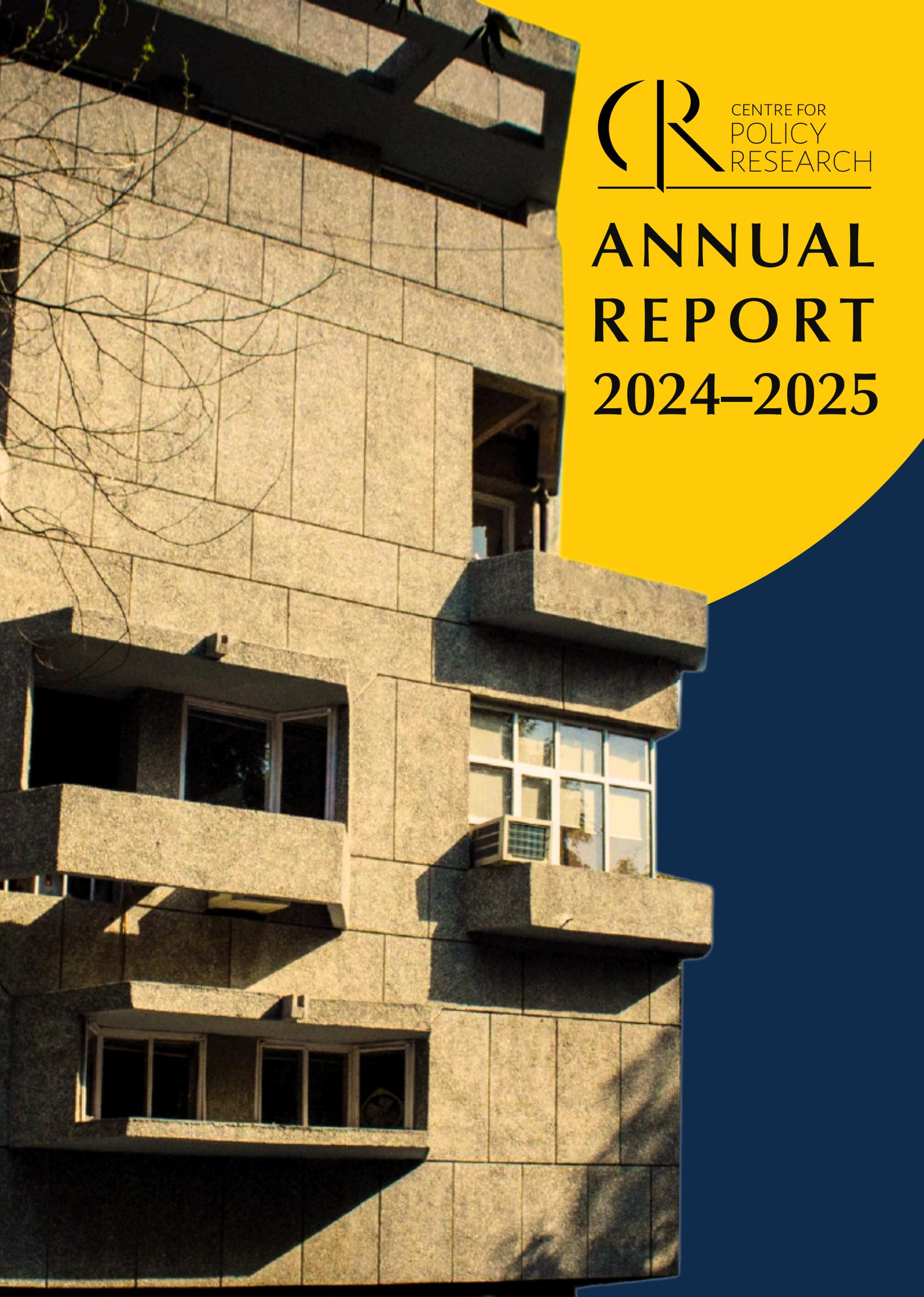




CENTRE FOR  
POLICY  
RESEARCH

# ANNUAL REPORT 2024–2025



**ANNUAL REPORT**  
**2024-25**

**CENTRE FOR POLICY RESEARCH**  
**NEW DELHI**

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# About CPR

The Centre for Policy Research (CPR) is one of India's leading public policy think tanks. Established in 1973, CPR is a non-profit, non-partisan, independent institution dedicated to conducting research that contributes to high-quality scholarship, better policies, and a more robust public discourse.

## Key Objectives:

1. To establish and to carry on the administration and management of CPR;
2. To plan, promote and provide for education and training in policy planning and management areas and to undertake, organise and facilitate conferences, seminars, study courses, training programmes, lectures and similar other activities for the purpose;
3. To promote and conduct research in matters pertaining to:
  - a. the improvement of policymaking and management, and building appropriate theoretical frameworks;
  - b. the education, training and development of personnel involved in policy areas;
  - c. the maximum augmentation and effective development of national resources, including analytical and prospective studies of various sectors of the economy, with a view to promoting national development;
4. To assist any institution in matters such as designing measurement tests for employee selection, appraisal programmes, conducting morale and productivity studies, streamlining organisational structure and to review, from time to time, the impact of educational, training and research activities and offer suggestions for filling the gaps in the operating systems;
5. To promote and undertake faculty development programmes to assure an adequate supply of competent researchers;
6. To maintain liaisons with professional institutions and educational bodies for the purposes of promoting research in policy sciences;
7. To provide consultancy services under its auspices or through its faculty to public bodies or any other institutions on matters having a bearing on performance, optimum use of organisational resources, or any other matter conducive to economic betterment;
8. To disseminate information on know-how on policy making and related areas by undertaking and providing for the publication of journals, reports, pamphlets and other literature and research papers and books in furtherance of the objects;
9. To establish and maintain libraries and information services;
10. To establish and maintain regional centres in India to promote the objectives of CPR;
11. To award diplomas, certificates and other distinctions and to confer degrees subject to approval by Parliament on candidates and prescribe standards of proficiency for the award of such diplomas, certificates, degrees, subject to approval by Parliament, and other distinctions;

12. To confer honorary awards and other distinctions;
13. To institute and award fellowships, scholarships, prizes and medals in accordance with the rules;
14. To maintain close contact with other institutions having similar or related objectives, either wholly or partially, by way of payment or receipt of subscription, enrolment as a member thereof, fiscal or other sorts of mutual assistance, amalgamation, merger, collaboration, cooperation, and in any other way as CPR may deem necessary;
15. To establish, maintain and manage halls and hostels for accommodation of the researchers, trainees etc;
16. To establish and maintain a fund with the contributions of any official or non-official institutions and agencies and with all other amounts of money acquired by CPR in any other way;
17. To utilise a part or whole of the fund towards capital and recurring expenditure of CPR, to make appropriate investments or to deal with the fund in any other way CPR may find it necessary;
18. To acquire by way of purchase or gift or take on lease or hire or otherwise any movable or immovable property;
19. To sell, assign, mortgage, lease, exchange, transfer or otherwise deal with all or any property, movable or immovable, of the Society in the way it may consider necessary;
20. To construct, develop, renovate, expand or alter any building, movable or immovable property in the possession of the Society in the way it may find necessary and to take necessary action for proper maintenance of any such building movable or immovable property;
21. To borrow or raise or secure the payment of money by issuing bonds, securities or in such manner as CPR shall deem fit;
22. To draw, accept, make, endorse, discount, execute, sign, issue or otherwise deal with cheques, hundies, drafts, certificates, receipts, government securities, promissory notes, bills of exchange or other instruments and securities, whether negotiable or transferable or not;
23. To create administrative, technical, ministerial and other posts under CPR and to make appointments thereto in accordance with the rules of CPR;
24. To establish and maintain provident and other benefit funds for the benefit of the employees of the CPR;
25. To make Rules and Bye-laws for the conduct of affairs of CPR and to add, amend, vary or rescind them from time to time;
26. To constitute such committee or committees as CPR may deem fit for the disposal of any of its business or on such matters as CPR may like to be advised; and
27. To do all such lawful things as CPR may deem fit for the attainment of all or any of the objectives.

List of Initiatives:

- Transboundary Rivers, Ecology and Development Studies (TREADS)
- The Politics Initiative
- Scaling City Institutions for India Initiative (SCI-FI)
- Land Rights Initiative (LRI)
- Initiative on Cities, Economy and Society
- Accountability Initiative

For general enquiries, please contact: Office of the President, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi

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# **Governing Board**

## **(As of 31<sup>st</sup> March 2025)**

- 1 **Dr (Ms) Meenakshi Gopinath** **Chairperson**  
Director, Women in Security Conflict  
Management and Peace (WISCOMP)  
A-86, Nizamuddin East  
New Delhi –110013
  
- 2 **Dr (Prof) C Raj Kumar** **Vice Chairperson**  
Founding Vice Chancellor and Dean  
O.P. Jindal Global University  
(Institution of Eminence Deemed to be University)
  
- 3 **Mr Subodh Bhargava** **Member**  
Former Chairman, Tata Telecommunications Ltd.  
Villa 69, De Palm Springs  
Golf Course Road, Sector -54  
Gurugram - 122001
  
- 4 **Mr Shyam Saran** **Member**  
Former Foreign Secretary and  
Honorary Senior Fellow  
Centre for Policy Research  
Dharma Marg, Chanakyapuri  
New Delhi – 110021
  
- 5 **Ms Vinita Bali** **Member**  
Director and Strategy Adviser  
1104 Prestige Exotica  
3, Cunningham Crescent Road  
Bengaluru - 560052
  
- 6 **Mr Shyam Divan** **Member**  
Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of India  
9, Nizamuddin East  
New Delhi – 110013

- 7 **Member Secretary** **Member**  
Indian Council of Social Science Research  
Aruna Asaf Ali Marg  
New Delhi – 110024
- 8 **Mr Rohit Bhasin** **Member**  
Former Partner, PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC)  
and Independent Director  
D-408, Defence Colony  
New Delhi – 110024
- 9 **Dr Srinivas Chokkakula** **Member Secretary**  
President & Chief Executive  
Centre for Policy Research  
Dharma Marg, Chanakyapuri  
New Delhi – 110021

# **Executive Committee**

## **(As of 31<sup>st</sup> March 2025)**

- |   |   |                    |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1 | <b>Dr (Ms) Meenakshi Gopinath</b><br>Director, Women in Security Conflict<br>Management and Peace (WISCOMP)<br>A-86, Nizamuddin East, New Delhi – 110013        | <b>Chairperson</b> |
| 2 | <b>Dr (Prof) C Raj Kumar</b><br>Founding Vice Chancellor and Dean<br>O.P. Jindal Global University<br>(Institution of Eminence Deemed to be University)         | <b>Member</b>      |
| 3 | <b>Mr Subodh Bhargava</b><br>Former Chairman, Tata Telecommunications Ltd.<br>Villa 69, De Palm Springs<br>Golf Course Road, Sector -54<br>Gurugram – 122001    | <b>Member</b>      |
| 4 | <b>Mr Shyam Saran</b><br>Former Foreign Secretary and<br>Honorary Senior Fellow,<br>Centre for Policy Research<br>Dharma Marg, Chanakyapuri<br>New Delhi 110021 | <b>Member</b>      |
| 5 | <b>Ms Vinita Bali</b><br>Director and Strategy Adviser<br>1104 Prestige Exotica<br>3, Cunningham Crescent Road<br>Bengaluru – 560052                            | <b>Member</b>      |
| 6 | <b>Dr Srinivas Chokkakula</b><br>President & Chief Executive<br>Centre for Policy Research<br>Dharma Marg, Chanakyapuri<br>New Delhi - 110021                   | <b>Member</b>      |

# **Finance Committee**

## **(As of 31<sup>st</sup> March 2025)**

- |  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| <b>1 Mr Subodh Bhargava</b><br>Former Chairman, Tata Telecommunications Ltd.<br>Villa 69, De Palm Springs<br>Golf Course Road, Sector -54<br>Gurugram – 122001 | <b>Chairperson</b>       |
| <b>2 Mr Rohit Bhasin</b><br>Former Partner, PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC)<br>and Independent Director<br>D-408, Defence Colony<br>New Delhi – 110024            | <b>Member</b>            |
| <b>3 Dr Srinivas Chokkakula</b><br>President & Chief Executive<br>Centre for Policy Research<br>Dharma Marg, Chanakyapuri<br>New Delhi – 110021                | <b>Member</b>            |
| <b>4 Member Secretary</b><br>Indian Council of Social Science Research<br>Aruna Asaf Ali Marg<br>New Delhi – 110024  | <b>Ex-Officio Member</b> |
| <b>5 Chairperson of the Board</b><br>Centre for Policy Research<br>Dharma Marg, Chanakyapuri<br>New Delhi – 110021   | <b>Ex-Officio Member</b> |

# President's Report

The year 2024-25 marks a paradox for the Centre for Policy Research (CPR). It is a year we could look back on with pride and satisfaction for CPR's contributions to public policymaking. Now we see the future marked by matters of survival and resilience. As I reported last year, CPR suffered grievously due to reduced funding and hence operations. Yet it remains relevant, thanks to the remarkable tenacity of its faculty members and staff, and their faith and belief in the institution. During the year, our scholars brought out about 70 publications that included a book, book chapters, and articles/papers in journals and newspapers. CPR has also been active with several scholarly events at an average of 4-5 events per month. This included high profile events in which CPR hosted scholars of global repute, such as Prof Stephen Kotkin of the Hoover Institution and Prof Asit K Biswas, a much-celebrated scholar of water, food and energy security. The Annual Report provides more details of our continued and impactful research and policy engagement.

Despite prolonged struggles with the continuing legal processes, CPR has sustained its research projects, initiatives and associated operations through innovative arrangements and creative deployment of its limited personnel and resources. Though the funding dried up and attrition was unabated, many CPR scholars remained steadfast, and continued their work, often in unpaid and honorary capacity. Yet, CPR continues to attract talent and high-quality scholars to its fold. This year, CPR's net faculty strength grew with the additions of three new scholars. Mr G Asok Kumar IAS, retired as the Director General of the National Mission for Clean Ganga (NMCG), and Mr Saugata Bhattacharya, a Member of the Monetary Policy Committee of the Reserve Bank of India, were appointed as Senior Fellows. Dr Champaka Rajagopal, who brings in a rich experience in urban planning and governance, joined us as a Fellow.

The Transboundary Rivers, Ecologies and Development Studies (TREADS) Initiative, focusing on water policy and governance with specialised interests in transboundary water governance and interstate river water conflicts and cooperation, has remained active and productive. CPR's own rich legacy in the area and the niche expertise brought by the TREADS Initiative have helped us further consolidate our position as a thought-leader in the field. TREADS has continued the collaborative research programme with NMCG for enduring outcomes of the Namami Gange Programme (NGP) and informing policy thinking about rejuvenating India's rivers. The programme's current research projects address some interesting policy challenges: interstate cooperation for river rejuvenation, lessons for India from the European experiences of river rejuvenation and reimagining statutory master planning processes in Indian cities. The Initiative mobilised additional funding from NMCG to carry out a unique study, *Reading Rituals for River Rejuvenation*, on the occasion of the Maha Kumbh in Prayag Raj. It also organised a high-profile event, the Inaugural TREADS Annual Lecture by Prof Asit K Biswas on *India's Water Vision 2047: A Pipedream or Achievable?*

The other initiatives too remained productive despite limited or no funding, again thanks to the proactive efforts of our faculty members. We have also initiated many new activities that are

not fund-dependent. We started a blog series, *CPR Insights*, to disseminate brief policy-resonate viewpoints by the faculty. We also launched a workshop series, *Knowledge Lab*, to provide a platform to young scholars to receive advice and feedback on their research. *From the Archives* is yet another attempt to tell CPR's rich historical contributions in small bites. The occasional series revisits CPR's research initiatives, publications, and interactions with national and global policymakers and the impact those initiatives had created.

The Initiative on Cities, Economy, and Society (ICES) launched an impressive longitudinal study of Dhampur, a small town in Western Uttar Pradesh, tracing its transformation over the span of 40 years, led by Senior Visiting Fellow Dr Pushpa Pathak who funds the study. This takes advantage of Dr Pathak's doctoral study of the town in the 1980s. The arrival of Dr Champaka Rajagopal as a Fellow has helped strengthen our research interests in urban planning and institutions. In collaboration with Shubhagato Dasgupta, she is exploring the possibility of offering courses on urban planning and governance. ICES continues its monthly urban workshop series in collaboration with Centre de Sciences Humaines. The ICES scholars remain prolific with their public engagements as well as publications. It is a testament to CPR's urban thought-leadership that three of CPR's faculty members (Partha Mukhopadhyay, Asok Kumar and Srinivas Chokkakula) were invited to be part of the Working Groups constituted by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, Government of India.

The Land Rights Initiative (LRI) celebrated its 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary this year and launched a new talk series on the theme of *Legal History*. The talk series, hosting some of the finest legal scholars and practitioners, was very popular and engaged with a wide variety of policy issues from a legal history perspective. The initiative, led by Dr Namita Wahi, remains prolific in its output and policy engagements with the support of limited funding from domestic sources.

The Scaling City Institutions for India (SCI-FI) has released a book, *Decentralisation and Empowerment: Odisha Model for Urban Development*, co-authored by Senior Fellow Shubhagato Dasgupta with Mr G Mathi Vathanan. The book was published by the International Water Association Publishing, London.

The Politics Initiative's *How India Votes* series that was started in the run-up to the 2024 general elections was a major success of the year. The series accomplished its aim of decoding what cultural and political economy factors determined the electorate's behaviour. While remaining productive with his impactful research, Dr Rahul Verma organised and participated in several high-profile events, interpreting the ever-evolving politics of India.

I am proud to share another landmark development in the CPR's tradition of incubating institutions of excellence. The Accountability Initiative, hitherto CPR's largest initiative focusing on enhancing transparency and accountability in governance and known for its widely popular budget briefs, took the ambitious step of turning itself into a separate entity as the Foundation for Responsive Governance (ResGov). The Parliamentary Research Services (PRS) and the Sustainable Futures Collaborative (SFC) were the other notable ones incubated at CPR in the recent times. ResGov builds directly on the spirit and expertise honed during their time at CPR and carries forward the shared mission of strengthening state capacity,

deepening effective public-service delivery and building responsive institutions in India. We wish them well and look forward to collaborating with them in the future.

Our struggle continues with the challenges linked to the action by the Income Tax Department. We reiterate our complete faith in India's institutional processes. We are happy that the judicial processes allowed us to continue with our work. We are grateful to our Governing Board led by Dr Meenakshi Gopinath, for their continued support and faith in us.

Srinivas Chokkakula  
President and Chief Executive

# Major Publications

The following research publications were brought out during the year 2024-25.

## A. Major Books Published

- Vathanan, G. Mathi, and Shubhagato Dasgupta. *Decentralisation and Empowerment: The Odisha Model for Urban Development*. London: IWA Publishing, 2025.

## B. Book Chapters Published

- Chokkakula, Srinivas. “Water Disputes and the Environment: Transboundary Dimensions.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental and Natural Resources Law in India*, edited by Loveleen Bhullar, Phillippe Cullet, and Sujith Koonan. Online ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2024.
- Mehzaheen, Evy. “Historicising Development: Colonisation, Cartography and Explorations in India's Northeast.” In *Indigeneity, Development and Sustainability: Perspectives from North East India*, edited by Anjan Chakrabarti, Gorky Chakraborty, and Anup Shekhar Chakraborty. Singapore: Springer Nature. 2024.
- Zérah, Marie-Hélène and Shamindra Nath Roy. “Subaltern Urbanization and Rural-Urban Linkages in India.” In *Handbook on Rural-Urban Linkages in the Global South*, edited by Cecilia Tacoli, Jytte Agergaard, Manja Hoppe Andreasen, and Donald Brown. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing. 2025.

## C. Articles Published by the CPR Faculty

Around **65 articles** were also published by CPR faculty members and researchers in major national and international dailies and popular journals during the year.

## **Discussions, Meetings and Seminars/Workshops (Organised by CPR)**

During the year under review, CPR organised several seminars and special discussion meetings in addition to weekly faculty meetings with distinguished experts and workshops-cum-conferences. These are listed below:

1. Discussion on “Can Campaigns Shape Election Outcomes?”, 16 April 2024
2. Workshop on “Historicising Indian Smart Cities”, 19 April 2024
3. Book discussion on “The Art and Science of Government”, 19 April 2024
4. CPR–CSH Workshop on “Incomplete Contracts, Residual Control Rights and Accountability in PPP Transport Projects”, 30 April 2024
5. TREADTalk discussion on “Opportunities and Challenges of Water-Centric Master Planning in India”, 3 May 2024
6. Discussion on “Forecasting Elections in India”, 14 May 2024
7. CPR–CSH Workshop on “Between the Epic and the Ordinary: The Politics of Contemporary Indian Urban Writing in English”, 28 May 2024
8. Discussion on “Do Ideas Matter in Shaping Voting Choices?”, 29 May 2024
9. TREADTalk on “Environmental Perspectives for Master Plans”, 3 June 2024
10. Discussion on “Verdict 2024: Analysing India’s Election Results”, 7 June 2024
11. Discussion on “MAGA vs the Liberals: US Presidential Election 2024 and the Implications on India”, 13 June 2024
12. CPR–CSH Workshop on “Unreal Estate in a Global City: Slums in Hyderabad as Auto-Constructed Property Markets”, 25 June 2024
13. LRI Legal History discussion on “Christian Conversion, Anglo Indian Law and Loss of Inheritance in Nineteenth Century Bengal”, 27 June 2024
14. TREADTalk discussion on “Integrating Environmental and Water Sensitivity in Master Plans”, 15 July 2024
15. LRI Legal History discussion on “Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita, Bharatiya Nagarik Suraksha Sanhita & Bharatiya Sakshya Adhinyam: Old Whines in New Bottles?”, 23 July 2024
16. CPR–CSH Workshop on “Socioeconomic Effects of Land Industrialisation: Lessons from Sri City”, 30 July 2024
17. LRI Legal History discussion on “The Evolution of Free Speech in Colonial and Post-Colonial India”, 8 August 2024
18. Discussion on “Is an Intermittent Water Tap Connection ‘Functional’? The Jal Jeevan Mission’s Conundrum”, 21 August 2024

19. CPR–CSH Workshop on “A Method to ‘Measure’ Perceived Tenure Security in Low-income Settlements in India”, 27 August 2024
20. Discussion on “South Asia in a Changing World: What Citizens in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh think 75 years post-Partition”, 29 August 2024
21. TREADTalk discussion on “Urban Planning, Water Governance and the Law”, 30 August 2024
22. TREADS Annual Lecture — “India’s Water Vision 2027: A Pipedream or Achievable?”, 16 September 2024
23. LRI Legal History discussion on “India’s Communal Constitution: Colonial Imprints and Constitutional Spillovers in the Making of a People”, 18 September 2024
24. CPR–CSH Workshop on “Governing Urban Commons: Placemaking Projects as Pathways to the Future”, 24 September 2024
25. Discussion on “Decoding J&K and Haryana Assembly Election Results”, 9 October 2024
26. Discussion on “Re-orienting Exit Polls”, 17 October 2024
27. Discussion on “India’s Neighbourhood Policy: Lessons Learned and Unlearned”, 21 October 2024
28. LRI Legal History discussion on “One Nation, One Election: Evaluating the History of Electoral Reforms in India”, 23 October 2024
29. TREADTalk discussion on “River, Riverfronts and ‘Urban Rivers’: Rethinking River Continuum”, 25 October 2024
30. Discussion on “Is a ‘Model Minority’ an Acceptable ‘Minority?’: Indian-Americans and the US Presidential Polls”, 29 October 2024
31. CPR–CSH Workshop on “Questioning the Periurban: Everyday Existences & Possible Cohabitations in Translocalising South Asia”, 29 October 2024
32. LRI Legal History discussion on “Property Rights and Economic Development: How Property Saved Democracy” in India, 21 November 2024
33. CPR–CSH Workshop on “Periurban Cartographies: Kolkata’s Urban Ecologies and Settled Ruralities”, 26 November 2024
34. Discussion on “The GST Story: Whither Next?”, 29 November 2024
35. LRI Legal History discussion “Monopolies, Markets, and the Digital Economy: Tracing the Evolution of Competition Law in India”, 13 December 2024
36. CPR–CSH Workshop on “A People’s Plan: The Chittur Thathamangalam Master Plan 2042”, 17 December 2024
37. Discussion on “The Future of Russia and the World Order”, 17 December 2024
38. TREADTalk discussion on “Making River-Sensitive Master Plans”, 20 December 2024
39. Discussion on “Strategic Opportunities for India in Myanmar: Countering China’s Influence and Supporting Democracy”, 13 January 2025

40. Discussion on “Nepal’s Foreign Policy Strategies: Has Hedging Worked?”, 17 January 2025
41. Discussion on “West Asia after Bashar al-Assad: Regional and Global Ramifications”, 20 January 2025
42. Discussion on “Indo-US Relations in the Trump 2.0 Era”, 27 January 2025
43. CPR–CSH Workshop on “Channelling Compassion Towards Change: Elite Volunteerism, Corporate Philanthropy and Education Reform in Urban India”, 28 January 2025
44. LRI Legal History discussion on “The Past, Present, and Future of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) Law in India”, 30 January 2025
45. CPR–CSH Workshop on “Navigating Uncertainties: Assessment of Resilient Wards in Mumbai”, 25 February 2025
46. LRI Legal History discussion on “Bailing Businesses, Boosting Banks: Understanding the Evolution of Insolvency and Bankruptcy Law in India”, 28 February 2025
47. CPR–CSH Workshop on “Mofussil No More: Four Decades of Transformation of Dhampur: Preliminary Findings from the Field”, 25 March 2025
48. LRI Legal History discussion “Artificial Intelligence, Technology and Authorship: A Perspective from Copyright Jurisprudence in India”, 27 March 2025

# CPR's Initiatives

## 1. TREADS: Transboundary Rivers, Ecologies and Development Studies

The TREADS Initiative is a cluster of projects pursuing research on transboundary river water governance issues. The initiative also engages with research themes of federalism and politics of infrastructure development, such as dams, roads, and smart cities.

### I. Projects and Partnerships

- i. In collaboration with the National Mission for Clean Ganga (NMCG), the Initiative launched a pilot project titled “Reading the Rituals of Maha Kumbh for River Rejuvenation” as an extension to the ongoing project “Master Plan for River-Centric Urban Planning” under the NMCG-CPR MoU for Collaborative Research and Knowledge Production to inform policy and governance towards rejuvenating India’s rivers.

### II. Key Research Output

- i. Srinivas Chokkakula authored an article titled “Conserving Freshwater Ecosystems in India: A Call to Action”, published in the journal *Aquatic Conservation: Marine and Freshwater Ecosystems*, Wiley in May 2024. This paper calls for an urgent and greater focus on implementing conservation actions for FWEs in India and suggests a strategy for their conservation.
- ii. Srinivas Chokkakula authored a chapter titled “Water Disputes and the Environment: Transboundary Dimensions” in *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental and Natural Resources Law in India*. The chapter presents a historical perspective of India’s transboundary relationships to engage with water disputes and environmental risks. This offers a nuanced understanding of India’s engagement with the narratives about its role as a hydro-hegemon and its preference for bilateralism.
- iii. Debarshee Dasgupta and Subia Ahmad published an article, “Restoring India’s Rivers: European Experiences and Challenges”, for *The India Forum*. The article discussed the structural differences that exist between the European and Indian river-basin management systems as in the hydroclimatic conditions as well as the social-political context. Understanding the European model can provide valuable insights to strengthen India’s river rejuvenation efforts.
- iv. Debarshee Dasgupta and Archit Shukla published a CPR blog on “Locating Water-Centric Urban Planning and Governance”. The article argues urban water security challenges are no longer merely about access to water, but also coping with floods, water quality, and other climate change induced risks
- v. Debarshee Dasgupta, Subia Ahmad, and Archit Shukla co-authored a CPR blog titled “From Rhine to Ganges: Navigating Legal and Institutional Waters”. The article discusses how the European experience offers insights to inform programmes like the Namami Gange Programme. They briefly outline some of the legal and institutional facets of the European experience and the lessons they hold for India.

- vi. Debarshee Dasgupta and Subia Ahmad published the article “Reimagining Indo-German Cooperation for Water Management” with the Hanns Seidel Foundation. The piece explores how Indo-German cooperation could enhance India’s own subnational management practices in the water sector. The article was published on 26 November 2024.
- vii. Subia Ahmad co-authored a chapter titled “Collective Responsibility and the Persistence of International Humanitarian Law Violations” in a policy brief published by foraus (Geneva), titled *GenSouth: New Voices from the Global South for the Multilateral System of the Future*. The chapter envisions a world built on a stronger multilateral system underpinned by collective responsibility by 2040, where the wider international community has a stake in preventing violations of international humanitarian law.
- viii. Evy Mehzabeen authored a book chapter titled, “Historicising Development: Colonisation, Cartography and Explorations in India's Northeast” in the book *Indigeneity, Development and Sustainability: Perspectives from North East India*, by Anjan Chakrabarti, Gorky Chakraborty and Anup Shekhar Chakraborty (Editors). Published in May 2024 by Springer Nature Singapore. This chapter critically examines how colonial mapping, exploration, and development discourses shaped the spatial and political imaginaries of India’s Northeast.

## II. Select Policy Engagements

### i. **India Water Week 2024**

The TREADS Initiative, in collaboration with the International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage (ICID), hosted the second conclave on *Vision@2047: Paradigms and Pathways for India’s Water Security* as part of the 8th India Water Week 2024, organised by the Ministry of Jal Shakti.

The conclave featured thematic presentations on 'Coping with Emerging Risks' by N. N. Rai, Davendra Mathuria, Dinesh Kumar, R. K. Gupta, and Rumi Aijaz. This session was chaired by Marco Arcieri. This was followed by a panel discussion moderated by Asit K. Biswas. The panellists included Ashwin Pandya, G. Asok Kumar, Mukesh Sinha and Srinivas Chokkakula.

The discussion was centred on the emerging risks of Glacial Lake Outburst Floods (GLOFs), river water quality, agricultural water scarcity and food security, dam safety, and urban water security in the wake of climate change. The experts also suggested future paradigms and pathways to cope with these challenges. The conclave highlighted the necessity to strengthen India's federal water governance structures and institutional processes. The discussions also sought to revisit and re-evaluate India’s policies on storage structures.

- ii. Srinivas Chokkakula was a Member of the Working Group on “Transition Systems for Rural Urban Continuum”, constituted by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs in November 2024, with a mandate to define peri-urban areas, suggest means to use urban planning as a tool for such areas, define their development mechanism, and advance planning for basic infrastructure.

- iii. Srinivas Chokkakula was invited by the National Water Academy, Central Water Commission (CWC), as a Guest Faculty for their 34th Induction Training Programme (ITP) for Central Water Engineering Services (CWES) Group 'A' Probationary Officers at the National Water Academy (NWA), Pune in February 2025. He taught two sessions on Inter-State River Water Governance: “Conflict to Cooperation Pathways” and “Federal Water Governance in India and Abroad”.
- iv. On December 10, 2024, the Hanns Seidel Foundation organised a closed-door roundtable to deliberate on river-basin management in the context of the federal political system in India and Germany. Debarshee Dasgupta presented a comparative analysis of India’s and Germany's river basin management pathways within their unique federal contexts, highlighting the challenges of pursuing integrated goals within multilevel federal governance. The discussion found resonance with participants on the strategic need for subnational cooperation between India and Germany in water and climate change-related sectors.

### III. Select Public Engagements

- i. The TREADS Initiative hosted its Inaugural Annual Lecture on “India’s Water Vision 2047: A Pipedream or Achievable?” by Asit K. Biswas, on 16 September 2024. He was joined by Ashwin Pandya, Cecilia Tortajada & Asok Kumar as discussants. The discussion highlighted the need for India to design its water management practices to respond to its own climatic and political realities; this necessitates crafting an India-centric water security and governance paradigm.
- ii. The TREADS Initiative launched an expert-talk series, **TREADTalks**, on the theme “Water-Centric Master Planning in India”. The series focuses on the instrument of the Master Plan and its associated laws, structures, and rationales for better governance of urban water bodies. The platform brings aboard practising planners and other experts to discuss Master Plans as an instrument to address the emerging environmental and climate-related concerns.
- iii. In February 2025, Srinivas Chokkakula gave a keynote lecture at the CEPT University for the Research Symposium 2025, titled “Planning for Indian Cities: A Research Agenda.”
- iv. In May 2024, Srinivas Chokkakula was invited as a moderator and Debarshee Dasgupta as a panellist to a session on “Strengthening Measures to Enhance River Pollution Abatement” for a two-session webinar titled “Turning the Tide: Role of Statutory Bodies in Abating River Pollution” organised by TREADS in collaboration with Global Water Sanitation Center (GWSC), Scaling City Institutions for Asia and India (SCI-AI) and NFSSM Alliance.
- v. Debarshee Dasgupta was invited to the *Third Pole Podcast* by Dialogue Earth to share his insights on the most recent efforts to clean the Ganga and the complex structural challenges it faces.

#### **IV. Awards and Recognition**

- i. Subia Ahmad was selected to participate in the inaugural GenSouth Programme 2024 held in Geneva, Switzerland. This Programme, promoted by foraus and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, invited 14 academics and think-tank researchers from the Global South to lead insightful discussions and give their perspectives on the multilateral universal system. A Policy Brief co-authored by the participants was published as one of the outcomes of this Programme.

## 2. The Politics Initiative

The Politics Initiative at CPR continued to provide high-quality research to understand the rapid changes in India’s political economy landscape. Its research in 2024–25 focused on the evolving political party system, political and legislative institutions, ideological preferences of political actors, electoral behaviour, and the incentive structures shaping policy decisions.

### I. Key Research Output

- i. Rahul Verma co-authored the overview essay of the *Economic & Political Weekly’s* (EPW) special issue following the 2024 general election results titled “India’s 2024 General Election: Continuity and Change”. The issue comprised 12 articles that critically examined the significance of the 2024 election outcome and its broader impact on India’s political landscape.
- ii. Rahul Verma co-authored another paper in EPW’s special issue on the 2024 general election titled “Does the Congress Party’s Performance in the 2024 General Elections Signal Its Revival?”
- iii. A paper co-authored by Rahul Verma titled “How do political families reproduce power: Evidence from Maharashtra, India” was published in the *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* journal. The paper is based on fieldwork in the Kolhapur district of Maharashtra and studies the processes through which successful political families institutionalise their dominance by gaining control of economic networks and using them for political purposes.

### II. Select Public Engagements

- i. **How India Votes** was a series of panel discussions initiated by the Politics Initiative in 2023 in the lead-up to the 2024 national elections. The series continued through the year and was concluded after the declaration of the 2024 general election results with a discussion on the nature and political significance of the verdict.
  - a. On 18th April 2024, Rahul Verma moderated a session on “Can Campaigns Shape Election Outcomes?” with Jayshree Sundar, Yashwant Deshmukh, and Shashi Shekhar Vempati as panellists
  - b. On 16th May 2024, Verma moderated a panel discussion on “Forecasting Elections in India” with Dhananjai Joshi and Rajeeva Laxman Karandikar as discussants.
  - c. On 31st May 2024, Verma moderated a session on “Do Ideas Matter in Shaping Voting Choices?” with Hilal Ahmed and Suhas Palshikar on the panel.
  - d. On 9th June 2024, the final session in the series was organised. The session titled “Verdict 2024: Analysing India’s Election Results” hosted Rajdeep Sardesai, Ruhi Tewari, Yashwant Deshmukh, and Harish S Wankhede as panellists.

- ii. The Politics Initiative organised a panel discussion on “Decoding J&K and Haryana Assembly Election Results” with Rekha Chowdhary, Aijaz Ashraf Wani, Sanya Dhingra and Kushal Pal as discussants on 10th October 2024.
- iii. On 18th October 2024, Verma moderated a session titled “Re-Orienting Exit Polls” with Rukmini S, Rajat Sethi, and Neelanjar Sircar as panellists and Rahul Verma as moderator.
- iv. Rahul Verma joined several other seminars and panel discussions, including:
  - a. 24th April 2024: Seminar on the “2024 Parliamentary Elections in India: Shifting Dynamics and the Politics of Identity”, India International Centre, New Delhi
  - b. 5th June 2024: Panellist at Carnegie India to discuss the 2024 general elections
  - c. 10th Dec 2024: Speaker at MIT-SOG, Pune, on the Maharashtra Assembly Election results
  - d. 24th–25th February, 2025: “Political Consultancy in India: Opportunities and Challenges”, organised by the Department of Political Science, MANUU, Hyderabad.
  - e. 10th March 2025: Session Speaker at MIT-SOG, Pune, on the topic “Party Politics in India”
  - f. 12th March 2025: Presentation at Flame University on the “Political Dynasties in India”

### **III. Select Policy Engagement**

- i. The Politics Initiative released a report titled *South Asia in a Changing World: What Citizens in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh think 75 years post-Partition*. The Centre for Policy Research (CPR) and the CVoter Foundation launched an extensive project to mark 75 years of Partition, involving a comprehensive survey of citizens of all three countries that was carried out between May and October 2022. The report launch, on 30th August 2024, featured Suhasini Haidar, C. Raja Mohan, Aanchal Malhotra, and Pinaki Chakraborty as panellists on a session moderated by Rahul Verma.

### **3. SCI-FI: Scaling City Institutions for India Initiative**

The Scaling City Institutions for India (SCI-FI) initiative researches and innovates in faecal sludge management (FSM), citywide inclusive sanitation (CWIS), and affordable slum upgradation policy, keeping the poor and marginalised at the centre.

#### **I. Key Research Output**

- i. Shubhagato Dasgupta co-authored a book titled *Decentralisation and Empowerment: Odisha Model for Urban Development* with G. Mathi Vathanan, published by the International Water Association Publishing, London, in January 2025. The book documents the key approaches and facets that underlay the highly successful urban development initiatives implemented in Odisha for close to a decade, to which the SCI-FI initiative was intimately associated. The book provides an insider's perspective on the thought processes that inform the development of public programmes that focus on the well-being of urban citizens.

#### **II. Select Policy Engagements**

- i. Shubhagato Dasgupta participated in a set of high-level events at the UN-Habitat's headquarters based in Nairobi, Kenya. These included:
  - a. The second session of the 2024 Executive Board of the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) held from 4 to 6 December 2024.
  - b. Intergovernmental Expert Working Group on Housing of the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) held from 9 to 11 December 2024.
  - c. United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) Strategic Planning Workshop, 14 January 2025.
- ii. Shubhagato Dasgupta presented a masterclass on the monitoring and evaluation (M&E) Framework for citywide inclusive sanitation (CWIS) on the 19th November 2024, organised by SCI-AI at the AIT Global Water & Sanitation Center, Bangkok, and the National Institute of Urban Affairs (NIUA). Participants included representatives from local governments and national and international development organisations working on citywide inclusive sanitation.

#### **III. Select Public Engagements**

- i. Shubhagato Dasgupta moderated a session at the "Learning Lab on Monitoring Gender in WASH: Opportunities and Challenges" organised by SCI-AI at Global Water and Sanitation Centre (GWSC), Asian Institute of Technology, in partnership with the National Faecal Sludge and Septage Management Alliance (NFSSMA) and CPR on 30th April 2024. It discussed the challenges and opportunities in monitoring gender in Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene (WASH).

- ii. Shubhagato Dasgupta presented a webinar on “Risk to Resilience: Climate Change and Disaster Adaptation Strategies for WASH”, organised by the SCI-AI at Global Water and Sanitation Center (GWSC), Asian Institute of Technology, in partnership with NFSSMA and CPR on 1st May 2024. The webinar focused on the urgent need for resilient WASH services amid climate change and disasters, emphasising the importance of safe and inclusive sanitation for health, development, and social equity.
- iii. Shubhagato Dasgupta moderated a webinar on “Turning the Tide: Role of Statutory Bodies in Abating River Pollution” organised by the Scaling City Institutions for Asia and India (SCI-AI) programme at Global Water and Sanitation Center (GWSC), Asian Institute of Technology, in partnership with the National Faecal Sludge and Septage Management (NFSSM) Alliance and Transboundary Rivers, Ecologies & Development Studies (TREADS), Centre for Policy Research (CPR) on 2<sup>nd</sup> May, 2024.

#### **4. Land Rights Initiative (LRI)**

The Land Rights Initiative (LRI) aims to build systematic knowledge on land rights issues in the country. The initiative's research focuses on the constitutional right to property, land acquisition, land rights in the Scheduled Areas and mapping land legislation in India.

#### **Ten Years of LRI**

The year 2024 marked the tenth anniversary of the Land Rights Initiative (LRI). To celebrate this milestone and LRI's pioneering achievements in bringing land rights to the focus of academic and policy work in India, LRI launched a year-long series of talks on Legal History from June 2024 to April 2025. Moderated by Namita Wahi, Founding Director, LRI, the talks featured legal scholars, historians, and legal practitioners engaging with a range of subjects using a "legal historical" approach, one of the methodological approaches used by LRI in its work over the past decade.

#### **I. Select Public Engagements**

##### **i. Legal History Series:**

- a. On 27 June 2024, LRI hosted a session by Mou Banerjee, inaugurating the Legal History series with her talk on "Christian Conversion, Anglo Indian Law and Loss of Inheritance in Nineteenth-Century Bengal". Derived from her recently published book, *The Disinherited: The Politics of Christian Conversion in Colonial India*, the talk focused on the events surrounding the Great Tagore Will Case of 1868-1872 and examined tensions in Bengal's elite Hindu society around Christian conversions.
- b. On 27 July 2024, Shri Singh a leading criminal law practitioner in India, gave the second talk in the series on "Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita, Bharatiya Nagarik Suraksha Sanhita & Bharatiya Sakshya Adhiniyam: Old Whines in New Bottles?" Singh critically reflected on the changes brought about by these three new laws to the colonial-era Indian Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, and the Indian Evidence Act in light of his work experience within the criminal justice system, trial and appellate courts.
- c. On 8 August 2024, Gautam Bhatia gave a talk on "The Evolution of Free Speech in Colonial and Post-Colonial India". Drawing upon his book titled *Offend, Shock and Disturb: Free Speech Under the Constitution* and his years of practice at the Delhi High Court and Supreme Court, Bhatia's talk focused on the evolution of free speech law and doctrine in the colonial era, in the Constituent Assembly Debates, and in the years following the enactment of the Constitution.
- d. On 18 September 2024, Mathew John gave a talk on "India's Communal Constitution: Colonial Imprints and Constitutional Spillovers in the Making of a People." John drew upon the contemporary judicial doctrine on religious freedom and minority rights, thereby demonstrating the continuing and constituent imprint

of colonial and communal visions of the people at the fount of Indian constitutionalism.

- e. On 23 October 2024, LRI organised a talk by Chakshu Roy on “One Nation, One Election: Evaluating the History of Electoral Reforms in India”. Against the backdrop of a contentious history of electoral reforms in India, this talk evaluated electoral laws and practices to illuminate the considerations against which we must examine the proposed electoral reforms and elucidate whether these reforms will achieve their stated objectives.
- f. On 21 November 2024, Namita Wahi gave the next talk in the series on “Property Rights and Economic Development: How Property Saved Democracy in India”. The talk was moderated by Shahrukh Alam. Wahi evaluated the contentious trajectory of the fundamental right to property from its inclusion in the Constitution at the time of its adoption in 1950 to its abolition in 1978. She showed that the relationship between property and economic development on the one hand, and property and democracy on the other, is highly complex and context-dependent.
- g. On 13 December 2024, Parthasarathi Jha gave a talk on “Monopolies, Markets, and the Digital Economy: Tracing the Evolution of Competition Law in India”. In the talk, Jha traced the evolution of competition law in India, examining its origins, the challenges of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969, and the transformative shift brought about by the Competition Act, 2002.
- h. On 30 January 2025, Sandeep Chilana gave a talk titled “The Past, Present, and Future of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) Law in India”. The talk provided an in-depth analysis of the GST framework, with a focus on the dual GST model adopted in India.
- i. On 28 February 2025, Misha gave a talk titled “Bailing Businesses, Boosting Banks: Understanding the Evolution of Insolvency and Bankruptcy Law in India”. In her talk, Misha evaluated the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (IBC) against its stated policy objectives. She highlighted both the improvements that the IBC has brought to India’s insolvency landscape since its enactment and the gaps and challenges that remain in making the IBC a robust framework.
- j. On 27 March 2025, Lawrence Liang gave a talk titled “Artificial Intelligence, Technology and Authorship: A Perspective from Copyright Jurisprudence in India”. Through a historical reconstruction of the relationship between copyright and technology in India, Liang explored how contemporary AI-driven challenges can be understood in light of India’s distinctive copyright philosophy.

**ii. International Conferences:**

- a. From 12 to 14 April 2024, Namita Wahi participated in a conference on “Celebrating Richard Tuck” at the University Centre for Human Values, Princeton University, to celebrate the legacy of Professor Richard Tuck in the areas of natural rights theories, democracy and sovereignty, and free riding.

- b. On May 6 and 7, Wahi participated in a workshop on “Human Rights Justifications: Methods and Legal Theories” at the Institutum Iurisprudentiae, Academia Sinica, Taipei.
- c. From June 2 to 5, 2024, Wahi participated in the PluriLand Workshop on “Theorizing Conflict and Contestation in Plural Land Rights Regimes” hosted by the Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), Mexico City, Mexico.

**iii. National Conferences/Workshops:**

- a. On 24 July 2024, Anshu Yadav participated in the EquiLead Annual Conference 2024 on “Building Pathways Towards Women’s Leadership”, which featured a dedicated workshop on empowering women in climate careers. The session explored green skill development, climate finance, and intersectional approaches linking climate action with governance, health, technology, and indigenous knowledge systems.
- b. On 5 November 2024, Namita Wahi spoke at a panel on “Evolving Legalscapes to Protect India's Commons” at the India Land and Development Conference.
- c. On 7 November 2024, Namita Wahi spoke at a panel on “Scoping the Legal Space for Land Rights to Marginalised Communities” at the India Land and Development Conference.
- d. From 8 to 9 February 2025, Namita Wahi participated in the New India Fellowship Retreat at Neev Academy, Bengaluru, for all New India Fellows. Wahi received the Fellowship in 2019.

**iv. Climate Justice: Jal, Jungle, Zameen:**

- a. On 28 June 2024, Namita Wahi was a panellist and also moderated a session on “The Fight for Land: India's Struggles & Counter Strategies Against Deforestation” at the India Climate Summit.
- b. From 19 to 23 February 2025, the Land Rights Initiative team visited many publicly accessible ghats in Varanasi and the Kumbh Mela at Prayagraj for research for their project on the *Rights of Rivers*. This project, in turn, is part of their work on "Climate Justice" which attempts to inform the policy discourse by understanding water, land, and forests (*jal, jungle, zameen*) as part of an indivisible ecosystem to mitigate the devastating effects of climate change.

**II. Select Policy Engagements**

- i. On 25 June 2024, Namita Wahi, Anshu Yadav, and Dhruvi Pareek presented a summary of the key legal, technical, and ethical concerns — such as surveillance, exclusion from welfare, and data governance while tracing Aadhaar’s evolution, regulatory gaps, and its contested role in digital infrastructure, to Amod Kumar, Deputy Director General, Unique Identification Authority of India, Minister of Electronics and Information Technology.

- ii. From 25 to 26 July 2024, Namita Wahi presented her research on “Election Finance in India: Issues and Concerns” in the International Electoral Affairs Symposium organised by the State Election Commission, Rajasthan, and the International Conference on Parliamentary Studies. The participants in the Conference consisted of state election commissioners from most states in India.

### **III. Projects and Partnerships:**

- i. International Social and Economic Rights Project: Namita Wahi spoke at a panel on “Does Transformative Constitutionalism Have a Future?” at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the International Social and Economic Rights Project—Litigation and Public Policy, hosted by the University of Concepcion, Concepcion, Chile, from April 24 to 27, 2024. CPR had hosted the 7<sup>th</sup> Annual ISERP meeting in 2016.
- ii. International Partnerships for Excellence in Research and Education (INTPART) between CPR LRI and the Centre on Law and Social Transformation, University of Bergen: INTPART is a multi-country collaboration to facilitate scholarly exchange between the University of Bergen, Norway, and institutions in India, Africa, North and South America. CPR LRI is one of two collaborating institutions in India and Namita Wahi is a Global Fellow at the Centre on Law and Social Transformation, University of Bergen. As part of this collaboration the following activities were undertaken:
  - a. Namita Wahi participated in the yearlong process of designing the syllabus for the Bergen Exchanges Ph.D. Course on “Effects of Lawfare: Courts and Law as Battlegrounds for Social Change” at LawTransform, University of Bergen as part of CPR’s ongoing institutional INTPART collaboration.
  - b. On 17 April 2024, Namita Wahi gave a lecture on “Property Rights and Economic Development: How Property Saved Democracy in India (1950–1978)” at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University. Syracuse University is a participating institution in the INTPART collaboration.
  - c. On 17–18 August 2024, Namita Wahi participated in an intensive workshop for the INPART project on “Autocratisation Dynamics”.
  - d. From August 19–23, Namita Wahi participated in the annual Bergen Exchanges organised by the Centre on Law & Social Transformation, Bergen, Norway.
  - e. On August 19, 2024, Namita Wahi delivered one of the opening keynotes on “State of Democracy in South Asia” for the opening panel of the Bergen Exchanges on “State of Democracy: Global Perspectives”.
  - f. On August 22, 2024, Namita Wahi also participated in a panel discussion on “Contestations Over Land in Plural Legal Regimes”.

## 5. Initiative on Cities, Economy, and Society

The Initiative on Cities, Economy and Society (ICES) engages with the process of urban transition in India, tracking its evolution in spatial, economic and social terms. In particular, the initiative focuses on how urbanisation is managed and how it affects people's engagement with the state.

### I. Projects and Partnerships

- i. In 2024, CPR launched a major longitudinal research study titled “Forty Years’ Development Saga of Dhampur: Growth Dynamics and Regional Transformation Potential of an Indian Small Town”, led by Pushpa Pathak. The study team, including Pathak, Shubham Kashyap, and Aena Rawal, conducted intensive field work during the major part of 2024. The field work included Industrial Units Survey, Industrial Entrepreneurs Survey, Industrial Workers Survey, Village Schedule, and Rural Households Survey, as well as interviews with a wide range of stakeholders such as government officials, prominent citizens, doctors, traders, owners of hotels, restaurants and banquet halls, e-rickshaw drivers, and daily wage workers.
- ii. Champaka Rajagopal initiated the Urban Planning Institutions Project at CPR in November 2024, intended to institutionalise urban planning processes for Indian cities that respond to Constitutional imperatives for economic growth, social justice, and environmental concerns. The project seeks to support the Union and State governments in India, to advance reforms in urban planning law, policies, contracts, and governance, directed at institutionalising formal processes that integrate spatial planning with inclusionary infrastructure (health, education, water and sanitation, transport, power), industrial/economic development, and environmental protection.
- iii. The Initiative continued to organise the ongoing CPR-CSH urban workshop series in collaboration with the Centre de Sciences Humaines (CSH). This year, CPR organised 12 workshops. This platform is intended to create a space for interaction between practitioners working on various facets of urban studies, planning, and governance.

### II. Key Research Output

- i. Partha Mukhopadhyay co-authored a paper with Gurkirat Singh titled: “Integrating fares, Information, and Informal Transit” in D. Desai & N. Dawda (Eds.), *Global Policy Journal: New Approaches for Integrated Multimodal Urban Transport Systems*, published by the Observer Research Foundation, 2024. The paper discussed the possible ways in which fare integration could be facilitated and how it could include “popular” modes of transport, otherwise known as informal para-transit modes.
- ii. Partha Mukhopadhyay co-authored another paper with Anant Maringanti, Director, Interdisciplinary Centre for Study of Global Change, University of Minnesota titled “Inescapable Informality Redux”, introducing the *Economic and Political Weekly: Review of Urban Affairs* issue of February 2025. He was also part of the advisory group, which guest edited the issue.

- iii. Mukta Naik co-authored an article titled “The Governance of Internal Migration: Learning from the Pre- and Post-COVID-19 Policy Responses of Indian States” with Priyansha Singh, Harshita Sinha, and Varun Aggarwal, published in the Sage *Special Issue: The Future of Urbanisation: Migration Policies in the Post-pandemic World*. This article focuses on policies formulated by Indian state governments that are prominent recipients of internal migrants in the pre- and post-pandemic period.
- iv. Mukta Naik authored an article titled “Tracing Internal Migration Governance in India Through a ‘Mainstreaming’ Lens” for the Sage *Special Issue: The Future of Urbanisation: Migration Policies in the Post-pandemic World* in May 2024. This article traces and analyses internal migration policy in India over time, particularly how the COVID-19 pandemic reshaped responses.
- v. Mukta Naik authored a journal article titled “Smaller cities as sites of youth migrant incorporation” for the *Urban Studies Journal*, Sage in May. The paper demonstrates how, despite low scalar positions on account of weak governance and informalised economies, smaller cities shape varied employment opportunities and generate varied mobilities for domestic migrants.
- vi. Mukta Naik authored a journal article titled “Crisis as inflection point in the urban governance of domestic migration in India: a policy frames analysis” in the *International Development Planning Review*, published by the Liverpool University Press in October 2024. This paper explores the ideas, perceptions and beliefs of diverse governance actors and questions whether the COVID-19 migrant crisis generated new directions in the urban governance of migration.
- vii. Marie-Helene Zerah and Shamindra Nath Roy co-authored a chapter with Eric Denis titled 'Subaltern Urbanisation and Rural-Urban Linkages in India' in the *Handbook on Rural-Urban Linkages in the Global South*, published by Edward Elgar Publishing in February 2025.
- viii. The Study Team of “Forty Years’ Development Saga of Dhampur: Growth Dynamics and Regional Transformation Potential of an Indian Small Town” launched a blog series based on the analysis of primary data as well as on the observation of wider transformations taking place in Dhampur town and the two case-study villages. Pushpa Pathak authored three blogs: (i) “Revisiting Dhampur Four Decades Later: First Impressions”; (ii) “Dhampur Diary 1: Vibrant Industrial Structure of a Small Town”; and (iii) “Dhampur Diary 2: Changing Industrial Structure of a Small Town”. Aena Rawal wrote a blog on “Sustainable Mobility: The Urgent Need to Scale Battery Recycling for EV Growth”, and Shubham Kashyap drafted a blog titled “Banquet Halls on the Rise: The Modernisation of Social Celebrations in Small Towns and Rural India”.
- ix. In May 2024, Partha Mukhopadhyay initiated a blog series “CPR Insights” where he analyses economic data to identify development, market and employment trends from across the world. During the year, he authored the following blogs:
  - a. “The Ballooning USO Fund” published on 30 May 2024.
  - b. “How Have Different States Done Since 1991?” published on 28 June 2024.

- c. “Are Higher Wages Associated with More Contractualisation?” published on 23 August 2024.
- d. “Do Capital Intensive Industries have Less Women Workers?” published on 18 October 2024.

### III. Select Policy Engagements

- i. Pushpa Pathak, was invited to be a Member, with Shubham Kashyap as an Associate Member, of the Domain Working Group (DWG) for formulating Knowledge Standards in the domain of Municipal Asset Management, organised by the National Urban Digital Mission (NUDM), Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs (MoHUA), and the National Institute of Urban Affairs, February–March 2025. The draft Knowledge Standards 2025 can be accessed at the NUDM website.
- ii. Partha Mukhopadhyay was invited to participate in a conference on Household Consumption Expenditure Survey (HCES) data organised by the NSSO and the Ministry of Statistics & Programme Implementation in June 2024. Mukhopadhyay, along with other leading economists, was also invited to participate in a meeting chaired by the Union Minister for Finance & Corporate Affairs, Nirmala Sitharaman, to discuss the then-upcoming General Budget 2024-25.
- iii. Partha Mukhopadhyay was a Member of the Working Group on Transition Systems for Rural Urban Continuum, constituted by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs in November 2024, with a mandate to define peri-urban areas, suggest means to use urban planning as a tool for such areas, define their development mechanism, and advance planning for basic infrastructure.
- iv. Partha Mukhopadhyay reviewed *Accelerating India's Development: A State-Led Roadmap for Effective Governance* by Karthik Muralidharan (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2024) for *The Indian Express*. The review, titled “Levers of Growth”, was published on May 26, 2024.
- v. Partha Mukhopadhyay and Saugata Bhattacharya were invited to participate in a Brainstorming Session on “Leveraging Non-Conventional Data Sources for Official Statistics” organised by the Administrative Statistics and Policy Division (ASPD) of the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation. This session brought together a diverse group of experts, including Ministry officials and policy experts in March 2025.
- vi. Partha Mukhopadhyay and Saugata Bhattacharya also participated in an event commemorating the launch of O.P. Jindal University’s new Non-Residential Programme on Developmental Practice. Bhattacharya was part of a panel discussion on “Changing Paradigms of Development: From Theories to Praxis” and Mukhopadhyay participated in a panel discussion on “Experiences and Pedagogies of Development Practice in India”.

#### IV. Select Public Engagements

- i. Pushpa Pathak moderated a roundtable on “Structuring Projects: Moving away from engineering-driven projects,” at a workshop on “Debating the results of the 100 Smart Cities Mission on Urban Governance: Institutions and Project Management, Capacity Building and Skills, Learning and Innovation,” 22–23 July 2024, at the Centre de Sciences Humaines, New Delhi. The roundtable focused on the merits of establishing special purpose vehicles (SPVs), their role in urban planning, financing, management, and their relationship with urban local governments.
- ii. Pushpa Pathak was invited as a panellist at the launch of a report on “Assessing India’s Enabling Framework Conditions for Subnational Climate Finance”, 6 September 2024, New Delhi, organised by the UN-ESCAP, Urban Act, and Cities Climate Finance Leadership Alliance (CCFLA). Following the report launch, Pathak spoke at the panel discussion on “Enabling Access to Urban Climate Finance,” highlighting that, given the current urban governance structure in India, cities have very limited jurisdiction over functions that relate to climate change.
- iii. Pushpa Pathak made a presentation on “Mofussil no More: Four Decades of Transformation of a Small Town, Dhampur, India: Preliminary Findings from the Field,” at the CSH-CPR Workshop held at CPR on 25 March 2025. The presentation described how the idea of small towns has changed over the past four decades. It also included a detailed analysis of how the industrial structure and industrial linkages of Dhampur, a small town located in District Bijnor, Western Uttar Pradesh, have changed over the past 40 years.
- iv. Partha Mukhopadhyay was part of the panel organised by the Office of Interdisciplinary Studies, IDEAS, Jindal Global University, to launch the *M.Sc. in Development* on 20 March 2025
- v. Partha Mukhopadhyay delivered a special address on “Infrastructure Financing” in Public Finance for Indian Audit and Accounts Service (IAAS) Officer Trainees 2025 at the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, 17 January 2025.
- vi. Partha Mukhopadhyay was invited to participate in Insights: The Sustainable Cities Research Symposium, organised by WRI India in July 2024. Mukhopadhyay was part of the Closing Plenary on Developing a Way Forward for Sustainable, Equitable and Regenerative Economic Development and Planning. The discussion explored research pathways that can inform place- and people-based plans and policies for economic development.
- vii. Partha Mukhopadhyay was part of the panel on NDTV’s Urban Agenda show on PM Awas Yojana - Urban: Hits and Misses, which was aired on 14 June 2024.
- viii. In April, the Initiative organised a talk on “Historicising Indian Smart Cities” by Persis Taraporevala, moderated by Marie-Helene Zerach. This talk built on existing knowledge on the impacts of smart governance on multiscalar government in the Global South and contributed to the notion of the just (smart) cities, refocusing the core democratic component of local representative government within the scope of a smart city.

- ix. In September 2024, Champaka Rajagopal delivered a keynote lecture at Sciences Po, Le Havre, France. Her lecture titled “Finding the State: Tracing the Evolution of Urban Institutions in Liberalised India” traversed policy shifts in urban development that advance technocracy, gated institutional arrangements, and expertise, while underscoring the need for increased political commitment to the common good, making technical expertise available to all, and the production of knowledge for education.
- x. Mukta Naik conducted a learning session on urbanisation and urban governance for journalists and field reporters from the India Development Review on 18 April 2024.
- xi. Mukta Naik was a panellist at the World Resources Institute (WRI) India’s event titled “Resilient, Equitable Housing, Opportunities and Urban Services (REHOUSE)” at a session titled “Innovative community-led practices and solutions”, 2 July 2024.
- xii. On 18 July, Mukta Naik spoke at an online panel discussion organised by the Urbanisation journal and the Indian Institute of Human Settlements on the topic “Migration in Development and Urban Policy”.
- xiii. In August, Mukta Naik participated in a panel discussion at “Buzz 3.0: Engaging with the City” organised by the Northern Chapter of the Indian Institute of Architects. She spoke at a session on “Delhi 2050: Perspectives”.
- xiv. On 13th September, Mukta Naik participated in Indus Action’s seminar titled “Reimagining Construction Workers' Welfare: Exploring Data-Driven Innovations and Climate Adaptive Solutions for the BoCW Act”.
- xv. On 8th October, Mukta Naik delivered an online talk on “‘Informality’ & ‘Global North/Global South’ as contested concepts’ at a workshop organised by the Gustave Eiffel University, Marne-la-Vallée, France

## **V. Awards and Recognition**

- i. Saugata Bhattacharya was appointed to the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) Monetary Policy Committee, 2 October 2024.
- ii. In October, Saugata Bhattacharya was also appointed to the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) National Committee on Regulatory Aspects of the Financial Sector.

## **6. Accountability Initiative**

The Initiative works on strengthening transparency and accountability in governance through evidence-based research on state capabilities and factors affecting efficient public service delivery in India. With a vision to enable responsive governance, the initiative works on increasing citizen engagement in policymaking and implementation. During the year, the Initiative moved out of the Centre to become a separate entity, the Foundation for Responsive Governance.

### **I. Key Research Output**

- i. Avani Kapur, Indranil Mukhopadhyay, Janak Raj, Prajakta Shukla, Ritwik Shukla, Sharad Pandey and Sandhya Venkateswaran co-authored a working paper titled “Federal Financing of Health: Implications for Health System Capacity and Priority” for the Centre for Social and Economic Progress, 2024.
- ii. Avani Kapur, Mallika Arora, Ritwik Shukla, Sidharth Santhosh, Tanya Rana, Bhavya J, Dongrisab Nadaf, Kripa Krishna, Monisha S, Sachin E S, Shailaja S and Vijaya Kumari R Gowda co-authored a policy brief titled “Innovative Approaches to Convergence in Karnataka’ s Grama Panchayats: Insights from 5 Case Studies” for the Centre for Policy Research, on March, 2025.
- iii. Avani Kapur, Mallika Arora, Sidharth Santhosh, Bhavya J, Dongrisab Nadaf, Kripa Krishna, Monisha S, Pritika Malhotra, Sachin E S, Shailaja S, and Vijaya Kumari R Gowda co-authored a policy brief titled “Strengthening Local Governance: A Study of Competencies of Grama Panchayat Functionaries in Karnataka” for the Centre for Policy Research, March 2025

# Non-Initiative Engagements

## I. Select Public Engagements

- i. Nimmi Kurian presented a paper titled “Mining Its Own Business: Chinese Capital and the Land Rights Protests in Myanmar” at the British International Studies Association Annual Conference, 6 June 2024, Birmingham.
- ii. Nimmi Kurian presented a paper titled “How Does a River (Discourse) Change Course? Alternative Futures for the Brahmaputra” at the British International Studies Association Annual Conference, 7 June 2024, Birmingham.
- iii. Nimmi Kurian made the lead presentation titled “At the Water’s Edge: How Weak Institutionalism will Weaken Sustainable Futures of the Brahmaputra”, organised by The Forum for Policy Dialogue on Water Conflicts in India Forum, 1 February 2025.
- iv. Nimmi Kurian was invited as a panellist to several conferences over the year, including:
  - a. The India China Institute’s 20th Anniversary Symposium on “India, China, and the US in Shifting Global Orders”, Penang, Malaysia, 15 August 2024.
  - b. The International Seminar on “South Asian Regionalism – Prospects and Challenges”, co-organised by the South Asian University, New Delhi and Nepal Institute for International Cooperation and Engagement, Kathmandu, 10 December 2024.
  - c. The ORF Think Tank Forum on “India and the Global South: Championing Equitable Development”, New Delhi, 6 February 2025.
  - d. Roundtable on “Women and Mediation: 1325 and Beyond”, India International Centre, 17 May 2024.
- v. Nimmi Kurian moderated a talk by Raunak Mainali on “Nepal's Foreign Policy Strategies: Has Hedging Worked?” at CPR, 16 January 2025. The talk detailed pragmatic considerations behind Nepal’s strategic use of hedging and questioned if it is still a viable approach for a modern economy.
- vi. D Shyam Babu moderated a talk by Amit Gupta, “MAGA vs The Liberals: US Presidential Election 2024 and Implications on India,” on 13th June 2024. Gupta explained, in the context of 2024 US presidential polls, the undercurrents of political struggle between Make America Great Again (MAGA) supporters and Liberals. He sought to decode the domestic political debates in the US, their impact on the presidential election, and their implications for US-India relations.
- vii. D Shyam Babu moderated a talk by S. D. Muni, “India’s Neighbourhood Policy: Lessons Learned and Unlearned,” on October 21, 2024. Muni elaborated on the history of India’s engagement with its neighbourhood, the continuities and paradigm shifts of its policies over the past decades, and future policy directions amid political undercurrents in South Asia.
- viii. D Shyam Babu moderated a talk by Amit Gupta, “Is a ‘Model Minority’ an ‘Acceptable Minority?’ Indian-Americans and the US Presidential Polls,” on October 29, 2024. Gupta contextualised the place of Indian-Americans in the US domestic politics. He highlighted the fact that though the Indian-Americans are a relatively new non-

European ethnic group in the US, at least compared to the Japanese and the Chinese, they proved their mettle in academia, business, science and technology, and, above all, in professions. He focused on what it would take for a model minority to become an acceptable minority.

- ix. D Shyam Babu moderated a talk by Rani D. Mullen, “Indo–U.S. Relations in the Trump 2.0 Era,” on 27 January 2025. Speaking at the Centre just a week after the inauguration of the Second Trump Presidency, Mullen attempted to explain the dynamics that determine the future of Indo-US relations in the Trump 2.0 era. With Trump in the White House, the US–India relationship entered a critical juncture. President Trump’s statements and his cabinet choices as he took over the reins of power signalled mixed messages about the future trajectory of the bilateral relationship.
- x. Gautam Mukhopadhyaya moderated a talk by Miemie Winn Byrd on “Strategic Opportunities for India in Myanmar: Countering China’s Influence and Supporting Democracy” on 13 January 2025 at CPR. The talk outlined possibilities of restoring stability in the region amid the decline of the military junta and China’s invisible hand over Myanmar’s internal politics. Byrd also offered an overview of India’s historical support of Myanmar’s democratic aspirations.
- xi. CPR, in association with the India International Centre, organised a talk by Talmiz Ahmad titled “West Asia After Bashar al-Assad: Regional and Global Ramifications”, which focused on Syria’s internal and external politics. This talk, moderated by Gautam Mukhopadhyaya, raised crucial issues of citizenship, occupation, and prospects of regional cooperation between the Gulf nations. Ahmad also made important observations about proxy wars, shifting alliances and power tussles between regional powers like Iran and Turkey.
- xii. CPR, in collaboration with IIC, organised a talk titled “The Future of Russia and the World Order” by Stephen Kotkin. This was followed by a conversation between him and Pratap Bhanu Mehta. Kotkin shared valuable insights on the widening gap between Russia’s aspirations and capabilities and its growing economic dependency on China. He also discussed the destabilising nature of modern technology and the changing nature of security in a world where the military-industrial complex is no longer just a physical space. The talk also highlighted the notion of Eurasian autocracy challenging American power.
- xiii. Neelanjan Sircar was invited to participate in a panel discussion titled “Indian Elections and After”, organised by the Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute, Harvard University at IIC Delhi. The discussion revolved around the various factors that impacted the 2024 Lok Sabha Elections, including welfare benefits and state-level politics, and reflected on the implications of this electoral verdict for democracy, governance, rights and citizenship.
- xiv. In May 2024, CPR initiated the **Knowledge Lab** — a series of closed door talks, aimed at providing a platform for early career researchers to present their work and receive critical feedback from the faculty at the Centre. Over the year, CPR invited three candidates to present their research.

# Funded Research Projects

## 1. Transboundary Rivers, Ecology and Development Studies (TREADS)

- a. Master Plan for River-Centric Urban Planning: Limits, Potential and Opportunities
- b. Interstate Cooperation for Namami Gange: Policy and Institutional Challenges and Opportunities
- c. How Relevant Are European River Rejuvenation Experiences for the NGP and Indian Rivers?
- d. Reading the Rituals for River Rejuvenation at Maha Kumbh 2025

## 2. Initiative on Cities, Economy, and Society

- a. Future of Special Purpose Vehicles Post the Smart City Mission
- b. Growth Dynamics and Regional Transformation Potential of Small Town

## 3. Land Rights Initiative

- a. Research on "Data Analytics on Legal Texts" and mapping Indian Land Laws Report

## 4. Scaling City Institution for India (SCI-FI)

- a. Study on Institutional Assessment and Scheme/Program Review in Meghalaya

## 5. Accountability Initiative (AI)

- a. Competencies of Gram Panchayat Staff in Karnataka
- b. Study on Competencies of Convergence at Gram Panchayats in Karnataka

# **Publications**

## **(By the CPR Faculty and Researchers)**

During the year under review, CPR faculty and researchers continued their involvement with numerous research and allied activities. Their research outcomes were published as books, edited volumes, book chapters, journal articles, policy briefs, reports, and articles in national and international dailies.

### **1. Srinivas Chokkakula, President and Chief Executive**

#### **I. Book Chapter**

- i. “Water Disputes and the Environment: Transboundary Dimensions” in *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental and Natural Resources Law in India*, edited by Loveleen Bhullar, Phillippe Cullet and Sujith Koonan, online edn, Oxford University Press, 2024.

#### **II. Journal Article**

- i. “Conserving Freshwater Ecosystems in India: A Call to Action” by R. Arora, T. Balachander, I. Agrawal, R. Panda, D. Gupta, A. Kasturirangan, J. Vencatesan, K. Sivakumar, R. Kumar, V.B. Mathur, S. Chokkakula, T. Lal, N. Kaushal, S. Babu, J. Kiesecker, Wiley, 2024.

#### **III. Article in Mainstream Media**

- i. Andhra Pradesh’s water policymaking matters, *The Hindu*, 19 December 2024.

### **2. Nimmi Kurian, Professor**

#### **I. Articles in Mainstream Media**

- i. India-China Relations: A river runs through it, *Hindustan Times*, 14 January 2025.
- ii. Brahmaputra par nahin Cheen bana paye manmani ka baandh, *Hindustan Times*, 16 January 2025.

### **3. Shubhagato Dasgupta, Senior Fellow**

#### **I. Book**

- i. Decentralisation and Empowerment: The Odisha Model for Urban Development, London, IWA Publishing, 2025.

#### **4. Partha Mukhopadhyay, Senior Fellow**

##### **I. Journal Article**

- i. “Inescapable Informality Redux”, by Partha Mukhopadhyay and Anant Maringanti, *Economic and Political Weekly Review of Urban Affairs*, issue of February 2025.

##### **II. Policy Report**

- i. “Integrating fares, Information, and Informal Transit” in D. Desai & N. Dawda (Eds.), *New Approaches for Integrated Multimodal Urban Transport Systems*, New Delhi: ORF and Global Policy Journal, 2024.

#### **5. Saugata Bhattacharya, Senior Fellow**

##### **I. Articles in Mainstream Media**

- i. Budget must promote sustained growth, *The Hindu Businessline*, 22 July 2024.
- ii. Global volatility will impact MPC decisions, *The Hindu Businessline*, 21 August 2024.
- iii. Monetary Policy Preview: A Move Towards An Eventual Rate Cut Complicated By Global Vulnerability, *The Secretariat*, 7 August 2024.
- iv. The US Fed & ECB Likely To Lead Decisive Pivot In Global Interest Rates; Will India Follow Suit?, *The Secretariat*, 29 August 2024.

#### **6. Neelanjan Sircar, Senior Fellow**

##### **I Journal Articles**

- i. “Does interstate conflict affect attitudes towards minorities? Evidence from India” by Christopher Clary, Sameer Lalwani, Niloufer Siddiqui and Neelanjan Sircar, *Cambridge University Press*, 2024.
- ii. “Do local leaders prioritize the poor: Identifying the distributive preferences of village politicians in India” by Mark Schneider and Neelanjan Sircar, *Electoral Studies*, 2024.

##### **II Articles in Mainstream Media**

- i. Social media’s impact on Indian politics, *The Hindu*, 16 May 2024.
- ii. The Constitution, a surprise entrant in poll battlefield, *The Hindu*, 29 May 2024.
- iii. Why and how the BJP’s tally fell short, *Hindustan Times*, 5 June 2024.

- iv. Election results 2024: How India read the election, how the BJP reads the result, *The Hindu*, 5 June 2024.
- v. How soaring mercury affects quality of life, *Hindustan Times*, 17 June 2024.
- vi. How economic inequality magnifies exposure to crippling, extreme heat, *Hindustan Times*, 24 June 2024.
- vii. Indian election study reveals how the media shaped poll views, *Hindustan Times*, 22 July 2024.
- viii. The burden of health care on India's poorest, *Hindustan Times*, 12 August 2024.
- ix. Who is ahead? The signal and the noise, *Hindustan Times*, 5 November 2024.
- x. In Donald Trump's win, America will need to tackle some tough questions, *Hindustan Times*, 6 November 2024.
- xi. Delivery claims versus identity politics in Delhi, *Hindustan Times*, 9 January 2025.
- xii. What explains the big BJP win in the Capital, *Hindustan Times*, 8 February 2025.
- xiii. Air pollution hits health and GDP, yet missing from poll promises, *Hindustan Times*, 3 March 2025.

## **7. Gautam Mukhopadhaya, Senior Visiting Fellow**

### **I. Articles in Mainstream Media**

- i. India needs to protect its strategic stakes in 'unstable' Myanmar, *Deccan Herald*, 21 April 2024.
- ii. Why India needs to heed the dramatic churning in western Myanmar, *Deccan Herald*, 29 December 2024.

## **8. Marie-Helene Zerah, Senior Visiting Fellow**

### **I. Book Chapters**

- i. "Subaltern Urbanization and Rural-Urban Linkages in India" in *Handbook on Rural-Urban Linkages in the Global South* edited by Cecilia Tacoli, Jytte Agergaard, Manja Hoppe Andreasen, and Donald Brown, Elgar Online, 2025.

## 9. Avani Kapur, Senior Visiting Fellow

### I. Working Paper

- i. “Federal Financing of Health: Implications for Health System Capacity and Priority” by Avani Kapur, Indranil Mukhopadhyay, Janak Raj, Prajakta Shukla, Ritwik Shukla, Sharad Pandey & Sandhya Venkateswaran, Centre for Social and Economic Progress, 2024.

### II. Policy Reports

- i. “Innovative Approaches to Convergence in Karnataka’s Grama Panchayats: Insights from 5 Case Studies” by Avani Kapur, Mallika Arora, Ritwik Shukla, Sidharth Santhosh, Tanya Rana, Bhavya J, Dongrisab Nadaf, Kripa Krishna, Monisha S, Sachin E S, Shailaja S and Vijaya Kumari R Gowda, Centre for Policy Research, March 2025.
- ii. “Strengthening Local Governance: A Study of Competencies of Grama Panchayat Functionaries in Karnataka” by Avani Kapur, Mallika Arora, Sidharth Santhosh, Bhavya J, Dongrisab Nadaf, Kripa Krishna, Monisha S, Pritika Malhotra, Sachin E S, Shailaja S and Vijaya Kumari R Gowda, Centre for Policy Research, March 2025.

### III. Articles in Mainstream Media

- i. From numbers to impact: Learning from effective data management in Rajasthan, *Ideas for India*, 31 May 2024.
- ii. Investing in India’s Children: A Look at Child Budgets, *The Hindu Centre*, 10 January 2025.
- iii. #Budget2025: Four Key Trends in Union Govt’s Social Sector Expenditure, *India Spend*, 1 February 2025.

## 10. Rahul Verma, Fellow

### I. Journal Articles

- i. “India’s 2024 General Election: Continuity and Change [Introduction]” Suri, K. C., Mitra, S., & Verma, R. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2024.
- ii. “Does the Congress Party’s Performance in the 2024 General Elections Signal Its Revival?” Verma, R., & Pratikshit, P. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2024.
- iii. “How do political families reproduce power: Evidence from Maharashtra, India” Mujumdar, A., & Verma, R. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 2025.

## II. Policy Report

- i. “South Asia in a Changing World: What Citizens in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh think 75 years post-Partition” by Rahul Verma, Nishant Ranjan, Satyam Shukla, Shamik Vatsa, Praskanva Sinharay, Melvin Kunjumon, Yashwant Deshmukh, Sutanu Guru, Gaura Shukla, and Akanksha Bariar, Centre for Policy Research and CVoter Foundation, August 2024.

## III. Articles in Mainstream Media

- i. How the BSP ceased to be the force it once was in UP, *Hindustan Times*, 12 April 2024.
- ii. Four major themes in the BJP’s Manifesto, *Dainik Jagran*, 15 April 2024.
- iii. No wave in sight, big surprises are unlikely in the offing, *Hindustan Times*, 19 April 2024.
- iv. Truth, Myths about the low voter turnout, *Hindustan Times*, 2 May 2024.
- v. Five fundamentals of Indian elections, *Dainik Jagran*, 14 May 2024.
- vi. Effects of Kejriwal’s Campaign in 2024, *Hindustan Times*, 15 May 2024.
- vii. Offered a choice, voters pick horses for courses, *Hindustan Times*, 23 May 2024.
- viii. Whether the Congress Party can improve its performance, *Dainik Jagran*, 24 May 2024.
- ix. From Freebies to Safety, five factors that may explain the crucial women’s vote, *Times of India*, 2 June 2024.
- x. Broad trends from the exit polls, *Dainik Jagran*, 3 June 2024.
- xi. 5 messages from the 2024 general elections, *Hindustan Times*, 7 June 2024.
- xii. Signals of stability being given by the new government, *Dainik Jagran*, 11 June 2024.
- xiii. Lok Sabha Election 2024: Return of the Ideological Divide, *Outlook India*, 20 June 2024.
- xiv. The Congress party in a new ideological avatar, *The Indian Forum*, 26 July 2024.
- xv. Emerging dimensions of caste politics in India, *Hindustan Times*, 15th August 2024.
- xvi. How the 2024 general elections define the political trajectory and direction of Indian politics, *Dainik Jagran*, 28 August 2024.
- xvii. Degrading political discourse in Indian politics, *Dainik Jagran*, 5 October 2024.
- xviii. Will Haryana J&K polls break bipolar patterns?, *Times of India*, 7 October 2024.

- xix. Lessons from Haryana for BJP and Congress, *Hindustan Times*, 8 October 2024.
- xx. Impact of Haryana on Maharashtra and Jharkhand elections, *Dainik Jagran*, 16 October 2024.
- xxi. Lack of internal democracy within political parties, *Dainik Jagran*, 18 November 2024.
- xxii. Lesson from the polls for the BJP and Congress, *Hindustan Times*, 24 November 2024.
- xxiii. Future of the Congress Party after the Haryana and Maharashtra elections, *Dainik Jagran*, 27 November 2024.
- xxiv. How the faction in the opposition group will benefit the BJP in the assembly elections, *Dainik Jagran*, 14 January 2025.
- xxv. Ideological contestation in Indian politics, *Dainik Jagran*, 31 January 2025.
- xxvi. Middle class holds the key in Delhi elections, *Hindustan Times*, 2 February 2025.
- xxvii. Crisis faced by the Aam Aadmi Party, *Dainik Jagran*, 12 February 2025.
- xxviii. How the AAP lost its plot and office in Delhi, *Hindustan Times*, 19 February 2025.

## **11. Mukta Naik, Fellow**

### **I. Journal Articles**

- i. “Crisis as Inflection Point in the Urban Governance of Domestic Migration in India: A Policy Frames Analysis”, Mukta Naik, *International Development Planning Review*, 2024.
- ii. “The Governance of Internal Migration: Learning from the Pre- and Post-COVID-19 Policy Responses of Indian States”, Mukta Naik, Priyansha Singh, Harshita Sinha, Varun Aggarwal, *Sage*, 2024.
- iii. “Smaller Cities as Sites of Youth Migrant Incorporation”, Mukta Naik, *Sage*, 2024.
- iv. “Tracing Internal Migration Governance in India Through a ‘Mainstreaming’ Lens”, Mukta Naik, *Sage*, 2024.

## **12. Shamindra Nath Roy, Associate Fellow**

### **I. Book Chapter**

- i. “Subaltern Urbanization and Rural-Urban Linkages in India” in *Handbook on Rural-Urban Linkages in the Global South* edited by Cecilia Tacoli, Jytte Agergaard, Manja Hoppe Andreasen, and Donald Brown, *Elgar Online*, 2025.

### **13. Debarshee Dasgupta, Senior Research Associate**

#### **I. Journal Article**

- i. “Restoring India’s Rivers: European Experiences and Challenges” by Debarshee Dasgupta and Subia Ahmad, *The India Forum*, 16 December 2024.

### **14. Evy Mehzabeen, Senior Research Associate**

#### **I. Book Chapter**

- i. “Historicising Development: Colonisation, Cartography and Explorations in India's Northeast” by Evy Mehzabeen in *Indigeneity, Development and Sustainability: Perspectives from North East India* edited by Anjan Chakrabarti, Gorky Chakraborty and Anup Shekhar Chakraborty, Springer Nature, 2024.

### **15. Gurkirat Singh Juneja, Senior Research Associate**

#### **I. Policy Report**

- i. “Integrating Fares, Information, and Informal Transit” by Gurkirat Singh Juneja and Partha Mukhopadhyay in *New Approaches for Integrated Multimodal Transport Systems*, GP-ORF series, Observer Research Foundation, 28 December 2024.

### **16. Sidharth Santhosh, Senior Research Associate**

#### **I. Policy Reports**

- i. “Innovative Approaches to Convergence in Karnataka’s Grama Panchayats: Insights from 5 Case Studies” by Sidharth Santhosh, Avani Kapur, Mallika Arora, Ritwik Shukla, Tanya Rana, Bhavya J, Dongrisab Nadaf, Kripa Krishna, Monisha S, Sachin E S, Shailaja S, Vijaya Kumari R Gowda, Centre for Policy Research, 2025.
- ii. “Strengthening Local Governance: A Study of Competencies of Grama Panchayat Functionaries in Karnataka” by Sidharth Santhosh, Avani Kapur, Mallika Arora, Bhavya J, Dongrisab Nadaf, Kripa Krishna, Monisha S, Pritika Malhotra, Sachin E S, Shailaja S, Vijaya Kumari R Gowda, Centre for Policy Research, 2025.

### **17. Subia Ahmad, Senior Research Associate**

#### **I. Journal Article**

- i. “Restoring India’s Rivers: European Experiences and Challenges” by Subia Ahmad and Debarshee Dasgupta, *The India Forum*, 16 December 2024

## **II. Policy Brief**

- i. “Collective Responsibility and the Persistence of International Humanitarian Law Violations” by Subia Ahmad in *GenSouth: New Voices from the Global South for the Multilateral System of the Future*, foraus, February 2025.

### **18. Tanya Rana, Research Associate**

#### **I. Policy Report**

- i. “Innovative Approaches to Convergence in Karnataka’s Grama Panchayats: Insights from 5 Case Studies” by Tanya Rana, Avani Kapur, Mallika Arora, Ritwik Shukla, Sidharth Santhosh, Bhavya J, Dongrisab Nadaf, Kripa Krishna, Monisha S, Sachin E S, Shailaja S, Vijaya Kumari R Gowda, Centre for Policy Research, 2025.

### **19. Mallika Arora, Research Associate**

#### **I. Policy Reports**

- i. “Innovative Approaches to Convergence in Karnataka’s Grama Panchayats: Insights from 5 Case Studies” by Mallika Arora, Avani Kapur, Ritwik Shukla, Sidharth Santhosh, Tanya Rana, Bhavya J, Dongrisab Nadaf, Kripa Krishna, Monisha S, Sachin E S, Shailaja S, Vijaya Kumari R Gowda, Centre for Policy Research, March 2025.
- ii. “Strengthening Local Governance: A Study of Competencies of Grama Panchayat Functionaries in Karnataka” by Mallika Arora, Avani Kapur, Sidharth Santhosh, Bhavya J, Dongrisab Nadaf, Kripa Krishna, Monisha S, Pritika Malhotra, Sachin E S, Shailaja S, Vijaya Kumari R Gowda, Centre for Policy Research, March 2025.

## **Library, Information and Dissemination Services**

The CPR library has a collection of a total of 10,974 books after weeding out a few old books. The collection mainly comprises books on policy sciences, economic policy, urbanisation, political science, futurology, social indicators, foreign policy, defence, and other areas relevant to the research programmes of the Centre. The library is using the software “Net Lib” for maintaining and distributing books to its members, faculty and researchers.

The library continued to be a member of the Developing Library Network (DELNET), New Delhi (till 30th April 2026).

For other materials and publications, the CPR library relies on the services of 20 libraries of various academic and other research institutions in Delhi, which have been generous enough to lend their books and journals for the Centre’s use on the principle of reciprocity.

## The Computer Unit's Activities

During the year under report, following activities were undertaken by the Computer Centre.

1. Mailing services and other apps hosted on Google workspace were configured and maintained as per the Centre's requirements.
2. Users were created in Zone Director for providing secured wireless internet access to the users as per their requirement.
3. Hardware & software procured:
  - i. Hardware:
    - a. 01 DJ Mini 4 Pro Drone
    - b. 01 GoPro 4k Mini Action Camera
    - c. 01 GoPro Hero 13 Black Camera
  - ii. Software:
    - a. Licenses of MS Office 365 (05 no.) purchased and installed.
    - b. Tally on cloud and G-mass subscriptions were purchased/renewed and access provided to the users.
    - c. HCM Empower 25 User Licenses (Sales Force) were renewed.
4. Administrative services for development and maintenance of Websites for following projects were provided.
  - i. cprindia.org (CPR)
  - ii. Accountability Initiative
  - iii. Accountability Initiative's Hum Aur Hamari Sarkar
  - iv. Pulse for development ([pulse4development.com](http://pulse4development.com))
5. Zoom Services for Video conferencing were purchased/renewed, and upgraded as and when they are released.
6. Maintenance and configuration of the Centre's local area and Wi-Fi Network, hardware and software were carried out as per requirement. IT support services were provided to all users of the Centre by attending to their hardware & software issues. Support services related to seminars/conferences/virtual meetings were also provided.

## Grants

The CPR gross corpus fund now stands at 1013.82 lakh as on 31<sup>st</sup> March 2025. CPR's gross receipts (including project-specific receipts) during the year were Rs. 98.84 lakh. The ICSSR recurring grant is 0% of CPR's gross receipts during the year.

A number of agencies and government departments, as named below, continued their support to the Centre during the year.

### List of Major Grantors

1. Ministry of Water Resources, Delhi
2. Government of Meghalaya
3. Government of Andhra Pradesh
4. Rohini Nilekani Foundation
5. Government of Rajasthan
6. Government of Karnataka
7. Piramal Swasthya Management and Research Institute
8. The family office of Rajendra and Arti Gogri
9. World Bank
10. National Institute of Urban Affairs

CPR received a corpus of Rs. 50 lakh from the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, in the year 1994–95, and interest of Rs. 3.10 lakh was earned during the year 2024–25 on the investment of the said corpus, of which a sum of Rs. 3.06 lakh has been utilized during the year towards the maintenance and development of the Centre leaving a balance of Rs. 0.11 lakh at the end of the year (including previous balances).

Rs. 61.84 Lakhs were received from the Ministry of Jal Shakti, Government of India, during the FY 2024-25.

## Tax Exemptions for Donations to CPR

CPR has been approved u/s 35(1)(iii) of the Income Tax Act, 1961 w.e.f. April 1, 2005, which entitles the Donor under the present Income Tax Laws a weighted deduction @125% of the amount of donation and provisional approval was obtained which is valid from FY 2021-22 till FY 2023-24. CPR has also been approved u/s 80G (5)(vi) of the Income Tax Act, 1961 for the period from April 1, 2011 onwards which entitles the donor 50% tax deduction of the net qualifying amount and CPR further obtained provisional registration under clause (i) of first proviso to sub-section (5) of section 80G valid from FY 2021-22 till FY 2025-26.

# **CPR Faculty and Staff**

## **(As of 31<sup>st</sup> March 2025)**

### **President and Chief Executive**

1. Srinivas Chokkakula

### **Professors**

1. Nimmi Kurian

### **Honorary Senior Fellows**

1. Shyam Saran
2. Pratap Bhanu Mehta

### **Senior Fellows**

1. D Shyam Babu
2. G Asok Kumar
3. Namita Wahi
4. Partha Mukhopadhyay
5. Saugata Bhattacharya
6. Shubhagato Dasgupta

### **Senior Visiting Fellows (In residence)**

1. Marie-Helene Zerach
2. Pushpa Pathak

### **Fellows**

1. Champaka Rajagopal
2. Rahul Verma

### **Visiting Fellows**

1. Shamindra Nath Roy

### **Senior Research Associates**

1. Debarshee Dasgupta
2. Evy Mehzabeen
3. Gurkirat Singh Juneja
4. Subia Ahmad
5. Soumya Jha

### **Research Associates**

1. Archit Shukla (Consultant)
2. Anshu Yadav
3. Sarang Barbarwar
4. Shubham Kashyap

### **Administration, Accounts, IT, Communications and Other Services**

1. Lt. Col. Divakaran, Chief, Administrative Services
2. Rohan, Office Runner

3. Arvind Yadav, Office Assistant
4. Gulshan Kumar, Office Assistant
5. Ramesh Kumar, Accounts Assistant
6. Pankaj Kumar Mishra, IT Executive
7. Vinod Kumar, Librarian
8. Arnaaz Zaman, Communications Associate (Consultant)

# POSH Compliance Statement

At CPR, we are committed to fostering a safe, respectful, and inclusive work environment. In alignment with the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition, and Redressal) Act, 2013 (POSH Act), we have implemented comprehensive measures to prevent and address sexual harassment within our organisation.

1. We have established a robust POSH policy that clearly outlines our zero-tolerance stance towards sexual harassment. This policy is accessible to all employees and stakeholders.
2. Internal Complaints Committee (ICC): Our Internal Complaints Committee, constituted as per the POSH Act, is responsible for addressing complaints of sexual harassment. The committee comprises trained members who ensure fair and confidential handling of all cases.
3. Awareness and Training: Regular awareness sessions and training programs are conducted for all employees, including ICC members, to educate them about their rights and responsibilities under the POSH Act. These sessions aim to create a culture of respect and awareness.
4. Support and Redressal Mechanisms: We provide multiple channels for employees to report incidents of sexual harassment, ensuring prompt and effective redressal. Our support mechanisms are designed to protect the confidentiality and dignity of the complainant.

We remain dedicated to upholding the principles of the POSH Act and continuously strive to enhance our policies and practices to ensure a safe and equitable workplace for all.



# V. SANKAR AIYAR & CO.

CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

Sarojini House, 6 Bhagwan Das Road, New Delhi-110001

Tel. (011)44744643; e-mail: [newdelhi@vsa.co.in](mailto:newdelhi@vsa.co.in)

## Independent Auditors' Report

### TO THE MEMBERS OF CENTRE FOR POLICY RESEARCH

#### 1. Opinion

We have audited the financial statements of **CENTRE FOR POLICY RESEARCH** ("Society"), which comprise the Balance Sheet as at 31st March 2025 and the statement of Income and Expenditure Account for the period from 1st April, 2024 to 31st March, 2025, and notes to the financial statements, including a summary of significant accounting policies and other explanatory information.

In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us, the financial statements, read with other notes given thereto, give a true and fair view in conformity with the accounting principles generally accepted in India:

- i) in the case of the Balance Sheet, of the state of affairs of the Society as at 31st March 2025; and
- ii) in the case of the Income and Expenditure Account, of the surplus for the period from 1st April, 2024 to 31st March, 2025

#### 2. Basis for Opinion

We conducted our audit in accordance with the Standards on Auditing (SAs) issued by ICAI. Our responsibilities under those standards are further described in the Auditor's Responsibilities for the Audit of the Financial Statements section of our report. We are independent of the Society in accordance with the Code of Ethics issued by Institute of Chartered Accountants of India (ICAI) together with the ethical requirements that are relevant to our audit of financial statements under the Act, and we have fulfilled our other ethical responsibilities in accordance with these requirements and the Code of Ethic. We believe that the audit evidence we have obtained is sufficient and appropriate to provide a basis for our opinion.

#### 3. Emphasis of Matter

We draw attention to the ongoing legal matters relating to cancellation of the Society's registrations under Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act, 2010 and Rules made thereunder and cancellation of Society's Registration under section 12A of the Income Tax Act, 1961, which are being contested by the Society in the Courts and that the Society is hopeful of positive verdict and hence the accounts have been prepared, as in the previous years, considering the benefit of exemption under section 11 of the Income Tax Act, 1961 and also as a going concern basis. (Refer Note No. 7 of Schedule 11 of the Financial Statements)

Our opinion is not modified in respect of the above matters.

#### 4. Responsibilities of management for the financial statements

Management is responsible for the preparation of these financial statements that give a true and fair view of the financial position and financial performance of the Society in accordance with the accounting principles generally accepted in India, including the accounting standards issued by ICAI, to the extent relevant and practical. This responsibility also includes maintenance of adequate accounting records for safeguarding of the assets of the Society and for preventing and detecting frauds and other irregularities; selection and application of appropriate implementation and maintenance of accounting policies; making judgments and estimates that are reasonable and prudent; and design, implementation and maintenance of adequate internal financial controls, that were operating effectively for ensuring the accuracy and completeness of the accounting records, relevant to the preparation and presentation of the financial statement that give a true and fair view and are free from material misstatement, whether due to fraud or error.

In preparing the financial statements, management is responsible for assessing the Society's ability to continue as a going concern, disclosing, as applicable, matters related to going concern and using the going concern basis of accounting unless management either intends to liquidate the Society or to cease operations, or has no realistic alternative but to do so.

Management is responsible for overseeing the Society's financial reporting process.



## 5. Auditors' responsibility for the audit of the financial statements

Our objectives are to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements as a whole are free from material misstatement, whether due to fraud or error, and to issue an auditor's report that includes our opinion. Reasonable assurance is a high level of assurance, but is not a guarantee that an audit conducted in accordance with SAs will always detect a material misstatement when it exists. Misstatement can arise from fraud or error and are considered material if, individually or in the aggregate, they could reasonably be expected to influence the economic decisions of users taken on the basis of these financial statements.

As part of an audit in accordance with SAs, we exercise professional judgment and maintain professional scepticism throughout the audit. We also:

- Identify and assess the risks of material misstatement of the financial statements, whether due to fraud or error, design and perform audit procedures responsive to those risks, and obtain audit evidence that is sufficient and appropriate to provide a basis for our opinion. The risk of not detecting a material misstatement resulting from fraud is higher than for one resulting from error, as fraud may involve collusion, forgery, intentional omissions, misrepresentations, or the override of internal control.
- Obtain an understanding of internal control relevant to the audit in order to design audit procedures that are appropriate in the circumstances, but not for the purpose of expressing an opinion on the effectiveness of the Society's internal control.
- Evaluate the appropriateness of accounting policies used and the reasonableness of accounting estimates and related disclosures made by management.
- Conclude on the appropriateness of management's use of the going concern basis of accounting and, based on the audit evidence obtained, whether a material uncertainty exists related to events or conditions that may cast significant doubt on the Society's ability to continue as a going concern. If we conclude that a material uncertainty exists, we are required to draw attention in our auditor's report to the related disclosures in the financial statements or, if such disclosures are inadequate, to modify our opinion. Our conclusions are based on the audit evidence obtained up to the date of our auditor's report. However, future events or conditions may cause the Society to cease to continue as a going concern.
- Evaluate the overall presentation, structure and content of the financial statements, including the disclosures, and whether the financial statements represent the underlying transactions and events in a manner that achieves fair presentation.

We communicate with those charged with governance regarding, among other matters, the planned scope and timing of the audit and significant audit findings, including any significant deficiencies in internal control that we identify during our audit.

We also provide those charged with governance with a statement that we have complied with relevant ethical requirements regarding independence, and to communicate with them all relationships and other matters that may reasonably be thought to bear on our independence, and where applicable, related safeguards.

## 6. Other matters

We report that:

- a) We have sought and obtained all the information and explanations, which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purpose of our audit;
- b) In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Society so far as appears from our examination of those books; and
- c) The Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account dealt with by this report are in agreement with the books of accounts;

Place: Kolkata  
Dated: 26-04-2025



For V. Sankar Aiyar & Co.  
Chartered Accountants  
(Firm Regn. No.: 109208W)

  
Puneet Kumar Khandelwal  
Partner (M. No: 429967)

UDIN: 25429967 **BMJUX65030**

**CENTRE FOR POLICY RESEARCH**  
**BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st MARCH, 2025**

Amount in ₹

FUNDS AND LIABILITIES	Sch	As at 31st March, 2025	As at 31st March, 2024
CORPUS FUND (SPECIFIC)	1	37,959,000	37,959,000
CORPUS FUND (GENERAL)	1	63,423,405	63,423,405
CAPITAL FUND (ASSETS)	2	12,239,133	14,547,977
CAPITAL RESERVE	3	11,130	11,130
RESERVE FOR CONTINGENCIES	4	6,257,401	6,257,401
UNSPENT BALANCES IN SPECIFIED PURPOSES/ PROJECTS	5	244,824,397	248,691,160
PROVISIONS	6	8,000,000	8,000,000
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT		3,906,471	198,445
LIABILITY (ADVANCE INCOME) AGAINST BILL & MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION- STRENGTHENING THE CAPABILITY OF THE STATE IN INDIA- CAPACITY SUPPORT FUND	11.11	81,270,000	81,270,000
CURRENT LIABILITIES	10	1,178,972	3,578,779
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>459,069,909</b>	<b>463,937,297</b>
<b>PROPERTY &amp; ASSETS</b>			
FIXED ASSETS	7		
Gross Block		60,404,108	60,404,108
Less: Accumulated Depreciation		<u>48,164,975</u>	<u>45,856,131</u>
		12,239,133	14,547,977
INVESTMENTS (Including Corpus Fund Investments)	8	317,767,640	352,260,674
CURRENT ASSETS, LOANS AND ADVANCES:	9		
Cash and Bank Balances	9(a)	81,922,927	53,267,417
Advances recoverable/ adjustable	9(b)	<u>47,140,209</u>	<u>43,861,229</u>
		129,063,136	97,128,646
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>459,069,909</b>	<b>463,937,297</b>
Accounting policies and notes on accounts	11		

AS PER OUR REPORT OF EVEN DATE.

**FOR V. SANKAR AIYAR & CO.**  
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS  
(Firm's Registration No. 109208W)

  
**(PUNEET KUMAR KHANDELWAL)**  
PARTNER (M.No. 429967)

PLACE: KOLKATA  
DATED: 26-04-2025



For and on behalf of  
**CENTRE FOR POLICY RESEARCH**

**(SRINIVAS CHOKKAKULA)**  
RESIDENT

  
President  
Centre for Policy Research  
Naraina Marg, Chanakyaapur  
New Delhi, India - 110028

**CENTRE FOR POLICY RESEARCH**  
**INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH, 2025**

Amount in ₹

INCOME	2024-25	2023-24
Donation Received	5,000,000	5,500,000
Interest on Investments:		
- Endowment and Corpus Interest	3,729,885	4,422,355
- Interest on Income Tax Refunds	168,542	187,804
- Leave Encashment and Gratuity Policy with LIC (Refer Schedule - 11.5)	560,565	-
- Other Investments	3,076,504	7,737,437
Transfer from Domestic Grants towards Overhead	1,603,381	4,520,505
Balances written back (Net)	14,899	459,321
GST credit For earlier years claimed in books	1,125,395	-
Miscellaneous Income	171,295	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>15,450,466</b>	<b>18,217,263</b>
EXPENDITURE	2024-25	2023-24
Salaries, Wages & Benefits to staff		
Salaries and wages	1,449,194	24,744,587
Contribution to Provident Fund	-	1,311,313
Contribution to Gratuity Fund (LIC) (Refer Schedule - 11.5)	-	(5,031,566)
Medical Insurance	-	57,493
Other Staff Benefits	-	474,104
Security and Allied Services	1,338,303	2,646,188
Travel and conveyance	113,518	130,332
Rates and taxes	23,299	66,850
Printing, stationery, office supplies	78,820	198,054
Communication expenses	597,143	897,390
Electricity and water	363,456	712,933
Office maintenance and repairs	1,281,632	700,298
Hospitality and Staff Welfare	61,859	564,841
Insurance	60,930	785,788
Audit and other fee to Auditors	826,000	924,476
Miscellaneous expenses	12,538	38,756
Membership and Subscriptions	116,820	206,612
Bank Charges	7,009	3,194
Sundry Debit Balances Written Off (Net)	-	538,083
Conference and Programmes	72,928	73,679
Vehicle maintenance	11,580	75,465
IT Support	607,723	1,421,294
Legal and professional	4,719,688	14,562,496
Depreciation	2,308,844	2,973,095
Less: Met from Capital Fund	2,308,844	2,973,095
<b>Total C.O.</b>	<b>11,742,440</b>	<b>46,102,660</b>



  
 President  
 Centre for Policy Research  
 Charms Marg, Chanakya Park  
 New Delhi, India

EXPENDITURE	Amount in ₹	
	2024-25	2023-24
	11,742,440	46,102,660
Provisions/ Appropriations:		
Transfer to Capital Fund - Amount for addition to assets		
	11,742,440	46,102,660
Surplus for the year after appropriations	3,708,026	(27,885,397)
Surplus brought forward	198,445	28,083,842
<b>Accumulated surplus carried to Balance sheet</b>	<b>3,906,471</b>	<b>198,445</b>

AS PER OUR REPORT OF EVEN DATE:

**FOR V. SANKAR AIYAR & CO.**  
 CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS  
 (Firm's Registration No. 109208W)



**(PUNEET KUMAR KHANDELWAL)**  
 PARTNER (M.No. 429967)

PLACE: KOLKATA  
 DATED: 26-04-2025

For and on behalf of  
**CENTRE FOR POLICY RESEARCH**

  
**(SRINIVAS CHOKKAKULA)**  
 PRESIDENT

**President**  
**Centre for Policy Research**  
 Barma Marg, Chanakyaipur  
 Delhi 110 027



**CENTRE FOR POLICY RESEARCH**  
**SCHEDULES TO STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH, 2025**

Amount in ₹

PARTICULARS	As at 31st March, 2025	As at 31st March, 2024
<b>CORPUS FUNDS</b>		<b>Schedule - 1</b>
<b><u>CORPUS FUNDS (SPECIFIC)</u></b>		
As per last Balance Sheet		
- The Ford Foundation- Foreign Currency Corpus	3,058,000	3,058,000
- The Ford Foundation Perpetuity Chair -PP RAG Unit	13,001,250	13,001,250
- The Ford Foundation Track-2 Dialogue	8,449,750	8,449,750
- GOI, Minister of External Affairs Track-2 Dialogue	950,000	950,000
- National Commission on Population - PPRAG	12,500,000	12,500,000
	<b>37,959,000</b>	<b>37,959,000</b>
<b><u>CORPUS FUNDS (GENERAL)</u></b>		
As per last Balance Sheet	63,423,405	63,423,405
<b>Total</b>	<b>101,382,405</b>	<b>101,382,405</b>
<b>CAPITAL FUND (ASSETS)</b>		<b>Schedule - 2</b>
As per last Balance Sheet	14,547,977	17,521,072
Add: Transfer from Income and Expenditure	-	-
Less: Depreciation met from Capital Fund	2,308,844	2,973,095
<b>Total</b>	<b>12,239,133</b>	<b>14,547,977</b>
<b>CAPITAL RESERVE</b>		<b>Schedule - 3</b>
As per last Balance Sheet	11,130	11,130
<b>Total</b>	<b>11,130</b>	<b>11,130</b>
<b>RESERVE FOR CONTINGENCIES</b>		<b>Schedule - 4</b>
As per last Balance Sheet	6,257,401	6,257,401
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,257,401</b>	<b>6,257,401</b>
<b>PROVISIONS</b>		<b>Schedule - 6</b>
<u>Provision for 7th CPC Arrears</u>		
As per last Balance Sheet	8,000,000	8,000,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,000,000</b>	<b>8,000,000</b>



  
 President  
 Centre for Policy Research  
 1st Floor, Mang. Chakravarty  
 110 002, New Delhi

CENTRE FOR POLICY RESEARCH  
BALANCE OF CONTRIBUTION FOR SPECIFIED PURPOSES/PROJECTS AS ON 31st March, 2025

S.No.	NAME OF SPONSOR AND PROJECT	Opening Balance (1st April, 2024)		Inter-Project Transfer	Receipts during the year	Interest/Dividend	Transfer to Income and Exp A/c	Disbursements during the year	Closing Balance (31st March, 2025)	
		DR.	CR.						DR.	CR.
	<b>FOREIGN CONTRIBUTION GRANTS</b>									
1	ACCESS HEALTH INTERNATIONAL	-	243,816	-	-	-	-	-	-	243,816
2	BILL MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION- SCI -FI	-	2,999,486	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,999,486
3	BILL MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION- SCI FI-II	328,150	-	-	-	-	-	-	328,150	-
4	BILL MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION- SCI FI-III	-	29,639,870	-	-	-	-	-	-	33,622,593
5	BILL MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION- SOCIAL PROTECTION	-	50,733	-	-	3,982,723	-	-	-	50,733
6	BILL MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION- STRENGTHENING THE CAPABILITY OF THE STATE IN INDIA- CAPACITY SUPPORT FUND (refer para 11.12)	-	9,070,782	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,289,628
7	BILL MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION- STRENGTHENING THE CAPABILITY OF THE STATE IN INDIA	-	40,968,864	-	-	1,218,846	-	-	-	46,473,869
8	BILL MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION- TRACKING NUTRITION EXPENDITURE	-	17,497	-	-	5,505,005	-	-	-	17,497
9	BROWN UNIVERSITY- DIGITAL URBAN OBSERVATORY	15,782	-	-	-	-	-	-	15,782	-
10	HANNS SEIDEL STIFTUNG	1,136,509	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,136,509	-
11	INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES	-	582,478	-	-	-	-	-	-	582,478
12	CHILDREN INVESTMENT FUND FOUNDATION- UK -PPT - CIEE	403	-	-	-	-	-	-	403	-
13	OMI-PURLANDS	-	57,361	-	-	-	-	-	-	57,361
14	CENTER DE SCIENCES HUMAINES - SUBURBIN ON SUBALTERN URBANIZATION IN INDIA	-	18,758	-	-	-	-	-	-	18,758
15	RISE- DFID	-	3,715,757	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,715,757
16	DUKE UNIVERSITY	-	587,265	-	-	-	-	-	-	587,265
17	FOREIGN COMMONWEALTH & DEVELOPMENT OFFICE (DFID) SCI FI GRANT	-	517,491	-	-	-	-	-	-	517,491
18	FOREIGN COMMONWEALTH & DEVELOPMENT OFFICE(DFID) STATE CAPACITY	4,175,755	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,175,755	-
19	FOREIGN COMMONWEALTH & DEVELOPMENT OFFICE (DFID) URBAN	569,522	-	-	-	-	-	-	569,522	-
20	THE FORD FOUNDATION- FOREIGN CURRENCY CORPUS INCOME (FCCI)	-	4,282,148	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,282,148
21	FORD FOUNDATION - PERPETUITY CHAIR-SAARC	-	2,684,044	-	-	360,656	-	-	-	3,044,700
22	FORD FOUNDATION STATE CAPACITY	-	1,913,377	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,913,377
23	THE FORD FOUNDATION CORPUS INCOME FOR TRACK II DIALOGUES	-	6,928,771	-	-	991,022	-	-	-	7,859,793
24	GIZ SMART CITY	4,788,863	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,788,863	-
25	GROUP FOR THE ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT	-	146,867	-	-	-	-	-	-	146,867
26	GROUP FOR THE ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT- SV	-	417	-	-	-	-	-	-	417
27	GROUP FOR THE ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT- URBAN	-	1,430,137	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,430,137
28	INNOVATION FOR POVERTY ACTION- GLOBAL HEALTH PROGRAM TO ACCESS THE AVAILABILITY AND DELIVERY HEALTH SERVICES IN INDIA AND INDONESIA	-	3,724,018	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,724,018
29	INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FRANCE (IRD)- INDIAN RURAL BOUNDARIES AND BASIC SERVICES ETC	-	177,970	-	-	-	-	-	-	172,970
30	INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FRANCE (IRD)	-	335,889	-	-	-	-	-	-	335,889
31	JUST JOBS NETWORK INC.	1,828	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,828	-
32	URNESIA- SRI LANKA	1,444,044	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,444,044	-
33	JOHN D AND CATHERINE T. MAC ARTHUR FOUNDATION- EXISTING INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK & DELIVERY MECHANISM THAT GUIDE ROBUST IMPLEMENTATION OF CLIMATE POLICIES IN INDIA	-	2,806,488	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,806,488
34	NAMATI- ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE	-	248,347	-	-	-	-	-	-	248,347
35	OAK FOUNDATION- UNRESTRICTED SUPPORT -CLIMATE INITIATIVE - II	3,027,665	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,027,665	-
36	OMIDYAR NETWORK FUND- LAND RIGHTS	-	606	-	-	-	-	-	-	606
37	OMIDYAR OPR DEVELOPMENT	345,112	-	-	-	-	-	-	345,112	-
38	OMIDYAR NETWORK FUND- GENERAL SUPPORT	44,397	-	-	-	-	-	-	44,397	-
39	OMIDYAR NETWORK FUND -WORKSHOP	-	1,630,863	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,630,863
40	OMIDYAR NETWORK SCI FI	542,064	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	542,064
41	SEPH'S-NETHERLANDS	-	794,232	-	-	-	-	-	-	794,232
42	STITCHING SED FUND	-	110,446	-	-	-	-	-	-	110,446
43	STITCHING SED FUND PHASE II	730,992	-	-	-	-	-	-	730,992	-



  
**Jyoti Prakash**  
 Centre for Policy Research  
 Gurgaon, Haryana, Chandigarh  
 New Delhi-110 021

S.No.	NAME OF SPONSOR AND PROJECT	Opening Balance (1st April, 2024)		Inter-Project Transfer	Receipts during the year	Interest/Dividend	Transfer to Income and Exp A/c	Disbursements during the year	Closing Balance (31st March, 2025)	
		DR.	CR.						DR.	CR.
44	UBS OPTIMUS FOUNDATION UK	-	1,129,771	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,129,771
45	UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA	-	2,056,615	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,056,615
46	UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE	-	23,433	-	-	-	-	-	-	23,433
47	U'S DEPARTMENT OF STATE FEDERAL ASSISTANCE AWARD (AMERICAN EMBASSY, NEW DELHI.)	-	4,374,532	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,374,532
48	WALTER LINKS	-	1,066,640	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,066,640
49	WILLIAM & FLORA HEWLETT FOUNDATION-CIEE INITIATIVE- NEW INFRASTRUCTURE GRANT	-	3,472	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,472
50	STANFORD UNIVERSITY LAND RIGHTS	-	415,681	-	-	-	-	-	-	415,681
51	WORLD RESOURCES INSTITUTE	-	66,481	-	-	-	-	-	-	66,481
52	URBAN STUDIES FOUNDATION-WUI	-	4,004,825	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,004,825
53	AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION -AI	-	2,940,292	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,940,292
54	CPR GENERAL PURPOSE FUND	-	898,678	-	-	-	-	-	-	898,678
55	GEN PURPOSE FUND - SURPLUS ON REDEMPTION OF CORPUS INVESTMENT	-	6,365,482	-	-	1,312,150	-	-	-	7,677,632
56		-	11,596,065	-	-	1,558,170	-	-	-	13,154,235
	<b>SUB TOTAL</b>	<b>17,151,086</b>	<b>150,621,745</b>	-	-	<b>14,868,571</b>	-	-	<b>17,151,086</b>	<b>165,490,316</b>
<b>DOMESTIC GRANTS</b>										
1	ACCEL LAND RIGHTS (H)	-	1,021,550	-	2,000,000	-	332,992	2,212,451	-	476,107
2	Andhra Pradesh Centre for Financial Systems & Services	1,151,096	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,151,096	-
3	FOREIGN COMMONWEALTH & DEVELOPMENT OFFICE (FCDO) - SCI FI	-	3,022,456	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,022,456
4	GOVT OF ANDHRA PRADESH (G)	-	633,761	-	-	-	-	608,400	-	25,361
5	GOVT OF RAJASTHAN (H)	-	598,206	-	-	-	-	-	-	598,206
6	HUM AUR HAWARI SARKAR	-	33,028	-	-	-	-	39,174	6,146	-
7	ICSSR-DOMINANT CASTE DEMAND	-	62,938	-	-	-	-	-	-	62,938
8	ICSSR-SECULARISM & SOCIAL CAPITAL AMONG THE MARGINALISED	-	17,989	-	-	-	-	-	-	17,989
9	ICSSR- AGRICULTURAL BIOTECHNOLOGY	-	552,182	-	-	-	-	-	-	552,182
10	ICSSR- UNDERSTANDING METROPOLITAN HOMELESSNESS A CASE STUDY OF DELHI	1,859,556	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,859,556	-
11	ICSSR- LAND RIGHTS DEVELOPMENT AND THE CONSTITUTION:MAPPING LAND LEGISLATION IN INDIA	426,047	-	-	-	-	-	-	426,047	-
12	ICSSR ORIENTATION PROGRAMME- FOR RESEARCH SCHOLARS AND FACULTY MEMBERS BELONGS TO SC ST AND OTHER MARGINALISED GROUPS UNDER SC COMPONENT	-	1,951,906	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,951,906
13	MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS- BCM 10TH DIALOGUE 18-19 FEB 12 AND BCM 11TH DIALOGUE 23-24 FEB 2013	-	112,699	-	-	-	-	-	-	112,699
14	MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA-CORPUS INCOME FOR TRACK II DIALOGUES	-	425,038	-	-	-	-	-	-	425,038
15	MEGHALAYA GOVT (G)	602,033	-	-	-	-	-	-	602,033	-
16	MINISTRY OF FINANCE-GOVERNMENT OF INDIA-CORPUS INCOME	-	6,995	-	-	310,027	305,000	826	-	11,196
17	MINISTRY OF WATER RESOURCES	515,185	-	-	-	-	-	-	515,185	-
18	NATIONAL COMMISSION ON POPULATION (NCP) - CORPUS INCOME	-	28,668,122	-	-	-	-	-	-	28,668,122
19	NEXTRA DATA LTD	-	2,582,725	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,582,725
20	NIUA CITIIS (C)	1,071,453	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,071,453
21	PR NIUA-SPV-PHASE II ©	-	-	598,953	472,500	-	-	-	-	1,071,453
22	NMCG IONG (H)	-	5,629,182	-598,953	3,250,000	-	-	332,500	-	2,318,547
23	OXFAM INDIA FSNR	-	833,900	-	6,184,463	-	573,652	11,168,838	-	17,169,293
24	ROHINI NILEKANI (G)	-	41,949,214	-	-	-	-	-	-	41,949,214
25	UNDERSTANDING STATE CAPABILITIES	-	1,545,091	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,545,091
26	UNESCO	-	1,372,302	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,372,302
27	WB CFR DIALOGUE 2022 (C)	-	420,238	-	-	-	-	-	-	420,238
28	NATIONAL KNOWLEDGE COMMISSION (Refer Note (a) below)	-	2,044,636	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,044,636
29	PR GORU - State Capacity( C )	2,877,959	-	-	-	23,498	-	826	-	2,901,283
30	PR CGPS GOKT (C)	-	3,183,321	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,183,321
31	PR CGPS GOKT ©	-	184,664	-	1,512,000	-	-	5,503,362	6,869,321	-
32	PUSHPA PATHAK- GROWTH DYNAMICS AND REGIONAL TRANSFORMATION POTENTIAL OF SMALL TOWN	-	119,297	-	1,821,050	-	231,976	1,593,893	-	3,555,117
33		-	997,975	-	1,809,133	-	249,761	1,712,339	33,670	-
	<b>SUB TOTAL</b>	<b>8,503,329</b>	<b>98,069,415</b>	-	<b>18,749,146</b>	<b>3,971,163</b>	<b>1,908,381</b>	<b>42,506,987</b>	<b>11,463,054</b>	<b>79,334,081</b>
	<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>25,654,415</b>	<b>248,691,160</b>	-	<b>18,749,146</b>	<b>18,839,734</b>	<b>1,908,381</b>	<b>42,506,987</b>	<b>28,614,140</b>	<b>244,824,397</b>

Note: (a) The Balance of National Knowledge Commission represented by:

Particulars	As on 31st March, 2025	As on 31st March, 2024
Fixed Deposit with Canara Bank (FD No. 140162247099)	2,000,000	-
Canara Bank - Savings A/C No. 110088128333 (NKC)	42,961	2,020,289
TDS Recoverable	24,347	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,067,308</b>	<b>2,044,636</b>



Centre for Policy Research  
 Manoj Kumar Chaudhary  
 Manoj Kumar Chaudhary

**CENTRE FOR POLICY RESEARCH**  
**SCHEDULE OF FIXED ASSETS AS ON 31st MARCH, 2025**

PARTICULARS	RATE OF DEP	COST				DEPRECIATION				WRITTEN DOWN VALUE	
		As on 1st April, 2024	Additions	Deletions	As on 31st March, 2025	As on 1st April, 2024	Additions	Deletions	As on 31st March, 2025	As on 31st March, 2025	As on 31st March, 2024
LEASEHOLD LAND		85,221	-	-	85,221	-	-	-	-	85,221	85,221
BUILDING	5%	9,643,471	-	-	9,643,471	104,166	-	-	7,664,333	1,979,138	2,083,304
FURNITURE & FIXTURES	15%	8,327,241	-	-	8,327,241	393,825	-	-	6,095,565	2,231,676	2,625,501
OFFICE EQUIPMENTS	15%	13,738,154	-	-	13,738,154	784,840	-	-	9,290,723	4,447,431	5,232,271
ELECTRIC INSTALLATIONS	15%	2,191,529	-	-	2,191,529	237,073	-	-	848,116	1,343,413	1,580,486
VEHICLES	20%	764,469	-	-	764,469	13,210	-	-	711,629	52,840	66,050
AIR COOLING SYSTEM	15%	2,378,086	-	-	2,378,086	158,276	-	-	1,481,192	896,894	1,055,170
OFFICE MACHINERY	40%	19,413,844	-	-	19,413,844	545,319	-	-	18,595,865	817,979	1,363,298
LIFT	15%	1,805,413	-	-	1,805,413	55,530	-	-	1,490,747	314,666	370,196
FIRE FIGHTING EQUIPMENTS	15%	1,510,369	-	-	1,510,369	7,523	-	-	1,467,738	42,631	50,154
INTANGIBLE ASSETS	25%	546,311	-	-	546,311	9,082	-	-	519,067	27,244	36,326
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>60,404,108</b>	-	-	<b>60,404,108</b>	<b>2,308,844</b>	-	-	<b>48,164,975</b>	<b>12,239,133</b>	<b>14,547,977</b>
PREVIOUS YEAR		60,404,108	-	-	60,404,108	2,973,095	-	-	45,856,131	14,547,977	17,521,072



  
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**CENTRE FOR POLICY RESEARCH**  
**SCHEDULES TO STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH, 2025**

Amount in ₹

PARTICULARS	As at 31st March, 2025	As at 31st March, 2024
<b>INVESTMENTS (At cost)</b>		<b>Schedule - 8</b>
(Including Corpus Fund Investments)		
Fixed Deposits with Banks	242,885,640	232,763,228
Fixed Deposits with HDFC Ltd.	18,500,000	82,515,446
Fixed Deposits with LIC Housing Finance Ltd.	56,382,000	36,982,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>317,767,640</b>	<b>352,260,674</b>

Note: Consequent to the cancellation of FCRA Registration as referred in Schedule No. 11(7)(vi), investments and fixed deposits aggregating to ₹ 18,75,42,761/- (Previous Year : ₹ 20,85,56,516/-) created out of FCRA funds are under freeze by the Order of the FCRA authorities. Realisation/encashment of such Investments/ Fixed Deposits and respective interest credits are allowed into the FCRA utilisation bank account only.

**a) CASH AND BANK BALANCES**

**Schedule - 9**

In Bank Accounts with:		
SBI - Saving A/C NO-40074102929 - FC Designated Bank Account (See footnote below)	17,241,267	16,784,450
Canara Bank - C/A NO-0157201000348 - FC Utilisation Account (See footnote below)	54,064,840	19,942,413
Canara Bank - C/A NO-0157201004775	639,042	640,635
Canara Bank - Saving A/C NO-015710131459	9,923,621	13,571,981
Canara Bank - Saving A/C NO- 110086846187(MOF )	11,196	307,649
Canara Bank - Saving A/C No. 110088128333 (NKC)	42,961	2,020,289
Cash in hand - FC	-	-
Cash in hand - Non-FC	-	-
	81,922,927	53,267,417
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>81,922,927</b>	<b>53,267,417</b>

Note: Consequent to the cancellation of FCRA Registration as referred in Schedule No. 11(7)(vi), the FCRA bank accounts have been frozen by the Order of the FCRA authorities. Credits in the form of realisation/encashment of Investment/ Fixed Deposits created out of FCRA Funds and respective interest credits are allowed into the FCRA utilisation bank account only.

**b) ADVANCES RECOVERABLE/ ADJUSTABLE**

(Unsecured - considered good and recoverable)

Advances Recoverable in Cash or Kind	2,397,575	3,184,649
(Current period includes ₹ 16,32,960/- (Previous Year: ₹ 18,82,187/-), relating to GST Portion recoverable from the donor agencies)		
Recoverable from CPR Gratuity Trust (Refer Schedule - 11.5)	5,375,089	5,031,566
Recoverable from LIC against Leave encashment (Refer Schedule - 11.5)	3,045,848	2,828,805
Security Deposits	128,245	128,245
Tax Deducted at Source	7,579,312	7,033,549
Debit balances in Specified Grants/ Projects	28,614,140	25,654,415
(excess spent in anticipation of Grant) (Refer Schedule - 5)		
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>47,140,209</b>	<b>43,861,229</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>129,063,136</b>	<b>97,128,646</b>

**CURRENT LIABILITIES**

**Schedule - 10**

Outstanding Liabilities	570,002	2,969,809
Excess Grant Refundable to ICSSR	100,000	100,000
CPR Employees Welfare Fund		
- Employees Contribution	254,485	254,485
- CPR Contribution	254,485	254,485
Interunit Balance	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,178,972</b>	<b>3,578,779</b>



  
 President  
 Centre for Policy Research  
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# CENTRE FOR POLICY RESEARCH

## Significant Accounting Policies and Notes on Special Purpose Interim Accounts

Schedule - 11

Amount in ₹

### 1 BASIS OF ACCOUNTING

The financial statements of the Society have been prepared as at and for the year ended 31st March, 2025 under historical cost convention and on a going concern basis. For recognition of Income and Expenses, the Centre follows cash basis of accounting. However, in the case of specified projects the amount incurred by the project staff/ consultants is accounted through individual imprest account, as to exhibit correct utilisation of project funds.

The primary objects and activities of the Society are in the field of Research and education. The Society has not carried on any activity this year in the nature of commercial, industrial and business and consequently the Accounting Standards issued by the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India are not mandatory. However, the Standards are followed to the extent relevant and practical.

### 2 FIXED ASSETS

Fixed Assets are recorded at cost less depreciation. Fixed Assets purchased out of specific grants, an equal amount is transferred to capital fund. Fixed assets acquired out of non-projects fund (i.e., own funds), an equivalent amount is transferred from current year income and expenditure account. Depreciation though debited to Income and Expenditure Account, is met out of Capital Fund. Capital Fund shows the amount funds (own or projects) utilised for acquisition of assets, net of depreciation to date.

### 3 DEPRECIATION

Depreciation is charged on written down value method. In respect of additions, depreciation is charged for the full period. It is ignored on the deletion of assets.

### 4 INVESTMENTS: Investments are stated at cost.

### 5 EMPLOYEE BENEFITS

The Centre makes regular contributions to duly constituted funds in respect of Provident, Gratuity and Leave Encashment. The Centre has taken up policies under the Group Gratuity and Leave Encashment Schemes of LIC for meeting the liability. The Centre makes adhoc contributions to the funds and the same is accounted for, as and when paid. As on 31st March, 2025 no employee on the role of the Society.

The Society has paid the Gratuity amount to all the eligible employees and as on 31st March, 2024 excess balance of ₹ 50,31,566/- lying with the CPR Gratuity Trust and the same will be transferred to the Society account after the closure of the Gratuity Trust. Therefore, the same has been shown as recoverable as on 31st March, 2024. Further, Society has also paid the Leave Encashment balance to all the employees. The Society has paid ₹ 28,28,805/- from its own fund which are recoverable from the LIC. The same has been also shown as recoverable in the accounts.

The above stated amount is still pending as on 31st March 2025. During the current year, the Society received a total interest amount of ₹ 4,88,243/- (₹ 3,06,124/- on Gratuity Balance and ₹ 1,82,119/- on Leave Encashment) on the Balance amount accordingly shown as interest income in the current financials.

### 6 FOREIGN CURRENCY TRANSACTIONS

Foreign currency transactions are generally recorded at the exchange rate prevailing on the date of transaction.

### 7 Income Tax and FCRA:

(i) CPR is registered u/s 12 A (a) of the Income Tax Act, 1961 bearing registration No. DLI (C) (I – 682) dt. 15th April, 1976. The Registration has been renewed by the Commissioner of Income Tax for a period of five years, i.e. AY 2022-23 to AY 2026-27, vide Provisional Approval No. AAATC0180HE20214 dated 28th May 2021, under the Income Tax Act, 1961 and Rules made thereunder.

(ii) The Permanent Account No. (PAN) allotted under the Act is **AAATC0180H**.

(iii) CPR is regular in filing the income tax returns, the last one filed being for the Assessment year 2024–25 (relating to FY 2023–24).

(iv) CPR is approved u/s 80G of the Act covering the period A.Y. 2012-13 and onwards vide letter of the Office of Director of Income Tax (Exemption) dt. 15th September, 2011. The Registration has been renewed by the Commissioner of Income Tax for a period of five years, i.e. AY 2022-23 to AY 2026-27, vide Provisional Approval No. AAATC0180HF20214 dated 28th May 2021, under the Income Tax Act, 1961 and Rules made thereunder.

### (v) Income Tax Cases

#### Cancellation of 12A:

The Income Tax Department had conducted a survey operation (on 7th and 8th September, 2022) at the premises of the Society under section 133A of the Income Tax Act ("IT Act"), 1961. Subsequent to the Survey, the Department had also sent several notices seeking information from the Society on various matters. The Society had replied to all the notices adequately on time. Thereafter, on 22-12-2022 the Income Tax Department issued a Show Cause Notice ("SCN") for cancellation of the Registration under section 12A of the Income Tax Act, 1961. The Society responded to all the issues raised in the SCN issued by the department. However, the Department on 30-06-2023 issued an order cancelling the tax exemption status of the Society. The Society has filed a writ petition before the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi against the order of the Department for cancellation of 12A registration. The Hon'ble High Court has granted an interim stay vide its order dated 25-08-2023 for the period up to the next hearing date, during which Society would be required to furnish the details of contributions received and utilized, duly audited.

Last hearing was scheduled on 30th January, 2025 which is further extended to 29th April, 2025 in the category of "End of Board" matters with a direction that interim order granted earlier continue till the next date of hearing.



  
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## Other Cases

**For A.Y. 2015-16 (WP 13512/2024):** The Department has sent a notice (dated 25-06-2024) under section 148A(b) of the Income Tax Act, 1961. Also, 148A(d) and 148 notice (dated 24-07-2024) alleging income of ₹21,10,44,710/- escaping from assessment. The Society has filed a writ petition before the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi and the Hon'ble Court has stayed the operation of the notice for the period up to next hearing date. The last hearing was scheduled for 20-01-2025 where the hon'ble court gave a direction that the interim order granted earlier continue till the next date of hearing. The next date of hearing is 07-05-2025.

**For A.Y. 2016-17 (WP 7190/2023):** The Department has sent a notice (dated 28-03-2023 and 29-03-2023) under section 148A(b) of the Income Tax Act, 1961, For the AY 2016-17, alleging income of ₹ 23,18,79,176/- escaping from assessment. For 148A(d) and 148 notice (dated 19-04-2023), the Society has filed a writ petition before the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi and the Hon'ble High Court, has stayed the operation of the notice for the period up to next hearing date. The last hearing was scheduled for 20-01-2025 where the hon'ble court gave a direction that the interim order granted earlier continue till the next date of hearing. The next date of hearing is 07-05-2025.

**For A.Y. 2017-18 (WP 8065/2024):** The Department has sent a notice (dated 24-03-2024) under section 148A(b) of the Income Tax Act, 1961, For the AY 2017-18, alleging income of ₹ 24,14,07,654/- escaping from assessment. Also, 148A(d) and 148 notice (dated 15-04-2024), the Society has filed a writ petition before the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi, and the Hon'ble High Court has clubbed the matter to be heard with the 12A writ petition (WP(c) 11270/2023). The Respondents filed a Counter Affidavit on 25-09-2024. The last hearing was scheduled for 20-01-2025 where the hon'ble court gave a direction that the interim order granted earlier continue till the next date of hearing. The next date of hearing is 07-05-2025.

**For A.Y. 2018-19 (WP 13514/2024):** The Department has sent a notice (dated 13-06-2024) under section 148A(b) of the Income Tax Act, 1961, For the AY 2018-19, alleging income of ₹ 21,34,54,553/- escaping from assessment. Also, 148A(d) and 148 notice (dated 26-07-2024), the Society has filed a writ petition before the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi. The last hearing was scheduled for 20-01-2025 where the hon'ble court gave a direction that the interim order granted earlier continue till the next date of hearing. The next date of hearing is 07-05-2025.

**For A.Y. 2019-20 (WP 16538/2024):** The Department has sent a notice (dated 19-07-2024) under section 148A(b) of the Income Tax Act, 1961, For the AY 2019-20, alleging income of ₹ INR 40,07,32,003/- escaping from assessment. Also, 148A(d) and 148 notice (dated 28-08-2024), the Society has filed a writ petition before the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi. The last hearing was scheduled for 20-01-2025 where the hon'ble court gave a direction that the interim order granted earlier continue till the next date of hearing. The next date of hearing is 07-05-2025.

**For A.Y. 2020-21 (WP 8066/2024):** The Department has sent a notice (dated 23-03-2024) under section 148A(b) of the Income Tax Act, 1961, For the AY 2020-21, alleging income of ₹ 31,58,44,084/- escaping from assessment. Also, 148A(d) and 148 notice (dated 13-04-2024), the Society has filed a writ petition before the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi. The last hearing was scheduled for 20-01-2025 where the hon'ble court gave a direction that the interim order granted earlier continue till the next date of hearing. The next date of hearing is 07-05-2025.

**For A.Y. 2021-22 (WP 77/2025):** The Department has sent a notice (dated 19-07-2024) under section 148A(b) of the Income Tax Act, 1961, For the AY 2021-22, alleging income of ₹ INR 25,73,68,370/- escaping from assessment. Also, 148A(d) and 148 notice (dated 25-09-2024), the Society has filed a writ petition before the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi. The last hearing was scheduled for 20-01-2025 where the hon'ble court gave a direction that the interim order continue till the next date of hearing. The next date of hearing is 07-05-2025.

**For A.Y. 2022-23 (WP 9474/2024):** The Department has issued a notice dated 14-02-2024 under section 143(3) of the Income Tax Act, 1961 stating that Society is not eligible for claiming of benefit under section 11 and taxable the Income of ₹ 19,25,86,086/- for AY 2022-23. Accordingly, vide order dated 22-03-2024 a demand of ₹ 10,60,05,920/- raised under section 143(3) of the Income Tax Act, 1961. Against this, the Society has filed the appeal before the Deputy Commissioner of Income Tax on 18th April, 2024. On 03-05-2024, Department has issued the letter for depositing the 20% of the demand amount on or before 09-05-2024. Against this, Society has filed the Writ Petition before the Hon'ble High Court Delhi for quashing the Order of the Department dated 03-05-2024 for depositing the 20% of the Demand amount and Hon'ble Court has set aside the said order vide their order dated 09-05-2024.

On 04-07-2024, the Department again issued the letter for depositing 20% of the demand amount on or before 14-07-2024. Against this, Society has filed the Writ Petition before the Hon'ble High Court Delhi for quashing the Order of the Department dated 04-07-2024 for depositing the 20% of the Demand amount. The last order dated 12-03-2025, the matter is under consideration with the 12-A Exemption writ petition (11270/2023). The next date of hearing is 06-05-2025.

**For A.Y. 2023-24:** The Department has issued a notice dated 07-01-2025 under section 143(3) of the Income Tax Act, 1961 stating that Society is not eligible for claiming of benefit under section 11 and taxable the income of ₹ 30,47,97,215/- for AY 2023-24. Accordingly, vide order dated 13-02-2025 a demand of ₹ 15,96,77,870/- raised under section 156 of the IT Act, 1961. Against this, the Society has filed the appeal before the Commissioner of Income Tax on 12th March, 2025.

(vi) CPR is registered under the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act, 1976 bearing Registration No. 231650007 and is regular in filing the annual return, the last one filed being for the financial year 2023-24. The Registration has been renewed by the Ministry of Home Affairs for a period of five years, i.e., till 31st October, 2021, under the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act, 2010 and Rules made thereunder. The Society has filed application with Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) for renewal of FC Registration.



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The Society was subjected to special audit by the FCRA Department under section 20 and 23 of the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act, 2010, for the period covering FY 2015-16 to 2017-18 In February 2021. The MHA had also sent a standard questionnaire which was duly replied to the MHA by the Society on 31st January, 2023. In the mean-time, MHA had, by its Order dated 27th February, 2023, suspended Registration Certificate of the Society for a period of 180 days. Hence, the Society's operation under the FCRA have come to a standstill, consequent to the freeze put on the FCRA bank accounts and funds by the MHA. The Society has filed an application with the MHA under section 13(a)(2)(b) of the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act, 2010 read with Rule 14(a) of the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Rules, 2011 seeking the permission to utilize the 25% of its FCRA funds for the declared aims and objectives for which the grants were received. The Society also, vide letter dated 23rd March, 2023, sought clarification on grounds and reasons under which its Registration Certificate under FCRA has been suspended. Subsequently, the Ministry had issued Show Cause Notice (SCN) dated 01-08-2023, detailing the alleged violations by the Society of the FCRA-2010, as to why the Association's certificate of FCRA Registration should not be cancelled under section 14 of the FCRA Act, 2010. The Society has duly responded to this show cause notice and has filed a writ petition before the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi to release FCRA funds under Rule 14(a) of the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Rules, 2011. The Hon'ble High Court has directed the MHA to decide on application before 05-09-2023 and the next hearing was listed on 05-09-2023 which was further adjourned to 27th November, 2023. Meantime, MHA vide its order dated 12th September, 2023 permitted the society to utilize up to ₹ 1,79,10,236/- with direction to maintain and submit monthly account of expenses. Further, the MHA has also extended the suspension of Society's FCRA Registration for a further period of 180 days from the date of this order i.e., 12-09-2023 or until further orders whichever is earlier. The Hon'ble High Court of Delhi vide its order dated 16-10-2023 allowed to utilise FC funds upto ₹ 6,60,83,370/-. Further, MHA vide their order dated 10th January, 2024, cancelled the FCRA registration of the CPR with immediate effect. The Society has filed a Regular First appeal (RFA) before the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi against the order of the MHA for cancellation of FCRA registration and the case was accepted by the Hon'ble Court for hearing vide its order dated 25th April, 2024. The last hearing was scheduled on 24th January, 2025 which further extended to 18th July, 2025.

(vii) We are informed that the Society is contending that the objects and activities of the Society are charitable in nature and there are no violation of the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act, 2010 or the Income Tax Act, 1961 and confident of a ultimate favourable verdict from the Courts, the accounts for the Society have been prepared, as in the previous years, considering the benefit of exemption under section 11 of the Income Tax Act, 1961 and also as a going concern. Accordingly, the Society has filing its return of income claiming exemption under section 11 of the Act.

8 The Planning Commission [as a nodal agency for providing services to the National Knowledge Commission (NKC)] had issued an order dt. 3rd October, 2005, which provided for CPR to act as a secretariat of NKC. The Order further stated that CPR shall maintain a separate account of the expenses of the Secretariat, to be met out of the grant in aid to NKC and would furnish an audited statement of accounts to the Planning Commission. Accordingly, the balance and the corresponding investment thereon are reflected separately.

9 Claims against the society, not acknowledged as debts:-  
As on 31st March 2025: **Nil**  
As on 31st March 2024: **Nil**

10 Estimated amount of outstanding Capital Contracts - **Nil**.

11 During the year ended 31st March 2019, the Society had received a sum of ₹ 12,19,05,000 from Bill Melinda Gates Foundation for the Project "Strengthening the Capability of State in India - Capacity Support Fund". The Grant has been obtained for a period of fifteen years split into three blocks of five years. In accordance with the accounting practice followed by the Society, grant receipt relating to first block of five years amounting to ₹ 4,06,35,000 has been considered as receipt in specified purposes funds and taken as income of the year 2018-19 for the purposes of section 11 and unspent money accumulated under section 11(2). The Balance moneys are reflected as a liability item as Advance Income, to be treated as Income of the respective block of five years. Due to the cancellation of the FCRA registration of the Society, the status quo is maintained.

## 12 Inspections by the Director General of Audit, New Delhi

(i) For the period 2004-05 to 2006-07

The Office of the Director General of Audit, Central Revenues, New Delhi carried out inspection of the accounts of CPR for the period 2004-2005 to 2006-2007. In their observations they have expressed their view that as per the terms and conditions stipulated in the sanction letters for grant issued by the ICSSR, the CPR has received excess grant of ₹ 110.75 lakhs during the years 2005-06 and 2006-07, which is refundable. CPR has not accepted the conclusion reached by the government audit. Their report is under examination.

(ii) For the period 2015-16 to 2020-21

Transaction Audit was done by the Office of the Director General of Audit for FY 2015-16 to 2020-21 during 3rd March, 2022 to 16th March, 2022. The Department has shared the inspection report on 22nd March, 2022 and asked for reply within one month of the date of issue of report. CPR submitted point wise reply on 17th June, 2022 to the Office of Director General of Audit. The Department has shared its final report on 8th August, 2022 with remarks on each point.

(iii) For the period 2021-22 to 2022-23

Transaction Audit was done by the Office of the Director General of Audit, Central Expenditure, New Delhi for FY 2021-22 to 2022-23 during 25th October, 2023 to 14th November, 2023. The Department has shared the inspection report on 13th December, 2023 and asked for reply within one month of the date of issue of report. The Society is in the process to reply on each point.

SIGNATURES TO SCHEDULES 1 TO 11

**FOR V. SANKAR AIYAR & CO.**

CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

(Firm's Registration No. 109208W)



**(PUNEET KUMAR KHANDELWAL)**

PARTNER (M.No. 429967)



PLACE: KOLKATA  
DATED: 26-04-2025

For and on behalf of  
**CENTRE FOR POLICY RESEARCH**

  
**(SRINIVAS CHOKKAKULA)**  
PRESIDENT

President  
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