ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN INDIA

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PUNE: Living up to the t
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ABOUT ROHINI NILEKANI PHILANTHROPIES

Rohini Nilekani Philanthropies (RNP) looks to support ideas, individuals and institutions doing ground-breaking work that enables a strong samaaj with ethical leadership, a sense of urgency and the courage to learn. Rohini Nilekani Philanthropies seeks to create and strengthen communities that work for their own betterment.

RNP does this by supporting ground-breaking work that is anchored in networks and movements, and often sits at the intersection of Samaaj, Sarkaar and Bazaar. RNP operationalises its intent by making grants primarily in four big areas: Environment, Biodiversity and Conservation, Gender Equality, Civic Engagement and Active Citizenship and Access to Justice.

ABOUT ARETE ADVISORS

Arete Advisors LLP (Areté) is a boutique management and impact consulting firm offering strategy and execution support to corporates, non-profits, foundations and government functions across sectors including gender, livelihoods and skills, food and agriculture,healthcare, education, retail and infrastructure. As of January 2022, Arete Advisors has merged with Bain & Co.

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FOREWORD

This report attempts to capture a point-in-time snapshot of the active citizenship landscape in India—in theory and practice. Rohini Nilekani Philanthropies (RNP) acknowledges the value of active citizenship—intrinsically, and to achieve widespread change required to overcome many of India's development challenges. Most recently, the pandemic has foregrounded the importance of civic engagement and local problem solving. The broader importance of *samaaj* when it comes to fostering resilience is clear, and through this report, RNP hopes to widely engage all stakeholders interested in understanding or supporting the work currently going on in this space.

BACKGROUND

Disquieting global trends have led to concern, apprehension and fear. We are living in an era of tectonic shifts and disruption. Natural disasters and catastrophes caused by climate change are impacting lives and livelihoods. COVID-19 has claimed 4.5 million lives and 150 million people have been driven below the international poverty line (USD 1.9 a day). Structural economic inequality has worsened, and this economic slump is polarising people and making countries more insular. The **global narrative focusses on the role of governments and markets, but the role of the citizenry—that is, our role in shaping our futures—also requires spotlighting.**

The democratisation of information in the digital age has brought active citizenship to the forefront by providing opportunities for mass mobilisation. While collectivization, civic agitation and revolution were always a part of society, the internet and social media birthed a "variant" – a more spontaneous, rapid form of mobilization that has been witnessed across the world: #MeToo, the youth-led climate movement, the Hong Kong pro-democracy campaign, and Black Lives Matter (and in India, we have seen India Against Corruption, the nirbhaya protests, anti-CAA/NRC and most recently the farmers protests).

However, public protest is only one form of civic expression. Community level work, volunteering, participation in local democracy and public problem solving are the lesser publicized but more prevalent forms of civic involvement. Citizens routinely exhibit their "civic sense" in quiet, and invisible ways. In 2015, when the government launched the Give it Up campaign, 10 million households gave up their LPG gas cylinder subsides so that household below the poverty line would be able to access those benefits instead. During the second wave of the COVID-19 pandemic thousands of citizens volunteered for disaster management.. The India Giving Report 2021 suggests that individual acts of charity have been at their highest—85% respondents had contributed to a charitable cause.

Given this context, we are eager to explore three key questions:

1. What is active citizenship?
2. How do different stakeholders interact with this practice to shape the ecosystem?
3. How can it be catalysed in the Indian context?

We do this through a review of seminal literature around citizen participation and democracy in action; primary interactions and consultations with close to 20 practitioners; and detailed profiling of ~80 organisations (Annexure 2) in the space.

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However, public protest is only one form of civic expression. Community level work, volunteering, participation in local democracy and public problem solving are the lesser publicized but more prevalent forms of civic involvement.

This report spotlights our research and draws out a framework to navigate the complex space of active citizenship. It is structured in six parts:

CHAPTER 1
explores what it means to be an active citizen and how citizenship builds resilient societies. This section is primarily based on research and literature review.

CHAPTER 2
maps the landscape of *samaaj*—civil society organisations (CSOs) and social enterprises—fostering active citizenship in India. Our study of ~80 organisations was restricted by two limitations. First, as we were largely limited to desk research, self-reported information and social media outreach to identify and profile organizations, some nuances of sensitive elements such as caste and gender have been limited. For example, we looked at gender largely through a binary lens. Second, our sample may be skewed towards more English-speaking, tech-based organizations.

CHAPTER 3
reviews the role and potential of *sarkaar* (government) in driving active citizenship. And the Open Government doctrine, constructed to facilitate public participation, and its journey in India.

CHAPTER 4
is on *bazaar* (companies) as active citizens and the evolution of good corporate citizenship.

CHAPTER 5
studies ecosystem catalysts: funding (philanthropy and private capital), technology, research (academia) and amplification (media).

CHAPTER 6
leaves readers to reflect on questions and ideas on the state of active citizenship in India.

There are a few exclusions from the report.

› Faith based organizations that drive a lot of volunteering work have not been studied; however, their presence has been acknowledged in the Samaaj in Action chapter.

› Although political structures and leaders are critical to the functioning of democracy, we have not examined them except when they overlap with the work of CSOs.

› The deep linkages between active citizenship and the justice system have also been excluded from the report apart from the work of CSOs at the cusp of active citizenship and access to justice.

› The global context has only been referenced to illustrate a gap or make a stark comparison while exploring the Indian landscape.

This report is a result of collaboration between the Rohini Nilekani Philanthropies and Areté Advisors LLP.

Rohini Nilekani Philanthropies has had a pioneering and long-standing presence in the active citizenship space in India. RNP believes that enabled and engaged communities lie at the heart of robust, thriving societies. With this belief, it supports 15+ organisations that are trying to create innovative ways to increase civic participation and catalyse their power to solve complex problems.

Arete Advisors LLP is a homegrown boutique impact and management consulting firm. Its impact advisory practice works with philanthropies, non-profits, governments, and impact investors to help them solve some of their most pressing challenges and maximise the impact of every development rupee spent.

Our aspiration is that the report will inspire discourse to grow the power of active citizenship in the years to come.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Societal harmony and progress are achieved when there is a delicate balance of *samaaj*, *sarkaar*, *bazaar*. Civic engagement and Active citizenship maintains this balance by ensuring that *samaaj* (in this particular case, citizens) continuously exerts pulls and pushes on both *sarkaar* and *bazaar*. Over time, it helps build resilience and social capital, and improves the functioning of a democracy by ensuring policy implementation, holding public officials accountable and driving a representation of diverse voices.

The concept of active citizenship is layered and nuanced, which makes it hard to codify.

Citizens don't necessarily participate in civic and political processes—either because they are unaware of their rights and roles or they believe that their contributions would not make a meaningful difference. Four key factors drive this:

› Lack of trust in public institutions
› Limited awareness of appropriate channels for participation
› Rising binaries across political and sectarian lines
› Exclusion of certain groups, especially marginalised communities

Societal harmony and progress are achieved when there is a delicate balance of samaaj, sarkaar, bazaar. Active citizenship maintains this balance.

FIGURE I
THE COMPLEXITIES OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP IS DYNAMIC

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP IS GEOGRAPHICALLY UBIQUITOUS

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP EXPANDS BEYOND BASIC CIVIL DUTIES

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP IS NON-BINARY

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP OPTIMIZES FOR ACTION OVER IMPACT

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP NEED NOT REQUIRE A DIRECT INTERFACE WITH GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRACY

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP EXIST AS PART OF A MULTI-DIRECTIONAL, MULTI-STAKEHOLDER, FLUID UNIVERSE

Considering these barriers, *samaaj, sarkaar* and *bazaar* have created tools and mechanisms to activate citizenry. These can be understood by deconstructing the Awareness, Connection, Capacitation and Action (ACCA) framework defined below. 10% are pure play enablers and 40% are both.

Samaaj organisations are a dynamic, vibrant group working across the key steps of the ACCA framework.

FIGURE 2
THE ACCA FRAMEWORK OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

|	AWARENESS Communicate the issues (knowledge information) to drive interest Facilitate access	CONNECTION Drive a relationship with others and Create an interface for government engagement	CAPACITATION Create capability to process and act Create efficiencies	ACTION Direct implementation and ownership of problem solving
SAMAAJ*	✔	✔	✔	✔
SARKAAR	✔	✔		✔
BAZAAR	✔			✔

*SAMAAJ (CSOS AND SOCIAL ENTERPRISES)
The work of ~80 CSOs and social enterprises operating in the areas of active citizenship, governance, and democracy was landscaped.

SAMAAJ

This report uses a sample of ~80 **Indian** CSOs and social enterprises **to arrive at a better understanding of the civic engagement landscape in India. To start with, we have categorized these organisations into two types: implementers and enablers**. The distinction between them is based on the feedback loop with citizens. Implementers close the feedback loop—they provide people with direct pathways to engage and participate. Enablers' communication is one way—they foster active citizenship through indirect pathways such as knowledge and dissemination. Nearly half the *samaaj* organisations we profiled are implementers, 10% enablers and 40% both.

Samaaj organisations work across the key steps of the Awareness, Connection, Capacitation and Action (ACCA) framework.

FIGURE 3
SPLIT OF WORK OF ORGANISATIONS ACROSS THE ACCA FRAMEWORK
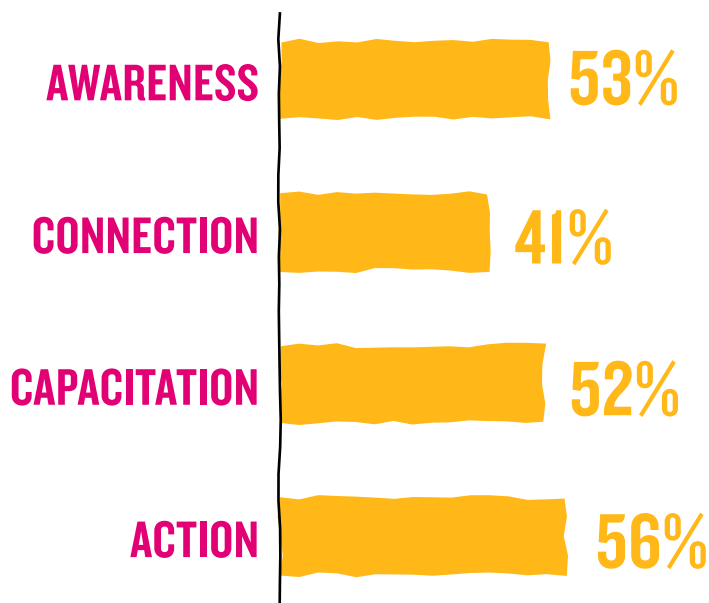
Note: N=79 organisations; organisations work across multiple steps hence sum > 100. modes for different programmes

An archetypical *samaaj* organisation in our sample works in an urban setting, targets 18–30-year-olds, is gender and sector agnostic, has national scale and focuses on citizens taking concrete actions (over more abstract goals).

› URBAN BIAS · 59 of 79 organisations have a strong urban bias—may be due to easier connectivity, founder biases and a presumption of rural citizen participation through the Panchayati Raj.

› AGE SKEW · While most organisations (56 of 79) are age agnostic, including 60% + implementers, the 18-30 age cohort is prominently targeted. This is in line with global research that suggests that ceteris paribus the impact of age on active citizenship increases up to the age of 58 and then starts to fall. Theory and practice now are also starting to work with younger cohorts of beneficiaries.

› GENDER AGNOSTIC · Only 17 of 79 organisations take an intentional gender lens—owing to the difficulty in situating this work as specific to women.

› SECTOR AGNOSTIC · 9 of 79 organisations have a horizontal focus. They focus on strengthening a specific type of civic muscle—for instance, petitioning—and believe that once a civic skill has been instilled, it can be used to engage across issues.

› ACTION-ORIENTATION · Most organisations work through training, live projects and other experiential formats; 29 of 79 organisations use technology as core to their operating model. under awareness and 18 under connection.
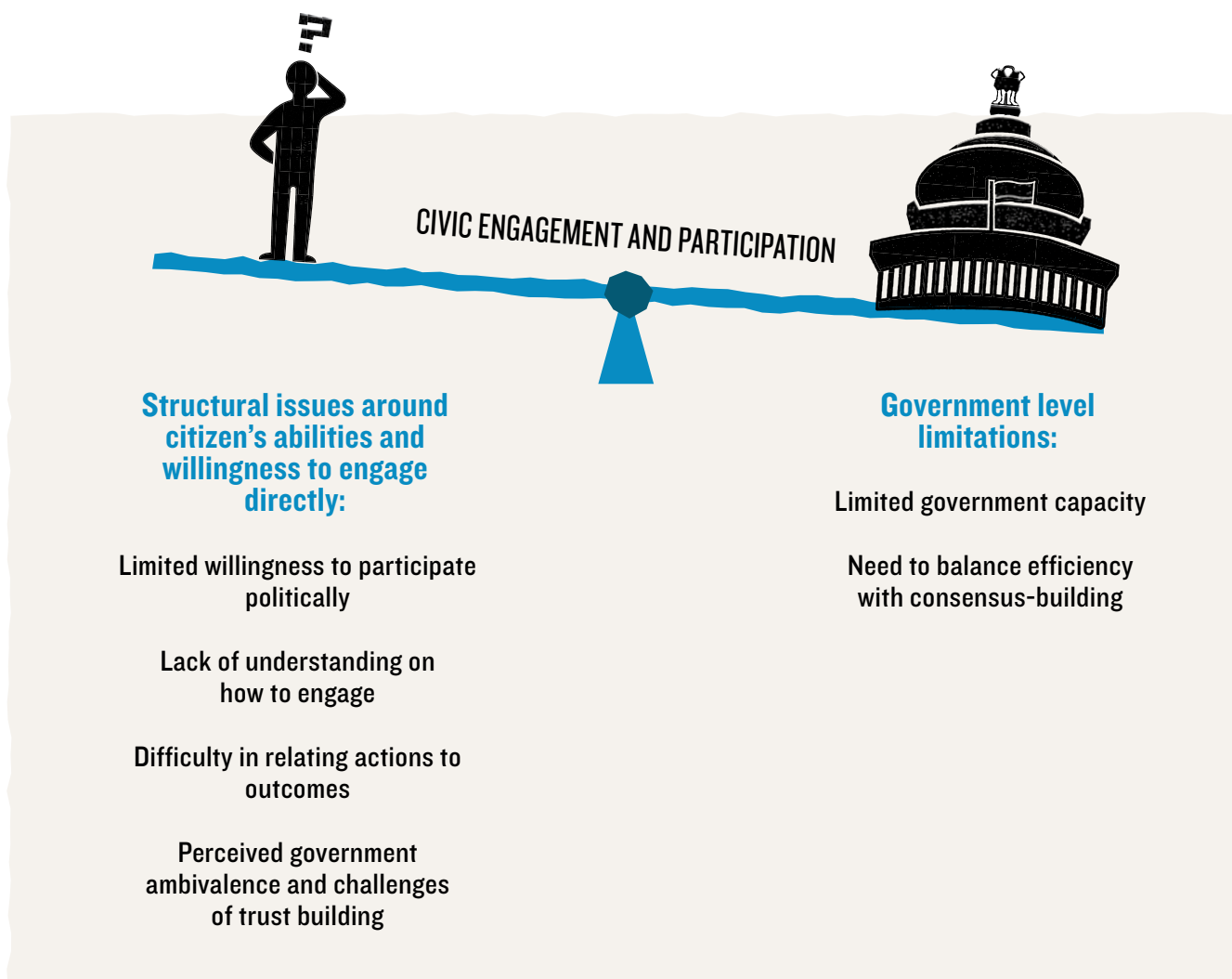
SARKAAR

It is well accepted that, in a democracy, *Sarkaar* stands to benefit from an active and engaged samaritans —this thinking has produced the open government doctrine. According to OECD, open government is a culture of governance based on innovative and sustainable public policies and practices inspired by the principles of **transparency, participation, and accountability** that foster democracy and inclusive growth. It also states that citizens have a right to government data. These **tenets can be** seen in India's structural framework: decentralisation, particularly the power ceded to the Panchayati Raj and ULBs; open data routes such as RTI act and the National Data Sharing and Accessibility Policy; e-governance; and social accountability tools such as citizen report cards. At the same time, challenges remain and ther is room to do much better.

FIGURE 4
CHALLENGES TO ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP (CITIZEN AND GOVERNMENT) ACROSS THE ACCA FRAMEWORK

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND PARTICIPATION

Structural issues around citizen's abilities and willingness to engage directly:

Limited willingness to participate politically

Lack of understanding on how to engage

Difficulty in relating actions to outcomes

Perceived government ambivalence and challenges of trust building

Government level limitations:

Limited government capacity

Need to balance efficiency with consensus-building

BAZAAR

Bazaar has a self-interest in maintaining a balance of powers with *sarkaar* and *samaaj*—it needs the rule of law to enforce contracts. *Sarkaar* and *samaaj* needs *bazaar* for jobs, poverty reduction and goods and services. They also prevent *bazaar* from exploiting consumers or resources. Traditionally, Indian businesses' relationship with *samaaj* and *sarkaar* was based on individual initiatives. After the slight detour of "the business of business is business" narrative, they have once again begun to think beyond profits. The first wave of corporate citizenship saw a shift from individual philanthropy to corporate social responsibility (CSR). The second wave has come from recognising the Triple Bottom Line (a framework focussing on social, environmental and financial concerns), which centres CSR as a core strategic issue.

External factors such as changes in employee and customer values—towards, for instance, climate action—pull organisations to imbibe good corporate citizenship. There is also a push from investors and the government to solidify long-term commitments to corporate citizenship, for instance, mandatory reporting on business sustainability and Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) factors.

Micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs), which form the backbone of India, are often unable to adapt these frameworks designed for large businesses. But, they have their own way of being good citizens—many are family-owned and strongly embedded in their communities, and have a strong intent to give back. We need to find friction-free ways to enable them to do this work better.

FIGURE 5
ECOSYSTEM CATALYSTS FOR ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP
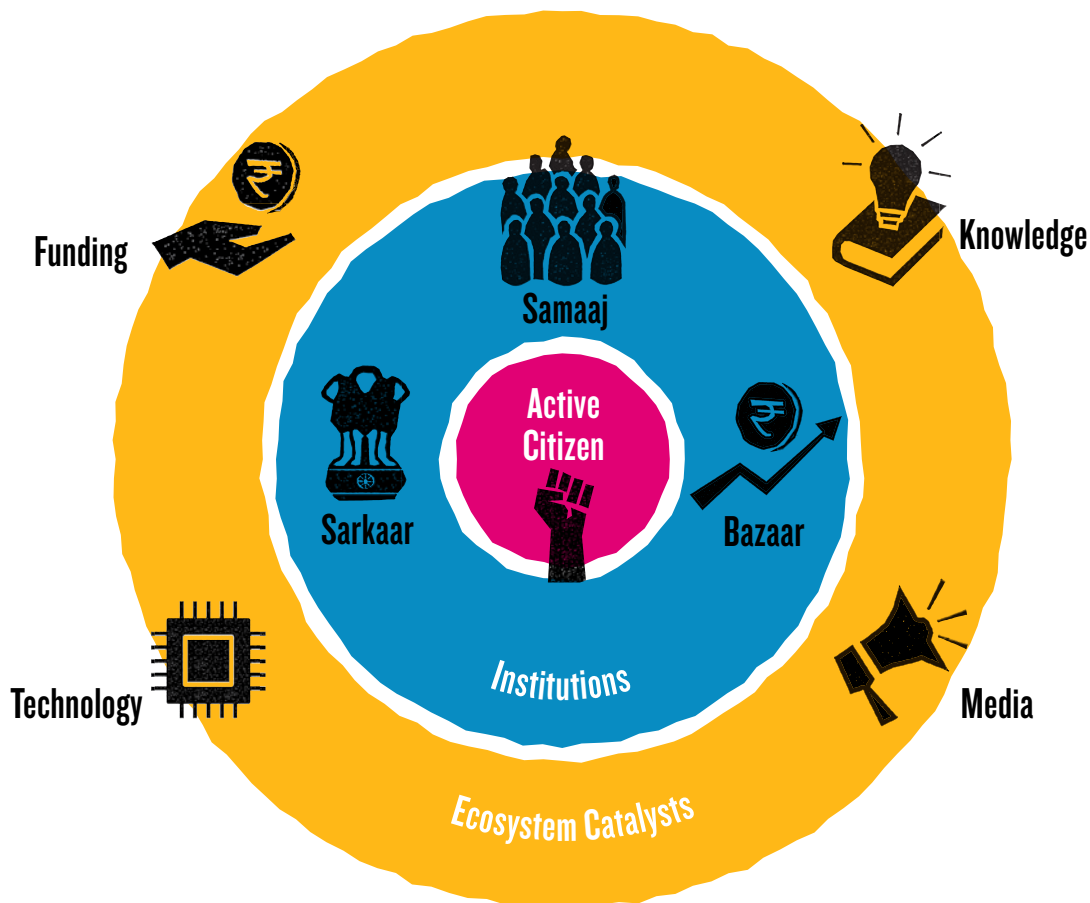
Samaaj, *sarkaar* and *bazaar* drive active citizenship through a host of ecosystem catalysts, which come with their own sets of challenges:

I. FUNDING CAN ENABLE SAMAAJ TO SCALE ITS WORK

When it comes to giving, Indian philanthropies tend to focus on verticals—where impact is measurable—and less often on horizontals like citizenship. Funders are also deterred by the perceived political leanings of active citizenship. And since governance/democracy are not part of the mandated list for CSR funding, these funds are not accessible to CSOs in this space. Commercial capital offers an alternative to philanthropic funding but it is still negligible. This is largely due to the lack of a sustainable business model and because this sector's products/services are public goods, which are better serviced through grant capital.

II. TECHNOLOGY DRIVES AWARENESS, CONNECTION, AND CAPACITATION

Technology has a big role to play in expanding access to information, and opportunities that can improve the lives of citizens. But it is important to note that technology alone cannot drive civic engagement. Digitisation, if not combined with auxiliary inputs to expand access, can be exclusionary. For this reason, several CSOs are trying to create a hybrid online and offline model to maximise access. There is also recognition that individuals and communities need to be capacitated in order to use technology effectively. Looking ahead, concerns around digital rights and data privacy need to be center-staged.

III. KNOWLEDGE CREATION AND DISSEMINATION CAN ENABLE SAMAAJ AND SARKAAR TO CREATE AWARENESS

The active citizenship space faces critical gaps when it comes to research. It needs a collective knowledge-sharing framework, longitudinal studies and tools to measure mindset shifts. It is also critical to produce research contextually relevant to India.

IV. MEDIA CAN HELP AMPLIFY CITIZEN VOICES AND ACTS AS A WATCHDOG TO ENSURE BAZAAR AND SARKAAR FULFIL THEIR DUTIES

Among the four ecosystem catalysts, media interacts most directly and independently with citizens. Traditional media, despite wide-scale outreach, is plagued by sensationalism and ownership-patterns that harm public discourse. Social media, despite its global reach, is shaped by misinformation and slacktivism that dilute citizen engagement. Grassroots media, journalism by and for local communities, holds officials responsible but its business model needs to be refined.

We invite readers to deliberate on a set of questions as we collectively envision growing India's citizenship, democracy, and governance space:

SAMAAJ ACTORS
If active citizenship means such different things to different people, how do we drive collective action? Given its intrinsic heterogeneity, is "collective action" still a worthy pursuit?

SARKAAR AND SAMAAJ
Does active citizenship always require an interface with the government and democracy? Are there pathways to enable citizens be continuously active without state intervention?

BAZAAR
How do we build on the momentum to truly institutionalise corporate citizenship in India?

ECOSYSTEM CATALYSTS
What would successful partnerships across *samaaj*, *sarkaar*, and *bazaar* players look like?

CITIZENS
What is our role as citizens in holding institutions to a higher standard?

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP: DECONSTRUCTING THE THEORY AND PRACTICE

The Indian Constitution, which is "of the people, for the people, by the people", bestows its citizens with trust and power. Global tectonic shifts—climate change, migration, rising inequalities and polarisation—have made it important, now more that ever, to include diverse perspectives in policy-making.

Rohini Nilekani, Chairperson of RNP, has talked about this complication of our times: "In the last century, both *bazaar* and *sarkaar* have become very powerful and extremely oppressive in many parts of the world... *sarkaar* can literally take over people's lives... a group of transnational corporations have pretty much decided how we should think and feel...the pendulum has swung too far... When this happens, *samaaj* must be happy with the crumbs...We are in the middle of a huge societal correction, where we will see new societal norms being formed around this notion of individual liberty, market power, and state authoritarianism in a digital age". Given the urgent role of active citizenship, it is imperative to understand its many facets.

I. ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP IS COMPLEX, NUANCED, AND HARD TO CODIFY

We synthesised global and India-based research and interviewed stakeholders across philanthropies, foundations, non-profit, media houses and investors to deconstruct the theory and the practice. Two keywords surfaced repeatedly: **agency and voice**, essentially "the ability to...drive the discourse of one's own life". Active citizens are self-organising agents who actively pursue their interests in the public domain.

The following definitions **showcase seven nuances of active citizenship:**

GOI MEITY

Citizenship encompasses social rights, social responsibilities, and social accountability. Active engagement gives the right to hold others accountable, and accountability is the process of engaging in participation.

OBAMA FOUNDATION

Action civics means young people are actively engaged in identifying a problem in their local communities, researching solutions, and advancing them through civic channels, including organising and presenting their findings to policymakers.

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP IS DYNAMIC—
ITS WIDE RANGE OF BEHAVIOURAL
MARKERS MAY NOT BE CONSISTENT ·
An individual's attitude may differ
across issues (for example, she may
engage deeply with an ecological
issue but not a political one) and
people invested in the same issue
may behave differently (for example,
some post on social media, others
participate in public consultations).

FIGURE 6

THE COMPLEXITIES OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP
IS DYNAMIC

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP
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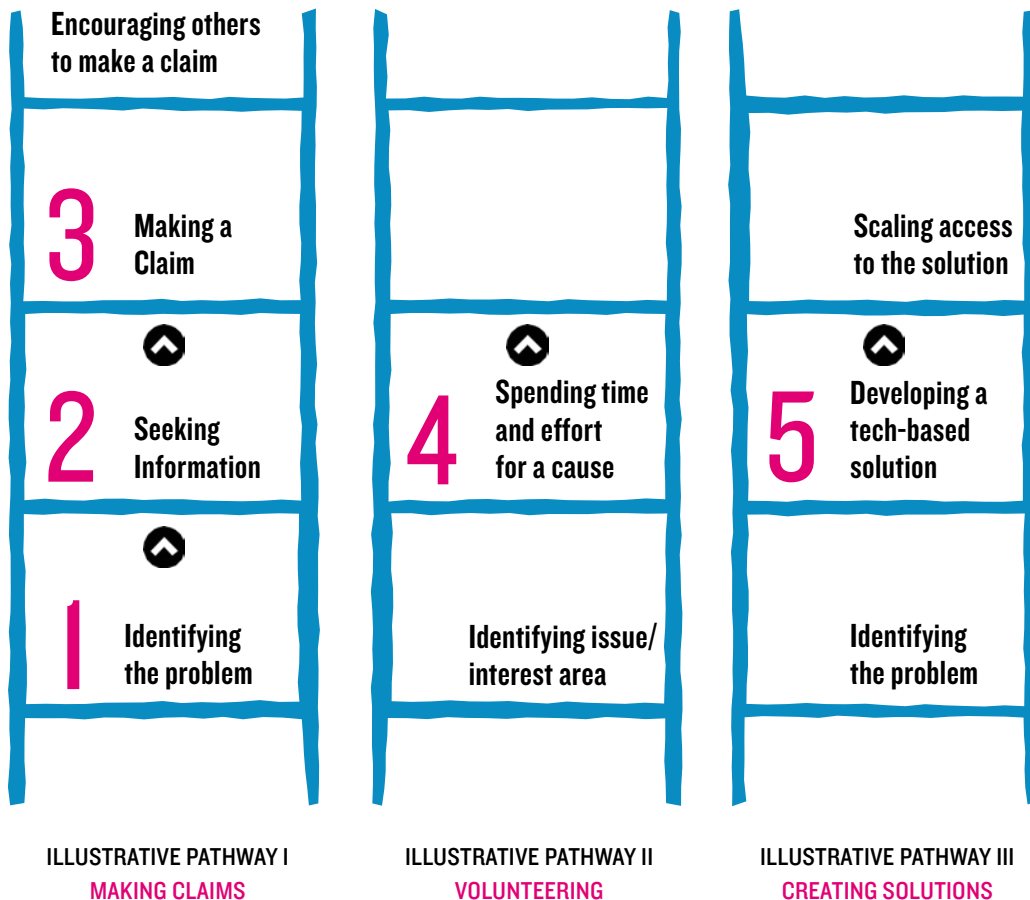MULTI-STAKEHOLDER, FLUID UNIVERSE

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP IS FRAMED BY A LACK OF LINEARITY OF STEPS TOWARDS UNIVERSAL ACTIVATION · Arnstein's ladder of civic participation, developed in 1969 in the US, shows the pathway of citizen action with a specific end goal (for instance, reversing a bill) and building a specific civic muscle. But given the varied contexts in which citizenship exists and people exercise their rights, we believe there is unlikely to be a single pathway but rather, several simultaneous pathways to citizen activation. We explore this complexity through the image below:

Active citizenship is framed by a lack of linearity of steps towards universal activation.

FIGURE 7

ILLUSTRATIVE PATHWAYS FOR PROBLEM-SOLVING BY AN ACTIVE CITIZEN

Encouraging others to make a claim

3 Making a Claim

2 Seeking Information

1 Identifying the problem

Spending time and effort for a cause

4

Identifying issue/ interest area

Scaling access to the solution

5 Developing a tech-based solution

Identifying the problem

ILLUSTRATIVE PATHWAY I
MAKING CLAIMS

ILLUSTRATIVE PATHWAY II
VOLUNTEERING

ILLUSTRATIVE PATHWAY III
CREATING SOLUTIONS

Citizen Pathway Step

Different shapes that activation has taken in the indian context

THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO INFORMATION LAW (RTI)

The National Campaign for People's Right to Information and Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan used campaign, advocacy and struggle to enable political actors, law and justice system and a grassroots workers campaign for minimum wage as tools to enable the passing of the RTI Act of 2005.

SELF HELP GROUPS

SHGs are informal self-governed groups of 15-20 people (mostly women) to support each other. They mobilise their savings and lend internally, performing the role of a bank. SHGs are able to empower women from marginalised communities and help them come together to act on social justice issues.

COVID CITIZEN RESPONSE

Most recently, during the second wave of the pandemic in particular, citizens organised SOS calls for oxygen cylinders, hospital beds, ambulances and tests—and created tech-based information solutions. This activation will likely be studied for years to come.

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP IS GEOGRAPHICALLY UBIQUITOUS · Technology and social media have further expanded geographical boundaries of issues. For example, Delhi's air pollution crisis has received global news coverage. The 2012 Delhi gang rape and murder sparked protests across South Asia and revived the fight for gender equality in the region. It enables individuals to initiate global movements. Young activist Greta Thunberg' holding a banner outside the Swedish parliament to pressure the government to meet carbon emission targets brought together 14 million people across 7500+ cities to demand action on climate change.

ACTION IS VITAL AS THE GESTATION PERIOD (FOR OUTCOMES) IS LONG—CONSISTENT AND PROLONGED ACTION IS OFTEN THE DRIVER OF LONG TERM RESULTS · The #MeToo movement saw a few women spark a chain reaction that led women around the world to speak out about their experiences of sexual harassment. It may have achieved little measurable success in terms of changes in law, policy or convictions, but it shifted the cultural narrative around the pervasive sexual harassment in society and hopes to reduce incidents in the long run. Protests serve a purpose beyond convictions. The 2012 protests created a transformational shift in how Indians view violence against women. Protests for Jessica Lal showed an awakening of public consciousness around the violation of the social contract between citizens and authorities.

RANG DE BASANTI

The protests after the acquittal of the accused in the Jessica Lal murder case in February 2006 were, in some ways, sparked by Rang De Basanti, a Bollywood film released that year. It tells the story of an air force pilot, killed in a plane crash caused by corruption, is accused of negligence by the government. The film showed candle-light vigils and extreme forms of support by citizens. Scholars have suggested that the film caused a rise in public ire against the government. In a paper, "Rang De Basanti—Consumption, citizenship, and the public sphere," Meghana Dilip examined how the film "stimulated citizenship among young audiences and causes an expansion in the public sphere" by capturing the "political angst of the urban educated youth" and boosted the "internet-centred generations in current affairs."

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP EXPANDS BEYOND BASIC CIVIC DUTIES · Active citizenship is not limited to civic duties (like paying taxes and obeying the rule of law) or conventional political activities (like voting or participating in politics). A 2006 paper by the Hong Kong Institute articulates models of citizenship which distinguish the active from passive and outlines three models: the virtues model that includes voluntary community activities, a conflict model which refers to activities for political change, and the economic model of citizenship which encompasses self-regulatory activities such as becoming financially self-supporting or entrepreneurial.

Active citizenship need not require direct interface with the *sarkaar*: Some practitioners told us that participation in political processes is critical. Others endorsed citizen-to-citizen engagement without the direct involvement of the government, as in volunteering activities and citizen journalism.

ACTIVE CITIZENS EXIST AS PART OF A MULTI-DIRECTIONAL, MULTI-STAKEHOLDER, FLUID UNIVERSE · Active *samaaj* is a fluid pool—citizens can choose to participate or remain on the sidelines. It can rest within CSOs and philanthropy but also in academia, *sarkaar*, *bazaar*, media. Nodes within active *samaaj*—diverse individuals, citizen action groups and CSOs—may come together to hold the momentum like they did during pandemic crises. A simplified infographic below draws attention to these features:

FIGURE 8

THE MULTI-DIRECTIONAL, MULTI-STAKEHOLDER UNIVERSE OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP
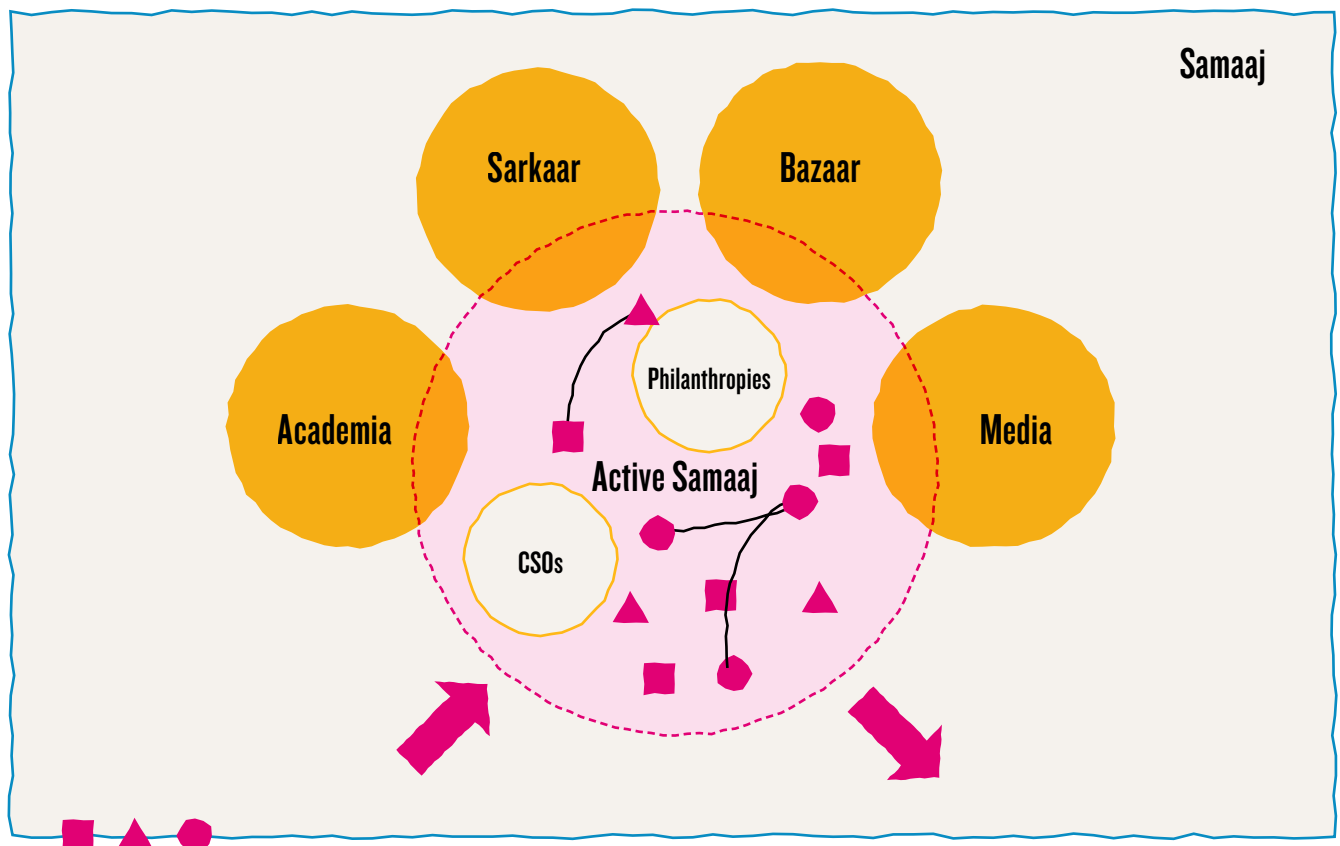
The different shapes represents the diversity of nodese.g.CSOs, citizens, or citizen groups that are key to holding the space together

II. ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP OFFERS INTRINSIC VALUE TO INDIVIDUALS, COMMUNITIES, AND DEMOCRACY

› IT HELPS INDIVIDUALS BUILD SOCIAL CAPITAL, A STRONG PREDICTOR OF PROSPERITY · An overarching theme that emerges is that resilience is not necessarily internal but rather reliant on relationships and networks. Informal networks created through civic action give us new perspectives and purpose and frame our thinking and behaviours in ways that help us bounce back from setbacks. **Active citizenship improves uptake amongst the powerless, instils higher levels of confidence and optimism, helps build skills such as critical thinking and fosters tolerance.**

› IT DRIVES DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH FOR COMMUNITIES AND MAKES THEM RESILIENT · Government (and global) institutions tend to focus more on processes and structures rather than programme beneficiaries. Active citizenship can drive them towards citizens' interests. This interaction between citizens and state creates trust. There is evidence that higher confidence in the government drives development and economic performance.

Active citizenship also makes communities resilient by building networks of trust and horizontal solidarity among citizens. These encourage capacity building through communication (e.g. organisations like Dror Labs crowd-source public safety information from citizens to inform others in real-time). Social mobilisation is critical in supporting recovery from conflict or disasters,—activities like citizen aid and crowdfunding enable communities to better absorbs shocks and adapt to them.

› ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP STRENGTHENS THE CORE FUNCTIONING OF DEMOCRACY · A representative form of democracy fails to capture modern society and its heterogeneity. So, for pluralistic societies to function well, democracy must evolve from representative to participatory and citizens need to advocate for themselves, their communities and causes. Globally, research has shown that sustainable policy changes require the active support of public opinion. For example, between 2010-14, India's ruling party struggled with public trust and policy paralysis and the country witnessed widespread public protests (over the Jan Lokpal Bill) which led to the formation of the Aam Aadmi Party backed by a citizen-led agenda. Often, influential groups of elite exercise undue influence on policy to reinforce their position. Greater citizen participation can shift power to the marginalised.

In a contemporary development context, active citizenship in development is showcased through its linkage with sustainable development goals (SDGs). Citizens and civil society organisations actively contributed to the drafting of the SDGs, and there is a belief that it is only an "accountability revolution" that will help deliver a more just world in 2030. Beyond the umbrella impact, we see active citizenship articulated explicitly in the goals of 4 of 17 SDGs

FIGURE 9
MAPPING SDGS WITH ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

10 Reduced Inequality

10.2 · By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status

10.3 · Ensure equal opportunity and reduce inequalities of outcome, including by eliminating discriminatory laws, policies and practices and promoting appropriate legislation, policies and action in this regard

11 Sustainable Cities and Communities

11.2 · By 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women, children, persons with disabilities and older persons

11.3 · By 2030, enchance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries

16 Peace Justice and Strong Institutions

16.3 · Promotes the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all

16.5 · Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all forms

16.6 · Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels

16.7 · Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels

16.10 · Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements

17 Partnerships for the Goals

17.17 · Encourage and promote effective public, public-private and civil society partnerships, building on the experience and resourcing strategies of partnerships data, monitoring and accountability

III. DESPITE BENEFITS, CITIZENS VACATE CIVIC DECISION-MAKING AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.

Large groups of people believe that they have no role to play in the democratic process or that their contributions cannot make a meaningful difference. A 2015 Google report revealed that 16% of Americans are "civically disconnected" and close to 50% are simply "interested bystanders". In India, studies have highlighted evidence of low civic knowledge and participation among urban citizens, even as voter turnout in elections continues to rise. India also consistently ranks low on political culture and participation in the Democracy Index published by the Economist Intelligence Unit.

Four critical forces lead to apathy and exclusion and hinder the active citizenship:

› LACK OF TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS · Surveys show that Indians have the least trust in political parties, government officials, and police. There's a negative perception of the state because engaging with the its institutions is not effective — for example, it may involve bribes or intermediaries.

› RISING BINARIES—CRACKS ALONG RELIGIOUS, POLITICAL, AND SECTARIAN LINES · Since the 2000s, affective polarisation—the tendency to dislike and distrust people across party lines—has increased manifold. In India, while research by the PEW institute showed that 84% people believe it is imperative to respect all religions, there is a strong preference to keep communities segregated: Distrust discourages people from sharing their views (as they believe they cannot change how others view a situation) and is thus a deterrent to collective problem-solving.
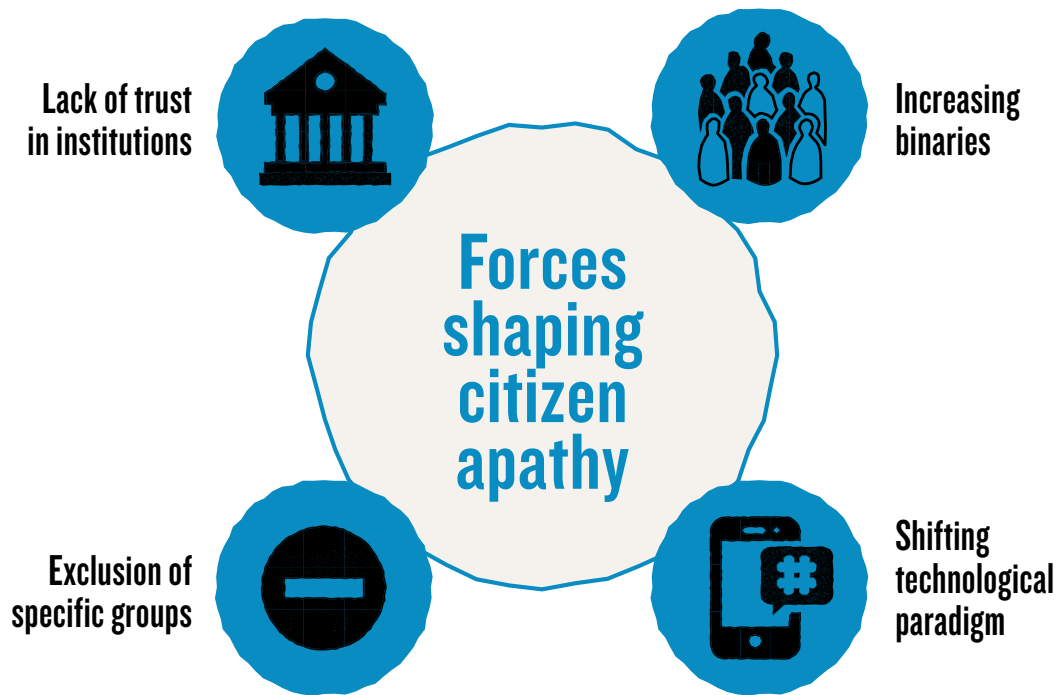
› SHIFTING TECHNOLOGICAL PARADIGM · Local-problem solving has traditionally been a critical pillar of active citizenship. But a 2021 report by Facebook and New York University shows that 43% of Indians find a sense of belonging in online groups. If the sense of community shifts from neighbourhoods, it may create dissonance in their minds of people on whether and with whom to engage on local civic issues.

Traditionally, movements have required people to gather physically. This continues to be true in many ways— Black Lives Matters, anti-extradition protests in Hong Kong, and the Capitol Hill invasions are all examples. However, specifically in authoritarian regimes, being "watched" makes gathering more challenging than ever. Leaders try to gather in spaces away from the external gaze (a feat that is harder to achieve with reducing physical spaces), activists can't organise meaningfully as they gather and disperse quickly, and communities must bear the additional cost of understanding and adapting to this digital environment. For example, after the Arab Spring, governments were able to leverage and identify thousands of accounts of political dissidents in Tunisia, Palestine, Egypt, Syria and elsewhere that then may have made it more challenging to organise in public spaces.

While technology offers routes to engage on a wide range of issues, it also leads to clicktivism or slacktivism. Some experts have suggested that the passive nature of this mechanism negates the very nature of "active" citizenship and gives people a sense of confidence that they have done their part.

FIGURE 10

FORCING SHAPING CITIZEN APATHY

Lack of trust
in institutions

Increasing
binaries

**Forces
shaping
citizen
apathy**

Exclusion of
specific groups

Shifting
technological
paradigm

**While technology offers routes
to engage on a wide range
of issues, it also leads to
clicktivism or slacktivism**

› **CONTINUED EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN GROUPS (ESPECIALLY
MARGINALISED COMMUNITIES) IS DILUTING DEMOCRACY ·**
Socio-economic indicators—poverty, education, health,
freedom of expression etc—affect an individual's level of
participation and ability to engage. Research shows that
the more educated citizens tend to be more attentive,
knowledgeable and participatory. According to a global
study, rates of civic participation are higher among
relatively affluent citizens. **And so, more platforms
are needed to empower and facilitate access to
marginalised communities.**

IV. CONSEQUENTLY, SAMAAJ, SARKAAR, AND BAZAAR OPERATE IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE SPECTRUM TO FACILITATE AND DRIVE ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP.

To better understand how active citizenship is driven, we evaluated several frameworks such as the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2), the open government doctrine for *sarkaar* (OECD), the corporate citizenship framework by Boston College, the civic tech market landscape framework by Village Capital, CIIE, and Omidyar Network, the active citizenship framework by JCI, academic frameworks such as Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation, and the work of several organisations in our portfolio.

A notable framework we worked with was a framework defined by RNP and the Aapti Institute. In their report 'Technology in Service of Citizenship', they define five dimensions of citizenship—volunteering, voting, co-creation, claim-making and resistance. The Aapti mapping evaluated different forms of "activation" and how civic-tech organisations drive this.
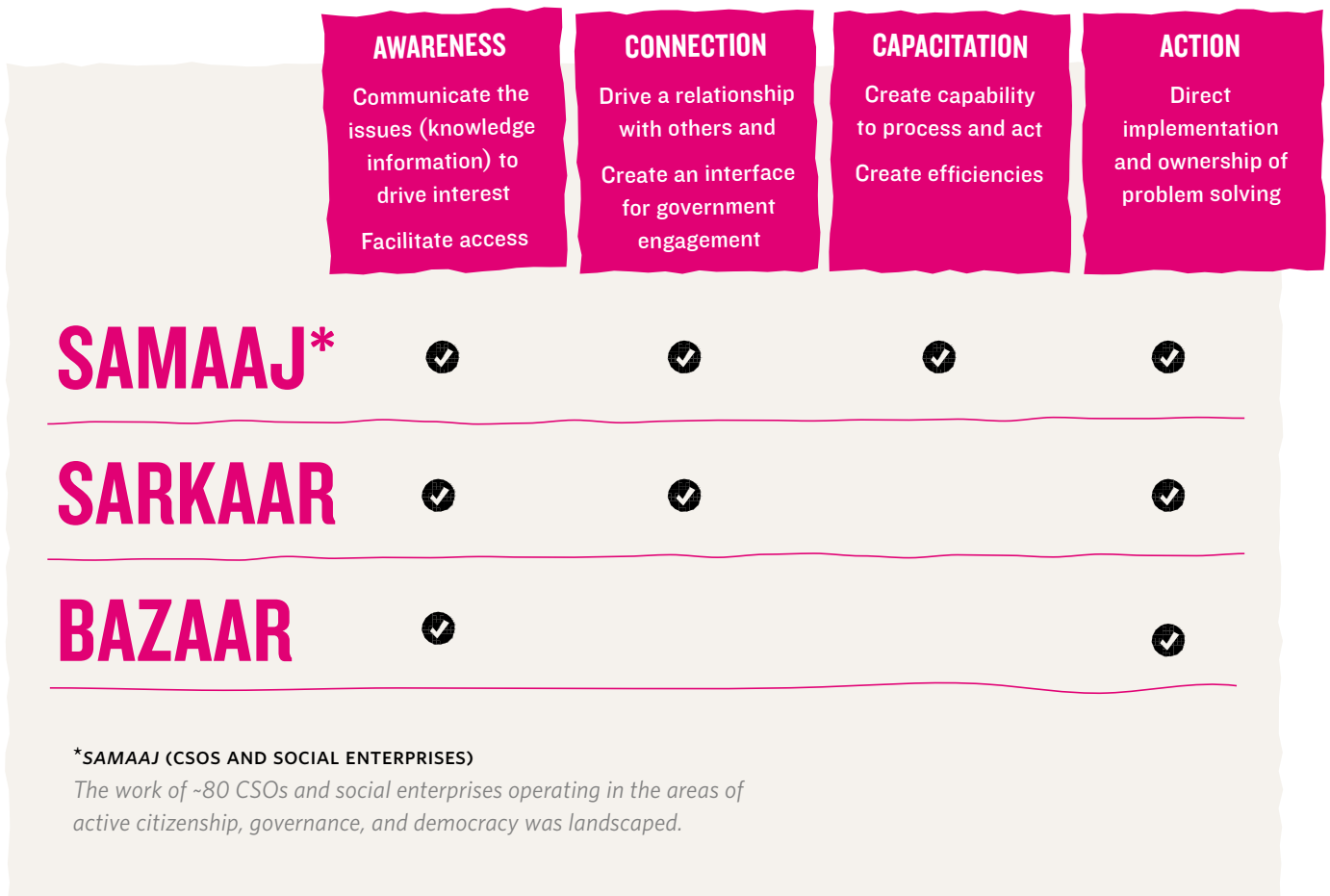
Samaaj, sarkaar and bazaar play across this framework—no stage is better or worse. Institutions and organisations can drive activation across multiple stages at the same time.

The ACCA framework, a unifying framework for active citizenship, has built off the work and existing knowledge in the sector in India. There are four key steps or stages: awareness—where the citizen is given information or access; connection—they are given opportunities to connect with others or the government; capacity—when citizens are capacitated to act or when efficiencies (time/cost) are created in a workflow; and action—direct implementation.

A few nuances to point out: *Samaaj*, *sarkaar* and *bazaar* play across this framework—no stage is better or worse. Institutions and organisations can drive activation across multiple stages at the same time. Movement across stages need not be linear—and may be on different stages of the ACCA framework on different issues or at different points in time. Considering the complexity of active citizenship, we have not ascribed descriptions to types of awareness, connection, capacitation, or action but left that to vary with the specific context of the institution or individual.

The work of *samaaj, sarkaar, bazaar* across
the ACCA framework is captured below:

THE ACCA FRAMEWORK OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

	AWARENESS Communicate the issues (knowledge information) to drive interest Facilitate access	CONNECTION Drive a relationship with others and Create an interface for government engagement	CAPACITATION Create capability to process and act Create efficiencies	ACTION Direct implementation and ownership of problem solving
SAMAAJ*	✓	✓	✓	✓
SARKAAR	✓	✓		✓
BAZAAR	✓			✓

*SAMAAJ (CSOS AND SOCIAL ENTERPRISES)
The work of ~80 CSOs and social enterprises operating in the areas of active citizenship, governance, and democracy was landscaped.

EDUCATE
AGITATE
ORGANISE

CHANGE
MINDS
NOT THE
CLIMATE

CHANGE
OR
DIE!

SAMAAJ IN ACTION

CSOs and social enterprises leverage their unique role as enablers and implementers to drive awareness, connection, capacitation and action among citizens.

Research suggests that where the non-profit sector is robust and participatory, democracy is vibrant. The COVID-19 situation made a clear case for the importance of institutions of *samaaj* in our world. While markets were frozen out and governments overwhelmed, *samaaj* or civil society stepped up as first responders. Scholarship on non-profits and civil society has shown that they facilitate tolerance by bringing together heterogenous groups, which prevents overruling by the majority and binds society together. This inculcates self-governance and buttresses against public and private sector hegemony.

We analysed the *samaaj* landscape in India by mapping ~80 CSOs, non-profits and social enterprises (including 12 from RNP's active citizenship portfolio). (The sampling methodology and list of organisations can be found in the Appendix.)

Here, we explore six questions from our research:

1. Which organisations work on active citizenship in India? What are their motivations? How have CSOs and social enterprises organised themselves to drive citizen action?
2. Do organisations anchor on a thematic focus to engage citizens?
3. What is the reach of these organisations? Are they local or pan-India in their focus?
4. Who are their beneficiaries? What are their key demographic characteristics?
5. Which level—individual, community, national—do they seek to drive outcome?
6. What are the different modes of intervention delivery adopted by these organisations? What has been the impact of technology on the space?
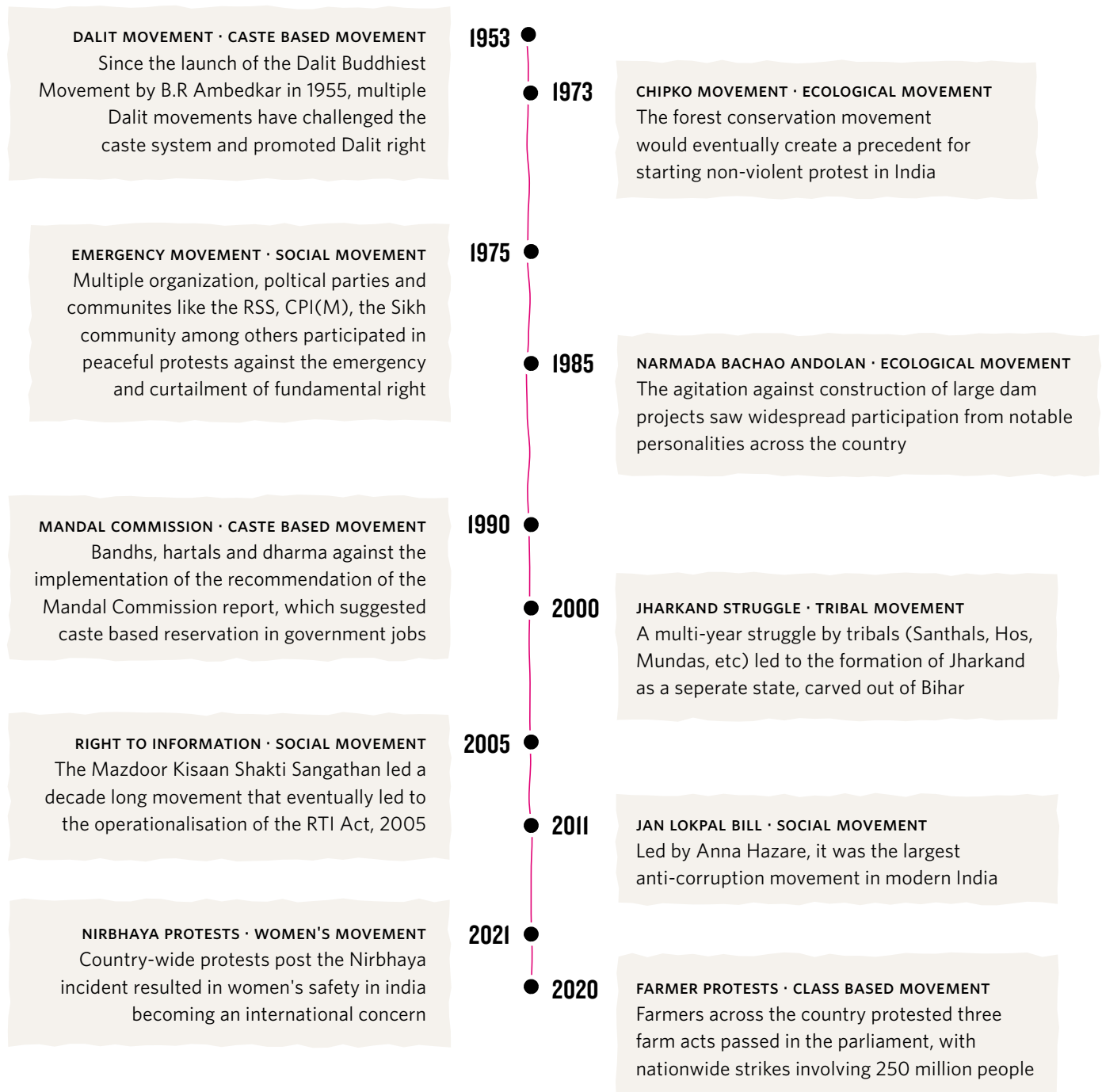
This research did not delve into religious giving and faith based volunteering, It is important to note that such organizations play a big role in bringing people of the community together to support social causes. Religious organisations have thousands/lakhs of volunteers – the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh recently took stock of its volunteer base of over 15 lakh people – and these volunteers contribute their time and money in pro-social ways. This was most recently seen during COVID when faith based organizations stepped up their efforts to promote positive practices and reduce COVID related stigma within communities.

Even in terms of funding, many Indians give to religious or community centered causes. Religious giving, community giving and citizen-led social change are undeniably embedded in India's history and culture. Every religion in India mandates or encourages giving: Hinduism espouses 'dana' (giving) and 'seva' (service) as vital aspects of 'dharma' (duty); Sikhism, Islam and Christianity encourage giving 10% of one's annual income away as 'daswandh', 'zakat' or 'tithe'; religious institutions are often spaces where service to community is offered regularly, such as the 'langar' – free communal eating arranged at every gurudwara.

Community giving through informal ways (~INR 21.5k cr / USD 3.2 b) goes directly to cover health emergencies and other basic needs of community members such as domestic help or the homeless. Religious giving (INR 8.8k cr / USD 1.3 b) goes to religious or spiritual institutions, of which about 13% on average is redirected towards India's everyday giving market charitable causes and SPOs through religious institutions setting up social initiatives or contributing to government schemes.

While this chapter mostly focuses on institutional actors driving active citizenship, India has also been home to powerful citizen-led movements, Some of which are outlined below

A TIMELINE OF SOME ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP AND SAMAAJ MOVEMENTS IN INDIA POST-INDEPENDENCE

DALIT MOVEMENT · CASTE BASED MOVEMENT
Since the launch of the Dalit Buddhiest Movement by B.R Ambedkar in 1955, multiple Dalit movements have challenged the caste system and promoted Dalit right

1953

1973
CHIPKO MOVEMENT · ECOLOGICAL MOVEMENT
The forest conservation movement would eventually create a precedent for starting non-violent protest in India

EMERGENCY MOVEMENT · SOCIAL MOVEMENT
Multiple organization, poltical parties and communites like the RSS, CPI(M), the Sikh community among others participated in peaceful protests against the emergency and curtailment of fundamental right

1975

1985
NARMADA BACHAO ANDOLAN · ECOLOGICAL MOVEMENT
The agitation against construction of large dam projects saw widespread participation from notable personalities across the country

MANDAL COMMISSION · CASTE BASED MOVEMENT
Bandhs, hartals and dharma against the implementation of the recommendation of the Mandal Commission report, which suggested caste based reservation in government jobs

1990

2000
JHARKAND STRUGGLE · TRIBAL MOVEMENT
A multi-year struggle by tribals (Santhals, Hos, Mundas, etc) led to the formation of Jharkand as a seperate state, carved out of Bihar

RIGHT TO INFORMATION · SOCIAL MOVEMENT
The Mazdoor Kisaan Shakti Sangathan led a decade long movement that eventually led to the operationalisation of the RTI Act, 2005

2005

2011
JAN LOKPAL BILL · SOCIAL MOVEMENT
Led by Anna Hazare, it was the largest anti-corruption movement in modern India

NIRBHAYA PROTESTS · WOMEN'S MOVEMENT
Country-wide protests post the Nirbhaya incident resulted in women's safety in india becoming an international concern

2021

2020
FARMER PROTESTS · CLASS BASED MOVEMENT
Farmers across the country protested three farm acts passed in the parliament, with nationwide strikes involving 250 million people

DECONSTRUCTING THE LANDSCAPE OF ORGANISATIONS WORKING IN ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP IN INDIA

QUESTION I · Which organisations work on active citizenship in India? What are their motivations? How have CSOs and social enterprises organised themselves to drive citizen action?

Some *samaaj* organisations work as both implementers and enablers because they run different programmes to activate citizens directly and indirectly, often because many implementers need to create awareness for citizens to move further along the ACCA framework. The mechanisms and tools through which *samaaj* drives active citizenship are studied below:

FIGURE I3

SAMAAJ ORGANISATIONS AS ENABLERS AND IMPLEMENTERS

10% Enablers

42% Both

Out of 79 Organizations

48% Implementers
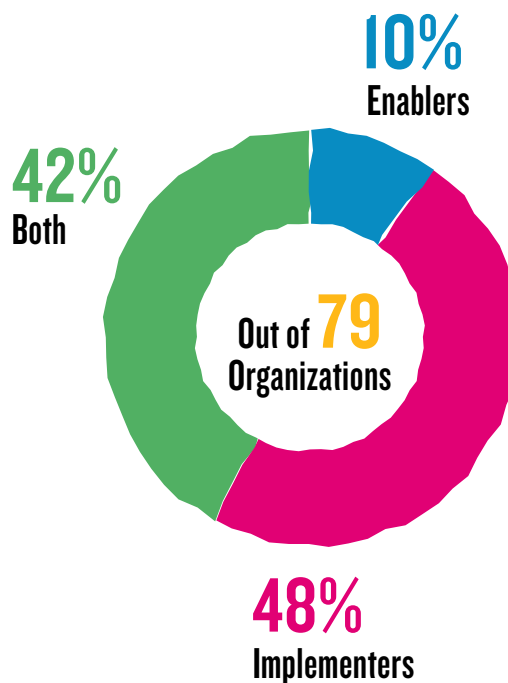
FIGURE I4

ORGANISATIONS WORKING ALONG DIFFERENT DIMENSIONS OF THE ACCA FRAMEWORK
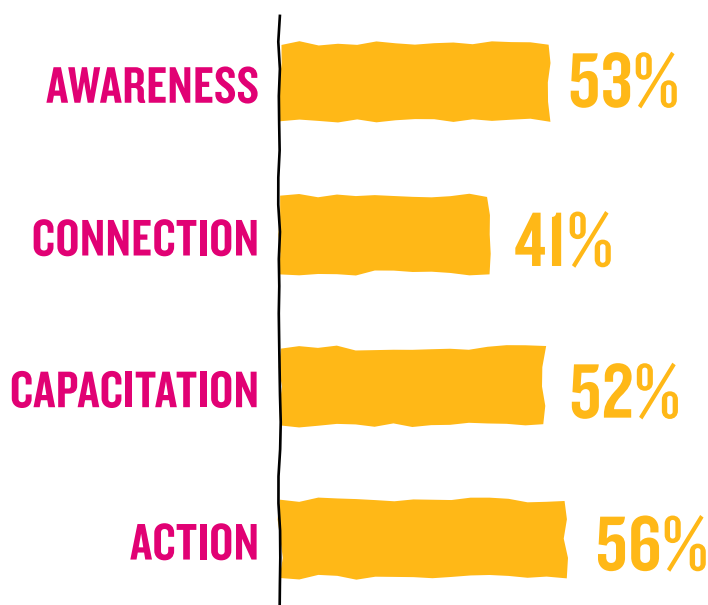
AWARENESS 53%

CONNECTION 41%

CAPACITATION 52%

ACTION 56%

Note: N=79 organisations; organisations work across multiple steps hence sum > 100. modes for different programmes

AWARENESS

41 of 79 (53%) organisations create knowledge, disseminate information or amplify voices:

FIGURE 15
DIMENSIONS EXPLORED BY ORGANISATIONS
WORKING ON "AWARENESS"

14%
Hybrid

51%
Disseminators

Out of **41**
Organizations

20%
Knowledge Creators

14%
Amplifiers
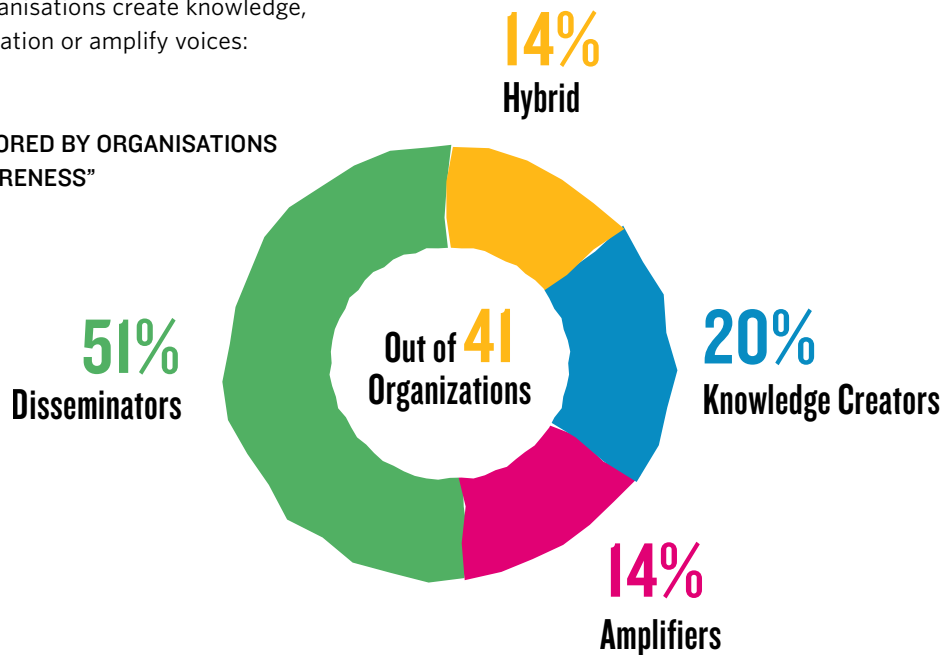
› KNOWLEDGE CREATORS (14 OF 41) provide citizens, CSOs, *sarkaar* and other institutions with information. Pukar, an independent research institute in Maharashtra, equips disenfranchised youth with research tools and enables them to produce evidence on their own localities. The Accountability Initiative conducts research on public service delivery systems to understand state capacities of key social sectors such as education and health to hold them accountable.

› AMPLIFIERS (6 OF 41) are typically grassroots media organisations. Khabar Lahariya and Video Volunteers amplify citizen voices on the ground— those affected by or close to issues report on them. Kavita Devi, the editor-in-chief and co-founder of Khabar Lahariya, told us about a 2003 incident in Chitrakoot where Khabar Lahariya's coverage led to the suspension of a bank manager withholding senior citizen pensions.

Khabar Lahariya

WHAT DO THEY DO?
Khabar Lahariya is a digital news network run by women from marginalised communities. They report local issues from a feminist perspective in rural dialects of Hindi.

OUTREACH AND SPHERES OF WORK:
› Works in 13 districts in UP and MP
› Covers issues on politics, development, women and caste, crime

IMPACT:
› Reaches 5 Mn people each month through digital platforms—60% of its readers are in core districts of UP and MP and 20% from large cities like Mumbai, Delhi and Bangalore.
› As a weekly newspaper (2002-15), it had a circulation of 8,000 and readership of 80,000.

› DISSEMINATORS (27 OF 41) make information more accessible by sourcing, simplifying or spreading it. **Nyaaya** makes it easier for citizens to understand laws, however, these may not provide direct pathways of action to the citizens. Many disseminators work as implementers. **Haqdarshak** creates awareness of government schemes and helps citizens apply and claim benefits.

Haqdarshak

WHAT DO THEY DO?
Haqdarshak is a social impact organization with an assisted-tech model for providing last-mile application support services to individuals and businesses for welfare schemes

OUTREACH AND SPHERES OF WORK:
› Operational in 22 states
› Their platform hosts information on more than 7000 government schemes in local indian languages
› Simultaneously, the company also trains women as field support agents. Known as 'Haqdarshaks', the women earn their livelihoods by providing scheme application support services to their communities

IMPACT:
› 16k+ 'Hardarshaks' trained
› 1.5M citizens impacted
› 1M application support services delivered

CONNECTION

33 out of 79 (41%) organisations facilitate citizens' interactions with each other or the government.

FIGURE 16
CITIZEN-CITIZEN VS CITIZEN-GOVERNMENT CONNECTION
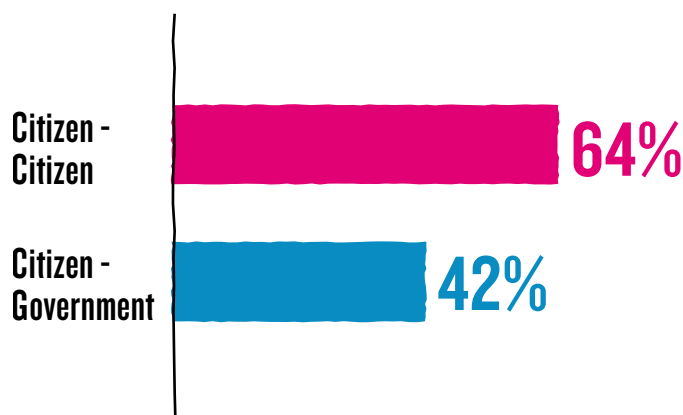
Note: the chart above adds up to >100% as some organisations facilitate both citizen-citizen and citizen-government connections

21 of 33 organisations facilitate citizen-citizen engagement. Jhatkaa's Save Bangalore's Trees campaign signed by 160,000 members stopped the construction of a flyover, saving 800 trees. Socratus Foundation brings together people from different sectors to brainstorm over development challenges.

14 of 33 organisations facilitate citizen-government engagement on a variety of issues: democratising filing of RTIs (YouRTI, OnlineRTI), public consultations (Civis), smoothening claim-making processes (Haqdarshak) and increasing government accountability (Janaagraha and Praja).

Bolti Bandh

WHAT DO THEY DO?
Bolti Bandh tackles political polarisation by bringing conflicting parties together and training them to understand the other side's position and resolve conflict

OUTREACH AND SPHERES OF WORK:
› Community of youth engaging in conversations across the country
› Dialogues on the ground with politically-active people
› Fellowships: people are invited to resolve conflict via workshops and podcasts

IMPACT:
› 75% of the fellowship sessions rated from 7-10 (good-excellent)
› 75% of the fellows feel more equipped to have discussions on polarising issues
› Top three emotions felt during these conversations: hope, anxiety and inspiration

YouRTI.in

WHAT DO THEY DO?
YouRTI allows any citizen to easily file an online RTI request at no cost.

OUTREACH AND SPHERES OF WORK:
› Easily, anonymously and securely file requests for information without the knowledge of inner workings of government agencies (central, state and local).
› Rally support for their requests when governments are unresponsive

IMPACT:
› 5000+ public requests filed

Jhatkaa's Save Bangalore's Trees campaign signed by 160,000 members stopped the construction of a flyover, saving 800 trees

CAPACITATION

Over 95% *samaaj* organisations work on capacity-building through leadership development. **Indian School of Democracy (ISD)** runs an online programme for women in politics. **Citizens for Public Leadership (CPL)** equips young professionals on foreign and urban policy and the economy. **CORO**'s 12-24-month fellowship programmes trains participants to find solutions to their community issues and mobilise others.

A small number of organisations build public goods to capacitate other organisations or the government. **eGov Foundation**'s DIGIT Urban Stack allows government entities, businesses, start-ups, civil society and citizens to use its digital infrastructure, without profit or restrictions. It has been leveraged to develop products like property tax management systems and grievance redressal portals.

Indian School of Democracy

WHAT DO THEY DO?
ISD is a non-partisan organization that aims to nurture principled, political leaders, and help Indian youth get into politics through different programs

OUTREACH AND SPHERES OF WORK:
Long and short-term programmes for the 21-40 age group in tier 2 and 3 cities. These include, Good Politician, a 9-month experiential learning programme and She Represents, a 7-day immersive online learning programme for aspiring women politicians

IMPACT:
100+ young leaders enrol themselves in ISD programmes every year

eGov

WHAT DO THEY DO?
eGov Foundation partners with state governments to improve public service delivery

OUTREACH AND SPHERES OF WORK:
› Partnered with 16 states including Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Uttarakhand, Odisha
› Socio-economic development and expansion of access to local governments for citizens

IMPACT:
› 3 Mn+ citizen grievances addressed at 96% redressal
› INR 13 Bn+ of public money saved
› 160 Mn+ citizens benefited from eGov Foundation's platform
› 1500+ digitally enabled cities and towns
› 6.5 Mn citizen's properties on DIGIT platform
› More than 40 solutions co-created by partners

ACTION

45 out of 79 (56%) organisations help citizens own the problem-solving process and directly implement solutions on the ground, often through relatively simple acts—signing a petition (**Jhatkaa** and **change. org**), responding to a public consultation **(Civis)** or a people-powered movement **(Haiyya)**.

ACTION AND ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION
Voting as an action pathway has witnessed limited traction from CSOs. We hypothesise, founders may not see a need to double down on voter turnout as at 67%, it is higher than 19 of 38 OECD countries. There's also a limited need for apolitical intermediaries as political parties use their strong grassroots networks to work on increasing voter turnout. Finally, funders are willing to back these efforts as it is difficult to take on a subject like voting and stay away from politics.

Reap Benefit

WHAT DO THEY DO?
Reap benefit aims to enable 1M citizens to engage in civic & environmental problem solving in their local communities to reshape citizen participation and strengthen local self goverance by 2025. In this endeavour, they are building and growing the Solve Ninja Movement of young citizens who can mobolize ownership of their street, city, country; one act at a time.

OUTREACH AND SPHERES OF WORK:
› Currently working across Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Delhi, Bihar, Odisha, West Bengal, Jharkand, Punjab (all 23 districts), either through direct grassroots mobilization or through partnerships with civil society organizations, citizen collectives and elected representatives.
› Their open civic platform creates a hyper - local citizen engagement. One can interact with the platform to report issues, start campaigns, co-create solutions and mobilize communities towards action.

IMPACT:
› 50k+ Solve Ninjas activated (~80% of them continuing as citizen social imtermediaries
› 94k+ civic actions taken
› 4L data points collected
› 3k+ campaigns started
› 550+ civic innovations built

QUESTION 2 · Do organisations anchor on a thematic focus to engage citizens?

A majority (59 of 79) of the organisations have a horizontal focus or are sector agnostic. These are focused on building a specific civic capacity which people can use to engage with different issues. For example, Change.org equips individuals to start a petition, build support towards their cause and influence decision-makers. Now, every month 41,000 campaigns across themes are launched on it. On the other hand, a smaller set of organisations (20 of 79) believe that sustained engagement focussing on specific sectors builds this civic muscle as people meaningfully engage on issues they deeply care about. For this reason, Jhatkaa.org builds digital tools with a razor-sharp focus on gender, climate, and WASH (water, sanitation and hygiene) sectors.

FIGURE 17
THEMATIC FOCUS OF ORGANISATIONS

10% ENVIRONMENT

5% HEALTH

8% WASH

5% EDUCATION

11% GENDER

10% LIVELIHOOD

75% SECTOR AGNOSTIC
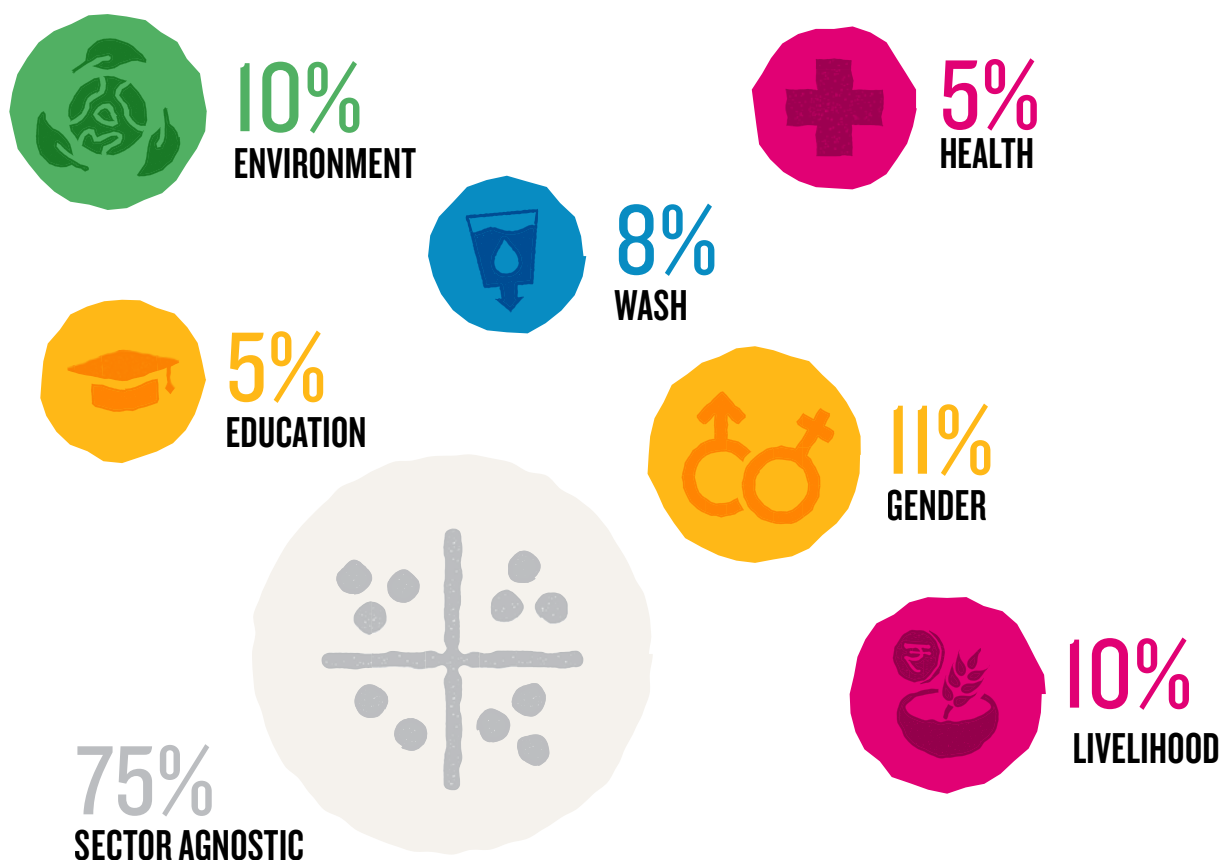
Note: the figure above adds up to >100% as some organisations have multi-thematic programmes

QUESTION 3 · What is the reach of these organisations?
Are they local or pan-India in their focus?

We initially hypothesised that active citizenship
organisations would mostly operate locally, given
that local problem solving is key to fostering civic
engagement. However, we find that over 70% of the
organisations are present in 10 states or more.

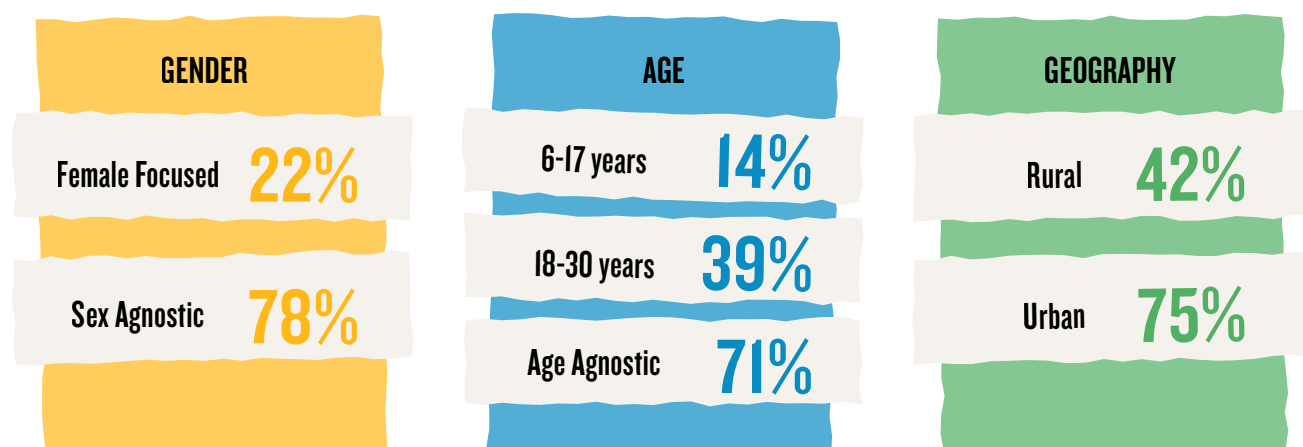**FIGURE 18**
GEOGRAPHIC REACH OF ORGANISATIONS

72%
NATIONAL

9%
REGIONAL

19%
LOCAL
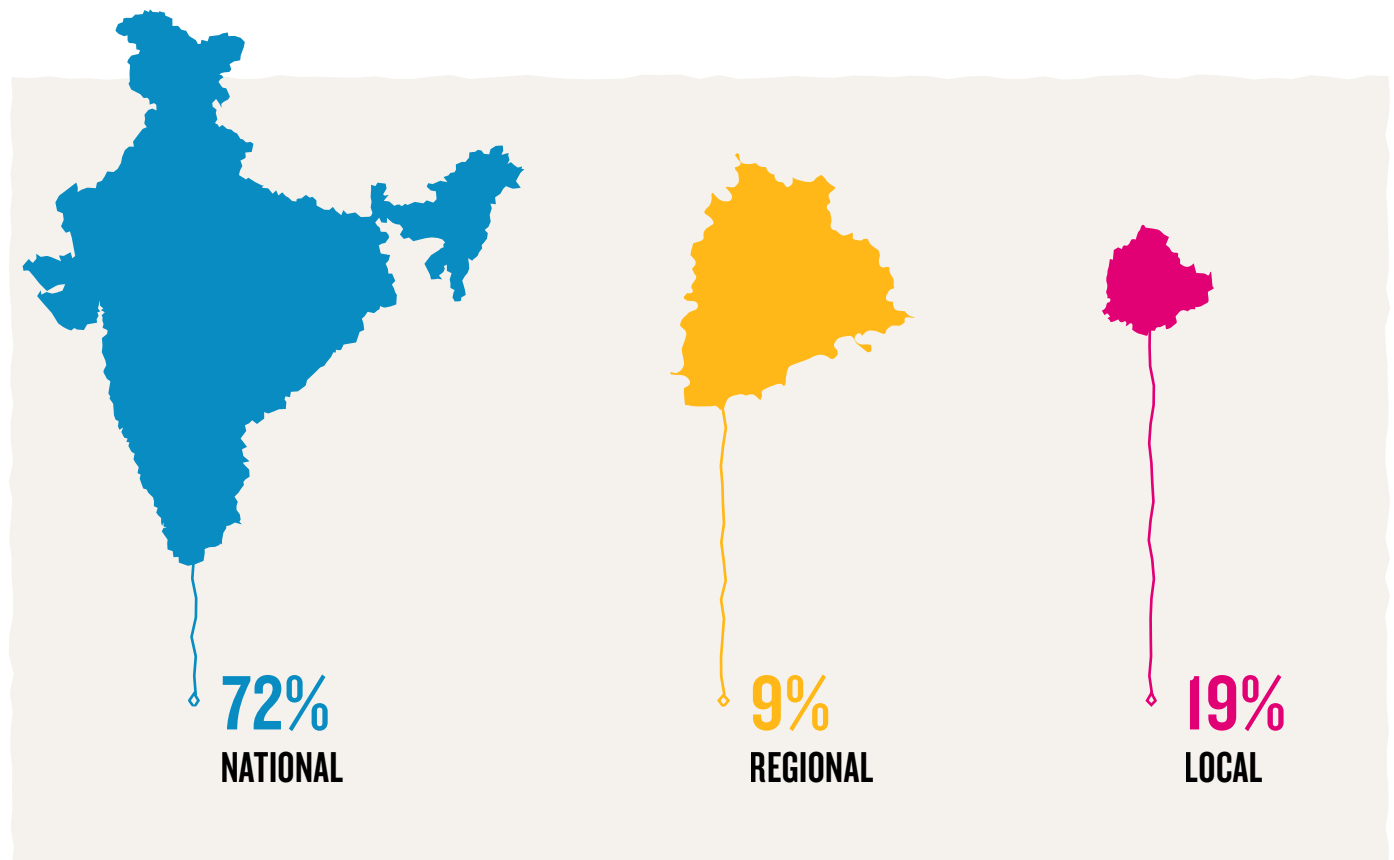
QUESTION 4 · Who are their beneficiaries? What are their key demographic characteristics?

We made three observations while analysing high-level demographic characteristics of beneficiaries:

FIGURE 19
TARGET CONDUITS OF ACTION

We highlight a few organisations that have taken an intentional gender lens. **Netri** is India's first women-focused political incubator and accelerator, helping women train, upskill and run for elections. **ISD** has a women-focused political leadership programme. **Khabar Lahariya**'s team consists of 35-40 women reporters from rural and marginalised communities.

GENDER		AGE		GEOGRAPHY	
Female Focused	**22%**	6-17 years	**14%**	Rural	**42%**
Sex Agnostic	**78%**	18-30 years	**39%**	Urban	**75%**
		Age Agnostic	**71%**		

1. **GENDER**

   ONLY 17 OF 79 (22%) ORGANISATIONS TAKE AN INTENTIONAL GENDER LENS · CSOs generally focus on gender but there is an ambiguity around what a gender lens on active citizenship can be. Tech-first organisations especially attributed it to the difficulty in finding female talent and barriers to mobilising women. A positive sign is that 26% implementers take an intentional approach to gender. Since women have different lived realities, they require customised approaches to build agency—targeted awareness campaigns and social connection spaces and programs based on gendered social norms.

2. **AGE**

   WHILE MOST ORGANISATIONS (56 OF 79) ARE AGE AGNOSTIC, THE 18-30 AGE COHORT IS PROMINENTLY TARGETED · An OECD study across 14 countries found that the impact of age on active citizenship increases up to the ages of 58 beyond which it starts deteriorating. It may be worth exploring how CSO's can work with older age groups. A subset (11 of 79) focus on younger ages. **Janaagraha**'s Bala Janaagraha programme prepares two lakh class-8 schoolchildren across 25 cities to be active students. **Desh Apnayen** works with students to foster citizenship education, volunteerism, and neighbourhood engagement.

3. GEOGRAPHY

Organisations mainly work in urban areas (59 of 79), largely due to easier access. Connectivity is a barrier to organising rural civil society and practitioners tend to prioritise development outcomes over active citizenship in rural areas, especially since the Panchayati Raj enables more local in-context governance compared to urban local bodies. However, several core implementers like **MKSS, CORO,** the **Digital Empowerment** Foundation are doing exceptional rural work.

Digital Empowerment Foundation

WHAT DO THEY DO?
DEF fights information poverty to ensure that digital interventions strengthen grassroots democracy and give voice to the people in remote and undeserved regions

WHAT FACTORS MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO DEF'S SUCCESS?
DEF has long-standing networks which enable better access to information and connection—these include Communication Information Resource Centres (CIRCs) in partnership with grassroots organisations to spread digital literacy and access to the internet. DEF is also a part of several national and global bodies in the field of ICT for development.

OUTREACH AND SPHERES OF WORK
› Access and infrastructure, knowledge hub and network, research and advocacy, government and citizen services, governance and entitlement, and markets and social enterprise.
› Presence in over 1000 locations covering 3000 villages across 135 districts in 24 states.
› Knowledge and best practices network across 10 countries.

IMPACT
› Digitally empowered more than 15 million people, including 4 million women
› Created a network of 10,000 digital entrepreneurs
› Digitally enabled more than 1000 panchayats
› 500 K people have availed entitlements through DEF's digital services
› Assisted 50 K artisans to be digitally skilled
› Digitally trained and website-enabled 6000 grassroots NGOs in more than six countries
› Enabled documentation of 10,000 plus digital innovations across South Asian countries

QUESTION 5 · Which level—individual, community, national—do they seek to drive outcomes?

Nearly half the organisations have programmes designed to influence outcomes at the national level. Technology has helped them achieve scale rapidly and overcome geographical barriers. Crowdfunding platforms **Milaap, Ketto,** and **GiveIndia** collectively raised ~USD 161 Mn from 2.7 Mn donors for COVID-19 relief campaigns in a span of a few months in part due to the growing use of digital wallets.

QUESTION 6 · What are the different modes of intervention delivery adopted by these organisations? What has been the impact of technology on the space?

More than half the organisations target citizens through experiential or practice-based learning models such as training/workshops and live projects. **ISD** leverages field-time, **CPL** uses capstone projects and **Bolti Bandh** offers role-play based workshops.

FIGURE 20
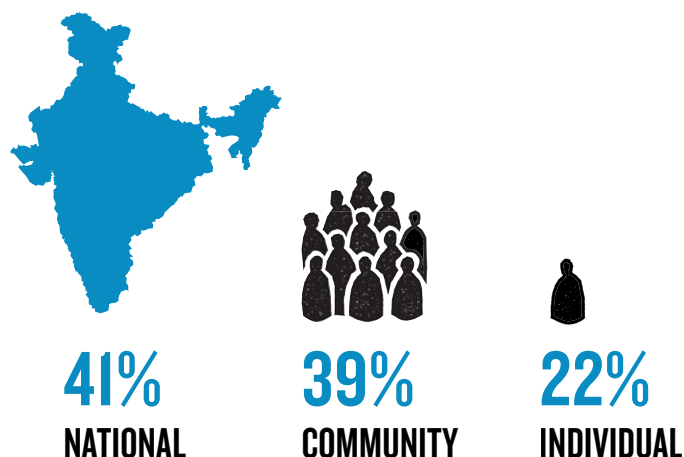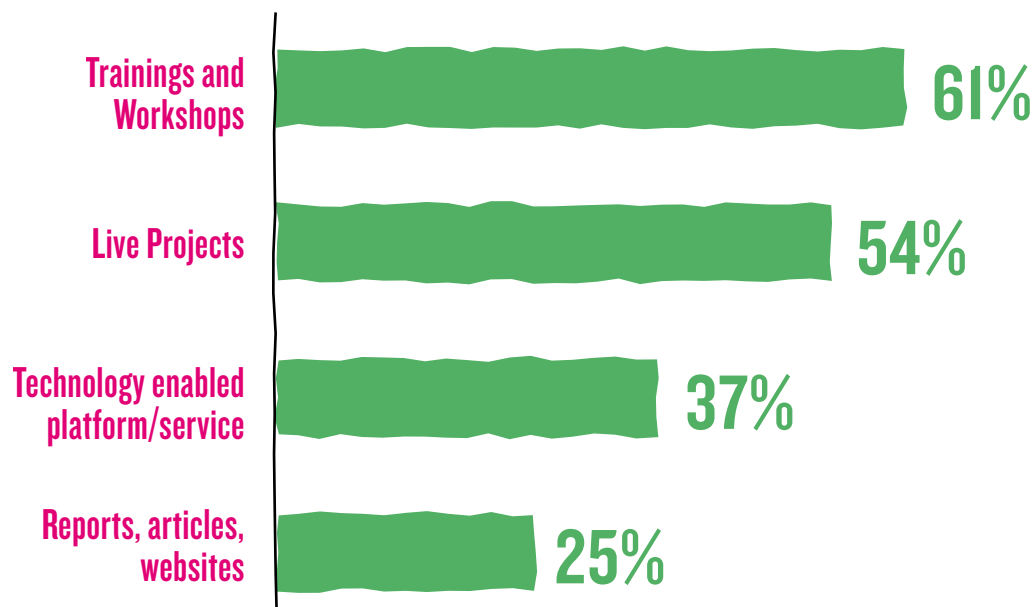**LEVEL OF INTERVENTION OUTCOME**

41% NATIONAL   **39%** COMMUNITY   **22%** INDIVIDUAL

FIGURE 21
MODES OF INTERVENTION DELIVERY

Trainings and Workshops — **61%**

Live Projects — **54%**

Technology enabled platform/service — **37%**

Reports, articles, websites — **25%**

Note: The chart above adds up to >100% as some organisations' use different delivery modes for different programmes

TECHNOLOGY AND ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

Key stakeholders in the active citizenship ecosystem have provided their definitions of the growing field of civic tech:

AAPTI INSTITUTE

Civic technology is any technology that enhances the citizen experience, which involves both citizen-citizen relations and citizen-state relations.

KNIGHT FOUNDATION

Technology that informs and encourages civic engagement, from simplifying voter registration to hosting virtual government town halls to launching crowdfunding campaigns supporting civic assets.

EVOLUTION OF CIVIC TECH IN THE US

The civic tech market in the US is more mature compared to other countries. It received more formal recognition between 2004-08 due to the inception of large organisations (Sunlight Foundation, Personal Democracy Forum) to improve government accountability and the success of social media. The integration of Web 2.0 with civic causes sparked the civic tech movement—there may now be more than 1500 civic-tech organisations in the US. Between 2008-16, civic tech organisations flourished due to favourable policies under the Obama administration, low-cost computing and a faith in the transformative power of tech. Some organisations reached considerable scale – NextDoor (a neighbourhood social networking site) became the first civic-tech unicorn with a valuation of USD 1.1 Bn in 2015, change.org reached 100 Mn users, and DoSomething. org (a digital platform for social change) reached 6 Mn members. Now, however, the role of technology in civic engagement is being reevaluated as trust in both the government and technology has been eroded on the back of the 2016 US elections and the Cambridge Analytica scandal, which drew attention towards the negative potential of civic hacking. The conversation has now shifted to finding ways to mitigate the risks of existing technologies.

Civic-tech in India is growing, with about 450-475 organisations. It comprises for-profit organisations such as Right2Vote (which aspires to take voting online) and not-for-profit organisations such as eGov Foundation. The core offering of 37% (29 of 79) organisations is technology-first (civic-tech). (This is distinct from organisations where tech is incorporated but not foundational to the work.) Half the enablers are tech-first, but most implementers still prefer a more hands-on, interpersonal and offline approach.

Of 29 tech-first organisations, 23 offer awareness and 18 offer connection programmes. Dror Labs crowdsources real-time public safety information for users on its app. Enable Vaani and Gram Vaani's social media platforms connect rural users to drive higher levels of citizen-citizen engagement. The Indian civic-tech ecosystem is still nascent and requires addressing fundamental issues such as access, transparency, networks at scale, and capacity.

Half the enablers are tech-first, but most implementers still prefer a more hands-on, interpersonal and offline approach.

FIGURE 22
MODES OF INTERVENTION DELIVERY

AWARENESS	79%
CONNECTION	62%
CAPACITATION	38%
ACTION	55%
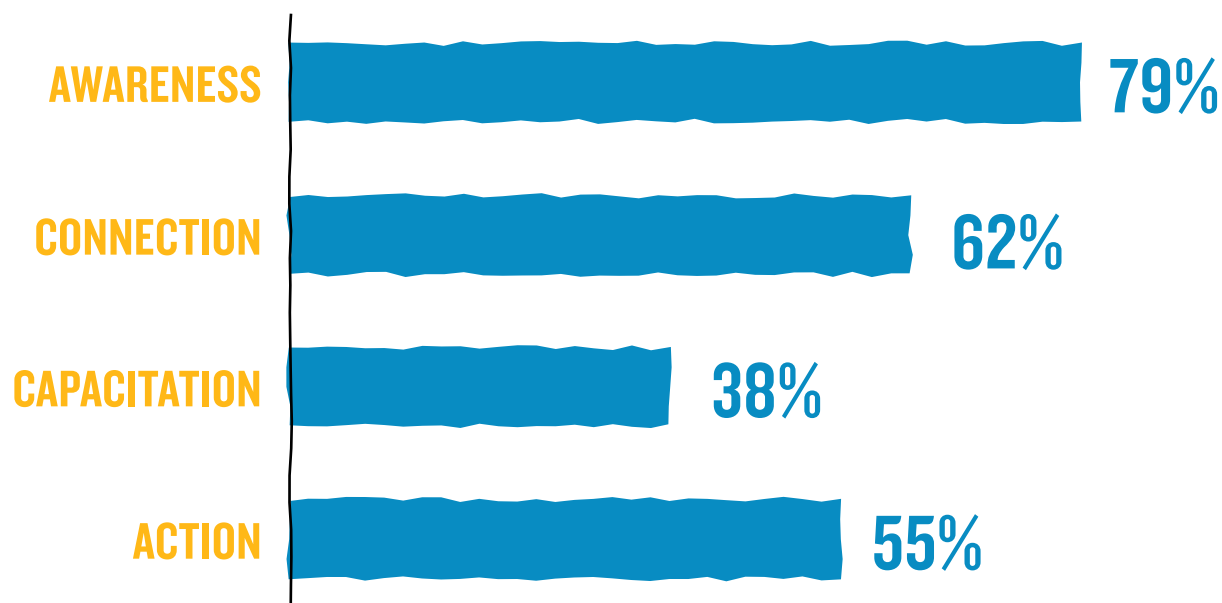
ROLE OF SARKAAR

Sarkaar is in a unique position to leverage formal tools of open government that create awareness, drive participation, and enable citizens to co-own decision-making and act

Citizen participation benefits *sarkaar* by distributing the burden of problem solving and provisioning among a wider body of citizens. The recognition of the benefits of state-citizen engagement led to the development of the open government doctrine. According to the OECD, open government is a culture of governance based on innovative and sustainable public policies and practices inspired by the principles of **transparency, participation, and accountability** that foster democracy and inclusive growth.

Its mechanics may vary but its principles drive public officials and citizens to have a relationship that is **"more dynamic, mutually beneficial, and based on reciprocal trust"**. In 2011, the Open Government Partnership brought together 78 countries and 76 local governments (representing over two billion people) along with thousands of CSOs. Its research from across the partner countries showcased the outcomes of open government.

FIGURE 24
EVIDENCE OF OPEN GOVERNMENT

Micro-Level Evidence

1 **IMPROVEMENT IN PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY** · policies which include citizens at some stage of their inception are likely to be implemented more efficiently.

2 **REDUCING CORRUPTION** · Transparency has a small but significant effect: a 100% increase in transparency efforts would, on average, be correlated with reducing government corruption by 2.2%.

3 **BETTER EFFICIENCY OF PUBLIC CONTRACTS** · open contracting can lead to cost-savings of between 7 and 25%

4 **INCREASE IN TRUST** · by advocating for transparency in campaign financing, political leaders can increase public trust in government.

Long-Term Impact

1 **THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF OPENNESS** · there is considerable evidence highlighting the role of open government in improving economic growth, business environment, and expanding economic opportunity.

2 **SOCIAL IMPACT OF OPENNESS** · the human impact of open societies translates into better health outcomes, an increase in education attainment and economic equality.

The tenets of open government (on the part of *sarkaar*) feed into ACCA framework of active citizenship (on the part of *samaaj*, in this case, citizens).

OVERLAYING THE TENETS OF OPEN GOVERNMENT ONTO THE ACCA FRAMEWORK

Tenets of Open Government		The ACCA Framework of Active Citizenship
TRANSPARENCY	Educating citizens, sharing data, and enabling citizens to monitor policies	AWARENESS
PARTICIPATION	An interface of pathways for citizens and government to consult on, deliberate and co-design policies	CONNECTION
ACCOUNTABILITY	Shared decision making and implementation through horizontal work, partnerships	CAPACITATION AND ACTION

The structural framework for governing modern India is in many ways based on the tenets of open government—largely transparency and (to a lesser extent) participation. As per the World Rule of Law Index, which looked at open government as one of its six sub-indices. In 2020, India ranked first among countries in its income group and ranked 32 of the 128 countries globally. India was also in the first ~25%-30% on publication of laws and government data, right to information, and global complaints mechanism—and at the 50th percentile for civic participation. Since data transparency is most easily quantifiable, government focuses on it disproportionately.

India has had a rich legacy of open, local, and participatory government, which can be traced back to ancient Indian republics, which were areas without kings, such as the Vaijjian confederacy in Vaishali around 600 BC in the times of Buddha. There's evidence of self-contained and self-governed village republics through Indian history. Sir Charles Metcalfe, the acting governor-general of India in 1830, wrote, "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations."

The key frameworks and interventions used by the
government to drive public participation:

› **LOCAL, DECENTRALISED GOVERNANCE (PARTICIPATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY)** · Gram
Swaraj (or village self-governance) was the foundation of Gandhi's India. In 1992,
the 73rd and 74th amendments to the Constitution introduced rural and urban
local self-governance. Although its provisions have widened political representation
across social groups (of nearly 3 Mn Panchayati Raj representatives, 19% are
from Scheduled Castes, 12% from Scheduled Tribes, and 46% are women), a
devolution report published by the Ministry of Panchayati Raj shows, that while a
few states (Karnataka, Kerala, and Maharashtra) have transferred power, full scale
decentralisation has a long way to go.

› **OPEN DATA (INFORMATION)** · The government passed the RTI act in 2005 and
approved the National Data Sharing and Accessibility Policy (NDSAP), which
mandates ministries and departments to make data sets available in both digital
and in print, in 2012. Niti Aayog is developing a National Data and Analytics
Platform (NDAP) to serve as a single point for accessing government data
"combined with intuitive visualisation and self-service analytics". This will be useful
for officials in policy making, companies in market strategies, and empower citizens
by exposing government data to public scrutiny.

› **E-GOVERNMENT (INFORMATION AND PARTICIPATION)** · The 2006 National e-Governance
Plan (NeGP) attempted to build digital infrastructure to make government services
accessible. India's open government data (OGD) platform, data.gov.in, is used by
various government departments to put data sets in the public domain. All levels
of government institutions are creating a paradigm shift by proactively engaging
with citizens on social media. And many government services are available through
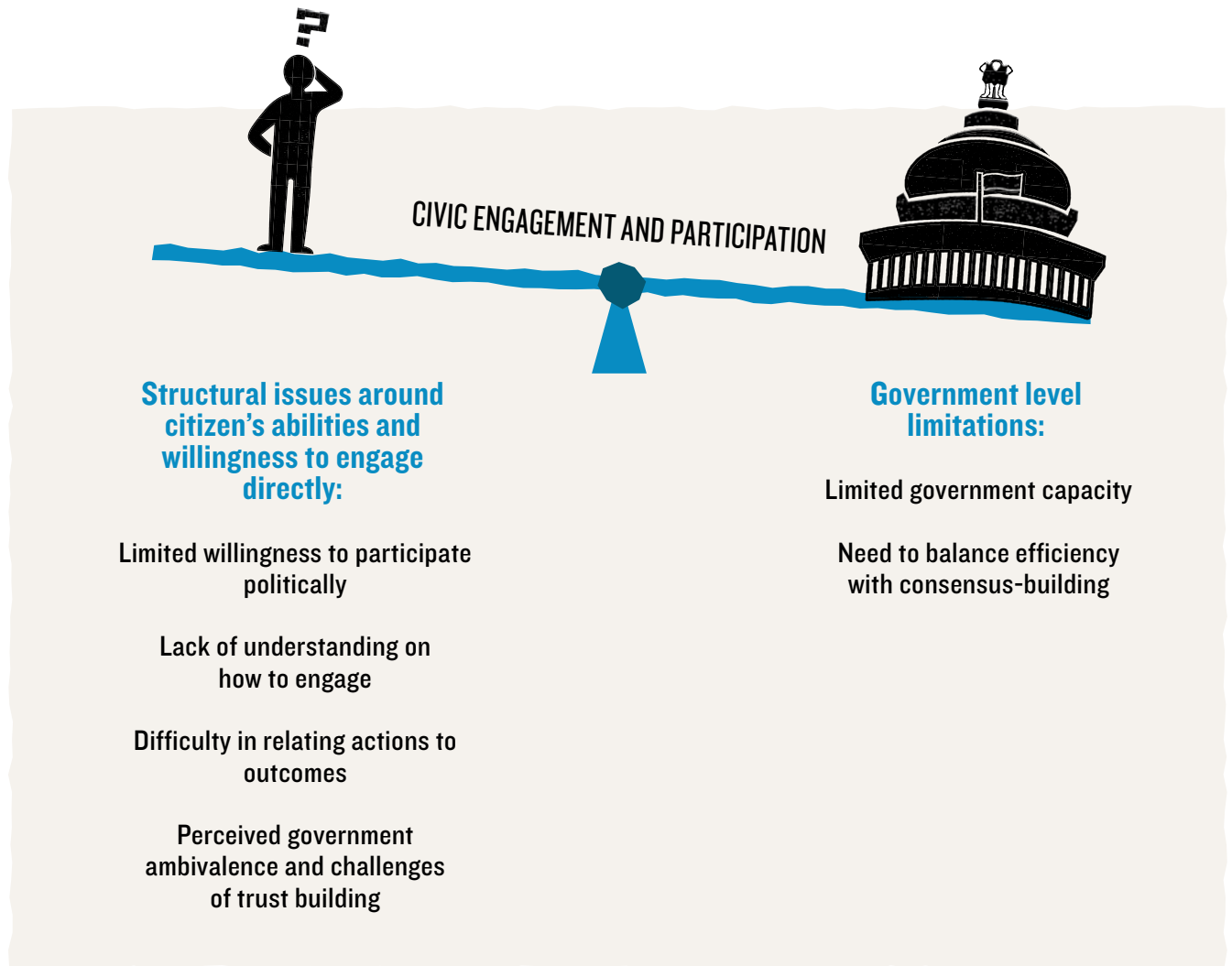mobile apps.

Other new and innovative tools used by the government include participatory
budgeting, community scorecards, social audits and citizen charters to
integrate citizen voices into the decision-making processes of the state.

FIGURE 26
TOOLS TO INCREASE OPENNESS IN INDIA

TENETS OF OPEN GOVERNMENT

	TRANSPARENCY	PARTICIPATION	ACCOUNTABILITY
CITIZEN REPORT CARD A tool that engages citizen in assessing the quality of public services such as health, education and public transportation	✔		
COMMUNITY BASED MONITORING It involves drawing in, activating, motivating, capacity building and allowing the community to give direct feedback on public service delivery	✔		
PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING An alternative to traditional budgeting that allows people to deliberate and negotiate over the distribution of public resources		✔	
SOCIAL AUDITS Surverying beneficiearies of public schemes and programs to measure, report and improve their performance	✔		
PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY A coalition civil society and the government that crowdsources policy proposalsfrom citizensand discusses them together on a 'deliberation day'. (used in Estonia)			✔
OPEN DIALOGUES Initiatives that allow citizens to directly participate in government policy planning and development (used in Canada)			✔

Transparency and participation tools used in India

Accountability tools used in other countries

CHALLENGES TO ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP (CITIZEN AND GOVERNMENT) ACROSS THE ACCA FRAMEWORK

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND PARTICIPATION

Structural issues around citizen's abilities and willingness to engage directly:

Limited willingness to participate politically

Lack of understanding on how to engage

Difficulty in relating actions to outcomes

Perceived government ambivalence and challenges of trust building

Government level limitations:

Limited government capacity

Need to balance efficiency with consensus-building

Challenges hindering the adoption of open government principles in India:

STRUCTURAL ISSUES

› LIMITED WILLINGNESS · The Centre for the Study of Developing Societies showed that 46% of 6,122 Indian youth surveyed between the ages of 15 and 34 years have no interest in politics and 18% have little interest. MEITY found that the reluctance to engage may be caused by the belief that public participation is a fundamentally political process.

> LACK OF UNDERSTANDING · Even those who want to may find it difficult to engage. A study in Pune on public participation and governance found that people need facilitators to "collect, analyse, and present relevant information in ways that people can respond to it". In 2021, the parliamentary standing committee on personnel, public grievances, law and justice noted that rural people, who are particularly vulnerable to corrupt practices, seemed to have the lowest awareness about their rights under the RTI act.

> DIFFICULTY IN RELATING ACTIONS WITH OUTCOMES · NeGP's framework for citizen engagement articulates that citizens may find active citizenship challenging because it is hard to relate their actions with changes in day-to-day life. For example, a citizen who participates in consultations with Civis, giving them feedback on a draft laws and policies, may not see the impact of her effort for several years until the bill becomes law.

> PERCEIVED GOVERNMENT AMBIVALENCE AND CHALLENGES OF TRUST-BUILDING · Institutional trust is pertinent to motivate citizens towards civic engagement. In Pune, intense public deliberations were held on redesigning the streets and even though the Pune Smart City Development Corporation Limited had taken note, no action was implemented. But when, then foreign minister Sushma Swaraj addressed/resolved it on Twitter, it was deeply appreciated.

MEITY found that the reluctance to engage may be caused by the belief that public participation is a fundamentally political process

India had one civil servant for every 24,000 people while the UK had one civil servant for every 131 people.

GOVERNMENT LIMITATIONS

> LIMITED CAPACITY · As per the 2011 census, India had one civil servant for every 24,000 people while the UK had one civil servant for every 131 people. This gets compounded if by India's diverse ethno-geography, and complex political economy.

> NEED TO BALANCE EFFICIENCY WITH CONSENSUS-BUILDING · A qualitative study of district-based health decision making in West Bengal showed that even when the local needs are often reflected in the plan documentation, final health plans are structured around the state and central government's core agendas. Planning remains top-down, and priorities change as and when the government changes.

Note: We have not evaluated Sarkaar's political considerations—specific governments' mandates, alignment across levels of governance, length of term etc.—in this study

Globally (and in India), trust in the government is at a historic low. This calls for direct public participation in policymaking, which has been known to increase people's trust in the government's legitimacy. For example, Estonia's people's assembly, Rahvakogu, a crowdsourcing platform for activists and the government, provides the public with a chance to deliberate on electoral laws, political party financing and politicisation of public offices. The Fair Tracks Programme in the Netherlands fosters trust in the justice system by facilitating conversations between government officials and litigants. Over 90% reported these interactions to be fair and honest, which deepened trust and greater compliance with unfavourable court decisions.

ROLE OF BAZAAR

Bazaar, through control over natural resources and direct influence over citizens (as employees, customers, suppliers), has the power to aggregate citizenry, shape awareness and drive action

Bazaar is a core economic institution impacting *samaaj*. Since its very creation, *bazaar* has had a self-interest in maintaining a balance of powers with *sarkaar* and *samaaj*.

"For their own sake, then, the bazaar sector, i.e. corporations, have a great self-interest in upholding the rule of law. They need the enforceability of contracts, otherwise, they simply cannot function. But even beyond this, the bazaar needs the rule of law to be upheld by society at large, because no business can thrive without social stability outside its gates"

Traditionally, Indian businesses' relationship with *samaaj* and *sarkaar* was based on the leadership of individuals and families keen on giving back to the community. In the 1970s, there was a shift in global narrative to profit maximisation—"the business of business is business". But in the 1990s, corporate citizenship gained traction with demands for greater accountability, responsibility, and transparency. Businesses now view their scope beyond creating jobs, making profits and paying taxes.

In India, the first wave of formalisation of corporate citizenship saw a shift in philanthropy from individual to corporate social responsibility (CSR). In April 2014, India became the first country to pass a mandatory CSR law. CSR includes initiatives that directly benefit society such as philanthropy, and volunteerism. The focus is on voluntary contributions and less on driving impact through operations and value chain of the business. The second wave of corporate citizenship has risen from recognising the "triple bottom line" and moved businesses to think about corporate responsibility as a core strategic issue. This trend is highlighted through companies like HUL that prioritise the people and planet, or Ola Cabs, which through the creation of subsidiary Ola Electric pivoted to a new business model that tries to maximise value for stakeholders, not just shareholders.

External factors pull organisations to imbibe good corporate citizenship as a part of their DNA.

> › CHANGES IN EMPLOYEES' VALUES · A 2017 study by Deloitte found millennials, who make up over half the workforce in several countries, to be increasingly concerned about issues like hunger and the environment—86% believed that business success should also be measured by the ability to address societal concerns. A 2014 global study by Nielsen found that 67% employees preferred to work in a socially responsible company.

> › CHANGES IN VALUES AND PREFERENCES OF CUSTOMERS · The Nielsen study showed that 55% consumers were willing to pay more for companies committed to social impact. A Capgemini survey found that 79% consumers are changing their preferences based on social responsibility or environmental impact. Kantar's Asia Sustainability Foundation Study, found that in urban India, 77% were willing to invest time and money to support companies committed to doing good, 66% stopped buying products/services that have a negative social or environmental impact. The rise of sustainable fashion brands and cruelty-free cosmetics also reflects this trend.

There is also a business side push in the same direction

> › RAPIDLY DETERIORATING ENVIRONMENT · Climate change is impacting assets and infrastructure. The World Economic Forum's Global Risks Report showed that among the top five global risks in 2009, there were no environmental risks. But in 2019, there were three: extreme weather events, failures of climate change action, and natural disasters. Resource scarcity and long-term resilience-building is driving firms to reconcile business goals with sustainability.

> › YOUNG ENTREPRENEURS ARE LIKELY TO PRIORITISE "DOING WELL BY DOING GOOD"· According to a study of almost 15K millennials across 45 countries, almost 50% see businesses as a force for good. With millennials at the helm, the "right thing to do" will go higher up on the agenda.

Yulu

Yulu, a new age for-profit venture focused on creating social impact, started off to reduce traffic congestion and pollution in cities and is now redefining urban mobility with its electric micro-mobility vehicles. Its founders, a majority of whom are young, have created a seamless, sharable, and sustainable business.

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Rainmatter Foundation

Young billionaire Nithin Kamath supports the health of employees and long-term sustainability of communities: Kamath leveraged the success of Zerodha to set up Rainmatter Foundation (corpus of USD 100 Mn) to support long-term solutions to preserve and regenerate ecosystems and the climate. The foundation has invested in start-ups like Blue Sky Analytics (which analyses data to help with climate change) and Terra.do (a climate change learning platform). His business also provides bonus and incentives to employees prioritising health and fitness

Investors are also pushing firms to be more intentional and focusing on long-term value creation.

Investors are also pushing firms to be more intentional and focusing on long-term value creation. In open letter (read widely by public companies and market participants), Blackrock Global CEO Larry Fink asked companies to "disclose how their model will be compatible with a net-zero economy", show their purpose in delivering value to their customers, employees, and communities so they are able to "compete and deliver long term, durable profits for shareholders" and to "share a talent strategy that reflects your full-term plans to improve diversity, equity, and inclusion". This is a strong signal for *bazaar*.

› **MANDATORY REPORTING ON TRIPLE BOTTOM LINE PARAMETERS, E.G. ESG IS COMING FROM REGULATORS** · ESG/triple bottom line has emerged as the prevalent paradigm through which a company's accountability, transparency, and responsibility is being measured. India's largest 1,000 companies have been asked to furnish mandatory Business Responsibility reports to the regulator from 2023. Early trends (in the box below) in ESG practices suggest there is still room for growth across the three components, but slow progress is surely being made.

FIGURE 29
DEFINING ESG

ESG

ENVIRONMENTAL
Climate Change Strategy, Biodiversity, Water Efficiency, Energy Efficiency, Carbon Efficiency, Environmental Management System

SOCIAL
Equal Opportunites, Freedom of Association, Health and Safety, Human rights, Customer and Product Responsibility, Child Labour

GOVERNANCE
Business Ethics, Compliance, Board Independence, Executive Compensation, Shareholder Democracy

Note · Businesses also have a role to play in driving active citizenship by enabling CSOs and social enterprises through funding and equity infusions (civic-tech and gov-tech).

ESG has gained traction globally and in India. Currently, USD 30 Bn of assets are linked to ESG and expected to grow to USD 240 Bn over the next 10 years.

1. **ENVIRONMENT** · According to the NSE and stakeholder empowerment series report (2020), a wide gap exists between the highest and lowest scoring companies on the environmental factor. This reflects "the asymmetry in appreciation and concern for environmentally sustainable practices." Fifty of the top 100 companies based on market capitalisation have increased the use of renewable energy. CEOs of 16 large Indian companies, including six with the largest market cap, stated that water scarcity and climate change are core threats to their business. **Infosys, Dalmia Cement, Mahindra Holiday and Resorts and Tata Motors** have joined the RE100 and committed to 100% renewable energy; 38 Indian companies had committed to the Science-Based Targets Initiative by December 2019 to help them set greenhouse gas emissions reduction targets in line with the Paris Agreement.

2. **SOCIAL** · Typically, the S Factor measures issues like sexual harassment, % of women employees, child labour, parental leave. Authentic brand activism can be a key S metric. Globally, companies have taken stands on racial issues (Nike during the George Floyd protests), gender issues (Gilette on toxic masculinity). A 2016 study by Weber Shandwick and KRC Research showed that 65% consumers in India wanted CEOs or companies to express opinions or act on an issue that may be controversial. But when, for instance, two Tanishq ads showed inter-religion marriage and a cracker free Diwali, they faced backlash and had to remove both ads. Some examples of successful brand activism in India are Tata Tea's Jaago Re (Wake Up) during the general elections in 2009, or the recent 2020 campaign, which focused on care for senior citizens during COVID-19.

In a world dominated by big tech, there are two pertinent questions: how are companies handling user data and privacy? And how are they leveraging their unique place in the collective conscience of society to shape a narrative for good? This ranges from their ability to influence elections, shape the mental health of adolescents, and protect individual privacy.

3. **GOVERNANCE** · RepTrak found in a study that governance continuously ranked second between August 2019 and July 2020 as a driver of corporate reputation. Indian companies are doing better on governance metrics than social and environmental factors. A report by Excellence Enablers, noted that the number of women directors in NIFTY50 companies grew from 20% in 2019 to 26% by 2020. Also, 42 out of 50 top companies have policies on corruption, bribery and ethics for both employees, groups, joint ventures, contractors and suppliers.

Fifty of the top 100 companies based on market capitalisation have increased the use of renewable energy. CEOs of 16 large Indian companies, including six with the largest market cap, stated that water scarcity and climate change are core threats to their business.

BUILDING THE FIELD: ECOSYSTEM CATALYSTS

Four key ecosystem catalysts driving active citizenship through *samaaj*, *sarkaar* and *bazaar* are funding, technology, knowledge creation and the media. The infographic below illustrates the relationship of these ecosystem catalysts with the institutions (*samaaj*, *sarkaar* and *bazaar*) that in turn interact with the citizen.

FIGURE 30
ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP ECOSYSTEM CATALYSTS
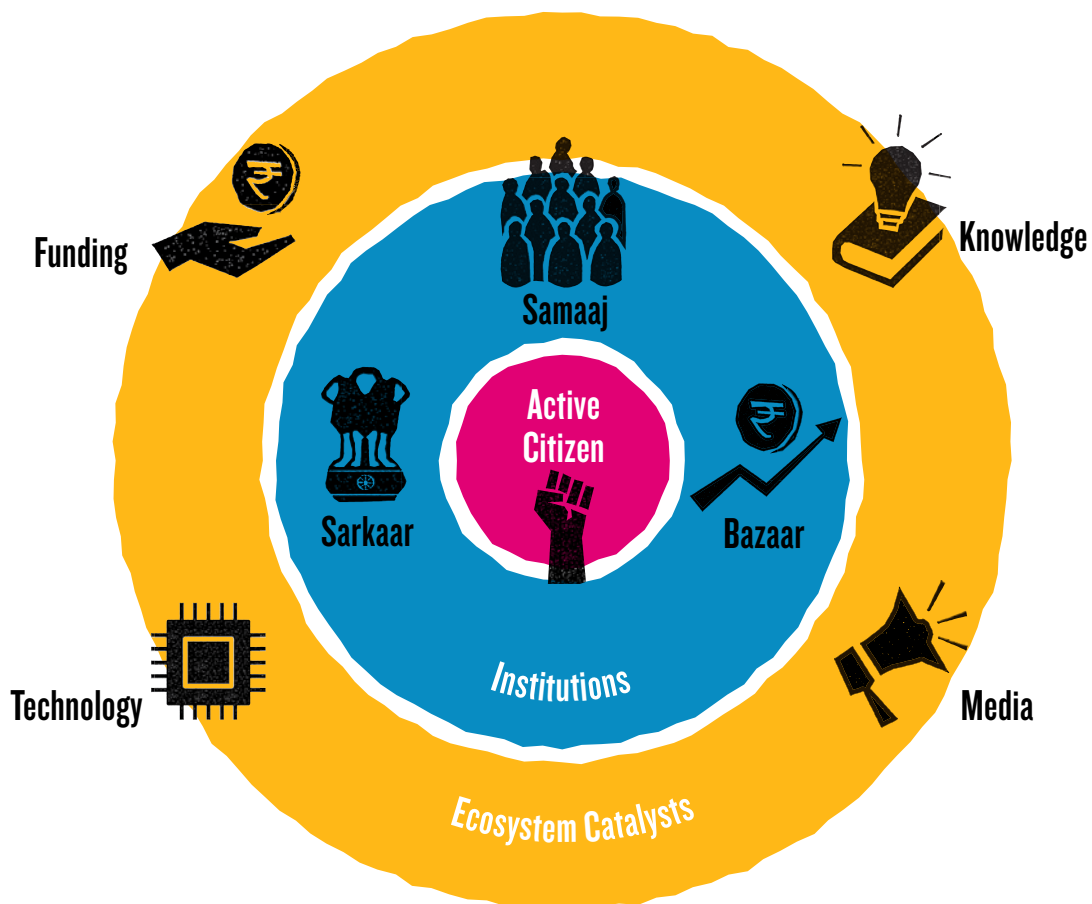
A few notable exceptions and disclaimers: Cultural norms, political institutions and the justice system are inherent part of the ecosystem but have not been depicted. And the divisions of ecosystem catalysts and institutions are not water-tight. For instance, *samaaj* through grassroots media CSOs may directly interact with and activate the citizen. This chapter deconstructs the role of funding, technology, and knowledge as indirect catalysts and the media as both an institution and an ecosystem catalyst

I. FUNDING (PHILANTHROPIC OR COMMERCIAL CAPITAL) ALLOWS SAMAAJ ORGANISATIONS TO SCALE THEIR WORK

The Hurun EdelGive list of India's biggest philanthropists (2020) suggests that less than 1% of private domestic philanthropic capital is directed to citizenship. We analysed 22 of India's top philanthropists who have devoted funding of INR 100 Bn (2019-2020). Only one donor primarily focuses on citizenship, while 3-4 donors have an ancillary focus. Various reasons contribute to these trends.

1. **Indian philanthropies focus on verticals (where impact is attributable) and not the horizontals, where impact is harder to measure.** Sectors like climate change, gender equity, and citizenship can be considered horizontals on which verticals like waste, education, healthcare, rural development rest. As per an OECD report on private capital giving (2019) in India, nearly 55% of philanthropic capital went to education and healthcare. Funding to these sectors is measurable (e.g. number of girls enrolled in schools). But for citizenship, changes in mindset are less measurable or understood, so it falls low on the agenda of domestic philanthropy.

2. **The perceived "political" colour of active citizenship also deters funders.** It is often difficult to separate citizenship and democracy from politics, so funders are not keen to work in this space. But most CSOs in citizenship are working to build systemic capacity rather than drive political capacity in the citizenry

Governance/democracy are not yet included in the mandated list of areas company CSR arms can spend on. The Companies Act 2013 defines 10 broad areas in this list (which includes promoting education, eradication of hunger and malnutrition, protection of national heritage, promotion of sports), but active citizenship or governance and democracy do not feature in any of the prescribed activities.

The necessary reallocation has exacerbated extant structural issues due to COVID-19. An estimated INR 80 Bn (almost half of the CSR budget of Indian firms) was allocated to the PM Cares fund by July 2020. It is likely that funding in FY22 and FY23 will continue to flow towards vaccination and COVID-19 management. Organisations in other sectors which would normally attract CSR funding are now targeting private philanthropy (the most viable pool of capital for active citizenship).

As per an OECD report on private capital giving (2019) in India, nearly 55% of philanthropic capital went to education and healthcare. Funding to these sectors is measurable (e.g. number of girls enrolled in schools). But for citizenship, changes in mindset are less measurable or understood, so it falls low on the agenda of domestic philanthropy.

Commercial capital offers an alternative to philanthropic funding—but is negligible. In India, few impact investors actively focus on this space. **Omidyar Network**, considered one of India's most sophisticated citizenship funders, is still funding less than 25% of its civic/govtech portfolio (by volume) through equity. An analysis of deals made by key impact investors over the last 5 years reveals not more than a handful of deals in the sector (<10) with a typical deal value was ~USD 0.5 Mn. As compared to this, another nascent space, i.e. climate tech, has witnessed ~200 deals between 2016-2020, though the deal value here too is <USD 1Mn.

Three key reasons why equity infusions into the sector are limited.

› LACK OF A SUSTAINABLE BUSINESS MODEL · Organisations with business-to-consumer (B2C) models see limited or no paying power and rely more on grant capital. However, globally, local bottom-up platforms (like **NextDoor**) focused on amplifying voices are finding sustainable business models through sponsored posts and neighbourhood sponsorships. Young organisations with business-to-government (B2G) models find it difficult to manage erratic cash flows. In cases where these CSOs create public goods, equity funding becomes harder. Given that returns from commercial equity capital in India can be as high as 20-30% and impact investment typically yields gains of ~15%, the space is more amenable to grant capital at current levels of maturity.

India still needs basic infrastructure when it comes to governance and civic engagement, such as government-citizen information interface or networks to manage crises. Such interventions are better served by grant capital, as allowing equity infusion into this space could lead to the privatisation of public goods or tragedy of the commons

› THE NATURE OF PUBLIC GOODS · India still needs basic infrastructure when it comes to governance and civic engagement, such as government-citizen information interface or networks to manage crises. Such interventions are better served by grant capital, as allowing equity infusion into this space could lead to the privatisation of public goods or tragedy of the commons.

› THE ORIGIN STORY OF THE ORGANISATION · Entrepreneurs will attract equity capital when they intentionally build an organisation that serves to optimise for profits while driving social good.

II. TECHNOLOGY: ALLOWS SAMAAJ, SARKAAR, AND BAZAAR TO BETTER DRIVE AWARENESS, CONNECTION, CAPACITATION, AND ACTION AMONG CITIZENS

Technology offers opportunities to enhance how institutions drive citizenship by creating a simple, easy to use, low-cost interface between citizens and government, and between citizens and other citizens allows *samaaj*, *sarkaar*, and *bazaar* **to create awareness (e.g. social media), drive connection among key stakeholders (e.g. funding aggregators), create efficiencies (e.g. easier data entry and access) and act (e.g. e-voting)**. In India, MyGov.in drives active citizen participation by crowdsourcing governance ideas from citizens. Since its launch in 2014, it has more than 18.4 Mn users.

However, these come with associated risks and challenges.

› WITHOUT AUXILIARY INPUTS TO EXPAND ACCESS, DIGITISATION CAN BE EXCLUSIONARY · Content on most tech platforms is predominantly in English (spoken by only 10% of the population), while products focusing on vernacular languages are limited to Hindi (over 40% Indians do not speak in Hindi). Close to 70% of the rural population does not access the internet, while only 35% of internet users across India are women (Internet and Mobile Association of India, 2020).

› ACCESS TO TECHNOLOGY NEEDS TO BE LINKED WITH CHANGE MANAGEMENT THAT CAPACITATES INDIVIDUALS TO MAKE USE OF THE TECHNOLOGY EFFECTIVELY · An interesting anecdote from eGov Foundation revealed that after digitising a government body's

grievance management system, some government officials seemed to be resolving grievances within a single day. Further investigation into the matter revealed that because government officials were entering new grievances into their systems only on the day they were being resolved, it inaccurately seemed like these grievances were being resolved on the same day. Therefore, despite the digitisation, performance wasn't tracked appropriately – even if the officials had worked on a grievance for multiple days, it wouldn't reflect as such because of how the data was being entered.

› TECHNOLOGY EXACERBATES EXTANT STRUCTURAL ISSUES · Systemic issues like the digital divide between the rich and the poor, missing institutional capacity, and differentials in intent (what people do with the technology they have access to) require structural interventions and not just the implementation of technology.

› CONCERNS AROUND DIGITAL RIGHTS AND DATA PRIVACY · Online fraud or breach can have devastating effects on the disempowered. For example, identity theft can result in financial losses, wrongful arrests, harassment by collection agencies, and loss of utility services. Currently, India does not have a data protection law, but a few sector-specific regulations like the IT Act (2000), SEBI Data Sharing Policy (2019) and RBI Guidelines on Cyber Security Framework for Banks and Information Security (2016) form a fragmented set of rules and vague redressal procedures. The actions taken by various other countries—such as the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation (GDRP) and independent data protection laws in Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong and Japan—reinforce the need for a strong data privacy act in India.

III. KNOWLEDGE CREATION, THROUGH EVIDENCE BUILDING AND INFORMATION DISSEMINATION, ENABLES SAMAAJ AND SARKAAR TO CREATE MORE AWARENESS THAT ENGAGES CITIZENS

The active citizenship space faces critical gaps when it comes to research, evidence, and measurement. Scholars, policy experts and researchers across subject areas need to collaboratively set the research agenda to fill gaps, develop theories of change, and pathways to success. Effective evaluation can enable stakeholders to improve public participation programs. Common concerns raised by stakeholders when it comes to unfulfilled research needs:

› **Programme managers need to move towards a consolidated understanding of what works in active citizenship and what does not.** There are two schools of thought: one focuses on the intrinsic benefits of participation and renders instrumental outcomes irrelevant, and the other focuses on instrumental outcomes for citizens, communities, policy and governance. These claims make the evaluation process complicated. So organisations employ and deploy citizen participation interventions with no systematic comparisons of processes, leading to a different understanding of success and unclear attribution of outcomes to specific interventions.

› **Need for longitudinal studies to measure long term shifts and a need for shorter-term, well-understood milestones.** Longitudinal impact assessment can help organisations understand what they are doing well and where they must course correct. It can also help funders understand the impact of these interventions. On the heels of this, short term, attainable, and measurable milestones such as the

number of petitions signed, app downloads, repeat action, number of civic innovations that can act as sign-posts towards their long term impact.

› **Developing tools and standardised methods to measure outcomes around mindset shifts.** Measuring changes may require qualitative tools such as self-reporting responses to open-ended questions or evaluations of group discussions.

› **Producing research that is contextually relevant to India.** We need more India built and India focused knowledge that captures our rich and diverse socio-cultural identity. Some organisations doing important work in the space are showcased on the following page.

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FIGURE 33

KNOWLEDGE CREATORS IN INDIA

Name	Description	Work in active citizenship space
The Takshashila Institution	It is an independent centre for research and education in public policy. It focuses on strategic affairs, public policy and governance. It is a non-partisan, non-profit organisation that advocates the values of freedom, openness, tolerance, pluralism and responsible citizenship and seeks to transform India through better public policies and bridging the governance gap.	Detailed policy analyses, podcasts, talks on active citizenship: 1. How Can Citizens Make Cities Better? Podcast on leveraging active citizenship as a possible way of engaging in city-level issues 2. MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK WITH ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP · Research article on making effective use of making claims from the state 3. ACTIVE AND RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP · a talk on engaging in public affairs
Oxfam India	A part of Oxfam International, a global movement to end injustice and poverty, Oxfam India works across citizen participation among youth and marginalised communities	1. CIVIL SOCIETY AND POLICYMAKING · In Search of Democratic Spaces—a research report on identifying spaces and mechanisms to involve civil society and citizens in policymaking 2. PROMOTING ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP · insights from 10 case studies of Oxfam's work in promoting active citizenship 3. NARRATIVE POWER AND COLLECTIVE ACTION · a compendium of conversations with people working to change narratives for social good
Centre for Policy Research (CPR)	It is a public policy think tank and engages around five broad themes: economic policy; environmental law and governance; international relations and security; law, regulation, and the state; and urbanisation.	CLAIMING THE STATE: Active Citizenship and Social Welfare in Rural India—conversations with researchers like Dr Gabrielle Kruks-Wisner (University of Virginia) in the active citizenship domain
Observer Research Foundation (ORF)	It provides non-partisan, independent analyses and inputs on matters of security, strategy, economy, development, energy, resources and global governance to diverse decision-makers (governments, businesses, academia, civil society).	1. Citizen engagement approaches on decentralisation in various African countries 2. Rethinking policymaking for the 2020s, Senior citizens, cities and city planning – expert talks on active citizenship

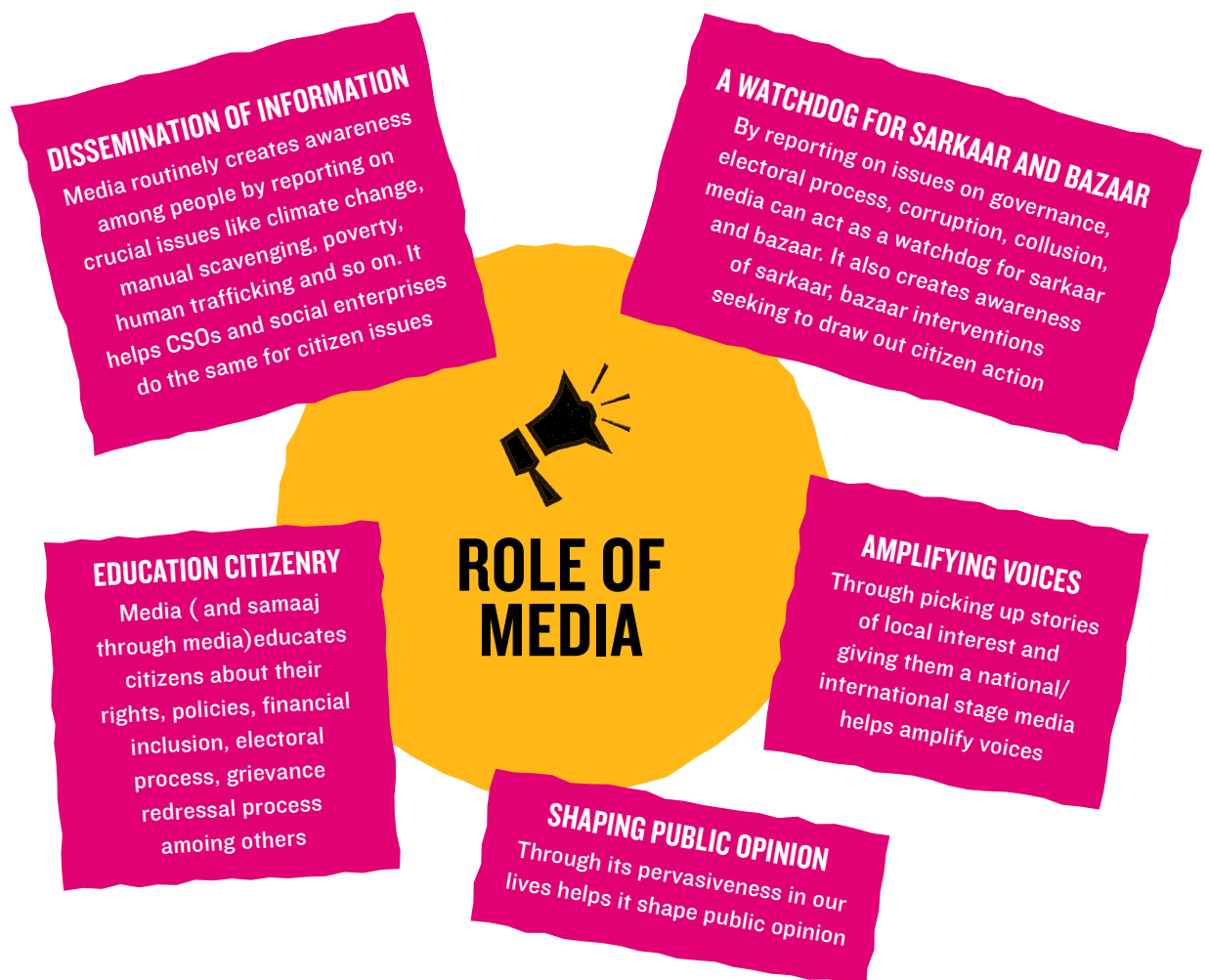| Name	Description	Work in active citizenship space
Centre for Civil Society	Conduct policy training, certificate courses, research internships, and outreach programs to train students and young adults into becoming change agents and future public policy leaders.	1. IPOLICY · certificate workshops on public policy and analysis 2. MOOCs on education policy, liberalism 3. COLLOQIUM · in-depth discussions on public issues
Praja	It is a non partisan non profit that works with key urban governance stakeholders to address inefficiencies and build capacities through data driven research and advocacy	1. Urban governance reports that map the implementation of the 74th amendment across all states by reviewing institutional structures 2. Thematic issues on areas like education, healthcare, law & order related to basic service provision and monitoring to make government stakeholders aware of the issues and drive them to action
Janaagraha	Non-profit combining the efforts of the government and citizens to transform cities by improving quality of urban infrastructure, services and quality of citizenship.	1. MYCITYMYBUDGET · collaborative annual participatory budgeting initiative with the citizens of Bangalore 2. CIVIC LEARNING IMPACT INITIATIVE · evaluating the civic learning programme, which aims to transform children into informed, responsible, and active citizens of the future with a focus on addressing local civic issues

*Source: Organisation website

› GAP IN COLLECTIVE KNOWLEDGE · The dearth of evidence in the form of impact evaluations, synthesis reports and systematic reviews causes a delay in critical interventions and diverts resources from the core operations of implementing organisations. There is a need to create trusted data intermediaries for data sharing—from technology companies to social science researchers, between practitioners and researchers— to enable organisations go deeper and wider rather than continue to invest scarce resources on the same set of activities.

IV. MEDIA: AMPLIFYING CITIZEN VOICES ON ISSUES HELPS SAMAAJ DRIVE AWARENESS WHILE ALSO ACTING AS A WATCHDOG FOR BAZAAR AND SARKAAR TO ENSURE THAT THEY ARE FULFILLING THEIR DUTIES

The media plays five key roles: disseminate information; amplify voices; educate the citizenry; influence public opinion; and act as a watchdog for *sarkaar* and *bazaar*:

FIGURE 34
ROLE OF MEDIA

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION
Media routinely creates awareness among people by reporting on crucial issues like climate change, manual scavenging, poverty, human trafficking and so on. It helps CSOs and social enterprises do the same for citizen issues

A WATCHDOG FOR SARKAAR AND BAZAAR
By reporting on issues on governance, electoral process, corruption, collusion, media can act as a watchdog for sarkaar and bazaar. It also creates awareness of sarkaar, bazaar interventions seeking to draw out citizen action

ROLE OF MEDIA

EDUCATION CITIZENRY
Media (and samaaj through media)educates citizens about their rights, policies, financial inclusion, electoral process, grievance redressal process amoing others

AMPLIFYING VOICES
Through picking up stories of local interest and giving them a national/ international stage media helps amplify voices

SHAPING PUBLIC OPINION
Through its pervasiveness in our lives helps it shape public opinion

The impact of traditional media, social media, and grassroots media

1. **TRADITIONAL MEDIA**

   India has the fourth highest number of television broadcast stations, and TV penetration has increased from 32% in 2001 to 66% in 2018. 10% of viewership goes towards news channels. India is also the second-largest newspaper market globally, with a circulation of over 240 Mn copies daily.

   Traditional media fosters active citizenship. But worrying ownership patterns, sensationalism, and political affiliations have begun to harm public discourse and cripple democracy.

   › The emergence of a competitive market means that big corporate houses (for example, Times Group and ABP) own newspapers and TV networks. Newspapers are using sensationalism, fabrication, and simplification to grab readers. As the business model of news channels mostly depends on TRPs, sensationalism has also found its way into broadcasting. Research found that sensational content is viewed for twice as long.

   › Political affiliations are driven by two factors. First, ownership—as of 2010, political parties in the southern states owned almost a third of the Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada registered news channels. Second, the growth of TV media has led to the proliferation of back-channel or crony politics. In the 2010 RadiaGate Scandal, prominent journalists were recorded in conversation with a corporate lobbyist attempting to influence the allocation of ministerial portfolios in 2009 in a manner favourable to her corporate clients.

In a session hosted by RNP and Nudge Foundation for Charcha 2021, journalist Barkha Dutt noted that Indian broadcast media focuses its stories around Delhi and Mumbai.

Traditional media needs systemic checks and balances to ensure focus remains on the issues of the people. A recent step towards this was BARC temporarily suspending news channel ratings, which led TV news board rooms to reassess and reshape business models away from the TRPs. Another pathway involves federating traditional news media. In a session hosted by RNP and Nudge Foundation for Charcha 2021, journalist Barkha Dutt noted that Indian broadcast media focuses its stories around Delhi and Mumbai. **Yet, global studies have found that local news is more trusted than national news.** Those who follow local news are less likely to believe they have no say in the government and more likely to feel attached to where they live. While Doordarshan provided regional state channels—there is room to go more local. But, state-owned media has its own set of challenges—propaganda, censorship etc.
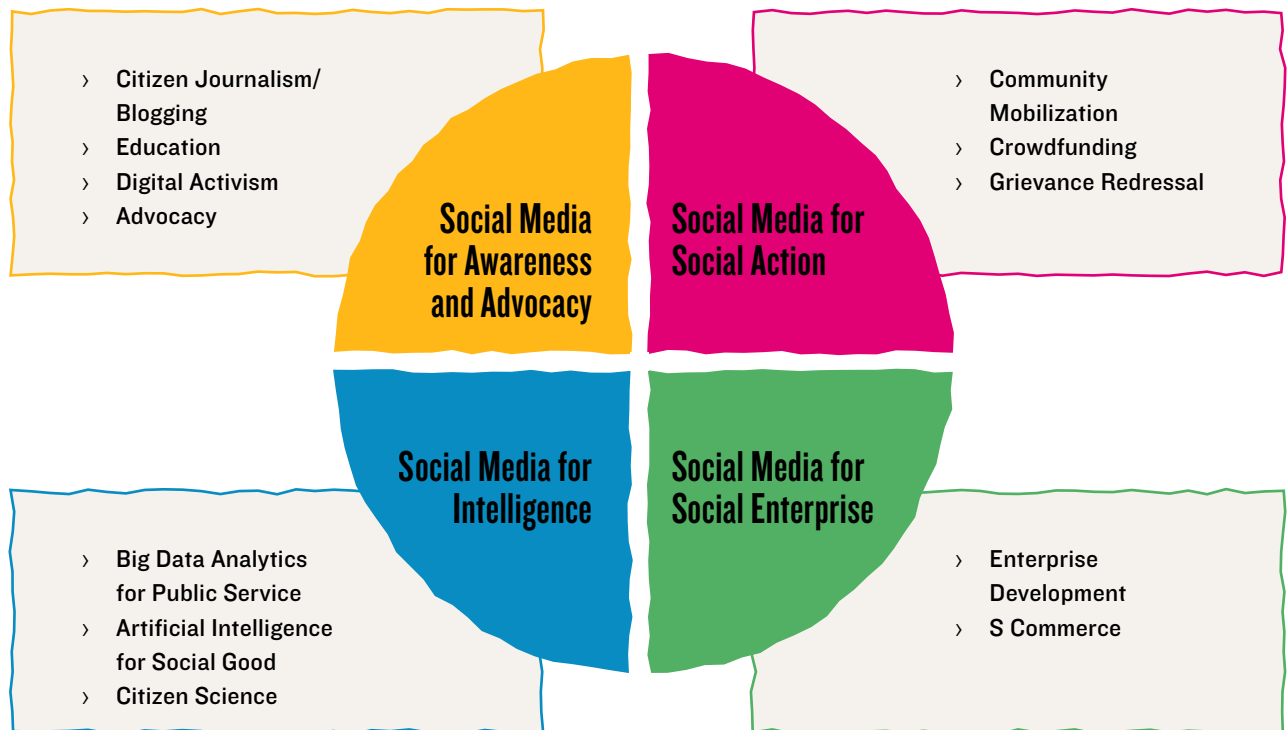
2. **SOCIAL MEDIA**

Currently, India has over 530 Mn social media users. Social media platforms are having a profound impact on democracy and civic engagement. A survey shows that more than 70% Indian youth is engaged in civic engagement on social media. This helps *Samaaj* organisations mobilise resources quickly and effectively, organise volunteering activities and aggregate public opinion.

However, driving civic engagement and participation through social media also poses threats

FIGURE 35

SOCIAL MEDIA FOR CIVIC ENGAGEMENT FRAMEWORK

Social Media for Awareness and Advocacy
› Citizen Journalism/ Blogging
› Education
› Digital Activism
› Advocacy

Social Media for Social Action
› Community Mobilization
› Crowdfunding
› Grievance Redressal

Social Media for Intelligence
› Big Data Analytics for Public Service
› Artificial Intelligence for Social Good
› Citizen Science

Social Media for Social Enterprise
› Enterprise Development
› S Commerce

› **SPREAD OF MISINFORMATION** · The Knight Foundation studied more than 10 Mn tweets across 700,000 Twitter accounts during the 2016 US Presidential elections and found 6.6 Mn tweets linking to over 600 fake and conspiracy news publishers. In India, a fake Whatsapp video about child traffickers on the loose triggered mob attacks killing two dozen people in 2018. These trends are problematic because social media is now an important conduit for digital news, especially for low-information voters. A fact-checking website, BOOM, conducted 178 fact checks on COVID-19 related information on social media platforms and found that as much as 35% was fake. This misinformation creates a lack of trust among individuals and with the government, driving them away from active citizenship

› **CLICKTIVISM**: The inherently passivity of clicktivism negates the active form of citizenship. While useful, studies show, clicks on the internet do not necessarily translate into on-ground action. A movement-building CSO in India noted that in their citizenship funnel, ~ 1 million individuals signed a campaign in the last 6 months but only 2,000-3,000 volunteers.

› **CYBERBULLYING** · As more citizens use social media to voice their opinions publicly, it has become a breeding ground for cyber-bullying and hateful responses. This is more problematic with no laws in India combatting cyber-bullying.

A movement-building CSO in India noted that in their citizenship funnel, ~ 1 million individuals signed a campaign in the last 6 months but only 2,000-3,000 volunteers.

3. **GRASSROOTS MEDIA**

Grassroots or community media is journalism by and for the local population. Grassroots media journalists fulfil their duties as a citizen by creating awareness of issues in their local communities. Grassroots media include organisations such as Khabar Lahariya, Video Volunteers etc. Community media nurtures local knowledge, has due regard for local human rights and environmental issues, can hold local officials responsible and is an important platform for rural communities who may be unable to understand the various facets of information provided by commercial media. But its business model needs to be refined. In a session hosted by RNP and Nudge Foundation for Charcha 2021, citizen journalists Dhanya Rajendran (The News Minute), Barkha Dutt (MoJo story), and Meera Devi (Khabar Lahariya) talk about grassroots media as a viable alternative to mainstream media. But for these organisations to scale while remaining true to their reportage, they need funding de-linked from advertising. This requires philanthropy and individual citizens to step up.

REFLECTIONS

Our research has left us with the following questions for the institution and catalysts in the active citizenship ecosystem. We invite readers to deliberate:

SAMAAJ

1. If active citizenship means such different things to different people, then how do we drive collective action? Given its intrinsic heterogeneity, is collective action a worthy pursuit?
2. What is success? How can the institutions of *sarkaar*, *bazaar* and ecosystem catalysts help drive *samaaj* organisations closer to their goals?
3. Is there a need for an intentional gender lens to this work? What would this look like?
4. Why is there limited engagement with a broader age group in India?
5. Since technology can often be exclusionary, can hybrid models help reach more citizens?
6. How do we build more traction (specifically from enablers) around rural active citizenship?

SARKAAR

1. Are there pathways that enable citizens to be active without continuous state intervention?
2. How do we build more trust between *sarkaar* and *samaaj*, especially since our end goals are aligned welfare of all citizens?
3. Some *sarkaar* actors have experimented with participatory decision making, can and should India move towards more wide-scale use of these tools of civic engagement?

BAZAAR

1. In a capitalist economy, can *bazaar* actors be trusted to self-regulate the accumulation of capital and power for an equitable society?
2. Multiple factors are driving corporates to take a more holistic and responsible approach towards business and society. So, how do we build on to the momentum to meaningfully institutionalise the practice of corporate citizenship? What would this look like beyond ESG?
3. How can *bazaar* actors be disincentivised from woke washing/greenwashing?
4. How can we develop tools and frameworks to integrate MSMEs in the practice of corporate citizenship more formally without burdening them from a regulatory perspective?

ECOSYSTEM CATALYSTS

FUNDING

1. How do we make a concerted effort to shift the narrative so that funding can be driven to horizontals, such as the active citizenship space?
2. What pathways can we leverage to build public goods? Is there a sustainable business model, or should this remain philanthropy's domain? Should institutional funding pay for these goods, or is this one sector that needs retail funding?

TECHNOLOGY

1. How can technology help facilitate successful partnerships across *samaaj*, *sarkaar*, and *bazaar*? How might these partnerships be structured?
2. How do we create checks and balances to avoid technology solutionism, i.e. the desire to jump to technology as a quick and flawless way of solving deep-rooted structural problems?
3. What checks and balances can *samaaj*, *sarkaar*, *bazaar* actors use to ensure that access, data privacy, and cyberbullying issues are addressed?

KNOWLEDGE CREATION

1. What are the pathways through which collective knowledge can be generated and shared by different stakeholders to maximise the growth of the field? Who are the CSO's and *sarkaar* actors that can anchor such a hub, and who would participate?
2. How can knowledge creators or disseminators ask philanthropies for multi-disciplinary support across fields like sociology, public administration, psychology to develop holistic solutions?

MEDIA

1. How can traditional media system be sustainably federated so that there is more local news?
2. How can we learn from global examples of new and innovative business models that enable media to speak truth to power?

We conclude this report with two key questions for us as citizens:

1. How can we sustainably co-own problem-solving for our communities?
2. What is our role in holding the institutions to a higher standard?

ANNEXURE I: METHODOLOGY

The writing in the White Paper is an outcome of leveraging a combination of primary as well as secondary sources of information. Structured virtual interviews with a wide variety of stakeholders within the active citizenship ecosystem formed the main source of primary information. These stakeholders include practitioners/ entrepreneurs, philanthropists, impact investors, and journalists (more details in Annexure 3). Secondary research involved desk-based literature review of academic papers, grey literature, media reports, videos, and podcasts.

The analysis of the active citizenship landscape in Chapter 2 of the White Paper also relied heavily on secondary research to build a representative sample of organisations working in active citizenship in India. We frequently validated our sample and crowd-sourced additional inputs from experts and founders in the active citizenship ecosystem. We tried our best to create, as a representative, a sample of organisations and programmes with the most relevant and recent work, however, we understand that our selection process would have overlooked some.

We would like to affirm that the White Paper is a work in progress that has got us till here, and to which we would be happy to add to and continuously refine as we learn more.

ANNEXURE 2: ORGANISATIONS PROFILED*

1. Aadiwasi JanJagruti
2. AALI
3. Accountability Initiative
4. Anandi
5. Apnalaya
6. Article 14
7. Ashoka Innovators for Public
8. Bhumi
9. Bolti Bandh
10. Center for Civil Society
11. Center for Policy Research
12. Center for Social Justice
13. Change.org
14. CHSJ
15. Citizen Matters
16. Citizens for Public Leadership
17. Civic Data Labs
18. Civis
19. ComMutiny - the youth collective
20. Contree
21. CORO
22. Desh Apnayen
23. Digital Empowerment Foundation
24. Dror Labs
25. EasyGov
26. eGov Foundation
27. Enable Vaani
28. Give India
29. Goonj
30. Gram Vaani
31. Gram Vikas
32. Haiyya
33. Haqdarshak
34. HDRC
35. Indian School of Development Management (ISDM)
36. Indus Action
37. Internet Freedom Foundation
38. ISD
39. iVolunteer
40. Janaagraha
41. Jhatkaa.org
42. JJSS
43. Justice Adda
44. Khabar Lahariya
45. Milaap
46. MKSS
47. MyGov.in
48. NCDHR
49. Netri
50. Nyaaya
51. Observer Research Foundation
52. One Future Collective
53. OnlineRTI
54. Oxfam India
55. PBKMS
56. PHIA, Jharkhand
57. Praja Foundation
58. Pravah
59. PRS
60. PUKAR, Maharashtra
61. Reap Benefit
62. Right2Vote
63. Sahayog, UP
64. Sauhard
65. Sensing Local
66. SEWA
67. Socratus Foundation for Collective Wisdom
68. SRUTI
69. Takshashila Institute
70. THP, Pan India
71. Unnati
72. Video Volunteers
73. Waste Warriors Society
74. WG-WLO, Gujarat
75. YLAC (Young Leaders for Active Citizenship)
76. YouRTI
77. Youth Ki Awaaz
78. YUVA
79. Yuva Shakti

*The organizations in blue are "tech-first"

ANNEXURE 3: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES (ALPHABETIC ORDER)

1. Ameya Naik, eGov Foundation
2. Anisha Gopi, Sumeysh Saxena, Nyaaya
3. Antaraa Vasudev, Civis
4. Aprajita Pandey, Haiyya
5. Avijit Michael, Jhatkaa
6. Bharath Visweswariah, Omidyar Network
7. CV Madhukar, PRS Legislative Research
8. Deepak Menon, Village Capital
9. Hemakshi Meghani, Indian School of Democracy
10. Jessica Mayberry, Video Volunteers
11. Kavita Devi, Khabar Lahariya
12. Milind Mhaske, Praja Foundation
13. Neeraj Gutgutia, Right2Vote
14. Rajesh Kasturirangan, Socratus Foundation for Collective Wisdom
15. Tarun Cherukuri, Indus Action
16. Trina Talukdar, Bolti Bandh

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