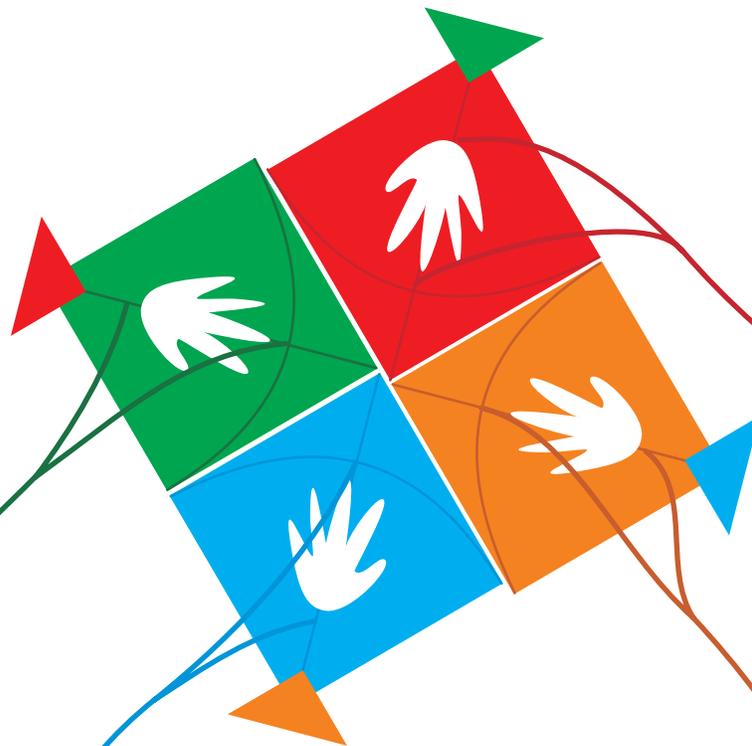




CAMPAIGNING AND NETWORKING IN PEOPLE CENTRED ADVOCACY IN SOUTH ASIA



A RESOURCE BOOK

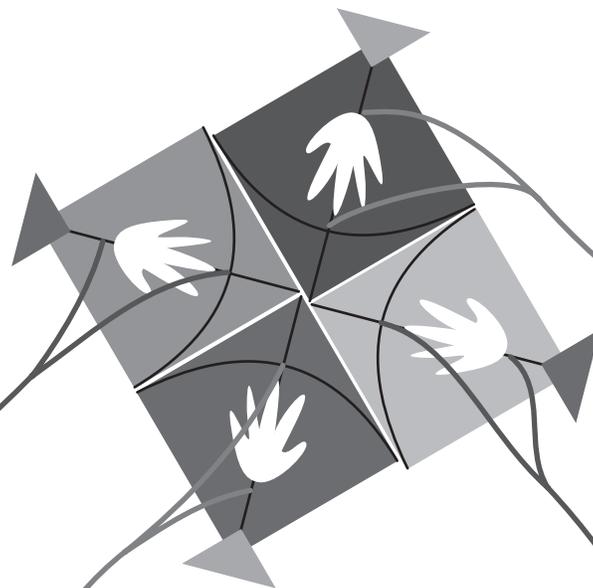


National Centre for Advocacy Studies



CAMPAIGNING AND NETWORKING IN PEOPLE CENTRED ADVOCACY IN SOUTH ASIA

A RESOURCE BOOK



National Centre for Advocacy Studies



Credits



Campaigning And Networking In People Centred Advocacy In South Asia

Produced by NCAS,

The views expressed are that of the authors and do not necessarily represent the organizational stand of NCAS.

Editorial team of NCAS:

Prasanna Invally, Lata P.M, Shirish Kavadi, Sehjo Singh

Concept design:

Lata P.M, Sehjo Singh

Design & Layout:

Ashok Nirgulkar

Printed by :

Vinayak Arts, Pune

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National Centre for Advocacy Studies

Serenity Complex, Ramnagar Colony,

Pashan, Pune 411 021,

Maharashtra, INDIA

Tel/Fax: +91+20- 22952003 / 22952004

E-mail : ncas@vsnl.com

Website: www.ncasindia.org

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NCAS thanks Oxfam-Novib for being a partner in taking the mission of NCAS for building knowledge, perspective and capacity for people centred advocacy in South Asia forward. Without the financial support of Oxfam- Novib, the production of this book would not have become a reality.





Preface



This resource book is one of a set of three resource books that have been the concrete outcome of a process that deepened NCAS's reach and understanding across the borders in South Asia.

The coming together of organisations that have led or been part of very varied efforts at advocacy which have brought significant gains to the marginalised communities in all the participating countries offered us all a rare opportunity of learning from each other.

In the course of evolution of these debates and discussions, the form and content of these resource books have evolved in a very intellectually and emotionally satisfying process for all concerned.

The processes of people centred advocacy came to be understood, under three critical frameworks: 'Organising and Mobilising' around the central issues taken up for advocacy; Building a 'Campaign and Networking' to achieve tangible goals; and Addressing key points of 'Sustainability and Ownership' of all these processes, These resource books too have followed the same conceptual framework, and have one book devoted to each.

This book is second in this series. It also follows the same pedagogical principles as the first one. We have painstakingly documented four case studies from four countries, and tried to highlight the way campaigns have been strategized and built networks. This is done with the belief that experience is a far better teacher than abstraction. The learning of course only happens when experiences are compared and understanding is abstracted from it.

We have therefore tried to facilitate that process for each reader by putting out as much ground detail as possible. This is followed by a chapter on 'learnings' that we have extracted from the process, which are by no means exhaustive. This is followed by a short note on some default tools and frameworks for campaigns.

We are honoured with a short piece contributed by the veteran journalist Shri Kuldip Nayar, who is verily considered the voice of South Asia. He has laid down for us a people's vision of South Asia that we can all aspire to and move towards as against the unholy process of corporate globalisation.

We include the SAARC charter in all the three books as the larger framework of governance that we can address.

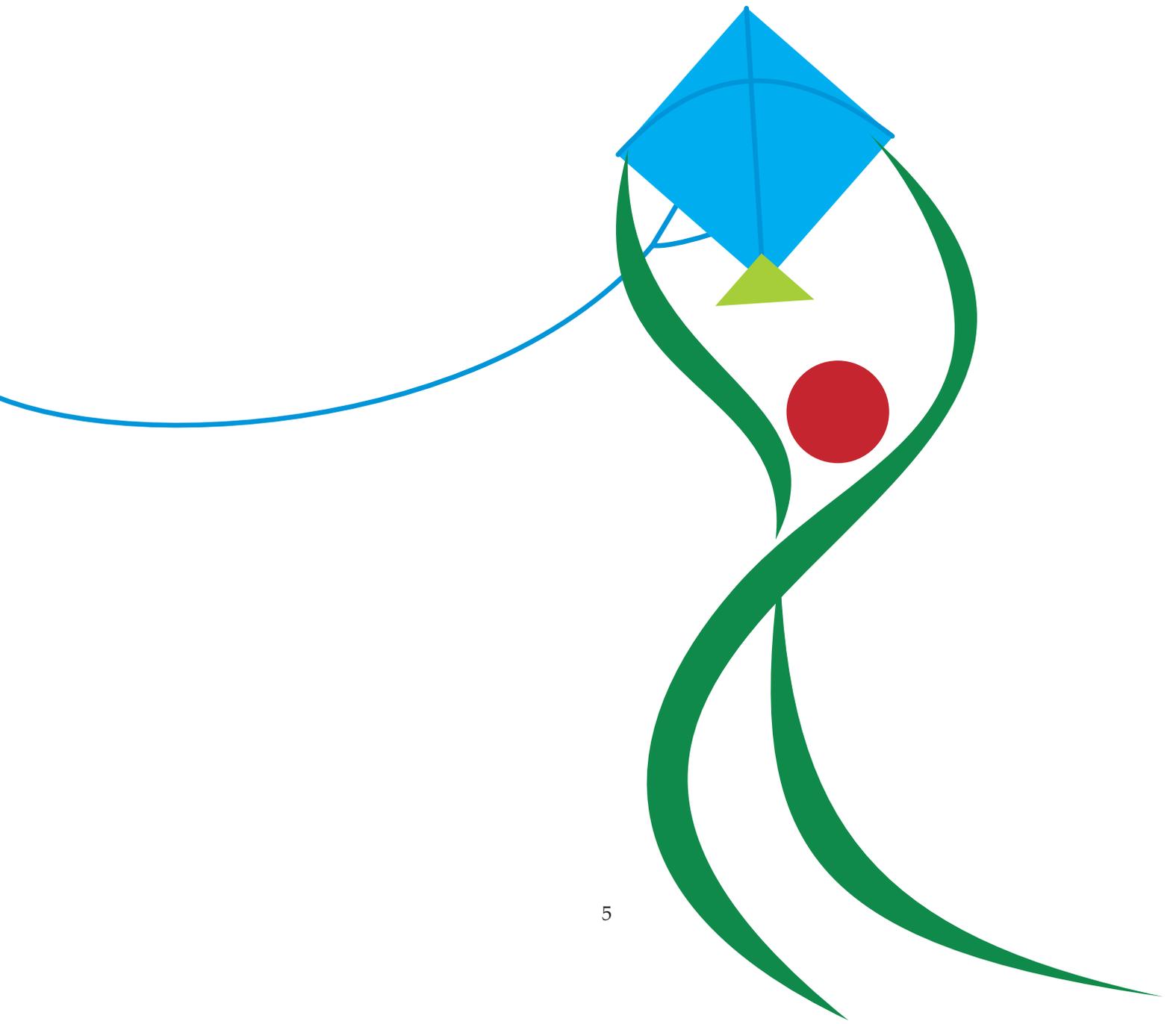
We hope the readers will access the other two books as well and would contact any of the partners in this process for any further dialogue.

Sehjo Singh
Executive Director
NCAS



Section 1

Background and Introduction





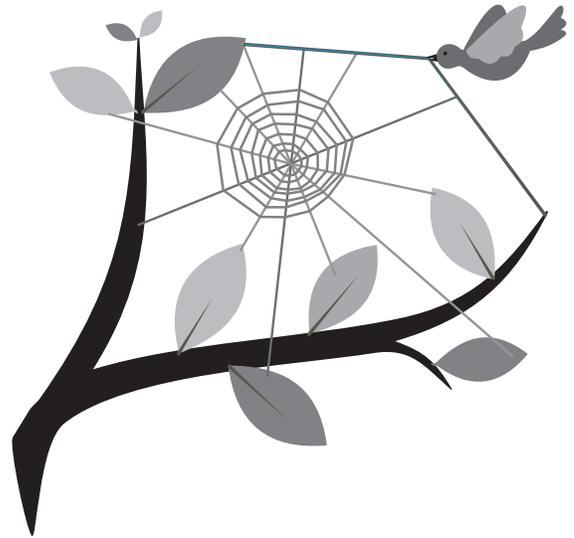
Understanding Advocacy

When we say Advocacy, we mean, a mode of social action for those sections of people who have little say in policy making and largely remain voiceless; these are people who are otherwise referred to as 'marginalised' and 'excluded'. Advocacy is used for amplifying the voice of these marginalized people in order to address the inequities and injustice, which otherwise remain unheard in the corridors of power.

This book refers to 'advocacy' as being practiced by social activists and marginalized people in their struggle for rights and social justice. National Centre for Advocacy Studies (NCAS), has pioneered the concept and praxis of 'People Centred Advocacy'. It is defined as "a set of organised actions aimed at influencing public policies, societal attitudes and socio-political processes that enable and empower the marginalised to speak for themselves."

People centred advocacy

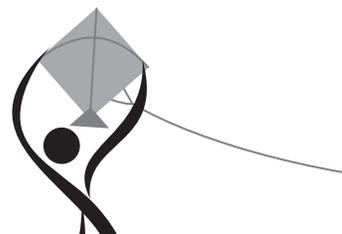
Ideally, a democracy reflects the concerns of people manifested through political parties and elected representatives. In a vigorous and full blooded democracy, there would be no need for separate platforms for advocacy. However we are all too acutely aware that the marginalised have continued to become more and more marginalised and the practise of democracy in the subcontinent leaves much to be desired. Democracy in its more functional avatar, as in India is certainly more open to public influence, yet the influence is definitely not equal. Those who are well connected to centres of power through legitimate and illegitimate means, or even by means of similar class interests and ideology, continuously influence policy and implementation or lack of it. This influence is in most part taken for granted, and only now and then when it crosses the unwritten line and gets exposed, it is called corruption.



People centred advocacy, we believe is the real spirit of democracy, that which progressively makes democracy more substantial. It seeks to go beyond the idea of advocating on behalf of the marginalised to the practice of enabling and empowering the marginalised to speak for themselves.

People-centred advocacy seeks to challenge and change unjust power relations at all levels. It uses grassroots organising and mobilising techniques in order to engage marginalized people in the advocacy process. It also uses campaigning, networking, building coalitions and media advocacy that give visibility to their issues and mobilises public opinion. It organises people's commissions and public hearings, uses budget analysis and other such advocacy tools. And during this exercise, the marginalized people learn about the root causes of their problems and understand them in context of power and power relations. The ultimate aim of people-centred advocacy is to promote social and economic justice, equitable social change, and sustainable development.

People centred advocacy is therefore essentially a value driven political process. In the course of our engagement with people's movements, we have been able to lay down three non negotiable values without which our praxis would have little meaning.





Equity: The urge for a more just world is necessarily located in belief in equity. Celebrating cultural, ethnic, and natural differences as valued and cherished diversity, but not letting anyone of them become a means of enforcing socio-economic inequality is the key towards imbibing this value.

Practicing it as part of people's movements is a challenge, but one that has been readily accepted in the paradigm of people centred advocacy. Apart from achieving its stated goals, the most important goal of people centred advocacy is self redundancy and that too as soon as possible and not in the distant long term. Practise and belief in equity, therefore, buttresses the process of capacity building of leadership within the marginalised.

Democracy : The belief in voicing of free and fearless opinion, safeguarding minority opinion and belief in the wisdom of the ordinary but many, as opposed to select few constitutes the value of democracy. Just as the belief in equity is the fountainhead of people's struggles and aspirations, democracy is the environment which can sustain and nourish it alone. Advocacy can be envisaged only when there are spaces to be seen and heard, by the many and the powerless. In case such spaces do not exist, the first function of advocacy would then be to create such spaces, in the polity, society and family. Practise of democracy, just as equity, cannot wait, it has to be part and parcel of how movements are organised and struggles conducted and that connects us to the third and the more controversial value of non-violence.

Non-violence: Advocacy by definition cannot exist without non-violence being the credo of people's movements. Advocacy is based on the premise of dialogue, and violence is the end of all dialogue. Advocacy rests in the belief that the superior logic of the good of many, of the innate values of humanity is born of conviction, and that conviction can be communicated. Advocacy of

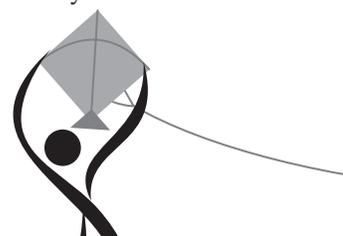
the marginalised that which continuously challenges the system, will be and is met with systemic violence. In such cases, the practitioners of People Centred Advocacy do not fall back on violent means, they fall back on the second value of advocacy, as stated above, democracy, and their priority then becomes reopening of democratic spaces for dialogue.

A spot light on south Asia

South Asia is a geographically contiguous unit and no wonder shares a common cultural imprint. It comprises of countries in the South Central region of Asia marked by the large region of the Indian Peninsula, and cradled by the Himalayas in the north, the Hindukush in the west, the Arakanese in the east and the Indian Ocean, Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea towards its South.

South Asia is vast area of land, rich in biodiversity and natural resources. By and large, the society is agrarian with village unit as the basic structure. South Asia is characterised by a diversity of religions, ethnicity and languages. Islam, Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism, Sikhism etc. are some of the widely practiced religions in all these countries, and a rich repository of languages and literature, many of them shared across the boundaries.

Almost all South Asian countries were under direct or indirect colonial subjugation. Much of modern India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were occupied by Great Britain - starting from 1757, reaching their zenith in 1857 and ruling till 1947. In the long history of South Asia, beginning with the Indus valley civilization, this European occupation period is rather short, but its proximity to the present and its lasting impact on the region makes it prominent. The British legacy of the culture of policing people has been adopted by the governments of these countries in the free post-colonial South Asia and have an implication for people centred advocacy.





South Asian countries have been uniformly swept by economic globalization. They attempt to follow the western image of “development” to the extent of practising the colonial outlook towards each other and their own hinterland. Their policies are unashamedly influenced by global trade interests of the first world countries. Opening of markets, free trade and foreign investments, as well as internationalization of production, among others, have become the characteristic feature of these countries. In the process, natural resources – land, forest, water and mining resources, rich in South Asia, are being commodified.

In the past few years, under persistent influence of the Bretton Woods institutions, there has been a shift in the national priorities and a steady withdrawal of the state from its welfare role. Marginalized communities – be it the peasants, tribals and indigenous communities, whose livelihoods are dependent on such natural resources, bear the brunt of such policies.

Democracy in South Asia remains largely ‘electoral’. ‘Majoritarianism’ politics dominates, and the power gets vested with the majority community. This causes strain and tension in the majority-minority relationship. Such a state of majority domination exists in each of the South Asian countries along lines of religion, language, class thus engendering religious, ethnic and caste hatred.

This feeds into the picture of enmity created among neighbours. Strong tensions create a permanent sense of state of war which facilitates heavy investment in militarization. South Asia is said to be the largest market for weapons and military budgets are rising every year.

In recent times radical groups that have turned militant are also changing the face of the region and bringing instability and violence. The poor,

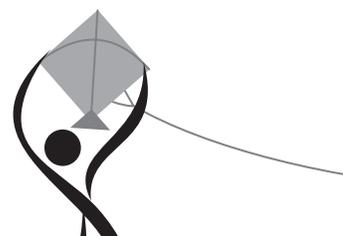
minority communities and especially women are hit the hardest as they become more and more vulnerable to violence. Women by all counts bear the heaviest brunt of such divisive politics. They are the first casualties of armed conflict both within States and among States perpetrated by state as well as non-state actors. Vilification of the “honour” of the women of the enemy is still a tool of warfare.

Fortunately, there is also a growing realization that this region has a lot to gain from mutual cooperation and peace. For this purpose, the governments of these countries came together are formed the, ‘South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation’ – SAARC in 1985. Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka have been member countries of SAARC since 1985, while Afghanistan joined in the year 2004. The SAARC charter¹ spells out its aims of promotion of trade, sharing of knowledge, fostering mutual understanding, cooperation, assistance, and peace, and the overall welfare of its people to live a life with dignity.

Activists believe that peace and demilitarization of the region is a necessary factor for the overall development of the region and its nations in the true sense, and yet SAARC has remained a non-starter as far as governments are concerned. It will fall on all those who work for pro-people development to make it a reality

A vision of harmonious South Asia has prompted several people’s groups to combine their strengths and form coalitions and networks across South Asia. Attempts are being made to advocate with policy makers and governments of the respective countries and also to seek support of international human rights institutions. An integrated effort by citizen groups in this region can go a long way in creating the stage for people-centred advocacy in South Asia.

1: Please refer Appendix 1 for SAARC charter





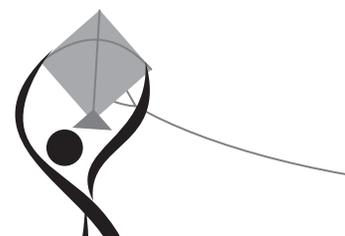
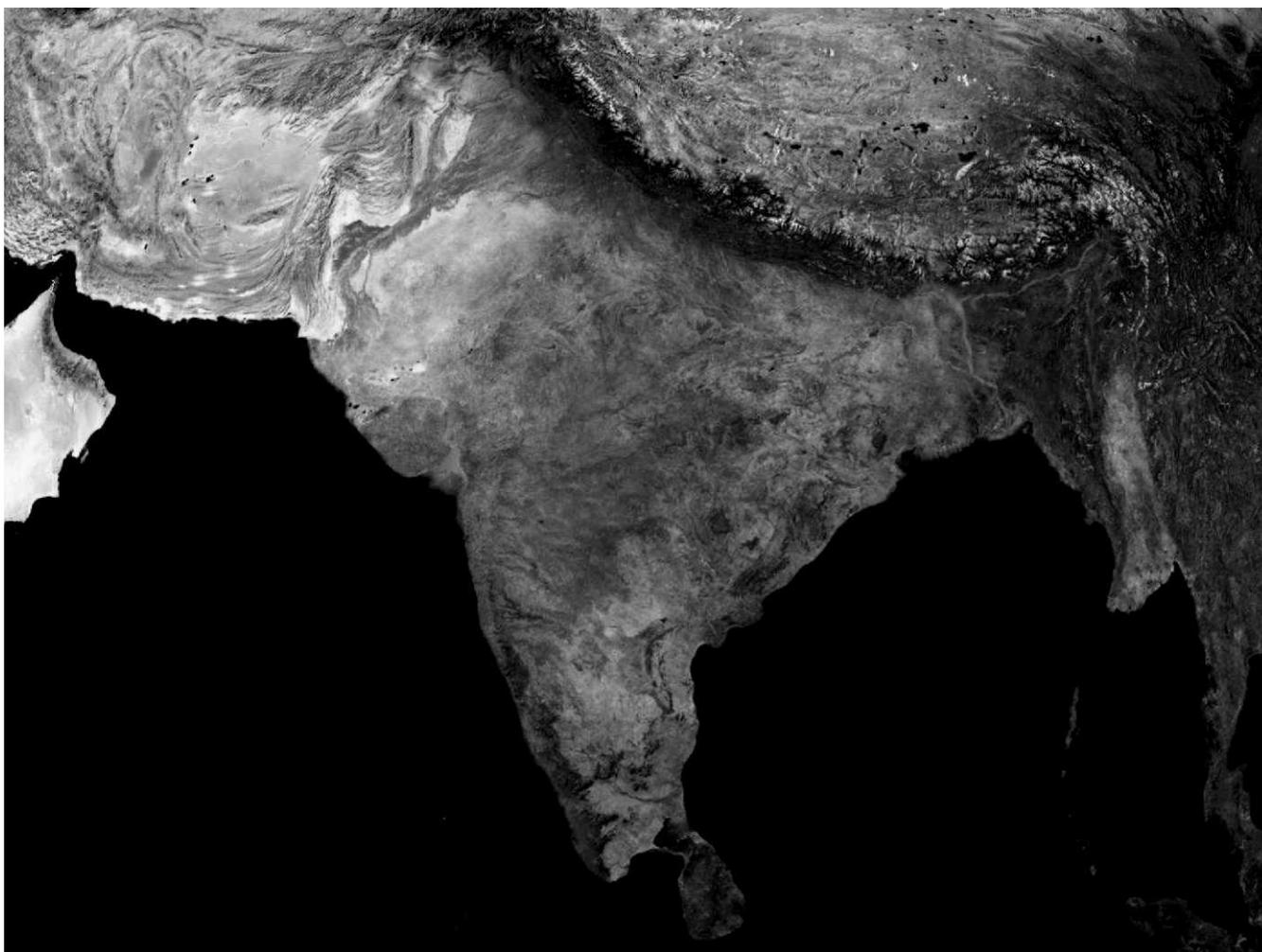
With this understanding of South Asia, the Advocacy practitioners who came together to be part of our process have collectively worked for the production of the resource books.

Preparation of resource books - a Collective Process

The team of advocacy practitioners from the four South Asian countries participated in preparing and writing the case studies. They have provided valuable input during the thematic workshops and in deciding and approving the content and design of the resource books, and the entire process has been a very enriching experience for all concerned.

The team decided that these books would be non-prescriptive and would not follow any rigid protocol. The books therefore have been designed in such a way that they provide an account of varied experiences in three thematic areas - organising and mobilising, campaigning and networking and sustainability and ownership, as being at the core of people centred advocacy.

Though they are not to be confused with technical skill learning resource books, but certain techniques and strategies of people-centred advocacy can be drawn up and used creatively by practitioners in their own contexts as well as be used for strategizing a collective effort for advocacy in south Asia.

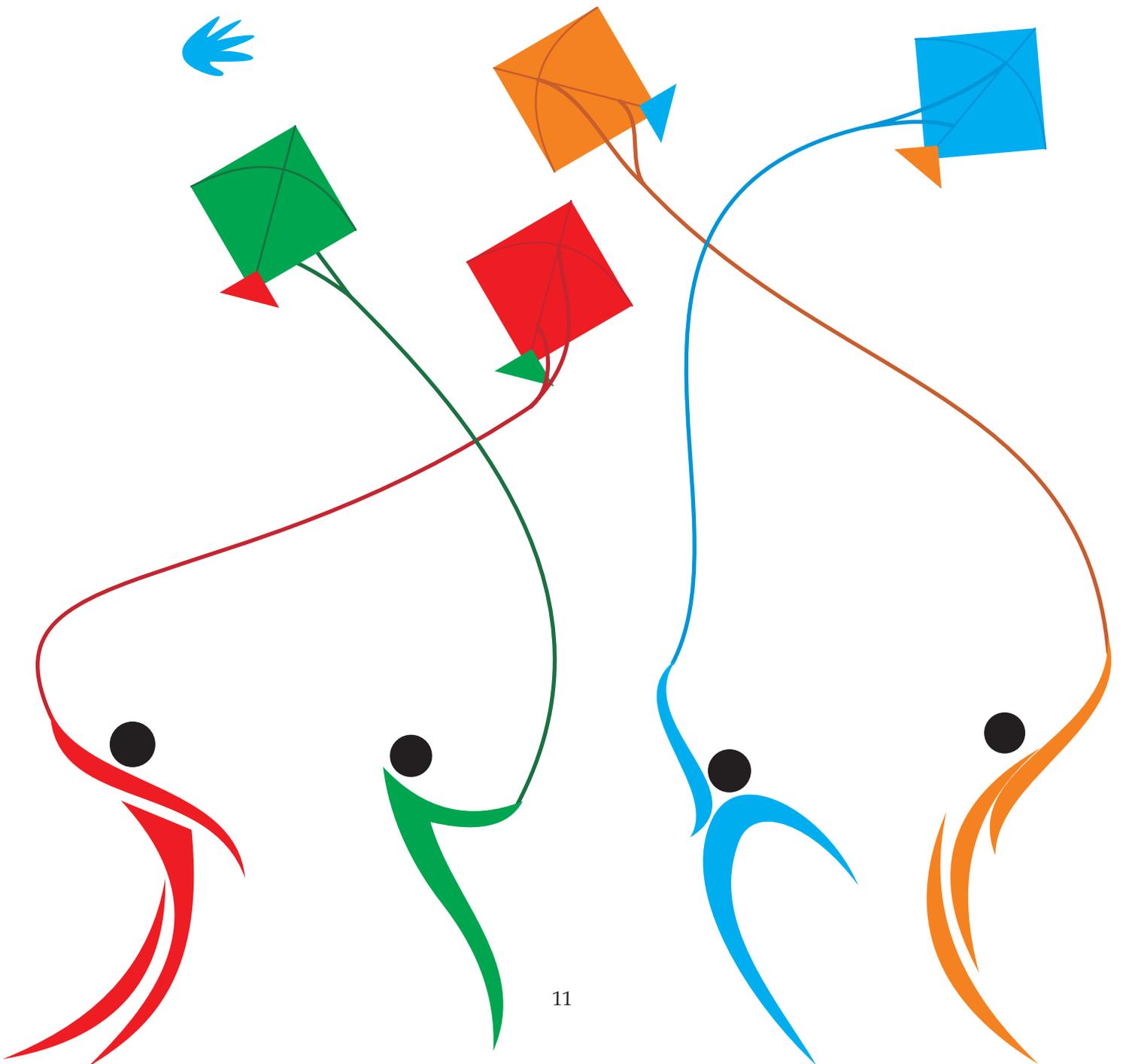


Section 2



Campaigning and Networking in People Centred Advocacy

Case studies from South Asia





About the Case Studies

This book on 'campaigning and networking' second in the series of resource books, has been collectively prepared by twenty two advocacy practitioners from the four countries of South Asia - India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan and from Nepal where the workshops were hosted. The content for this book emerged out of the discussions and deliberations of the workshop of advocacy practitioners held in Sept 2010.

Social advocates and activists had documented and presented case studies of different struggles and movements. Cross learning through experience sharing, presentations, and detailed discussions on the case studies enabled the practitioner groups in building the perspective and knowledge on campaigning and networking for people centred advocacy in South Asia.

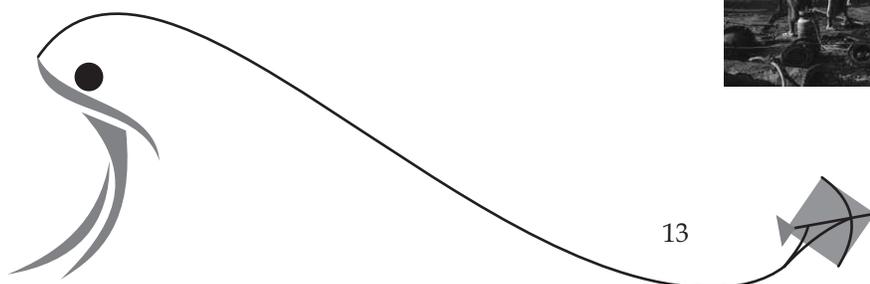
The case studies, one each from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan & India that are presented in this resource book contain rich experiences of advocacy efforts of people's struggles and movements to learn from. While they are resourceful in understanding the importance of campaigning and networking in advocacy, they throw up several ideas on strategies, methodologies, tools and tactics used in campaigning in the given situational context of the respective South Asian countries.

Contextual learning as well as learning about the contexts have been considered equally important, therefore, due emphasis on detail has been given by the authors of these case studies.

Case studies from Pakistan: the campaign of the fishing community against the sale of Buddo and Bundal Islands to 'Emmar' for development of 12,000 acres of land into the "Diamond Bar Island city".



Case studies from Bangladesh: advocacy campaign against the exploitation of labourers engaged in the ship breaking industry and the environmental hazard to the Bangladesh coastal area near Chittagong.





Case studies from India: the successful anti-SEZ campaign in Raigad in Maharashtra



Case studies from Afghanistan : a campaign for prevention of child abuse



A separate chapter in section 3 of this book ropes in the learning and insights derived from the case studies and workshop deliberations.

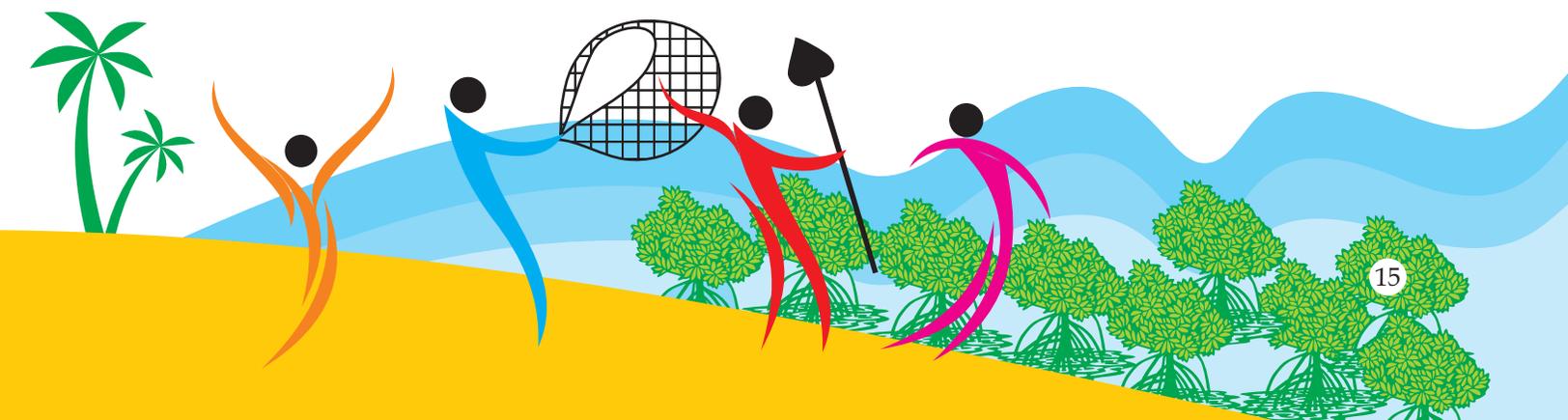




Case Study from Pakistan

The campaign against sale of Islands for a real estate project

This case study is of a campaign in Pakistan against the sale of two islands to a private developer, for the building of a proposed mega city. Known as the Diamond Bar island city, the project would destroy the livelihood of traditional fishermen, apart from causing severe damage to the mangrove forests and marine ecosystem in the area. The organisation Pakistan Fisherfolk Forum (PFF) opposed the project on grounds that the sale was illegal, would cause loss of livelihood to scores of local fishermen and lead to irrevocable environmental damage. The campaign led by them mobilised the vast fisherfolk community. It succeeded in garnering the active participation and support of civil society and political parties and forced the government to halt the project and take serious cognisance of the fisherfolk protest. The successfully retained focus on the issue, allowing diverse groups to participate in the intervention to save livelihoods of poor fishermen. As a successful campaign there is much to learn from it with respect to the mobilisation and campaign strategies used.





1. Introduction:

1.1 The Bhandar (Bundal) and Dingi (Buddo) islands:

The islands of Dingi (Buddo) and Bhandar (Bundal) are located at the western end of the Sindh Coastal Zone in Pakistan, between the Korangi and Phitti creeks. Bundal Island is one of the largest and highest islands along the Sindh Coast, spread across a length of about 8km. A portion of the northern area of the island is covered in high water and has a thick mangrove cover at its northernmost point. The islands fall in the path of fishermen going out to sea from the Karachi coast, who have traditionally used the islands for fishing in the waters, resting and drying their nets. Thousands of poor fishermen depend on the fishing grounds near the two islands for their livelihood.

As a part of the Indus delta - the fifth largest delta in the world the islands are protected under international environmental treaties and laws. The islands serve as breeding grounds for the threatened Green Turtle. Located along the Indus Flyway Zone, the islands are visited by bottlenose and humpback dolphins and offer a sanctuary for resident as well as migratory bird species. The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) has declared the islands a high priority area (HPA).

1.2 Diamond Bar Island City project

In September 2006, Pakistan's Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz approved in principle the development of the Diamond Bar Island City on Dingi (Buddo) and Bhandar (Bundal) islands. This was to be done over a period of 13 years at a cost of \$43.135 billion. The Dubai based company Emaar was awarded the contract to develop residential, commercial, and leisure real estate projects, industrial parks, a free trade zone and port terminals over 12,000 acres of land on the island. The state owned Port Qasim authorities



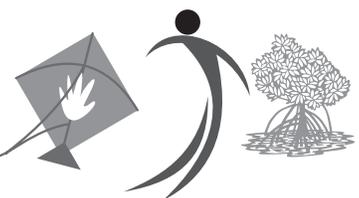
and Emaar signed an agreement to initiate this mega joint venture to convert these islands into a modern city, with 15,000 housing units and commercial facilities.

1.3 The Pakistan Fisherfolk Forum (PFF)

Pakistan Fisherfolk Forum (PFF) was formed in 1998, representing the marine and inland fisher communities of Sindh province, now expanded to most of Pakistan. An active member of national and international fisherfolk networks, PFF has been struggling against issues of reclamation of sea land, marine pollution and practices harmful to traditional fisherfolk. It has also been advocating community water rights and a sustainable fisheries policy. Over the last twelve years, its work towards improving socio-economic conditions of fisherfolk, their access to natural resources and creating official recognition of fisherfolk's historic rights over fishing waters has been recognized as a social movement in Pakistan.

1.4 Concerns of the fishing community

The strip of sea between the reclaimed land of the Defence Housing Authority (DHA) in Karachi and the Buddo Island is the path fishermen use to go into the open sea. Thousands of fisherfolk fish in the island creeks and have traditionally used the Buddo and Bundal islands to dry their fish, clean their nets and rest. The thick mangrove





cover on the islands creates a fertile fish and marine breeding ground. The construction of the Diamond Bar Island City will result in fisherfolk not being allowed to disembark on the islands and use it to dry their catch. Construction of this waterfront project and the new city will pollute the remaining clean waters and destroy the mangroves, damaging the fragile marine ecosystem balance. Construction along the coast would pollute the beaches and destroy the threatened Green Turtle's nesting grounds. Affecting their livelihoods severely, the project will send 0.8 million fishermen of Karachi into poverty and hunger.

1.5 Background of the project:

Port Qasim authorities invited bids in April 2006 for a joint venture to develop the Diamond Bar Island City. The eligibility criteria were: a bidder with at least five billion dollars worth of assets, an annual income of one billion dollars, and the technology to reclaim land from sea. Four groups expressed interest in the venture, out of which only the Dubai based Emaar Group fulfilled the required criteria.

Aside from being a major source of livelihood to poor fishermen, the said islands are home to the remaining few tracts of ecologically important mangrove wetlands on the Karachi coast. So far, the proponents and the supporters of the mega development project have neither considered nor addressed the following issues:

- How would this development affect poor fishing communities living around the islands?
- How many of them would lose their passage to the fishing grounds?
- Has an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) of the proposed project, a pre-requisite under Pakistan Environmental Protection Act 1997, been conducted?
- Is there any socio-economic and natural resource baseline available to determine the extent of damage the mega project is likely to cause?

- Has any study been conducted to assess the socio-economic and ecological impact of land reclamation and cutting down of mangroves along the Karachi coast?
- As the answers to such questions of studies are in the negative and the project has been approved, what happens to the rights of fishermen when such 'development' projects

such as ports, dams and real estate projects are carried out? Do the promoters of such coastal projects value the rights of fishermen, the traditional custodians of the marine waters?

1.6 Visible threats from the project

- Proposed development will lead to destruction of fishing grounds around the islands
- Fishermen dependent on them will lose their livelihoods, with no access to the fishing waters or the islands to dry their fish and repair nets
- The protective mangroves barrier which prevents erosion from the sea and creates fertile fishing grounds will be destroyed
- Frequency of cyclones along the Sindh coast is very high, about one per quarter of a century. Systematic elimination of the mangrove barrier will not only deprive fishermen of their livelihood but also amplify the danger of exposing coastal areas to cyclones
- Unemployment ratio among the fisher folk will increase

1.7 Emaar in Pakistan

The Emaar group has been gaining visibility in Pakistan in recent times. In May 2006, they announced three real estate projects in the cities of Islamabad, Lahore and Karachi. The projects, with a total investment of US\$2.4 billion would include a series of planned communities for the high-end consumer. Their proposed project for





Karachi consisted of high-rise residential towers, shopping centres and a five star beachfront hotel. In short, the country's elite had been seduced by the group's proposed development and lobbied for the Island city project, unconcerned by its costs to the poor.

1.8 Press report on the project announcement:

In a press article in the leading newspaper Dawn, the Prime Minister is said to have directed the Port Qasim authorities to ascertain if any adverse environmental and hydrological impact could be expected from the proposed project. At an Economic Coordination Committee (ECC) meeting of government ministers, several objections and concerns were raised about the massive project. They consisted of concerns over ownership of the islands, operational requirements of the Navy, matters regarding demarcation of the islands, dispute resolution mechanisms and performance liabilities in case of non-execution of the project. A chief concern was over the capability of the appointed authority, the Port, in making the varied required checks before approval could be granted to such a massive project. Despite such serious objections and unaddressed concerns, the project was awarded approval with some assurances on addressing concerns.

*Full article: Dawn Oct11, 2006
<http://www.dawn.com/2006/10/12/top15.htm>*

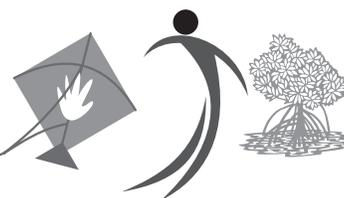
2. Campaign against the sale of islands and proposed island city project

From previous campaign experiences, Pakistan Fisherfolk Forum began this campaign with community mobilization on the issue through organising corner meetings in different coastal villages. Women were invited to these meetings in particular, as they had been the most motivated participants in previous struggles and

campaigns. Besides mobilising the affected people: fisher folk, they work towards sensitising civil society, intellectuals, human rights activists, trade unions, media and political groups. The strategy was to create awareness and garner support for the campaign, while creating allies among civil society. At press conferences and meetings, the impact of the project on fishermen and the environment and its anti-people nature was highlighted. The media assisted in highlighting the issue and creating visibility for the struggle. Several civil society members and political groups pledged their support and joined the campaign.

2.1 Press Conference October 3, 2006

Mohammad Ali Shah and Saeed Baloch, Chairperson and General Secretary of PFF respectively along with Haji Shafi Mohammad Jamot, the Director of Fishermen Cooperative Society (FCS), addressed a joint press conference at the Karachi Press Club on 3rd October 2006. They drew attention to the awarding of a Federal government contract to Emaar, to construct a new 'international' city at the edge of Port Qasim on the island of Buddo. Opposing the project, they spoke of the three million fisherfolk who were already suffering as a result of so-called development projects and cruel policies of successive governments. The government had granted over 12000 acres of land to the firm for the project known as the Diamond Bar Island City. PFF condemned the decision, calling the project anti-people and unethical, with serious socio-economic and environmental implications. PFF appealed to the national and international media, social, human rights and development experts to immediately intervene into the matter and save the lives and livelihood of the poor people of the islands.





2.2 Community meeting October 6, 2006

Initiating a participatory struggle, PFF held a consultative meeting with the fishermen community at its premises in Karachi on October 6, 2006 to chart the next move against the project. More than a hundred community notables from Ibrahim Hyderi, Rehri, Malir, Keamari, Gizzri, Abdullah Goth, Abdul Rehman Goth, Mubarak Village, Sanghu Village, Lyari, Mauripur, Badin and Thatta participated. These included Haji Jamot, the FCS director and Mehmood Alam Jamot, member Sindh Assembly

Participants aired their concerns about the proposed mega project on the islands. It would result in the destruction of traditional livelihood of fishing communities. Mangrove forests, already under considerable assault, would suffer further serious damage from the construction of the new city. Calling the project decision a violation of human rights, PFF called upon the fisherfolk, the historical custodians of these islands to not allow anyone to encroach upon their lands. The community notables concurred and decided to initiate an intense campaign against the project.

2.3 Consultative meeting on October 9, 2006

A meeting was held in Karachi on October 9th to call civil society for collective action against the project. A number of intellectuals, journalists, ordinary citizens and political party representatives attended. PFF briefed the participants on the issue and pointed to the precedent of the Gizri beach development project near the Bundal islands where the construction of new clubs and hotels had already affected the livelihood of fisher people. 'Fishermen are not allowed to pass by Gizri creek now,' PFF informed the gathering.

Representatives of the Sindh Taraqi Pasand Party, MMA, Urban Resource Center (URC), Jeay Sindh Mahaz, Fishermen Cooperative Society (FCS), Awami Tehreek, Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research (PILER), Sindh National Party, Pakistan Labour Party, Orangi Pilot Project (OPP), an NGO working for low income settlements (Katchi abadis), Jeay Sindh Qaumparast Party, Sindh Democratic Forum, Sindh Labour Federation, Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Actionaid Pakistan and members of the national and provincial assembly participated. They assured their full support to the protest campaign against the construction of the island city project on all forums.





2.4 Protest Rally October 11, 2006

A protest rally led by PFF office bearers was staged on October 11, 2006 in front of the Karachi Press Club against the allotment of the twin islands to the Emaar group. Members of the fishing community attended in large numbers, including women and children hailing from different areas. Representatives of political parties, trade unions and non-governmental organizations also joined the rally to express solidarity with the fishing community. The participants held banners and placards, chanting slogans against the destructive project.

Protestors addressing the rally noted that ironically, the government never seemed to learn from its past mistakes: such as the consequences of the so-called mega project LBOD (Left Bank Outfall Drain, located on the Indus's west bank), and RBOD (Right Bank Outfall Drain). These two projects have played havoc with the lives of the local communities. Representatives of political parties and labour and research groups read the injudicious decision of federal authorities to allot islands to Emaar as a reflection of the corruption and dishonesty set deep in the governance system. PFF leaders declared their intention of standing by their ethical and right-based stance over the island project at any cost.

2.5 PFF Statement on Oct 30, 2006

On October 30th, PFF issued a statement announcing its schedule of struggle against the Diamond Bar Island City project on the twin islands of Buddo and Bundal 1.5 km away from DHA's reclaimed land. It said that the Ministry of Ports and Shipping had signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with Emaar to build this city on the twin islands. The PFF Chairman declared that the fisher folk community would resist the government decision, which would endanger the livelihood of hundreds of thousands of fishermen along the Karachi coast.

The struggle, starting from November 2nd would include protest demonstrations, sit-ins, hunger strikes and rallies. The protest campaign had the support of civil society organizations, trade unions and several political parties.

The statement added that the International Fisherfolk Day would now be celebrated on 12th November on Bhundar Island on the eve of 'annual urs' of the shrine of Sufi saint Syed Yusuf Shah, instead of 21st November when the world fisherfolk community celebrated it. Shah stated that preparations were underway for a research study and documentary film over the issue. PFF further warned the government that if the agreement with Emaar was not withdrawn by the end of November 2006, they would go on a hunger strike to death from the 1st of December.





2.6 The strategies adopted by PFF in this campaign

PFF adopted the following clearly chalked out strategies to create an effective protest campaign against the project:

- Corner meetings in different areas of coastal Karachi
- PFF circulated letters to different stakeholders and partners for endorsing their stand regarding on the project. The endorsed letter was then disseminated to different people, organizations
- A research study to cover the issue by PFF
- Preparation of a documentary film in Sindhi on the issue by PFF
- Protests rallies and hunger strikes at all district headquarters (from 2nd November)
- Wide distribution of pamphlets and posters from 2nd November
- Press conference in Islamabad on 5th November
- Seminar with SDPI in Islamabad on 6th November
- Protest demonstration with Peoples Rights Movement in front of Parliament house Islamabad on 7th November
- Protest rally and demonstration at the islands on 12th November
- Protest demonstration at Bhundar Island on 21st November on the occasion of the International Fisherfolk Day
- Hunger Strike till death on 1st December
- Letter to the consulate general of UAE
- Visit of political leaders and media to Buddo and Bundal islands

2.7 Seminar in Islamabad, Nov 6, 2006

(PFF) and Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) jointly organised a seminar in Karachi to oppose the proposed project on the twin islands. Parliamentarians, economists, social scientists, environmentalists, academicians and civil society activists participated in the

seminar. The participants discussed the socio-economic, political and environmental impact of the island city project and demanded its immediate stoppage. They called for a strong collective peaceful resistance against this anti-people project and the need for an Urbanization Policy in the country to avoid such a situation in the future.

2.8 Press briefing, Islamabad, Nov 7, 2006

A joint working group made up of PFF, People's Rights Movement (PRM) and Action Aid Pakistan issued a press briefing on November 7th. The press statement warned the government of enormous resistance from the 500,000 strong fishing community in Karachi, and scores of others who had suffered at the hands of the state's 'mega development' initiatives, if the proposed island city project went ahead. The PFF and the PRM representatives declared that a coordinated plan of protest had been outlined to force the government into scrapping the project. Efforts were on to generate support for the resistance movement from all walks of life, including political parties, professional organizations and intellectuals. They said that the overall development paradigm adopted by the government, was based on an extremely short-sighted concept of 'development' that was based on concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, and a total commodification of natural resources.

2.9 Hunger Strike on November 7, 2006

PFF observed a hunger strike against the sale of the islands and the construction of Diamond Bar Island City. A large number of elders, women and children from fishing communities all along the coastal areas of Karachi participated in the strike at the Karachi Press Club. Several politicians and members of social society visited the hunger strike and extended their support and cooperation to the protesters. Sassui Palejo of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and Mazhar Ujan of Awami Tahreek joined the strike, while several visitors termed the project a violation of human rights of poor fishermen.





2.10 Hunger strike Dec 13, 2006

On Dec 13, PFF observed another hunger strike led by its chairman Mohammad Ali Shah against the island city construction and the forced displacement of fishermen. Large numbers of fishermen, women and children took part on the strike again. This time, several politicians, representatives of NGOs, agriculturists etc visited the strike venue to express their solidarity with those protesting.



2.11 All Parties Conference (APC) Dec 20, 2006

On December 20th, PFF convened an all parties conference (APC) in Karachi on the issue. The conference deliberated on how the poor fishermen were always treated as low class citizens and no thought was spared to the impact of big projects on the livelihood and lives of the poor.



The conference condemned the government's cruel decision which would pauperise the already poor, and called for a consensus amongst political parties and civil society organizations for collective action against the project.

Airing the long-term grievance felt by the Sindh province, Hussain Haroon, Pakistan's permanent representative to the UN felt that the island issue was part of a conspiracy against Sindh and its people of dividing Thatta district into two: one of which would be a commercial and promoted coastal district. Attended by NGOs, the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP)- the country's leading political party formed by the Zulfikar Bhutto, and nationalists parties of Sindh, Balochistan and Seraiki-belt of Punjab, the APC condemned the deal and demanded its immediate withdrawal.

2.12 Quick Response by Nationalists

On the occasion of the conference, Dr Qadir Magsi, president of a nationalist political party in Sindh, the Sindh Taraqqi Pasand announced a 'Save Islands rally' on 27th December in Hyderabad city, which would herald wider political protest against the project. At the same time, the Sindh National Party also announced a rally in Karachi against the project from Ibrahim Haidery - the large village of the fishing community, to the Governor's house.





2.13 Meeting in Karachi on Jan 5, 2007

On January 5th 2007, PFF convened a large meeting in Karachi attended by members of several political parties. The joining of nationalist political parties, civil society and fisher folk expanded the base of the protest.

2.14 Black day observed on Jan 10, 2007

On January 10th, PFF observed a Black Day in collaboration with political parties and civil society organizations. The entire province of Sindh participated in a shutter down strike in solidarity with the struggle against the sale of the islands. The strike was extremely successful and was covered at length by the media, forcing the authorities to take serious cognisance of the opposition to the islands project.



2.15 Letter to Consulate General of Dubai - February 2007

PFF wrote a letter to the ruler of UAE, Sheikh Mohammad Bin Rashid-al-Makhtoum, seeking his intervention in the illegitimate sale of the two Sindh islands by the Pakistani government to the UAE firm Emaar. PFF marched to the UAE Consulate's office in Karachi and handed the letter to the Consular General, to be passed onto the ruler.

2.16 Visit of political parties and the media to the two islands

PFF arranged a visit of mainstream political parties, journalists and media groups to the islands of Buddo and Bundal. Upon their visit to the islands, the political leaders demanded the cancellation of the mega city construction plan.

Political parties pledged their support to the ongoing struggle of fisher folk against the city project. This support of mainstream political parties forced the government to review its decision, apprehending political repercussions.



2.17 Chief Minister's stance on Project

A news article on September 30th 2006 in the national daily Dawn, reported that the Sindh Chief Minister had expressed his government's ignorance of the proposed mega-city project at the islands, saying it had not been taken into confidence.

At a later stage, the Chief Minister was said to have made a turnaround in his stance with the statement that 'Land was not superior to development'. The Sindh cabinet meeting held on October 3, 2006 decided to support the mega project. Activists and fisherfolk were stumped by this reversal of stance by their local government (taken either out of fear or lack of authority) and vowed to keep their struggle going.





3. Increase in support for the anti-project campaign: Media clippings

In response to the sustained campaign of the fisherfolk led by PFF, political parties and trade unions also initiated a campaign to condemn the government's deal with the UAE firm. Following are the several reports that appeared in the media, which tracked the fisher folk's protest against the sale of islands and the proposed mega city project there.

3.1 'Sale of islands criticized'

In a report on October 7th 2006, the daily Dawn reported the demonstration against the project staged by the Labour Party Pakistan in front of the Karachi Press Club. It reported the protesters stating, 'The sale of two Karachi islands Buddo and Bundal is a continuation of the "loot sale" of national assets and this act is linked to the bids of imperialist forces to occupy the strategic coastal belt of Pakistan.'

Protestors, including a large number of workers and women, chanted slogans against privatisation, poverty, US expansionism and imperialism.

Full article: <http://www.dawn.com/2006/10/08/local9.htm>

3.2 'Sale of two islands along Sindh coast opposed'

On October 7th, the newspaper 'Nation' reported a local Member of Parliament Ms Sassui Palijo to have stated that this project will also harm the culture tradition and customs and culture of the local community. She declared that the local Sindhi community read a conspiracy against them. The decision to sell 12000 acres of land on the island by the federal government, was taken without consulting people in Sindh where the islands were located. The community feared the loss of their graves, shrines and sites



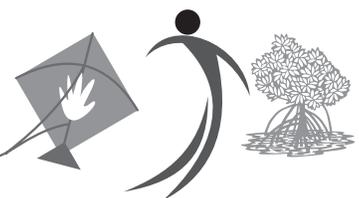
on the islands if the project went ahead, and saw in the development project an attempt to undermine the Sindhi community.

Full article: <http://nation.com.pk/daily/jan-2007/11/nationalnews4.php>

3.3 'Protest against Diamond Bar Island project'

On 10th October, the Dawn newspaper reported the token hunger strike by the People's Rights Movement (PRM) at Zero Point in Sindh, to show solidarity with the fishing communities of Buddo and Bundal islands. The PRM was reported to have strongly condemned the eviction of island residents to facilitate the construction of the mega city project. Speaking of the provincewide strike in Sindh in support of the fisherfolk's struggle, PRM said, 'The shutter down strike in Sindh reflects that nationalist and progressive forces have joined hands with the Pakistan Fisher Folk Forum (PFF) and the protests will continue until the project is shelved once and for all.' On the occasion, a representative of the Sindhu Bachao Tarla (Save Indus) organisation spoke of how several development projects along the Indus river were destroying centuries-old ecosystems whilst subjecting innumerable people to total exclusion and deprivation.

Full article: <http://www.dawn.com/2006/10/04/local1.htm>





3.4 'Fisherfolk to launch movement'

The Daily Dawn reported on Oct 3, 2006 the press statement issued by PFF chairman Mohammad Shah. The statement read that fishermen living in the coastal delta region had vowed to oppose the island city project as it would deprive eight million fisherfolk of their traditional occupation, besides causing serious environmental destruction. Shah provided the campaign schedule and announced a consultative meeting with civil society, activists, journalists and citizens on the issue on October 9th 2006.

3.5 'Strike call for Jan 10 against island city'

http://article.wn.com/view/2006/12/20/Strike_call_for_Jan_10_against_island_city_plan/dated_20th_Dec_2006

Reporting on All Party Conference, the press reported the participants had given a call for a strike in all parts of Sindh on Jan 10th. On the occasion, a 'black day' would also be observed. Parliamentarians, heads and members of civil society organizations gave mandate to the PFF to enhance the struggle. Shah was reported to have invited political parties for a strategy meeting on Jan 5th, and trade unions and civil society organizations on Jan 15th.

3.6 'Fisherfolk strike protests'

On Dec 11th 2006, the Daily Times newspaper reported on the strike in Sindh. It reported that a strike was observed in the coastal areas and along rivers and lakes in Sindh in response to the PFF's call for protest against the sale of the twin islands. Scores of fishermen in coastal areas observed a strike and staged demonstrations. In Mauripur, a rally was taken out and the participants staged a 'sit-in' protest where leaders and speakers spoke against the government's atrocities against the fishing community. A complete shutdown was observed in Ibrahim Hyderi, Karachi's largest fishermen settlement.

Full article:
http://dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2006\12\12\story_12-12-2006_pg12_8

3.7 'Fishermen observe 'black day' against sale of islands'

The daily 'The News' reported that fishermen observed a 'black day' to protest the sale of the islands on 10th Jan 2007.. Boycotting of all fishing activities and anchoring of boats were observed in Karachi in response to the strike call. Angry youth burnt tyres and chanted slogans against the sale of the islands. A rally was taken out from Ibrahim Hyderi at 2 p.m. Protesting fishermen, wearing black armbands and carrying placards, marched to the PAF Water Pump and staged a sit-in protest.

Full article: *The News*
[:http://www.thenews.com.pk/daily_detail.asp?id=35205](http://www.thenews.com.pk/daily_detail.asp?id=35205)





3.8 'Fishermen observe strike against eviction from islands'

In a show of strength, coastal fishermen observed a complete strike and black day on 10th Jan 2007 against their displacement from the twin islands of Buddo and Bundal. Clearing and levelling of the site is said to have begun by the Pakistan Army, with over 50 huts belonging to fishermen removed over the last two days. Three people were said to have sustained injuries from alleged torture. In response to forced migration, fishermen closed their businesses and suspended fishing. Thousands of boats remained harboured, and streets were deserted with even donkey carts disappearing in Ibrahim Hyderi, a fisherfolk village of 125,000 people. Protestors wore black ribbons and hoisted black flags on houses, shops and boats.

3.9 'Development on Sindh Islands: who will be the loser?'

Environmentalists, Naseer Memon and Zubaida Birwani drew attention to the Sindh government's reversal from its earlier stance of being unaware of the project, to giving it their approval. The Sindh assembly met on October 3rd 2006 and ratified the mega project on the two islands. The Sindh Chief Minister changed his earlier statement and now gave the project his support. The article traced the reasons for the Chief Minister's reversal in stance to the increasing presence of Emaar in public spaces through the several luxury real estate projects that were in the pipeline in different parts of Pakistan.

Full article:
<http://archives.dawn.com/2006/10/16/ebr9.ht>

3.10 'Politicians, nationalists, civil society groups see the project as wrecking the environment and depriving fishermen of their livelihood'

In an article by Shahid Shah, in The News-41, 12/11/2006 Shahid Shah reported on the meeting of several political party representatives, labour groups and NGOs, where they all opposed the proposed island city project and pledged their support to the PFF-led campaign. The participants spoke of resisting the project to save the livelihoods of fishermen and prevent environmental damage and demanded the cancellation of the agreement. They announced a protest demonstration in front of Karachi Press Club on Wednesday where World Fisher people's Day would be celebrated on the Bundal island on the occasion of the 'Urs' of saint Syed Yusuf Shah

<http://www.docstoc.com/docs/38301593/News-Clippings-on-Beaches-and-Pa>

3.11 'Cancel allotment of Bundal and Buddo'

The Daily Times reported on 10th October 2006 that political, religious and nationalist leaders had joined fishermen, trade union organizations and civil society organisations to launch a joint campaign against the federal government's decision to allot two islands near the city to a UAE-based company. Demanding the government cancel the sale of islands, the group announced that it would hold protest rallies across the country. It was also decided to register the protest in front of the National Assembly in the capital, Islamabad.

Full article:
http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2006\10\10\story_10-10-2006_pg12_2





3.12 WWF fears adverse impact on Mangroves biodiversity of the Islands

In an article on its website, the global environmental advocacy organisation World Wide Fund for nature (WWF) said that it feared an adverse impact on the mangrove forest biodiversity of the islands of Buddo and Bundal from the proposed island city project. It said, 'Mangroves are trees and woody shrubs that occupy sheltered tropical coastlines throughout the world. Studies have shown that 60-80% of the world's commercial fisheries catch is from the mangroves habitat. Birds use this habitat as roosting, feeding and breeding grounds.' It stated that it was ironic that while the Pakistan Government had recently announced an Environment Policy in 2005 under which it proposed to increase the forest cover in state and private-owned lands, in practice it was taking decisions that harmed the environment. Making a plea for the protection of sensitive mangrove ecosystems, WWF also spoke of their association with fishermen who had fished there for centuries. WWF demanded that under no circumstances should the mangrove forest ecosystem of the Bundal Island be adversely affected.

<http://www.wwfpak.org/30-10-06wwffears.php>

3.13 The island struggle reported in BBC Urdu

In a detailed article, the BBC Urdu covered the fisherfolk resistance against the project at length and listed the following outcomes:

- The project was delayed after PFF had launched community pressure
- The campaign brought politicians, civil society and rights groups together to jointly oppose the government's decision
- Diverse political parties came together for the first time in response to PFF's call to oppose the anti-people deal
- Leading environmental organizations issued press releases against the government's decision
- Fisherfolk communities were mobilised to show strength against the project
- PFF has won the trust of communities and the country's political leadership
- Mobilised the media to highlight the issues of fisherfolk on priority

4. Challenges

- Despite wide opposition, the government is yet to officially announce withdrawal of the project
- Fears still prevail that the government may launch a similar project in the (near) future
- Fishermen community representatives continue to be ignored by the government in policy decisions which affect the former
- Coastal problems, ranging from illegal encroachment along the seashore and of community land by influential people, continues to be a threat to indigenous people.





5. Future Plan

- PFF is examining the situation closely and is ready to launch an effective campaign against any decision made in this connection
- PFF is trying to strengthen its networks at the national and international level
- The struggle will continue against issues that harm fishing communities
- The community will be further mobilised to stay alert to face the situation

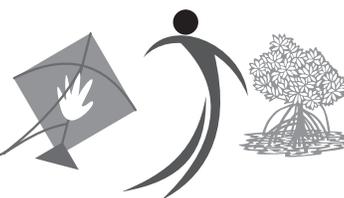
6. Conclusion

PFF has been engaged in successful struggles on fishermen's issues and brings to this campaign their collected experience in mobilising and strategising. They used successfully tried out strategies to mobilise in fisher folk through pamphlets, posters and corner meetings in fishing villages. Civil society, media, organisations and others were mobilised through press conferences, meetings, press statements and so on. A new approach was the mobilisation of political leaders across the spectrum for the cause. The campaigners managed to draw leaders from a diverse group of political parties, labour groups and trade unions to come together on the issue.

This is an instance of a successful participatory campaign that stands out for the unity of affected people and solidarity of other groups. PFF formed networks and alliances with other groups, and drew in political parties by utilising their opposition to the government. Media was effectively utilised to highlight the protest and to mobilise civil society to attend the same.

The campaigners came up with clearly chalked out strategies to cause maximum impact:

1. Strikes, awareness through press conference, rallies, research, seminars, documentary on the issue, hunger strikes etc were effective strategies in disseminating information on the issue and keep the campaign's momentum going.
2. Further, meetings and press conferences were addressed, calling on the Government to withdraw the project or face relentless protests from fishermen. Giving the government an 'ultimatum' of enormous resistance by fishermen in which '50,000 fishermen would participate' indicates tremendous confidence, sufficient preparedness and planning on the organisation's part. This is built on their previous successes and their wide popularity base among fishermen. Sustained working in a community builds credibility and their support for an organisation.
3. An important move was getting international environmental NGOs, activist groups like WWF involved. The WWF 'intervened' by publishing a statement on their website, citing the proposed project to be environmentally unsound and asking the Pakistan government should withdraw it. This internationalising of the issue put pressure on the government, although the campaign did not see any advocacy or appeals by said international organisations to the Pakistan government, asking them to scrap the project as happened in the Ranger's movement. (See case study under 'Organising and mobilising'.)





4. The other vital aspect with regards to both the issue and the campaign, was that civil society asked for the formulation of an urbanisation policy, environment effects of this and other projects, past records of such projects etc. Questioning the development model adopted by the government makes the campaign approach nuanced and mature.
 5. Involving the civil society was a useful step as they did their duty of bringing in an informed debate. Through this focus on the larger policy of urbanising itself and project records, the campaign's opposition to the project received further legitimacy and support.
2. A noteworthy and unique strategy of dealing with the opposition (the Emaar company) was bypassing them to appeal to the political authorities of their country- Dubai. Whether this received a response or not, it took the campaign out of the limited, local space and took it to a broader, international arena. The media in those countries and international environment rights groups and watchdogs highlighted this appeal of the campaigners to the UAE ruler for intervention. This increased exposure to the issue placed further pressure on the Pakistan government to take a decision on the project.

The campaign used two new and interesting approaches towards campaign mobilisation:

1. They observed the 'International Fisherfolk Day' on the day of the local Sufi saint's anniversary, an event special to locals, instead of the date globally observed. This created a special feeling of solidarity with the agitating fisherfolk and brought in a large number of local fisherfolk into the campaign.

Author: Pakistan Fisherfolk Forum

Presented by: Mr. Hussain Jarwar,

General Manager

pakistanfisherfolk@hotmail.com

PFF Secretariat Karachi, Sindh, Sachall Hall, Ibrahim Hyderi,

Bin Qasim Town, Karachi, Sindh,

Phone: +92 21 5092862, 3509054

web.: www.pff.org.pk





Case study from Bangladesh Ship breaking advocacy campaign in Bangladesh

This is a case study of a campaign against the unsafe and unregulated functioning of the ship breaking industry in Bangladesh, which follows no safety or regulatory norms. The shipyards dismantle end-of-life ships sent from other countries, but these often contain highly hazardous and toxic substances onboard, posing grave risks to workers' health and local ecology. An organisation, YPSA led a campaign for safer, better working conditions and reform of the industry towards environment friendly ship breaking. The campaign sensitized workers, and mobilised civil society, institutions, media and international environmental organizations to come together and force the industry and government to introduce safeguards, to create a policy and enforce laws. Thorough knowledge of issues, research, clear campaign plan, publicizing the issue internationally to put pressure on local government and strategic use of media helped this campaign achieve success. Some safeguards and draft rules on the industry have been introduced.





1. Introduction:

Ship breaking is one of the most hazardous and unsafe activities in the world with a very high risk of casualties. The ships often contain toxic substances and compressed gas chambers, vulnerable to sudden and massive explosions. The ship breaking industry in Bangladesh is concentrated in Sitakunda sub-district, a few kilometres north of Chittagong city on the Bay of Bengal. Bangladesh is the first country in the world to take on ship breaking from the 1960s, but its own laws and regulations on labour and environment conservation are completely disregarded in its shipyards. Now formally recognised as an industry in Bangladesh, over a hundred ships are dismantled annually, but there is no specific government body in charge of monitoring and overseeing its activities. The ship breaking yards function with no labour laws, no legal binding or framework in compliance with international agreements, no environmental standards set for the industry and no institutional arrangement for monitoring. The recent Labor Law Act of 2006 has provisions on working conditions, health, safety, hours, leave and compensation but compliance and enforcement are almost non-existent.

2. The conditions of the ship breaking industry:

2.1 Toxic waste onboard: Ships to be dismantled arrive with hazardous waste onboard, posing serious health risks to the workers handling them and local environment. Ships are sent without being cleaned and without prior informed consent of the receivers in Bangladesh.

2.2 Lack of proper disposal of hazardous material: Toxic chemicals and hazardous materials like asbestos, PVC, PCB, paints, oil sludge, burned oil, heavy metals and so on are not removed or disposed off in an environmentally sound way in the ship breaking yards. Oil spills from the ships being dismantled



have blackened the beaches in the area. The hazardous waste places the entire coastal region of Chittagong in grave danger.

2.3 Pollution from toxic waste: The intense, unchecked pollution of coastal waters from the ships have resulted in disappearance of several varieties of fish. Fishermen report a sharply reduced catch, about 50-60% compared to two decades ago and the absence of several varieties of fish, many of which are now declared 'endangered'. This has severely impacted fishermen's livelihoods, and they have been forced into debt, poverty and migration.

2.4 Environmental protection guidelines not followed: The SBC (Secretariat of the Basel Convention) guidelines to protect local environment from the adverse effects of hazardous waste from end-of-life ships (imported for dismantling) are not observed in the ship breaking yards.





2.5 All work done manually: Ship-breaking in Bangladesh is heavy and intensive work. Over a thousand workers are involved in the ship-breaking activities in Chittagong, and all the work from cutting to dismantling to loading, is done manually.

2.6 No safety precautions, very high injury and death rate: There is a complete lack of occupational health and safety precautions. There have been casualties among workers in accidents: from gas explosions, inhaling toxic gases, falling from heights (tops of ships) and from falling iron plates. In 2009 alone, 25 workers died in different accidents at the shipyards. To this toll must be added thousands of cases of injury among workers from accidents, and illness from contact with toxic substances. Twenty five per cent of the total workforce is below 18 years.

No proper record is maintained of the accidents or deaths at the ship breaking yards; dead and unidentified workers are allegedly thrown into the sea. The family of the worker, often his widow and children are left with no news or income to support themselves.

2.7 Unorganised labour: The shipyard workers are migrant men coming from some of the poorest regions of Bangladesh. They are treated no better than machines by the shipyard authorities, if one dies, another replaces him

Hired as contract labour, workers are not allowed to organise through trade unions, as there is unwritten prohibition by the owners. No existing trade unions have made any efforts to organise them either, owing to the difficulties of organising seasonal workers.

2.8 Ship breaking as importing waste: The policy/ decision makers see the ship-breaking industry as contributing to the national economy because it supplies scrap iron and creates jobs. However it does not recognise the extent of harm it creates due to the toxins that pose serious risk to the lives of workers, the environment and coastal ecology. In fact, the industry thrives by importing waste (often toxic) from the west.

Ship breaking activities in Bangladesh need to be urgently brought into compliance with international labour, health and environmental standards and legal bindings. A coordinated effort between the government, NGOs, trade unions, the shipping industry, relevant UN agencies and the international community can bring about a change in the working conditions in Bangladesh's shipyards and bring them on par with international standards of human rights.





3. The organisation - Young Power in Social Action (YPSA)

YPSA, Young Power in Social Action is a social development organisation founded in 1985 – the International Year of the Youth, in Bangladesh. It began its work in the Sitakund Upazilla of the Chittagong district. It is in areas where the ship breaking yards are concentrated. It began by addressing work conditions at the Chittagong shipyards, organising social campaigns to create awareness of workers’ rights and environmental pollution caused by ship breaking. It engage in advocacy and influencing policy makers to formulate guidelines for rigorous, environmentally safe ship-dismantling methods according to established guidelines. It conducts and publish research on the condition of shipyards and impact of ship breaking activities. The organization also provides immediate assistance to injured workers and families of deceased workers, and run different development programs in the villages around the shipyards.

4. Earlier efforts:

A few political leaders first raised voice against exploitation by the shipbreaking industry. One immediate act was organising a demonstration and a strike (bandh) involving around at least 500 workers in the ship breaking yards. The owners of the shipbreaking yards brutally suppressed the strike by threatening and physically assaulting the organisers. BILS (Bangladesh Institute of Labour studies) prepared a report on the poor working conditions of the workers in the industry. Local media covered the issue after some serious accidents in the yards. A group of journalists also had made some efforts to raise the issue.

5. YPSA’s response to the issue: planning a campaign

YPSA began its work for building a campaign on the ship-breaking issue in 1996 by addressing issues of violation of laws, pollution and unchecked danger to the health of workers. Local media and political activists had been raising their voice against the dangerous and unethical functioning of the shipyards. In 1997, YPSA conducted a survey of the causes for high disability rate in Sitakund upazilla and found that accidents at ship breaking yards were one of the chief causes. They began collecting information on the work conditions, accidents, environment pollution and other factors in the shipyards and published several reports on them in local newspapers. This gave the issue exposure and was the first step in forcing authorities to address the issue of workers’ rights and in formulating policy on the industry.

5.1 Issues addressed:

- Heavy and hazardous occupation
- Lack of safeguards, precautions, protective gear, and proper tools.
- No safety and protective measures and no awareness creation of dangers.
- Lack of proper disposal of waste, and clean-up activities.
- Toxic waste dumped from ships an environmental hazard
- Death and injury to workers from accidents at work in the shipyard.
- Possible illness from contact with toxic substances.
- No emergency services or treatment, and unhealthy living conditions.
- Violation of labour laws and rights of workers to safe working conditions, protection from hazards, compensation, accountability from employers and right to protest.
- Lack of enforcement of existing laws and conventions.
- Absence of appropriate policy and law governing ship breaking.





5.2 The objectives of campaign:

A campaign plan was needed to take on ship breaking owners, contractors, scrap dealers, local political leaders and other interest groups in the ship breaking business. The objectives of this campaign were:

- To improve the environmental and human rights condition in the shipyards: - through training of workers; sensitizing contractors and officials, and maintaining pressure on key players at all levels.
- To raise the voice of the workers, local community and civil society groups.
- To lobby with policy makers to enforce legal obligations that will check violation of workers' rights and environmental pollution.

5.3 The campaign plan:

- In depth research on ship breaking, problems faced by workers and their rights.
- Building local and district level awareness on the issue, leading to national awareness and network building.
- International advocacy and exposure.
- Local and divisional level campaign program.
- Legal aid for workers and their families.
- Creating a bank of photographic and video documentation of ship breaking conditions.
- Publications on the issue, in print and electronic media.
- Create a website on ship breaking, to contain all this information
- Development of a draft policy on ship breaking.



5.4 Mobilising and creating allies:

The unregulated ship breaking industry, which functioned without any safeguards or accountability, had to be tackled eventually at the level of legislation. YPSA proposed to mobilise people, local clubs, journalist unions, civil society organizations, trade unions, and environmental organizations to join the campaign against ship breaking activities. Beside local partners, the organization decided to mobilise and create allies among national level civil society, government officials, different national forums, associations and labour organizations.

6. The campaign - against ship breaking conditions in Bangladesh

6.1 The campaign's demands:

- Ensuring worker's basic needs and rights according to National Labour Law 2006.
- Requirement of an Environment Certificate before commencing to break a ship.
- Pre-cleaning of all ships before its transnational movement or arrival in Bangladeshi territorial waters.
- Formulate rules for ship breaking as per the court's order (17th March 2009). According to this order, the High Court had directed the government not to allow any ship in Bangladesh without cleaning its in-built toxins and to close operation of all ship-breaking yards in two weeks for running without environmental clearance.
- Move the ship breaking industry away from the beach or operate it in the dry docks.

6.2 Mobilising different groups at state and national level

In order to create awareness on the issue, YPSA began demonstrations with workers and the local community in the ship breaking areas in 2003. Potential key allies were motivated to join the pressure group against the unregulated ship





breaking industry. In 2004, YPSA released the baseline report, listing the issues in the ship breaking industry and problems faced by workers. The situation of the workers struck a chord with many, and several organizations joined the campaign. YPSA welcomed this move, as such a sensitive issue needed the support of others and a broad base would help the struggle. Local people were actively made part of the campaign, and the support of civil society, media and the local government was sought.

6.2.1 Mobilising workers:

A vital first step for the campaign was to raise workers' awareness of their rights, enshrined in different national and international laws and conventions. Workers also needed to learn how to claim their rights and entitlements as citizens, and also as workers under labour laws. YPSA also held regular meeting with the workers at night after working hours. This was done to create awareness among them about their basic needs and rights and to educate them about the various threats to their well being while working in the yards.

6.2.2 Sensitising government bodies and officials:

Different government departments, local and district level administration were involved in discussions around the issue, several on behalf of the worker community. A number of seminars and roundtables were organised, bringing together the media, academics, civil society representatives, NGOs, trade union leaders etc. Rallies were organised and a memorandum submitted to the Deputy Commissioner (DC) of Chittagong, detailing some of the human rights abuses in the shipyards and the need for a comprehensive policy. Sensitising local government institutions and their elected representatives was one of the major components of the campaign. YPSA was successful in involving a number of elected officials of the upazilla who were sympathetic to the workers' cause and willing to work towards ameliorating

their dire conditions. One local Member of Parliament raised the ship breaking workers' issues in Parliament.

6.2.3 Widening campaign base:

As a step further the campaigners decided to widen the base of the campaign by mobilising national NGOs. The shipyard owners had not responded at all to worker's demands, and YPSA decided to file cases against their illegal practices. The campaign now needed experts on legal and trade union issues. Campaigners aligned themselves with BELA (Bangladesh Environmental Lawyer's Association) who were considering legal action on the issue, and provided them whatever information they had on the problems and violations in the ship breaking industry. Several national level trade union organizations were mobilised to raise the issue at national level while YPSA kept up local pressure in Chittagong, the seat of the industry. Campaigners met lawmakers in the capital, apprising them of the condition of the shipyards and its workers.

6.2.4 Government agrees to create a ship breaking policy:

In 2007, the government agreed to formulate a policy on ship breaking and to bring the industry under a legal framework. YPSA was included as a member in the national committee for formulating this policy.

6.2.5 Ship cleaning the responsibility of country of origin:

An investigation into Chittagong's shipyards revealed that the ships to be dismantled came from abroad, carrying hazardous waste. This waste and its disposal were thus not the responsibility of the dismantling country. A ship had to be cleaned by the country of origin and declared safe to handle before its trans boundary movement to the ship breaking countries. Campaigners realised the issue needed advocacy and lobbying in international arenas like EU and UN bodies.





6.2.6 Report on ship breaking conditions, garnering international attention:

In 2005 YPSA prepared its first international publication on accidental deaths in the ship breaking yards titled, End of life ships and human cost of breaking ships. The report was jointly prepared with two other international NGOs, Greenpeace and FIDH (International Federation for Human Rights) and submitted to the UN Rapporteur on Human rights. After this report, the need for an international coalition against ship breaking emerged. An international alliance of human rights and environment NGOs interested in the issue was thus formed, known as the NGO Platform on Ship breaking (www.shipbreakingplatform.org). YPSA was one of its important organizations, appointed as the Bangladesh chapter.

This group works towards evolving safe and democratic methods of ship breaking and raising awareness of human rights abuses therein. It works to push for regulatory mechanisms in the environmentally degrading practice of global transport of end-of-life vessels with toxic wastes on board. As part of the platform, YPSA addressed the 'UN convention on control of trans-boundary movement of hazardous waste', the Basel Convention. It also addressed the European Commission and EU parliament on the ship breaking conditions in Bangladesh. The platform registered protests against a UN body, the IMO or International Maritime Organisation

or adopting a new convention without a single measure to tackle pollution and violation of worker's rights in the ship breaking yards.

6.2.7 Publications:

Publication is a very effective tool in advocacy. YPSA compiled two scientific reports: on environmental pollution and child labour in the ship-breaking industry. The report helped the forum members and campaign allies to state their demands more assertively. These reports were forwarded to all the people concerned at the national and international level, helping establish the grave nature of the issue. Research papers based on studies and surveys on the ship breaking industry were widely published. In addition, the issue was kept alive in public memory through various print media: newspapers, magazines, posters, stickers and billboards.

6.2.8 Toxic ships and the successful campaign against their entry:

The high level of awareness through years of national and international advocacy by YPSA resulted in wide protest against the entry of two ships in the Chittagong shipyard in 2006, the SS Norway and MT Alpha. Advocacy work by the journalist forum, which highlighted the news of a Bangladeshi owner's purchase of the ship SS Norway, fuelled the protest. The ship was headed towards Chittagong shipyards with 1200 tons of asbestos onboard, enough to cause massive destruction to public health and environment. International environmental and legal groups, and national civil society pressurized the Bangladesh government to stop the ship's entry into the country. The tremendous pressure forced the government to bar ship dismantling in the Chittagong shipyard. Mass awareness by campaigners led to community ownership of the issue and response, successfully materialized through the active forums. A larger campaign was organised to prevent the arrival of the asbestos-laden ship, SS Norway at the Chittagong port.





Several means of protest were adopted against the import of the toxic ship: human chains, leaflets, posters and dialogue with the government. YPSA assisted BELA with research, to fight the legal battle to stop the ships. Concerned government bodies were roped in to intervene in the issue. Campaigners put pressure on the government and the ship's owner, with the help of international environment organisation Greenpeace. Respecting the civil society movement, the government ordered the stopping of the ship. Similarly, another toxic ship the MT ALFA was also sent back.

6.3 Campaign activities:

6.3.1 Research on ship breaking, workers' problems and rights

An in depth study of the ship breaking industry and the condition of workers was required, to help the campaign base its strategies on facts gained from surveys and research. Accordingly, they produced six international-standard reports. Research was conducted on livelihood issues of shipyard workers covering reasons for seeking work in the shipyards, risk of accidents at work, danger of contracting illness from handling toxic substances, the nature of diseases contracted, availability of medical aid and average number of accidents and deaths. Looking at the ship breaking industry, the research examined the work's legal status, safety mechanisms, response to injured and killed workers, and the impact on environment. The research helped the campaign state its demands better.

6.3.2 Accidents:

Accidents are a common phenomenon in ship breaking. Workers are injured and die from explosions, lack of safety equipment, fall from top of the ships and falling pieces of metal. In addition, handling toxic waste without any protective gear places them at grave risk, and several workers are known to have fallen severely sick. The campaign put together information on every shipyard and compiled lists of dead workers from each year.

6.3.3 Awareness among workers:

Campaigners met workers frequently and spoke to them of labour laws, creating awareness of their rights, and the dangers associated with ship-breaking activities.

6.3.4 Local and divisional level campaign programs

Local and divisional level campaign programs were conducted to keep stakeholders in these levels active and motivated. The programs helped to create new alliances through workshops, seminars, rallies, press conferences, memorandums, letter and signature campaigns, exhibitions, dialogue, public hearing and roundtable meetings.

6.3.5 National level awareness and network building

The campaign was then extended to the national level, creating awareness on the ship breaking workers' issues, and building alliances and networks. There was tremendous support at the local and district level, but only pressure at the national level could ensure demands would be met. The campaigners worked to create a nationwide platform on ship breaking through effective pressure groups, alliances and networking. For a coordinated campaign at all levels, mobilisation and awareness campaigns continued at the local and district level.





6.3.6 International advocacy and exposure

As ship breaking is a global business, the problems related to it had to be addressed globally, to find solutions. Ships came to Bangladesh's ship breaking yards from Europe, America, Japan and Singapore. YPSA realised that policy makers in Bangladesh were responsive to international bodies and forums and engaging international attention was important to bring about change at home. Campaigners felt that the ship owners could be influenced to place pressure on ship-breakers to comply with international guidelines and regulations, which could ensure workers rights and better working conditions. YPSA aligned itself with international groups, platforms and organizations and brought attention to the Bangladesh ship-breaking situation at several international meetings, workshops and conferences. Three UN bodies –the ILO, IMO, Basel Convention (Joint Working Group) were engaged in working towards reforms in the global ship breaking industry.

6.3.7 Draft framework on ship-breaking

YPSA submitted a draft paper to the policy makers of Bangladesh for a national framework on legal, ethical and humane ship breaking. The research material and data collected in its studies were used to draft the guidelines, which were shared with experts. A series of dialogues were arranged on the draft's contents with civil society and all the stakeholders in the campaign. The paper was also submitted to the stakeholders in the ship-breaking business. Recently, (in 2010) YPSA submitted its suggestions for rules regarding ship breaking.

6.3.8 Photographic and Video Documentation

Only a small number of the people concerned, especially at policy level had seen the real situation of the ship breaking activities. Limited field access to the shipyards made a firsthand understanding of the situation difficult. Campaigners therefore documented the condition of the shipyards on photographs and video and circulated them widely at national and

video and circulated them widely at national and international forums. This documented proof along with engagement with the media through TV appearances and press conferences helped create a lot of exposure to the issue and the campaign.

6.3.9 Legal Aid

Campaigners recognised the need for continued pressure from a legal standpoint on the shipyard owners and policy makers. Lawyers were consulted for legal inputs in the campaign against ship breaking activities in their current form. The forum also provided legal help to injured workers and families of dead workers in getting compensation from shipyard owners.

6.3.10 Website on ship breaking

A website was developed on ship breaking, with accessible information on the issue. Updated regularly, the website proved an effective tool in the campaign, and helped new organizations and the media to join the work on the issue.

6.4 Creating forums to handle different campaign aspects

A strong network was created on the issue with like-minded organizations, civil society institutions and individuals, through the setting up of three forums: Social Forum, Journalist Forum, and Student Forum.

The Social forum organised meetings and discussions with a view to raise community and worker awareness. They also organised cultural programs where workers found a space to meet and interact with local people. This process of socialization was an important move for the socially isolated workers. The forum also arranged events like demonstrations, dialogue with the community, and regular meetings with communities as well as workers.





The Watchdog forum comprised local journalists of different national dailies. Their personal contact and familiarity with the worker community gave them the opportunity to collect information on human rights abuses in the shipyards. Their articles and reports in different regional and national dailies gave exposure to the issues and often proved decisive to the campaign.

The Student forum was formed to mobilise and motivate college students about the issues raised by the campaign. Several students from different universities played a key role in the forum. They took part in programs, demonstrations and rallies; made and distributed posters, leaflets, and stickers and were able to influence the community with their dedication and sincerity. The students from the forum roped in other students and university teachers to do research and campaign work on environmental and human rights abuses in the ship-breaking industry.



6.5 Campaign Slogans

'Yes To Ship breaking, No To Rights Violation'

YPSA's campaign, soon after it began, faced allegations that it was opposed to the ship breaking industry. The slogan above was used to assure stakeholders that the campaign was meant to bring reforms. This slogan was thus used to assure stakeholders that the campaign was towards bringing reforms in the industry. Stickers carrying this message were widely distributed in the ship-breaking areas and to other campaign stakeholders. YPSA also gave its contact address in the stickers so anyone interested could directly talk to the campaigners of their goals. This message worked very effectively and helped them gain public support due to the slogan's easy to understand message.

'Ensure Rights, So No Fights'

As workers joined the campaign the stories on ship breaking began receiving wide coverage in the media. This included wide publicity to the research findings on ship breaking. The shipyard owners organised to counter the campaign, claiming it was a conspiracy against their business. Campaigners tried meeting shipyard owners but they refused to engage in any dialogue. Through the slogan, 'Ensure Rights, So No Fights' YPSA tried to appeal to the shipyard owners not to treat the campaigners as their adversary allies. The campaign held demonstrations on roads with the YPSA support all along. The slogan was used throughout the campaign, in all demonstrations and events, and also on banners and festoons. It received a lot of public and media support that provided the boost to the campaign.





'Enforce Labour Law, Implement Environment law'

In 2006, a new labour law was adopted in the country, by which ship-breaking workers were recognized as formal workers. The campaign raised awareness through the use of the slogan 'Enforce Labour Law, Implement Environment law' on banners and festoons, which helped introduce the law to targeted stakeholders.

'Toxic Free vessels, Pre-cleaning of ships before its arrival'

The YPSA had a longstanding demand for ships to be pre-cleaned of all toxic waste by ship owners in the country of origin before sending or dismantling. During the campaign, short films and slides with the message 'Toxic Free vessels, Pre-cleaning of ships before its arrival' were shown at different places, and all campaign press releases and articles also included it prominently. As the campaign began to mature, this slogan was used to highlight the demand for worker safety.

'Off the beach'

As the campaign gained momentum, the slogan 'Off the beach' was coined that gave a strong message to the shipyard owners. It was meant to put pressure on them to relocate ship-breaking activities away from Bangladesh's beaches.

6.6 Utilising information gathered in the campaign

The information discovered during research on workers' accidents, toxic vessels, pollution and major violations by the shipyards proved to be very useful in the campaign. Strategies were planned based on specific information. For instance: YPSA learnt of a big explosion on a ship in the shipyard on 26th December 2009 in which eight workers were killed. Learning of the incident immediately after it occurred, YPSA passed the information on to the media and government officials concerned, bringing urgent attention. This collaboration with others reinforced trust among the campaign's different participants. As the first to bring national and global attention to the condition of ship breaking in Bangladesh, YPSA is now the resource on the issue.

6.7 Leading the campaign, sharing of responsibilities

YPSA took the lead in this entire campaign but worked to create a sense of ownership of the struggle in all the partnering groups and individuals. They collected and supplied to campaign allies all the requisite resources and information regarding strategies, human expertise, equipment, publications etc. For the legal battle, YPSA backed the lawyer's organization BELA, which took all the legal action. Trade union issues were handled by trade union organizations. Responsibility was thus shared, where each group was free to exercise its core skills. YPSA concentrated on doing research and surveys, and facilitated different campaign activities.

6.8 Strategies

The strategy of the campaign was to mobilise local people, gradually involve like-minded people and organizations at national level and





then raise it at the international level. The campaign was staged simultaneously at all levels, to result in change all the way up to the level of policy. Advocacy Strategy: The research, studies and surveys that were produced in the form of regular reports on the state of ship breaking came very useful in advocacy. Using the media as one of the pressure groups and regular contact with the workers and trade union leaders proved to be very effective strategies in the campaign.

Innovations and networking: The campaign was begun to cover certain areas of the ship breaking industry, such as worker's rights, safety and basic needs. The campaign would not have been able to achieve its objectives if it had not taken into account the other problems facing the industry, and therefore its reach was expanded to address environmental concerns. YPSA established strong linkages with international environment groups such as Greenpeace, who were keenly observing ship breaking in Bangladesh and this collaboration brought significant leverage to the campaign. The presence of these international environmental watchdogs made local policy makers pay attention to the issue, and forced shipyard owners to initiate reforms.

6.9 Challenges

The campaign sought to bring reforms to the ship breaking industry. Industry owners, however, responded with hostility to attempts to improve conditions of workers. Owners typically focus only on their immediate financial gains rather than long-term profitability of the sector. The recent uprising in Bangladesh's readymade garments industry in 2006, is a glaring example of the consequences of owners' disinterest in worker issues.

Several efforts were made to initiate dialogue and a friendly relationship with shipyard owners. One or two owners showed up at district level discussion meetings but were not enthused

by the agenda. The owners see the YPSA campaign as a means to create a workers uprising and are therefore closed to debates with campaigners on the ship breaking industry. Obtaining material samples from shipyards for research too proved difficult, owing to suspicious owners and contractors. Owners do not realise that it is in their interest to provide better conditions and benefits to workers. Unable to engage owners in resolving the issue through discussions, campaigners initiated a legal battle against the unjust and unsafe work conditions in shipyards.

A particular stumbling block in seeking redressal is the lack of any specially assigned government body to monitor and oversee the ship breaking industry. With no clear authority and several departments and bodies involved, it is a challenge to approach the government for solutions. The campaign demanded and worked towards coordination among the different government departments. It also asked for a regulatory board that provided a one-stop service responsible for monitoring ship-breaking activities. The newly formed High Power Committee for drafting the rules of policy is also an example to bring together all the concerned bodies. regulatory board that provided a one-stop service responsible for monitoring ship-breaking activities. The newly formed High Power Committee for drafting the rules of policy is also an example to bring together all the concerned bodies.





Another challenge the campaign had to face were allegations from vested interests that the campaign's goal was to put a stop to the ship breaking industry. Through reports in the media, press meets, demonstrations and through posters, the campaigners conveyed their message of 'Yes to ship breaking, but No to rights violation and environmental pollution'.

The main stream political parties never took this issue seriously. They never made it part of their agenda.

6.10 Future of the movement on ship breaking, past the campaign

YPSA brought the ship breaking issue in Bangladesh to national and international notice. It will continue to be part of the larger movement on the issue. Regular communication with different stakeholders will be maintained. Advocacy programs will continue to formulate the rules for ship breaking and their proper implementation. The project has already sensitised the primary stakeholders of the project: the workers, and raised their awareness. The forums will continue to carry the movement forward.

The international linkages and networks have strengthened the organization's ability to work on the issue. These have lent support to the campaign towards influencing policymakers. Local policymakers have already shown interest in the issue. Many of them have been sensitised through the campaign. YPSA hopes that the industry's actual conditions will be explored, policies brought about to usher reforms and the rights of workers ensured.

YPSA will continue to work on advocacy of 'rights', a chief issue in this campaign. It will encourage other groups and organisations to work on the issue. Finally, it will freely share and disseminate the material it has collected so far.

Alliances: Several individuals, organizations, newspapers, media, national NGOs, forums and associations such as BILS (Bangladesh Institute of Labour Studies) have expressed support to the YPSA campaign, on the work of bringing about a national dialogue on ship breaking. In addition, some civil society organizations and international groups are responsive to the issue, which will help the cause. Consciousness on the issue has also developed among some ship-breaking owners while some government officials have begun to show solidarity with YPSA. Workers and local level forums remain motivated and work on achieving complete reform in the industry continues.

6.11 Results of the campaign

The campaign has brought about a fundamental change in the areas of worker safety, security and health. Workers are now more aware of their rights. They are also aware of the issues of health, sanitation and pure drinking water, and that it is the responsibility of the local government to provide them. The shipyards are not yet an entirely safe work area. But a new level of understanding and concern is now in place that could potentially protect workers from unexpected injury and death. Owners and contractors are now as afraid of such untoward incidents as workers. Local civil society groups, especially journalists work towards instantly making such news public. The shipyard owners are now therefore much more careful and mindful of accidents. Workers also report a remarkable decrease in the number of accidents. Some of the shipyards have begun providing some safety equipment, like gloves and shoes as precautionary measures. These limited victories are still important and have resulted from concerted campaigning.





One of the important changes to have taken place in the situation of workers is in the compensation package now offered to injured workers and families of the dead. Workers and their families have now begun receiving compensation, but it would be wrong to assume that everyone gets it easily. Compensating a worker for injury or death due to a workplace accident has not yet become institutionalised, although the Labour Law of 2006 stipulates some kind of compensation to be given to workers. Again, such a significant step as forcing owners to pay compensation to workers has come due to the efforts of the campaigners.

The High Court in March 2009 directed the government not to allow any ship in Bangladesh without cleaning its in-built toxins.

In its order the HC directed the government to close operation of all ship-breaking yards in two weeks for running without environmental clearance.

Later, MARCH 2011 , the Supreme Court stayed the HC order for closing the yards, while all other verdicts were sustained. During that time only 36 ship-breaking yards were in operation. The number has now shot up to over 100 despite the court directive to the government not to allow any new yards to start operation without clearance certificates.

The court also directed the Ministry of Environment and Forest to frame necessary rules on ship-breaking within three months. It relied on the obligations that Bangladesh had under the Basel Convention, 1989, the Environment Conservation Act, 1995 and the Environment Conservation Rules, 1997.

According to the existing environmental law, the ship-breaking yards are identified as category Red [extremely dangerous] and environmental clearance certificate is mandatory for them although ship-breaking yards have been operating without clearance.

The Prime Minister in early 2011 , announced shipbreaking as an industry under the ministry of industries. And now it has become a concern under the Ministry of Industry. On 5th October 2011, the ministry of industry published its first draft of the rules .

The issue is critical and involves forcing international stakeholders to comply with the law. It, therefore, requires a long-term campaigning. The current campaign has achieved some results:

- i. The campaign addressed issues related to the ship breaking industry and managed to awaken and mobilise a large pool of civil society representatives at the local and regional level. Activities like seminars, roundtables, publishing articles and research reports, press conferences, demonstration rallies and the media campaign were successful in raising awareness in civil society, government departments and international organizations.
- ii. YPSA is now included as a member in any initiative taken by government ministries with regard to the ship breaking industry, such as regular monitoring of shipyards. Along with BELA, it was made a member of the committee to prepare the policy draft on ship breaking.





iii. In a significant achievement, the high court issued a judgment in May 2009, ordering the government to prepare rules for ship-breaking. These have to be in compliance with the issues that had been the campaign's long term demands namely pre-cleaning of ships before dismantling,, ensuring worker's rights, safeguards to protect the environment from the trans-boundary movement of the hazardous waste etc.

iv. YPSA has now become well established internationally as the resource organization for ship breaking in Bangladesh. Several international media channels, like Al-Jazeera, Sky TV, French TV and CNN, made documentary reports on the issue with its support. TIME magazine covered the issue and spoke to the YPSA representative. These reports and documentaries helped garner attention for the campaign at the international level.

v. The campaign has been successful in mobilising and motivating a significant portion of local and national organizations. The issue, as the campaign desired, is now being addressed from the grassroots to policy level. Local people are also organised in the three different forums; local level advocacy now rests on their shoulders.

vi. To a certain extent, the campaign has created awareness among the workers about their rights and entitlements. However the absence of any formal delivery mechanism means that workers still remain deprived. Workers are now increasingly aware of the potential health hazards involved in ship breaking activities.

vii. Local and district level civil administration are now aware of and sensitised to the plight of workers, but they can do nothing without proper rulings and legislation by the government. Local government representatives extended their moral support to the cause but they have very little resources to meet the various demands (basic services) of the workers.





viii. Campaign materials such as posters, leaflets, stickers, and other regular publications proved very fruitful in disseminating information. Other means such as billboard and documentary films were used to convey the message to workers and a larger audience in general. Easy and reader-friendly advocacy material and messages proved very useful to workers with little or no education.

ix. YPSA has successfully developed a comprehensive resource centre and website, which contains every piece of information related to the ship-breaking industry. The publications essentially contain important and current information; news and views related to the industry, serving researchers, journalists and others interested in studying the sector. However, there seems to be a lack of comprehensive academic research on various aspects of the ship breaking industry that is contributing significantly to the national economy.

x. YPSA established collaborative relations with international environment activist organisations, and has published its first international report jointly with Greenpeace and FIDH. Joining the newly formulated NGO Platform on ship breaking will help YPSA towards its ultimate goal of seeing policy develop to ensuring rights of workers.

7. Lessons learnt

The following are important to achieve results in an advocacy campaign:

- Sufficient and detailed knowledge of the issue.
- Continuous and long term pressure.
- Promotional tools, like publications, videos, photographs, linkages, an active website and so on to strengthen the network.
- Building personal contact and rapport with important stakeholders, especially the affected people, in this case the shipyard workers.
- Working to maintain the momentum of the advocacy campaign.
- Communication with the top policy level.
- Pressure from national and international alliances on the issue can force the owners and government to take necessary steps to influence and formulate a ship breaking policy.
- Media, civil society and intellectual groups are very useful in mobilising people on the issue.
- Motivation and passion are key to successful grassroots advocacy campaigns





8. Conclusions:

This is an example of a successful campaign. Campaigners researched and gathered facts, mobilised affected people, civil society, trade unions, lawyers and intellectuals etc to launch a concerted and joint campaign against the ills of the ship breaking industry. Focus was maintained on ensuring workers' rights, better working conditions and bringing the industry under the purview of the law and safety guidelines. They networked and placed pressure on the authorities, and achieved some remarkable results:

a) Court ruling on the industry which stipulated enforcing of guidelines, and draft policy on ship breaking by government, b) Awareness among workers of their rights, c) Improved safety conditions at shipyards, introduced by aware and scared owners, d) Granting of compensation for injury or death, and e) International networking, and creating the NGO forum on the ship breaking.

The above demonstrate the success of the campaign, as it managed to not only focus attention on the issue, but through continued pressure effected reforms at policy level by the state. A campaign that is fought by several groups and individuals requires the focus to stay on the campaign, and not on individual organisations. It requires one group to be the nodal, and centrally coordinating agency, while duties and responsibilities are devolved, which the YPSA has done here with apparent success.

Muhammed Ali Shahin

Policy Research and Advocacy Officer, YPSA,

Mobile: +88 01819535319,

Land phone: +88 031 672857'

Email:shahin41077@gmail.com,

Web: www.shipbreakingbd.info

YHouse # F10 (P), Road # 13, Block-B, Chandgaon

R/A Chittagong-4212, Bangladesh

Tel: +88-031-672857, Tel + Fax: +88-031-2570255

Cell: +88-0189-321432, 01711-825068

E-mail: info@ypsa.org





Case Study from Afghanistan

Campaign on Prevention of Child Abuse in Afghanistan

This is a campaign to address child abuse and create systems for its prevention in Afghanistan, Child abuse, in particular sexual abuse is said to be a serious threat facing the highly vulnerable child population of Afghanistan, coping with the difficulties of a post-war scenario. Several children are orphaned, some are trafficked, and a great number work to support their families, missing school. Several different rights, child -care organisations and media groups took part in this campaign, led by the group SMO to bring collective attention and legal protection to the situation of children. The campaign launched an effective awareness program through radio and TV broadcasts, reaching remote and backward regions in a war-ravaged country, combating inaccessibility, lack of education and traditional taboos in the target areas. The campaign aligned itself with international campaigns on the issue, and received the support of the government for the awareness created. The state passed new laws against child abuse and pledged to combat this growing problem through protection and better justice mechanisms for victims.





1. Introduction

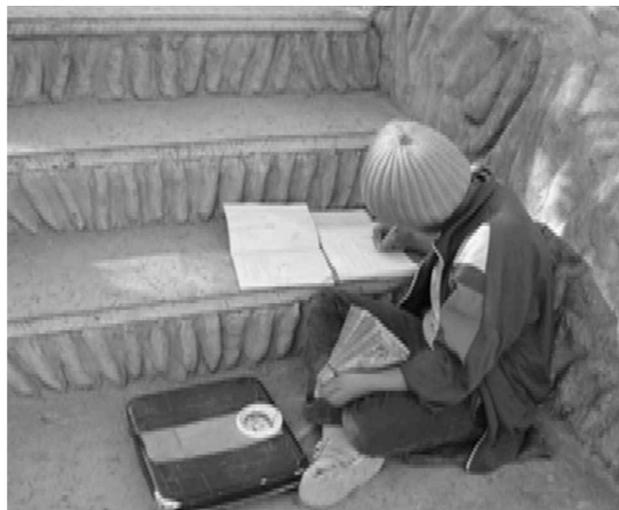
Saba Media Organisation

Saba Media Organisation (SMO) is a registered not-for-profit media organisation in Afghanistan. SMO was established in 1997 to continue the efforts of a group of Afghan social workers and intellectuals in the media during the Taliban rule. They provided firsthand information and analysis of important socio-political issues facing the country in an atmosphere of severe restrictions on the media. After the fall of the Taliban regime, an era of free press dawned. The primary media catered to entertainment; political parties owned a second group and the third media presence was international media institutions, which provided programs in local languages but catered to international concerns. Saba expanded its work from print media and publishing to electronic media, wishing to create a comprehensive media initiative that reached and represented the interests of all people in Afghanistan. In 2005, SMO set up Radio Nawa and a digital audio-visual production unit. Saba TV was set up in 2008, telecasting to five main cities in the country and a second channel to Tarinkot city of Uruzgan province in 2009. SMO's goal is to facilitate capacity development and sustainability of free media initiatives in Afghanistan.

Core values: Saba's goal is to assist in the development of a peaceful and stable Afghan society through creating awareness and education of citizens. Its core values are promoting human rights, gender equity, cultural diversity, participatory decision-making, transparency and accountability to all external stakeholders. Saba focuses mainly on women, children, youth and isolated communities.

Networks: SMO has established linkages with some important networks:

1. Partners in development network, in strategic partnership with organisations CHA, OHRD and WBRAO;



2. Founding member of Social Watch Afghanistan;
3. Affiliated member of AIBD (Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development) and full member of ABU (Asia - Pacific Broadcasting Union);
4. Member of education consortium for the implementation of educational programs in Afghanistan;
5. Partnership with Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC);
6. An active member of Child Abuse Prevention Campaign globally organised by Women's World Summit Foundation (www.woman.ch).

SMO is in strategic partnership with individual local radio stations and national associations to increase its outreach and listeners for social programs. To overcome the various logistical obstacles of ensuring smooth, timely and reliable delivery content to local stations, Radio Nawa has established a satellite network. It is a point-to-multipoint Telecast Bridge with multiple channels. The network facilitates the simultaneous delivery of multiple programs, in multiple languages and timings, allowing an enormous amount of flexibility in providing





countrywide coverage of local programming to every station or groups of stations. Under different projects, Radio Nawa has been working with different local radios according to the needs, objectives and target population of the chosen project.

Geographical reach: The main focus of SMO is Afghanistan's rural areas, with a strong presence in underserved parts of the country. Based in Kabul city, Radio Nawa covers the cities/provinces of Kabul, Kandahar, Hirat, Nangarhar, Balkh, Ghazni, Paktya, Logar, Maidan-Wardak, Faryab, Parwan, Kapisa, Panjshir, Farah, Kunduz, Baghlan, Uruzgan, Nimroz, Zabul, Hilmand and Ghor. Saba TV serves fourteen provinces including the cities of Kabul, Kandahar, Hirat, Mazar-e-Sharif, Jalalabad and Tarinkot.

Main Units:

Radio Nawa 'Alacrity & Life': Radio Nawa 103.1 FM, operating with the slogan Alacrity & Life, is an independent radio channel that began broadcasting in 2005. Nawa's mission is to provide information, especially to women in urban and rural areas and strengthen people's voice on issues concerning them. It broadcasts twenty-four hours through two channels: channel one broadcasts programs in both Pashto and Dari, while channel two is specifically for Pashto speakers. It presently reaches over 20 lakh listeners, providing a mix of news, entertainment, awareness and education.

Gandahara digital audio-visual production unit: Established in 2004, Gandahara produces high quality audio-visual education, training and awareness materials. With print and archive sections, its main activities are producing AV material, Afghan music and dubbing foreign language contents into Afghanistan's official languages.

Saba TV and distance education/telecasting facilities: The Saba TV network was begun in 2008. It broadcasts in both the official languages of Pashto and Dari to fourteen provinces including five major cities. The telecasting/distance education facility is a point to multi point Communication Bridge, used effectively for education, training and awareness programs. SMO provides technical support with power generation, satellite links, telecast and technical troubleshooting to other media organisations.

Saba Publications: SMO's books section has its own printing press and has so far published over twenty titles on health, agriculture, livelihood, education, culture, journalism, rights, history and democracy.

Research and Surveying: The research team of SMO is responsible for collection and compilation of certified and updated materials from different sources.

Website: SMO's web based information is in three languages: English, Pashto and Dari.

Capacity Building: SMO's Human Resource department is responsible for the following capacity building activities: Achieve and maintain the required level of human resource development, effectively attain job requirements and departmental goals, and extensive programs to improve working capacities and employee expertise to promote professionalism. These support services are also provided to other media institutions to aid their capacity development.

Financial capacity: SMO is accountable to its partners and communities through periodic and annual progress and financial reports. Its activities are regularly evaluated and its finances audited.





2. Child Abuse

Global figures on child sex abuse reveals that child ill treatment and child sexual abuse is rampant, with over one million children pulled into the sex trade annually. Following are global statistics² on child abuse:

- 95% of child abusers were themselves abused as children;
- 80% of substance abusers were abused as children;
- 80% of runaways cite child abuse as a factor;
- 95% of prostitutes were sexually abused as children;
- 78% of the prison population was abused as children;
- 50% of suicide attempts were by people who reported being sexually abused at some time.

Not every child who is abused has problems of this magnitude, but abuse robs a majority of children of their ability to freely reach their full potential. Their loss is society's loss and adequate measures are needed to end the cycle of child abuse.

The Afghanistan context

Afghanistan has unfortunately less sophisticated available data on child abuse. A limited number of cases receive exposure through the media, and extremely few violators get taken to court. Most of the cases remain hidden because of threats to the victim and her/his family by the abuser. The cases that do come out in the open and where the abuser is sent to trial are also not followed up sufficiently by the justice sector. Many recorded cases show the abuser was freed from prison after a short period, through a decree from the president or other people in power.

Various reports indicate that the situation of children in Afghanistan merit high concern. Children constitute a vulnerable and risk-prone category in the country. Their place of residence,

existing cultural sensitivity, gender-based discrimination, and economic status are among the factors that give rise to, and exacerbate the children's vulnerability. The problems of children differ in urban and rural settings. In rural areas, children's lives are largely determined by customs governing the local territory. Boys have, for example, a greater educational opportunity than girls. Child marriage is another factor that hinders the access of children, girls in particular, to such basic human rights as the right to health and education. Urban areas present their own social realities. In the post-conflict scenario children in urban areas remain a vulnerable category.

In 2007, the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) conducted a research in 21 provinces of the county, the General situation of children in Afghanistan³, interviewing 2941 children; 50.7% of interviewees were girls (1490 persons) and 49.3% of interviewees were boys (1451 persons). Research shows that 11.6% of all interviewees (340 persons) are dissatisfied and discontent with how their parents treat them. 51.6% of all interviewees (208 persons) report physical violence, and 48.4% (195 persons) mental violence. A revealing fact is the fear and reluctance shown by the majority of child respondents in answering questions on this issue.

Identification documents: Possessing a national ID helps establish a child's identity, influencing the care she/he can receive from the state. The same research conducted by the AIHRC indicates that 80.2% of children (2,355 persons) lack national IDs, and merely 18.6% (545 persons) possess such identification documents.

2: http://www.woman.ch/index.php?page=educational-briefing&hl=en_US

3: http://www.aihrc.org.af/2010_eng/Eng_pages/Reports/Thematic/Rep_eng_Chi_Nov_2007_U_Apr_2008.pdf





Child abuse cases can be categorised into three major groups in Afghanistan:

Category	Type of Abuse	Abusers	Place
Sexual abuse	Force to dance Sexual abuse/Paedophilia	Family members, teachers, older students, neighbours	Home, school, shops, workplace, workshops
Child labour	Begging , Street work , Selling drugs Heavy works. Carrying illegal things across the border	Employer	Workplace
Tradition	Early marriage ,Forced marriage *Badd ⁴	Parents, husbands, family, in-laws	Home

4: Badd: In cases of murder, a jirga (tribal/ community council) recommend badd, where the conflict is resolved through direct vengeance or by marriage of a woman from the murderer's family/ tribe to the victim's close relatives.

Sexual abuse: Child abuse, especially sexual abuse, is a universal and alarming problem, requiring increased attention, efficient protection, and preventive measures at family, local and national levels.

After a long tradition of silence, child sexual abuse in Afghanistan is receiving increasing attention and condemnation, becoming a public and political topic. The findings of the same research conducted by AIHRC indicate that 59.5% of sexual abuse victims are girls and 35.1% are boys. The abusers are mainly close relatives, classmates, teachers, employers and people in power. The interviewees identified streets, alleys, homes, schools, mosques and shops etc as places where such acts are committed. 40.5% victims responded that they had been sexually abused at home. Of all the respondents, 10.8% said that shopkeepers had abused them in shops, while 2.7% reported that they had been abused in hotels. 27% victims identified their alleys and villages and 8.3% identified mountainous areas as places where sexual abuse is perpetrated. Other findings hold population increase and a decrease in moral values responsible for the situation: 51% victims said they lived in populated areas and 16% regarded immoral conduct of abusers as the reason for such a phenomenon.

The major types of the abuse are sex with a child (both girls and boys) and forcing them to dance at private parties.

Child Labour / abuse at workplace: Children who work in workshops (mechanical / automobile) and repair shops face a high degree of vulnerability. Besides the heavy physical labour in bad conditions, persistent insults and ill treatment, children often also bear violence (even sexual abuse) at the hands of the employer (or shopkeeper). This group of children also most often fail to go to school.

Early marriage: AIHRC's research indicates that at least 9.1% of all interviewees (265 persons) were married before the age of 16.

43.6% stated that they were married primarily to solve their family's economic problems,

7.1% referred to the resolution of conflicts as the reason for their premature marriage,

37% said that Badal (exchange of girls between two families for marriage) was the main reason

12.3% pointed to reasons of local traditional practices and parental decision.





Child labour: Children are subject to the worst forms of child labour, which include working on the streets, in the carpet and automotive industry, begging, and hard labour. These are shocking facts about an increasingly threatened segment of the population that is deprived of its legitimate rights but simultaneously expected to shape the future of the country. The increasing numbers of street children, children used for begging, employed in carpet-weaving workplaces, narcotics-related activities, heavy vehicle repair workshops and metal works represent the harsh realities and serious threats facing Afghanistan's future generations.

The AIHRC research reveals that a large number of children are involved in labour to support their family members. Out of 2,941 children who were surveyed, 20.6% (253) are engaged in collecting garbage and scrounging for remnants of food, and 15.7% (193 persons) worked under very cold, hot or noisy circumstances. Work hours were said to be long: 65.5% of all interviewees (775 persons) worked daily from 1 to 6 hours, 26% (307 persons) from 7 to 12 hours, and 8.5% (101 persons) over 12 hours.

Children in farms: 3.7% of the 18443 child labourers interviewed work on farms on a range of activities that include harvesting, irrigation, canal cleansing and so on. Their work requires



great physical exertion and carrying of heavy loads. The hard labour and persistent contact with soil and tools cause them backaches and skin diseases. Further, children on farms are subject to opium, which can create addiction/dependency and health issues.

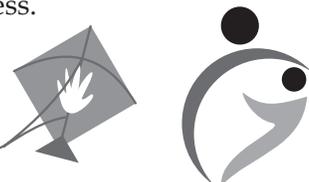
Beggar children: These can be grouped into two: those involved in it as a profession, and peddler children, who beg in order to earn enough. These children are widely seen on the streets, begging up to midnight. The important point here is that they are partly abused by adults who force them to beg, keeping a major portion of the children's earning for themselves. Abuse of children through begging, even when they are still babies, either by parents, members of the family or a third party who hire/kidnap the child, is one of the worst forms of abuse.

Justice System: The findings of AIHRC research reveal that only 29% victims have approached relevant authorities such as police and the office of prosecutor, and the rest have avoided consulting them. The reasons are many, but they include a lack of trust in the justice system, fear of consequences, lack of family permission etc.

"I did not report to the state authorities as I was afraid of being jailed." – a 14-year-old boy from Hirat.

According to the study, 35% of those who lodged complaints with the prosecutor's office expressed satisfaction with its performance. According to the victims, 24.3% perpetrators enjoy impunity only 8.1% are detained, and 27% imprisoned. In the same survey, 16.2% of the victims wished for justice and security and 10.8% recommended punishment for perpetrators, as ways to arrest sexual abuse of children.

Existing mechanisms to ensure children's rights: A number of laws, policies, procedures and regulations exist in Afghanistan on ensuring the rights of children and prevention of child abuse. They require better enforcement, along with greater public awareness.





Article 43 of the Afghan Constitution says:
'Education is the right of all citizens of Afghanistan, which shall be offered up to the B.A. level in the state educational institutes free of charge by the state. To expand balanced education as well as to provide mandatory intermediate education throughout Afghanistan, the state shall design and implement effective programs and prepare the ground for teaching mother tongues in areas where they are spoken.'
Other laws and regulations endorsed by the state are:

- o Law of investigation on children's violation
- o A law on regulating correction centres and breeding of children
- o A law on fighting human trafficking (especially of children)

Afghanistan's laws support health rights of children, prevention of child marriage, are against child labour and condemn any type of child abuse, but unfortunately difficulties remain in their implementation. The government is also committed to the 'Declaration of the Rights of the Child' drafted by the UN Commission on Human Rights and adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1959. Afghanistan is also a signatory to the International Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 1989.

3. Campaign against Child Abuse: Preparatory phase

Adhering to its mission statement and core values, SMO wished to be part of a long-term campaign against child abuse in Afghanistan. The World Day for Prevention of Child Abuse is celebrated globally on November 19th, organised by the Women's World Summit Foundation (WWSF) in Switzerland. More than 929 organisations from 135 countries were set to participate in the campaign in 2008. SMO became a member and the leading agency to organise a national campaign in Afghanistan.

3.1 Campaign goal and plan:

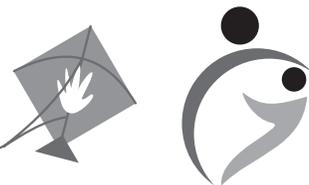
The main purpose of the campaign was to create a national culture of prevention of child abuse. This was to be done through forming a national level network to raise awareness, mobilise public opinion and action, and disseminate prevention programs. SMO drew a campaign plan over three phases: preparatory phase, campaign and action week, and follow up phase. The campaign's main activities were identified as coalition building, organising gatherings in ten provinces, awareness through media, street theatre in four big cities, reporting and follow up activities for the coming year.

3.2 Specific objective:

SMO and other like-minded organisations would take part in the global campaign on child abuse as an association of Afghan organisations. The campaign would be organised in close coordination and cooperation with the media and the Afghanistan government.

3.3 Expected campaign outcomes:

- By April 2009, sufficiently raise the issue of child abuse and call for its prevention in the media and parliament. The awareness campaign to be accompanied by calls for structural prevention and legal measures, and a more effective judicial system to punish abusers according to law.
- By April 2009, create a level of awareness on the different threats of child abuse and the importance of its systematic prevention, among communities, teachers, parents and children.
- Place sustained pressure on the justice system to punish perpetrators.
- Put in place a systematic follow up mechanism for child abuse cases. Raise awareness among authorities and communities (including children) on the importance of child abuse prevention.





3.4 Coalition building and key actors:

After long discussions with Afghan civil society including the NGO sector, the Saba media network (SMO) was able to build an alliance network for campaign. In first stage, SMO contacted AIHRC, AMMC (Afghan Management and Marketing Consultants) and member organisations of Partners in Development Network - CHA (Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance) and OHRD (Organisation of Human Resource Development). Saba TV, Radio Nawa and Gandahara were pressed into service in the initial stages of planning. NGOs working for children were then screened and contacted, and a number of organisations joined the coalition. Some of these were ASCHIANA (Afghanistan's Children - A New Approach), GCCF (Ghaznain Cultural Civil Foundation), WCLRF (Women and Children Legal Research Foundation), War Child Holland and AHRO (Afghanistan Human Rights Organisation). Media partners included several TV channels, local radio stations, newspapers and publications. Oxfam Novib provided a grant and Kam Air sponsored a part of the campaign and thus financially secured the process. The coalition of organisations on the issue was to continue to operate beyond the 'action week', to ensure a long term, sustainable effort.

3.5 Division of responsibilities:

Members were divided into three subcommittees: operation and mobilisation group, media and communication group and fundraising group, with their individual list of duties and tasks.

3.6 Awareness program:

Members were responsible for conducting the child abuse prevention campaign in all 34 provinces of Afghanistan. SMO planned to organise gatherings in provinces, inviting around a hundred people to each gathering. Media was to be utilised to influence people's minds—radio and TV channels, print media including promotional material (posters, flyers,

flex boards and banners), magazines and newspapers, street theatre and a national conference in Kabul were the planned activities of the campaign.

3.7 Provincial gatherings were organised in twelve provinces of Afghanistan and a specific partner organisation held a leading role in its target province(s). Partner organisations built their own coalitions at the provincial level through mobilising NGOs, civil society organisations and the media.

3.8 Key actors challenged and awareness on campaign:

The campaign was designed and aimed to put pressure on the government, parliament, human rights activists and policy/decision makers to focus on children. People, communities and various state and non-state actors were mobilised through broadcasting awareness messages on media, and promotional material distributed in target provinces, along with invitations to gatherings in the provinces and Kabul.

3.9 Campaign demands:

Organising a national campaign was the first step towards the prevention of child abuse in Afghanistan. Its aim was to bring to the fore the voices of affected Afghan children and raise awareness programs on child rights.





These programs were produced and broadcast to create awareness in communities, and to encourage the government, businessmen and rich people to support children in need.

The following were the campaign's main demands:

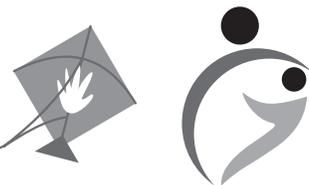
- To place pressure on policy/decision makers including the Afghan government and parliament, human and child rights organisations, the donor community, NGOs etc to focus attention on child rights and provide protection to vulnerable children;
- To encourage local businesses to support poor families faced with poverty and inability to send their children to school;
- Raise awareness among families and communities on the ill effects of early and forced marriage, child labour and child addiction, and spread awareness on child abuse;
- To highlight the plight of children who suffer varied forms of abuse, and of disabled and orphaned children;
- To highlight the situation of children in prisons who are placed in a precarious position of being imprisoned along with their accused parents;
- To call for an end to abuse of children by traffickers, suicide bombers, beggar groups, mafia and others;
- To provide support and protection to children who are alone and suffer deprivation;
- To call for provision of psychosocial rehabilitation of war-affected children.

4. Campaign against child abuse: Second Phase: Campaign & Action Week

The campaign's Action Week was fixed for the 13th to 19th November 2008. The media ran an intense campaign of awareness at this time on the issue of child abuse.

- The campaign coalition was formed in October 2008, and by November 10th print promotional materials with messages in Pashto and Dari were ready.
- By the 5th, a total of 4 radio and TV messages were ready, along with several street plays.
- The list of invitees was prepared, and venues of (provincial and national) gatherings identified and booked by 10th November.
- A documentary film on child abuse was produced in October 2008, to be shown in the gatherings.
- All of this material was utilised in the Action week between the 13th and 19th November.
- Street plays were organised on 17th November in Kabul, on 18th November in Jalalabad and Mazar-e-Sharif and on the 19th in Hirat, and they were appreciated highly by the people. The storyline of the street plays revolved around kidnapping of school and street children by bands of drug traffickers, touching on the issue of drug addiction among children.
- Promotional materials and publications were distributed in 34 provinces by November 13th 2008⁵.
- A National conference in Kabul and provincial gatherings were organised on November 19th 2008, during which awareness material and publications were distributed.
- Radio and TV messages and programs on child abuse prevention were regularly broadcast during the action week.
- The media provided full coverage of the different provincial gatherings on November 19th.

5: Each partner organization received a package of promotional material and undertook its distribution in their target area. Awareness folders, consisting of agenda, profile of main partners, publications and flyer were distributed among participants at the national conference in Kabul. Posters were pasted in crowded area of Kabul and provinces, flyers and publications were distributed among common people and participants of conference and provincial gatherings. For each gathering, a number of banners were designed and used.





5. Messages or slogans used in the campaign:

The following slogans were used in print materials and audio-visual media:

- “Children must not be preyed upon for forced sexual relations, which are illegal.”
- “Children must not be beaten, they must not be treated inhumanly or insulted.”
- “The government must support and protect children from any maltreatment, sexual abuse, mental and physical abuse, through efforts of administration, social law and training.”
- “Child is not an instrument to be abused; he/she is a human being.”

6. Statements by prominent people in support of the campaign:

The head of Afghan parliament’s publications and media affairs read the message of Mr. Yunus Qanuni, head of the Afghan parliament, expressing the parliament’s support to the campaign on prevention of child abuse. He promised to make efforts to mitigate the problems of children.

Mr. Abdul Qadir Adalat Khwah, deputy minister of justice stated: ‘A number of laws are available and they will accelerate ratification of other required laws on the issue.’

Mrs. Fawzia Kofi, parliamentarian, promised to raise the issue in parliament. She said she would raise the issue, stressing on proper implementation of existing laws on child abuse prevention, bringing required changes to these laws, and preparing new laws and regulations, if needed.

Mr. Farid Hamidi from the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) and Mr. Wasil Mohmand, deputy minister of labour and social affairs also gave speeches at the National conference pledging their support and commitment to the campaign.

7. Results of the campaign

The campaign had a good impact on the community and authorities:

- A documentary film on a brick maker girl shown to gatherings during Action Week raised a lot of awareness. The presidential office supported the girl’s family with a financial assistance of 30,000 Afs. She was also supported by the director of Mirwais Private Company, through a monthly assistance of 5000 Afs to her family. Her father was encouraged to let the girl attend school. SMO gifted the girl clothes for the Eid holidays.
- Saba TV children’s program, Ako Bako received the support of parliament, ministries and banks.
- The Pashtani bank in Afghanistan provided financial support to 30 street working children for a period of three months. This would give the children a start in their attempts toward a better life.
- SMO received a letter of appreciation from parliament. *‘The 19th of November is celebrated as Child Abuse Prevention Day in over 140 countries by civil society organisations all over the world. Afghanistan’s children have faced abuse and maltreatment for years due to the war and insecurity, and have carried the heavy burden of brutality and inequality. This situation unfortunately, continues to persist. Parliament will take legal action towards improving children’s rights in Afghanistan, and thanks and appreciates the organisers of this important day in Afghanistan. The parliament wishes to tackle child abuse in Afghanistan under Islamic law and wishes for peace and brotherhood in society.’*
- The two legislations, ‘law on correction centres and breeding of children’ and ‘regulation on managing activities of correction centres and breeding of children’ were endorsed in January and February 2009 respectively. The campaign had a major contribution to bringing about these laws.





8. Future Plans and Sustainability of Action

The following strategies were drawn up to take the movement on the issue further:

- Recording cases of child abuse in Afghanistan and following them up with the government;
- Sharing a copy of the cases and findings with justice organisations, parliament, human rights organisations, media and related government departments;
- Establishing an investigation group to identify child abuse cases. Using these investigation reports and findings in the production of documentaries, TV reportage and radio programs to raise awareness on the issue. Broadcast of these programs and making the investigative findings public by placing them on the SMO website;
- Production and dissemination of the campaign documentary film;
- Writing and dissemination of the campaign report;
- Continue to work with partners and stakeholders to reveal the child abuse cases making them public by use of broadcast media, uploading the findings in the website and ensure the sustainability of campaign for coming years;

Coordinated advocacy: the media will closely monitor promises made by decision makers. The promises that will not be kept will be highlighted to the public.

9. Main challenges and solutions applied

Security: Campaign meetings critically and jointly reviewed the security situation of target provinces. After long deliberations and gauging the level of risk, the provinces marked as unsafe were excluded from the list of campaign target provinces. Lists were compiled with only those provinces that had a fair amount of security.

Threat of insurgent groups: Insurgent groups challenged to block campaign promotional materials from reaching target provinces, especially in Kandahar and Uruzgan provinces. Campaigners were able to circumvent this hurdle through building relationships with local communities, and garnering the support of transport companies.

Difficulties of building a coalition: Building a coalition of partner organisations for a social cause is a complicated task, especially in the Afghan context where volunteerism is not established. The difficulties lay also at the level of financial contribution by different partners for the campaign, which was not easily forthcoming. SMO as campaign leader was able to go past these problems and build a strong coalition for a national campaign due to its past experience of campaigns.

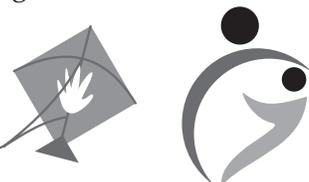
10. Lessons learnt

Coalition building abilities developed further during this campaign. Campaigners were able to bring together a large number of CSOs and create a synergy towards achieving objectives.

Partners learnt about the possibilities of joint work by diverse groups and individuals, through building synergy among themselves and others who showed interest in the campaign. Civil society organisations and groups in Afghanistan benefited from capacity development for volunteer action. This trained them to come together more efficiently to address critical social issues, and would help in any future social campaigns.

The issue of high security risk was tackled by prior and regular contact with security organisations and community support.

Countrywide coverage of such a campaign is not easy but it was achieved here with mobilising local radios and building a broadcast network.





11. Effective campaign strategies

Awareness creation proved to be a highly effective strategy in the campaign. Presence of media, CSO and other partner organisations helped create widespread awareness and information on the issue, a pre-requisite for citizens to enjoy basic rights. This has not been possible in the past from a lack of access to information and education, behavioural /traditional barriers, absence of human and child rights organisations, lack of supportive laws and groups, poor socio-economic conditions and internal conflict.

The information and awareness campaign was conducted primarily through the media, using different means like TV, radio and print media. Radio and TV has proved to be one of the most effective means of coverage to reaching large numbers of people. This is especially relevant in a climate of security risk where organising large gatherings of people is difficult, especially women. TV and Radio can enter every household without any kind of barrier, and thus women and children in particular could be addressed.

Raising awareness on child rights and prevention of child abuse, with particular emphasis on doing so from an Islamic perspective was an effective strategy here. It could be an effective way to usher further positive change in the community, as awareness will pave the way for practical action in favour of children in the future. To bring about a deeper behavioural change (in abusers and society), continued nationwide awareness is called for, along with preventive measures and assistance/training to activists and community members who are leaders, teachers etc. to demand for the rights of children.

The story of an Afghan child, Delshadak

Children are widely deprived of their basic rights and a large number of families encourage and even force their children towards hard and dangerous work/labour. The children are therefore deprived of an education and the chance to develop their personalities. Omid (Hope) is a special program of Saba TV, researching the life conditions of these vulnerable children who are exposed to the harshest circumstances in isolated sections of society. The program follows and spends time with these young boys and girls for days and weeks to learn more about what their daily lives and hardships they undergo. Their lives are documented and their heart-rending stories aired once a week on Saturday nights. The program has contributed to creating considerable viewer awareness on the plight of children.

Delshadak is one such girl child featured on the Omid program, and this is her story:

Working in the Oil houses⁶ is an easy means to earn some money for poor children, and several children work on them to support their families. They clean oil barrels and collect the discarded oil to sell. Saba TV identified Delshadak and her sister for the program, to present problems of Afghan children through their lives. Delshadak lost her father in the war, and has no male supporter in the family. At first, she was afraid to face the camera and speak of herself but slowly opened up. Like other children, she too went to the oil houses to work. She says, 'If I can collect more oil, I can earn about 100 to 150 Afghani per day. This is the only means I have of supporting my family'. Delshadak and other child workers like her use a long piece of wood, to which is attached a piece of sponge to extract oil from barrels. The wood is inserted down the barrel for the sponge to absorb any oil, which is then squeezed into a bucket. She works to collect the last drop of remaining oil at bottom of the barrel, till it is completely clean.

Delshadak says, "I love going to school and learn lessons, but there is no one to support our family". Delshadak and her sister, together with about 20 other children work to support their families in the oil house. Children come here from far off locations. They have been working here for 3 years. The buckets have to be full of oil, or no one will buy it off them. Delshadak and her sister Fazila's hands are coated with the dirty oil. They do not like other children to see their hands and feel humiliated. The sisters spoke on camera in an interview about their lives. The program was aired. It showed the daily life of the two sisters working to support their family and school being a distant dream. After the interview, the sisters returned to the Oil House, as the day's work was not yet done.

6: Petroleum storage houses





The program had a direct impact on Delshadak's life. SMO helped her with training and she quit the oil house work. She now goes to school and is receiving training to become a producer of children's programs on the channel. Her life has thus changed, and interventions like that of the channel are required urgently to help children get out of their desperate situations.

Delshadak says: "The Omid program has brought a big change to my life and gave my life a new shape. The biggest change is that I am able to go to school now, which was my long cherished dream."

While individual intervention helped the child in this case, there are scores of children all over the country in urgent need of help by government and childcare agencies. Structural change has to be ushered into the situation through better awareness among people a better and deeper investment in education.

Visit SMO's website www.sabacent.org for the further campaign information, images, studies and figures.

12. Conclusion:

This campaign in Afghanistan addresses a difficult issue of child abuse, to which are attached strong social taboos in a country ravaged by conflict and war. The concerted efforts brought attention to the issue and forced the government and common people to take responsibility for the lives and future of the country's children.

The campaign was well planned. It focused on spreading as much awareness as possible on the issue in the remote corners of the country that faced a lack of amenities, education and safety. They recognised the value of media and made very effective use of TV and radio in creating awareness among a largely illiterate population, where the access to any information is low.

Campaigners worked on bringing together partner groups involved in different areas including childcare, civil society and government representatives. Their focus remained creating awareness and pushing for laws to combat child abuse and ensure child

rights. To this extent, the campaign was considerably successful, with the Afghanistan parliament strengthening some existing laws and passing new ones to protect children. An effective strategy was roping in the support of the government; this helped in widening the exposure to child abuse prevention program and ensured a speedy passing of laws.

An important aspect prior to the awareness campaign was the research and data collection on child abuse in the country. The data on the nature of the abuse, the various forms it took, the kind of children most vulnerable to them and the analysis where the abuse takes place are all revealing. The fact that mosques are also such sites of abuse reveal what a tough battle the country faces in fighting child abuse, where children have no protection even in places of worship.

Great changes and empowerment for the people is hoped as the government is a signatory to several UN treaties on child rights, and the campaigners plan to continue their efforts till all children are protected, their rights ensured, and perpetrators punished.

Author: Abdul Sami Zhman

designation: Project Unit Manager

name of organization: Saba Media Organization (SMO)

House# 269, 4th Street

Sector 6, Kart-e-seh, Pul-e-Surkh

Kabul Afghanistan

P.O.Box: 475 Kabul

Phone: +93 (0) 75 20 23 756

Fax: +93 (0) 75 20 23 757

Email: Saba@sabacent.org

Web site: www.sabacent.org





Case study from India

'Company sarkar' again: Raigad farmers' struggle for survival against SEZ - Special Economic Zone

This is a farmers' campaign against setting up an industrial Special Economic Zone in Raigad district, Maharashtra, India. The campaign utilised participatory and democratic means of protest. Affected villagers comprising farmers, fishermen and agriculture-dependent workers refused to part with their land. The campaign is marked with a good understanding of issues on part of activists and farmers, presence and solidarity of other activist, political groups, and civil society, and creative strategies. The farmers rejected the project through a public referendum and drew public attention to the unjust model of development adopted by the state. The farmers' campaign gained victory over a mighty, state-supported corporate entity through non-violent and democratic means and holds many lessons for similar struggles.





1. Introduction

Maha Mumbai Special Economic Zone

In April 2005, the state government of Maharashtra issued its first notice for acquiring land in the state towards establishing a Special Economic Zone (SEZ), known as the Maha Mumbai SEZ (MMSEZ), to be developed by Reliance Industries. The MMSEZ was to come up in Raigad, a district merely 30 kms south of Mumbai city by road and 14 km by sea.

The total area to be acquired for this project was 35000 acres of land, covering 45 villages of the Raigad district, 24 villages from Pen block, one from Panvel block and 20 villages from Uran block. According to the 2001 census, the total population of these villages was 70,965: the number directly affected by the project. Nearly all are marginal farmers with average landholdings of no more than 2.5 acres, and a sizeable number own less than an acre. Another five lakh would be indirectly affected. These are mostly local artisans, unrecorded tenants, agricultural labourers and those involved in cottage industries. A sizeable majority of those facing indirect effects of the project would be the adivasis of the area, i.e., tribal populations, which depend on the neighbouring land for their livelihood. Of particular note is the Kathkari tribe, a primitive adivasi tribe surviving on a subsistence economy, whose very survival would be at stake with the loss of fertile lands to the project.

1.1 Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in India

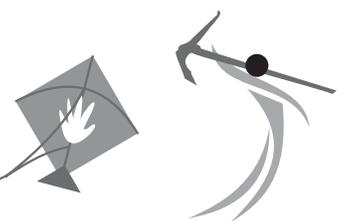
In the 1990s, India's political and economic scenario underwent a change, with the idea taking root that the path to national development was through liberalization, and opening up of the markets. Prior to this, there existed mostly state-owned and public sector industries, and the private sector operated with government



permits under what was known as the 'Licence-Raj'. The entry of foreign companies into Indian markets was severely restricted.

The new concept proposed that if money came into the hands of a certain class of people: industrialists and capitalists, then the GDP would rise (under the trickle down theory of growth) and the nation would develop. This idea was brought into force by an emphatic change of policy, under which export and foreign direct investment (FDI) were encouraged and aggressively promoted. Policies and legal provisions meant to safeguard public interest and the environment, such as the urban land ceiling act, coastal regulation zone, impact assessment of big projects, environment policies etc were amended to benefit the needs of the industrialist investors and businessmen. Many of the companies invited to invest in the country were multinational corporations, as the government wooed FDI under its liberalised markets policy.

The policy on SEZ was the result of this new economic thinking of liberalization and globalisation since 1990. A policy on SEZ was





Provisions of the SEZ Act

- Under the SEZ Act, between 10 to 1000 hectares of land can be acquired, depending on the type of SEZ being set up. A minimum of 25% of the acquired land, later raised to 50%, needs to be utilized for setting up industrial units; the rest can be utilised as the investor pleases.
- Investor is exempted from paying income tax on export for 15 years. 100% unconditional Foreign Direct Investment allowed.
- Labour laws are not applicable in an SEZ. Any enquiry into the implementation of labour laws would be subject to obtaining prior permission from the development commissioner. Child Labour Act of 1986, Equal Remuneration Act of 1976, Migration of Workers Act of 1979, Minimum Wages Act of 1948, Motor Transport Act of 1961, Payment of Bonus Act 1965, Gratuity Act 1972, Payment of Wages Act 1936, are all not binding in an SEZ.
- There is no requirement of an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). Polluting industries are exempted from taking relevant permissions.

Sops to investors

The SEZ Act was enacted specifically to boost export by giving huge tax exemptions and subsidies to investors. The sops included:

- A hundred percent tax exemption for the first five years and 50% exemption for five years thereafter
- Exemption from service tax
- Re-investment allowed up to 50% of the profits
- Physical export benefit to DTA (Domestic Tariff Area) for goods supplied to SEZ units
- 100% direct foreign investment allowed. No cap on foreign investment for small-scale industries (SSI) to manufacture reserved items such as food, wood, paper, chemicals etc.

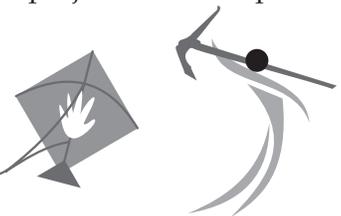
announced in 2000 by the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government. However, the SEZ Act was passed in 2005 by the next government, the Congress led United Progressive Alliance (UPA). In 2006, rules were framed and execution began.

As a result of this policy, the former features of decentralized production, promotion of technology and resources, the public sector, equity and equitable growth, and reservations were all pushed lower down the state's agenda. Labour laws were amended to benefit investors and severe restrictions put on protest marches and strikes by the labour force. This period began to see displacement of people affected by big and small development projects.

1.2 Why Raigad – the MMSEZ earmarked area

The area under acquisition for MMSEZ is close to the seacoast and is saline land (known locally as 'kharland'). Famous as the rice bowl of Maharashtra, Raigad district produces three times the rice as the rest of the state. The other dominant occupation is fishing, carried out in the post-monsoon months in the Arabian Sea, the Dharamtar creek, in the mangroves and farm ponds. In addition, the area has a number of saltpans, where agriculture related occupations are carried out. The people in the project-marked area are thus dependent on the land and sea for their livelihood.

Ten km east of the project area lies the recently completed Hetawane dam built to irrigate 56 villages in Pen block. Under construction for over 25 years 75% of the irrigation canal is complete. Just as villagers prepared to receive the long awaited irrigation water, 22 of these villages comprising 3418 hectares, were declared marked for MMSEZ acquisition. The state government ordered the compulsory acquisition of land by law by declaring the project was 'in public interest'.





When the construction of the dam commenced the villagers of Nanegaon, Wakrul, Hetawane, Paned and Dhamni willingly surrendered their land in the interests of the 56 villages receiving irrigation water. The Konkan Agriculture University at Dapoli states in its report what report and which year? that irrigation from the dam would permit the growing of pulses, turmeric, coconut, horticulture and even sugarcane. With the growing acquisition of lands for SEZs, the policy and priority for water distribution began to change. The earlier priority for water use of 'drinking, irrigation and industry', now became 'drinking, industry and irrigation'.

1.3 Demography of the area:

Literacy is high in the SEZ project-affected areas, compared to other parts of Maharashtra. Pen block has a literacy percentage of 69.82%, Uran, 67.85% and Panvel 63.03 %. One member of nearly all affected families is employed as a teacher or industrial worker in Mumbai city. Of the total persons affected, 90.38 % persons fall under the category of Other Backward Castes or OBC. The OBCs, otherwise known as Agris in the district, have a historical legacy of participating in various land movements. Aware of their rights to their land, they are no strangers to struggle.

The Peasants and Workers Party (PWP) was born out of the historical struggle of peasants against feudal landlords in this district Raigad (previous known as 'Kulaba') With its Marx-inspired leftist ideology, PWP has a dominating presence among all parties in the region. It was the first party to pass a resolution in their general body against the proposed MMSEZ.

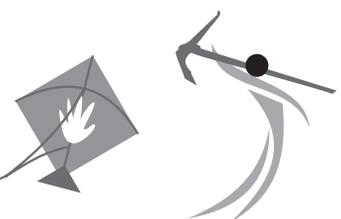
1.4 Concept of SEZ not new

The concept of SEZ is not new to India. Known earlier as the EPZ or Export Processing Zone created to promote exports through tax exemptions, it was first introduced in Kandla, Gujarat in 1965. The Comptroller and Auditor

General of India's (CAG) 1998 report made a list of the extent of tax exemptions given to the corporate sector under EPZ. According to it, the EPZ had contributed a low 2.9 percent addition to the average annual growth rate after receiving huge tax exemptions. In 1998, the CAG stated that customs duty amounting to Rs 7500 crore had been foregone (through tax exemption to exports) to achieve a net foreign exchange earning of Rs 4700 crore: a glaring loss.[See table at end] Clearly, no cost benefit analysis had been conducted prior to approving the project. The beneficiary ended up being the corporate sector, which enjoyed tax benefits but did not bring any noteworthy foreign exchange into the country.

1.5 History of Land Acquisition in India

The origins of the land acquisition act can be traced to 1800s, when British colonial powers codified into law their earlier undisguised forcible seizure of land. In 1870, rules were defined to determine compensation for the land acquired based on market value. Under these, the authorities introduced a 'solarium' (additional compensation over market value in view of the voluntary nature of parting with the land) and granted the right of appeal to a civil court in case of dispute. The law took final shape in the form of the 'Land Acquisition Act' in 1894, and has remained almost completely unchanged till date. Post independence, no significant changes were made to the law. In 1962, an amendment allowed land to be acquired for a company starting an industry, or for a public purpose. Another amendment in 1984 granted minor relief to the landowner in the form of improved solariums. The contentious issue that remained concerned defining the term 'public purpose'.





1.6 History of land acquisition in Raigad

Land acquisition in Raigad has had a background of struggle and displacement of local people. Farmers from Navi Mumbai in Raigad faced a similar situation in the past when they lost their land to CIDCO (City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra Ltd, a body responsible for setting up new urban areas) in a bitter struggle for better terms and compensation in 1984. Several lives were lost in police firing on protestors. Only after the protest and loss of lives did the government respond with an offer of a good compensation amount and 12.5% of developed land back to project affected persons (PAPs).

Farmers waited for 25 long years to get the developed land. Those who received compensation found the amount soon exhausted and were forced to seek work. Many of them work today as rickshaw drivers and watchmen in the city, and their wives as domestic helps. Those farmers earmarked to receive developed plots, face in turn a chain of land agents and builders who cheat them through disadvantageous deals even before the plot is received. The memory of that struggle lives on in the minds of the farmers. They are, therefore, disinclined to give their land for another development project. The issue is hotly debated and claims about benefits from the project to farmers who lose their land are contested.

2. Campaign story of Raigad farmer's struggle against the project

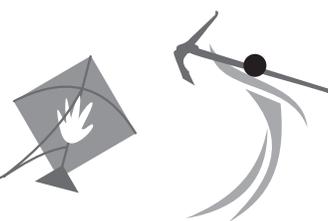
2.1 Land acquisition notice

In April 2005, the state government issued notices in Raigad newspapers for acquisition of land. It, announced its intention to acquire land to set up an SEZ. The notices led to a debate on the SEZ by farmers, media and businessman.

Farmer protest: More than 80% of Raigad's farmers hold small and marginal lands and unrecorded tenants are the most vulnerable. In June 2005, the farmers in a spontaneous reaction organised a protest march in Pen to demand (the promised) irrigation water from the Hetawane dam. A 5000 strong farmers group questioned the government's Land Acquisition Officer on reasons given by the government for taking over their land. A strong police force prevented them from entering the office. As the crowd grew aggressive and began pushing the closed doors of the office, police dispersed the crowd through lathi charge and teargas. Farmer activists, along with more than 32 agitators were booked under non-bailable offences.. Sixteen agitators that included three women were held in jail for nineteen days. Around this time NCAS organised a consultation on the SEZ Act. Eminent social activists, scientists and lawyers were invited to analyse and discuss the Act, in which farmer representatives from Pen Block participated.

2.2 Awareness campaign among farmers

The government's land acquisition for MMSEZ was viewed in the context of the district's historical struggle to retain its right to land. Key farmer leaders saw their struggle as a second freedom struggle. This was the first time that the state was acquiring a huge tract of land for the private sector. Farmers and activists recognised and realised that the project would appropriate their natural resources, especially land and water, destroy their traditional livelihoods; and most importantly would benefit not the people but Reliance industries alone. The leaders became resolute in not wanting to part with their land and natural resources. The farmer leaders and anti-SEZ activists from different groups explained the SEZ Act and its implications to farmers:





1. Only half the acquired land would be utilized for industrial purposes (ostensible reason behind declaring the area an SEZ). The rest would be used to build golf clubs, holiday homes, hotels and other recreational facilities.
2. The SEZ area would be treated as a foreign territory to villagers. Villagers would have to produce identity cards in the manner of passports to enter their own villages.
3. The Gram Panchayats, the local village level self-government would no longer have any rights over the village's natural resources.
4. No impact assessment of how the project would affect the local environment – physical and socio-economic – would be done.
5. The SEZ area would be exempt from all labour laws.

Further, farmers learnt about the effects of the SEZ policy on the agriculture sector. The agricultural sector, mainstay of 65% of the country's population, faced unwelcome changes. These included reduction in subsidies and introduction of 'contract farming', which would take farming out of the hands of farmers and give them to business interests.

Additionally with only half the acquired land to be used for industry and the rest for luxury residences and recreational facilities this would benefit the builder lobby. The company would only incur a one-time cost of acquiring land, recoverable through the tax exemptions, subsidies and other sops handed out by the state. The evident emphasis of the state was on promoting and developing industry and urbanisation at great detriment to agriculture.

2.3 Deepening of farmers' understanding of the issues at play and their mobilisation

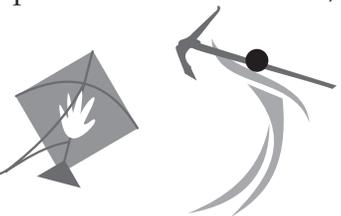
In the ensuing discussions, farmers naturally wondered why the government was adamant about acquiring fertile land (with the possibility of a second crop) to set up industries, when the district contained huge patches of MIDC land

(Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation, set up to implement and oversee industrialisation projects in the state. <http://www.midcindia.org/>.) Raigad district was declared a Chemical Zone as scores of factories came up thanks to the subsidies offered. At the end of the subsidies period, industrial units were either shut down or shifted to other areas where new subsidies were available. Large numbers of workers lost their jobs and were left unemployed from the closing down of these factories but inexplicably, these MIDC areas were not chosen for SEZ.

Farmers realised that the real reason behind the choice of Raigad for the project was because it was prime land. Being very close to Mumbai and well connected by land, water and air, the area was highly coveted. Infrastructure existed already and the resources of the people, land and water could be exploited for huge profits. One of the important objectives of an SEZ is to create infrastructure in places where none exist, thereby bringing benefits to undeveloped areas. But almost all the sanctioned SEZs in the state are in prime areas where infrastructure is already available. A provision in the SEZ act states says that a developer could alternately take the land on lease for 20 years. In the case of MMSEZ, the developer Mukesh Ambani wanted full ownership by any means and to acquire the land forcefully with state support. This was clearly a land scam in the name of development, where the government spoke for industry, at the cost of ordinary people.

2.4 Attempts by the company to thwart the anti-SEZ campaign

Soon, a small band of knowledgeable, dedicated and active farmers came together on the issue recognising the need for collective action. A tribal group, the Sarvahara Jan Andolan performed a street play on the issue in all the project-area villages. The play would be followed by discussions on the proposed SEZ. At this time,





land agents appointed by Ambani's Reliance company began issuing threats to the activists, asking them to discontinue the campaign. The activists learnt that a number of unemployed youth, village level government representatives and key members in some villages were in the pay of the company. They opposed the anti-SEZ campaign and spread misinformation about it.

Campaign response to these attempts: Activists from the organisation Ankur approached local village youth. They were able to convince a majority of them about the causes for their campaign. Doubts in particular about the project's promised generation of jobs for the locals were clarified. As the campaign progressed, they moved from village to village explaining the SEZ Act. Soon the demand for the project's cancellation gained momentum. This demand brought the campaigners in clash with the villagers interested in bargaining with the company and seeking increased prices for their land. Campaigners continued to build and expand their support in the villages even as they faced intimidation and attempts to stop the campaign.



2.5 Formation of different resistance groups against the project

SEZ was a national issue and soon several trade unions, NGOs, people's organizations, political parties and forums began joining hands with the movement. The participation of varied groups led to some confusion and lack of coordination in the beginning. At the block level, NGOs and activists formed a forum Jagtikkaran Virodhi Kruti Samithi (JVKS) (Forum against Globalization). Representatives of no political party other than the PWP found space in this forum. This soon became a forum of left oriented groups, and other organizations, trade unions, left and secular political parties.

Later, different political parties came together and formed the Chauvis Gaon SEZ Virodhi Shetkari Sangarsh Samithi (the 42 villages coalition against the SEZ project) or the CGSVSSS under the leadership of Mr Subhash Mhatre, a project affected person and ex-executive officer of the state's revenue department. Representatives from the political parties of Shiv Sena, Congress and NCP were included in this committee along with PWP. Some visibility and space was provided to the parties but a joint presence of diverse positions helped rein in individuals and political groups from executing their own hidden agendas. Activists engaged in awareness building, educating and organising were invited by the CGSVSSS to be their advisors such as Dhairashil Patil, PWP youth leader and current Member of Legislative Assembly, Ulka Mahajan, Vaishali Patil, Surekha Dalvi, and Arun Shivkar.

A similar forum to oppose the project, the Maha Mumbai SEZ Virodhi Sangarsh Samithi (MMSVSS) was also formed at the district level by a lawyers group, under the leadership of former opposition leader in the assembly, Advocate Datta Patil. The other members of the forum were P.B. Sawant, former chief justice of





the (Former justice of supreme court) Bombay High Court, B.G. Kolse Patil former judge of Bombay High Court and senior social activist Vilas Sonawane. This group which is active in the Uran and Panvel blocks, filed a PIL and Ambani was disallowed extension of time limit towards acquiring land.

2.6 Parallel developments: the Nandigram people's struggle

Around the same time, a people's struggle against Tata Company's proposed car plant was on in Nandigram in Bengal where anti-SEZ campaigners witnessed the crushing of people's opposition by the state. Feeling a deep sense of solidarity with the people in Nandigram, a core group, consisting of advisors and leaders decided to reach out to them and work towards uniting all forces against SEZ at the national level. It was decided to affiliate with JVKS and challenge MMSEZ under the leadership of JVKS founder ND Patil.

2.7 Protest march to Mumbai and Chief minister's declaration

PWP had an unambiguous stand against the SEZ, and organised a massive protest march to the Commissioner office at Konkan Bhuvan, Navi Mumbai to address compulsory land acquisition by the government. On July 27 2007 more than 30,000 farmers walked in protest against the forceful land acquisition by the government. They were joined by the left parties, Shiv Sena and Bharatiya Janata Party. The Shiv Sena and BJP appeared to have joined because they did not wish to be seen as going against the common mood and perhaps had less to do with any actual opposition to the MMSEZ project.

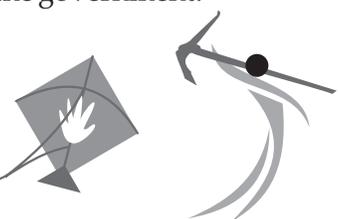
The response to the march was positive, and the state Chief Minister made a declaration that no land would be forcefully acquired against the wishes of the people. Encouraged, the protest leaders decided to continue the resistance in a non-violent and democratic manner. However, despite the Chief Minister's assurance, the land acquisition process continued in the absence of any written official order or notification.



2.8 Oral submissions of objections to project

Farmers were required to present their formal objections to the land acquisition notices. The activists realised that presenting written objections to notices would take a lot of work and time, owing to the number of farmers who had to file their objections. Lawyer friends of the campaigners explored new ways to protest within the framework of the Land Acquisition Act. In a unique move and as permitted by the Act, it was unanimously decided that each farmer would make a detailed oral submission of his objection to the notice instead of a written one. As expected, the oral submission of each farmer stating his reasons for not parting with his land took time, and the Deputy Collector for land acquisition was able to hear only a few cases a day. The entire process of hearing all the farmers would take almost a year.

This act of the farmers angered the government officers who wanted the objections in writing to save time. Activists pointed out that each farmer had a legal right under the Land Acquisition Act to make his oral submission. The Land Acquisition Office of the government had officially received a few crore rupees as cost for acquiring land for Reliance industries. The government officers, police officers and related revenue officers concerned had been gifted with amounts matching their salaries as incentive to work on acquiring land for the company. (Officially big amount as salaries for aquisition for SEZ was transferred to revenue dept.) It was no surprise then that the government bureaucracy behaved more as an employee of the company rather than officers of the government.





The Chief Minister's verbal assurance to farmers that the government would not acquire land forcefully was a mere tactic to buy time for the company. This state of affairs had already caused unrest and anger among the general public in the district. Farmers turned their anger into a legal protest by queuing up in front of the land acquisition office asking if they did not have a legal right to make an oral submission against land acquisition? Farmers began turning up in large numbers everyday to form long queues in front of the Land Acquisition Office. The media electronic media covered the sensational news at length. Taking the protest further, farmers and activists locked up the Office. The act of filing objections turned into a protest.

2.9 Demand for an S'A'Z: Special Agricultural Zone

Meanwhile, the company tried to break up the farmers' unity by offering attractive compensation packages. Some farmers began considering the offer. As an appropriate counter-move, activists demanded a 'SAZ' or Special Agricultural Zone to promote agriculture. In such a zone, increased irrigation could be used to develop horticulture, and fishing augmented and exported. Tax exemption as offered to corporate houses could be similarly given to the farmers. The revolutionary idea was to ask for a similar concessions to the farmer so he could export his produce too.

It was noted that a not a single SEZ project had been proposed in the Vidharba area of Maharashtra, which had witnessed the highest number of farmer suicides. SEZs were coming up only around metropolitan cities that had the necessary infrastructure support. This demand for SAZ as a legitimate alternative appealed to both farmers and the middle class from where? The middle class tends to support 'development' with the belief that 'someone' has to be sacrificed for greater good, insensitive to the fact that it is always the poor. Some activist leaders even

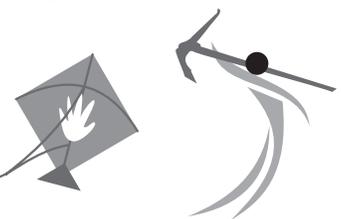
began the process of registering a 'Farmers Company'. The idea did not materialise. However, the mere fact that farmers came up with an alternate development model was a positive and rare step. It was widely discussed in the media. The publicity gave a boost to the local farmer leadership.

2.10 Land acquisitions continue amid farmers' disillusionment

The process of land acquisition continued. The activists grew restless, raising doubts if their efforts were having any effect. Reliance appointed a large number of land agents who began offering huge commissions to local land agents for private sale of land to Reliance. The land agents picked on the bankrupt, helpless and needy farmers. The farmer was left with no choice. He could not sell his land in the open market due to the restrictions placed on the sale of land by the District Collector. Trapped by the company and the government, the farmer could only sell his land to Ambani.. Addressing a public rally at Pen against SEZ, social activist Medha Patkar asked the farmers, 'Is this a people's government or company's government?' The farmers answered spontaneously, 'This is company's sarkar (government)'. The response was a reflection of their disillusionment with the supposedly representative and democratically elected government.

2.11 Chain fasts in Pen block and establishment of local leadership

The activists decided to continue their protest until the government stopped acquiring land. In order to galvanize the villagers and exert pressure on the state government it was decided build village level organizations. It was further planned that villages would take part in 'chain fasts'. Each village fasted for a day, followed by another village the next day. This went on for an





entire month in Pen block. The responsibility of organising, motivating and guiding farmers was with the local village bodies. Guidelines as to who would go on fast, how many members of a family could take part, travel expenses etc were worked out by the village committee to the minute details. Each village began its fast at 9.30 in the morning and ended it at 5.30 in the evening.

This campaign saw the maturing of grassroots leadership responsible for organising planning activities and leading the village. It was important to build their capacities. They needed to understand the Act and all its implications so as inform villagers on the issue and create awareness about it.

At the fasting site, local artists and poets kept spirits up through awareness songs, slogans, and skits, using folk traditions. People from other villages and the general public attended, and offered support and solidarity. Each of the 24 villages in Pen block had at least one retired teacher in the village committee. With high literacy levels in general, making posters, banners and filing objections was done by the villagers themselves.



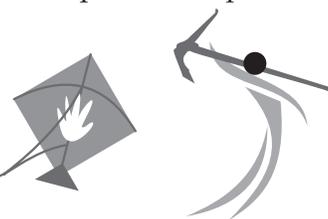
2.12 Building pressure through a sustained campaign

This wide and sympathetic support from the general public to the cause of the fasting farmers put pressure on the government. Reliance was forced to increase its compensation package but this had no effect on the farmers whatsoever. The objective of the protest was to cancel the MMSEZ and not bargain for better compensation or rehabilitation package. In response to the increased compensation offers, fasting farmers and the protestors publicly burnt documents of the offered package. Each act of protest sent a clear message. In spite of the company's continued efforts to sow seeds of discord and break up the movement the movement remained united and steadfast. Unity was built at the village level regardless of party affiliations, and Gram Panchayats passed a resolution against the setting up of MMSEZ. Gradual and intense pressure was built on the government, so much so that a district minister from the ruling Congress party was forced to state his support for the farmers.

Farmers the decision makers: Political parties were given space in this campaign but none of them were allowed any authority to bargain or take decisions on behalf of the farmers. The farmers' forum 'JVCS -The Chovis Gaon SEZ Virodhi Manch' alone held that right.

2.13 Approaching central government and indefinite fast by villagers; solidarity of people's groups

In spite of the immense pressure, there was no move forward by the state government. The activists then decided to record and submit individual statements from farmers, tenants, unrecorded tenants, agriculture workers and artisans to the central government accompanied by national level advocacy by voluntary organizations. The government remained non-committal, and the acquisition process continued.





At this stage the forum (It was always local forum in support of JVCS) decided on launching an indefinite fast. On 17th July 2007 sixteen farmers, half of them women, went on an indefinite fast demanding the immediate stoppage of the acquisition process and withdrawal of irrigated areas from the project. The fasting was organised in front of the Tahsil office (block level office of the local governance system) in Pen and went on for seven continuous days. During this period a large number of organizations, civil society groups, leaders of various unions and individuals lent support to the farmer's demands. Besides the National Alliance of People's Movements (NAPM), several other associations of businessmen who were operating small and medium sized business/ factories, medical professionals, artists etc declared their support. The anti-SEZ struggle had grown to become not only a movement of project-affected farmers but also of the middle class and the general public

The state security department and intelligence bureau realised the growing resentment in the area towards the project would lead to a law and order problem particularly since several lower rung policemen also sympathized with the movement. The campaign was fought through democratic means and the state found itself unable to respond with heavy repression.

2.14 Women's presence and role in the campaign

Women from all the 24 villages in Pen were at the forefront of every fast and protest. The activists noted that women could be counted upon to be present at every village meeting, agitation, indefinite fast or public hearing. Women were the first to get arrested during the 'Jail Bharo andolan' (fill jails movement). They played an important role in thwarting the designs of land agents hired by the company. In several cases of joint/family ownership of land, the son, under the influence of the land agent pressurised his family members to sell the land. In many such

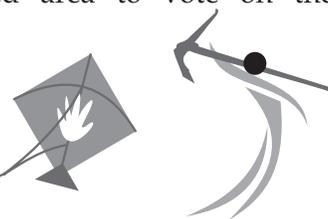
cases the daughter, award of her share in the family property did not give her consent, effectively stopping the sale. But in some cases, land agents acquired land belonging to helpless single women, widows or divorcees through forged documents.

However, the activists noticed with dismay that despite the active involvement of women and of three women activists at the forefront of the agitation, they were not included in the decision making process at the village level. Only at that level and what were the other levels? Excluded by whom --the men of the villages? The local leadership -- men dominated?

2.15 Government forced to respond to the indefinite hunger fast

The government did not revoke its decision of forceful acquisition of land. The company raised the land price but could still not acquire a sizeable percentage of land. The acquired lot was not contiguous. Acquisition of land thus continued, despite nearly 46 agitations in three years.

In July 2008, N.D. Patil and a representative of the farmers, Janardan Mhatre decided to go on an indefinite fast. Exactly one year after the Chief Minister's promise of excluding irrigated lands from the project, Mr. Patil began his indefinite fast at Azad maidan, Mumbai. People from all over the state, including farmers, SEZ affected people, trade union members etc arrived in Mumbai in support of the fast. The PWP MLAs, joined by Shiv Sena MLAs demanded a discussion on the matter in the assembly house. On being refused, they staged a walkout from the assembly. In response, the government, particularly the Chief Minister was forced to make a statement on the issue. He declared in the assembly that the government would seek the farmers' consent on the SEZ. A written order was passed to the Collector of Raigad, asking him to hold a referendum, asking landowning farmers in the project-marked area to vote on the proposed MMSEZ.





2.16 Referendum on MMSEZ

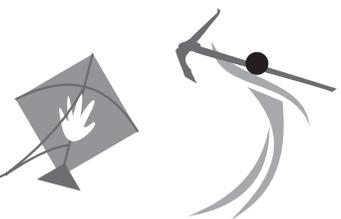
The referendum was fixed for 21st September 2008. The activists accordingly began planning their strategy. They insisted that the referendum in the 22 irrigated villages must not be in the manner of a secret vote. In a meeting with the Raigad Collector, it was decided in the referendum farmers would submit written statements on SEZ. Three copies would be made of this statement. One copy would be given to the polling agent, a signed receipt for which would remain with the farmer; the second copy would be the farmer's and the third copy would be submitted to the forum CGSVSSS, officially a part of the referendum process. This was the first time in India that farmers were consulted on an SEZ project through a vote.

The Referendum process

The referendum was potentially decisive and was thus planned for like political elections. Only landowners, individual and joint shareholders held the right to vote. Out of the 45 villages to be acquired for the project, the referendum was conducted only in 22 villages of Pen block. The Collector appointed a polling officer at the government school in each village. Zonal officers were appointed for supervision, and the entire process was recorded on video. For nearly fifteen days prior to the referendum, activists carried out an intensive campaign in all the villages. Village leaders such as Kiran Mhatre, Govardhan Patil, Dilip and Kashinath Patil, Nandkumar Patil, Anant Patil and Atmaram Mokal covered all villages. Each house and every family in a village was visited and the process of submitting their statement explained. The company offered each farmer Rs10,000 to vote in favour of the SEZ. Some political leaders too urged farmers to consider giving their land if Reliance offered a higher price. The print and electronic media turned up in large numbers to cover the referendum. Married women who had left their parental homes who married and were settled outside Raigad district also held the right to vote, as they owned a share in the land. They were appealed to come and vote.

The activists first compiled the list of eligible names for the referendum through the Right to Information act (RTI). Village committees, which had enthusiastically organised the chain fasts were now roped in to contact farmers individually. They informed the farmers about the referendum and underscored its importance. It was emphasised how they could vote to decide their future. Villagers responded with spontaneous attempts to organise themselves. Each village formed its own rules and regulations and evicted the land agents from their area. Whole villages resolved not to join the drinking parties organised by the company and vowing to socially boycott anyone that did so.

On 21st September 2008, the nation witnessed the referendum conducted by the government. It was a sight to behold, as young and old, men and women, all stood in long queues to register their votes on a project that would affect their lives. The youth went from house to house, motivating people and monitoring the process. Rickshaw drivers and bullock cart owners offered their vehicles to take old people to the voting location. In a generous gesture, rice mill, brick kiln and saltpan owners declared holidays to enable small and marginalised farmers in their employ to vote. School children in Vadhav village in Pen block took out a procession, asking people to seize the opportunity and 'drown Mukesh Ambani's Reliance in the Arabian sea'. PWP and Shiv Sena MLAs from the district visited the area in an act of solidarity. The Collector and police superintendent monitored the referendum, through Deputy Collectors present at the site. A large contingent of police and Rapid Action Force (RAF) ensured the process went on without a hitch.





One journalist present sensed the mood of the people and asked a young farmer.

'What if Reliance makes the farmers a shareholder in their company? Would you give your land then?'

Without replying, two young farmers Rajan Zemase and Avinash Mhatre took the farmer and the journalist to their farm pond and tossed in their fishing net to catch fish. The farmer held a sea bass fish in his hand and said, *'This is a highly valued fish. When we put this fish in the pond as a baby, its cost is only two rupees but after three months the same fish costs more than 200 rupees.'*

He continued, *'Will your Reliance share grow by 100 times in three months?'*

The journalist was stumped. He had no response.

Referendum results: farmers reject proposed SEZ with an overwhelming majority

The voting process for the referendum went smoothly. CGSVSSS organised a press conference and declared the results. The results showed that 96% of the farmers had rejected the idea of SEZ and had asked instead for an SAZ. Farmers had demanded irrigation for their agricultural land as promised by the government.

This was a tremendous victory for the farmers who had brought the might of corporate power to its knees. The referendum also had wider ramifications: it set a precedent and made it possible for project-affected persons, PAPs in other areas to demand such a vote.

3. The struggle continues

The farmers' campaign saw strong and committed leadership, a dynamic involvement of activists and good networking and advocacy strategies. But its success rests primarily on the grit and will of the farmers.

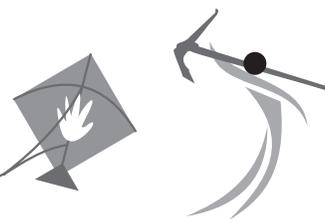
Post the referendum, the farmers were still not free to either develop their land or mortgage it to the bank for loans. This was due to the '7/12 extract' (a land extract which establishes land ownership) that declares the land to be for an SEZ. The government is yet to change the priority for water distribution or address farmers' irrigation demands, and agriculture, regrettably still remains low on its list of priorities in the agriculture sector.

In a further development, the Maharashtra Government that proposed a SEZ state bill in the year 2002, is much worse than the central SEZ act. The struggle continues.....

4. Postscript

In December 2009, the two-year period allotted under the Land Acquisition Act lapsed and the project was de-facto scrapped. But the official confirmation came in January 2011 after the author had written this story when the Maharashtra government announced the scrapping of the MMSEZ project by declaring that 'the Raigad farmers were free to utilise their lands as they deemed fit'. The 7/12 land extract was also denotified against the lands, allowing farmers to trade their lands.

The project was cancelled due to the company's inability to acquire sufficient land in the two year designated period. This was entirely due to the strong protest campaign by the farmers.





Below: A report on the Export Processing Zones by the Comptroller and Auditor General Of India (CAG 1998) states: "Customs duty amounting to Rs 7500 crores was forgone for achieving net foreign exchange earnings of Rs 4700 crores and the government does not seem to have made any cost benefit analysis." In spite of this caustic comment, the Central Government, in the 1999-2000 Budget raised the corporate tax holiday period in EPZs from 5 to 10 years.

Ref: <http://www.indiatogether.org/2006/mar/eco-freezones.htm>



Benefits to SEZ Units

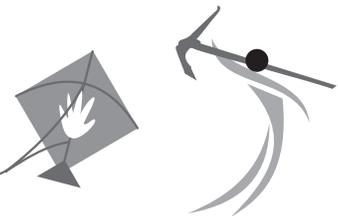
No TDS by Overseas banking Units (OBUs) on interest on deposits/borrowings from non-resident or person not ordinarily resident

Income tax:

- Deduction from Profits and Gains from export of goods/services as follows (Section 10AA)
100% income tax exemption for first 5 years
50% income tax exemption for next 5 years
Income tax exemption for next 5 years to the extent of profits reinvested (Maximum 50%)
- No MAT (Minimum Alternate Tax)
- Capital Gains tax exemption on relocation to SEZ (Section 54GA): This is a controversial issue as to be eligible for income tax exemption, the unit should be a new unit. Further, a press statement from Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. Kamal Nath, states that SEZs are essentially for fresh investments

Indirect taxes:

- SEZ units may import or procure from domestic sources duty free, all their requirements of capital goods, raw materials, consumables, spares, packaging materials, office equipment, DG sets etc for implementation of their project in the Zone without any license or specific approval.
- No import duty on these imported goods
- No excise duty on these goods procured from DTA (Domestic Tariff Area)
- No service tax on services availed from DTA (Domestic Tariff Area)
- No Value Added Tax (VAT) and Central Sales Tax (CST) on goods procured from DTA (Domestic Tariff Area)
- On goods procured from DTA, drawback under section 75 allowed to SEZ unit
- Goods imported/procured locally duty free could be utilised over the approval period of 5 years





Conclusions:

The campaign by the Raigad farmers is a remarkable story of people's resistance. It stands out for its strongly participatory nature, effective mobilisation and campaign strategies, and tenacity. Eventually the movement succeeded in getting the project cancelled.

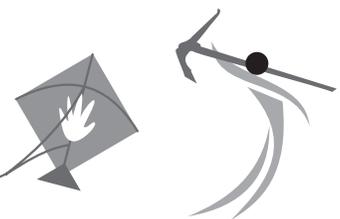
Farmers had a strong identification with the struggle and a good understanding of issues at hand. They came together under the umbrella of different organisations such as the JVKS, CVGSSS etc and were supported by several rights organisations, trade unions and civil society. Farmers understood the meaning and import of the provisions of the SEZ Act for them, the history of SEZ in the country and state support for a private project in the name of 'public purpose'. They recognised the long-term impact of the project and loss of their livelihoods and thus rejected the short-term benefits of compensation. Without a nuanced understanding of the issue, the sustained support and loyalty of villagers to the campaign would have been tenuous, especially in its challenging stages when it faced setbacks and intimidation by the opposition.



Apart from its features, the anti-SEZ Raigad campaign forces us to consider the nature of SEZ promotion and the development model being promoted by the government in the country. Vast stretches of fertile, irrigated land are being acquired forcibly under the Land Acquisition Act by the state for a private company; appropriate, barren land could have alternatively been bought in the open market. Farmers who lose their land will be unable to continue their way of life of farming and will have no means of livelihood once the compensation amount is over. Landless farmers and fishermen dependent on agriculture-related occupations would be pushed to penury with neither compensation nor any access to livelihood. The only beneficiaries would be the builder lobby and the investing company.

Therefore, this farmers' struggle is an important landmark in people's movement to survive in the face of highly unethical and anti-people steps by the state. This campaign of poor farmers pitted against the might of the state and corporate muscle offers great learning and inspiration to others in similar situations. It is highly relevant in the current climate of the promotion of SEZs, where several people's struggles on the SEZ issue are ongoing in different parts of the country. Each victory can strengthen participatory democracy, in which people get to choose and decide.

Author: Vaishali Patil,
*Ankur Trust, Pen,
Dist Raigad, Maharashtra
India*



Section 3

Learning





1. Introduction:

Campaigning is an organised set of actions focused on promoting an idea or a cause to a set of audience. The effort is concentrated, goal directed, and conducted within a given time frame. Election campaigns, advertising campaigns, military campaigns, political campaigns, anti-malaria campaigns are the most common campaigns that we hear about.

The word 'campaign' is a metaphor derived from military terminology. It consists of strategic operations during war when an army keeps the field. The notion of 'winning' through 'strong and strategic operations', is paramount in 'campaigning'. 'Strategic' campaigning is about choosing a specific course of action on the basis of available information and resources in the given context. In other words, making the right choices at the right time is the heart and art of strategic campaigning.

People's movements and struggles engage in 'campaigning' for advocating rights and justice. Such experiences of people in South Asian countries have been described in great detail as 'case studies' in the previous section. They provide useful insights into the steps of the campaigning and throw up several ideas on innovative methodologies, tools and tactics that can be strategically used in strengthening campaigns. Advocacy practitioners can use these insights and ideas on campaigning in their own work and for a collective effort for people centered advocacy in South Asia.

People's rights issues are highly complex and call for an advocacy that challenges strong power centers. In order to make an impact, it uses a multitude of knowledge expertise (of researchers, lawyers, political scientists and other specialists) as well as involvement of a large expanse of people/ groups/ organizations who speak in the same voice (such as mass based organizations in other areas/ countries, international organizations - such as the UN,

regional networks, media.). It also uses advocacy strategies such as media advocacy; advocacy with systems of governance such as the legislature/ parliament, judiciary, state administration and other local governance bodies in order to influence policy and practices at various levels. Networking and alliance building with such individuals, groups and organizations essentially becomes a major source of support in advocacy and in strengthening the campaigns.

The first resource book in the series of books on People Centred Advocacy in South Asia, describes 'Organizing & Mobilising' as a process of building collective strength of people, with the ultimate goal of empowering them to advocate for their own rights - the focus is on people. In this resource book we would be looking at how this collective strength gets manifested into deliberate action for achieving specific goals, thus pressurizing the decision makers to negotiate with the people; and this through 'campaigning' - the focus is on issue/s and action. In short, campaigning is a process for public display of people's strength, conviction and persistence, for making public people's demands based on authentic facts and information on the issue, and of taking consistent measures for keeping the process alive through continuous action/ activity over a period of time.

Advocacy Campaigns focus on a particular issue and undertake several activities that can attract public attention quickly and be brought into the public domain with great force. Such issue based campaigns are time bound and end after demands get met and/ or after the organised group of people decides so. A movement or the people's organization continues to be active in taking up other issues and building campaigns around them. In other words, the campaigning continues, but the particular issue-based campaign ends. Campaigns are tools used by people's movements/ struggles for achieving its goals.





2. The various types of campaigns – an overview of the case studies:

Campaigns from the four South Asian countries illustrated in the four case studies have several similarities but are also different in many ways. The variation is seen starkly in its launch, the leadership that is provided, the ways in which they strategize and network, and the time line. These variations have a bearing on the socio-political environments in the respective countries, besides local situational factors. Let us first take a quick overview of each of the case studies.

Campaign on Prevention of Child Abuse in Afghanistan

Saba Media Organization (SMO) working since 1997, organised and led a nation-wide campaign on prevention of child abuse. It began when Women's World Summit Foundation, Switzerland, gave the call for a global campaign. SMO that had been campaigning against child abuse took the initiative, used their media resources and their network to conduct the nation-wide campaign systematically. SMO built alliances with other civil society groups and succeeded in forming a national coalition for a sustained long-term campaign to prevent child abuse. The country is ravaged by years of instability, first due to civil war, and then due to Taliban rule, and now the US intervention in Afghanistan. Security issues and threat from insurgent groups are the major challenges that campaigners face and hence they are conducted only in 'safe' areas, explains the author in the narration of the case study. In such a situation, volunteerism that is required for building coalitions/ movements is extremely difficult and civil society seeks considerable international support in its effort to uphold and protect rights of its people.

The campaign against sale of Islands for a real estate project- Pakistan

Pakistan has a history of mass-based movements. The movement of the fisherfolk for achieving socio-economic and political justice, eventually led to the establishment of Pakistan Fisherfolk Forum. It is a struggle primarily for safeguarding the livelihood resources and rights of fisherfolk. It currently holds the status of a registered 'NGO' under the 'social welfare Act', and continues to be mass-based with a membership of over 70,000 fisherfolk. Its mass-based nature is what makes it strong and creates an impact. It is recognized as 'people's organization' and is led by them.

PFF launched and led the campaign against the development of the 'Diamond bar island city' as it threatened the livelihood of fisherfolk. It networked with other civil society groups as and when support was required. The international environment also favoured the fisherfolk – as the islands are protected under the international environmental treaties and laws, and considered as high priority area by the IUCN⁷. PFF launched the campaign after the Prime Minister awarded its approval to the Dubai based Emmar Company for developing it into an island city, despite several objections and concerns raised in the ECC's⁸ meeting. The campaign that began in Oct 2006 ended in Feb 2007 when the project was halted (government is yet⁹ to announce the withdrawal officially. People continue to remain alert)

7: IUCN - International Union for Conservation of Nature is the world's oldest and largest global environmental network - a democratic membership union with more than 1,000 government and NGO member organizations, and almost 11,000 volunteer scientists in more than 160 countries.,

8: ECC - Economic Coordination Committee of the Cabinet is the highest economic policy making body formed by the Cabinet to take decisions pertaining to various economic issues transactions involving government interests and reviews key economic indicators

9: Situation as in Dec 2010





It is interesting to note how PFF campaign used the political situation in the country in its favor. Gen Musharraf was the President then and elections (2008) were fast approaching. Unlike earlier military rulers like Gen. Zia, Gen. Musharraf had succeeded in projecting himself as a more liberal military general. World over, concerns for environment were also taking centre stage and Gen Musharraf was one who could not push aside international pressures. This climate helped the campaign.

PFF has been so powerful that inspite of a military regime, it has provided the platform for and hope to many other movements in Pakistan. The PFF had shown its strength in successfully dealing with several livelihood issues of the fisherfolk. For eg it succeeded in retrieving control over inland water bodies from the paramilitary Rangers¹⁰, it successfully negotiated with Pakistan Government to release Indian fishermen prisoners etc. The campaign against the Diamond Bar islands has also been a very strong campaign which advocacy practitioners can learn from.

Ship breaking advocacy campaign in Bangladesh

Bangladesh polity has a history of receiving aid for its development, and NGOs are viewed as partners in sharing welfare responsibilities of the government. Large NGOs are therefore characteristic of the voluntary sector in Bangladesh. Poverty is rampant and labour exploited as in any developing country.

The struggle of workers against the exploitative and hazardous ship breaking industry has a history of severe state repression against the unionization effort of Trade Unions. In such a context, it was the NGO YPSA (Young Power in Social Action) that launched this campaign as a long term 'project' - from August 2003-Oct 2008.

The ways and means it employed - such as carefully formulating its demands, networking with journalists and students, maintaining a grass-root presence with the workers, undertaking research for producing evidence to their claims, publishing reports in collaboration with international organizations, allying with civil society groups in Europe (the home country of these ships) - were very cautious and strategic, and did bear fruits.

The campaign had a unique kind of a network - a rather loose network that came into existence in which various NGOs/citizen groups worked parallelly. Large NGOs - a characteristic of Bangladesh, such as BELA (Bangladesh Environment Lawyers Association), BILS (Bangladesh Institute of Labour Studies), etc. used their own expertise and had their own agendas. Perspectives differed, but by and large goals matched. The network neither set campaign goals collectively and nor the activities. They shared information and technical knowledge with each other, ensured that the activities undertaken by each of them did not overlap, and each one pitched in when the situation called for it. The loose nature of the network opened all windows for mobilising organizations/ individuals to join the cause of the campaign and an entire movement against unjust practices of the ship-building industry was built. It put pressure on the government to attend to this issue and to the demands of campaigners.

In this campaign, the leadership of the affected people does not emerge. The YPSA has been a voice of the people in the campaign and a support to the affected workers of the ship-breaking industry.

Please refer resource book - 'Organizing and Mobilising for People Centred Advocacy in South Asia' published by NCAS for more details of this struggle against the Rangers.





'Company sarkar' again: Raigad farmers' struggle for survival against SEZ - Special Economic Zone in India

India is said to be the largest democracy in South Asia. Like other countries of South Asia, it has adopted the neo-liberal development agenda, and several policies that it has formulated go against the interests and well-being of its masses. One such policy has been that of the 'Special Economic Zone'. Strong protests against 'land grab' under this policy with a demand for repealing the law have erupted across the country. Campaigns that advocate against the development model of the Indian state are also being built.

Fertile land, sufficient water supply, closeness to Mumbai - the commercial hub of India - attracted the Raigad MMSEZ (Maha Mumbai Special Economic Zone) proposition. A history of struggles for rights of farmers and peasants in this region has played a significant role in creating a strong mass-base necessary for the campaign. It has a history of an active trade union movement, the struggle of the Peasants and Worker's political party against the exploitative feudal lords, history of earlier experiences of losing land to the CIDCO industry, and other land grab attempts. Several other more recent socialist groups such as Shoshit Jan andolan, the Ankur trust, etc. have also emerged and have played a major role in conscientizing the farming community in this area. Awareness about the growing priority to industry over agriculture, and commodification of land and other natural resources, has created a strong climate of resistance among people. It was in this context that the advocacy campaign against land acquisition for the MMSEZ in Raigad and in the long run for scrapping of the SEZ Policy took place. It has been a campaign that gave strength to the National level campaign against the SEZ policy.

Distinctly, two types of campaigns can be identified -

1. Those lead 'on behalf' of the affected people (marginalised) the SMO lead campaign against

child abuse in Afghanistan and the YPSA lead campaign against the hazardous and exploitative ship-breaking industry in Bangladesh.

2. Those lead by the mobilised and organised masses - the PFF against the island 'city development' on Pakistan and the anti-SEZ campaign of Raigad, India.

From the above examples we learn that campaigns have a bearing upon the socio-political situations that exist in the South Asian countries. We also learn that the history of past experiences of exploitation, deprivation and of activism play a significant role in determining the conviction and motivation of people in campaigns. International environment; the availability of a critical mass of mobilised and organised people that include the affected as well as allies and friends; the nature of leadership; and most crucially the people's perspective of the issue, are also factors that determine the strength of campaigns.

3. Core components of campaigning and networking in people centred advocacy

Several common elements are seen in all the above campaigns. The efforts in all campaigns are focussed and concentrated over a time period and brought into the public domain with great force. The issues they address, the goals they set, the demands they make, the key authorities/decision makers that they target, the mobilization efforts, the different activities they undertake, the strategies they use, the outcomes they achieve and much more, is detailed in the documented case studies. Referring to these, the following section pulls together the core components of campaigning for people centred advocacy and highlights some of the strategies employed.





a. Issue identification and analysis as the first step in campaigning

The first steps undertaken for initiating a campaign are identification of the issue to be addressed and its thorough analysis. Information on all aspects of the issue - such as its severity, people's past experiences, scientific or technical information, policies of the state, the key decision/policy makers and implementers, the sympathizers, the opponents and their strength, other groups addressing a similar issue, the international environment, and other related information - is collected for making a thorough issue analysis. This analysis helps the campaign decide its focus so that it can draw clear objectives, formulate demands and decide its strategies.

Take the example of the Afghan campaign against child abuse. It defined child abuse to include sexual abuse, child labour and abuse due to customary/traditional practices of child marriage. It based its analysis on the research conducted by Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC¹¹) and used its findings on severity, accessibility to the protection mechanisms of the government, and status of implementation of laws and policies, to set its objectives. The campaign used research findings to make the issue public and political. The inclusion of early marriage as a child abuse issue, challenged the Islamic norm. It therefore used the Afghan Government's commitment to the UN Convention on Rights of the Child (CRC) to make it accountable. At the same time, it also made a public appeal to stop abusive practices.

The Pakistan Fisherfolk Forum, as an organised group advocating for livelihood rights of fisher-folk, focused on the issue of 'development of the Diamond Bar island city' and built the campaign against it. It analyzed the issue not only from the perspective of livelihood rights, but also from the point of view of environment and the eco-system existing in the area. It studied policies of the federal government and its nexus with the corporate world. It identified the international environment treaties to which the government is bound. It investigated into the decision making process of the government for clearing the project.

Besides, it perceived the project as a conspiracy of dividing Sindh and its people (where-in the Thatta district was being divided into two, one of which would commercially promoted). Environmentalists, social scientists and other experts got involved in the issue analysis, thus bringing strength to the campaign.

The anti-SEZ campaign of Raigad, India perceived the issue not merely as an issue of livelihood or displacement or land alienation, but as a systematic attempt in commodifying natural resources in the interests of the large business houses like the Reliance group of industries. Campaigners saw their issue in the light of globalization and privatization in the neo-liberal development paradigm adopted by of the country. They joined national level anti-globalization campaign and this strengthened their conviction and their local campaign.

b. Using the analysis and deciding the aspects to be highlighted

While campaigning, several aspects of the issue, arising out of its analysis, are appropriately highlighted so that it catches the public eye and bring visibility to the issues of the marginalized.

For eg. YPSA, in 1997, used disability statistics to prove their point of the inhuman work conditions of workers of the ship-breaking industry. It attributed the high disability rate in Sitakund area as being due to accidents at ship breaking yards, thus drawing attention of health department of the government of Bangladesh. It consequently became an issue of unsafe work environment hazardous to health, an issue of exploitation of labour (even child labour) for profits to owners of the ship-breaking industry, of environmental pollution and of loss of livelihood for fishing communities. The campaign highlighted violation of human rights, labour rights, and environmental safety norms. They also found that the workers were not covered under labour law (they got covered only later, in 2003). The campaigners perceived Bangladesh as importing toxic waste rather than contributing to the national economy, and declared that the country was far below international standards of labour, health and environment.

11: An autonomous body established by the government that also has free-lance experts as its members.





These issues were highlighted progressively one after another as the campaign moved forward and helped in keeping the issue alive in the public domain.

A thorough issue analysis helps campaigns in deciding their goals, the focus and in formulating demands.

c. Formulating demands and designing messages

‘Demands’ are a necessary characteristic of every campaign; and issue analysis sets the rationale for the demands made and its position on the issue. Demands so formulated and framed, provide direction to the campaign. Demands that each of the four South Asian campaigns have formulated is clearly stated in the case studies.

What is more important for us to understand is the manner in which these demands are

formulated, the form in which they reach the audience and the timeliness - it is all part of strategy. Demands are rearticulated as ‘messages’ so that they reach the affected people, the friends, the public at large, the decision makers, the opponents - i.e. the audience. Messages are designed and crafted by keeping the audience in mind. A message has to be persuasive, appealing to the ‘head’ and the ‘heart’. While it has to portray the stand of the campaigner, it has to also articulate what is right (rationale for the demand), what is in the interest of justice and well-being of the audience/ public at large.

Let us take the example of the PFF’s campaign. It is interesting to see how the key messages were designed and delivered to the respective audiences. A quick glance of these messages is presented below:

The Activity	The key audience	Key Message
1st press conference - in response to announcement of approval of ‘international city’ by the Federal Govt. in the press.	Public at large National and international media Rights groups and development experts	Condemned the project as being ‘anti-people and illegal, having serious socio-economic and environmental implications’; and appeal to join to ‘save lives and livelihood of poor people of the islands’.
Community meeting with fisherfolk community	Fisher folk community	Fisher folk community as being ‘historical custodians of islands and therefore no one be allowed to encroach on their land’
Consultative meeting with various civil society groups	Intellectuals, journalists, ordinary citizens, political party representatives	Precedent of ‘experience with the Gizri beach development project affected the livelihood. Fishermen are not even allowed to pass by the Gizri creek.’
Protest rally in front of Karachi Press Club	Press and media General public	‘unjust decision of federal authorities to allot islands to EMMAR as a reflection of the corruption and dishonesty set deep in the governance system.’ (referring to the havoc that the LBOD and RBOD ¹² had played) PFF would ‘stand by their legal and right-based stance over the island at any cost’

12: LBOD : Left Bank Outfall Drainage, RBOD : Right Bank Outfall Drainage





The messages designed were different for different audiences at different points of time. While the messages consolidated the demands of the campaign, they also strengthened their belief in the demands; they appealed to the collective interests of the audience and brought to their notice about what was right and what was wrong.

Just as message formulation is crucial, so is the timing of message delivery to its audience. Take the example of the campaign against ship-breaking in Bangladesh. The YPSA lead campaign used 'slogans' as an effective tool to get across its message to its audience:

- Yes to ship-breaking, No to rights violation
- Ensure rights so no fights
- Enforce labour law, implement environment law
- Toxic-free vessels, pre-cleaning ships before arrival
- Off the beach

Each of these slogans was formulated at different points in time during the campaign process. The slogan 'Yes to ship breaking but no to rights violation' was framed at the beginning of the campaign when the ship-breaker business lobby was strong and the people's mobilization was extremely weak was. The slogan 'Off the beach' was coined after the campaign got stronger and succeeded in stopping entry of the toxic ships SS Norway and MT Alfa. In these slogans, one observes a graduation of demands with time as the campaign began to gain strength.

In campaigning, demands are addressed at two levels - the demands of the local struggle as well as the larger political demands. The role of the leader or the advocate is to establish the linkage between the demands at the two levels, and this is nothing but 'political conscientization' of people.

In case of the anti-SEZ campaign, while the immediate demand was 'no land acquisition', the larger political demand was 'scrap SEZ Policy'. A nation-wide anti-SEZ campaign addressed the larger political demand at a time when the local Raigad farmers were campaigning against land acquisition. The local campaign at Raigad was so strong and the farmers politically conscientized, that it provided strength to the national anti-SEZ campaign.

It is important to note that a campaign may formulate several demands and that each demand has the potential of building a campaign around it.

d. People Centered Campaigns focus on the issue/s and on action, and in the process ensure people's empowerment

The whole effort of getting demands fulfilled is the aim of campaigning. However, the campaigning becomes people-centered not just by addressing issues of 'people', but also by 'empowering' them. Hence it is important for campaigners/ leaders to stop time and again and look back to assess whether the process of campaigning is empowering for the people or not. Active and willful participation and emergence of local leadership are important indicators of empowerment. In other words, efforts for mobilising and organising people have to be factored in while campaigning. The readiness of the campaigners to face any anticipated repression or back-lash also has to be built into the effort of mobilising and organising people for the campaign.

The Anti-SEZ campaign of Raigad, India is a good example that took strategic steps in empowering people while campaigning.

Success of the campaign lies not only in achieving its content goals (eg. of policy change) but also its process goals (i.e. of empowerment).





The anti SEZ campaign grew stronger and stronger as more and more people got mobilised and soon were led by the people - the masses- themselves. We find that local leadership emerged out of the several innovative strategies that elicited more and more participation of the affected people/farmers. The innovations made the process live and interesting, and was also empowering to people.

In a unique move, people used the right to file oral objections (as per the provisions of the land acquisition Act) against their land acquisition, and file them individually. This was a time consuming process that made the authorities restless and angry, but at the same time they could not deny this right to the people. The long queues at the land acquisition office attracted the media. The media coverage it got and the feeling of togetherness that it inculcated was empowering to people.

Chain fasting in villages for an entire month - where each village fasted for a day was another innovative strategy. It was organised with the purpose of building village level organizations in such a manner that local village bodies / committees took the responsibility of organising, motivating and guiding the farmers. They framed their own rules and resolutions. Each village level committee ensured a high literacy level among its members and participation of a well respected village teacher. They prepared their own banners, posters and filed individual objections against land acquisition on their own. This aided in the emergence of grass-roots leadership. Local artists and poets who performed folk songs, skits, poems, and raised slogans made the fasting site 'eventful' as people from other villages also got attracted and joined in. It was used as an excellent platform for conscientizing and mobilising people, and a show of strength and solidarity. Women were at the forefront in every activity.

It is important to note here that campaigns use legitimate democratic spaces in existing laws and village governance system very creatively.

The anti-SEZ campaign, besides using the right to file oral objections under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act as a strategy, they also used the constitutional provision for ' referendum' and forced

the government to do so. The 'legitimacy' of actions of the campaign drew more and more people's participation. Small victories achieved time and again made them hopeful and they felt empowered.

e. Activities and strategies in campaigning:

Activities form the hands and legs of the campaign and the avenues of 'Action'. In all the South Asian campaigns documented in this book, we find activities undertaken one after another. Protest rallies, hunger strike, foot marches, sending memorandums, forming delegations, signature campaigns, media work, research etc. are common to all South Asian campaigns. These activities bring life to the campaign. It would be important to draw attention to a few of them - as being strategic activities.

i. Launch and end of campaigns:

The launching of campaigns may be planned by the people's struggle or the movement in such a way so as to catch public attention and to appeal to people - whether directly affected by the issue or not - to join in. Alternatively, an incident may spark off a whole campaign; but only in presence of a base of organised and mobilised people as a prerequisite will it make an effective impact.





The anti-SEZ campaign started with a bang when 5000 farmers marched to the office of land acquisition. They were a mobilised group of farmers who believed land acquisition meant to be a loss for them in all respects. It was followed by a National consultation for a better understanding of the SEZ Act organised by NCAS.

PFF called a press conference immediately after the Pakistan government announced clearance to the island city project and the campaigning against the project began. This timely response spoke volumes about the commitment of the PFF. Its strong stand against the project reached far and wide through the press.

The seven-day Afghan campaign against child abuse culminated on the World day for prevention of child abuse with a national conference during which the media provided complete coverage of the action week.

ii. Using research methods to prove their point and bringing out publications:

Research is an important tool that provides evidence to support the argument that a struggle/ movement makes. It helps in reinforcing its demands based on facts and figures and in appealing to other groups/ individuals to join the campaign. Case studies from South Asia demonstrate the manner in which research has been conducted and used in campaigning.

YPSA used it all along – In 1997, it probed into the reason for high disability rates in Sitakund Upzilla and its findings were used as a base for the campaign. It conducted a baseline study on the working conditions during the period of the campaign in 2004 and released a report. In 2005, YPSA jointly with international NGOs – Green peace and International Federation of Human Rights prepared a report – “End of Life ships and Human Cost of Breaking Ships, submitted it to the UN and thus sought international support.

Similarly we see SMO based their campaign on research of AIHRC, an autonomous body formed by the Government.

The mass based campaigns of Pakistan and India, solicited crucial information on facts and figures during the process of the campaign, and made a comprehensive analysis that set base for arguments and demands.

For e.g. the PFF studied the project proposal of the Emmar group, its plans, the extent of land that it would use, the investment and the potential consumers, and made estimations of the number of fisherfolk who would be affected.

Similarly, mass-based campaign against the SEZ in Raigad, India, had made a thorough study of the ‘Maha-Mumbai SEZ’ (MMSEZ) approved project , the demography of the area it would cover, the resources of water, fish etc available to people, and made an analysis of how it would affect the rural economy. Based on this analysis, the campaign objected to the ‘ public purpose’ clause that the govt had used to clear the MMSEZ project. This analysis was taken to the people who then began to perceive their struggle as the “second freedom struggle”.

iii. Use of Media:

Optimal use of all media and communication devices is a very important tool, used extensively, in order to make the issue and the campaign visible. The case studies inform us that print as well as electronic media covered protest rallies, sit-ins, foot marches, meetings with political parties and govt. authorities, research reports, briefings etc.

Media has been a very important partner in support to the PFF lead campaign against development of the island city. Almost every event was covered on the TV and newspapers. Articles and reports were posted on websites of international organizations such as the World Wide Fund for Nature. The BBC (Urdu) too covered the entire struggle against the project.





Innovative activities attract media.

The concept of the alternate development model of SAZ (Special Agriculture Zone) of the villagers in the anti-SEZ campaign, the referendum process, the queuing up for filing oral objections, burning of 'compensation offer' documents of the company, - all of these attracted the media.

Media, especially mainstream media, in all the campaigns of South Asia, has been useful in bringing various groups together across the nation and the globe. It is a powerful opinion maker and an effective tool for pressurizing the state/other power centres to come to the negotiating table. However in the present scenario of South Asia, mass media is not really very "free". It is said to be the fourth pillar of democracy, but in reality, it is largely being controlled by those in power. At the same time the competition between media houses has also increased and People Centred Campaigns have to strategically use this competition in its favour.

South Asia, in the recent past has witnessed attacks on free media. It has seen murders of journalists who have dared to bring certain adverse facts against those in power. This is a growing concern not only for journalists but also for people's struggles and movements. Free media is an important indicator of democracy. It is being threatened even in a country like India that claims to be the largest democracy of South Asia.

Internet and the web as a medium is becoming a more and more popular especially among youth. If used for advocacy, it has the potential of reaching people who may not be directly affected. Extensive use of social networking through the internet/ web has strengthened mobilization across national borders. While such media can reach the literate and the more privileged, it may exclude the marginalized, feel activists.

Campaigns have also used visuals (posters, pamphlets, wall papers, stories etc), audio-visuals (films and documentaries), and alternate media such as street- plays, songs, folk media etc. and other promotional materials for awareness creation, sensitization and mobilization of various groups.

Films, photographs, and video-documentation were a very effective media for the YPSA to provide proof on the in-human working conditions in the ship-breaking industry, and building public opinion. SMO, being a 'media organization' used such media extensively.

iv. Using legal remedies:

Examples of filing applications in court have formed a part of strategy in advocacy campaigns in South Asia. The timeliness of filing the litigation during a particular phase of the movement/ struggle is part of the strategy.

In the anti-SEZ campaign, a 'Public Interest litigation' was filed by the lawyers group of Maha-Mumbai SEZ Virodhi Sangharsha Samiti (Anti-MMSEZ Forum), at a time when several forums of NGOs, activists, and political parties had been formed and at a time when the people's struggle against the TATA plant in West Bengal had been brutally crushed by the state. This PIL disallowed the company (Ambani group - Reliance industries) extension of the time limit for the land acquisition. (for more details see case story). In the campaign against ship breaking, cases filed for compensation to accident victims brought relief to the families and this helped in building trust in the campaign. The NGO - Bangladesh Environment Lawyers Association (BELA) filed suits against illegal practices of the ship breaking contractors of Chittagong- violation of labour laws and environmental norms. The campaign against child abuse in Afghanistan demanded implementation of child related laws, so that legal recourse would ensure justice to children.





Although taking the legal recourse appears to be an effective strategy as reflected in the case studies, it is also risky. The judiciary that is influenced by the mindset of the those who hold power, are likely to pass adverse orders resulting in a miscarriage of justice. There are many such examples in each of our countries. It can bring a dead-lock situation for the campaign and in such cases advocacy groups reframe the issue and focus on a different aspect of the issue.

For example, Bhanwari Devi – a woman born in a low caste potter family, who was employed as a grass-root worker by the Government of Rajasthan on a Women Development Project, was gang-raped by the powerful Gurjar caste men. This was a revenge taken on her for informing the police about the proposed child marriage who had taken action against them. She courageously filed a case, with the support of the women’s movement, put up a strong fight, but did not get justice. The Women’s movement reframed the issue and advocated for a law that would ensure safety and protection of women at their work place. It succeeded in getting the Supreme Court of India issue guidelines against sexual harassment at work-place making it mandatory for all employers to follow.

Strategically, PFF did not go to court at that time while it was campaigning against the development of the Bundal and Buddo islands into an ‘island city’. It was well aware of the political situation under Gen Musharraf’s regime that promoted capitalist financial policies under the then Finance Minister, had a strong influence over the judiciary. In the federal system of governance in Pakistan, every province has its own dynamics, and issues have to be tactfully dealt with understanding the politics of that province, explain the PFF activists.

It is important for us to note that laws of a country provide rights entitlements to its citizens. South Asian countries have borrowed a lot from the British colonial rule. It has inherited certain laws from them, and the colonial mindset continues. For eg. the Land Acquisition Act dated as early as 1894, continues to hold people at ransom in India¹³ and similar is the situation in Bangladesh and Pakistan.

v. Building contacts/ allying with political parties, parliamentarians and legislators etc.

This is an important strategy, specially influencing for policy and policy change, whether a parliamentary democracy or a presidential democracy – where governments get elected by its citizens. The support from political parties and/or legislators gives strength and legitimacy to the demands of the campaigns. Parliamentarians/ Legislators raise questions on issues that campaigns address the house of parliaments/ assemblies.

Advocacy groups are seen to take great care in deciding which party to ally with, when and how, while campaigning.

13: A new legislation on ‘Land Acquisition and Resettlement and Rehabilitation’ is underway, in India.





The Anti-SEZ case study is a classic example of the choice it exercised – keeping in mind the ideology of the political parties and the timing. When 30,000 farmers marched to the Commissioner office, the political parties –Shiwsena, the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Peasants and Workers Party joined them. They had joined only because they did not want to go against the common mood of such a large number of villagers and not because it was the party stand. Knowing this, the people’s campaign gave them that space that did not allow them any authority to bargain or take decisions. This is people’s power! . Peasants and Worker’s Party and Shiwsena MLAs staged a walk-out in the Assembly session when it refused to take up the MMSEZ issue for discussion.

In the Pakistan case, it specially called an All party conference which was given wide media coverage, following which the Sindh Taraqui Pasand and Sindh National Party organised rallies. The Pakistan Peoples Party was with the campaigners right from the beginning. As political parties were worried about forthcoming election they had to take a stand. These were main-stream political parties that opposed the island project and provided strength to the campaign.

In both the above examples we see that it a situation was created where the political party/ parties were forced to take the stand of the people. The people ruled the campaign agenda and political parties only supported it.

4. Networking

Networking is a very important component in campaign process. It aids in broad-basing campaigns, by bringing various individuals and groups who sympathize with the campaign, together. It develops a spirit of comradeship and builds resources of knowledge; provides a diversity of expertise, ideas, skills and capacities; and mobilises finances. Cumulatively, it helps in taking the struggle to a higher level. The broad-basing also ensures that the ‘issue’ gets importance and focussed, while the identity of individual organizations/ individuals takes the back-seat.

Whom to network with

1. Organizations who share, values and perspective
2. Who can concretely support
3. Whose resources can be of use
4. Honest commitment to issue
5. Organization has done lot of basic work and gained sympathy and credibility
6. Issue is at such level that other organizations find it suitable to their mission and vision statements.
7. Hold a similar political perspective on the issue.

Advocacy practitioners feel that networks that are built while campaigning should decide on its goals and demands collectively, in the initial stages itself. Such collective decision making reinforces democratic values and also ensures a collective identity for the ‘campaign’ as against that of any individual or organization. A common understanding makes the network cohesive despite minor ideological differences.





Only then will it have the strength to oppose any external divisive forces and deal with internal differences or ego clashes, and it would remain strong, intact and sustained.

Campaign is essential for forming a network; successful and sustainable network is essential to a campaign.

We learn from the case studies that there have been several ways of networking undertaken in campaigns.

SMO, of Afghanistan reached out to other NGOs as well as the AIHRC (the govt. appointed autonomous body) and political parties to join the campaign. The network so formed later decided to build a coalition to take the issue of child labour beyond the short-term campaign. Being a part of the global campaign, international organizations were already with them.

The PFF being a large mass-based organization, it had already set its campaign goals. Several other national and international level activists, NGOs, trade Unions, political parties and politicians, and media, joined in to provide support, while environmental research organizations provided the crucial data-base on the ecological sensitivity of the island area.

In the ship breaking campaign of Bangladesh, we find several organizations such as Bangladesh Environment Lawyers Association (BELA) that provided the legal expertise, Bangladesh Institute for Labour Studies (BILS) that raised the issue of labour rights at the national level, while YPSA kept the local pressure going. These efforts harmonized even though there was no collective planning or development of a strong 'net-work'. The YPSA on its own formed three forums – social forum, watchdog forum (of journalists) and student forum to deal with the various aspects of the campaign.

The networking in the anti-SEZ campaign very clearly had raised the mass-base, roped in the academicians, researchers, legal experts, politicians and the general middle class into the campaign. Several people's forums were formed at block levels,

district levels and national levels. The campaign joined hands with groups agitating against land grab in West Bengal (Nandigram) to form a national forum against globalization and eventually the people were able to relate their local issue to the macro issue and see it as a result of a faulty development model. This local struggle of Raigad had given strength to the national and international struggle against capitalistic and imperialistic policies of state.

Networking with the international community has proved to be useful in all campaigns. Advocacy practitioners during the thematic workshop cited examples of how pressure from the international community had helped in saving victims who were ordered to be stoned to death in a country, and also in preventing female circumcision. International campaigns have been found to be supportive in achieving long term goals of the advocacy struggle/ movement and also supportive to short term micro-campaigns.

5. Need for Campaigning and Networking at the South Asian level.

The hazardous ship-breaking industry; the fisherfolk who are imprisoned for having crossed 'borders'; the land grab for establishing 'economic zones' for industry, corporate farming, mining and for promoting MNCs for foreign investment; and privatization of natural resources; are issues common to all South Asian countries that affect livelihood of its poor and marginalized communities. They have to be dealt with at the regional level because much larger





and powerful forces of the market and the imperialistic forces of the west affect the policies of all countries of South Asia. Also policies and decisions of one South Asian country can influence or even have an adverse effect on the other.

For eg. In case of the ship-breaking industry, if India or Pakistan accepts a ship that Bangladesh has rejected, the government experiences a 'loss' in business to a neighbouring competitor and therefore refuses to scrap its policy that allows for ship-breaking industry. Only if all groups advocate with their own governments will such a hazardous policy/ practice end. Such a situation is possible only if a South Asian coalition is built, whose members decide to advocate with the respective governments simultaneously and at the same time builds alliances with the European civil society organizations from where these ships are sent. Such efforts are underway and civil society advocacy groups can join such coalitions.¹⁴

Similarly, the World Forum for Fisher Peoples (WFFP¹⁵) is a global coalition whose secretariat is currently held by the PFF. It is campaigning in countries of South Asia for release of fisher folk who are imprisoned for years. It is advocating with governments of South Asian countries for recognizing the livelihood rights of fisher folk and for sensitively dealing with fisherfolk who mistakenly cross borders.



There are several regional networks across South Asia that deal with inter-country issues such as above. We find emergence of coalitions for peace and de-militarization, those against trafficking of labour and women/ minor girls, etc. In order to enhance cooperation, the governments of eight South Asian countries have formed the SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) and have accepted a charter. Several agreements and treaties have been signed and this provides advocacy groups and people's movement an important framework and legitimacy for advocacy in South Asia.

Advocacy practitioners feel that networks that are built while campaigning should decide on its goals and demands collectively, in the initial stages itself. Such collective decision making reinforces democratic values and also ensures a collective identity for the 'campaign' as against that of any individual or organization. A common understanding makes the network cohesive despite minor ideological differences.

The write up from the eminent journalist and peace activist Mr. Kuldip Nayar, in the following section, envisions building South Asia as a 'Union' and the implications it would have for the development of the people of this region. A campaign built with such a vision would go a long way in ensuring human rights and social justice to the masses of South Asia.

14: Contact YPSA - website address: www.ypsa.org

15: Contact PFF - website address: www.pff.org.pk





“My Vision of South Asia”

By Kuldeep Nayar

South Asia is not merely a geographical expression. It represents aspirations of more than 2 billion peoples who have a long history of sufferings and sacrifices. It is an area which has similar heritage, similar people and the similar traditions. It was exploited mostly by the British which used it for its own markets. The rulers not only looted it in an imperialist style but also divided it into different countries in such a way that the walls they have raised among them do not crumble and the nations continue to live in hate and enmity.

Whether India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal they have gone through the same experience of plunder and pillage. True, all these countries have freed themselves from the clutches of the British but they have not been overcome particularism and parochialism which is the bane of the region. Differences among them have often led to wars. Some kind of settlements does take place but fire continues to smolder. The region has never experienced peace in the real sense of the term.

Because of colonial exploitation past South Asia has wallowed in poverty and hunger. Peoples are in a vicious circle: they do not have enough resources to invest to overcome their economic backwardness and their economic backwardness has not allowed them to build up resources. They feel helpless. How do they breakaway from the past is the dilemma they face?

Riven with differences over religion and identity the region may not be able to attain its destiny unless it pulls itself out from the morass of suspicion and mistrust. The countries have to develop as an integrated unit, some sort of union. Even the developed countries in Europe could not defeat their economic underdevelopment on their own. They had to form an economic union with a common market and one currency.

Our problem in South Asia is the legacy which the British have left behind to ensure that we are always up in arms against one another. And the West is too happy to supply us their outmoded weapons which we buy for defence to the detriment of development.

My vision of South Asia is that of a region which will know no border, no territorial impediment, and no combative identity. Nations in the region will stay sovereign and independent but will integrate in such a way where each will give to South Asia Union all that it can according to the capacity and will get from the Union according to their need. People will retain their nationality Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi. But the pride of being South Asia will transcend jingo-nationalism and the embedded patriotism. Both Afghanistan and Myanmar will also be an intimate part of the region.

Once a South Asia Union comes into being, the countries embraced by it will elect a Parliament, with two houses: one of the people and the other of countries. The house of countries, called senate, will have five members each so that every nation, big or small, will have equal representation and effective say in the affairs of union through the senate.

There will be one visa to visit the countries in the region and people will travel from one end to the other freely and stay wherever they choose to do as long as they desire. They can seek employment anywhere and their children admission to any school or any technical institution in South Asia. There will be one currency although the countries in the region can also have their own currency. Similarly, there will be one flag for South Asia Union and it will fly by the side of the country's own flag.



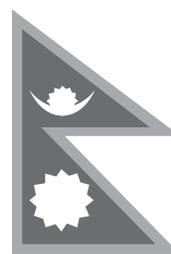
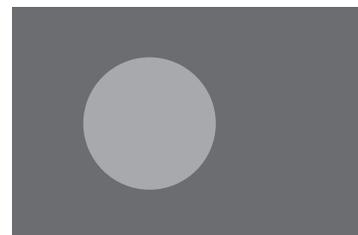


Water is a scarce commodity in South Asia. All rivers in the region will be harnessed for an integrated development of various basins. The Union, which will have representatives of each country on the governing council of the region, will decide on the allocation, not dictated by the consideration whether river rises in one country and passes through another. Need of the people will be the criterion and if some cuts have to be made they will be uniform so that the sacrifice is equal.

India in the region is a developed country against others at different stages of development. Therefore New Delhi will have to give them tariff and other concessions so that there is a level playing field. India is also in a position to provide technology so some countries in the region because the West will never pass on the latest technology. Even their lesser technology would be expensive.

Ultimately, the military apparatus will have to be reduced so that the much needed funds can flow to implement steps to eliminate poverty. In the meanwhile, the governments should enter into no-war-pacts to give confidence to the countries in the region against surprise attacks. As regards the nuclear weapons, to begin with there should be an agreement on “no-first-use”, subsequently the countries in the region will have to join hands to mobilise opinion in the world for the destruction of all nuclear weapons.

I realize that all that I have said sound like dream but the young will one day see the dawn after the long nights that the region has experienced. The activists in different countries can push the process if they have the commitment to the idea of South Asia Union. In this context I visualize that religion will be a personal affairs for a citizen and not to be mixed-up with the state. How soon the activists can spread the idea of South Asia Union is important since they are the torch bearers.





Tool for strategy development in advocacy campaigns

Tool that can facilitate strategic planning in campaigning is presented below.

i. SLOT Analysis

We realize from the study of the case studies that since the struggle is against very powerful enemies, campaign has to be strategized to seek positive results. Making the right choices at the right time is the key to strategizing. Campaigns have assessed resources, found spaces in democratic set-up of the countries governance systems to ensure protests are non-violent and democratic, studied the external environment, the political situation, the power of its opponents, the spirit of the proponents, international environment and much more before it took its next steps and activities. What emerges as a tool for effectively assessing the situation is the SLOT analysis. Slot analysis is an analysis of Strength, Limitation, Opportunity and Threat

SLOT analysis of both the proponents and opponents needs to be conducted because strength of one can be limitation of other. A strategic struggle can be put up if one knows the 'enemy' well.

Assess internal factors concerning campaigners

- Strengths and Limitations in areas such as :
- Information
- In-house expertise & capacity
- Strength & quality of supporters
- Contacts & networking
- Financial resources
- Quality of management

Assess external factors concerning campaigners

- Opportunities and Threats in areas such as:
- Status of People's Movement
- Political change
- Socio / Cultural change
- Relations with competitors / other bodies
- Economic / demographic change
- Technological developments

ii. Framework for strategic planning

Strategic planning is necessary for formulating a plan of action aimed at gaining victory for the people on a particular issue. In a campaign, it is not enough to have commitment but equally important is to have an effective strategy. Strategic planning is based on the skills of analysing, interpreting, communicating, negotiating, bargaining and mobilising people along with a thorough assessment of the environment. The strategy takes in to account the likely challenges, threats as well as opportunities (SLOT analysis). While planning a strategy, one has to be rooted in the present position. A periodic review and evaluation helps in reworking the strategy and forms the basis for future learning.

Strategies should focus on the following aspects,

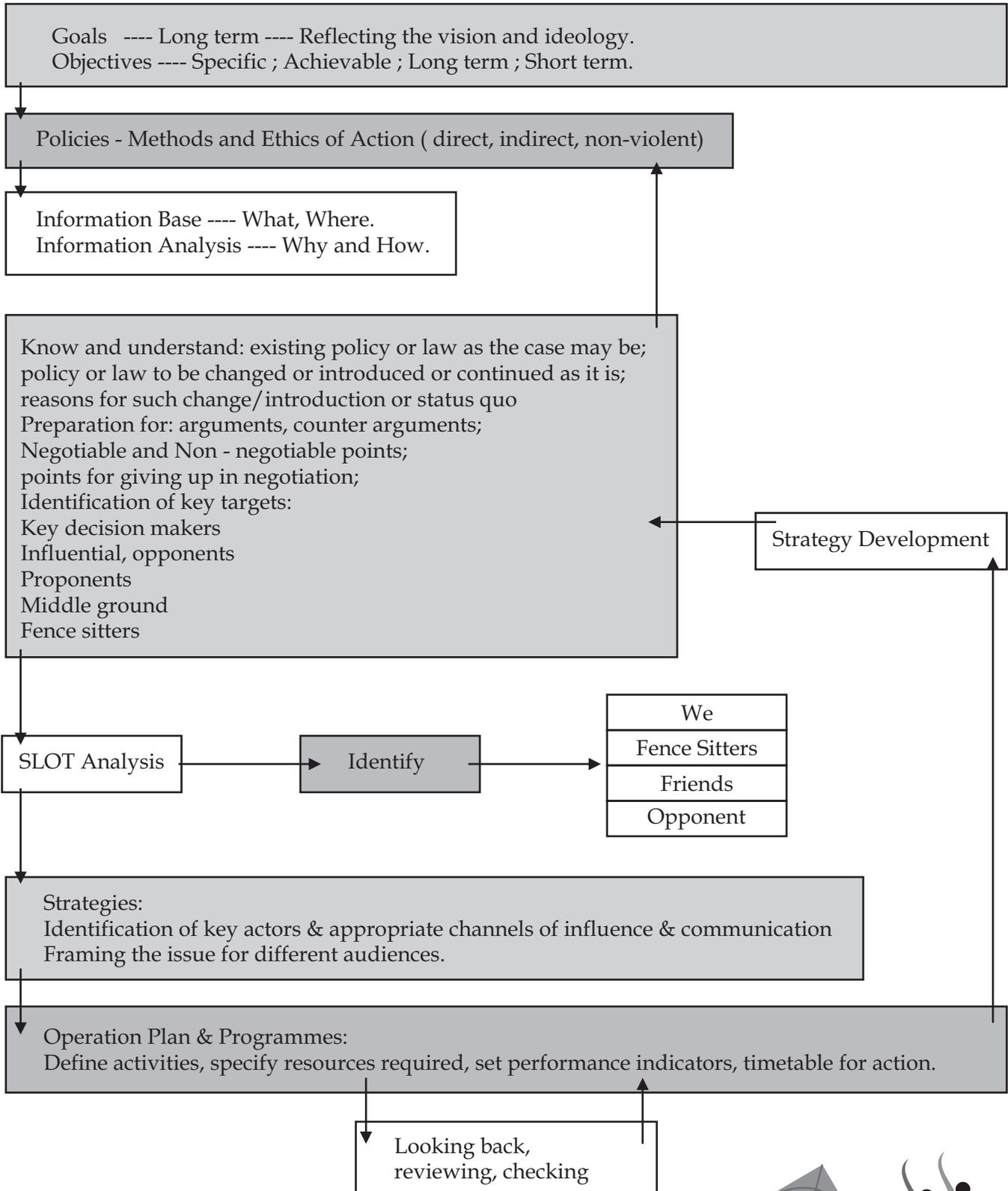
- Building the strength of the affected people.
- Reducing the strength of the opponents.
- Activating the friends of the campaign.
- Attracting the maximum number of 'fence-sitters' to join us or at the very least not to join the opposition/ opponents
- Converting our limitations into strengths and the threats into opportunities.

The framework for strategic planning is presented in the diagram below. This tool would ensure that all aspects for planning campaigns are given good thought, the context analysed, consequences and risks assessed, thus raising the preparedness for any back lash and much more. This framework would be useful in building campaigns along common issues across South Asia. The SAARC charter that has sought commitments of the Governments of the eight South Asian countries would provide the 'constitutional' frame work for the campaign. In conclusion, it is important to reiterate in the words of peace activist Karamat Ali of Pakistan that any 'South Asian level advocacy must address militarization as a priority area since without addressing militarization, we cannot address poverty.'





Framework for Planning a Campaign





Appendix 1

SAARC Charter

We, the Heads of State or Government of BANGLADESH, BHUTAN, INDIA, MALDIVES, NEPAL, PAKISTAN and SRI LANKA ;

1. Desirous of promoting peace, stability, amity and progress in the region through strict adherence to the principles of the UNITED NATIONS CHARTER and NON-ALIGNMENT, particularly respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, national independence, non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and peaceful settlement of all disputes;

2. Conscious that in an increasingly interdependent world, the objectives of peace, freedom, social justice and economic prosperity are best achieved in the SOUTH ASIAN region by fostering mutual understanding, good neighbourly relations and meaningful cooperation among the Member States which are bound by ties of history and culture;

3. Aware of the common problems, interests and aspirations of the peoples of SOUTH ASIA and the need for joint action and enhanced cooperation within their respective political and economic systems and cultural traditions;

4. Convinced that regional cooperation among the countries of SOUTH ASIA is mutually beneficial, desirable and necessary for promoting the welfare and improving the quality of life of the peoples of the region;

5. Convinced further that economic, social and technical cooperation among the countries of SOUTH ASIA would contribute significantly to national and collective self-reliance;

6. Recognising that increased cooperation, contacts and exchanges among the countries of the region will contribute to the promotion of friendship and understanding among their peoples;

7. Recalling the DECLARATION signed by their Foreign Ministers in NEW DELHI on August 2, 1983 and noting the progress achieved in regional cooperation;

8. Reaffirming their determination to promote such cooperation within an institutional framework;

DO HEREBY AGREE to establish an organisation to be known as SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION hereinafter referred to as the ASSOCIATION, with the following objectives, principles, institutional and financial arrangements:

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the ASSOCIATION shall be:

Article I

a) to promote the welfare of the peoples of SOUTH ASIA and to improve their quality of life;

b) to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region and to provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realise their full potentials;

c) to promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of SOUTH ASIA; d) to contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems;

e) to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields;

f) to strengthen cooperation with other developing countries;

g) to strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interests; and

h) to cooperate with international and regional organisations with similar aims and purposes.





Article II

PRINCIPLES

1. Cooperation within the framework of the ASSOCIATION shall be based on respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and mutual benefit.
2. Such cooperation shall not be a substitute for bilateral and multilateral cooperation but shall complement them.
3. Such cooperation shall not be inconsistent with bilateral and multilateral obligations.

Article III

MEETINGS OF THE HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT

The Heads of State or Government shall meet once a year or more often as and when considered necessary by the Member States.

Article IV

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

1. A Council of Ministers consisting of the Foreign Ministers of the Member States shall be established with the following functions:
 - a) formulation of the policies of the ASSOCIATION;
 - b) review of the progress of cooperation under the ASSOCIATION;
 - c) decision on new areas of cooperation;
 - d) establishment of additional mechanism under the ASSOCIATION as deemed necessary;
 - e) decision on other matters of general interest to the ASSOCIATION.
2. The Council of Ministers shall meet twice a year. Extraordinary session of the Council may be held by agreement among the Member States.

Article V

STANDING COMMITTEE

1. The Standing Committee comprising the Foreign Secretaries shall have the following functions:
 - a) overall monitoring and coordination of programme of cooperation;
 - b) approval of projects and programmes, and the modalities of their financing;
 - c) determination of inter-sectoral priorities;
 - d) mobilisation of regional and external resources;
 - e) identification of new areas of cooperation based on appropriate studies.
2. The Standing Committee shall meet as often as deemed necessary.
3. The Standing Committee shall submit periodic reports to the Council of Ministers and make reference to it as and when necessary for decisions on policy matters.

Article VI

TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

1. Technical Committees comprising representatives of Member States shall be responsible for the implementation, coordination and monitoring of the programmes in their respective areas of cooperation.
2. They shall have the following terms of reference:
 - a) determination of the potential and the scope of regional cooperation in agreed areas;
 - b) formulation of programmes and preparation of projects;
 - c) determination of financial implications of sectoral programmes;
 - d) formulation of recommendations regarding apportionment of costs;
 - e) implementation and coordination of sectoral programmes;





f) monitoring of progress in implementation.

3. The Technical Committees shall submit periodic reports to the Standing Committee.

4. The Chairmanship of the Technical Committees shall normally rotate among Member States in alphabetical order every two years.

5. The Technical Committees may, inter-alia, use the following mechanisms and modalities, if and when considered necessary:

- a) meetings of heads of national technical agencies;
- b) meetings of experts in specific fields;
- c) contact amongst recognised centres of excellence in the region.

Article VII

ACTION COMMITTEES

The Standing Committee may set up Action Committees comprising Member States concerned with implementation of projects involving more than two but not all Member States.

Article VIII

SECRETARIAT

There shall be a Secretariat of the ASSOCIATION.

Article IX

FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS

1. The contribution of each Member State towards financing of the activities of the ASSOCIATION shall be voluntary. 2. Each Technical Committee shall make recommendations for the apportionment of costs of implementing the programmes proposed by it. 3. In case sufficient financial resources cannot be mobilised within the region for funding activities of the ASSOCIATION, external financing from appropriate sources may be mobilised with the approval of or by the Standing Committee.

Article X

GENERAL PROVISIONS

1. Decisions at all levels shall be taken on the basis of unanimity.

2. Bilateral and contentious issues shall be excluded from the deliberations.

IN FAITH WHEREOF We Have Set Our Hands And Seals Hereunto. DONE In DHAKA, BANGLADESH, On This The Eighth Day Of December Of The Year One Thousand Nine Hundred Eighty Five.

Hussain Muhammad Ershad
PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

Jigme Singye Wangchuk
KING OF BHUTAN

Rajiv Gandhi
PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA

Maumoon Abdul Gayoom
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALDIVES

Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev
KING OF NEPAL

Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq
PRESIDENT OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

Junius Richard Jayewardene
PRESIDENT OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF SRI LANKA





About 'SAARC'

In the late 1970's, president Ziaur Rahman, proposed the creation of trade bloc consisting of South Asian countries. The Bangladeshi proposal was accepted by India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka during meeting held in Colombo in 1981. In August 1983, the leaders adopted the Declaration on South Asian Regional Cooperation during a summit which was held in New Delhi

The heads of Seven South Asian Countries of SAARC (Bangladeshi, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) signed the charter to establish the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) on December 8th, 1985.

Afghanistan joined SAARC as a Member at the Fourteenth SAARC Summit, Delhi, April 2007.

SAARC is unique concept of regional cooperation. with very distinct geographical, cultural, environmental diversity, the SAARC member states compress of the worlds highest mountains, land locked mountains terrains to deltaic low line flood - prone areas and one of the smallest low line island nation in the world.

With the world's most populous country, SAARC is home to nearly 1.5billion people or about 22% of world's population

SAARC Secretariat

The SAARC secretariat was established in Kathmandu on 16th January 1987. It's role is to coordinate and monitor the implementation of SAARC activities, service the meetings of the association and serve as the channel of communication between SAARC and the international organization

The secretariat comprises the Secretary General, Eight Directors and the general service staffs.

Source: <http://www.saarc-sec.org/Charter-Day/6/>





Appendix - 2

The community of advocacy practitioners

Sr. No	Name	Organization	Country
1.	Ms. Khan Shabana Wahid	Shirkat Gah	Pakistan
2.	Jarwar Hussain Bux	Pakistan Fisher folk Forum	Pakistan
3.	Karamat Ali	Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research (PILER)	Pakistan
4.	Asad Rehman	Sungi Development Foundation	Pakistan
5.	Abdul Sami Zhman	Cooperation for Peace and Development (CPD) (Ex. Saba Media Organization)	Afghanistan
6.	Abdul Nazif Naimi	Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance (CHA)	Afghanistan
7.	Zohra Alamyar	Afghan Women Skill Development Center (AWSDC)	Afghanistan
8.	Sadhana Dadhich	Nari Samata Manch	India
9.	Bhanwar Singh Chadana	ASTHA Sansthan	India
10.	Vijaylakshmi Brara	Centre for Manipur Studies	India
11.	Datta Patil	Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action	India
12.	Vaishali Patil	Ankur Trust	India
13.	N. Vijaylakshmi Brara	Centre for Manipur Studies, Manipur University	India
14.	Sehjo Singh	National Centre for Advocacy Studies	India
15.	Lata Pratibha Madhukar	National Centre for Advocacy Studies	India
16.	Prasanna Invally	National Centre for Advocacy Studies	India
17.	Kuldip Nayar	Free lance journalist, peace activist	India
18.	Manoranjan Pegu	Free-lance development professional	India
19.	Mohammad Shahid Ullah	Fellow - Development Synergy Institute , (Ex. Shushashoner Jonno Procharavijan 'SUPRO')	Bangladesh
20.	Sayed Ul Alam Kazal	Free-lace development consultant (Ex. Director, 'Ashrai')	Bangladesh
21.	MA Quader	SETU	Bangladesh
22.	Muhammed Ali Shahin	Youth Power in Social Action	Bangladesh
23.	Imtiaz Ahmed	Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka	Bangladesh
24.	Bhola Bhattarai	National Forum for Advocacy Nepal (NAFAN)	Nepal





The organizations that the community of advocacy practitioners represented were as follows:

Shirkat Gah, a Women's Resource Centre (a place of participation) has been a leading women's rights organization in Pakistan since its formation in 1975. It has made valuable contributions to women's empowerment through its current and previous projects and programmes: Women Law and Status (WLS), Reproductive Health and Rights (RHRR), Women and Sustainable Development (WSD), Green Economics and Globalization initiative (GEG), and Women's Empowerment and Social Justice Programme (WESJP).

Pakistan Fisherfolk Forum (PFF) is a grassroots organisation engaged in a struggle for the civil, economic and political rights of indigenous and small-scale fishing communities of Pakistan and their access to natural resources and sustainable livelihoods. PFF is registered as an NGO and began its struggle on 5th May 1998.

Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research (PILER) established in 1982, is a not-for-profit, non-government, citizen sector organization engaged in research, training and advocacy in the areas of labour rights and labour legislation, social justice and human development, and regional solidarity and peace.

Sungi Development Foundation is an organization established in 1989 in Pakistan. Its mission is to bring about policy and institutional changes by mobilizing marginalized communities to transform their lives through equitable and sustainable use of resources without any discrimination against social origin, sex, race, caste and religion. Sungi's role is to improve good governance by mobilizing people; influencing government policies, systems and structures and not to take roles of the government.

Saba Media Organisation (SMO) is a registered not-for-profit media organisation in Afghanistan. It was established in 1997 to continue the efforts of a group of Afghan social workers and intellectuals in the media during the Taliban rule. SMO's goal is to assist in the development of a peaceful and stable Afghan society through creating awareness and education of citizens.

Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance (CHA) is a non-profit making, non-sectarian and non-political humanitarian organization in Afghanistan that was created in 1987 by a team of educated and experienced Afghan volunteers. Its mission is to be a proactive player and advocate in rehabilitation, reconstruction and sustainable social and economic development of Afghanistan and in promotion and strengthening Afghan civil society as an active and vibrant force and partner in this process.

Afghan Women Skill Development Centre (AWSDC) is a non-profit, non-government and non-political organization, created in 1999 by a group of committed Afghan women. The aim is to reduce the suffering of Afghan women and children through promotion of peace and initiation of rehabilitation and development projects.

Setu, is national level NGO in Bangladesh that was formed in 1983 and aims at enable the disadvantaged community for sustainable development. SETU's development effort concentrates on organizing and mobilizing the viable groups, enhancing their analytical capability, so that they can act and speak in local, national even global context. It has particular expertise on the issues of Globalization, Rights & Governance, Climate Justice, Advocacy, and CSO accountability among others.

Shushashoner Jonno Procharavijan (SUPRO), is a national network of grassroots NGOs in Bangladesh, working to establish economic, social and cultural rights of poor and marginalized people at all spheres of society and state through facilitating right based activism at grassroots, national and global level. SUPRO works with the grassroots NGOs and CSOs with a view to bringing about desired policy changes beneficial for the people in general and poor and marginalized in particular.

Ashrai (meaning shelter) is an NGO established in 1991 for working with indigenous people in the north western division of Rajshahi in Bangladesh. Ashrai is dedicated to improving the standard of living of the minority peoples it works with and to integrating them into the mainstream of economic development in Bangladesh.

Youth Power in Social Action (YPSA), is a non-profit social development organization, was established on 20th May 1985 by active initiation of the socially conscious youth of Sitakund Upazilla under Chittagong District of Bangladesh. YPSA exists to participate with the poor and vulnerable population with all commitment to bring about their own and society's sustainable development.

The National Forum for Advocacy, Nepal (NAFAN) is a network of nongovernment organisations committed to serve as a resource centre for capacity building in advocacy. The network was founded in 2004 and is based in Kathmandu, Nepal. The primary objective of the network is to bring clarity on the concept of advocacy and advocacy tools and techniques by means of capacity building activities throughout Nepal.

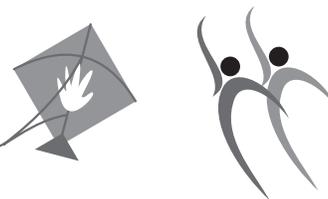
Astha Sansthan was formed in 1986 and registered under Society Registration Act 1860. Astha (meaning 'faith') began its work with commitment towards people and having faith in their strength and capacities. Astha always has made an attempt to ensure the Right to Justice, Peace, Development; no caste, class, or gender based discrimination; and has worked for a society in which the poor have control on their natural as well as livelihood resources, where people co-exist with nature, equality prevails in the society.

Ankur Trust is working in Konkan belt of Maharashtra, India. It voices concerns of the marginalized communities against the so-called developmental projects of Special Economic Zone, mining, power plants etc. It strives for community's rights and ownership over natural resources – such as land, water, forest and ecosystem, and right to livelihood.

Sarjom is a social organization based in Balijuri, Jharkhand. It has been initiating and raising the local issues in Potka block area with the alliance of like-minded people's organizations on issues of land acquisition for mining by large industrial houses. Sarjom aims at strengthening people's participation in local self governance for claiming right over land and livelihood of the tribal people of the area.

South Asians for Human Rights (SAHR) is a democratic regional network with a large membership base of people committed to addressing human rights issues at both national and regional levels. SAHR aims at fostering the concept of multiple South Asian identities by enabling people to realise their ideals and aspirations for peace, democracy, secularism and human security, while promoting pluralism in approaches towards social, political, economic and cultural development of different communities, ethnic, linguistic, religious and other groups.

Oxfam Novib is one of the 14 national affiliates of the Oxfam International Confederation. It started life in 1956 as the Netherlands Organisation for International Assistance (Novib), and joined forces with Oxfam in 1994. Working together in confederation, the Oxfam affiliates can speak with one clear and compelling voice on issues of global concern: climate change, health and education for all, agriculture, trade, and conflicts and emergencies.



About NCAS

The National Centre for Advocacy Studies (NCAS) is a membership based social change resource centre working with social action groups, public interest professionals, and people from all over India and South Asia. Presently based in Pune, NCAS began its work in 1992 with the aim of empowering people with the necessary knowledge and skills to create a just and humane society. It is registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860 and the Bombay Public Trust Act, 1950.

A group of eighty committed social activists from different regions of India guide the working of NCAS. They have vast experience in the field of social action, communication, law, human rights, social justice and consumer action.

As a pro-active learning organisation, NCAS engages a participatory, people-centred policy that builds and bridges ideas, people, and perspectives for the advancement of human rights and social justice. It works with marginalized communities, mainly adivasis, dalits, and religious minorities with a cross-cutting focus on women. It focuses on right to livelihood, access to natural resources, and just governance

NCAS believes in:

- a society without poverty, injustice and discrimination,
- where every person and community can realize Human Rights to live with dignity,
- Working towards a people-centered participatory, transparent, accountable and just governance.

As an Advocacy Resource Centre, that has pioneered the concept and praxis of people centred advocacy, NCAS seeks to

- Strengthen capacities and struggles of marginalized communities to claim Human Rights and Social Justice.
- Create enabling environment to promote people's access, influence and participation in institutions of democracy.

For more information visit us at www.ncasindia.org



NATIONAL CENTRE FOR ADVOCACY STUDIES (NCAS)

Pune, Raipur, Delhi, Bhubhaneshwar

Serenity Complex, Ramnagar Colony, Pashan, Pune – 411 021, Maharashtra, India

Tel.: (+91 20) 2295 2003/ 2295 2004, Fax:(+91 20) 2295 1857

Email: ncas@vsnl.com

Web: www.ncasindia.org