result of this case, the Consumer Protection Act was amended in 1993 empowering consumer courts to order withdrawal and/or ban marketing of hazardous substances in the marketplace.

This paper presents a case study of Brominated vegetable Oils (BVO) which were hitherto used in India, in citrus flavoured aerated waters as a clouding agent, although banned in many countries as being toxic.

The paper outlines the steps of a multifaceted campaign launched by Consumer Unity & Trust Society (CUTS) in getting BVO banned and arousing consumer consciousness on health and safety issues.

Food additives are necessary evils used by manufacturers to enhance taste of packaged and treated edibles but considerations for safety are always secondary.

Do we need soft drinks?

"Do we need soft drinks" is a rhetorical question. Artificially built desires of a consumption oriented society has led us into wanting something we can easily do without.

But once a product necessary or unnecessary enters the market, it is the bounden duty of the manufacturer to provide complete information on the product's safety and its effect on the health of its consumers.

Yet there are many such examples where products have entered and established a good name in the market, without being least bothered about its consumers' health or safety. Food additives are one such product where safety considerations always take a back-seat.

At this juncture, I must point out that no wrong can thrive without public support. Otherwise, the soft drinks trade in India would not flourish with such zing and thunder post BVO incident.

Despite the present situation, we as a leading consumer protection group, Consumer Unity & Trust Society, have been able to spark off consumer consciousness on health and safety issues to a certain extent by campaigning against the marketing procedure of soft drinks, for a start.

Why BVO?

Soft drinks (citrus) are artificially flavoured with natural essential oils like lime oil, lemon oil, orange oil etc. But these flavouring oils do not blend properly with water until a weighting agent is added to it. That is, the flavouring oil tends to float on top of the beverage forming an unsightly ring in the bottle, taking away most of the product appeal.

The consumer tends to think that a product with such a ring is spoilt either due to chemical or microbiological spoilage. A weighting agent is that whose specific gravity is more than water. Brominated vegetable oils (BVO), estergum and sucrose acetate isobutyrate (SAIB) are the three recognised weighting agents. But of this, BVO is most effective.

The specific gravity of BVO: 1.32 at 28 degrees celsius is ideal to uniformly distribute the flavouring oils in the body of the beverage. The added advantage of a weighting agent is that it acts as a clouding agent in the beverage giving it a fruit-juice look, which is more appealing than a clear drink.

But for every advantage there is a disadvantage: In this case, the drawback was dangerous. BVO had earned a bad name for itself due to its toxic factor. Yet manufacturers of citrus flavoured soft drinks like Limca, Gold Spot etc. deliberately chose to ignore the harmful nature of this weighting agent.

There is no testing procedure of estergum available in India and anyway BVO was more in use.

BVO, Unsafe for use in Food: JECFA

World Health Organisation (WHO) and Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) had conducted various experiments on animals as well as humans on the effect of BVO, and published its results as early as 1970. It said that a human epidemiological problem could arise from the use of BVO as experiments had demonstrated accumulation of lipid and lipid-bound bromine in adipose tissue and in intracellular fat of various other tissues, both in man and experimental animals.

In 1979, the Joint FAO/WHO Expert Committee on Food Additives (JECFA) classified BVO as a C-1 additive - i.e. "unsafe for use in food".

According to a 1969 study of Canada's Food and Drug Directorate, rats that ate food containing 0.5 percent to 2.5 percent BVO for eighty days suffered heart, liver, thyroid, testicle and kidney damage or

change. In another research in the USA, behavioural birth defects were evident in animals treated with high doses of BVO. USA put an immediate ban, until the Reagan Government relaxed it, but only very slightly.

After the 1979 declaration by JECFA, Japan, UK and West Germany among other countries declared an immediate ban. And in fact, an Asian country, Malaysia had banned it as long ago as 1952.

India was not sleeping all this while, but only responded phlegmatically. In 1979 itself, a notification was issued asking for objections and suggestions to omit BVO from rule 60 of the Prevention of Food

Adulteration Rules (PFA), 1955. But it died down without a murmur and no deletion was made.

Eight years later on 31 March 1987 a second effort was made on the same issue, to find that a simple decision took the government one year and 15 days. On 15 April 1988 the ban was imposed.

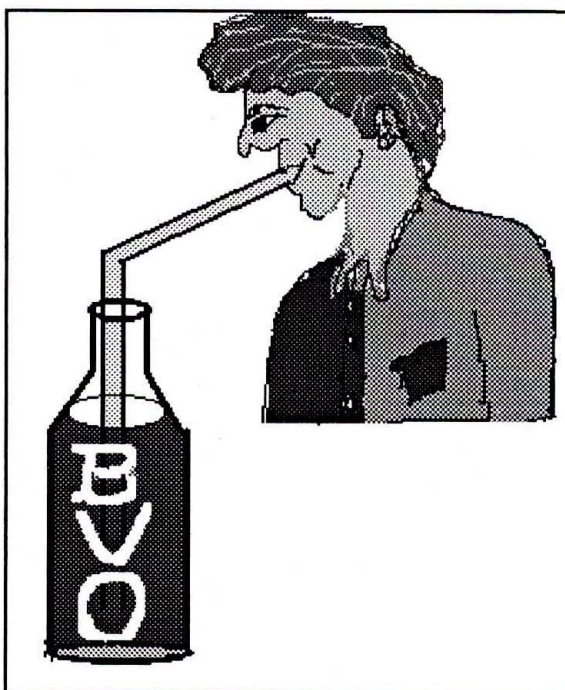
But as in India, nothing is possible without the politicians' and their financiers' consent, this imposition too seemed useless. The omnipotent soft drinks lobby managed

to get the ban relaxed, without a proper government order. Even if such an order was issued, it would have been bad in law, as a rule can be changed only through another rule.

Three months later, the expert Food Additives Sub Committee (FASC) of the Central Committee for Food Standards, Ministry of Health made a categorical declaration at a meeting held at the Industrial Toxicological Research Centre (ITRC) Lucknow that "use of BVO cannot be allowed since its toxicity has been established".

But such was the pressure on the Health Ministry that it brushed aside the recommendation of its own expert committee and even sought to re-introduce 'BVO' in Rule 60 of PFA 1955 i.e. in the list of permitted emulsifying and stabilising agents.

It is at this point, that CUTS got into action.



Consumer rights asserted

Not only was our right to health and safety being violated, but our right to information was being denied outright. If soft drinks manufacturers were finding it difficult to sell their products without BVO, all they needed to do was to print on the bottle: "Contains BVO - harmful/injurious to health." And then supply the information to the consumer. But, soft drink is not as addictive as cigarettes, which enjoys a regular market despite all checks and measures. Thus this money making and power-play at the expense of consumers.

Moreover, it was time they learnt a few things about consumer power.

The first move that CUTS made was to request the Ministry of Health to give better particulars on the issue, and file an objection with the Ministry. The Ministry refused to supply anything saying that all material was for "official use only".

Inquiries from CUTS to the same ITRC, Lucknow and All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta brought the same response: Ask the Health Ministry. When tapping the responsible bureaucracy proved futile, we tried it through the consumer court.

Public action initiated

The Times of India taking keen interest in the matter, front-paged our move to reinforce the ban. This assured us a considerable amount of pressure from the public itself.

The National Consumer Disputes Redressal Commission (NCDRC) turned out to be a greater hurdle. CUTS filed a class-action complaint with the NCDRC under Consumer Protection Act (COPRA) 1986, because the objection filed with the health ministry was in vain.

The two major manufacturers, Pure Drinks and Parle Exports and the Health and Food Processing Ministries were named as adversaries in the complaint. CUTS also demanded a ban on the sale of soft drinks containing BVO.

Either the NCDRC did not have enough guts to go against a power lobby or it had sold out. CUTS' plea that the NCDRC had the power to order removal of the 'defect' under Sec. 14(1)(a) & (b) of COPRA fell on deaf ears.

NCDRC had travelled outside the purview of COPRA in some cases, particularly in the Behala oil

tragedy incident, also a CUTS intervention. Yet, here was a case falling squarely within its ambit, which it refused to take up. But it was merciful enough to suggest compensation to consumers who had been harmed by the drink. It was definitely possible for NCDRC to take action but I feel they got cold feet.

By now the BVO fright had got into the general public.

Spontaneous boycott

When a bartender in Calcutta Club was asked to fetch a Limca, the thirsty customer got a pat reply: "Saheb, kisi doctor ne kaha hai ki Limca se cancer hota hai" (Sir, some doctor has said that Limca causes cancer).

In Delhi, socialites at a kitty party took a soft drink supplier and a home delivery man to task for selling Limca and other citrus flavoured, synthetic aerated soft drinks. The hostess ordered him out, telling him never to come back. Surely they were not speaking through their hat.

At this point, the Health Ministry, keen to erase adverse publicity declared the appointment of an Expert Group Commission which was to report three months later. NCDRC dismissed the case after this undertaking from the Health Ministry.

The Commission that sat on 6 October 1989 found members from FASC, CUTS and Soft Drinks Manufacturers Association (SDMA) at the same table. CUTS by then had enough material to place its arguments on behalf of consumers.

References from British Standards Institution, Consumers Association of Penang, Malaysia, Federal Research Centre for Nutrition, Republic of Germany, Department of Community Services and Health, Australia and Centre for Science in Public Interest, USA not only helped us to solidify our case but gave the FASC members, a lot of information which they could not acquire in any other way.

The expert group now wanted to permit use of BVO upto 15 PPM (parts per million), along with estergum and SAIB, as in USA, which was vehemently opposed by CUTS.

Ultimately, the group allowed only estergum. This suited SDMA immensely, as there is no way to test estergum in India since the procedure is not available. By then the 2 years illegitimate extension of BVO use was over.

I call our campaign multifaceted, not only because the grievances were in plural number but because we tried every possible nook where our grouse would be considered. Ultimately it was the Press who fought with us. Not only was it a scoop that would sell, but also because their consciousness and conscience were moved. After all it was our children who would suffer, because some men were not willing to change their ways.

Consumer rights reasserted

To come back to the topic - the soft drinks manufacturers now went into an advertising blitzkrieg 'No BVO'. But nothing on the substitute. It had the gall to claim 'trade secrecy'.

CUTS had spear-headed the movement, and was not going to let go so easily. In a Leviathan attempt, CUTS called for a country-wide boycott of all soft drinks that was carried on Saturday the 28 April 1990. Thus the boycott was not against BVO as many are misled. It was against the soft drinks manufacturers' violation of the consumer's right to information. Prominent newspapers all over the country carried the CUTS boycott call.

Parle woke up to it 3 days later, but cleverly avoided to reply directly. In a big advertising campaign, it said that the emulsifying agent used in their citrus-flavoured soft drinks was a mixture of edible gums and esters of monoglycerides and diglycerides of fatty acids which are mentioned in Rules 60 & 61 of PFA 1955. It did not mention whether the clouding agent was a BVO substitute.

Pure Drinks, by then had stopped manufacture of Campa Orange altogether and marketing an unclouded version of 'Tripp' - a lemony drink which earlier used BVO. Even then the old stock of soft drinks containing BVO was marketed openly.

Parle, in a cover-up gesture invited similar consumer protection organisations in Bombay to their factory. As though consumer activists would be able to tell BVO from estergum, SAIB or ketchup for that matter.

It was Parle who in an appeal to the Health Ministry, had said on 16 September 1988 that there were only two substitutes for BVO - estergum or SAIB, without which the flavouring oil could not be evenly distributed. Yet they refused to divulge information on the plea of trade secrecy. As India is helpless in testing estergum, it suits them no end.

It was as early as 1976, that, Thankamma Jacob wrote a book titled 'Food Adulteration', and published by the Government of India, where she warned that BVO could be carcinogenic, causing growth retardation, anaemia and enlargement of the heart. "The bromine present in the oil was the toxic agent", she had pointed out.

Had this been adequately highlighted at that time, then the pandemonium could have been avoided. But our system is such that until an issue is sensationalised there is little or no interest shown by the government or press. Both the government and the soft drinks lobby thought they could get away without repercussions.

But there is always a first time, as CUTS has proved. The consumers, once united become an awesome power. Parle and Pure Drinks have swallowed a few gulps of it. They still get hiccups.

The BVO issue triggered off consumer consciousness on health and safety. Till the time the government does not alter the Rules, for safer and healthier food, the people should continue to agitate, and slake their parched throat with natural fruit based drinks or a glass of water.

This will be the beginning of change.

Epilogue

This campaign had a tremendous effect on Justice V B Eradi, the president of the NCDRC. Subsequent to our uproar he went around the country saying that COPRA must be amended giving power to consumer courts to ban the sale of hazardous goods from the market.

The campaign paid off. In 1993, COPRA was amended to include the power of the consumer courts to do both.

LEARNINGS

1. Research
2. Tenacity
3. Media support
4. Empowering decision makers
5. Victory
6. Luck
7. Spinoffs :
 - a. Consumer Consciousness
 - b. Ban
 - c. Amendment in Law

Rational Drug Policy

— Dr. Krishnendu Roy

The health movement in India in association with several pharmacologists has been fighting for a rational drug policy for a long time in spite of the fact that the Hathi Committee of 1973 and the WHO have been advocating the adoption of one. It was noted that even a small neighbouring and much poorer country, Bangladesh has one. The example was selected to not only exhibit the odds one has to fight against, in this case powerful multinationals, but the fact that people are now aware or interested in the issue. The presenter, Dr Krishnendu Roy of Burdwan Medical College enlightened the participants on the issue, which did provoke them to take it up more vigorously in future.

"The health of the people is really the foundation upon which all their happiness and all their power as a state depend."

— Benjamin

Disraeli

In spite of enormous amounts of money that flow into our health care system, it does not offer all Indians satisfactory health care. In fact unnecessary surgery, over and misprescribing of drugs, absence of a rational drug policy, negligence leading to death or injury, inadequate health care system, malpractices, carelessness, indiscipline, maladministration and corruption are causing unaccountable misery to the common people.

One of the major factors behind this situation is lack of awareness, knowledge and united effort to change the situation. The consumer seeks relief for his grievances but cannot determine appropriate service and value for money. The consumer is not in a position to intelligently exercise his choice, he cannot even determine whether he needs medicines/surgery/investigation or non-pharmacological therapy.

The drug and medicines industry employ high pressure sales techniques on doctors to convince them on the necessity and efficacy of products which they cannot assess or verify. Moreover the doctors predominantly guided by their urge to

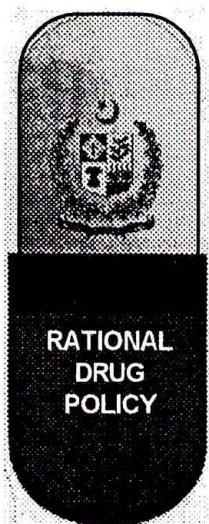
maximise earnings use various gimmicks like 'Shot Gun Therapy'. Due to lack of regulation, homoeopaths, hakims and (ayur) vaidyas prescribe modern medicines.

Health care system in India generally exists in two forms, medical and non-medical. The medical form of health care system is constituted in three phases: preventive, curative and promotive. In the curative phase the government serves only 20 percent of the total Indian population, 80 percent of who are urban. Voluntary sector serves 10 percent while private and corporate medicare system serves the rest.

Non-medical health care system is offered in the form of food, shelter, environment and health education.

While an ideal state medicare system should be fully engaged to serve exclusively the poor, in practice an entirely opposite procedure is followed. In India the state medicare serves only a very small percentage of the population, people are often refused service on the ground of non-availability of drugs and services; emergency and superspeciality services are also absent.

If we analyse the present drug situation of India it is seen that 80 percent of the drugs available in the market are either harmful or useless. Exorbitant prices of medicines prevent a larger section of the people from availing them. While state governments are



required to regulate the quality and distribution of drugs. Unscientific and spurious preparations capture the market. In the industry there is absence of proper scientific approach to develop new drugs and the post marketing surveillance programme is also minimal.

Drugs like Analgin, Baralgin, Enteroquinol and Mexaform which are banned in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are readily available in the Indian market. Added to this, 80 percent of the 60,000 drug formulations available in the market are not only unscientific but also harmful and useless. No proper scientific study has been taken up yet to develop cheaper and useful drugs with least side effects. Moreover licences are given readily to the ayurvedic/herbal drug industries which are said to have huge potential. Poor pharmaco-vigilance system encourages private drug industries to manufacture poor quality and often spurious drugs.

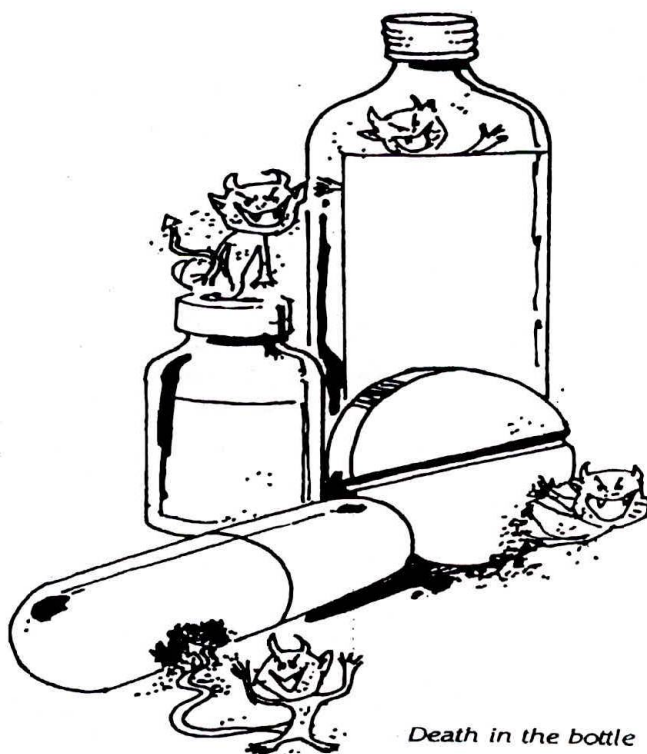
Our neighbouring country Bangladesh has adopted a rational drug policy in 1982. Before that 166 licensed companies and 8 drug MNCs together used to control the country's market spending Rs 60 crore on advertising alone every year. Irrational prescribing habits were frequently seen among doctors, over-the-counter sale of any kind of medicine as well as self medication was the order of the day. The most important factor was the regulatory system which was so poor that the Government did not have proper control over the system.

But a strong peoples' movement engineered by

Bangladesh Ganaswasthya Kendra under the leadership of Dr Zafarulla Chowdhury against the system compelled the Bangladesh Government to adopt a new drug policy in 1982 which not only covered fundamental health needs and rights, banned harmful and useless drugs but also improved national economy by saving foreign exchange and empowered the regulatory authority in improving the situation.

Now Bangladesh is in such a position where essential drugs are easily available to all strata of people. Prices of drugs have also minimised by replacing costly imported drugs with cheaper preparations, including the container and packaging expenses. More sectoral reservations have been adopted by Government towards local manufacturing units based upon priorities like antacids and antibiotics. Irrational drugs and useless combinations are now banned in Bangladesh, old stocks are also being destroyed. Strict legislative measures have also been adopted. Proposal for a special Drug Court with power of sessions court is now under consideration.

Only consumer awareness can bring about a rational drug and health policy, rational drug therapy and market medicare. The literate and enlightened have a greater responsibility since only they can educate and enlighten others about areas of deprivation. All consumer groups in the country must form a panel of experts for rendering consultancy. It is the consumer leaders' task to organise a strong peoples' movement and establish a value for money and people.



FACTORS LEADING TO THE SUCCESS OF A CAMPAIGN

- 👍 Identification of key factors that caused the problem.
- 👍 Systematic planning at all levels
- 👍 A viable alternative solution is given
- 👍 Issue-based rather than personality-based campaigns
- 👍 Strategic use of chinks in enemy camp
- 👍 Networking i.e. linking with like-minded organisations
- 👍 Implemented with multifaceted actions
- 👍 Continued perseverance and sustained efforts
- 👍 Conscious effort to encourage people's participation
- 👍 Use of collective leadership
- 👍 Strategic timing
- 👍 Linking consumer education to an issue
- 👍 Access to and use of relevant information
- 👍 Committed leadership; devotion to the cause, fearlessness and courage
- 👍 Strategic use of government infrastructure
- 👍 Creation of second line leadership
- 👍 Cooperation of the media
- 👍 Use of key public figures/personalities
- 👍 Use of modern information systems
- 👍 Professionalism
- 👍 The lack of or nonexistence of party politics
- 👍 The use of practical methods

- 👍 Simultaneous fund raising to ensure constant availability of funds
- 👍 Coordination with allied organisations
- 👍 Encouragement of people's cooperation
- 👍 Selection of a vital issue
- 👍 Systematic planning
- 👍 Intensive research
- 👍 The presence of consumer unity and trust

FACTORS LEADING TO THE FAILURE OF A CAMPAIGN

- 👎 Long drawn out --loss of tempo and mass support
- 👎 Approaching the wrong forum
- 👎 Lack of sufficient research and information
- 👎 No networking with useful allies and other relevant authorities
- 👎 Improper assessment of opposing forces
- 👎 Top down approach, not involving the grass root level
- 👎 Flaws and gaps in the law
- 👎 Incorrect tactics
- 👎 Absence of effective lobbying
- 👎 Lack of government support
- 👎 Lack of knowledge
- 👎 A sense of helplessness

N.B.. Many of the factors leading to the failure of a campaign were found to be the reverse (the other side of the coin) of the factors leading to the success of a campaign.

Section Five

The Essentials of Advocacy and Lobbying

How to deal with the Courts

Working with the Government

Communication

Environment, Pollution and the Law

What are the Essentials of Advocacy?

— Henri Tiphagne*

ADVOCACY

Pre requisite: A democratic 'state'

Core content of Advocacy:

- ♦ The extent of democracy in the country determines the space one is provided for advocacy.
- ♦ Advocacy creates more space within a democracy.
- ♦ This is an action of citizens to keep democracy responsive and relevant to pro-poor concerns.

Caution:

- Advocacy and lobbying are to be rooted in people and not processes alienated from them.

Advocacy:

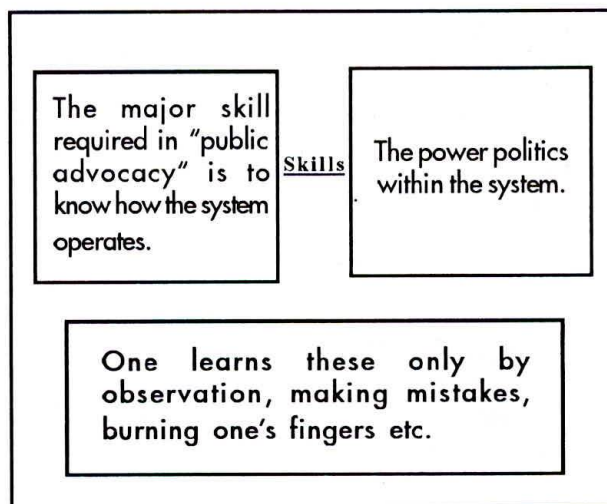
It is basically to do what advocates do, that is, plead, argue etc., for another, for a public cause or speak in favour of and/or defend a cause or a group of persons.

We will concern ourselves with public advocacy which is in the interest of the public.

'Public advocacy' is not only speaking in favour of a cause which is basically pro-poor but it means "speaking loud" so that you are heard and "acknowledgements" are received.

Essentials:

1. Truth
2. Openness (nothing to hide)
3. Honesty about source of finance



4. Participatory and democratic approach
5. Open declaration of ideological position, if any.
6. Scientific analysis which has its grassroots basis.
7. Pro-poor, pro-women, respect to all cultures and religious tradition.
8. Firm belief in equality, co-operation, justice, freedom.

Process:

- a. An individual can influence the system.
- b. Members of a group, community, are ready to link through a network.
- c. People with different ideological positions can network on issues.
- d. Even "insiders" can be involved in the networking.
- e. "Political power" has to be tackled through "sub-systems" in the structure.

Examples of areas of advocacy in India

Drugs, dams, workers' rights, forest policy, rape, nuclear installation, Consumer Protection Act, housing, environment, dalit issues, civil and democratic rights, child labour.

LOBBYING

Lobbying is persuading a legislator with view to influencing a particular piece of legislation. The word 'lobby' originated from that practice when persons stood in the U.S. House of Senate Chamber's lobby to talk to legislators before they cast their votes.

It is the power of persuasion, co-operation, support, consensus, compromise, reason and understanding.

It has so far been associated with professional lobbyists working for powerful and moneyed interest groups.

People's organisations have basically a right to lobby - which in fact is 'putting democracy into practice'. It is a process of educating legislators and the general public.

Principles in lobbying

1. The thrust of the policies being lobbied should benefit the poor and underprivileged sectors.
2. Lobbying should be undertaken by peoples' organisations themselves and not by professionals engaged for the purpose.
3. Lobbying should be based on values. The power of lobbying should be on the strength of peoples' organisation and not money power.

Levels of Lobbying

1. Local authority
2. State legislature
3. Parliament
4. International

How to Lobby:

1. Analyse the political situation (the undercurrents among the elected representatives)
2. Have a realistic objective.
3. Have a brief, clear, accurate persuasive message.
4. Develop supporting arguments through policy analysis.
5. Your timing should be perfect.
6. The audience should be definite.
7. Develop a discreet strategy.

8. Speak the truth - knowing the supporters and your adversaries.
9. Good interpersonal relationship but definitely not adversarial.
10. Open politics.
11. Knowledge of inner happenings in committees
 - Study power dynamics
 - Identify key players.
12. Knowledge of when to be offensive and when to be defensive.
13. Knowledge of other agencies involved in lobbying, their politics etc.

When you approach a Legislator:

- Know the Parliamentarian/Legislator/ Councillor
 - a) His understanding of the issue being lobbied.
 - b) How to appreciate the issue.
- Access his/her bias
 - Political
 - Caste
 - Religious

Before you approach the Legislator:

- Approach the personal secretary/aide of the legislator, explain the purpose behind the visit and fix up an appointment.
- While approaching the aide try to access the personal views of the legislator.
- Develop a very personal relationship with the aide because s/he is the person who will follow up.

Other Tools for Lobbying

- Letters - (Memoranda)
- Media
- Information kit
- Special Committees of Parliament
- Question in the legislature/ parliament
- Bureaucracy.

With the Legislator:

Explain the competence, expertise and credentials of the group undertaking the lobbying.

Remember that within a short while (10 to 30 minutes) the explanations to be given should be completed.

Presentation should be honest and factual without exaggeration.

Be prepared to listen to the reaction of the legislator on the issue.

After meeting the Legislator:

Continue the campaign by increasing the visits.

Press statements of key legislator to be released as individuals or a group of legislators (beyond politics).



* Henri Tiphagne, a lawyer and human rights activist in Madurai, is the founder of the Consumer Rights Protection Council and general secretary of the Federation of Consumer Organisations of Tamilnadu, which is engaged in pristine work on organising rural consumers.

How to work with the Government

— Rajendra Bhanawat*

In the initial phase of the consumer movement, a consumer was synonymous with consumer of 'goods' only. As the time went by it was realised that 'consumer' is a much larger term and includes very significantly and substantially the consumers of service as well. This enlarged the scope of the movement to almost all sections of the society as there is hardly any one who does not consume or avails the goods and services provided.

In the case of products, consumer and consumer groups have a number of simple straight methods for getting redressal. We read and hear about a number of such cases being successfully dealt with at various levels. But when it comes to government the provider of "services" to a large section of society in various sectors, the story is not that simple and straight.

THE "TINA" FACTOR

One of the effective methods to deal with provider of products could be to even "boycott" the product to force the product out of the market, as there are a number of alternatives available. With liberalisation in economic policy, the alternatives are going to increase further. This is not the case with government where 'there is no alternative' (TINA) for example, in utilities: drinking water supply, drainage, street lighting, agriculture, irrigation, electricity, roads etc.

It is therefore very essential for any consumer leader dealing with government to know as to how different and difficult it is to handle the situation. To my mind, based upon my 19 years of experience in various administrative positions like the district administration, industries, panchayati raj, tourism, the points of difference in dealing with government and others are as under:

- a. As mentioned above there is no alternative to getting the services provided by the government. Hence the monopoly results into complacency.
- b. Lack of accountability of government officials. The safest way for a government officer to pass his time is not doing anything as then he is not likely to commit any "irregularities".
- c. Mysterious systems of working - inherited from the British Raj, when any access to government information was denied.
- d. Job security of government officials.
- e. Dependence of 'NGO' on the government.
- f. Lack of credibility of consumer groups.

NO PRESCRIPTION, BUT!

Though, attempting to suggest a prescription to deal with government will be a folly, yet consumer activists are more likely to have an effective and successful dealing with the government, if the following points are borne in mind:

- a. There are no simplistic solutions to problems with the government.
- b. Understand the government system in a particular department so as to be able to pin point the right person for a solution.
- c. Demystify the environment of government offices. The procedures are not as complicated as they appear from outside.
- d. Keep politics away. Many a case has been adversely affected by bringing in too much of political pressure which may displease or alienate the officers. Ultimately it is the officials who are going to find solutions.
- e. Involve the government functionaries in your programmes. This will help in doing away with consumer versus government situation.

- f. Try and find like minded friends in the government and increase their numbers. They can be the best advocates for your cause.
 - g. Provoke the right person in government at the right time. After all, they come from the same society as you come from.
 - h. Have an investigating, open eye on what is happening in the government department. There may be a number of willing persons to share “official secrets” for a good cause. These may be at very junior levels also.
 - i. Government is faceless and therefore it is more likely to lose in a court case and still not “mind” it.
 - j. Identify with the client group. Many government officials do not like talking to some one on behalf of others. Suspicion of “toutism” is there.
- k. If there are many consumer groups at the same place for the same function, government officers can play up one against the other.
 - l. Consumer fora treat consumer and government on equal footing whereas they are not. Amendment in law must be pressed for being presumptuous about the complaint.
- While, we are trying to sensitize the government functionaries through various training programmes, a real dent would come only through a continued association of government officials and the consumer leaders because ultimately both have a common commitment to the society.



Rajendra Bhanawat, a senior state civil servant of Rajasthan, is currently Director, Directorate of Literacy and Continuing Education, Rajasthan, Jaipur, and has been a keen follower of the consumer movement contributing articles to the local newspapers. When at the state training academy, he involved consumer activists in training for bureaucrats.

How to work with Courts

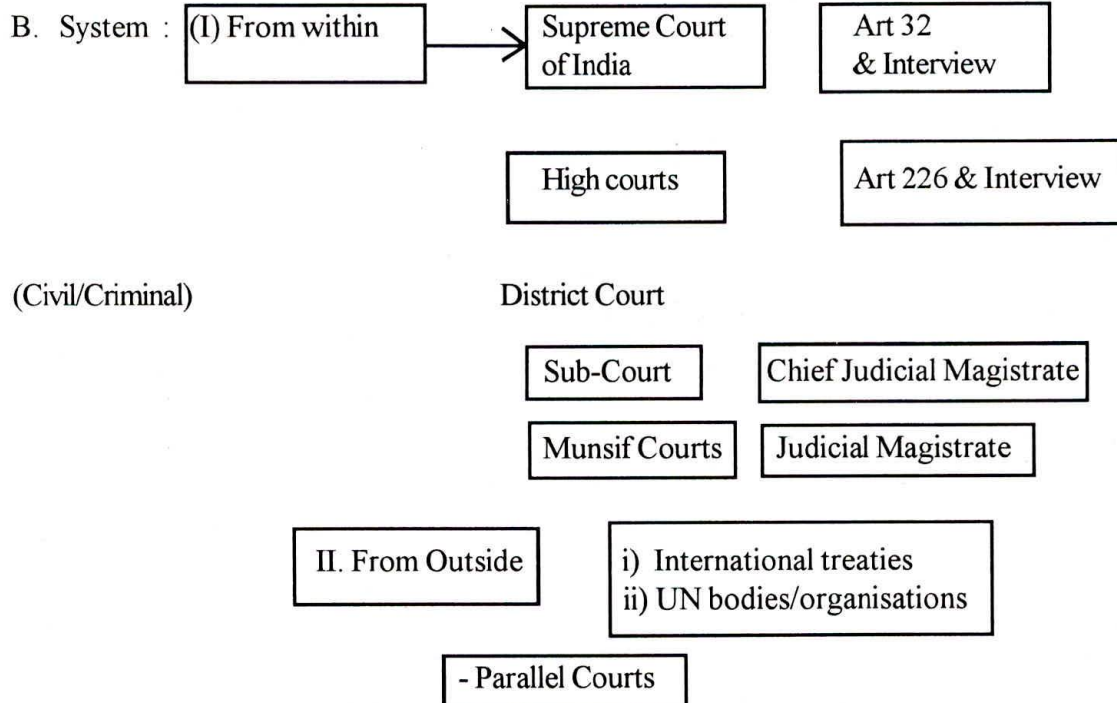
—Henri Tiphagne

CAUTION

1. Law is not the end of all.
2. Social change cannot totally rely on law.
3. Legal initiatives can succeed and equally fail.
4. The orders can even work detrimentally.



- A. Premise :
- i) Presence of a responsible and independent judiciary.
 - ii) A constitution which ensures basic rights (fundamental rights).
 - iii) Law can be an instrument of social change.



C. Persons involved and their hierarchy:

- 1) Supreme Court i) Chief Justice
 ii) Judge Ex-Judges
- 2) High Court i) Chief Justice
 ii) Judge Ex-Judges
- 3) Subordinate judiciary
- 4) Consumer Disputes Redressal Agencies
- 5) Advocate - Senior advocates
Past and present Advocates
General/Government Pleaders
Specialists on subjects.
- 6) Legal Aid:
 - a) Government legal aid programme
 - b) NGO legal aid programme
 - c) Para legals.

D. Twis Prudence

Adversorial

Public Interest

Civil

General

- Interim orders
- Penal provision
- Compensation
 - Publicity threat
 - Fear of punishment
 - Moulding of law

E. Public Interest Litigation

- By whom--
- a) filed by affected people
 - b) filed by representatives of affected people
 - c) filed by a disturbed citizen.

Caution

- Not a publicity stunt
- Preceded by a research in which social activists have been involved.
- Prayers in the petition to be evolved through a discussion.

F. Need for publicity:

- a) through media
 - Media attention to orders (after orders only)
 - Feature articles
 - Letters
- b) Through activists & affected people
 - Invite them to court during hearings
 - Public actions highlighting address
 - Public discussion of orders.

A Must

Use every opportunity to expose the judiciary to problem areas of the people

- By
- inaugurating/delivering /chairing an address etc.
 - inviting, but please be sure you know their views
 - also provide them with well researched materials, articles

- Also by
- requesting retired social minded judges to address and write on the subject under consideration.



Communications

— Dilip Bose*

Communication has played a great role not only in creating the demand but also in supplies.

Communication as we understand is a two way process. Classical Theory of communication says that there should be a **sender, a medium and a receiver**. But in practising communication in real life, one needs two more elements - **stimulus and response**.

According to Stimulus-Response Theory, each communication should be made in such a manner that it should elicit a desired response.

The second important fact related to response is that to generate the desired response, stimulus or a relevant set of stimuli should be given.

This stimulus-response theory is very important when applied to social developmental communication.

The third aspect is that who decides whether a communication has occurred or not. It is the receiver. This knowledge is very important that the receiver decides whether a communication has taken place or not. Ann Murien has stated on developmental communication - "We want to create puppets who can pull their own strings". In developmental marketing and management this concept is very important that the receiver is the most important link.

All these facts mean that those who are in the business of creating messages

- should always put themselves in the receiver's shoes,

- should speak their language,
- should use the terms they understand and
- should provide the stimulus that can generate the desired response.

This fact should always be remembered that the audience plays a key role in any effective communication.

Identifying needs: The first step

The first and foremost fact in any communication is to identify the needs of the people. You must not decide what is right and what is wrong for them. We should not decide what they should know and what they should not. I cite two examples.



In Africa, among coffee plantations, it was seen that the yield was not high, their growth was stagnating. Some experts were called to study the case. After some inquiry they came to conclusion that if the coffee plants were pruned at a particular time, the yield would be higher. Then they created a very nice communication for them. After some years, when the place was revisited, it was found that the communication had produced no effect. It happened because though people knew this fact, but they did not know how to occupy themselves during the interim 2-3 months during which the

plants were pruned. Thus the communication was not according to their needs and it failed to create any impact.

Second example is of India. Some 20-30 years ago, there was a severe problem of malaria here. A very effective film was made about the mosquitoes and how to control them. This communication was not

successful, as the large mosquitoes that were shown in the film, did not exist in our environment.

Therefore, in social marketing research, investigation, inquiry all play a very important role.

Issue analysis

Issue analysis is another important aspect of effective communication. We must continuously explore what are the issues that should be taken by us. Once a very knowledgeable person came to me and asked to make a massive campaign on population growth.

We researched for 9 months and finally told him that such a campaign on population growth can not be made. Campaigns on status of women, on literacy and education, on economic empowerment of women

and they may in turn help to generate population management. Thus understanding of the issues plus a constant exploration of these issues are very important.

Work monitoring charts should be dealt carefully, otherwise it can create adverse effect. Numbers, columns etc. play a very important role for the villagers.

The last aspect of communication which is also the most important aspect for the persons who are working at grassroot level is the **interpersonal communication**. These workers should learn how to become friends, how to learn from the experience, how to manage group dynamism etc. to acquire effective interpersonal communication skills.



* Chief of Social Advertising, Hindustan Thompson Associates

Environment, Pollution and the Law

—Anuradha Rao

Fortunately for us, we are not entirely at the mercy of industry and government agencies to effectively control pollution and safeguard the environment. The citizen has on her/his side, a set of laws which can be a powerful tool, depending on two things - the state of the law itself, and our will and ability to use it skilfully and effectively. The constitution, our primary document of governance, specifies in Article 51 A, the duty of all citizens to preserve and protect the environment. Article 21 of the Constitution guarantees a citizen his right to life, which has through a series of test cases, been expanded in meaning to include a safe and healthy environment. Common law allows legal action when a person's life and health are endangered by acts of commission or omission by his neighbours. Even if no specific rights of an individual are articulated, s/he can plead constitutional right, expand its scope, and take it to the court in a writ petition.

We are not, however limited to these generalised concepts of constitutional and common law which by their general nature may provide difficulty in specific liability and enforcement. Certain provisions in the Penal Code, and more focused legislation which have been enacted in the past decade give specific protections and be used in cases of pollution and environment protection. Some of these provisions relevant to our discussion are:

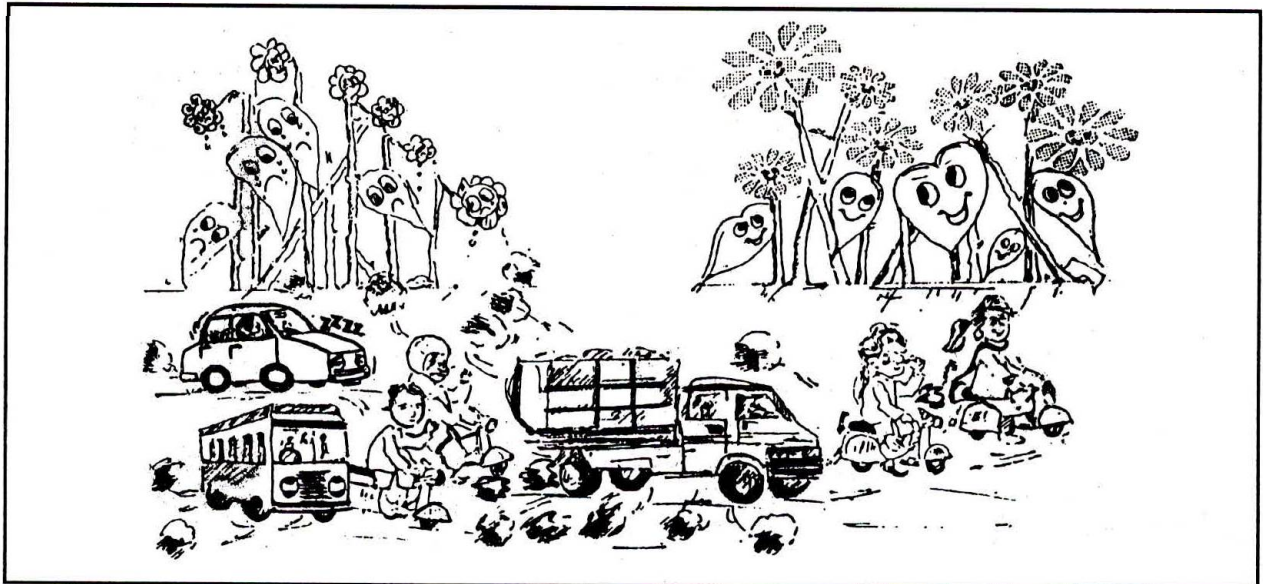
1. **Sections 277 and 278 of the Indian Penal Code** make it an offence to foul the water of any public spring or reservoir and to make the atmosphere noxious to health.

Section 269 of the Penal Code punishes negligent acts likely to spread infection and disease dangerous to life.

2. **The Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act of 1974** marked an important milestone in environmental legislation in India as the first national law for pollution control. It provides for action against "such contamination

of water or such alteration of the **physical, chemical or biological** properties of the water or such discharge of any sewage or trade effluent or any other liquid, gaseous or solid substance into water (whether directly or indirectly) as may or likely to create a nuisance or render such water harmful or injurious to public health or safety, or to domestic, commercial, industrial or agricultural uses, or to the life and health of animals or plants of aquatic organisms."

3. **The Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act of 1981**, constitutes Central and State Boards for prevention, control and abatement of air pollution. But it is ineffectual since it does not specify criminal and civil liability covering cases of air pollution. The Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act also covers noise pollution.
4. **The Environment Protection Act of 1986** defines 'environment' as including "air, water, and land and the inter-relationship which exists among and between water, air and land and human beings, other living creatures, plants, micro-organisms and property." It incorporates several environmental laws. It provides new powers to the Central Government, and the Ministry of Environment and Forests can directly order closure of firms that violate effluent controls, without routing prosecution through the courts, a time consuming and expensive process.
5. Another post-Bhopal piece of legislation is the **Factories (Amendment) Act of 1987** with significantly better controls over use and handling of hazardous substances in the work place. It has stricter punishments for non-compliance.
6. **The Public Liability Insurance Act 1991** addresses another important gap identified after the Bhopal disaster. Under this, every owner of a hazardous industry has to insure every person likely to be affected by the handling of hazardous substances for Rs.25,000.



7. Finally, the latest addition to environmental policy is the Environment (Protection) Second Amendment Rules, 1992, which requires all industries covered under the Air and Water Pollution Acts as well as the Hazardous Wastes Handling Rules, to submit an environment audit before March 31 each year, to the Pollution Control Board.

All of the above laws are intended to address the control of pollution and protect human life and the environment. But they are limited in their effectiveness and have some common factors which weaken implementation:

- almost all the Acts designate the Central and State Pollution Control Boards to monitor and regulate compliance. These Boards, however, do not have the necessary staff, training, expertise, or equipment to carry out such an extensive role.
- the penalties do not act as an effective deterrent because costs of environmental degradation are lower for the polluters, than for society as a whole, which bears most of the costs. Besides, the economic benefits of non-compliance are far greater than any fines to be paid.
- under most of the Acts, the Pollution Control Board does not have the powers to prosecute defaulters or legally enforce the provisions. All such action must be conducted through civil and criminal courts which are overloaded, procedurally cumbersome, and cause long delays.
- even where the Act provides for it, prosecutors and courts are reluctant to hold corporate

managers and senior executives liable due to their social positions.

- tort law which relates to private action to obtain compensation for injury and negligence, is not well developed in India.
- public accountability and transparency in action taken by the Pollution Control Board is low, giving room for corruption and collusion between regulators and regulatees.

SCOPE FOR CITIZENS' ACTION

Given all of the above, is there anything at all that an individual or a citizens' group can do to protect their right to clean water and air, and a healthy environment? Let us take a look at some of the cases that one consumer group (Consumer Action Group, Madras) has handled.

- A. A residents' colony in South Madras protested against the noise generated by the cooling system of a Five-star hotel in a residential area. The cooling system and generators were placed adjacent to the dividing wall between the hotel and a row of houses; and were operated 24 hours of the day, creating high levels of continuous noise.
 - The residents' Welfare Association wrote several letters to, and personally met the General Manager of the hotel, and senior officials in the Corporate head office. They got no favourable response. They approached Consumer Action Group (CAG), who advised them to write to the State Pollution Control Board giving details of the complaint and

requesting that immediate action be taken. Section 43 of the Air Pollution Act enjoins the Pollution Control Board to take suo motu action against offenders. A citizen can give a 60-day notice to the PCB that since no action has been taken by them, s/he will file a criminal complaint against the offender. The PCB is mandatorily required to investigate and take required action. If the polluter still does not comply, he can be criminally prosecuted by the complainant. Alternatively, a Writ Petition can be filed on grounds of violation of a citizens' right to life and a safe environment, and the PCB made a co-respondent for not having taken effective action despite its powers for suo motu action and a statutory notice being given.

- CAG supported the complainant's claims and met senior officials, including the Chairman, of the Pollution Control Board. Still, no action. Finally, CAG advised the complainants on two possible course of legal action:

- a criminal complaint against the General Manager of the Hotel for not taking action.

- a writ petition against the hotel management, as well as the PCB.

- Both parties were put on notice of legal action being instituted if there was no compliance. Largely because CAG had a history of public interest litigation which was well published, both parties responded. The PCB carried out a site inspection and suggested remedial measures - sound-proofing the equipment and housing it at a distance of more than twenty-five feet from the dividing wall. Both these measures were carried out, key factors being constant monitoring and feedback from the residents, and some adverse publicity which might affect the image of the Company.

- B. A residents' colony in the outskirts of Madras is seriously affected because an adjoining tannery is causing air and water pollution by discharging noxious fumes and effluents. The tannery - Tamil Nadu Leather Corporation (TALCO) is a Government one, and the case has received wide media publicity. The residents had the water tested at the Directorate of Public Health and Preventive Medicine. It was certified that the water had high levels of toxicity. The Directorate also suggested remedial measures such as pumping out the existing water from wells, allowing fresh spring water to regenerate disinfection, plastering and

covering of wells, etc.

- The complainants first wrote to the PCB, CAG and local media in November, 1992. CAG wrote in support of the complainants' claims to the PCB and the Ministry of Environment and Forests, New Delhi. There has been no response from the PCB. The Ministry of Environment and Forests wrote to say that TALCO has been requested not to pollute the environment and that the situation was being closely monitored by the Tamil Nadu Pollution Control Board.

- In reality, there is no change in the situation, and after consultation with CAG, the complainants have decided to file a writ petition making the PCB a co-respondent. This is an interesting case to watch, because although the pollution caused is grave, the polluter is a Government Corporation, and the leather industry lobby is very strong in Tamil Nadu.

- There are six such cases pending as complaints with CAG, where there has been no effective action by the PCB. CAG is considering filing one criminal case to see how effective this is as a deterrent, and a series of writ petitions making the PCB a co-respondent and claiming compensation for the victims.

- C. The period of December 12-Jan 15 is the coolest, most festive one in Madras and Tamil Nadu. But it is also a recurring nightmare, for during this month of Margazhi Masam, every roadside temple and slum blares film and religious music at unbearable volumes from 3 p.m. until late at night, with brief respites in between. In Tamil Nadu, Section 71A of the City Police Act gives the police powers to regulate loudspeakers. A Government Order stipulates that a licence must be obtained from the police for the use of loudspeakers; no loudspeakers can be used before 9 a.m. or after 10.30 p.m., and that the volume cannot be beyond a specified decibel level. Each of these provisions is consistently violated, and until recently, little action has been taken.

- For the past two years, a campaign has been mounted by CAG, along with two or three other citizens groups. Information notes on the effects of noise pollution and action to be taken by affected citizens, have been printed and distributed. A constant dialogue, with the Police Commissioner demanding better implementation and stressing the need for awareness

within the police department is carried out; posters on hazards of noise pollution have been printed and an awareness campaign is being carried out through other voluntary organisations working in slums.

- There has been an audible difference in the past two years - the police department has instituted a special telephone for loudspeaker complaints, and due to mounting public pressure, the timings and volume are far more reasonable. We hope to revive the campaign in September/October this year, well in advance of the anticipated noise.
- What do the above case studies illustrate? Legal remedy, while available to the citizen on paper, is cumbersome, time consuming, and often does not bring relief to the complainant, let alone generate systemic change. But knowledge of the law is a powerful tool which can be needed in dialogue with enforcement authorities and polluters; and in the presentation of a case in strategic litigation. If citizens' groups learn to use the law with competence, skill and imagination in test cases which expand the scope of legislation and bring relief to the victims, they not only set precedents, but provide effective deterrents to other potential or actual offenders.
- Again, judicial action is not the only effective course of action. Other forms of pressure such as advocacy campaigns and lobbying, public education, and political action may be more effective mechanisms to improve implementation of environmental legislation, than litigation. A key strategy is to promote environmental education in schools, colleges and professional education - surprisingly, despite the vital importance of environmental issues, there is poor awareness of environmental problems even among the elite such as industry executives, government bureaucrats, politicians and professionals. It requires the combined efforts of voluntary organisations, the media and such international agencies as United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), UNICEF, WHO and ILO to bring about an urgently needed attitudinal change.

Voluntary groups in particular, can take effective action by:

- framing issues with a good knowledge of the law in order to make the authorities and the offenders realise that they are on strong legal ground and would not hesitate to go to court.
- advocate amendments to the law for more effective implementation of its provisions.
- concretise the problem through good research and testing so that the public is aware of the seriousness of health hazards.
- undertake strategic litigation which expands the scope of the law; serves as an effective deterrent; and tests out remedies under criminal tort laws which had not been used frequently.
- advocate for the principle of 'polluters pay' to be incorporated into law, so that it becomes more costly for industry to violate rather than to comply with the law.

A range of talents is needed to do many of the above - testing and technical studies, media, legal resources, professional and active participation by the people. A consumer/citizens' group can provide the platform for all these to come together and forge effective public action.

CONCLUSION

Pollution in the cities relates largely to water contamination, toxic fumes in the air and health hazards due to a polluted living environment caused by inadequate disposal of solid wastes, lack of water and sanitation, and industrial effluents. Levels of pollution are rapidly on the increase, and the causes are complex industrial development, pressures of high population; inadequate provision of basic civic services; and poor implementation of regulatory laws.

Although there are a range of laws for environment protection, litigation alone is not the most effective tool for change. Voluntary organisations have a critical role to play in shaping public opinion and bringing about attitudinal changes among policy-makers, government authorities, polluters, and the general public through well-researched and well-presented arguments for the urgent need to control pollution and protect the environment. They also have a key role to play to advocate more effective implementation of the law.

Section Six

VALEDICTION

*What we call the beginning is often the end,
and to make an end is to make a beginning,
the end is where we start.*

— T. S. Eliot

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On behalf of the CUTS team, I express my gratitude to the IOCU for its selection of CUTS as a partner and kicking off a very exciting and quantifiable programme. We would also like to acknowledge the IOCU's help in designing the programme, and providing the funds from its programme being assisted by the Canadian International Development Agency for the 1st and part of the 2nd workshop. For the rest our gratitude to HIVOS for the financial support.

We would be miserably failing in our duty if we did not acknowledge the valuable participation of resource persons, and the time which they spared to enthusiastically share their in-depth knowledge and rich experience, which made the series successful.

We would like to heartily thank Ms Minaxi Shukla for maintaining her cool in the most trying role as Workshop Facilitator and doing a splendid job without ruffling any feathers.

Lastly we would like to convey our thanks to the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture at Calcutta, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi & Bangalore and the Gujarat Institute for Development Research, Ahmedabad, where the tour workshops were held, for their hospitality and wonderful arrangements, and also offer our apologies if any inconvenience was caused to them.

For the prescription audit campaign, I must acknowledge the valuable financial support extended by the Indian Institute of Health Management and Research, Jaipur, and Anne Fransenfonds, The Hague, Netherlands for the campaign. Gratitude also for all the youngsters who participated in the training programme and the data collection. Last but not the least, Dr. Krishnangshu Ray for the rationality assessment and ancillary activities, and for his inspiration guidance and inputs to make the campaign successful.



Pradeep S Mehta
Secretary General
CUTS, Calcutta

LOOKING BACK

It was said at the beginning of the workshops that true success would be measured by how the participants use the knowledge and skills acquired at the workshop in furthering the consumer movement. The editor of this report met a few of the participants in July 1997 at another workshop organised by CUTS and asked them to describe their feelings regarding the learning experience in retrospect. Looking back, this is what they had to say:

Ch. Divakar Babu

"TWYCL was a unique experience for me and I can say, without hesitation that all these workshops have made me a committed consumer activist with necessary skills for advancing the cause of the consumer movement. Before participating in the workshops my knowledge about the consumer movement was fragmented and more or less unpragmatic. The workshops empowered me with various skills needed to design and implement consumer campaigns. Several of my activities were a direct result of my learning experience. Some instances include:

1. Collected and sent around 275 prescriptions to CUTS for analysis. During collection, I was able to overcome resistance from the medical fraternity.
2. Also published articles on the dismal drug scenario in the Indian Express and other leading Telugu dailies highlighting the need for immediate remedial action.
3. Conducted a one-day workshop for young consumer activists to build their skills with the help of CUTS.
4. Conducted training programmes for rural women to increase their knowledge regarding practical laws so that they can be more conscious and assertive regarding their rights and duties.

Babu enumerates certain skills such as maturity, understanding, sincerity, the ability to persuade and

an unflinching commitment to the cause, as those which have helped him in his work. They have helped other people to select him as their leader.

Raghav Narsalay

Raghav called himself a "novice", a young (nineteen years) activist who basically grew up as a professional and honed his skills as an activist and consumer leader at the workshops.

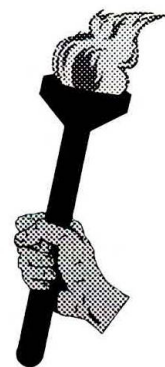
The overall impression was of total professionalism. Rigorous management techniques were used to deliver both theoretical knowledge and practical skills. The discipline put us in the right frame of mind! I remember, as part of this skit we had to write a proposal, and our funders were sitting right there in front with a rupees one lakh cheque. We were so very involved, we couldn't sleep all night! The work culture changes your perspective, your way of looking at life.

Specific things that I learnt and have put to use in my work ever since include:

a) Networking. I have learned to build and maintain contact and rapport with other people and organisations. In this the personality of Mr. Mehta has also been a driving force. He never lost contact with us, communicating in some way or the other. He also inspired me and taught me to believe in myself, that I could do it and that "age was no bar."

b) Writing and Research. I didn't know I could write so much! Since the workshops, I have been doing research and writing papers which have been published.

c) People skills. I learnt how not to exploit other people. It was important not to force someone to agree but rather understand his frame of mind and where he comes from and then help him come round to your way of thinking. I learnt not to hurt other people.

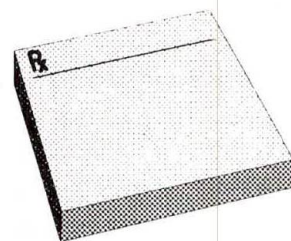


Surendra Kanstiya

Kanstiya basically agreed with what Narsalay said about the learning experience and had a few more specifics to add.

"I was involved in consumer activism for five years before attending the workshops but the TWYCL programme laid the foundation in a **more systematic** way. As a part-time activist, I learnt ways of utilizing my time and skills more effectively. I also learnt the art of lobbying. **Writing letters to the Editor** was something I used to do even earlier. But after the workshops I became more systematic. One specifically useful thing I learnt was **following the Questions raised in Parliament**, and keeping a systematic record, especially of issues regarding health and bank trends etc. Again, networking, maintaining a list of addresses and keeping contact with people is something I do on a regular basis now."

Even as we talked, another chapter of V-CAN began. A meeting was held of old and new members as an attempt to resurrect the same inspiration, enthusiasm and rapport with which the network was born during the workshops. Among other things, it was decided to conduct another prescription audit campaign on a larger scale, networking with many more organisations in different states. As a beginning, a proposal would be written to obtain funding for this purpose. The V-Can newsletter "We Can, We Must" would also be revived and circulated so that members could keep in touch. Participants from Bangladesh and Nepal expressed interest in the audit exercise and promised to send research reports and studies conducted in their countries in the field of medicine.



*Such is the stuff that leaders
are made of.*

And the story continues...

Appendices

- 1. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND RESOURCE PERSONS**
- 2. LOGICAL FRAMEWORK ANALYSIS AND PLAN OF ACTION OF V-CAN**
- 3. EVALUATING THE WORKSHOPS: GROUP EXERCISES**
- 4. PROGRAMMES OF THE FOUR TWYCLs**

ANNEXURE I

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND RESOURCE PERSONS



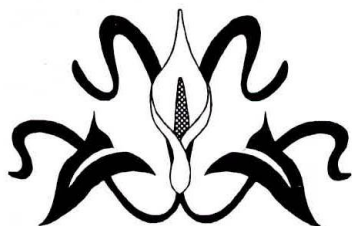
- | | |
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Logical Framework Analysis and Plan of Action of V-CAN



Vision: Affordable and Sustainable Health for All.

Mission: Equipping activists to empower people to achieve their Right to Health.

Logical Framework Analysis

1 Long term objective	Indicators of success	How to assess/quantify them	Assumptions, Risks, conditions
Affordable and sustainable health for all	IMR, MR, Nutritional levels, life expectancy, per capita health expenditure	Government and data from monitoring institutions including international organisations or structures	Epidemics, natural calamities, reliability and availability of data; Regional differences
	Accessibility of health care facilities		Unknown diseases
	Water and Sanitation		
	Aware consumers	Sample survey	True representation
	Decrease in health needs	Secondary data	Policy
	Reduction of costs		Non-compliance
	Patients charter	Agreement to charter	Poor publicity
	Improvement in legislation	Amendments in Law	Opposition by medical lobby
			Apathy

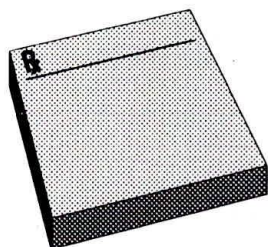
2 Short term objective	Indicators of Success	How to assess/quantify them	Assumptions, risks, conditions
In the context of curative health, to ensure availability of essential drugs at affordable costs and withdrawal of hazardous and irrational drugs, by the year 2000 A.D.	Policy change	Publication of list by state governments of essential drugs	Business lobby influencing policy makers and implementors
	Ban on bannable drugs	Price monitoring survey	Media
	Aware consumers and informed doctors		Medical fraternity
	Availability of drugs at fair price		Inefficient enforcement
	KAP study	True representation	Subjective elements
			Opposition from vested interest groups which include pharmaceutical trade

3	Inputs	Indicators of success	How to assess/ quantify them	Assumptions, risks, Conditions
	Alliance with NGOs, GOs in Consumer orga- nisations, health and deve- lopment Networking	Alliance formed to act together on the cam- paign Network formed	Commitments fulfilled Sustainable contacts developed	Partner NGOs backing out
	Prescription audit campaign	Outreach and response	Number of prescriptions	Indifference
	System Design	Simplicity	Quality of prescriptions	Poor design response
	Pretesting	Clearly established parameters	Response and report	Specificity of area
	Training of Task Leaders	Practicability	Training material gener- ated and report	Process may not be appropriate
	Audit	Commitment /support from pharmacologists	Agreement	Availability and expertise, Credibility, Inclination
	Advocacy	Commitment from partner NGOs	Joint efforts	Availability and Expertise, Credibility, Inclination

4	Outputs	Indicators of Success	How to assess/ quantify them	Assumptions, risks, Conditions
	Recruitment, Training for Camp volunteers	Appropriate selection of volunteers	Volunteers engaged	Timely availability
	Collection of prescrip- tions	Prescriptions collected	No. of prescriptions	Non-cooperation of patients Resistance from druggists Resistance from doctors
	Audit	Analysis	Report	Volume of work
	IEC	Increase in awareness/ information	Consumer's participa- tion in the Campaign Assertive Consumers	Apathy
	Lobbying	Influencing all the estates	Changes in Policies Media coverage	Attitudes of Policy
	Litigation	Cases filed by consumers and or organisations	Judgements Amendments in Laws	Cases filed by oppo- nents Judiciary delaying tactics
	Results	Fulfillment of Objec- tives The network	Degree of impact on all estates Increasing participation of member organisa- tions	Apathy Subjectivity, Disunity Non-cooperation

Action plan and Budget for Prescription Audit Campaign

Particulars	Dates	Amount (Rs)	Organisation
1. Pretest and developing guidelines for audit	15-30 March		CUTS
2. Recruitment of volunteers	30 April		ALL
3. Training of Task Leaders (Decisions on decide-and-finalise guidelines. Date of launching the campaign release pamphlet, information etc.)	13-14 May	50,000	CUTS
4. Material			
1. Media kit (500 nos.)	10 May	4,000	VHAI
2. Posters (2000 nos.)		6000	VHAI
3. Pamphlets/ Banners	(matter during TOT)		ALL
5. Training of volunteers	20 May		ALL
6. Field Work (Honorarium, photocopy, etc.)	24 May to 15 June	15,000	
7. Prescription Final Audit			



Note: A detailed report of the Prescription Audit Campaign and analysis of the results are available with CUTS.

Evaluating the Workshops: Group Exercises

1. ROLE PLAY

To conclude the workshop and assess the learnings of each participant, it was decided to design a role play session and announce a competition to get the best of their presentations. The whole workshop was already divided into four working groups from the beginning of the training and they remained so in this session. To begin with the participants were handed over the following guidelines:

Guidelines for Role Play

You are four organisations A, B, C, and D with this overall mission: "To protect the well being and promote the interests of the youth in the City of Calcutta."

Seth Kirorimal, the richest man in Calcutta will be celebrating his 99th birthday on 31 January 1994. To commemorate this auspicious occasion he wishes to donate Rs. 10,00,000 (10 lakh) to one of the four organisations in Calcutta for a project that concerns youth in the city. The project should be completed before his 100th birthday.

He invites representatives of organisations A, B, C, and D to bid for this donation and to make

presentations of their proposals before him and his managers at 9.00 a.m. on Saturday, 29 January 1994. He has set no conditions except that the project has to do with the youth in Calcutta. Group presentations should not be more than 30 minutes.

Instructions:

Organise yourselves

1. Decide on the name of your organisation.
2. Spell out its values and objectives.
3. Agree on a structure for the organisation: roles of each person in the group.

Plan the Project

1. Decide on the goals and objectives of the project.
2. Work out strategy and activities.
3. Work out the budget.
4. Work out the schedule.

Plan how the proposal will be presented:

1. Come up with a proposal properly packaged.
2. Decide how it will be presented.
3. Decide the role of each person in the group.

Make the presentation on the appointed day and time

Note: 'Youths' for the purpose of this project is defined as persons from the age of 12 to 22.

Criteria for Judging Project Proposal

WEIGHT	TOTAL	ON SCALE-I
1. Clear and measurable objectives		10
2. Fit between the objectives and the organisation's mission and values		5
3. Workability of the project		10
4. Originality of ideas		5
5. Budget planning		10
6. Schedule		10
7. Fit between the organisation's structure and the chosen working method		5
8. Potential for real and lasting improvement in the lives of youth in Calcutta		10
9. Does the project build the organisation?		5
10. Likelihood of the project being sustained even after the funding is over		10
11. Presentation		5
12. Teamwork		10

Case for Group Work

Consumer Organisation for Rural Awareness (CORA) is an agency started in 1990 in Ahmedabad. The founder trustee of CORA is Mr Sohrab Malik who is basically an academician. He used to teach economics in a college.

Sohrab got involved in the consumer protection movement when his twelve year old daughter suffered from the serious side effects of steroids prescribed by the doctor for curing eczema.

Sohrab filed a case against the doctor and won compensation. However, the suffering of his daughter motivated him to organise activities to help others.

Three other members who had faced various problems as consumers, like purchasing electronic goods which were poor in quality and inadequacy of facilities in a private travellers bus service, joined him later.

CORA, as an organisation has grown and has established its credibility as a Consumer Protection Organisation. Sohrab with his three full time working members -- Meetu, a lawyer, Paresh a commerce graduate, and Ravaji, B.A., L.L.B., take up various issues concerning consumers. They believe that every citizen is a consumer and should assert and exercise his/her right as a consumer.

The main activities of the organisation include litigation, fighting the case in the court to get justice and solving consumer grievances. The organisation has successfully handled various cases and helped the people. However, Ravaji feels that CORA should concentrate more on helping rural people as they are exploited more due to low level of literacy and education.

Two other members have joined CORA. Manju, who has a masters degree in Social Work from the Tata Institute of Social Work, Bombay, believes that only awareness and education can bring about social change and that CORA should take up activities in this direction with a focus on educating rural communities particularly women.

Sameer, an M.B.A. from B.K. School of Management, Ahmedabad is attracted by the concept of civil society and influenced by the present trends of development. He thinks that people at all levels --urban/tribal, poor or middle class are exploited and that there is nothing wrong in working with middle class people.

The donor trustee of the organisation who is a retired Civil Surgeon of Civil Hospital has expressed that the private sector/voluntary organisations should take on responsibilities for health. He has shown initiative and interest in getting funds for health activities.

Group Work -I

Given this situation:

- (1) Prepare a mission statement of CORA present.
- (2) Explain the reasons for choosing this particular mission.

Group Work -- II

- (1) Keeping your mission in perspective, prepare the strategy of CORA.
- (2) Give reasons for adopting this particular strategy.

ANNEXURE IV

PROGRAMMES OF THE FOUR TWYCLs

TWYCLI

Calcutta, January 26 to 30, 1994

P R O G R A M M E

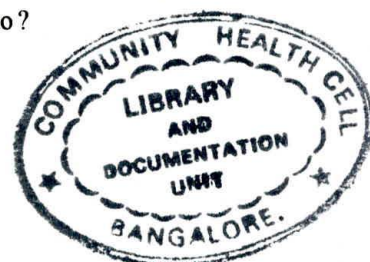
Wednesday the 26th January, 1994

0930 to 1045	INAUGURAL Welcome by Mr. Pradeep Mehta, CUTS Address by Ms. Shanthi Ramanathan, IOCU-ROAP Inaugural address by Mrs. Sathi Nair, Joint Secretary, Consumer Affairs, Govt of India. Speech by Mr. V. K. Parigi, CEC Vote of thanks by Ms. Meenaxi Shukla, CHETNA and Workshop Facilitator
1045 to 1100	Tea/Coffee Break, Mutual introductions
1100 to 1215	including presentations of expectations by participants.
1215 to 1315	SESSION 1 What is Social Change? by Ms. Shanthi Ramnathan, IOCU-ROAP
1315 to 1400	Buffet Lunch
1400 to 1500	SESSION 2 The 5th Estate: Making things happen by Ms. Sushmita Ghosh, Director, Ashoka Foundation
1500 to 1530	SESSION 3 Why the consumer movement? An overview of the national and international scenario by Dr. Sriram Khanna, Mg. Trustee, VOICE
1530 to 1545	Tea/Coffee Break
1545 to 1615	Confirmation of Session 3
1615 to 1700	SESSION 4 - Campaigning, the Tool for Social Change by Mr. V. K. Parigi, Mg. Trustee, CEC
1700 to 1830	Visit to Mother Teresa
1830 to 2030	SESSION 5 Group discussions on the day's learnings in rooms
2030 to 2130	Dinner in Dining Hall

Thursday the 27th January

0730 to 0845	Breakfast
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0900 to 0930	SESSION 6 Presentations by Four Group Leaders
0930 to 1100	SESSION 7 Case Study of a Local Campaign: "Successful" by Dr Anant Sharma "Not Successful" by Ms. Mala Bannerji
1100 to 1115	Tea/Coffee Break
1115 to 1230	SESSION 8 Case Study of a Regional Campaign: "Successful" by Mr John Joseph "Not Successful" by Mr Bejon Misra
1230 to 1330	Lunch
1330 to 1530	SESSION 9 Case Study on a National Campaign: "Successful" by Mr Pradeep Mehta "Not Successful" by Dr K. Roy,
1530 to 1615	SESSION 10 Four Working Groups to determine : a. The factors that lead to the success of a campaign. b. The factors that lead to the failure of a campaign. Tea / Coffee Break.
1615 to 1715	SESSION 11 Report back by groups on the factors that lead to the success of a campaign facilitator: Shanthi Ramanathan, IOCU-ROAP
1715 to 2030	Free Time
2030 to 2130	Dinner
<u>Friday the 28th January, 1994</u> 0730 to 0845	Breakfast
0900 to 0930	Continuation of Session 11 Groups report back on factors that lead to the failure of a campaign.
0930 to 1100	SESSION 12 Organising for a Campaign : The What to ? by Ms. Sudha Sachdeva
1100 to 1115	Tea/Coffee break
1115 to 1230	SESSION 13 Implementation of a Campaign : The How to ? by Mr. V.K. Parigi
1230 to 1315	Lunch
1315 to 1430	SESSION 14 Essentials of Advocacy & Lobbying by Mr. Henri Tiphagne



1430 to 1545	SESSION 15 Handling and Using Information Ms. Sudha Sachdeva and Ms. Sucharita
1545 to 1600	Tea/Coffee Break
1600 to 1615	Continuation of Session 15
1600 to 1715	SESSION 16 How to work with the Govt. and Courts by Mr R. Bhanawat/ Mr. Henri Tiphagne
1715 to 1830	Stretch Out Break
1830 to 2030	SESSION 17 Working Groups on Planning a Campaign : Role Play
2030 to 2130	Dinner
2130 to 2400	Preparation of Presentations by Working Groups, Typing up and Photocopying
<u>Saturday the 29th</u>	
1000 to 1100	SESSION 18 Presentations by Groups before a Panel : Mr R. Bhanawat/ Ms Sudha Sachdeva Mr. V. K. Parigi/ Ms. Shanthi Ramanathan
1100 to 1115	Tea/Coffee Break
1115 to 1245	SESSION 19 Earlier session continues with different panellists
1215 to 1245	Continuation of Session 15
1245 to 1400	Lunch
1400 to 1430	Speech and presentation of certificates by Mr. Amal Dutta, M.P.(Lok Sabha)
1430 to 1530	SESSION 20 Feedback by panel on presentations
1530 to 1545	Tea/Coffee Break
1545 to 1615	SESSION 23 Question and Answer (Open Forum)
1615 to 1715	Evaluation by participants
1715 to 1745	Address by Ms. Meenaxi Shukla Address by Ms. Shanthi Ramanathan Vote of Thanks by Ms. Keya Ghosh
1745 to 1915	Stretch Out Break
1930 to 2230	Reception at Calcutta Rowing Club with local dignitaries and mediapersons

Sunday the 30th January

0800 to 0900

Breakfast

0900 to 1900

Sightseeing, shopping, visit to CUTS office
- briefing on CUTS datafiling system.

TWYCLII
“REACHING OUT”: PROGRAMME

Day One: 14.8.94

- | | |
|---|---|
| 9 am to 10 am | - 1. Inauguration |
| 10 am to 11.15 am-
with definition of tasks/workshop | - 2. Introductions/ Division of groups |
| 11.30 am to 1 pm | - 3. Overview - on importance of communicating and the art.
Principles of oral and written communication |
| | Dilip Bose/Rita Mukherji |
| 2 pm to 3.30 pm | - 4. Overview on |
| | COPRA : Pradeep Mehta
Rational Drug Policy : Dr Mira Shiva |
| 3.45 pm to 5.30 pm | - 5. Overview on |
| | Pollution in Cities: Anuradha Rao
Safe Drinking Water: Dunu Roy |
| 6.30 pm to 8 pm | - 6. Group Discussions : Strategies & Plans |

Day Two: 15.8.94

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 9 am to 9.30 am | - 7. Recap- presentations by groups |
| 9.30 am to 11 am | - 8. Information and Documentation - I
Need, issues, methods: What to ? |
| | Leo Fernandez |
| 11.15 am to 1 pm | - 9. Information and Documentation - II
Research, tools, collection, collation |
| Veena Ravikumar | |
| 2 pm to 3.30 pm | - 10. Publishing - An overview
Reports, newsletter, guides, books |
| | Gautam Vohra |
| 3.45 pm to 5.30 pm | - 11. Media - I
The Print Medium. An extension of the earlier session on
publications and press relations |
| | Umesh Anand |
| 6.30 pm to 8 pm | - 12. Visits to Newspapers and Magazines
for hands-on experience |

Day Three: 16.8.94

9 am to 9.30 am

- 13. Recap- presentations by groups

9.30 am to 11 am

- 14. Media Relations
press conferences, releases etc.,

Pradeep S Mehta

11.15 am to 1 pm

- 15. Advocacy
Finer points and the use of effective communications,
petitioning letter writing etc.,

Akhila Sivadas/Anuradha Rao

2 pm to 3.30 pm

- 16. Campaigning
Finer points and the use of
effective communications, advertising

Kunal Sinha

3.45 pm to 5.30 pm

- 17. Media - II
The Electronic medium - how to conceptualise a film /radio talk.

Ravi Narula/ Satish Pande

6.30 pm to 8 pm

- 18. Group preparatory excercises for presentations

Day Four: 17.8.94

9 am to 11.00 am

- 19. Group presentation before subject resource persons.

Anuradha Rao/Dunu Roy /Pradeep Mehta

11.15 to 1 pm

- 20. Advocacy excercises with real persons

2 to 3 pm

- 21. Free time for preparations for evening

3 pm to 8 pm

- 22. Visit to DD CPC for Question Forum

Evening:

Dinner, Fellowship, entertainment by TWYCLers

Day 5: 18.8.94

9 am to 10.35 am

- 23. Summing up/taking stock
 - presentation by participants
 - presentation by resource group

10.30 to 11.30 am

- 24. Press conferences with both print and electronic media

11.30 to 12.30 pm

- 25. TV Interview

12.30 to 1.00 pm

- 26. Closing Session.

Dr G Sundaram, Secretary, Govt of India

TWYCLIII

IDEALISM TO REALITY - PROGRAMME

Day One- February 20, 1995

10.00 a.m. to 12.00 p.m.

Registration of participants

12.00 to 1.00 p.m.

Welcome, Inauguration of the workshop background, Logistics, Introduction, Goal of the workshop, Steering committee.

1.00 to 2.00 p.m.

Lunch break

2.00 to 3.00 p.m.

Recapitulation of the previous workshops
Expectations from the TWYCL - III Objectives

3.00 to 5.30 p.m.

Developing clarity about vision

Day Two February 21, 1995

9.00 a.m. to 9.30 a.m.

Recapitulation of the previous day sessions Steering committee.

9.30 a.m. to 1.00 p.m.

Enhance our understanding and articulation of Mission Statement
* Case work
* Mission Statement for our organisation

1.00 p.m. to 2.00 p.m.

Lunch break

2.00 p.m. to 5.00 p.m.

Operationalisation of the Mission Statement into workable strategies
* Strategy-Strategic planning discussions, input from the trainer
* Case work: Participants work in small groups, presentation strategy/ies for our organisation

Day Three February 22, 1995

9.00 a.m. to 9.30 a.m.

Recapitulation. Steering committee

9.30 a.m. to 1.00 p.m.

Key issues in institution development and capacity building

1.00 p.m. to 2.00 p.m.

Lunch break

2.00 p.m. to 5.30 p.m.

Examining consumer organisations in the development context
* Macro trends and major problems before the consumer organisations.

Day Four February 23, 1995

9.00 a.m. to 9.30 a.m.

Recapitulation, Steering Committee

9.30 a.m. to 1.00 p.m.

Strategic planning
Group work, presentation and input from a trainer to understand steps in strategic planning

1.00 p.m. to 2.00 p.m.

Lunch break

2.00 p.m. to 5.30 p.m.

Participants develop project proposal/plan of action - Group work

Day Five February 24, 1995

9.00 a.m. to 12.00 p.m.

Presentation of project plan, feedback

12.00 p.m. to 1.30 p.m.

Follow up plans, evaluation of the workshop, conclusion

**TWYCLIV
TAKING STOCK**

Day One 22.8.95

10 am to 11.15 am

Session One:

Inauguration

Welcome and introduction

Mr. Pradeep S Mehta

General Secretary, CUTS

Address by

Mrs. Jajie Mandanna

Indian Institute for Consumer Studies, Bangalore

Thanks by

Ms. Sonal Mehta

CHETNA, Ahmedabad

11.30 am to 12.30 pm

Session Two:

Emerging trends and problems of the
national consumer movement in India

Mr. V. K. Parigi

Consumer Education Centre, Bangalore

2 pm to 3.30 pm

Session Three:

International Consumer Movement and role of
Consumers International

Mr. Pradeep S Mehta

3.45 pm to 6.30 pm

Session Four:

Overview of rural consumer movement in India

Mr. Henri Tiphagne

Gen. Secy. FEDCOT, Madurai

Day Two: 23.8.95

9.30 am to 11 am

Session Five:

Organisation Management

Dr. Bhamy Shenoy, Mysore Consumers Council

Mr. M.M. Kumaraswamy, SHSD, Bangalore

11.15 am to 1 pm

Session Six:

Group dynamics - facilitation

Mr. M. M. Kumaraswamy

2 pm to 3.30 pm

Session Seven:

Community organising

Mr. Mahesh Lobo

ICR, Bangalore

3.45 pm to 5.30 pm

Session Eight:

Advocacy and lobbying

Mr. Binu Thomas

ActionAid, Bangalore

6.30 pm to 8 pm

Group discussions

Day Three: 24.8.95

9.30 am to 10 am

Recap - presentations by groups

10 am to 11.30 am

Session Nine:

Organising meetings and exercises

Mr. V.K. Parigi

11.15 am to 1 pm

Session Ten:
Writing and presenting reports
Mr. V. K. Parigi

2 pm to 3.30 pm

Session Eleven:
Art of public speaking
Ms. Heather MacPhil, Bangalore

3.45 pm to 5.30 pm

Session Twelve:
Evaluation of issues:
Health and rational use of drugs
Dr. Sreedhara A. R.
Community Health Cell, Bangalore

6.30 pm to 8 pm

Session Thirteen:
Strategy planning and discussions on action plans

Day Four: 25.8.95

3 pm to 5.30 pm
Evening

Sight seeing and visit to local NGOs
Group preparatory exercises for public meeting
Dinner, fellowship, entertainment by V-CANers

Day Five: 26.8.95

11 am to 1.00 pm

Valedictory Session
Welcome
Pradeep S Mehta

Guest Address by
Mr. Ben Witjes,
Resident Representative, HIVOS, Bangalore

Presentation by participants
Mr. Raghav Narsalay
Mr. S. Martin
Ms. Shivani Prasad
Ms. Sonal Mehta

Vote of Thanks
Ch. Diwakar Babu

कट्स ✕ CUTS

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