

15 Minutes with Vandana Shiva: Reflections on Globalization

Steve Lurie, CMHA Metro Toronto

There we were in Haryana India, scheduled to hear from the renowned environmentalist and activist Vandana Shiva, when it was announced that she would only be able to spend 15 minutes with us describing globalization and its effects on India. She approached the front of the room while complaining that the Delhi traffic had held her up and said that she had to leave to attend a rally concerning the recent Supreme Court decision approving the Narmada dam. She proceeded to outline the negative effects of globalization in a blistering speech, which ended abruptly as promised, after 15 minutes.

Key points included:

- Liberalization has reduced handloom production to 1% of what it was in rural India
- The new textile policy in India undoes guarantees that the poor can produce what they need
- The seed sector has been opened up to multinationals and it is not regulated or tested. Companies show farmers “how to be a millionaire”, buy expensive seeds and chemicals, credit at high interest rates
- There is a convergence of corporate and village feudal power
- As a result thousands of farmers are committing suicide
- Soya oil is flooding the market, so domestic (soya) oil is going down, therefore 10 million farmers are facing ruin
- Farmers are being trapped in a negative economy, a crisis in food production is coming, and will result in famine

Before we had a chance to catch our breath, she was gone. In many ways Vandana Shiva’s presentation was a metaphor for our trip, time limited and packed with powerful images.

Globalization and its effects on India, Australia and the voluntary sector cannot be easily compressed into a 10 page reflective paper. The topic fills one complete notebook, hundreds of pages of academic literature, a number of books and three weeks of my life. Tempted as I may be to draw sweeping conclusions on the basis of my limited but intense experience, I am also aware of a conversation I had with Atreyee Cordiero, one of the organizers of the Indian experience who confided that she had been working on

globalization and social development issues for twenty years. “It’s very much like the peeling of an onion, and I’m only half way.”

I will therefore review some of the viewpoints about globalization, report on some of my observations about its effects on Australia, India and their voluntary sectors and finally reflect on my learning and observations about globalization and its impact on my work with CMHA.

What is globalization?

Definitions of globalization often depend on your perspective. If you are from the South you may characterize it as Vandana Shiva does as the continuation of free trade and the economic exploitation that began with the colonial era.

“For us in India, free trade is not a late 20th century innovation. It is the reemergence of a very old instrument of monopoly control. It does not herald the end of history, merely its repetition. It does not create new liberties for the ordinary Indian. It can only lead to re-colonization. The GATT treaty might be more complex than the Faruksheer firman of 1717 granted to the East India Company, and instead of one large corporation, we now have many multinational corporations.” (Shiva, 163)

Shiva focuses on the trade, market focus of globalization and argues that it is a continuation of colonial exploitation and will not free the ordinary Indian from the grip of poverty. “Globalization creates growth by the decimation of the environment and local sustainable livelihoods. It therefore creates poverty instead of removing it.” (Shiva, 172) Thomas Friedman writing about globalization in The Lexus and the Olive Tree, like Shiva acknowledges “globalization is actually a very old process, going back to ancient times” (Friedman 2000, 295). Unlike Shiva, from his perch as a reporter for the New York Times, he sees globalization and its reliance on market forces as the key to improving living standards and taking people out of poverty. “When it comes to the question of which system today is the most effective at generating rising standards of living, the historical debate is over. The answer is free market capitalism” (Friedman 2000, 104).

Most authors see globalization as market led even if they disagree on the effects. Yergin and Stanislaw see globalization as a process, which integrates and internationalizes economic activities. “The growth of capital markets and the continued lowering of barriers to trade and investment are further tying markets together... The advent of emerging

markets brings dynamism and opportunity on a massive scale to the international economy” (Yergin and Stanislaw 1998, 14).

In his remarks to us in Haryana, Shiva Kumar echoed similar sentiments about market forces, but suggested that economic progress is not enough.

“Globalization today is market led- dominated by a certain economic ideology where performance and progress are judged by the touchstone of efficiency and expansion. This is extremely dangerous. Progress simply cannot be judged by the wide range of goods and services now available in India. Development-or human development needs to be seen as a process of enhancing capabilities, expanding freedoms and assuring human rights” (Kumar 2000, 1).

Friedman identifies three democratizations as fuelling globalization. The democratization of technology through innovations in telecommunications, computers and digitization (Friedman 2000, 47) has lowered the cost of communications and created tighter linkages between organizations and countries as well as dispersing the potential for wealth creation beyond Europe and North America.

As a result, “all sorts of countries have the opportunity to assemble the technologies, raw materials and funding to be producers, or subcontractors of highly complex finished products or services...(this) is how Thailand, in fifteen years went from being primarily a low wage rice producing country to being the world’s second largest producer of pickup trucks, rivaling Detroit and the fourth largest maker of motorcycles” (Friedman 2000, 51).

The democratization of finance has increased capital markets and changed international financial relations “from a world in which a few bankers held the sovereign debts of a lot of countries, to a world in which a lot of bankers held the sovereign debts of a lot of countries, and finally to a world today in which many individuals through pension funds and mutual funds, hold the sovereign debts of many countries” (Friedman 2000, 59).

This has led to countries putting on what Friedman terms golden straight jackets which commit them to financial transparency, lowering trade barriers, taxes, and eliminating corruption in order to attract global capital to their markets (Friedman 2000, 104- 111).

The third democratization is the democratization of information due to the expansion of communications technology and the lowering of communication costs. “Thanks to the information revolution and the falling costs of communicating by phone, fax, the Internet, radio, television and information appliances, no wall in the world is secure any more” (Friedman 2000, 69). While Friedman acknowledges that not everyone

is connected to the wired world, he notes, “globalization is global in the sense that everyone is now feeling directly or indirectly- the pressures, constraints and opportunities to adapt to the democratizations of technology, finance and information that are at the heart of the globalization system” (Friedman 2000, 71).

Most authors, regardless of their position on globalization acknowledge that globalization has reduced, if not changed the role of government. Friedman suggests “this has involved a power shift from the state and its bureaucrats to the private sector” (Friedman 2000, 336). Yergin and Stanislaw suggest that this movement may not be permanent “if the opening up of economies to competition (is) seen as job destroying rather than job creating... for many the market system will be evaluated not only by its economic success but by the way in which that success is distributed” (Yergin and Stanislaw 1998, 382-3). Shiva notes that “ the globalization agenda requires that power moves from centralized control of nation states to even more centralized control of global corporations and global institutions like WTO, the World Bank and IMF” (Shiva, 174). “Globalization does mean less government for regulation of business and commerce... as globalization allows increasing transfer of the resources from the public domain.”

This could lead to increased dissent and “law and order problems... In such a situation, even a minimalist state restricted only to policing and law and order will become enormously large and all pervasive, devouring much of the wealth of society and intruding into every aspect of citizen’s lives” (Shiva, 169).

Other aspects of globalization include an “Americanized - globalized” culture represented by the proliferation of McDonalds and KFC all over the world (Friedman 2000, 344). Friedman observes, “Many people obviously are ready either to abandon a lot of their local culture in favor of an Americanized-globalized consumer culture or to juggle the two together in their lives, clothes, eating habits and outlook” (Friedman 2000, 344).

Shiva does not see globalization in a positive light as “basic needs have been replaced by the import of luxury goods, like cars and cosmetics and the export of luxury products like flowers and shrimps” (Shiva, 169). She assails the advent of the new technology and its impact on the environment.

“The most important myth of modernity is that the new technologies produce more so we can consume more... The reality is that very often new technologies consume more,

therefore they have to take resources away from nature...shrimp aquaculture uses five times more fish as feed than it produces in the form of protein” (Shiva, 171).

On the other hand, Friedman sees globalization as the inevitable means to human progress. “Globalization is very difficult to reverse because it is driven both by enormously powerful human aspirations for higher standards of living and by enormously powerful technologies which are integrating us more and more every day whether we like it or not” (Friedman 2000,407).

Before moving on to the challenges and opportunities presented by globalization for the voluntary sector, I want to do two things. First, I will catalogue some of my observations about globalization in Australia and India using a chart. Secondly, I will return to the theme of globalization as a means to improve the lot of humankind in order to set the stage for the discussion of the role of the voluntary sector.

Market Forces	Technology Ascendant	Less Government
Moet Chandon from France sets up Chandon Estates in Australia to produce champagne for the Asian market	India, BBC news Nov. 2 nd , Cisco announces plans to develop a plant in India to produce high tech voice technology	Private hospitals are part of the health care system in Australia. The YMCA provides all municipal govt. recreation services
Australia: sign in Melbourne suburb “Give your kid a job, buy Australian”- a response to globalization	India Times, Nov. 3 rd “government approves direct to home television technology reversing a 1997 decision to restrict it” because of threats to culture and national security	Haryana high school teacher sends his kids to private school @ 1,000 rupees/ month rather than public school which costs 12 rupees/ month (conversation)
Economist Oct 21 st : Kishore Lulla launches Bollywood for You an “Asian HBO” in India and the USA targeting the “30 million South Asians who live outside India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka”	India, across the street from the Delhi airport- Cyber café, part of the Silver Spur Snack bar and Saloon Globe and Mail December 9 th : Sandeep Sawney in New Delhi managed the email capture for the This Hour Has 22 Minutes Doris/Stockwell Day name change web site	Our own experience of having John Cawley treated at a private hospital parallels stories in Stack house’s book about the use of private medical clinics in Biharipur rather than poor government services

Before leaving this section on globalization observations, I want to share two stories about the emergence of global culture. In Australia we attended a presentation on aboriginal culture, which included music from a didgeridoo, a wooden horn like instrument. After the presentation I went up to the player to ask him about playing it. Assuming he was an aboriginal, I wondered who had taught him and asked him about it. He told me that he was not an aboriginal and that he had learned how to play it from an Irishman at a local community centre. In India, a musician named John was playing country and western music at the bar in the Intercontinental Hotel. He told me that while he has made a few Hindi records and is a Hindi pop star, his passion is country and western music. He grew up listening to it as a child in India and now he is India's "one and only" country and western singer. He plays regularly at the Intercontinental and the Rodeo bar in Connaught Circle and earns an income of about \$25,000 per year, more than the average Indian per capita income of \$380 per year. Living in Delhi, where people living in the urbanized global culture of a national capital can appreciate country and western music, he has been able to carve a niche out for himself. He has benefited from globalization.

Many people haven't yet. Friedman notes that South Asia has 1% of Internet users, even though they have 23% of the world's population. He cites the 1999 UN Development report, which notes that the 20% of the world's people living in the highest income countries have 86% of world domestic product and 82% of world export markets. They consume "45% of all meat and fish" (Friedman 2000, 319). Further, he notes that the gap is widening. In 1995 the richest 20% had 82 times as much income as the poorest fifth of the population while in 1960 (before the latest wave of globalization) the richest only had 30 times as much income (Friedman 2000, 320).

Shiva Kumar presented us with a stark picture of poverty in India despite sustained growth in per capita income since 1950 and a 6-8% per annum growth rate since the economic liberalization in 1991. (Kumar, 3)

- 340 million people live below the poverty line
- Close to 350 million people are illiterate; over 100 million children do not attend school
- 75 million children below the age of five are malnourished

The efficacy of the market, in terms of its ability to optimize human development or quality of life, has become one of the central issues in the debate on globalization.

Vandana Shiva notes that trade liberalization policies will be maintained regardless of which government is in power “since the primary impact of globalization is to reduce the capacity of democratically elected national governments to make their national policies without them being shaped by global powers such as the World Bank, IMF, WTO and TNCs (transnational corporations)” (Shiva, 172-3).

She sees decentralized democracy and local control as an antidote to globalization “Basic community building is the key to a sound national system...the only way to protect the national interest in a period of globalization is by decentralizing decision making and ownership and control over natural resources” (Shiva, 173). She notes that people’s movements are calling for the dispersal of power “through a multiplicity of institutions with more power at the local level.” Shiva finds that communities are organizing to “regulate commercial activity by asserting their environmental rights” which effectively puts investment to the test of “ecological and social accountability”. (Shiva, 174). In India further evidence of the movement toward community control is demonstrated by the panchayat (local government) reform and the community control of local education in Bihar described by Stackhouse in his book. (Stackhouse 2000, 281-4). It is too early to tell whether this shift to local, while acknowledging the power of global forces will be the tide that raises all boats.

Nowhere is the struggle between the forces of large-scale economic development versus local community control over resources more evident than in the struggle over the Narmada Valley Sagar dam. The development of the dam to produce power for industry and improve irrigation will submerge 245 villages and displace half a million people, many of whom are tribals and will not be entitled to compensation (Roy 1999, 34). Roy suggests that forces of globalization have created work for the dam building industry in the third world by exporting their expertise as development aid, as the demand for dams in the industrial world has waned. (Roy 1999, 15- 31) While collaboration between a local people’s movement and environmental activists worldwide resulted in the withdrawal of World Bank financing, a recent Indian Supreme Court decision means that the dam

building will continue. The following excerpt from the decision illustrates the Court's view that economic development = progress.

“A properly drafted relief and rehabilitation plan would improve living standards of displaced persons after displacement... It is not fair that tribals and the people in undeveloped villages should continue in the same condition without ever enjoying the fruits of science and technology for better health and have a higher quality of lifestyle. Should they not be encouraged to seek greener pastures elsewhere, if they can have access to it, either through their efforts due to information exchange or due to outside compulsions” (Down to Earth 2000, 6).

The Court found that encouraging or forcing relocation is preferable to stopping development and allowing subsistence lifestyles to continue.

Vijay Mahajan spoke to us about the winners and losers created by globalization. He told us that India now imports palm oil for half the price of domestically produced food oil. As result 8 million farmers have lost their only cash crop so that 800 million domestic consumers can benefit. Friedman argues that with the provision of adjustment programs and traditional social safety nets globalization will and should proceed because it provides the means for living standards to quadruple within a generation (Friedman 2000, 442-9).

Globalization can be both a positive and negative force. But many of the world's people have either not benefited yet or have seen their lives disrupted as a result. This should frame discussions about the role of the voluntary sector.

Globalization and the Voluntary Sector: Challenges and Opportunities

The challenge for the voluntary sector is to understand its role in the face of continuing globalization. Should it be an engine of community mobilization against the forces of globalization and work to create local institutions for community control of resources as Vandana Shiva suggests, or should it advocate for and play a role in providing adjustment and safety net programs as Friedman suggests? Based on my observations and reading the answer which emerges is “both and” rather than choosing one particular response. I will focus on two aspects primarily, the role of the sector and its relationship with funders in the context of globalization.

Rajesh Tandon introduces us to Bharat, “the tribals, the scheduled castes, the landless agricultural laborers, child workers, the pavement dwellers of urban centers” who make up 40% of the population of India and live below the poverty line (Tandon, 1992, 4). He notes that their living conditions have deteriorated since Independence and observes that “neither the state-led or market led model of development have really addressed the problems of the poor” (Tandon 1992, 4-9).

Voluntary sector efforts in India have been largely addressed to the needs of the poor who are excluded from the benefits of the global market place because “their purchasing power is so weak and uncertain” (Tandon 1992, 5). Voluntary sector activity has involved direct services to the poor such as delivery of health care and education by organizations such as Gram Vikas (Stackhouse 2000, 258) or Deepalaya an organization that we encountered which provides similar services in the slums of Delhi. Tandon notes that voluntary sector efforts in India have generated “innovation in the areas of primary health care, basic and non formal education, provision of drinking water, designing of hand pumps, low cost sanitation, innovative and sustainable approaches to income generation and livelihood, renewable energy” as well as more traditional social services such as orphanages, women’s homes and night shelters for street children (Tandon 1998, 50). This suggests that the voluntary sector has a role to improve human conditions for those that are left behind or ignored by globalization.

The sector clearly plays a role in the provision of a social safety net. However, as Tandon notes, much of the voluntary sector effort is small scale (Tandon 2000, 320) even though there are now over 50,000 development oriented NGOs in India receiving \$1 billion annually in foreign aid and \$2.5 billion in funding from state, national and local governments in India. (Tandon, lecture on voluntary sector). The innovative practices of the voluntary sector have “found their place at the macro levels- in provincial, national and global policies and programs” (Tandon 1998, 51) because globalization has created opportunities for information exchange.

In the discussions we had at Haryana there was debate about whether the micro successes of the voluntary sector can position it to provide services traditionally provided by the state, given the retrenchment of state services and privatization brought on by the

globalization ethic of less government. Shiva Kumar told us that we shouldn't let the state abdicate its responsibility. In India many government programs are not effective, but the milk cooperatives are an example of an effective government program (Kumar, remarks). At the same time, the cooperation between government and local communities in the Bihar education reforms may provide a model for community government partnerships in the management of large government programs.

Shiva Kumar pointed out that the voluntary sector has an important role to play in relation to the promotion of human rights. In India 80% of rural women can't leave their houses without their husband's permission. (Kumar, remarks) Dr. Vibhuti Patel's paper details how global connections helped Indian women activists "initiate support groups for women victims of violence in the family, neighborhood and workplace, income generation to projects...to provide shelter for women in distress" (Patel, 1). However, she notes that these services do not make women "self-sufficient and empowered in the long term". She calls for women's rights activists with multicultural perspectives to advocate for women's empowerment saying, "without ensuring women's rights, globalization can't have a human face" (Patel, 5).

Speakers such as John Samuel and Vandana Shiva gave examples of how voluntary sector organizations can organize and mobilize communities around an alternative development paradigm to challenge the negative aspects of globalization and promote community control over resources nationally and internationally. Samuel notes that the changes in communication brought on by globalization "provide an opportunity to build up solidarity among the vast majority of people, in rich and poor countries... to make international financial and governance institutions truly democratic, accountable and transparent" (Samuel, 1999, 17). The examples cited indicate that advocacy and mobilization are also important activities for voluntary sector organizations to carry out.

The Mental Health Foundation in Australia advocated for 10 years for a commonwealth/ state mental health reform strategy and played a major role in developing the Mental Health Council, a multi stakeholder group that advises both levels of government and ensures collaboration and transparency in the mental health reform effort. The multi stakeholder approach and transparency are attributable to globalization as they

are characteristic of mental health reforms in many jurisdictions and the free exchange of information about reform efforts as well as the global pressures to open up government decision making.

PRIA, our host organization in India, plays a large role in capacity building within the voluntary sector in India. It forges links with NGOs throughout the country at regional and local levels, where it provides consultation and training on development and governance issues and is active in training dalits and women to participate in local government (panchayat) reform. These examples demonstrate that globalization confirms the voluntary sector's traditional role in the provision of direct services which make up part of the social safety net, but it also creates opportunities for the sector to influence public policy and mobilize people and communities who have been left behind or may be harmed by globalization.

Assuming voluntary sector organizations have a role to play, funding them presents challenges in India and Australia. Australian NGOs reported changes in government funding. As the Australian state has responded to globalization pressures, government funding has become more competitive and performance based. Many social services are funded through a competitive bidding process and contracts are often short term. This has caused disruption in the sector. In addition, government contracts include a stipulation that the agency may not criticize government policy. While this is being challenged by some agencies, it does limit the advocacy role an organization can play if it accepts government funding. This past year, the commonwealth government withdrew funding from day care, favoring a market-based approach. NGOs are being challenged to respond to the lack of predictable government funding by starting to raise funds from the corporate sector. United Ways, which may be another example of globalization, are starting to develop but the total amount raised is less than \$7 million annually. By comparison the Toronto United Way raises \$67 million. Some NGOs such as the Mental Health Foundation raise the bulk of their funds through special events and corporate sponsorships, but their funding and programs are limited in comparison with CMHA in Canada. At the same time, globalization has provided an opportunity for Volunteers International in Australia to work on a World Bank funded project in the Asia Pacific region.

NGOs in India face huge funding challenges. Tandon informed us that Indian government funding has ebbed and flowed depending on the attitude of the government. For example, during the emergency (1975-77) the sector was seen as opposing government and funding was restricted. In the 1980's government and foreign aid support expanded dramatically but growth did not continue through the 1990's as government and foreign aid funding was restricted due to the global phenomenon of cost cutting and tax reduction.

In our workshop we were told how NGOs have to file tax returns with separate departments annually to be deemed eligible to receive government funds and foreign aid funding. The corruption and inefficiency of the state apparatus make filing and applying for funding a huge challenge. Pressures for the government to reduce spending have also come at a time when foreign aid funding is declining (Tandon 2000, 327). We were also told about competition between Indian NGOs and international NGOs like World Vision for funding. As well, Tandon notes "dependence on that aid flow is making NGOs become service providers in a restricted and narrow sense". (Tandon 2000, 327).

Despite Tandon's assertion, some organizations such as the Naz Foundation have been able to leverage foreign aid funding to work in areas that are not priorities for government funding and take on a variety of roles. When we visited the Naz Foundation, which works in the area of sexually transmitted diseases (STD's) and AIDS, the director Angali, told us that AIDS is seen as a "flavor of the month disease which takes money from more important diseases like TB, malaria and malnutrition." Others in India see AIDS work as an "imposed western agenda". She notes that the Naz Foundation would be limited in what they could do if not for foreign aid. Even with the foreign aid funding they are not limited to direct services. They train NGOs to deal with sexually transmitted diseases and use proceeds to fund some of their programs. The Naz Foundation is putting together an advocacy network to get the government to supply condoms. (The government will supply free condoms for birth control but not STD's) and is challenging the Indian Supreme Court decision banning HIV carriers from marriage.

Globalization forces, which have restricted the flow of money for social purposes and led to restructuring of government and foreign aid programs, have created challenges

for voluntary sector organizations in India and Australia. It seems that there are more challenges than opportunities.

Now What: What Does Globalization Mean for CMHA and My Work?

This could be the subject of a whole reflective paper, but for reasons of space and time I will be brief. Here are some observations and concluding thoughts.

Globalization Is: While there is debate about pros and cons, globalization is affecting the way people interact and see the world. It creates challenges and opportunities for voluntary sector organizations, in all countries. For example, Jubilee 2000, a global NGO lobbying effort, has recently convinced Canada to lead the way in forgiveness of third world debt. Canada's conditions, disclosed recently by Finance Minister Martin in a CBC interview, mirror the conditions of transparency and democratic institutions that Friedman outlines to attract global capital, along with an interesting new condition, invest the debt interest and repayment funding in health and education. Hopefully, this is recognition that the market alone cannot move societies forward.

While the funding challenges are less dramatic in Canada than in Australia and the state apparatus is less bloated and corrupt than India, we all face challenges in the face of a more "corporate/ competitive/ performance based" funding approach on the part of government.

We can and should make use of the opportunities afforded by technology advances to gather and exchange information more effectively to inform our work. There is no reason why we in Toronto can't have the Internet based service registries and information exchanges that we heard about in Melbourne or make use of videoconferencing technology to help CMHA partners work and plan together across the country, as the Mental Health Foundation does in Australia.

Globalization Is Not: Many people in the world are too poor or marginalized to be positively affected by globalization. Many people in Toronto with serious mental illness are not connected to the Internet, lack basic services and housing and are not empowered. So while poverty and marginalization is more widespread in India, it also exists here in

Canada. The voluntary sector has an important role to play to help them improve their quality of life.

In India voluntary sector organizations play a variety of roles, from direct service, to advocacy, to mobilization, often within the same organization. This gives me confidence that CMHA's involvement in direct services, health promotion and advocacy makes sense as does our approach to partnerships and networking. At the same time CMHA should rise to the challenge of empowering and mobilizing our consumers rather than simply focusing on providing them with services through our direct service programs.

Globalization connects us with a responsibility to help people in the third world:

While I was impressed with the dedication and leadership exhibited by NGOs in India, the people I met from the mental health sector are anxious for any assistance CMHA may be able to offer, such as materials, volunteers, or training. There is a very limited community mental health sector in India. I feel CMHA has a real obligation to assist with its development and I will do what I can to help. Our national office is doing some work in southern Africa, so there is a precedent.

The debate over globalization and models of human development will continue:

Twenty-six years ago I participated in the 27th International Conference on Social Welfare in Nairobi, Kenya. I remember being mesmerized by Sugata Dasgupta, from India who challenged us to rethink the development paradigm with language similar to Vandana Shiva and John Samuel.

“It must be clearly understood that neither social services nor development has helped the twentieth century any more than charity did the nineteenth century. A mere palliative in the new phase of developmental imperialism, social welfare, not unlike the social services of old, has helped only to legitimize the role of the ruling elite in their unlimited urge for the development of a limited number of people. People's participation, nay a participatory society...will rectify the situation” (Dasgupta, 1974, 55).

At the dawn of the new millenium, with an economic slowdown looming in the industrialized world, we are still challenged to find a way to balance economic and social development.

References

- Dasgupta, Sugata. 1974. Participation in development. In Development and Participation: Operational Implications for Social Welfare. New York and London: Columbia University Press for the International Council on Social Welfare
- Friedman, Thomas. 2000. The Lexus and the Olive Tree. New York: Anchor Books.
- Kumar, Shiva. 2000. PRIA Presentation: Talking points on Globalization
- Patel, Vibhuti. Globalization and Women's Question in India (Distributed by) McGill-McConnell Program.
- Roy, Arundhati. 1999. The Cost of Living. Toronto: Vintage Canada
- Samuel, John . 1999. In the Name of Globalization, Working Paper Series No. 11. Pune: National Centre for Advocacy Studies
- Shiva, Vandana. Rebuilding an earth democracy. In Making a Difference. ed. Rukmini Sakar, 161-177. (Distributed by) McGill- McConnell Program.
- Stackhouse, John. 2000. Out of Poverty and into something more comfortable. Toronto: Random House Canada
- Tandon, Rajesh. 1992. Structural Adjustment Program and Constituency of Voluntary Action. New Delhi: Society For Participatory Research In Asia (PRIA)
- Tandon, Rajesh. 1998. The Voluntary Sector in India: past assessment and future prospects. In Fifty Years after Freedom: New Opportunities and Challenges for Voluntary Action, ed. Sebasti L. Raj Sj. Indian Social Institute
- Tandon, Rajesh. 2000. Riding high or nose-diving: development NGOs in the new millenium. In Development in Practice, Volume 10, Numbers 3&4. Great Britain: Oxfam
- Yergin, Daniel and Joseph Stanislaw. 1998. The Commanding Heights. New York: Simon and Shuster
- “You’ve got a verdict” In Down to Earth, November 2000, Vol. 9, # 12, 6-7. Faridabad: Thompson Press for Society for Environmental Communications, New Delhi