

Towards Post-Development in India

Lessons of Community Resilience in Times of Crises

Ashish Kothari

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Lessons of Community Resilience in Times of Crises¹

Ashish Kothari

Keywords: Post-Development; COVID-19 crisis; Radical Ecological Democracy; Pluriverse

1 The Violence of 'Development' in India

In the book *Churning the Earth – The Making of Global India*,² Aseem Shrivastava and I analysed the impacts of globalized economic development in India since 1991, when policy 'reforms' catapulted the country into the global economy. We built our 300-page analysis on the historical context of British colonialism, the post-Independence continuation of many colonial policies such as centralized control over the commons, and imposition of a model of 'development' that emphasized industrialization, mega-infrastructure, and commercialisation. The liberalization phase starting with 1991 marked both a continuity of this historical context, as also a break - the continuity was in the techno-centred, commercialized, centralized approach to what 'development' was conceived as, the break was that instead of a somewhat socialist and inward-looking orientation, there was a more explicit move towards a capitalist economy and focus on external trade.

These moves have propelled India into becoming one of the world's biggest economies (currently at 5th spot), and given its rich and upper middle classes access to enormous financial wealth, consumer goods, and efficient services. But they have also pushed the country towards an ecological precipice, seriously heightened inequalities and the gap between the rich and the poor, dispossessed tens of millions of essential living and livelihood resources, reduced democratic spaces that people's movements (with help from exceptional people within the ruling classes) have fought hard to gain, diluted (in some cases removed) safeguards for environment, labour, and Adivasi (Indigenous) security, and exacerbated conflicts between religious, ethnic, and social groups. With an even more right-wing party (Bharatiya Janata Party,

¹ This article is based on and partly excerpts from previous essays by the author; where necessary, these are cited.

² Aseem Shrivastava and Ashish Kothari, 2012, *Churning the Earth: The Making of Global India*, Penguin India, Delhi.

BJP) than the one that governed India for many decades (the Congress) currently in power, the situation on all these fronts has significantly worsened,³ such that India has slipped further down in global rankings of democratic rights, environmental performance, health prioritization, and other such measures. The BJP has also combined its neoliberal economic policies with a homogenizing religious and cultural focus and severe crackdown on democratic dissent, pushing India towards some form of neo-fascism, threatening the integrity of the long-living civilisations of this country.

2 Community resilience in COVID times

The decline in economic and social security of vast sections of Indian society over the period of globalized development, was fully exposed in the 2020-22 COVID pandemic period. As much or even more than the health crisis was the economic one, created by brutal lockdowns imposed by the central government, with little or no preparatory measures that could help the most vulnerable sections of society. Yet in the middle of this general situation of collapse, many examples of community resilience stand out as beacons of hope. It is worth looking at some of these, to draw lessons on the kinds of transformations that are already happening or need to take place, if communities are to be resilient to crises of various kinds, and for a meaningful movement towards justice, equity and sustainability.

The national platform Vikalp Sangam⁴ (described later below) has documented about 70 examples of communities, rural and urban, coping with the pandemic⁵ in a way that sustained their health and livelihoods. Some examples are given below.

For health security:

- In the state of Assam in north-east India, Community Wellness Centres set up by the Society for Promotion of Rural Economy and Agricultural Development (SPREAD NE⁶) managed to attract doctors to visit villages during the pandemic, offering their services free in return for a farm and village tourism experience. Women of the communities were also trained to make herbal wellness beverages for local use as also sale.
- In Kachchh, western India, as soon as it got news of the COVID19 virus in early 2020, the village of Kunariya swung into full response mode. Building on a process of greater public participation⁷ in governance of local affairs enabled by the sarpanch

³ <u>https://theprint.in/opinion/30-years-of-globalisation-decreased-economic-security-and-covid-just-proved-it/688363/</u>

⁴ <u>http://www.vikalpsangam.org/</u>

⁵ <u>https://vikalpsangam.org/article/extraordinary-work-of-ordinary-people-in-multi-language-translation/</u>

⁶ <u>https://spreadne.org/about/</u>

⁷ https://kunariyapanchayat.blogspot.com/2020/03/kindnessmatters-how-ordinary-sarpanch.html

(village head) Suresh Chhanga, it set up a crisis management team, used social media to raise awareness about COVID, and facilitated a full health survey. Remarkably, even during the economic and transportation lockdown imposed by the Indian government, Kunariya maintained its essential livelihood activities including jobs under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act.

- In Sittilingi village of Tamil Nadu, southern India, the Panchayat President Ms Madheswari convened emergency meetings of villagers and relevant government institutions, on hearing of the pandemic. She was supported by the Tribal Health Initiative (THI)⁸. Through mass awareness campaigns, mask-making as a income generation initiative, and prompt action to treat affected people, the pandemic's impact was minimised.
- Relief Riders, an initiative of Bicycle Mayors⁹ of Bengaluru, began a process of delivering medicines and food to those stuck at home and unable to get other services. About 725 cyclists, mostly young professionals, from 12 cities helped over 2,000 people during the pandemic.

For food security:

- Ongoing work of 5000 Dalit women farmers, members of the Deccan Development Society¹⁰, in creating food security and sovereignty across 75 villages, enabled full access to nutritious food throughout the multiple COVID-related lockdowns. Over and above domestic self-sufficiency, they even contributed grains to the district relief measures, and in the early phase of the pandemic were feeding 1000 glasses of nutritious millet porridge to health, municipality and police workers in nearby Zaheerabad town.
- In Nagaland, north-east India, the women's group North East Network¹¹ has been helping sustain traditional practices of sustainable farming and local food availability. During the pandemic, it enabled continuation of street vending in Kohima town, where women could sell their agricultural produce. Edible foods from the forest and fields were shared by rural women with urban households who were deprived of fresh food, reversing the conventional mindset of urban always giving to the rural!
- In Madhya Pradesh, Samaj Pragati Sahayog¹², working in several hundred villages to revitalize rural economy and substantially reduce outmigration, reached over 13,000 families with relief packages. For this, it procured wheat from a local farmer producer company, so that cultivators did not have to resort to distress sale.
- A village Self-Help Group (SHG) in Krishnagiri district of Tamil Nadu, southern India, which had been part of a Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) initiative by Navadarshanam¹³, continued its delivery of organic food to residents of Bengaluru city. This helped farmers avoid having to make distress sales to whoever buys at very low prices, a problem that millions of farmers faced during the lockdowns. And of course, consumers in Bengaluru, benefited from fresh, organic produce.

⁸ <u>https://www.tribalhealth.org/</u>

⁹ https://bycs.org/bicycle-mayor/

¹⁰ http://www.ddsindia.com/

¹¹ <u>https://northeastnetwork.org/category/covid19/</u>

¹² <u>http://www.samajpragatisahayog.org/</u>

¹³ <u>http://navadarshanam.org/</u>

For other kinds of livelihood security:

- In many parts of central India which are *adivasi* (indigenous or tribal peoples) strongholds, collective governance and sustainable use of forests¹⁴ has enabled the creation of village funds. These became crucial in helping migrant workers who had to come back during the lockdown with basic necessities.
- Kuthambakkam village¹⁵ near Chennai, well-known for innovative local livelihood initiatives led by its ex-sarpanch Elango Rangaswamy, including small-scale manufacturing, became the hub of solar-powered making of disinfectants to help prevent the spread of disease.
- Groups under Kerala's state-supported Kudumbashree programme¹⁶, that has provided dignified livelihoods for hundreds of thousands of women, worked with panchayats and urban ward sabhas to spread awareness about COVID, set up community kitchens to cater to those needing food aid, and mass produce sanitizers and masks.
- Goonj, a civil society initiative working in 20 states, was able to reach relief¹⁷ to over 40,000 families, and using its *Vaapsi* programme of restoring livelihoods¹⁸, to create or re-establish localized barter and exchange systems that enable dignified livelihood generation.

These and many other examples across India throw up a number of crucial lessons regarding community resilience in times of crises. The ability to respond collectively, through existing or newly created community institutions, was important to overcome individual weaknesses and vulnerabilities. Where communities had secure access to productive resources, including rights to natural ecosystems and farmlands, they had local food and livelihood security as also survival back-ups unavailable to those who had lost such access. Many other examples of resilience of adivasi and other forest-dwelling communities, based on regaining collective forest rights, have been documented from other parts of India¹⁹. Communities and neighbourhoods that had (or set up) strong institutions of local governance were able to respond quickly and effectively, compared to those heavily dependent on the government. In the case of producers that had built up (or were quickly able to when the pandemic hit) localised exchanges systems with consumers, they were less impacted by the lockdowns imposed by the state than those who had dependence on long-distance marketing and supply chains. In some cases these coping initiatives also involved cooperation by local government agencies, though in some others it entailed struggling against the rigid attitude of such agencies. The human ability to empathise,

¹⁴ <u>https://vikalpsangam.org/article/community-forest-rights-the-pandemic-gram-sabhas-lead-the-way/</u>

¹⁵ http://www.vikalpsangam.org/static/media/uploads/Resources/kuthumbakkam_1st_july.pdf

¹⁶ <u>https://www.kudumbashree.org/pages/830</u>

¹⁷ https://goonj.org/support-covid-19-affected/

¹⁸ <u>https://goonj.org/vaapsi-restoring-lives/</u>

¹⁹ <u>http://vikalpsangam.org/article/CFRla-how-forest-dwelling-communities-are-braving-the-pandemic/</u>

to move out of one's own comfort zones and convert expressions of solidarity into respectful aid and relief, was also visible in many initiatives.

3 Radical transformations across India

A crucial factor in the kinds of responses given above, is the long history of civil society and people's action in India. Rebellions against abusive imperial, colonial or other forms of centralized power, and against discriminations on gender, caste, racial, class, and ethnic bases, have been frequent for several hundred years. These combine with grounded initiatives at solving problems, creating socio-economic, political, cultural and technological systems (often but not necessarily based on traditions) that can sustain communities.

Most of the examples given above, and others which demonstrated crisis resilience, are built on ongoing initiatives towards radical alternatives. The term 'alternatives' is here used in relation to the dominant political-economic system, though in many cases these are part of the everyday lives of communities (and so, for them, they are not 'alternatives'). They are variously referred to as 'alternatives to development', 'post-development' or 'post-growth' well-being initiatives, or other equivalent terms in academic and activist circles. While these have nuanced differences, in general they refer to approaches for human and planetary well-being that do not centre 'development' (in the mainstream definition of the word) or economic growth. They entail varying levels of systemic challenge to the structures of capitalism, patriarchy, statism, racism, casteism, and/or anthropocentrism, while searching for and articulating both practical and conceptual alternatives to these. Also importantly, they are not uniform or universalising, but rather, respectful of the diversity and uniqueness of each such approach, encompassing a pluriverse of ways of knowing, being, acting²⁰, emphasising the complementarity of autonomy of each while being interdependent²¹.

There are hundreds, possibly thousands of such initiatives, covering the full gamut of sectors²² and areas of human and non-human life. They include actions to achieve self-reliance or sovereignty in basic needs (food, water, energy, housing, sanitation, clothing, education, health, and so on), economic localisation and solidarity or gift economies, collective rights to and custodianship of natural ecosystems and livelihood resources, democratic business collectives owned or controlled by producers, political self-governance with deep democracy, participatory

²⁰ https://www.dukeupress.edu/Assets/PubMaterials/978-1-4780-0016-7_601.pdf

²¹ https://www.dukeupress.edu/designs-for-the-pluriverse/

²² <u>http://www.vikalpsangam.org/</u>

planning and budgeting of urban spaces, re-commoning of privatised resources and lands, ecologically sustainable production practices, re-establishing ethical or spiritual relationships within and with the rest of nature, community-led ecotourism, and others.

These grounded initiatives are often embedded in one or other worldview, ideology, or vision of justice, equity and sustainability. These range across Adivasi (Indigenous), feminist, Marxist, Gandhian, Dalit, youth, queer, eco-centric and other perspectives, sometimes in bewildering combinations, sometimes predominantly one. One attempt at consolidating many of these is *eco-swaraj*, or Radical Ecological Democracy²³, an approach that places power centrally in the hands of collectives and communities on the ground, but with the exercise of that power being responsible towards other humans and the rest of nature in meeting the objectives of justice and equity. This approach is built on the premise that the enormous diversity of pluriversal initiatives can perhaps be connected through the common threads of ethical values and principles, such as those of solidarity, dignity, respect, rights and responsibilities, autonomy and self-reliance, the sacredness of life, and others.

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²³ <u>https://ashishkothari.in/an-alternative-india-podcast-and-video-interview/</u>

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5 The Intersectional Nature of Transformation

While the initiatives mentioned above could be considered to be primarily of an economic, political, or socio-cultural nature, they all also exhibit various intersectionalities. One way to visualize this is a tool developed in the Vikalp Sangam process, called the Flower of

²⁴ https://www.dukeupress.edu/Assets/PubMaterials/978-1-4780-0016-7_601.pdf

²⁵ <u>https://www.dukeupress.edu/designs-for-the-pluriverse/</u>

²⁶ <u>http://www.vikalpsangam.org/</u>

²⁷ https://ashishkothari.in/an-alternative-india-podcast-and-video-interview/

Transformation (see Annex). Here, initiatives are located in five spheres of life – political, economic, social, cultural, and ecological – and the intersections amongst these²⁸ are highlighted. Just like inequalities and discrimination intersect, such that those already marginalised in race, class, gender or caste terms are often also the ones with environmentally the worst working and living conditions, or in cities having to consume the worst fast foods, so too will the efforts at transforming these conditions towards justice.

In the case of Maati Sangathan²⁹, in the Himalayan state of Uttarakhand, women's empowerment encompasses enhancement and security of livelihoods based on both traditional sources (farming, crafts) as also new ones (homestay-based ecotourism), actions against domestic violence, advocacy against destructive development projects imposed by the state or corporations, and struggles to conserve forests as a collective commons. For the Korchi Maha Gramsabha³⁰ (federation of village assemblies) of 90 villages in central India, there is a complex interweaving of struggles for political self-determination, control over crucial livelihood resources, conservation of forests, celebration and use of cultural and spiritual traditions, assertion by women of their equal right to decision-making, and an attempt to help local youth retain some roots in their own indigenous culture while learning from outside. The Dalit women farmers of Deccan Development Society, mentioned above, have used the route of food security and sovereignty, and community media, to challenge gender and caste discrimination, as also to revive and sustain a respectful, spiritual relationship with the earth. For the Farm2Food Foundation³¹ in Assam, north-eastern India, school-based agriculture has dimensions of local food security, hands-on learning, and reconnecting to community knowledge.

Most initiatives that we know of, are far from the holistic transformation envisaged in the Flower of Transformation, but in their intersectionality (sometimes unintentional or implicit, sometimes deliberate or explicit), they tend towards such holism. But this is not necessarily inevitable; sometimes the transformations in different spheres can be contradictory (if overall justice and sustainability are the goals). For instance, in a detailed participatory study of the revival of handloom weaving³² (*vanaat*) in Kachchh, using a tool emerging from the Flower of Transformation (which I will come back to, below), we found that while the revival of weaving

²⁸ <u>https://www.meer.com/en/68872-the-flower-of-transformation</u>

²⁹ <u>https://vikalpsangam.org/wp-content/uploads/migrate/Resources/maati_1st_july.pdf</u>

³⁰ https://beyonddevelopment.net/on-the-cusp-reframing-democracy-and-well-being-in-korchi-

<u>india/</u>

³¹ <u>https://farm2food.org/</u>

³² <u>http://www.vikalpsangam.org/article/sandhani-weaving-transformations-in-kachchh-india-key-findings-and-analysis/#.XrpAjy2B2V4</u>

had significantly enhanced economic livelihoods, and enabled progressive transformations in gender, caste and intergenerational relations, it had also had mixed impacts on the ecological aspects of the craft and its trade, and tended to increase inequality within the weaver community.

Intersectionality can perhaps be seen very powerfully in a relatively new approach, bioregionalism (or biocultural-regionalism). Transformations in the five spheres of the Flower lead to a questioning of current political boundaries within and between nation-states. For various historical reasons including colonialism, such boundaries divide and interrupt the flows of nature (e.g. of a river or mountain range), or economic and cultural linkages (e.g. of traditional trade or nomadic pastoralist routes). This has adverse ecological, economic and socio-cultural consequences, such as the blocking of crucial water and sediment flows downstream (the Farakka Barrage in India causing major disruptions³³ downstream in Bangladesh, as an example), stopping crucial wildlife migration pathways, or disrupting the livelihoods³⁴ of pastoralists and traders (the India-China fence and armed forces presence in the Ladakh-Tibet region, as an example).

The bioregionalism movement attempts to interrogate such political boundaries, and work towards re-establishing flows and connectivity across these boundaries. In India, governments have attempted some basin approaches, e.g for the Ganga, but with a rather limited view of resolving inter-state disputes. Other initiatives include the Kailash Sacred Landscape Conservation and Development Initiative³⁵ of ICIMOD, which contains a substantial part of the Indian Himalaya, and a recently established South Asia Bioregionalism Working Group^{36/} which has started producing historical and conceptual material and doing outreach through webinars and publications. Given the tense subcontinental dynamics amongst many of the nation-states of South Asia, it is an understatement that getting a bioregionalism approach recognised and implemented is going to be an uphill struggle, but at least a start has been made.

6 Challenges and the way forward

The initiatives mentioned above, and many more, are bright signs of hope in an otherwise dismal landscape. But the challenges they face are immense, not least from the hegemonic political and economic power of nation-states and corporations. These forces have also seeded singular, colonising notions of 'development' and 'progress' in the minds of vast sections of

³³ https://www.thethirdpole.net/en/uncategorized/farakka-barrage-2/

³⁴ <u>https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/6/23/ladakhi-nomads-along-tense-india-china-border-</u> struggle-to-survive

³⁵ https://www.icimod.org/initiative/ksl/

³⁶ https://vikalpsangam.org/south-asia-bioregionalism-working-group/

humanity, such that many of even those in the global South historically or currently marginalised by the manifestation of these notions, dream of becoming as 'developed' as the global North. A few centuries of subjugation, and decades of liberal forms of democracy, have also eroded the self-confidence or the self-belief in people's power and capacity to govern and manage their own lives. We have individually and collectively handed over (or been forced to hand over) our lives and matters to politicians, bureaucrats, and professionals of all kinds. From such a situation, to rebuild confidence, capacity, and power for people and communities to take back some control over decision-making, is an uphill battle. Added to this is the challenge of traditional and new forms of inequality and discrimination, which make community-building and collective mobilisation difficult.

Another massive challenge is the ability of the currently dominant system to 'reinvent' itself, absorbing radical or progressive notions and practices emerging from people's movements, and constraining or distorting them to suit existing power structures. 'Green economy', 'sustainable development', 'climate-smart agriculture', 'nature-based solutions' and many more examples of this are now increasingly adopted by the world's biggest governmental and intergovernmental institutions and corporations. But more often than not, they are greenwashing, as they do not entail any fundamental transformations in the relations of inequity between the global North and global South, nor lead to a radical reintegration within the earth's limits or rebuilding our relationship with and within nature. Their arguments are however persuasive, and have the power of both narrative and money behind them, so it is essential to have tools that help people's movements to expose their real nature.

The Flower of Transformation approach can help in this respect. If, for instance, a multinational corporation is claiming to promote organic farming and food, we can assess whether it is doing so meaningfully on the ground, but beyond this also, whether it is helping achieve objectives of social justice (are small-holder farmers the ones benefiting, or big / corporate farmers?), or of economic democracy (are producers in control of the means of production and trade, or are corporations?), and so on.

As part of a global project ACKnowl-EJ (Academic-Activist Co-generation of Knowledge on Environmental Justice), the Flower of Transformation was developed into an assessment tool, Alternatives Transformation Format³⁷ (ATF). Its first use was in understanding the intersectional nature of transformations occurring as a result of the revival of handloom

³⁷ https://vikalpsangam.org/wp-

content/uploads/migrate/Resources/alternatives transformation format revised 20.2.2017.pdf

weaving in Kachchh³⁸, western India, conducted by Kalpavriksh, Khamir and the community of weavers, mentioned above. The ATF has since then been used informally by civil society organisations and institutions for self-assessment, and will be used for another global project started recently by Roskilde University (Denmark), WITS University (Johannesberg) and Kalpavriksh, on Green Futures³⁹.

While the challenges are huge and should never be underestimated, the potential of radical transformation emerging from the grounded practices and worldviews in India (and the pluriverse of alternatives elsewhere, see *Pluriverse: A Post-Development Dictionary*⁴⁰) also needs to be appreciated, highlighted, and manifested. For meaningful and dignified livelihoods, for instance, rural, small-scale industries can provide employment to tens of millions of people (traditionally, India's crafts have involved 150 to 200 million people, second only to agriculture). As in the case of handloom weaving mentioned above, this could even help reverse migration, from cities back to villages. Another example of the potential is the increasing spread of Community Conserved Areas⁴¹, with ecosystem-dwelling communities showing democratic, equitable and effective pathways to biodiversity and wildlife conservation. The potential for strengthening resilience against crises and disasters, including climate, is also enormous, as shown by the examples of COVID-time coping mentioned above. Together, with the intersectional approach highlighted by the Flower of Transformation, India could show the path towards Rainbow New Deals⁴², combining revolutions of justice in ecological, socio-cultural, economic and political spheres. These could go well beyond the Green New Deals coming up mostly in the global North, which remain somewhat constrained⁴³ by an inability to break out of structural inequities and industrialised consumption patterns.

A process that is trying to consolidate and provide mutual strength and visibility to radical alternatives in India is Vikalp Sangam⁴⁴ (Confluence of Alternatives). Initiated in 2013-14, this expanding network of people's movements and civil society organisations from diverse fields of work and different regions of India, has been documenting, visibilising, connecting,

 $^{^{38} \ \}underline{https://vikalpsangam.org/article/sandhani-weaving-transformations-in-kachchh-india-key-findings-and-analysis/}$

³⁹ <u>https://forskning.ruc.dk/en/projects/producing-alternative-green-futures-exploring-interconnections-be-2</u>

⁴⁰ <u>https://radicalecologicaldemocracy.org/pluriverse</u>

⁴¹ <u>https://communityconservedareas.org/</u>

⁴² https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/india-needs-a-rainbow-recovery-

plan/article32776442.ece ⁴³ https://www.jamhoor.org/read/2020/5/20/no-harm-here-is-still-harm-there-looking-at-the-green-

^{*3} https://www.jamhoor.org/read/2020/5/20/no-harm-here-is-still-harm-there-looking-at-the-greennew-deal-from-the-global-south

⁴⁴ http://www.vikalpsangam.org/

advocating, supporting, and stimulating the generation of alternatives. Amongst its key activities is the formulation and advocacy of people's positions on various specific issues, and consolidation of these into Peoples' Manifestos⁴⁵ aimed at both the formal political process as also radical politics on the ground.⁴⁶

In all this, of course, India's initiatives need to link to those in other parts of the world. The challenges we all face are not only local and national, but also global (these levels intricately intertwined); indeed, these categories themselves are problematic, as what is often faced in a geographically local area is also simultaneously geographically global in its origin and/or impacts. For this reason, the greater the cross-learning amongst peoples of the world, both for resistance and for constructive alternatives, the better the chances of facing challenges. And the opportunity is huge, with such movements numbering in their thousands across the world, many of them demonstrating elements of Radical Ecological Democracy⁴⁷ or other transformative worldviews. With this purpose, the Vikalp Sangam process has also helped initiate the Global Tapestry of Alternatives⁴⁸, with similar aims of mutual learning, collaboration, joint action, collective visioning, and advocacy. The GTA process recognises the pluriversal nature of radical alternatives, each unique in itself, but also that there are many common elements that can help thread them together, especially in the form of fundamental values such as those stated in the Vikalp Sangam and Flower of Transformation frameworks.

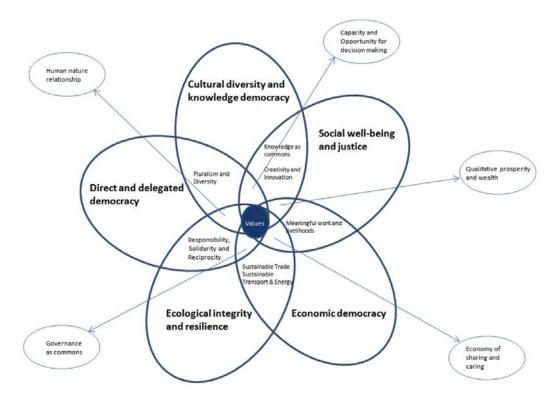
⁴⁵ <u>https://vikalpsangam.org/article/peoples-manifesto-for-a-just-equitable-and-sustainable-india-2019/</u>

⁴⁶ At the time of writing, a manifesto for the 2024 national elections is under preparation, taking into account the worsening situation of ecological damage, authoritarianism, and religious-ethnic conflict in the country.

⁴⁷ <u>https://radicalecologicaldemocracy.org/</u>

⁴⁸ https://globaltapestryofalternatives.org/

Annex: The Flower of Transformation⁴⁹



As the Vikalp Sangam framework notes, transformations in these spheres include:

- a. **"Ecological integrity and resilience**, including the conservation of nature and natural diversity, maintenance of ecological functions, respect for ecological limits (local to global), and ecological ethics in all human actions.
- b. **Social well-being and justice**, including fulfilling lives (physically, socially, culturally, and spiritually), equity between communities and individuals, communal and ethnic harmony; and erasure of hierarchies and divisions based on faith, gender, caste, class, ethnicity, ability, and other such attributes.
- c. **Direct and delegated democracy**, with decision-making starting in spaces enabling every person to participate meaningfully, and building from this to larger levels of governance by downwardly accountable institutions; and all this respectful of the needs and rights of those currently marginalised.
- d. **Economic democracy**, in which local communities and individuals have control over the means of production, distribution, exchange, and markets, based on the principle of localization for basic needs and trade built on this; central to this would be the replacement of private property by the commons.
- e. **Cultural diversity and knowledge democracy**, with multiple co-existing knowledge systems in the commons, respect for a diversity of ways of living, ideas and ideologies, and encouragement for creativity and innovation."

⁴⁹ <u>https://vikalpsangam.org/about/the-search-for-alternatives-key-aspects-and-principles/. See also https://vikalpsangam.org/article/the-search-for-radical-alternatives-key-elements-and-principles/</u>

At the core of this Flower, is an evolving set of ethic and values, which are in various combinations at the base of alternative initiatives. This includes:

- Ecological integrity and the rights of nature
- Equity, justice, and inclusion / access
- Right to and responsibility of meaningful participation
- Diversity and pluralism
- Collective commons and solidarity, in balance with individual freedoms
- Resilience and adaptability
- Subsidiarity, self-reliance and ecoregionalism
- Autonomy and sovereignty
- Simplicity and/or sufficiency need over greed
- Dignity and creativity of labour and work/innovation
- Non-violence, harmony, peace, co-existence and interdependence
- Efficiency in production and consumption
- Dignity and trust
- Fun and enjoyment