The Education Choice Campaign aims at giving poor parents the choice to send their children to well performing schools by changing the government system of funding education. Instead of funding non performing schools, the government funds students by way of vouchers. The students choose the school they wish to study in. The vouchers fund the school that takes the child under its wing. In the same breath, the campaign emphasises deregulation, decentralisation and depoliticisation of education and, giving education the status of an industry to enable edupreneurs to access credit and venture capital for setting up new schools and improving existing ones.

The campaign strategy includes research and advocacy to policy influencers, policy makers and the citizens.

**Research & Publications**

- “Schooling for Urban Poor: Insights from Sangam Vihar” is a primary research paper focusing on educational facilities available in Sangam Vihar, an unauthorised colony in Delhi largely inhabited by migrants from the outskirts of Delhi. Empirical data from the paper suggests that despite economic constraints education is a primary source of expenditure in these households.

- “Study of the Delhi Government SC/ST Tuition Fee Reimbursement Scheme” is an analytical research of the scheme based on primary data. Akin to an ex-post voucher program the scheme applies to SC/ST students studying in private schools of Delhi. Based on its findings, the study also suggests reforms to better the performance of the scheme.

- “Effects of Centralisation of Curricula & Examinations”: Secondary education is completely straightjacketed by centralisation of curricula, textbooks, and examination. Any new idea, or reform in this area meets with the standard refrain that the schools individually cannot do anything since their students have to take the same exams and compete against other students. CCS has studied the current stage for India and specifically for the states of Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra.

- “Higher Education for the Poor”: The idea of financing students and not schools would be easier to advocate at the higher education level than at the primary level. This paper reviews the status of higher education in India, the benefits of the voucher programs with the costs of the existing system of general subsidy to all students at a college, and suggests how this can be implementation.

- Critique of Right to Education Bill 2005: Despite the hard work by the government, the Right to Education Bill 2005 is scarcely better than its precursor, the Free and Compulsory Education Bill 2003. If there is a mission that seems to motivate the Bill, it is to restrict the school choice of parents and of teachers and to expand the layers and powers of the bureaucracy. This is not the Bill that would serve the cause of education. CCS published a detailed critique on the bill.

- **View Point 8: Private Schools Serving the Poor**: Many believe that the private sector has very little to offer in terms of reaching the United Nations Millennium Development Goal of “education for all” by 2015. Private education is often assumed to be concerned only with serving the elite or middle classes, not the poor. And unrecognized private schools are thought to be of the lowest quality, hence demanding of detailed regulation or even closure by the authorities. James Tooley's findings from a two year in-depth study in India (Delhi and Hyderabad), China, Kenya, Ghana and Nigeria suggest that these conclusions are unwarranted. This Viewpoint reports on the findings from Delhi, India, carried out during 2004-2005. Private schools, it is argued, can play—indeed, already are playing—an important, if unsung role in reaching the poor and satisfying their educational needs.

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1 SC = Scheduled Caste; ST = Scheduled Tribe
• **Viewpoint 6: College Autonomy-Policy, Practice & Prospects:** This monograph is an outcome of the seminar that CCS organised in Kerala on this issue with the Kerala Higher Education Forum. The monograph has two parts: the first part is Professor Ninan Abraham’s thoughtful, balanced and reasoned views on college autonomy. The second part contains the guidelines of UGC (University Grants Commission) which needs to be debated to generate a more conducive environment and necessary reforms to move towards college autonomy.

• **Policy Review: Education Vouchers-Global Experiments & India’s Promise:** This Review is an objective study of voucher programs implemented in eleven countries and its impact on academic achievement. It also addresses the frequently expressed apprehensions regarding the concept.

• AC Nielsen was commissioned to carry out a Listing and Qualitative exercise to study public perception of education and the response to education vouchers as a reform in the education sector. The findings of the Qualitative phase will be used in drafting the Quantitative exercise. The data collected will be used in drafting further reforms in the education sector.

**Advocacy**

• **Role of Private Unrecognised Schools (December 1, 05):** CCS & Education Promotion Society for India (EPSI) organised a dialogue on “Private Schools Serving the Poor: A Global Perspective”. The speaker, Professor James Tooley (University of Newcastle, UK) shared his findings from global study of Asia, Africa and China on private schools for the poor. Other panelists included Naveen Jindal (Member of Parliament), Usha Ram (Chairperson, National Progressive School’s Conference), Professor AK Sharma (Former Director, NCERT). The event saw the participation from voluntary organisations, funding organisations, educationists, media persons, and students.

• **Policy Meet (November 30, 05):** CCS with the support of Member of Parliament, Ajay Maken hosted the eighth Policy Meet for policy makers on “Education For All: Strategies for Success” with Professor James Tooley. Noted Parliamentarians, legislators & key stakeholders attended the Meet including Sachin Pilot, Murli Deora, Kuldeep Bishnoi, Jiten Prasad, Madhu Goud Yashki, Deependra Hooda, Arvind Singh Lovely, Ramesh Lamba, Shambu Prasad, Tajdar Babbar, Bhupendra Gupta Rati and Gurcharan Das. As a follow up, a consultation meeting was held on 7 December in which MPs from Itanagar and Chattisgarh participated.

• **Mass Campaign:** The objective was to measure public perception of the state of education within the country and to introduce the idea of education vouchers to the masses and gauge their response to the concept. The target audience were poor parents, government and private school children, teachers and principals of schools. To organise this campaign, CCS collaborated with SIKSHA (Society for Integrated Knowledge, Social Engineering, Human Understanding and Arts). SIKSHA develops and conducts campaigns on social issues through diverse media such as street plays, competitions, films, and workshops. Given below is a summary of the programs and events organised by them for the Education Choice Campaign.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Audience</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Programs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>Creativity</td>
<td>The campaign began with a workshop with students/children in Trilokpuri Block 34 on 24 December 05. 100 students of primary level participated. In the first session, the students were briefed about the idea of the campaign through different theatrical games, live improvisation and interaction. The second session was the painting making session in which students painted different pictures, made collages with water colors, crayons, pencil colors and newspaper-magazines.</td>
<td>10 workshops across east and south Delhi</td>
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### Audience Mode Description Programs

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<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Role-play</td>
<td>150 teachers from different government and government-aided schools participated. We explored and shared the concept of good education and the voucher idea with teachers in an interesting, participatory manner, in which the views and reactions of the teachers were collected.</td>
<td>5 teachers’ workshop at Gandhi Peace Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parents of poor children studying at government schools</td>
<td>Play</td>
<td>To create awareness regarding education choice and to popularise the idea of the campaign among masses a play Nayee Chah Nayee Raah (new choice, new direction) was designed. In this play the idea of Education Choice was woven in a very participatory, enjoyable and lively manner. The play shows the disparity in the standard of education in government, private recognised and private unrecognised schools. The play was followed by a Jansunvai (public hearing) with the audience creating a platform for them to air their anecdotal views and concerns about the education of their child.</td>
<td>10 presentations were held across slum colonies in east and south Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of private schools and students of government school and their parents</td>
<td>Visit to an affluent private school</td>
<td>The visiting team comprised of government school students and their respective parents. They visited Ahlcon International School, Mayur Vihar. The visiting delegation interacted with private school students, teachers, staff members and the principal of the school. They were acquainted with the administration and facilities of a reputed private school.</td>
<td>1 visit</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Final Jansunvai (Public Hearing)**

The play Nayee Chah, Nayee Raah (new choice, new direction) was performed at the India Habitat Centre on February 25, 06. It was followed by a public hearing. The assembly included Ashok Agarwal (Social Jurist), TK Mathew (Deepalaya), Ashok Pandey (Principal, Ahlcon International School), Amrish Singh Gautam (MLA, Patparganj), Mohit Satyanand (Consultant). The audience had representation from the slum colonies of Seemapuri, non government organisations, multilateral organisations, policy makers and, teachers. The panelists together with audience discussed the current status of education, quality of education in government schools and the concept of vouchers.

### The Highlights & Achievements of the Campaign

- Parth J Shah has been invited to be part of Planning Commission’s XI Plan Working Committee on Basic Education and Literacy.
- After several meetings, the Delhi State Education Minister has finally removed the need to acquire the Essentiality Certificate to start schools. This is a major breakthrough which will ease the process of the starting of private schools.
- The campaign has covered 11 Colonies of East and South Delhi.
- The campaign has reached 175,000 people by way of a massive Signature Campaign.
- Around 55,000 leaflets of the campaign have been distributed.
- Overwhelming response from each and every community of the society.
- 1100 applications from the people supporting the campaign and the concept of education voucher.
- Media reports of the campaign in local newspapers and electronic media.
- Active participation of local elected public representatives.
- All the activities have been documented on video and a seven-minute representative clip of the campaign was showcased at the final public hearing.
LIVELIHOOD

Research & Publications

- *Law, Liberty and Livelihood-Making A Living On The Street* won the Templeton Freedom Prize in the category of Free Market Solutions to Poverty. The issues elaborated in our book have found widespread social resonance and the book has received favorable reviews in leading newspapers and magazines all across India such as *The Hindu* (readership 3 million), the *Business Standard* (India’s second largest daily financial newspaper), the *Financial Express*, the *Outlook* magazine (readership 1.5 million), the *Education World* (India’s first education magazine), *The Pioneer* newspaper, *Pratham Pravakta* (fortnightly Hindi magazine).

- “Livelihood in Urban India”: The study documents the regulatory framework and its impact on small scale entrepreneurs in urban India to generate an informed discussion on the barriers to economic freedom. The study covers street hawkers and shop licensing in Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, Bangalore, Kolkata, Noida and Cochin.

- Review of the Unorganised Sector Workers' Bill 2004: CCS reviewed this Bill and discussed it with Mr. Jaswal of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector, which was in charge of receiving comments from civil society groups on the Bill to make necessary changes.

- Review of the Unorganised Sector Workers' Social Security Bill 2005: CCS has always called for the inclusion of “self-employed” workers in any legislation for unorganised sector workers. In fact, when the *Unorganised Sector Workers' Bill 2004* was circulated for civil society redrafting, our main point of contention was that the Bill excluded self-employed workers in its entirety. In this context, CCS is pleased that when the Bill was split in two, the National Advisory Council’s submission to the government on the *Unorganised Sector Workers' Social Security Bill, 2005* has included self-employed workers in Section 2 (o), very clearly defining it as also including any person who “works on his or her own account or is self-employed; in any place of work including his or her home, field or any public place”. CCS has critiqued the Bill and sent its comments to the Ministry of Labour as well as members of the National Advisory Council. A presentation was also made at the 40th Indian Labour Conference in December 2005.

- “Commercial Networks at Bottom of the Pyramid”: CCS conducted a field study of the *Velugu*, a network that brings together 6 million of Andhra Pradesh’s poorest of the poor women and organises them for commerce. The aim was to expand CCS’ understanding on the role of civil institutions in aggregating the poorest of the poor for commercial engagements.

- *Aarthik Swatantra Ka Sangharsh* (Struggle for Economic Freedom): An abridged version of *Law, Liberty & Livelihood: Making a Living on the Street*, this Hindi booklet focuses on key entry level professions and policy reforms in a hope to provide a fighting chance to the street entrepreneurs of India.

- *Viewpoint 7: Arthik Swatantra: Ek Vismrit Adhikar* (Economic Freedom: The Forgotten Human Right): This monograph talks about the importance of economic freedom as compared to political and cultural freedoms and established ways in which the state has been stifling the economic freedom of the people of India.

Advocacy

- Livelihood Freedom Campaign: The campaign focuses on removing laws that hamper economic growth of the urban poor. CCS identifies those laws that hinder the efforts of the urban poor who try to start their own enterprise, work out arguments against such laws and advocate with the government to remove the same. We have prepared an argument on Section 3 (1) of the Delhi Municipal Corporation Cycle Rickshaw Bylaws 1960. This...
argument has been sent out in petition form to the Councillors and Commissioner of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi, the Mayor and the Chief Minister. The follow up would include a meeting with interested parties from the above list to sensitise them to remove this discriminatory bylaw.

- As per the provisions of the National Policy for Urban Street Vendors, Zone and Ward Vending Committees have been set up for every zone and ward in Delhi. CCS sent applications for membership in the South Zone as well as the Hauz Khas Ward vending committees. Parth J Shah has been inducted into the Zone vending committee for South Zone and the Ward vending committee for Hauz Khas.

- Total TV, a news channel focusing on the National Capital Region, did a 3-minute report on 21 July on the eviction of ‘encroachers’ from the Sarojini Nagar market area for the 2010 Commonwealth games. The reporter, Mukesh Kumar based his report on the letter he received from CCS to sign the livelihood freedom petition, citing this example.

- National Conference on Emerging Business Opportunities at the Bottom of Pyramid: CCS participated in this conference organised by the Confederation of Indian Industries and the World Bank in Hyderabad on December 20-21, 05

**Jeevika: South Asia Livelihood Documentary Festival**

*Jeevika* is an annual search for documentaries that focus on legal and regulatory restrictions, bureaucratic process of approvals and licenses with attendant extortion and harassment as well as social and cultural norms and religious practices that prevent or constrain people from earning an honest living in the vocation of their choice.

**Jeevika 2005 Festival**

We received 69 entries from students and filmmakers from all over India. The Screening Committee shortlisted 15 best films which were premiered at the India Habitat Centre. The Jury awarded the top prizes to:

- First Prize: *Aftershocks: A Rough Guide to Democracy* Rakesh Sharma
- Second Prize: *Who Can Change Me?* Biju KC
- Third Prize: *Pedal Soldier of India* Raza Haider & Kaukab
- Best Student Film: *Zarina* Suhail Bukhari & Piyush Pushpak (College of Media & Communication, Rai University)

The festival attracted over 500 film lovers in the capital over three days. Acclaimed actor Rahul Bose inaugurated the festival on January 27. He unveiled the Jeevika theme video, which features a catchy soundtrack, performed by the popular Indian band Indian Ocean. He also signed the CCS Livelihood Freedom Campaign. In a glittering award ceremony, acclaimed actress Deepti Naval presented the awards to the winners.

**Jeevika 2006 Festival**

With over 85 entries from students and film makers from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh and Serbia, a viewership of over 1300, CCS expanded its outreach in South Asia. The 21 best films were premiered at India Habitat Centre, Delhi from 20-28 January 2006. Winners:

- First Prize: *One Show Less* Nayantara C Kotian (Student Film, Institute: National Institute of Design )
- Second Prize: *Fight for Survival* Dakxin Nandlal Bajarange (India)
- Third Prize: *Treading Down* Upali Gamth (Sri Lanka)
- Best Student Film *Aamchi Kasauti* Rivu Laha (Film & Television Institute of India)
- Special Jury Mention: *Pretty Dyana* Boris Mitic

The Inaugural and Award Ceremonies saw moving speeches from Dr. Kiran Bedi, MP Deepinder Hooda, Magsaysay award winner, Rajendra Singh, columnists Gurcharan Das and Swaminathan Aiyer, and filmmakers Rakesh Sharma and Tareque Masood. The films reached out to over 25 schools and colleges across various cities of India including Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, Kolkata and Ahmedabad. Four films were also selected for screening at the Silver Lake Film Festival, Los Angeles, USA in March.

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2 Jeevika means livelihood in Hindi.
In addition to the screenings, a Research & Documentary Making Workshop was organised on January 27 & 28 in collaboration with the Indian Institute of Mass Communication (IIMC). The Workshop introduced 43 young people to the basic skills of primary and secondary research and techniques of film making. A Seminar on Poverty, Profits and Entrepreneurship was organised in conjunction with the Faculty of Management Studies, University of Delhi on February 4. The aim was to explore partnerships between global companies and local entrepreneurs and to look at possible connections between the Bottom of the Pyramid and global markets. Over 75 students of management and other courses attended the seminar. The speakers included Pradeep Kashyap (MART), Sharad Agarwal (Hindustan Latex), Arjun Uppal (ICICI) and William Bissell (FabIndia).

CCS offers financial support for the making of new documentaries on livelihood issues. In 2006, 5 films have been selected for financial support. CCS also purchases multiple copies of the films from the filmmakers and disseminates them to organisations and its Friends of Freedom groups.

GOVERNANCE

Research & Publications

- “Duty to Publish”: The Right to Information Act 2005 has been passed by Parliament. CCS was one of the several groups that took part in the rule-making process for this Act. CCS clearly differed from the others through our focus on the Duty to Publish information rather than the duty to furnish information, which is what the present Act focuses on. CCS prepared a template for proactive or suo moto disclosure of information—the basic premise of the duty to publish, which we sent to the Department of Personnel and Training of the Government of India.

- “Government Legitimacy Index”: This study brings focus and clarity into the debate on ‘good governance’ by developing an index that clearly defines ‘governance’ in terms of government expenditures on public goods as opposed to non-public goods. The other aspects of good governance like accountability, transparency are not quantifiable. But government spending on public goods can be quantified and therefore we look at the variable to create a ‘Legitimacy Index’ of state governments in India. These state governments will be ranked using this Legitimacy Index.

- State of Governance: Delhi Citizen Handbook 2006: The Delhi Handbook is a compilation of our studies of 25 Delhi government and MCD3 departments. With this study, CCS hopes to further citizens’ understanding of the workings of the government. The Handbook also makes constructive recommendations for improving the quality and effectiveness of governance. Ajay Maken, Minister for Urban Development released the Handbook. The Handbook is a product of hard and gruelling work on the part of many young researchers and interns at CCS.

- State of Governance: Jharkhand Citizen Handbook 2006: This is a collaborative effort between CCS and Prabhat Khabar, a leading Hindi daily based in Ranchi to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the creation of the Jharkhand state. It is a first time effort to analyze in detail the programs, budgets, personnel, and achievements of some of the important ministries, departments, and agencies (MDAs) of the government.

- State of Governance: Mumbai Citizen Handbook: In collaboration with Praja, the handbook looks at major departments of the Mumbai Municipal Corporation as well as other agencies concerned with civic governance. Each chapter contains recommendations and reforms for improving governance based on liberal principles and the concepts of new public management. Praja also seeks to follow up on the recommendations made in the handbook to improve transparency, accountability and better governance in Mumbai city.

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3 MCD = Municipal Corporation of Delhi
• Ward Power-Decentralised Urban Governance: The book, targeted at policy makers, urban planners and citizen associations, focuses on the functioning of urban municipalities and suggests creating a local self-governance unit at a level of a Ward for decentralised management. The book was released by former Cabinet Secretary of India, TSR Subramanian at a function organised in collaboration with the Indian Institute of Public Administration.

• Handbook on New Public Governance: This Handbook outlines the philosophy, structure and functions of new public governance through several case studies across the world.

• Navlok Prabandhan: The reforms section of the Delhi Citizen Handbook 2003 have been translated and published in Hindi in this special monograph.

• Briefing Paper on Food Stamps: An overview of the theory and history of food stamps in several countries. It was submitted to Finance Minister P Chidambaram who had proposed a food stamp experiment in his 2004-05 budget.

Advocacy

• Ward Power Workshop (June 10, 05): CCS, in partnership with Centre for Study of Law and Governance, Jawaharl Nehru University (JNU) organised a workshop on 'Ward Power: Reforms in Urban Governance'. The Workshop showcased presentations from academicians across the country on topics like strengthening ward committees, participatory ward management, slum development through ward management apart from several case studies. The Workshop was inaugurated by Professor Balveer Arora (Acting Vice Chancellor, JNU). Eminent personalities such as Wajahat Habibullah (Secretary, Ministry of Panchayati Raj), KC Sivaramakrishnan (Visiting Professor, Centre for Policy Research), Dr GS Bhalla, (Professor Emeritus, Centre for the Study of Regional Development, JNU), and Sanjay Kaul (President, People's Action) shared their thoughts on the issues and challenges in urban governance on the concluding panel discussion. The event saw papers and participation from institutions such as UNDP, World Bank, IGIDR (Indira Gandhi Institute for Development Research), NIUA (National Institute of Urban Affairs), Annamalai University, Prayas, Priya, Centre for Media Studies, NIPFP (National Institute of Public Finance & Policy). School of Planning and Architecture, People First, People's Action, National Foundation for India, and several other civil society organisations and universities. Over 80 participants attended the workshop.

• CCS assisted Parivartan (NGO working in governance reforms) in its campaign to address serious concerns raised by the proposed privatisation of water services in Delhi by Delhi Jal Board. CCS developed the website to provide citizens the complete information on this issue (www.delhiwater.org)

• Making Right to Information portal participatory: CCS has been interacting with officials of the National Informatics Centre (NIC) of the Government of India regarding making the Right to Information portal user-friendly and participatory. CCS has advocated that the government should use open software applications such as Wiki since they help registered users create and edit web pages. The idea behind such a move is to disseminate information that has already been disclosed under RTI as widely as possible. It is in the government's interest to be open to this idea as the work, which is currently wholly shouldered by the government would no longer be so since even private individuals would participate in this process. With disclosed information being disseminated there would be no more repetitive information requests. This would ultimately reduce the burden on the government. The NIC was also in touch with CCS regarding creating a logo for the RTI portal that would help the general public easily identify it as symbolizing the people’s right to information.

• Tripura state government invites CCS (September 2005): On the basis of CCS’s submission on the duty to publish obligation of governments to the Department of Personnel and Training (DOPT), DOPT recommended our name to the government of the State of Tripura, to conduct a right to information workshop in the state to explain the Act and its implementation to its officials.

• Research Associates, Renu Vinod and Sushmita Pratihast presented on the Right to Information and State of Governance: Delhi Citizen Handbook at the Delhi School of Economics on March 24. The presentations were part of a seminar on Mega-cities: Infrastructure and Governance organised by the Delhi School of Economics and sponsored by the UGC.
ENVIRONMENT

Research & Publications

- “Community-Based Water Delivery”: On World Water Day (March 22, 2006), CCS released a study on Community innovations in Water Delivery based on case studies of Olavanna in Kerala and Sangam Vihar in Delhi.

- “Green Oustees”: As a contrast to those displaced by ‘brown’ development projects, who receive the maximum attention of media and activists, this study documents the number of people who have been displaced from their homes as a result of ‘green’ projects, the creation of national parks, sanctuaries or reserves. The purpose is to bring into focus and debate the state’s denial of property rights and means of livelihood to forest-dwelling communities. The study focuses on case studies where the process of notification and eviction is underway, besides documenting the total number of such ‘green oustees’ throughout the country that have resulted from the take-over of forests by the government.

- “Community Stewardship & Management of Natural Resources”: The study presents specific examples and case studies of community management of forests, water resources and fisheries from India and abroad. This collection complements our publication Terracotta Reader, which focuses more on the theoretical rather than the practical aspects of community management and ownership. Also, examples of traditional resource management are used to argue for formalisation of these mechanisms.

- Commentary on National Environment Policy 2004: CCS submitted its commentary to the Ministry of Environment and Forests which stresses the importance of institutions for the outcome of any policy, since institutional arrangements create a set of incentives and disincentives, which in turn shape the behaviour of individuals. The concept of community forestry as an extension of Joint Forest Management, implementation of ITQs in fisheries and allocation of water rights is explored in the commentary. An article on water rights based on the commentary was published in Financial Express and Yojana magazine published by Planning Commission.

- Terracotta Reader: A Market Approach to Environment edited by Parth J Shah and Vidisha Maitra is a book of readings on free market environmentalism dealing with all major environmental issues, from global warming, to sustainable development, to plastic bags. It is an antidote to various fanatic Green readers.

Advocacy

- Terracotta Summit (March 7, 05): CCS organised The Terracotta Summit to discuss institutional and policy alternatives to the management of forests and fisheries in India. Dr. RK Pachauri (Director General, The Energy Research Institute) delivered the inaugural address, stressing upon the importance of market and community based initiatives in environmental policy. The audience consisted of academicians, government officers, environmental professionals and students. Two briefing papers were presented—Forests Policy: Community Stewardship and Management and Fisheries Policy: Resource Rights for Individuals and Communities. The other speakers included Dr. Somnath Bandypadhyay (Aga Khan Foundation), Sushil Saigal (Winrock International), Ghan Shyam Pandey (FECOFUN, Nepal), Varghese Paul (TERI), Mahendra Vyas (CEC); Dr. Mahesh Rangarajan (environmental historian). The audience consisted of academicians, government officers, environmental professionals and students.
POLICY MEETS

The first of its kind in India, this program attempts to bring new ideas to parliamentarians and connect policy researchers with policy makers so that we have informed policy debates and decisions. Enthusiastic response has been received particularly from the younger MPs who suggested topics for future meets and offered all support in organising them. This has encouraged CCS to make this program a regular and ongoing series. The Policy Meets organised so far:

- **North East: Opportunities & Challenges** Sanjay Hazarika (March 17, 05)
- **Life After Tsunami: Fisheries, People and Livelihood** V Vivekanandan, CEO, South Indian Federation of Fishermen Societies and Herman van der Laan, Director, International Labour Organisation (March 4, 05)
- **Education Policy: Choice and Competition** Parth J Shah (December 21, 04)
- **Growth and Employment Multiplication Through Habitat Development** Professor PV Indiresan, Former Director, Indian Institute of Technology, IIT Madras and Karwal Rekhi, Founding Chairman, The Indus Entrepreneurs & Chairman, CCS (December 13, 04)
- **Politician: Villain or Victim? A Plea For Electoral Reform** Dr Jayaprakash Narayan, Member National Advisory Council and National Coordinator, Loksatta (December 8, 04)
- **Budget 2004: Looking Through and Looking Beyond** Dr Shubhashis Gangopadhyay, India Development Foundation (July 22, 04)
- **Subsidies: Good, Bad & Ugly** Dr Kirit Parikh, Member, Planning Commission (July 13, 04)

PUBLIC EYE ON PUBLIC SERVICES

CCS in collaboration with India international Centre (IIC) organised dialogue series named Public Eye on Public Services to analyse the current status, possible improvements, and viable alternatives to public services in Delhi or around the country. After the successful completion of four such dialogues, the IIC has renewed its partnership for monthly dialogues for an entire year in 2006-07. The dialogues organised:

- **Delhi Water: Concerns, Challenges & Reforms** (November 30, 05): The discussion saw the representatives from the Delhi Jal Board, the World Bank and Parivartan (an NGO, that has closely been studying the reform process) come together on a common platform for the first time to voice their concerns and justify their stand. The experts participating in the dialogue included Anjali Rai (Vice Chairperson, Delhi Jal Board), Sumir Lal (Advisor-External Affairs, World Bank), Arvind Kejriwal (President, Parivartan) and Parth J Shah. The dialogue was chaired by eminent economist, Gurcharan Das. The event also saw the participation from a number of Resident Welfare Associations, voluntary organisations, media persons, and students.

- **Right To Education Bill 2005** (November 16, 05): The experts participating in the dialogue included Amit Kaushik (Director, Elementary Education, Ministry of HRD, Madhav Chavan (Director of Programs, Pratham), R Govinda (National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration), Ram Pal Singh (President, All India Primary Teachers Federation) and Parth J Shah. The event also saw the participation from a number of teachers, voluntary organisations, media persons, and students.

- **Informal Sector Workers: Problems and Prospects** (November 2, 05): The panel included Subhash Bhatnagar (Coordinator, National Campaign Committee for Unorganised Sector Workers), Sharad Joshi (Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha) and Parth J Shah.

- **Delhi Power: From Privatisation to Competition** (October 15, 05): Participants included Ajay Maken (Member of Parliament, Former Power Minister of Delhi), JP Chalasani (Director, Business Development, Reliance Energy Ltd), Sanjay Kaul (People’s Action), R Krishnamoorthy (Member, Delhi Electricity Regulatory Commission) and Gajendra Haldia (Member, Planning Commission). Various consumer groups, resident welfare associations, media persons, and students participated.
**RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP:** The CCS Fellowship has supported amateur and professional researchers to write research papers on a variety of issues. The Fellowships supported by CCS in 2004-05 are:

- “Agricultural Livelihood in Kerala” by Jose Sebastian
- “Evaluation of Wage Employment schemes of India” by Tarun Ghawana
- “School Licensing in Jharkhand” by Rajan Kumar Singh
- “Weather Information Policy-Raindrop Firewalls” by S Jaganath
- “Scopes in the Forests for Increased Tribal Economy” by Nabaghan Ojha
- “Natural Resource Management: An Evaluation of Government & NGO Schemes” by Tarun Ghawana

**Liberty, Educators & Society Seminar** (April 8-10, 05): CCS organised the first ever residential seminar for 27 teachers and professors at Changanacherry, Kerala.

**Communicating Freedom Workshop** (May 25-29, 05): CCS organised the first such workshop to provide training in research, communication and organisation to 13 professors and students from across India to spread the message of freedom in their local languages and to create a larger pool of resource persons for CCS programs.

**YOUTH OUTREACH PROGRAMS**

**Liberty & Society Seminars (LSS):** The crusade for changing mindsets grows geographically. The LSS aims to provide college students and recent graduates a greater understanding of the society, economy and culture within the classical liberal framework which emphasises limited government, rule of law, free trade and individual rights. In 2005, the LSS expanded its geographical and language scope. CCS organised its first LSS in Gujarati at Mangrol, Gujarat for tribals in collaboration with ARCH (Action Research and Community Health), a liberal grass roots organisation which works with tribals. 30 young and old tribals participated. Issues discussed included poverty, education, water, agriculture, environment & tribal rights, license permit raj and microfinance. CCS also organised its first LSS in Hindi at Ranchi for 35 college students.

**Liberty, Art & Culture Seminar (LACS):** LACS is a residential seminar especially targeted for students of mass communications, media, journalism, & creative arts. Filmmakers, authors, media experts, interacted with the students.

**Austrian Economics Seminar:** CCS organised the first Austrian Economics Seminar for economics students with an aim to introduce and broaden their knowledge about the unique and distinct contributions of the Austrian School.

**Advanced Liberty & Society Seminar:** Amidst the sylvan settings of Panchgini, 31 graduates of CCS programs spent 4 intellectually intense days at the lovely Moral Rearmament Centre. Professor Sunder Ramaswamy (Madras School of Economics) and Dr Amir Ullah Khan (India Development Foundation) were the resource persons along with Parth J Shah. Many advanced topics like IPR, cloning, GM crops, privatisation of defence, voluntary cities were discussed in great detail.
Table of Students Seminars organised in 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Seminar</th>
<th>Total Outreach</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 June 23-26</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>Liberty &amp; Society Seminar</td>
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<td>2 Aug 4-7</td>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
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<td>3 August 18-21</td>
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<td>4 September 1-4</td>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>Liberty &amp; Society Seminar</td>
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<td>5 September 15-18</td>
<td>Chennai</td>
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<td>6 September 29-October 2</td>
<td>Guwahati</td>
<td>Liberty &amp; Society Seminar</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 October 20-23</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>Liberty &amp; Society Seminar</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 November 10-13</td>
<td>Calicut</td>
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<td>9 November 24-27</td>
<td>Mumbai</td>
<td>Liberty, Art &amp; Culture Seminar</td>
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<td>10 December 8-11</td>
<td>Ranchi</td>
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<td>11 December 22-25</td>
<td>Mangrol</td>
<td>Liberty &amp; Society Seminar in Gujarati</td>
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**TOTAL 409**

- **Researching Reality Internship Program:** 28 interns were selected from among 171 applicants to work with us in the period 2004-06 in Delhi, Chennai, Mumbai, Cochin, Hyderabad. An extensive orientation program was organised field research, surveys, journalistic writing, writing research papers, and open sessions on specific issues with experts. The interns’ work culminated in 26 research papers on issues ranging from government expenditure on primary education, government policy on curricula, examinations, textbooks, unrecognised schools, proactive disclosure, national identity cards, education vouchers, tiger conservation, community fisheries. The interns researched on a variety of public policy issues. Achievements of CCS interns:
  - Vipin Veetil, Anil Ramprasad and Shruti Jayaram were selected to attend the “No Education: No Freedom, No Opportunity” Seminar organised by the Fredrick Naumann Foundation, a policy research think tank of the liberal party of Germany.
  - Yavnika Khanna’s internship paper “Community Radio: Play on the songs of Liberty” was selected to be presented at the 35th ISC-Symposium, which was held from May 19-21, 2005 at St. Gallen University, St. Gallen, Switzerland.

- **Friends of Freedom Network:** To carry forward the torch of liberty, graduates of the CCS programs, form groups in their cities called Friends of Freedom. These groups organise programs for their members and other interested persons and also conduct local research. CCS has 6-7 active groups currently working in India. The range of activities includes documentary screenings, campaigns on local issues, lectures and panel discussions, Freedom Fest: A Festival to celebrate freedom through debates, youth parliament, poster competitions, quizzes.

- **Dr Christopher Lingle tours with CCS:** Senior Fellow at CCS, Dr Lingle spoke on the issues of Rule of Law, Democracy & Public Choice, and Lessons from the Asian Tigers at CCS seminars across India. He lectured at the ICFAI School of Public Policy, ICFAI Business School, Lady Shri Ram College and College of Business Studies.

- **Professor Ken Schoolland:** Professor Schoolland (Associate professor of Economics at the Hawaii Pacific University, author of the famous Adventures of Jonathan Gullible: A Free Market Odyssey) lectured at the School of International Studies, JNU, Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi, Indian Institute of Mass Communication.
Researching Reality Workshops: CCS organises these practical workshops to get young people interested in public policy research. These workshops have been organised at Indian Institute of Mass Communication-Delhi; College of Media and Communication-Rai University; Kamala Nehru College-Delhi; and International Summer School-Pune.

Power of Ideas: North East Inter College Debate Competition: CCS organised an intercollegiate debate competition in five states of the North East (Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh) on the issue of economic freedom and poverty. The state level winners then clashed with each other at Guwahati on October 3. Arfan Ali (Assam) was the best speaker and Manisha Banik (Tripura) was the second best speaker. The debate received wide media coverage in all the five states.

CCS Freedom Shelf: We gifted ten select college libraries a set of thirty classic books and documentaries on liberty in exchange for their maintaining and popularizing a separate shelf in their libraries as the FREEDOM SHELF!

“Budding Economist” Competition: CCS supported this competition which was a part of the “All India Economics Students Meet” organised by the students of Department of Economics, Hindu College, Delhi University. The student who won the Rs 25,000 prize was a graduate of the CCS seminar and an Intern as well!

Student Support: CCS occasionally offers support to students and student organizations to organise programs and attend related workshops and seminars. In this period, CCS provided support to Yavnika Khanna. Yavnika was selected to attend the South American Business Forum, held at Buenos Aires from 12 –14 August 2005 organised by the Instituto Tecnologico de Buenos Aires. She was also the only student from an Indian University among the elected 70 participants from around the world. She was selected on the basis of her essay on “Stifled Voices on Airwaves” (based on the research internship at CCS). She spoke about the CCS youth programs and persuaded many international students to pursue their internships at CCS. She also presented the Directors and organizing team of the forum with copies of CCS publication Law, Liberty and Livelihood.

CCS eCatalyst: CCS graduates produce a quarterly electronic newsletter for graduates. Sections include expressions, experiences at events, graffiti, updates on friends of freedom groups, interesting forthcoming program announcements.

Liberalism in Life Competition: CCS graduates participate in this Competition to share how the CCS programs have impacted their personal and professional lives. This year, CCS received 33 diverse entries from students and awarded the top prizes which included cash as well travel support to attend international seminars 2006. Excerpts of the entries is given below:
“In my journey of transformation from a dreamy schoolgirl to a ‘soldier of the second freedom struggle’ - I revert back again to take refuge in poetic reverie of Kahlil Gibran. So much has happened in 2005 in my life and what amazes me is the fact that it inevitably revolves around a single pivot- Centre of Civil Society. I attended LSS in 2003 and it might sound clichéd now, but it did change my life forever. I am sure by the time you will reach the end of this document you will nod in agreement with me that liberty and life have been inseparable from my life ever since.” Yavnika Khanna, LSS Delhi

“I am working on a PIL on behalf of the 6 seater owners/drivers in Pune who have been restricted by a new rule passed by the PMC from driving their vehicles on several roads in the city and thus hampering their earning process. It was claimed to be done to prevent the increase in pollution levels. My team is working on the legal as well as the actual environmental pollution recording levels and we intend to file the PIL to declare this rule null and allow these people to ferry people without the present obstacles.” Asawari, LSS Cochin

“Recently I had to present a paper on Euthanasia, at a Bioethics Conference organised by Indian Journal of Medical Ethics (IJME) in Mumbai from 24-25 November, 2006. This paper was co-authored by a friend. I came up with a solution to how expensive health care facilities should be brought within the purview of every individual so that denial of health care does not amount to asking for euthanasia; give people in low economic group, loans with prime lending rate being bearable for them. This may not be the most unique thing but I was proud of myself now that I could finally utilize what LSS had taught me.” Sneha Jha, LSS Hyderabad

“In the future I intend to contribute to CCS publications as I have done before. I will also like to participate in CCS seminars as a presenter, so that I can provide examples of how we have used libertarian concepts in our research and advocacy interventions. I intend to persuade my organisation to organise a CCS training activity for our research staff, which work on several policy consulting, research and advocacy projects.” Parashar Kulkarni, LSS Bhopal

“I am still questioning. I will be eternally thankful to CCS for showing me the other side of the picture. I aspire to be a journalist, it is very important for me not to be swayed be one ideology/stream of thought. I have tried to research more about all the topics we discussed during those four days. I have read umpteen books, and held discussions running into hours with my classmates and friends. I always find that after these discussions and debates I become a new person with more knowledge and so do my friends. There are many people who make fun of our small ‘debating society’. LACS has not only changed me but even my friends who had not even heard of it!!” Raksha Kumar, LACS

“I had come across a newspaper report that mentioned the statistics and status of HIV positive patients in India. I picked up the issue and initiated a discussion on this with my parents and some relatives who were visiting us. I slowly diverted the conversation towards flesh trade and legalizing of prostitution. Never before had I discussed these issues with my family. However, they did not make me feel awkward and uneasy. To my relief, my parents weren’t aghast as I had expected them to be. In fact they were receptive and open to discussion. I told them about my LSS experience regarding this and the documentaries were shown. This episode strengthened my resolution to speak up and discuss issues that made sense to me… I am telling them (friends and cousins) to atleast ‘observe’, ‘think’, and ‘discuss’ things that are happening around us. Awareness, I am telling them, as I have learnt, is the first step to bring about change.” Nurul Hasan, LSS Mumbai

Quotes from CCS Graduates

After the LSS experience, the sky is the limit for your intellectual growth! It can throw open to you the global field of action so that YOU can become the LEADER of the future trends of thought and movements instead of being a mere follower or a spectator. (Priyanka Jain)

LSS was a launch pad to world view and globetrotting. I broadened my mind when dealing with global issues and learnt to seek solutions from the bioscope of libertarian perspective. (Yavnika Khanna)

It would not be an exaggeration to state that these four days will change a person’s life forever. (Rohan)

I am a finance guy, but now I feel I should be an entrepreneur. (Gaurav K)

It's been instrumental in making me a little less judgmental and a little more receptive. (Megha Nayar)

A process of mental metamorphosis. (Sukhwant Singh)

I have a lot of questions that are left unanswered, but this seminar has taught me to search the answers myself. Thanks. (Ranjana Kumari)

LACS made me STOP, ASK, THINK and Act! (Vani)

Now I have the ability to think about the questions I always avoided. (Parul Gupta)

I was able to bring myself out and know myself better. (Jasica)

Road to liberalism and rationality is paved with atleast one LSS.(Chintan Dhebar)
NETWORKING & DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

The John Templeton Foundation has offered CCS a generous challenge grant of USD 500,000!

Parth J Shah received the Templeton Freedom Award For Free Market Solutions To Poverty at the Atlas Foundation Liberty Forum in Miami. The Atlas Foundation organised two meetings with the Indian Diaspora at Miami and Washington DC. CCS supporter, Girish Bhakoo arranged a lunch meeting at his residence in New York. In London, the Institute for Economic Affairs organised a reception with Lord Meghnad Desai as the keynote speaker. Our fundraising efforts to meet the Templeton challenge grant started on a wonderful note when chairman Kanwal Rekhi promised $100,000 at the fundraising meeting in Detroit, organised by Dharmesh and Jyot Shah.

CCS ran at the Delhi & Mumbai Marathons: On October 16 and January 16, CCS team members participated in the Hutch Marathon along with other 20,000 runners. Dipankar Sengupta, Mohit Satyanand, Isher Judge Ahluwalia, Shreekant Gupta, Anjum Bhatia and Rajesh Chadha provided support to CCS.

CCS IN MEDIA


CCS critics Right to Education Bill on Cover of Education World, January 2006


“Self-employed sidelined in Unorganised Workers Bill” Renu Vinod, The Hindu, September 2005

“Let all professional colleges set own fee structures—Institutional subsidy can be given to those who cannot afford” Parth J Shah, Financial Express, August 2005

“No space for street hawkers” Renu Vinod, Business Standard, August 2005


“Equity in Education” Parth J Shah, Business Standard, July 2005

“We need to remember forests are for forest dwellers, not foresters” Parth J Shah, Indian Express, June 2005


“Apply the food model to achieve water security”, Financial Express, March 2005

“Saving the fish & the fisherfolk”, Parth J Shah, Businessworld, March 2005

“CCS commentary of the National Environment Policy”, South Asia Politics, April 2005


“Redefining Right to Information”, Parth J Shah, Business world, January 2005
**The CCS Team**

**Parth J Shah (Founder President)** Parth received his Bachelor of Pharmacy from MS University, Baroda, India and Ph.D in economics from Auburn University in the US. He taught economics at the University of Michigan-Dearborn before returning to India in August 1997 to start the Centre. His research and advocacy work centres on the themes of economic freedom, choice and competition in education, property right approach for the environment, and good governance. Parth has conceptualised and organising pioneering liberal educational programs for the Indian youth. He has edited several publications at CCS. Parth has been appointed as the Chairman of the Economic Affairs Committee of the Associated Chambers of Commerce (ASSOCHAM), is on the editorial board of magazines *Education World, Vishleshan,* and *Khoj,* and is informal advisor to many non-profits. He has taken these ideas to numerous national and international workshops and conferences and writes regularly in the popular media. He is the youngest Indian member of the Mont Pelerin Society.

**A Prabharan (Senior Research Associate)** Praba holds PhD from Jawaharlal Nehru University. He won President of India gold medal for all round performance in 2000. He was awarded the prestigious UNESCO fellowship and CERN fellowship for research on ICT. He specializes in digital society, globalisation and gender development. Two of his books, *Globalisation: Survival of the Smartest* and *Digital Society* are under publication.

**Sachin Rao (Senior Research Associate)** Sachin’s focus is the Indian BOP market and means to foster broad based commercial engagement therein. Sachin grew up in Mumbai and after obtaining a bachelors degree in engineering, he spent seven years creating offshore software solutions for clients around the world. He then went on to get his MBA from the Ross School of Business at the University of Michigan. This was followed by a stint at the Chicago office of Booz Allen Hamilton prior to his recent return to India.

**Rene Wildermuth (Senior Associate)** Rene has proven success in building, operating, and improving the performance of organizations in the commercial, non-profit, and public sectors. Before moving to south Asia, Rene led efforts to advance market-based public policy and management reforms in Washington, DC. As part of the Bush administration, he introduced new management systems and performance measures at the US Department of Labour. This followed his role as vice president of the Mercatus Center, where he built innovative education and outreach programs for policymakers. Prior to that, he was an operations manager in the hotel industry.

**Gautam Bastian (Editorial Associate)** Gautam completed his undergraduation in economics from St. Xavier’s College, Mumbai. In 2005 he was a Koch Summer Fellow with the Institute for Humane Studies. For the last three years he has been working as a research assistant to Dr. Shawn Cole of Harvard Business School. He has a keen interest in libertarian thought especially in the context of Indian public policy.

**Nidhi Chadha (Program Coordinator)** Nidhi brings with her three years of programs experience at South Asia Coalition on Child Servitude where she worked actively in organising Global Campaign on Education. She is a postgraduate in Sociology from Delhi School of Economics.

**Anisha Gupta (Campaign Associate)** A graduate in Economics from St. Xavier’s College, Mumbai, Anisha has a post-graduate diploma in Mass Communication. Having worked for two years in media, she has joined CCS to head the Education Choice Campaign.

**Renu Vinod (Research Associate)** Renu is a PhD candidate in sociology at the Jawaharlal Nehru University. Prior to joining the Livelihood centre in CCS, she had interned at the Right to Information program at the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative.

**Makarand Bakore (Research Associate)** Makarand brings with him diverse skill sets from his background as an engineer, MBA graduate and presently a master’s student in Political Science at Bombay University. Before joining CCS, he was a manager with Godrej.

**Susmita Pratihast (Research Associate)** Susmita researches in the area of public service delivery and role of government. She conducts *Researching Reality Workshops* that provide a conceptual roadmap for critical thinking on public policy issues. She is also the Coordinator for the Research Internship Program at CCS.

**Manali Shah (Consultant, Programs & Development)** Inspired by the LSS, Manali began her journey with CCS after her graduation and she has been working there as Coordinator, Programs since 2001. She has coordinated their national level student programs including the Liberty & Society Seminars, Liberty, Art & Culture Seminars, Research Internships, Jeevika: Livelihood Documentary Competition.
Swati Chawla (Programs Assistant) A graduate of the Liberty, Art & Culture Seminar, Delhi 2004, she is also a part of the British Council’s Beyond Borders Project. Trained as a facilitator, she has been taking sessions at CCS seminars and British Council. She has designed and conducted workshops on democracy and freedom with school students. She has graduated in Literature from Gargi College.

Jeslin Jacob (Communications Assistant) A graduate in Environmental Science and a Post-graduate in Environmental Management, Jeslin has worked extensively in the field of Solid Waste management. She has two years work experience in the field of Environmental Education and Communication.

Raj Cherubal (Campaign Office, Chennai) Raj has a double masters in Physics from the US. He worked as a software developer for 10 years before returning to India to follow his passion—create a free and prosperous India. Raj heads the Campaign Office for CCS at Chennai.

Dhanuraj D (Research Associate) An LSS graduate in 2003, Dhanuraj researches on public policy issues in Kerala and Tamil Nadu. He is Chairman, Centre for Public Policy Research. He has completed M Sc Physics; MA Political Science and Post Graduate Executive Diploma in International Business. He also provides support at the Chennai Campaign Office.

Iris Madeira (Campaign Office, Mumbai) Iris is the Chief Operating Officer at Madhavi Desai Consulting Pvt. Ltd. in Mumbai. She joined the Association of Youth for a Better India (AYBI) in 1990, and led the organisation as President later. CCS and AYBI together organised some of the first few LSS that the CCS had designed. From 1998 till date, she has been involved with the CCS planning, and projects, and continues to support our efforts.

Ayesha Ganguly (Campaign Office, Mumbai) Ayesha is the co-founder partner of Phase Five, an enterprise based on the beliefs of initiative, ownership and belonging and democratic spaces, that works with young people, through programs in awareness, advocacy and alternatives. She has a background in psychology, international politics and business. She has been an associate of CCS since 1998.