School of Social Work

Tata Institute of Social Sciences

South Asia Regional Committee

International Council on Social Welfare

National Consultation on

From Social Protection to Social Justice:

Addressing Poverty and Exclusion in India

18-19 March 2011

Brief Summary of Proceedings

TATA INSTITUTE OF SOICIAL SCIENCES, MUMBAI

Introduction

The Concept of Social Protection

Poverty has many dimensions of deprivation and denial – social, political, economic, psychological -therefore estimates of income and expenditure have limited utility in capturing the depth and range of the deprivation of the impoverished. Where large proportions of the population are subject to high morbidity and mortality, poor access to even minimal healthcare, lack of clean water and sanitation, inadequate housing, lack of education, social exclusion, etc along with hunger and malnutrition, income poverty measures tend to underestimate the degree of poverty. Poverty also implies absence of social security and significant dependence of these sections on the state for essential services, and hence heightened struggles for livelihood as the informalisation of work increases. Poverty, deprivation and exclusion of several communities therefore heighten struggles for survival and a decent quality of life

It is in this context that Social Protection measures have a significant role to play in reducing poverty. It tackles the insecurity trap by protecting poor people from shocks and reducing their extreme vulnerability; it helps them conserve and accumulate assets so they can improve their livelihoods and productivity; and it contributes to transforming economic and social relations in ways that strengthen the longer term livelihood prospects of the poor and chronically poor. Social Protection pertains to the set of public measures that a society provides for its members to protect them against economic and social distress caused by the absence or a substantial reduction of income from work as a result of various contingencies, the provision of health care and the provision of benefits for families with children. The ILO suggests that social protection should be approached in its various dimensions and through various phases. The dimensions include: access to essential goods and services, prevention of and protection against various risks, and promotion of potentials and opportunities in order to break vicious cycles and pervasive tendencies. The phases are: before, during, and after working years.

Rationale of the Consultation

As is evident, most developing countries are still grappling to meet the needs of vast majority of population in terms of their basic human capabilities. Moreover the economic structure of

these countries, dominated by the informal sector, also militates against the expansion and universalisation of social protection measures. Added to this, the structural adjustment and liberalisation have also provided an ideological basis for a minimalist state which also does not seek a high priority for social protection measures. Thus social protection as understood in the developed countries remains rudimentary in nature (both in terms of conceptualisation as well as delivery) in the developing countries. Frameworks like social risk management (*a la* the Worldbank) and social security for workers (ILO inspired) have led to formulation of some policies and programmes, but they have not been able to reach large sections of needy population in developing countries.

However, in the recent period some broader notions and ideas of social protection have emerged, not only to cushion economic shocks and vulnerabilities faced by millions of informal workers but also to enhance basic capabilities that would accelerate poverty reduction and social inclusion. It is in the same vein that the notion of universalisation of socio economic security is also advocated, encompassing elements of capability enhancement measures as well as protection measures for all. The social protection perspective can be seen as more comprehensive than some other perspectives, such as poverty and deprivation, human development, social security, human rights, and so on. Social protection policies are expected to address insecurities related to the failure to meet basic economic and social needs as well as those related to sudden change for the worse. (UNESCO – ICSSR Research Meeting, 2010).

In policy terms, this would mean recognition of the vital role of governments in creating mechanisms to provide basic social security (capability enhancing measures) as well as mechanisms in mitigating the vulnerabilities that poor and marginalised sections face due to various reasons. It would also mean acknowledging the critical role of poverty reduction strategies that need to work in tandem with social protection policies. With increasing acknowledgement of the multi dimensionality of poverty and the potential of social protection, it is advocated that there is a need to view social protection policies as 'developmental' as against their current treatment as 'residual' social policies. Such a mainstreaming is also in conformity with the thinking that social protection policies ought to be 'transformative' in content and practice as they mediate through notions of rights and entitlements, inclusion,

citizenship, collectivity of the poor and good governance. While such conceptual developments of social protection are available in the existing policy literature, the need is to translate them into programmes, to identify barriers for extension of social protection to the poor and marginalised. What is glaringly missing in is a cohesive and inclusive national social protection policy framework that would articulate aspirations and programmes for social development with social justice. The School of Social Work at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Mumbai and International Council of Social Welfare (ICSW), South Asia Regional Committee in collaboration with UNESCO and ILO organised a national level Consultation to deliberate and develop ideas around the contexts, the experience and frameworks on Social Protection with a Social Justice frame of analysis.

Major Intersecting Themes of the Consultation

This national consultation on From Social Protection to Social Justice: Addressing Poverty and Exclusion in India was held on March 18 – 19 in order to bring in several ideas and experiences of Poverty and Exclusion as a first step to initiate the dialogue among varied stakeholders to develop a broader understanding of Social Protection in the Indian Context. . Some of the intersecting themes chosen for the consultation were:

- **Poverty: Experiences and Experiments**

  (Agrarian Crisis, Informalisation of work and Urbanisation of Poverty, New Poverty Estimates and Concerns)

- **Exclusion: Realms and Responses**

  (Caste, work/employment, gender, issues of minorities, Forced Evictions etc.)

- **Reviewing existing policy frameworks to analyse policy gaps to arrive at some Non-negotiables for Social Protection**

The consultation brought select academicians, researchers, practitioners as well as members of international organizations such as ILO, ICSW, etc. who meaningfully engaged in deliberations which generated ideas for further collaborative work in the area of Social Protection and Social Justice with a rights and entitlements framework.

Brief Summary of Proceedings

DAY 1: 18th March, 2011: The Inaugural Session

The inaugural session began with **Prof. Lina Kashyap, Deputy Director** TISS welcoming the participants. In her address she highlighted how Social Protection has become central to many policy discussions as both a conceptual approach as well as a concrete set of policies. As a conceptual approach, she shared, how Social Protection offers a way of analysing the vulnerabilities of particular groups or individuals, thinking about the requirements of these groups and individuals to live a fulfilling life and the role of the state in facilitating this. She further stated that Social Protection as a set of policies, consists of interventions which address vulnerabilities and factors which hinder a group or individual's capacity to enjoy a fulfilling life. In this light she emphasized the need for collaborative efforts of different international and national organizations to work towards Social Protection programmes.

Prof Surinder Jaswal, Dean School of Social Work, TISS presented before the audience the background of the consultation which started with initial dialogue with ICSW president Mr. A.S.Shenoy. She elaborated how the School of Social Work at TISS has been addressing issues of Social Protection by identifying it as a sub-set of public actions that help address risk, vulnerability and chronic poverty by engaging with people who are vulnerable or at risk in some way, such as children, women, elderly, disabled, displaced, unemployed etc. She highlighted that traditionally, Social Protection has focused on short-term protective safety nets however the School of Social Work has always regarded it as being long-term and transformative. Thus she hoped the consultation would highlight the structural causes of chronic poverty and attempt to address the social, economic and political barriers vulnerable people face while dealing with poverty. This she believed could strengthen the agency of vulnerable people besides being rooted in a rights-based approach to transform the status and opportunities of marginalised groups.

Mr. A.S. Shenoy, President of South Asia Regional Committee of ICSW, in his felicitation address started with the acknowledgement of the excellent support from TISS and ICSW which was followed by an eloquent narrative of the genesis of Social Protection. He then went on to

elaborate the beginnings of Social Protection consultation in India with the UNESCO-ICSSR Research Meeting in New Delhi entitled "Social Protection Policies in South Asia" held on 18-19 March 2010. He pointed out that the research meeting acknowledged the variegated reasons of Social distress in developing countries namely poverty, old age, sickness & injury and laid the foundation of the consultation by stating that these could be addressed through varied Social Protection initiatives. He believed that to address these diverse forms of vulnerability and deprivation one needs to operationalise risk management policies. Social protection remains rudimentary in developing countries. Even though frame work like social risk management and social security for workers had led to formulation of some of the policies and progrmmes, they have not been able to reach section of needy population of developing countries. According to him what is required now for a nation is a cohesive and inclusive national social protection policy that would articulate aspirations of deprived populations and programmes for social development. Also there is need to identify and adopt innovative forms of social protection to reduce poverty, social exclusion, vulnerability and deprivations among citizens. He wished that in this consultation experts will discuss at length related issues and come out the specific recommendations for operationalisation of Social Protection in specific contexts to the country.

Mr. Christian Rollet, International President, ICSW emphasized the key concepts in the promotion of Social Protection to Social Justice. The Social Protection Floor is a universal basic level of social protection made of a large set of key benefits and services. It is based on human rights and cannot be provided only through charitable transfers and goodwill. It is really universal and cannot be likened to a safety net. The Social Protection Floor is an extensive concept based on the idea that all the basic needs have to be met. But, as it is a floor, it is the provision of the first level of protection. The SPF is not isolated from other social protection schemes; it is part of a comprehensive social policy. He opined that the story of the SPF could be a success story…We don't know yet. But it is interesting to know that it is one of the few examples of a common involvement of all the UN agencies. Too often in the past we have witnessed mutual ignorance or even competition between UN and other international agencies. The SPFI has been given a structure, with ILO and WHO as leaders, a work plan, a website and regular meetings. Initially the coordination of the SPFI was confined to International

Organizations but now has moved to a larger coalition involving NGOs and governments. He also acknowledged the efforts made by ILO, ICSW, UNESCO in the promotion of social justice by stating "Social Protection primarily means protection against social risk by providing large set of key benefits….. whose fundamental focus should be to meet the basic need of human beings". He further highlighted the need to see the concept in relation to the socio-political and cultural ethos of a particular country by stating that in case of developing countries such as India Social Protection floor should not be isolated from Social Protection schemes. This according to him is the basis for Social Protection to base itself on re-distributional justice. He mentioned that ICSW would like to give to the concept of the SPFI, which is both ambitious and based on measurable targets, a popular support through the mobilisation of civil society by building bridges between expertise and opinion movements. As civil society is able to set up pressure groups, think tanks and develop and disseminate knowledge and experience in many fields to support SPFI implementation efficiently. Families, local communities, women, retired persons, any vulnerable group are able to express their basic needs and even to propose innovative solutions through such a network.

Dr. P.K.Shajahan, coordinator of the consultation discussed the context and concerns regarding the very concept of Social Protection for India. He shared the topicality of Zygmund Bauman's classic work -**Liquid Fear,** who while referring to the modern life and its insecurities says:- *"In the liquid modern setting, however, the struggle against fears has turned out to be a life-long task, while fear triggering dangers, even when none of them is suspected to be intractable have come to be believed to be permanent, undetachable companions of modern life".* Bauman, here while referring to the insidious nature of insecurity emanating from numerous sources all around us emphasises the omnipresence of fear which further triggers danger which appear to be intractable. Dr. Shajahan then went on to showcase how the experiences of modernity by the most marginalized and insecure besides being somewhat permanent and undetectable companions of their daily life have frustrated their attempts to demand for justice. He further elucidated his expressions by saying "*while looking closely on the kind of insecurities gripping the people, one could see that a highly volatile global economic arrangements leave behind a huge sense of insecurity among the masses pushing them out*

from their livelihoods whether it is the cyclic financial crises or the catastrophic events such as the devastation following the Tsunami and N-crisis in Japan."

He highlighted the experiences of some natural calamities in India such as the Indian Ocean Tsunami and Kosi Floods in Bihar, which have claimed thousands of lives and dispossessed lakhs in our country. He shared how the slow onset disasters such as drought, hunger and malnutrition and most importantly the agrarian crisis leaves several farmers no option but to end their own lives which poignantly exposes the struggles and marginalities confronting the people.

He illustrated how these **geographies of deprivation** expose a wide variety of issues emanating from the differential experience of poverty by different population groups and communities.

He noted that these geographies of deprivations have not only a personal – economic frame, rather it is a compounded reality of experience of exclusion – social, economic and political. His understanding was further sharpened by a structural analysis of poverty through which he put forth the varied aspects of caste, religion, ethnicity and gender. This highlighted the reasons as to why a person in abject poverty remains to be from a particular social background namely, a Dalit, a Muslim or a tribal and so on.

In this backdrop he explicated why we need to then interrogate whether the state centric social security mechanisms adequately address these factors. Thus the term social exclusion which is embedded in the economic, political and social structures of the society becomes a more pertinent frame of analysis to evaluate status of Social Protection in any context.

He surmised that the consultation is expected to address underlying structural, social political drivers of poverty, vulnerability and inequality as this frame of analysis grounds the essentiality of social justice in ensuring Social Protection to achieve socially equitable outcomes. This according to him would prevent policy initiatives from segregating a person in poverty as a marginal farmer, landless labourer, a waste picker, a street child, homeless or a PLHIVA and evolve an equitable distributive framework to address vulnerability across time spans. He hoped it would address pertinent inequities present in our **biography of development** highlighted by vocabularies such as "informalisation of work" "feminisation of poverty" and

"urbanisation of poverty" and so on and so forth. He highlighted how these issues have evolved as themes for the consultation which aims to converge several of these processes addressing insecurities, vulnerabilities and risks people undergo amidst the multiple processes impacting the lives and livelihoods of people with the collective efforts with ICSW, ILO and UNESCO to initiate dialogue, conduct joint researches and other academic as well as practice engagements. He was appreciative of the fact that this consultation was supported by a group of faculty members in the institute. He believed that since TISS engaged in academic as well as practice engagements in the field of Social Development it is well positioned to take this idea forward.

Business Meeting

A business meeting of all the partner organizations and select faculty members and field practitioners was held after the inaugural session to identify common grounds around which the partners could forge collaborative efforts to work on varied aspects of Social Protection in India. A varied experience of social insecurities by people in different social contexts was discussed by the participants. The issue of lack of common understanding about Social Protection in India was debated and hence the need for bringing multiple views on understanding the contexts of social insecurities and inequalities existing in the country was discussed. There were also references to the varied policies related to social security and social welfare and the deficiencies in many of these policies in achieving the goals of Social Protection. It was strongly felt in order to expand and address the multidimensional aspects of social protection a larger seminar inviting papers from varied quarters including government officials in charge of different social security and social welfare programmes in India as well as researchers, academicians and field practitioners needs to be organized by TISS. This would bring in a broader understanding of the contexts of Social Protection for India. As TISS is celebrating its Platinum Jubilee in the year 2011 – 12, it can organize this as a part of the celebrations. Also there were suggestions such as forming smaller research groups to analyse varied contexts and experiences of vulnerability, risk and social insecurity people are undergoing which will form the basis of evolution of any Social Protection initiatives in the country.

Social Protection Floor Initiative: An Introduction by Mr. Markus Ruck, Senior Social Security Specialist, ILO

The consultation began with a presentation by Mr. Ruck, Protection Floor Initiative. He talked about the roots and rationale of Social Protection Floor concept. He mentioned that the Social Protection Floor initiative is one of the nine joint initiatives by the UN organisations to confront the crisis, accelerate recovery and pave the way for a fairer and more sustainable globalization. He explained social security which is a pre-requisite for social and economic development. In this context he emphasized that social security is a human right, as well as a social and an economic necessity. He pointed out that the ILO is charged with the extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care. The Social Protection Floor consists of two main elements: services and transfers. ILO is already promoting the social transfer component of the social protection floor through as a basic set of essential social guarantees realized through transfers in cash and in kind that could ensure universal access to essential health services, income (or subsistence) security for all children through family/child benefits, income support combined with employment guarantees through public works programmes for the working-age poor who cannot earn sufficient income from the labour market, and income security through basic tax-financed pensions for the old, the disabled and those who have lost the main breadwinner in a family.

He emphasised that while adopted as a universal concept, the social protection floor must be nationally shaped within the framework of a basic income, health care and education package where rights, voice and organization are also respected. For him the Social Protection Floor is not a ceiling but a moving target. He finally emphasized the need for improved co-ordination, global advocacy, South-South dialogue, and training.

Session I: **Poverty: Experiences and Experiments in India.**

The session was chaired by Prof. Pushpendra Singh of TISS with Dr. Ramakumar and Ms. Leena Joshi on the panel. Prof. Sharit Bhowmik could not be present for the consultation because

some urgent reasons. Ms. Shamim Modi-Meghani from Shramik Adivasi Sangathan, Betul, Madhya Pradesh was the discussant.

The first speaker, **Dr. Ram Kumar,** Associate Professor, Centre for Development Studies spoke on the "**Agrarian Crisis and Issues of Social Protection**". He brought out pertinent issues confronting the state on Agriculture and Poverty. He quoted the quantum of contribution of the agricultural sector to the GDP which is 13% to 14% and 50% to 60% to the national income. He situated this in the backdrop of the Green Revolution and its implication for the landless. He emphatically stated that the crisis is a policy induced one and how land reform conceptualised way back in the 70's was aimed to address these problems. He revealed how the Green revolution overshadowed the distributive relational objective of land reform and this also pitted one crop over the other based on its financial viability and not needs viability. He showed how this aimed to retain the power in the hands of the few landowners and failed to percolate to meet the needs of people at the micro level despite a high national production. He then went on to highlight the necessary conditions for the development of agricultural sectors. His presentation articulated the necessary conditions as the four major pillars from the experience in India namely i) Support price, ii) Subsidy Support, iii) Providing agricultural and financial support and finally iv) Marketing Support. He then went on to link how the nationalization of banks in India in 1969 was an essential step for boosting financial support for agriculture which however could not effectively bring substantive changes in the agriculture sector.

Through the above he highlighted the intent of free trade and free market regime and its impact on agriculture. Thus showing how the robustness of the agricultural sector has been impacted in India. He further stated that in the era of free trade, food security has no meaning. He said that though the manifestation of Agricultural crisis has been revolving around farmer suicides the malevolence is much deeper. To address this policy induced crisis he emphasized the role of land reform, the role of nationalised bank, the PDS as ready state markets and the subsidies as a rounded solution in addressing agricultural crisis. He pertinently pointed out that the idea of Social Protection tries to put in place a framework for looking into the minimization of risks but the state policies in the light of international manoeuvres deliberately escalates

risks in agriculture in an untenable way. Thus Social Protection looks at risk in a larger promotional framework not addressing the policy induces crises like the agrarian crisis in India.

Dr. Ram Kumar then discussed the various approaches to measure poverty in India after independence. He elucidated how the biological approach of calorie consumption is the determined in India which pegs it at 2400 for rural India and 2100 for urban India. He contrasted this with the Suresh Tendulkar committee report which stated that the poverty line could be adjusted based on the spending criterion which was ceiled at Rs. 15 for rural areas and Rs 18-19 for urban areas. According to this, Dr. Ram Kumar stated that about 300-400 million become poor in India. He further quoted the Arjun Sengupta Report which with their understanding of vulnerability came up with an additional category of those who are vulnerable, namely a category of population who runs the risk of falling below the poverty line. Dr. Ram Kumar illuminated the floor by saying that with this it seems that 77% of India's population runs the risk of falling below poverty line since they live on less than one dollar per day.

After making these crucial observations on the basis of the astounding realities confronting India today he went on to discuss how to address poverty. He stated that land reform is a necessary condition in addressing issues of poverty, which has limited acceptance among people at policy level. He proposed that the agrarian credit system has to have a peoples focus over the economic focus. He was hopeful that the State of endemic chronic poverty can be addressed with universalisation of PDS. This then added evidence to how cash transfer as a strategy cannot address issues of poverty. He acceded that cash transfers have a supplementary role to play. However, if it is substituted as a sole policy initiative then it would be major disaster. He criticized the reference in the last budget speech on cash transfer for BPL families by the finance minister by unapologetically but with good intent calling it an "astoundingly foolish statement" which stated that direct transfers will be made for BPL families to access agricultural inputs directly. This clearly shows that the finance minister forgot that most vulnerable in the agricultural sector are mostly landless and they don't cultivate. Dr. Ram Kumar shared his misgivings about such policies which were far removed from the very

group it was meant to benefit. He thus aptly elucidated how and why the political decision-makers often lack the will, know-how to develop appropriate public schemes.

Ms. Leena Joshi deliberated about **"Urbanization of Poverty"** and the need for social protection for the urban poor. In her discussion, she talked about the nature of poor which has been changing in the last three decades. She described how people in slums especially in Mumbai live a very fluid life with the denial of several rights including the universal birth registration. The denials of documents make them non-citizens subsequently depriving them from any legal entitlements and from accessing many welfare schemes. She highlighted the difficulties of people facing demolitions and displacement for whom most civic facilities are denied. She highlighted how their aspirations have never been met and how they have always been suppressed through various state agencies. As a result they are seen as potential voters but not as citizens. Since they reside in illegal slums, schemes like ICDS do not become available for them which results in severe malnourishment of children and women. So, defining poverty especially urban poverty is very complicated. This goes beyond the normal frames of analysis by looking at access, availability and affordability to issues of citizenship.

Ms. Shamim Modi being the discussant for this session analyzed the very need of Social Protection in the backdrop of unequal distribution of power and resources. She discussed the issue of social protection in the context of the most deprived indigenous people and their rights over resources. Thus for her, protection for indigenous people meant giving back their land rights or other resources. She elucidated how the fifth scheduled and PESA till today is a distant dream as a result of which indigenous people continue to be exploited by forest and police departments. She highlighted the dichotomies of state as a power holder and exploiter versus the state as a provider which evolves policies to make people destitute. She too encapsulated in her presentation as did Dr. Ram Kumar the crisis of policies which deny people their rights and repress people through different structures.

Session II: Exclusion Realms and the Experience of People.

This session was chaired by Dr. S.M. Michael, Associate Professor, University of Mumbai. The speakers of this session were Dr. Ram Puniyani, Prof. A. Ramaiah and Mr. Simpreet Singh with and Mr. Ashif Shaikh from Jan Sahas, Dewas, Madhya Pradesh as discussant.

Dr. Ram Puniyani spoke about the **Issues of Minorities in India and Concerns for Social Protection.** He spoke about the systematic organized pogroms by the state on religious minorities like Muslims and Christians. The data says the number of Muslims who have been affected due to communal violence accounts to 80%. The 1992 and 2002 communal riots are the major symbols of these. He averred to the process of ghettoisation which happens after every communal violence. As a result, the affected people are denied rehabilitation as well as legal justice by the state which he highlighted from the Gujarat experience. He pointed how the real ghettoisation and polarization happens much before the manifest violence emerges and how the policies seem to exacerbate these divides both functionally and attitudinally. Insecurity experienced by these communities are in a way an aspect of state inaction as well as collusion.

Mr. Simpreet Singh talked about **Forced Evictions** as a representative of National Alliance for People's Movement. He built on Leena Joshi's and Prof. Ram Puniyani's presentation. He contextualised demolitions as forced evictions by stating that any act which dispossesses any individual or group through a forcible manner can be termed as forced eviction. The possession can be in terms of resources which is both material and cultural. He mentioned three reasons responsible for forced eviction namely the developmental paradigm followed by the state, the internal conflict and the existing divisive social structures. He highlighted how the present paradigm of development operates under the neo-liberal ideology which aims to achieve corporatization in both rural and urban areas through the opening of SEZ, Mining or Industrial projects or Mega dams which dispossess people from their resource base. In case of internal conflict, the Kashmir and North-east stand as the testimonies. The presence of existing social structures like caste and class forces people to dispossess and migrate to escape from discrimination. Thus he surmised with such forceful divisive factions in the state, forced eviction not only dispossess the people of their material goods but also severely impacts the relationships, support systems besides taking away their right to citizenship which further becomes the reason to exclude them from any state benefits.

Prof. A. Ramaiah deliberated about **"Social Protection and Justice for Dalits in Caste India: Issues and challenges".** He stated that caste has always been an institution of permanent social insecurity in India. The dominant development paradigm discounts such crucial social aspects of lack of development. He quoted Edmund Burke's quote about caste in India- "Everything revolves around caste". Further extrapolating the caste dimension, he stated caste has become a realm of social insecurity. Thus though the reality is that "Caste is Hinduism and Hinduism is Caste" the annihilation of caste becomes difficult as it would mean the annihilation of Hinduism. He highlighted how this would impact the Dalit population which is today estimated to be at 166 million in India. He emphasised that failure of the policies in addressing the fundamental social structure of inequality such as caste amounts to perpetuation of social insecurity and discrimination despite presence of social protection programmes.

Mr. Ashif Shaikh took forward Prof. Ramiah's discourse when he discussed about untouchability as a practice of exclusion on the basis of caste and class. He grounded his presentation on the experiences of manual scavengers for whom though the government is spending Rs. 3000 crore for the rehabilitation but is not attempting to formulate a forceful mechanism to eradicate this practice for their liberation. He highlighted the cyclical impact of this practice on several generations related to their education, health, employment and more importantly their social status.

Session III: Round table on " Towards a Realistic Social Protection Floor for India: Identifying Policy gaps".

The speakers for the session were Ms. Agnès, PLASSART, CEO, GIP SANTE PROTECTION SOCIALE EXPERTISE INTERNATIONALE, Paris, France, Prof. Pradeep Prabhu , Professor, School of Rural Development, TISS, Tuljapur and Prof. S. Parasuraman , Director, TISS, Mumbai who also acted as the moderator.

Agnès, PLASSART shared her European experience of Social Protection and especially about her own country France. Social Protection in France is a social responsibility to be taken care by the government. She highlighted the role of policy makers, civil society organizations and their involvement and effective collaboration to operationalise this dimension of Social protection in

France. She however agreed that the term Social Protection should go beyond its concept by emphasising on other dimensions as well as on effective implementation at every step in the country. She stated that the implementation would have challenges which need to be addressed to identify multiple beneficiaries and a singular strategy of assessment would not suffice. She did elucidate the challenges Social Protection faces to be executed as a social security tool for the multiple vulnerable and marginalised communities and individuals.

Prof. Pradeep Prabhu in the session lucidly deliberated upon the concept of Social Protection against social insecurity. He said Social insecurity and Social Protection are all social creations. Therefore, according to him protection can be operationalised only if it is accompanied with social change. Then he discussed about the forest rights acts and its implication on Social Protection for Tribals. He explained how Market forces have delegitimized the survival efforts as the welfare approaches of the state also operate on the basis of capitalism where elites are exercising power to exclude people. Thus all acts and policies are politically manipulated to be delinked from the need of the beneficiaries. He stated that unless Social Protection ensures opportunity, it would not mean much for the people. He believed that one cannot rely on the state completely if one believes that Social Protection emphasises on fraternity and liberty together with the rights of the citizen. He indicated that to enforce welfare laws against the will of the state and to get the state to respect it would ensure participative democracy instead of negotiating spaces in deliberative democracy. He emphatically stated that Social Protection is just a small element to arrive at a dignified life. With the ploy to delegitimitise the rights of the people, the state is adopting the market as a mechanism to manufacture and manipulate insecurity. He ended his lucid presentation with the conviction that the state is people and the people have to be motivated to work towards political mobilization to get the intent of the constitution implemented.

Prof. S. Parasuraman with the conceptual frame of Amartya Sen on poverty, insecurity, injustice and conflict delved into the politics of colonization with examples from India, Africa, and Latin America. He highlighted the conflict over resources during colonization which also operated on the principles of market forces and were guided by capital flow. He opined that the challenge in the light of the discussions of the consultation is that how does one deal with such

forces. He shared that the capitalist forces in the open market as a small minority have accumulated huge resources at the cost of the dispossessed others, which according to him explains why 70% of population lives Below Poverty Line in India when we are purportedly experiencing growth as a development paradigm in India. He linked this to issues surrounding food security which is getting impacted with the collapse of PDS in India. This had led a large number of people to be dependent on the market which does not recognise the due share for the communities who posses those resources. Thus operationalising social protection is a great challenge as the idea is not to make people dependent on market completely because it is extremely monopolized and operates on a system to negate people's choices and rights. He finally exhorted the need for thinking collectively on what would mean social protection for the dispossessed and marginalised in a country like India.

At the end Dr. Shajahan briefly summarised the proceedings and presented some suggested way forward to take the deliberations in the consultation ahead. It was agreed upon by all that a larger seminar to expand on the major issues emanated from the consultation regarding the idea of Social Protection for India is organised by TISS. The consultation ended with Dr. Manish Jha proposing the vote of thanks.

Organising Committee

Dr. P.K.Shajahan (Coordinator)

Mr. A.S. Shenoy

Dr. Ruchi Sinha

Dr. Manish Jha

Dr. Swati Banerjee

Mr. Simpreet Singh