

How Inclusive is the Eleventh Five Year Plan?

People's Mid Term Appraisal

A Review of Selected Sectors

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Preface

By foregrounding the need for “inclusive growth”, the Eleventh Five Year Plan (EFYP) sought to make a major shift in the development strategy of the Indian state. This was borne out of the realisation that while at one level, India’s economy had recorded an impressive growth rate of 8.9%, during the Tenth Plan period; at another level, large sections of the population remained untouched by the development trajectory of the nation.

Responding to the critical need for bringing people into the exercise of assessing how far the schemes and programmes of the Eleventh Plan have worked for them, a number of civil society organisations came together to facilitate a People’s Mid Term Appraisal of the Eleventh Five Year Plan. The main objective of the People’s Mid Term Appraisal is to add people’s voices to the crucial exercise of evaluating the Plan as well as recommend forward looking strategies. The process involved three strategies:

- Building a larger coalition to democratise the discourse on development planning in the country;
- Building a strong evidence base to critically assess the functioning of the Plan and thereby suggest future directions; and
- Taking people’s voices regarding the Plan to the relevant policy makers.

Seeking to build synergy between research and praxis, papers were commissioned to development policy analysts who adhere to a pro-people perspective and strive to articulate people’s concerns and expectations in the discourse on policies and planning in the country. The key objective of this exercise was to assess from a people’s perspective, the larger policy framework and the programmes/schemes in the Eleventh Five Year Plan. This report compiles these papers.

The research papers presented in this report analyse certain important thematic areas in the Plan such as Education, Nutrition, Health, Water Supply and Sanitation, Agriculture, Governance, Rural Development, Urban Poverty and Employment, from the lens of socially disadvantaged groups. Using the broad framework of assessing policies, implementation, budgets and institutional mechanisms, each paper seeks to engage with the following questions:

- What is the present scenario in terms of outcome indicators and development deficits? Does the policy framework recognise ‘rights’ or ‘entitlements’?
- What were the commitments made in the EFYP with regard to i) goals and objectives of the EFYP and; ii) measures/initiatives envisaged in the EFYP for achieving the goals.
- How can we assess the performance of the EFYP? Is the policy framework underlying the EFYP adequate?
- Have adequate budgetary resources been allocated for the major programmes/schemes in the EFYP?
- Have the major programmes/schemes in EFYP been implemented effectively?

In addition to focussing on each of the selected thematic areas from the lens of social exclusion, a separate section on Social Exclusion also forms part of this report, with papers on dalits, adivasis, women, minorities, children and the differently-abled.

The present version of the report is a work-in-progress. It has been put together, mainly for the purpose of the National Consultation of the People's Mid Term Appraisal, to be held on February 4-5, 2010, in New Delhi. The papers will be further refined, based on the inputs received through the National Consultation, and the final compilation will be brought out soon.

We hope this report will help pave the way for registering people's voices in the planning process. It will be an important advocacy tool for engaging with policy makers, both at the national and state level, to list questions not only around the implementation of specific programmes and schemes, but simultaneously to also raise larger questions around the very process of planning itself.

This initiative would not have been possible without the wholehearted support of many friends and fellow travellers. We remain indebted to all our contributors- Aditi Kapoor (Alternative Futures), Amit Sengupta and Deepa (Jan Swasthya Abhiyan), Dipa Sinha (Right to Food Campaign), Indira Khurana and Romit Sen (Water Aid), Kamal Nayan Kabra (Former Professor, Indian Institute of Public Administration), T. Haque (Council for Social Development), Kaushik Ganguly (Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability), Plan India, Paul Divakar and Abhay Kumar (National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights), P.S. Vijay Shanker (Samaj Pragati Sahayog), Radhika Alkazi (Aarth Astha), Rama Kant Rai (National Coalition for Education), Rajesh Tandon (Society for Participatory Research in Asia), Sharit K. Bhowmik (Professor, Tata Institute of Social Sciences), Shirish Kavadi, Amit Narkar, Chitra Desai and Sandeep Pattnaik (National Centre for Advocacy Studies), Vibhuti Patel (Professor, SNDT University), Zakia Soman (Bharatiya Muslim Mahila Andolan).

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Amitabh Behar and Yamini Mishra

On behalf of the Organising Committee of the
People's Mid Term Appraisal of the Eleventh Five Year Plan



Amit Sen Gupta and Deepa, Jan Swasthya Abhiyan

The paper reviews the provisions for health in the Eleventh Five Year Plan (EFYP) and draws on existing national level data and from primary data collected as part of the People's Rural Health Watch (PRHW) initiative by the Jan Swasthya Abhiyan. The PRHW activity was carried out over a two-year period, between January 2006-2008, through surveys over 2006-2008, in the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) high-focus states of Madhya Pradesh (MP), Uttar Pradesh (UP), Bihar, Rajasthan, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh. In order to locate our discussions on the mid-term review of the Eleventh Plan document, we start with an understanding of the state of health and health care in India.

State of People's Health in India

Healthy living conditions and access to good quality health care for all citizens are not only basic human rights, but also essential accompaniments of social and economic development and policies and programs need to be implemented in the framework of quality health care for all and access to basic determinants of health as a basic right. Merely 42.0% households overall use piped drinking water with the percentage even lower at 27.9 in rural areas, 44.5 % have access to a toilet facility, with 25.9% in rural and 41.4% live in a *pucca* houses, (NFHS-3) a far cry from the goals envisaged by the EFYP.

Malnutrition and Anaemia

- The percentage of ever married women aged 15-49 years who are anaemic increased to 56.2 % in 2005-06 from 51.8 % in 1998-99. The percentage of pregnant women aged 15-49 years who are anaemic increased to 57.9 % in 2005-06 from 49.7 % in 1998-99. 55% of women and 24% of men are also anaemic, thus showing that large sections of the Indian population is deprived of access to adequate and balanced nutrition. The data on prevalence of chronic malnutrition in later years is also an indication that childhood under-nutrition translates into chronic malnutrition and stunting during adult life – especially among women. Disturbing trends have been highlighted by the NFHS-3: Anaemia amongst children between 6-35 months has increased to 79% overall (NFHS-3), with 72% in urban and 81% prevalence in rural areas, from 74% overall (NFHS-2).
- Among the 81 percent of children under six who are in areas covered by an *anganwadi* centre, only one-third receive services of some kind from the centre and only 26% of children under 6 and preschool received any supplementary nutrition from an *anganwadi* centre. Thus, in the entire country, **only 20% of the children receive supplementary food from ICDS centres**. Even within this, in many areas, caste discrimination continues to be a barrier in expanding to vulnerable populations. Undernutrition is clearly not limited to children but also among women, poor and marginalised sections as is evident from the indicators above.

Communicable Diseases

Communicable Diseases are experiencing a resurgence - including Tuberculosis (TB), Malaria, Chikungunya, Dengue, Encephalitis, Kala azar, Dengue and Leptospirosis.

- India still records the **highest number of deaths in the world every year from TB – about 3.7 lakh**, and 418 persons per 100,000 are estimated to be suffering from tuberculosis infection that needs medical treatment.

- The number of cases of **Malaria has remained at a high level of around 2 million cases annually** since the mid eighties. By the year 2001, the worrying fact emerged that **nearly half of the cases are of Falciparum malaria**, which can cause the deadly cerebral malaria.
- Environmental and social dislocations combined with weakening public health systems have contributed to this resurgence. Concurrently, the earlier system of surveillance has fallen into disarray, thereby compounding the problem.
- Diarrhea, dysentery, and acute respiratory infections continue to take their toll because we are unable to improve environmental health conditions. **Around 6 lakh children die each year from diarrhoea.** It could largely be prevented by universal provision of safe drinking water and sanitary conditions, and most of these deaths can be prevented by timely administration of oral rehydration solution (ORS). However ORS is presently administered in only 33% of cases in urban areas and 24% in rural areas — a situation that has actually worsened in the last five years.
- Treatment access for HIV +ve people is still poor in many areas and a lot more needs to be done. The AIDS Control programme is not integrated with the overall public health system. There is the emerging threat of resistance developing to first line drugs, thus needing the introduction of second line drugs that are 10 times more expensive. The issue is further compounded by the fact that many of the latter are being protected by patents, thus preventing the entry of cheaper generic versions. Unless such integration is done, the public health system will find it difficult to address the growing challenge of HIV/AIDS. A programme addressing the needs of orphans and vulnerable children affected by HIV/AIDS needs to be developed, given recent studies pointing to the spread of the epidemic among children.

Women's Health

- Women are truly invisible to the public health system in the country. NFHS-3 data shows that **just 17.3% of women have come in any contact with a health worker.** Just 17.9% of the Primary Health Centres (PHCs) in the country have the services of a lady doctor who can attend to women patients meaningfully. In 2005-06, 51.7 % deliveries were not conducted safely. This neglect is reflected in the health status of women.
- As a consequence of poor public facilities and low health status, in excess of 120,000 mothers die due to child birth related cases every year. The maternal mortality rate (no. of women dying of child birth related cases out of 100,000 deliveries) is still over 300, an unacceptably high figure. It is higher than the target of an MMR of less than 200 by the year 2000, set in the National Health Policy of 1983
- Women's health, in many situations, is inextricably linked to violence that they face as a routine part of their lives. Among women age 15-49, 34% have ever experienced physical violence, and 9 percent have ever experienced sexual violence. In all, 35% of women in India have experienced physical or sexual violence, including 40 percent of ever-married women.
- Coercive laws, policies and practices that violate the reproductive and democratic rights of women and marginalised, including the two child norm continue to be implemented with extremely serious implications for health.

Private Health Care and Essential Medicines are Increasingly Unaffordable

The private sector does not provide an escape route for the problems facing public health systems in poor countries. Available evidence shows that making public health services work is the only proven route to achieving universal and equitable health care. **Public provision of health care is not doomed to fail as some suggest, but making it work requires determined political leadership, adequate investment, evidence based policies and popular support.** Existing private providers must be integrated into public health systems where

possible and in some contexts that role could be partly extended. However to look at the private sector for the substantial expansion needed to achieve universal access would be to ignore the significant and proven risks of this approach and the evidence of what has worked in successful developing countries.

The Private Sector has grown by leaps and bounds, as a result of the inability of the public system to provide care. **The dominance of the private sector not only denies access to poorer sections of society, but also skews the balance towards urban biased, tertiary level health services with profitability overriding equity, and rationality.** The recent trend towards promotion of Medical Tourism is creating a situation of internal brain drain where the best facilities and the best trained personnel in the country are moving to institutions that primarily provide care to foreign patients. As a consequence the **Indian tax-payer is subsidising the medical treatment of foreign medical tourists.** We look at some grave consequences related to the growth and dominance of the private medical sector.

- A growing proportion of Indians cannot afford health care when they fall ill. National surveys show that the number of people who could not seek medical care because of lack of money increased significantly.
- 40% of hospitalised people are forced to borrow money or sell assets to cover expenses.
- Over 2 crore of Indians are pushed below the poverty line every year because of the catastrophic effect of out of pocket spending on health care!
- Irrational medical procedures are on the rise. According to just one study in a community in Chennai, 45% of all deliveries were performed by Caesarean operations, whereas the WHO has recommended that not more than 10-15% of deliveries would require Caesarean operations.
- Due to irrational prescribing, an average of 63% of the money spent on prescriptions is a waste. This means that nearly two-thirds of the money that we spend on drugs may be for unnecessary or irrational drugs.
- The pharmaceutical industry is rapidly growing, yet only 20-40% of the population can access all essential drugs that they require. There is a proliferation of brand names with over 80,000 brands marketed in India. Many drugs are being sold at 200 to 500% profit margin, and essential drugs have become unaffordable for the majority of the Indian population. Yet there is reluctance to impose price controls on essential drugs, and at present the price control regime is almost entirely ineffective as most essential medicines are outside price control.
- The Amendment to the Indian Patent Act of in 2005 has created a new situation where new drugs are being patented by MNCs, and many new life saving drugs, including vital drugs needed for treatment of HIV/AIDS and cancers are being priced out of the reach of almost all Indians.

Absence of free and universal health care, introduction of user fees in public health facilities, unregulated private sector and growing medical tourism have worsened the health situation of the people, particularly women.

The Eleventh Five Year Plan Document – Issues and Commitments

We turn now to specific issues raised and commitments made in the Eleventh Five Year Plan document.

Health as a Right

The Plan document notes the need to conceptualise health in a rights based framework. The Draft National Health Bill is a step in the right direction but it should guarantee the right to comprehensive, quality health care at public expense in relevant health institutions to all, where everyone is entitled to the full range of guaranteed, free health services.

Determinants of Health

While the Plan document recognises the need to focus on axes of marginalisation such as poverty, gender, nutrition, social exclusion (caste, age, disability, etc.) that determine health status, there is an urgent need to also address other important factors like sexuality, environmental and occupational health, conflict and displacements. Communities in situations of conflict and displacement have inordinately high mortality rates and suffer from communicable diseases such as malaria, TB and HIV/AIDS. These ‘medical refugees’ are off the map of either public health facilities or any national health programme. There has been limited conceptualisation and operationalisation of this through major health initiatives like the NRHM.

Time bound goals

Time bound goals mentioned in the plan document include:

- Reducing MMR to 1 per 100 live births
- Reducing IMR to 28 per 100 live births
- Reducing TFR to 2.1
- Providing Clean drinking water for all by 2009 and ensuring no slip backs
- Reducing malnutrition among children of age 0-3 to half its present level
- Reducing anaemia among women and girls by 50%
- Raising the sex ratio for age group 0-6 to 935 by 2011-12 and 950 by 2016-17

While the goals enumerated here are important, they are limited and need to be reviewed. The relevance of the reduction of TFR in the context of health and the measures undertaken towards achieving it, need to be critically reviewed, particularly in the context where coercive population policies like the two child norm continue to be implemented, in the absence of gendered policies and programmes and aggressive promotion of sterilisation for women.

The approach or recommendations by the EFYP, nor existing policies and programs, have not been sufficiently spelt out towards attaining these goals. For example, reduction of MMR calls for an urgent need to look beyond just Reproductive and Child Health programmes and take into account other social determinants that determine maternal health. These goals which are to be achieved by the end of EFYP, i.e. by 2012, have made little progress. In most instances the situation has only worsened, making attainment of these goals only more challenging.

Towards finding solutions for the current health situation

The Eleventh Plan document is unusually candid in its evaluation of its predecessor, the Tenth Five Year Plan (2002–2007). The Plan document says: *“The plan highlighted the importance of the role of decentralisation but did not state how this would be achieved. Programme-driven health care was in focus. Verticality and technical solutions were given more importance than comprehensive primary health care. The review of the plan not only throws light on the gap between the rhetoric and reality but also the framework within which the policies were formulated”*.

It goes on to further state that: *“The Eleventh Five Year Plan will aim for inclusive growth by introducing National Urban Health Mission (NUHM), which along with NRHM, will form Sarva Swasthya Abhiyan.”* Clearly, the Plan document placed reliance on the NRHM and the NUHM to bridge the gap between “rhetoric and reality”.

NUHM – Prominent by its Absence

We would have little quarrel with such a formulation, except for the fact that the NRHM has, in large measure, been unable to fulfill the optimistic expectations enunciated above (as we discuss later). Furthermore, the NUHM is yet to be launched, while we are already midway into the plan period. We look in some detail at the promises and formulations made in the plan document, and evidence of delivery on the said promises.

As per NFHS 3, some of the indicators for the “urban poor” are comparable with those for “overall rural”, challenging the existing understanding / perception of the status of all people in urban areas, with serious implications for policy. For example, anaemia among women (15-49 years) and children is 58.8% and 71.4% respectively for the urban poor and the comparative “overall rural” figures are 57.4% and 71.5%. Similarly the total unmet need for contraception for women is 14.1% and 14.6% for “urban poor” and “overall rural” and 11% and 10.2% respectively for ante-natal coverage.

Basic public health infrastructure and access to it is extremely poor in urban areas and a large majority of the people are forced to access health care from the private sector, which charge exorbitantly and are unregulated, resulting in the poorest being trapped in a vicious cycle of ill-health and poverty. Primary health care facilities in urban areas are far from adequate. Given the situation, there is urgent need for expediting setting up and implementation of the National Urban Health Mission (NUHM) with civil society consultation and participation.

NRHM - Conceptualisation and Operationalisation

The constitution of the NRHM, in itself, is a positive step forward. We detail below some positive trends, which if implemented properly through the NRHM, would improve health services and access.

- The commitment to increase central budgetary allocation for health, and the increase over the past three years, although the rate of increase has slowed down after the initial 30 % increase.
- The statement of intention to provide *universal access to rural people to effective, equitable, affordable, and accountable primary health care.*
- The acceptance at the policy level of having a community health worker at the village level; and the appointment of Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHA), even though there is limited conceptualisation of the role of ASHA when viewed against the concept of Community Health Worker (CHW) that is advocated by practitioners of the CHW concept.
- The formulation of Indian Public Health Standards (IPHS) for public health facilities, although these standards at present are basically hospital standards, whereas public health standards imply something more.
- Increasing number of nursing staff
- Untied funds and maintenance grants for health facilities
- The district has been given a predominant position, as the center of decentralised planning and action.
- Inclusion of accountability and monitoring mechanisms, Community Participation
- Mainstreaming of AYUSH

NRHM – Status and Concerns

However, the following areas critical to the functioning of a comprehensive healthcare system continue to be neglected:

- Addressing staffing gaps.
- Drugs availability (procurement and distribution).
- Capacity development at each level.
- Slow progress in genuine communitisation and de-centralisation processes.
- In place of assortment of programmes that it now is, the Mission should become a programme to provide comprehensive Primary Health Care within which RCH must be positioned as one of the components. Also address needs of special sections.
- The communitisation option, with public-people partnerships, to replace the semi-privatisation and privatisation options.
- Access to healthcare services be universal, and that no targeting is resorted to and user fees are not used as a medium of targeting. User fees at all levels to be abolished.
- Need to have a framework of rights, Community Control, and Accountability.
- The Mission should be based on a sustained increase in domestic budgetary funding, at both central and state levels, and not dependent on donor funds or *ad hoc* reallocation of funds
- Integration with efforts to strengthen food security and nutrition, access to safe drinking water and sanitation, and living and working environment.
- Standard Protocols for the Entire Medical Profession
- Promotion and Genuine Integration of Various Systems of Medicine.
- Regulation and Rationalisation of the Drug Industry.
- Transparency and community monitoring at all level where untied fund is given.
- Contrary to the NRHM goals of ‘universal access to public health services, including women’s health and access to integrated comprehensive primary health care, the overall perception of women’s health continues to be limited to women’s ‘reproductive role’ which is extremely limited and does not acknowledge nor address other health needs of women.

In most situations, the NRHM promotes provision of a limited package of services through the government health centres, rather than comprehensive services. These include only RCH-related services, immunisation, and some disease control programmes for TB and malaria; organising periodic health melas or visits by mobile units where there are no health centres. There is a striking absence of provisioning for mental health, skin, ENT, dental health, and other services that would ensure increasingly comprehensive health care. In many states the NRHM is considered by health functionaries to be synonymous with ASHA and *Janani Suraksha Yojana* (JSY).

Even though the Indian Public Health Standard (IPHS) have been formulated, much of the actual measures at the level of health services, are geared towards providing for institutional deliveries and other RCH-related services for pregnant women. Health facilities, largely, are not equipped to provide comprehensive health services. **Thus the emphasis on RCH continues** to inform the implementation of the NRHM.

Infrastructure: Staff, Supplies, Equipment, etc.

Little is being done to resolve the basic problems related to infrastructure and supplies and inadequate attention is paid to measures to address lack of medicines, staff, transport and other infrastructure at Sub Centre, Primary Health Centre, and Community Health Centres. As far as making available doctors and specialists is concerned, repeatedly, measures such as redeployment and multi skill training and contractual appointments are the only recommendations implemented / made. Clear criteria need to be drawn up and enforced for upgradation of CHCs-PHCs, and preference should be given to those that are severely lacking in facilities, or are in remote areas, or where there are no other health facilities. We discuss below some specific issues related to different levels of the public health infrastructure. These issues emerged from participative surveys across states as part of the exercise to draft the Report of the Peoples Rural Health Watch. While the surveys were not comprehensive in coverage, the issues raised are representative of the kinds of problems that continue to plague the implementation of the NRHM.

Status of infrastructure and services

Subcentres:

- Staffed by only one ANM - second ANM yet to be appointed; few in Jharkhand reported two ANMs.
- Re-location of ANMs from SC to 24 x 7 PHCs.
- Non regular availability of Essential medicines; shortage of IFA and chloroquine for long periods (Chhattisgarh interviews).
- Ante natal care—measurement of blood pressure (BP), for anaemia, urine testing not taking place.
- Untied fund were received by almost all SCs in 2007; not all reported spending it; spent on items like building repairs, purchase of furniture & fixtures, arrangement for water, stationery, bleaching powder, banners, road repairs. Being spent by ANM, or as per instructions from health department. The village community was not involved.
- Reports of irregularities in untied funds by ANMs (Chhattisgarh).

Range of Problems at subcentres reported by ANMs

- Lack of building, water, electricity and toilets; irregular supply of medicines, syringes and vaccines; inadequate lab facilities (Do not get slide reports on time, have to go to PHC to pick them up).
- Lack of doctor and other staff.
- Problem of salary – not received on time.
- Problems in travelling as operational area is large and in staying alone in the area.
- Difficulty in co-ordination with ASHAs.

PHCs and CHCs

- All of them have OPD charges, paid ambulance facilities; 50 % of the CHCs had charges for laboratory investigations (out of 45).
- MOs posted in many facilities; in some cases the OPD was being run by either a compounder or nurse at time of survey .
- In Bihar, Chhattisgarh, construction of buildings for SC-PHC-CHC initiated. Plans in Jharkhand, UP and MP.

- **Shortage of staff acute in MP** – no regular appointment of doctors and specialists since 1994. Posts of compounder, pharmacist, radiographer, and others have become ‘dying’ posts. Even MOs being tried on contract but not able to get in sufficient number.
- Some improvement in Chhattisgarh (CG) regarding presence of MOs and lady doctors; however, still short of requirements; shortage of specialists persists everywhere.
- In Jharkhand of the more than 2000 doctors appointed on contract only 800 are reported to be in service at present.
- PPPs in Bihar for laboratory services-not functional; Additional PHCs (APHCs) on contract - has not delivered desired results.
- Anti-rabies vaccine was not available in many PHCs-CHCs. Anti rabies vaccine was found to be available in only 64% of the CHCs as against 68% in 2006-07 in CG!! In MP 9 PHCs out of 11 did not have which is similar to 2007. Anti-snake venom too was not available regularly.
- Impact of NRHM on availability of doctors, staff, medicines – 8 MOs out of 11 in PHCs in western MP felt none (2007); 7 out of 12 MOs in CHCs said some impact; however, of these almost all have also reported that lack of specialists and other problems. Problems thus remain.
- Among problems reported by the MOs, lack of infrastructure, staff and medicines was a commonly reported feature.
- 77.03% patients in MP received medicine from hospital.
- Unless the other levels of the health system such as PHCs and CHCs are substantially improved, their services upgraded, and the staff made responsive to people claiming health rights, ASHAs would not be able to make much headway in their task of facilitating people’s access to health services.

Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA)

The implementation of the ASHA programme is far removed from the way it was envisaged. There are many distortions and irregularities in the selection and training of ASHA; they are largely working for RCH related activities, specifically the JSY programme. Unless other levels of the health system such as PHCs and CHCs are substantially improved, their services upgraded, and the staff made responsive to people claiming health rights, ASHAs would not be able to make much headway in their task of facilitating people’s access to health services.

Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY)

The JSY is giving rise to conflict & competition between ASHA, ANM, AWW, dai, as well as corruption. There are also reports of over reporting of institutional deliveries. Further, even if institutional deliveries may have gone up, the quality of care is appalling, and defeats the very purpose of institutional delivery. Some major issues reported in its implementation include:

- Non-payment, delayed payment, deductions from payment, and harassment of beneficiaries and ASHAs.
- Families have to spend large amounts of money is nearly Rs. 1000 on each delivery.
- Non-receipt of payment of Rs. 500 for home deliveries.
- Giving rise to conflict between village-level functionaries.
- Inaccessibility of even private services – distance from the villages and lack of transportation remains a problem.

- Quality of ANC, PNC far from satisfactory.
- Increased disproportionate burden on poorly staffed health infrastructure.
- Privatising delivery related care under the pretext of expanding JSY support.
- The *Janani Suraksha Yojana* (JSY) reinforces the ‘two-child norm’ in the name of promoting institutional deliveries. The third childbirth is ineligible for maternity benefit unless sterilisation is agreed on and fourth child onwards no benefits can be given.

The NRHM assumes that home-based deliveries are unsafe and that institutional delivery will help minimise the incidence of maternal mortality. Institutional deliveries are assumed to be safer for mothers and infants even as facilities for conducting institutional deliveries in rural India are more or less non-existent at present, or with the extremely poor quality of services. Expansion of facilities must go hand in hand with substantial improvement in quality of care. This is particularly relevant to JSY, in which context increased demand generated for institutional delivery has not resulted in commensurate increase in quality of services. In fact in a large number of instances there may be a deterioration as compared to home deliveries.

Child Health

The state of the health of a country’s children holds a mirror to the health of its entire population. Many parameters related to child health in the country are similar, if not worse, than those in Least Developed Countries (LDCs). It is widely assumed that India shall fall well short of the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set for 2015, that are related to child health.

Between 2000 and 2006 IMR in India was reported to have declined from 67 to 57 and further to 53 in 2008 (SRS Bulletin, GOI). There is thus no evidence to suggest that the IMR in 2012 will approach anywhere near the Eleventh Plan target of 28. **The IMR in India is equal to the average of all Least Developed Countries (LDCs), two and half times that of China, and eight to ten times higher than rates achieved in developed countries.** Even these distressingly high figures hide inequities in the system. Infant mortality in rural areas is 50 % higher than in urban areas. Children from dalit and adivasi communities are at greater risk of dying than other children. There are also large inter-state differences that need to be urgently addressed in order to reduce huge existing inequalities in health.

The Plan document says: “the Eleventh Five Year Plan will give special attention to the health of ... children below the age of three...”. The plan also sets a target of: Reducing malnutrition among children of age group 0–3 to half its present level.

In its prescriptions to achieve the targets, the document talks about “Home Based Newborn and Child Care” and “Integrated Management of Neonatal and Childhood Illnesses”. While the acronyms sound very impressive, little progress has actually taken place in operationalising either of these programmes. The Report of the Common Review Mission of the NRHM says: “The IMNCI roll out however was not as visible in the states visited. And other aspects of child care intervention especially institutional care for sick newborns were also limited on the ground - at all levels”.

Faltering immunisation programme: A large majority of the deaths among children we talked about earlier are unnecessary. We do have the tools to prevent many if not most of these deaths. One such tool is the availability of vaccines that can protect children against some life threatening conditions. Yet there has been **very little improvement in the full vaccination coverage in the last five years** – as seen by the data between NFHS-2 (42%) and NFHS-3 (44%). Vaccination coverage has actually worsened substantially in some states, such as Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Punjab and Tamil Nadu. It needs to be understood that inability to ensure full immunisation coverage is also an indication of weakness of the public health system. Also of concern are trends – such as recently reported from Tamil Nadu – where the locus of immunisation is sought to be shifted away from near local habitations in the sub-centres to more distant and less easily accessible PHCs. The flagship programme on immunisation – the Pulse Polio Programme – has faltered and we are far from reaching the promised goal of a polio free India. There are reasons to conclude that the programme, while not

having delivered on its promise, has also been responsible for drawing away attention and resources from the routine immunisation programmes. The polio-eradication programme was designed to reduce the incidence of lameness in children, as polio is the most important cause of preventable lameness in children. But in reality the incidence of limb-paralysis in children has increased after the Polio Eradication Initiative. Data available shows that the number of cases of Acute Flaccid Paralysis (AFP) in children increased from 3047 in 1997 to 31,973 in 2006!

Decentralised Planning and Capacity Enhancement

The Plan document waxes eloquent on the need to decentralise planning for health service delivery. It says: *“Thus, in order to improve the health care services in the country, the Eleventh Five Year Plan will insist on Integrated District Health Plans and Block Specific Health Plans”*. This is indeed a welcome objective, but again the delivery has been more in conformity with form than content. While most states have formulated district plans, awareness regarding the same is poor and there is little link between the documents produced (as health plans) and actual implementation of health programmes. The Common Review Mission of the NRHM stated in its report: *“... overall view is that district planning to the level that it has happened is a step forward. It has brought various data together and made a basic skeleton of a plan which can be subsequently revised and built upon. Planning improved over the years and districts need the time to learn and improve. However there needs to be an agency or team within the district which acts as an institutional memory of the plans and for nurturing/pro-actively pursuing their implementation processes”*.

Moreover, several elements of the NRHM's work plan are being rolled out. These are measures without necessary ground-work – funds are being disbursed to SC-PHC-CHC without ensuring that there is staff to utilise the funds; funds being given for district plans without ensuring that Village Health and Sanitation Committees are in place and trained to prepare village plans.

Untied funds, if available and if utilised, are of limited use in addressing the varied problems at the sub-centre level such as the ones pointed out by ANMs (mentioned earlier). They can be expected to serve their purpose only after some ground work has been done in the villages and sub-centres. The necessary groundwork for preparation of district plans, such as constitution and equipping of **VHCs** should be completed before releasing funds, and before preparation of village and district health plans. Some specific issues related to **Village Health & Sanitation Committees that emerged through the survey include:**

- VHSCs are largely not in place yet – none reported in the villages surveyed in Orissa, Rajasthan; Jharkhand, 22.27% reported in MP. Beginning to be formed in Chhattisgarh.
- 22.72% in MP had received untied fund.
- Interactions with the village communities in 5 districts in Tamil Nadu showed that there was absolutely no awareness among the Panchayat representatives, SHG members and lay people on this issue. No one was aware of the presence of these committees, nor about the untied funds and its potential use.

Thus, to summarise, genuine communitisation and decentralisation processes are also not still visible under the NRHM. Community involvement even in ASHA selection has been negligible. VHSCs are hardly present. District Health Action Plans (DHAPs), which should have been the reference point for all activities and spending are just beginning to come in only now from few districts. Even in these cases it is doubtful to what extent there has been participation of the village communities in the preparation of the plan. The problem is compounded by *promotion of outsourcing measures* for activities such as recruitment and preparation of district plans

The monitoring mechanisms in the NRHM should include systems and processes at all levels of the health system so as to involve majority representation of community-based representatives including women and representatives from marginalised groups and communities. This is extremely critical because these systems and processes will have to move beyond existing power dynamics in the community to ensure that the representatives of poorest, most marginalised, and women are part if these processes and their health needs are addressed.

Access to Medicines

Several objectives had been outlined, with regard to access to essential medicines in the plan document. These included development of essential drug lists for all levels; making available essential drugs of good quality in all government facilities; increasing efficiency, economy, and transparency in drug procurement, warehousing, and distribution; ensuring rational use of drugs; including all essential drugs under a system of price monitoring, etc. Little or no progress has taken place in most of these objectives. Sale and use of irrational medicines is rampant in the country, most states are yet to evolve good procurement practices for public health facilities, and prices of most medicines are not controlled. The last is of particular importance due to two reasons. First, expenditure on medicines account for about 75% of all household expenses on health (as detailed in the plan document). Second, in excess of 80% of medicine consumption in the country takes place through retail purchases, generally paid for directly by consumers. As a consequence, control (and not just monitoring as the plan document envisages) of medicine prices is a key imperative if there is to be an impact on out of pocket expenses on health care. In the last five years, despite repeated pronouncements that all essential medicines will be brought under price control, there has been absolutely no advance. The new drug policy, released about three years ago remains incomplete as the Government has been unable to decide how price control on medicines is to be administered. The matter rested with a Group of Ministers (constituted for the specific purpose) for over two years during the tenure of the last Government.

Public Private Partnerships and User Fees

The plan document speaks in two voices regarding the private sector. It laments: *“We have a flourishing private sector, primarily because of a failing in the public sector... The growth of private hospitals and diagnostic centres was also encouraged by the Central and State Governments by offering tax exemptions and land at concessional rates, in return for provision of free treatment for the poor as a certain proportion of outpatients and inpatients. Apart from subsidies, private corporate hospitals receive huge amounts of public funds in the form of reimbursements from the public sector undertakings, the Central and the State Governments for treating their employees. The cost of health care in the private sector is much higher than the public sector. Many small providers have poor knowledge base and tend to follow irrational, ineffective, and sometimes even harmful practices for treating minor ailments. ...In practice, however, regulation of these professionals is weak and close to non-existent”.*

And yet the document views Public-Private Partnerships as a way to expand access to health services. It says: *“During the last few years, the Centre as well as the State Governments have initiated a wide variety of PPP arrangements to meet peoples’ growing health care needs. ...During the Eleventh Five Year Plan, the experience of PPP initiatives in selected States will be studied thoroughly. Based on evidence, efforts will be made to develop a generic framework for different categories of PPPs at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of health care to improve cost-effectiveness, enhance quality, and expand access through extensive stakeholder consultations”.*

This schizophrenic view of the private sector and its role in providing access has not changed in the last three years. There has been little movement forward in regulating the private medical sector – arguably the largest unregulated sector of the Indian economy. At the same time no systematic review of PPPs have been undertaken, though PPPs are increasingly seen as a way to paper over the state’s failure to provide health services. Given the huge gaps in public infrastructure, it is legitimate to argue that ways need to be found to augment public facilities through private sector participation. However the same needs to be squarely located in a framework that promotes expansion of the public sector and ensures strict regulation of the private sector. The former exercise has seen halting progress while there has been no progress in promoting meaningful regulation of the private sector.

There is a general assumption that these ‘partnerships’ are going to answer some of the problems faced by the rural health services. There is a need to question the assumptions and the evidence regarding the availability and quality of the private sector and the experience of existing partnerships. The NRHM is being implemented in some of the poorest districts of this country where the formal private sector is virtually absent. It is a moot point as to what kind of partnerships are being envisioned in these districts.

Further, there are inbuilt mechanisms in the NRHM's implementation that promote privatisation. This include the creation of Rogi Kalyan Samitis or autonomous societies, which can charge user fees, contract services to and share resource with the private sector, for management of public hospitals. User fees create barriers for the poor, women and marginalised from accessing health services and in the absence of a regulatory framework, in addition to accessibility, quality and accountability of health services through such initiatives are not guaranteed.

Health Insurance

The Plan document has several suggestions regarding health insurance – community based, local risk pooling, restructuring of the CGHS scheme, etc. Most of them are premised on the “harnessing” of the private sector. These mechanisms, thus, strengthen the private sector through transfer of meagre public resources (as the plan document itself notes at some point!), while not contributing to any strengthening of or infrastructure creation in the public sector. The gradual rollout of the *Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana* (RSBY) at the national level or its variants earlier at state levels (viz. in A.P.) strengthen this trend.

The RSBY launched in 2007 – 08, aims to transform the way public provision of health services have been designed so far – moving away from the model of direct provision of health services by the Govt. According to the scheme every BPL household will be covered against hospitalisation cost of Rs.30,000 per annum. The Union Government is committed to pay a premium of upto Rs.750 per family (the Central Govt. would bear 75% of the total premium); whereas households need to pay Rs.30 annually to register. As per the Planning Commission estimate, there are 6.5 crore BPL families in India. To enroll all these families under the scheme, would require the Govt. to spend around Rs. 4,875 crore annually. Currently the Union Govt. has allocated only Rs.308 crore for RSBY in 2009 – 10 BE. With this allocation, at the most, 4.6 million families can be covered. Though the scheme is meant to curtail out of pocket health expenditure of the poor, the limitations of the scheme are apparent. The scheme does not cover outpatient treatment, thus leaving a major source of expenditure out of its ambit. Further, international experiences clearly show that health insurance schemes based on private provision leads to huge cost escalation due to over consumption.

Health of Marginal Groups

The Plan document mentions: *“Special attention to health of marginal groups – adolescents, women of all ages, children below the age of three, older persons, disabled and primitive tribal groups; gender across all schemes”*. However, health services continue to be inaccessible to marginal groups. There is lack of clarity in operationalising systems participation of marginalised groups/persons in community processes of planning, monitoring, etc. In the absence of comprehensive provision of services and lack of acknowledgement and addressing of existing inequities, a large number of persons from marginalised communities and with special health needs are denied their rights.

Finally, it needs to be mentioned that broader economic and social determinants have been paid lip service in the Plan document. Attempts to integrate the activities under NRHM with other relevant departments (convergence) are still missing on the ground. While the NRHM alludes briefly to the determinants of health like nutrition, sanitation, water, etc. there needs be a continued and serious effort to integrate the various programmes addressing these and other determinants towards improving the health and health care of the people in rural areas.

Budget Allocation

Finally we look at the projection for budget allocation made in the Plan document. The document states: *“The existing level of government expenditure on health in India is about 1%, which is unacceptably low. Effort will be made to increase the total expenditure at the Centre and the States to at least 2% of GDP by the end of the Eleventh Five Year Plan. ... It is estimated that in order to meet the target expenditure level, total Plan expenditure will need to grow at 29.7 % annually during the first three years of the Eleventh Five Year Plan, which breaks down to 30.2 % for the Centre and 29.2 % for the States. As a result, total health expenditure of the Centre and States, respectively, will rise to 0.55% of GDP and 0.85% of GDP in 2009–10. In the last two years of the Plan, total Plan expenditure will need to rise at about 48% annually. This will result in a total health expenditure of 0.87% of GDP by the Centre and 1.13% by States in 2011–12”*.

It needs to be noted that 2% of GDP that is proposed falls well short of the WHO's recommendation of 5% of GDP to be allocated for health. At present, at around 1% of GDP as public expenditure on health, India is among the bottom five nations in the world. The proposed figure of 2% allocation is also lower than all developed countries, and most developing countries.

Let us however compare the allocations to actual expenditure in the last 3 years. We provide the details in the following Table.

Table: Allocation by States and Centre and States on Health (Current and Constant Prices)

(figures in Rs .crores)

	2006-07	2007-08	2007-08 (Constant Price)	% Increase over 2006-07	2008-09	2008-09 (Constant Price)	% Increase over 2007-08
Allocation by States	27,829	32,110	30,302	8.9	38,756	33,575	10.8
Allocation by Centre	12,318	15,801	14,911	21.1	19,270	16,694	12.0
Total	40,147	47,911	45,213	12.6	58,026	50,269	11.2

Source: National Health Accounts, India, 2009

(Constant Prices have been calculated based on data in Economic Survey, GOI, 2009, on CPI (general) for urban workers)

The data above nails the false promises made in the plan document, and explains in large measure the poor performance in redeeming the promises made in the Plan document. In contrast to the 30% increase in allocation in each of the first 3 years projected in the plan document, the real increase has been 12.6% in 2007-8 and 11.2% in 2008-9. This is barely above the annual growth of GDP, and as a consequence the total public expenditure on health has remained around 1% of GDP. Clearly, no meaningful discussion of the targets set in the document is possible, if such a trend continues.

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Dipa Sinha, Right to Food Campaign

Introduction

Malnutrition rates among both adults and children in India are unacceptably high. Almost half the children under the age of three are underweight and one-third adult women have a body mass index less than normal. This is so even when compared with much poorer countries in Africa and in other parts of the world. In terms of the Global Hunger Index (GHI) recently released by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) India's performance is very poor. India's GHI 2008 score of 23.7, gives it a rank of 66th out of 88 countries.

According to the India Hunger Index report this score indicates “*continued poor performance at reducing hunger in India*”. India ranks below several countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, such as Cameroon, Kenya, Nigeria, and Sudan; even though per capita income in these countries is much lower than in India.

India State Hunger Index 2008 (IFPRI)



According to the India State Hunger Index (ISHI), which is constructed using the same method and indicators as the GHI¹, not a single state in the country falls in the “low hunger” or “moderate hunger” category defined by the GHI 2008. Most states fall in the “alarming” category, with one state—Madhya Pradesh—falling in the “extremely alarming” category. Four states fall in the “serious” category (see map above) (Menon et. al., 2009).

¹ The GHI ranks countries based on three indicators and combines them into one. The three indicators are: proportion of people who are calorie deficient, child malnutrition prevalence, and child mortality rate. The proportion of people who are calorie deficient is a key indicator of hunger. The Index also includes child undernutrition, because children are the most vulnerable to the effects of hunger. Since half of all child deaths are related to undernutrition, child mortality rates are an important measure of the impact of hunger.

Table 1: Some Indicators of Malnutrition (NFHS 2 and NFHS 3)²

Indicators of Malnutrition from NFHS	NFHS 2	NFHS 3
Children under three years who are wasted (%)	15.5	19.1
Children under three years who are underweight (%)	42.0	43.5
Children under three years who are stunted (%)	45.5	38.4
Women whose Body Mass Index (BMI) is below normal (%)	36.2	33
Men whose Body Mass Index (BMI) is below normal (%)	NA	28.1
Children age 6-35 months who are anaemic (%)	74.2	79.2
Ever-married women age 15-49 who are anaemic (%)	51.8	56.2
Pregnant women age 15-49 who are anaemic (%)	49.7	57.9
Ever-married men age 15-49 who are anaemic (%)	NA	24.3
Source: National Family Health Survey (NFHS 3) 2005-06		

It is cause for further concern that there is not much improvement in the malnutrition rates in the country in the last ten years. The per cent of children under three years of age who are underweight is 46% according to the National Family Health Survey (NFHS) 3 conducted in 2005-06. This is only a percentage point fall from 47% from the NFHS 2 conducted seven years back in 1998-99³. Similarly high rates of malnutrition are found even when we look at other measures such as stunting (height for age) or wasting (weight for height). Among adults a third of women have a BMI, less than normal (i.e. 18.5) and 28.1% men have a BMI which is less than normal.

The results of the NFHS show very high levels of anaemia among young children, women and pregnant women and this has risen from NFHS-2 to NFHS-3. Almost 80% of the children under three are anaemic and around 56% women are anaemic. Anaemia levels among men are much lower but still very high in absolute terms, with almost one in four men in the reproductive age group being anaemic.

With such high levels of hunger and nutrition in the country, it must be recognised that malnutrition is a result of access to sufficient and nutritious food and also other factors such as breastfeeding, infections such as malaria and pneumonia, as well as larger factors such as poverty and gender inequality. “Poverty impacts malnutrition in multifarious ways – by reducing purchasing power for good quality calorie dense foods, by reducing access to health care, by giving rise to physical environments lacking in safe water and sanitation and by impact on education” (Working Group for Children under Six, 2007). Therefore, strategies to address malnutrition must include increasing access to sustainable livelihoods, reducing poverty and greater economic and social equality, along with direct interventions towards prevention and treatment of malnutrition such as supplementary nutrition, nutrition counselling and growth monitoring, breastfeeding support and promotion and treating childhood illnesses (diarrhoea, pneumonia)

In spite of such appalling levels of malnutrition in the country and a wide-ranging number of food-related schemes, India’s record on direct nutrition programmes has been quite poor. The Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) scheme, the largest direct intervention for addressing malnutrition in the country was until recently not a universal programme, had limited coverage and poor resources.

The other programme that involves direct food transfer⁴ is the Public Distribution System (PDS). However, its main objective, at least until the late 70s was primarily price stabilisation and only in 1987 –88, was PDS added to the Minimum Needs Programme to “ensure availability of essential items at reasonable prices to

² See Drèze, Khera and Narayan (2007) for an analysis of recent data on child well-being and also a summary index of child development

³ Even with the new WHO norms for measuring under nutrition, the fall is from 42.7% in 1998-99 to 40.4% in 2005-06.

⁴ The Mid day Meal scheme (MDMS) in primary schools is also a direct food programme and a very important scheme. However, an analysis of this scheme has not been included in this paper because it is not part of the EFYP chapter on Nutrition.

the vulnerable sections of the population” (MSSRF-WFP, 2008). The PDS can only have limited impact on nutrition status as it currently reaches out to a small proportion of the population (only some of those who possess “below the poverty line (BPL)” ration cards) and provides only cereals in most places. It, however, has the potential to contribute significantly to food security, especially of poor families.

The problem of hunger and malnutrition in the country was brought to centre-stage in 2001 through a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) in the Supreme Court filed by the Peoples’ Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) on the right to food. With food stocks overflowing in the FCI godowns when there were reports of starvation deaths from different parts of the country, the PUCL argued that “the right to food is a fundamental right of all Indian citizens, and demands that the country’s gigantic food stocks (about 50 million tonnes of grain at that time) should be used without delay to prevent hunger and starvation.”

In the last eight years the Supreme Court has passed more than 50 interim orders in this case, converting many government schemes into legal entitlements – this includes a universal ICDS, universal mid day meal programme, old age pensions, maternity benefits and the benefits under the TPDS⁵.

The Supreme Court orders, increased civil society action (e.g. the Right to Food campaign), greater political priority to addressing malnutrition (e.g. “universalisation with quality” of the ICDS was part of the Common Minimum Programme of the previous government, and it is repeatedly mentioned by the Prime Minister during Independence Day speeches) and the embarrassment over the NFHS-3 results showing no reduction in malnutrition in spite of unprecedented economic growth, has resulted in greater attention to malnutrition and ICDS in recent times.

This commitment is also reflected, to some extent, in the Eleventh Five Year Plan (EFYP) in which the budget allocation for ICDS has increased four times (in nominal terms) compared to the Tenth Plan. The chapter on nutrition in the Eleventh Plan focuses mainly on the ICDS scheme and the PDS.

Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS)⁶

The period from birth to six years of age (especially up to two years of age) is considered the most important period for any intervention on malnutrition. It has been widely argued that this age-group provides the “window of opportunity” for tackling malnutrition. The first two years after birth is the period when the child grows most rapidly both physically and mentally. For instance, by the time a child is two years old, she is more than three times her body weight. By the age of three, a child’s brain is twice as active as that of an adult. A child who is malnourished by the age of two has very little chance of ever being fully healthy; a child who has attended pre-school is more likely to learn better in school and so on. The ICDS is the only programme addressing the health, nutrition and pre-school needs of children under six.

ICDS works through a network of anganwadi centres (AWC) run by anganwadi workers (AWW) and helpers (AWH). The ICDS had a modest beginning: with anganwadi centres being set up in only 33 blocks across the country in 1975. Over the last thirty years there has been a slow rise in the spread of ICDS to cover all the blocks in the country. ICDS aims to provide comprehensive services to address the health, nutrition and development needs of children under six. It provides the following six services: (1) Pre-school education; (2) Nutrition and Health Education; (3) Supplementary Nutrition (SNP); (4) Referral Services; (5) Immunisation and (6) Health Check Up. ICDS is a centrally sponsored programme with the Government of India contributing towards 90% of all costs and 50% of the cost of supplementary nutrition. The state governments contribute the remaining 10% of the programme costs and a matching grant of 50% towards supplementary nutrition. Some states, notably Tamil Nadu, Kerala, invest more from their own funds to provide better quality supplementary

⁵ See www.righttofoodindia.org for details

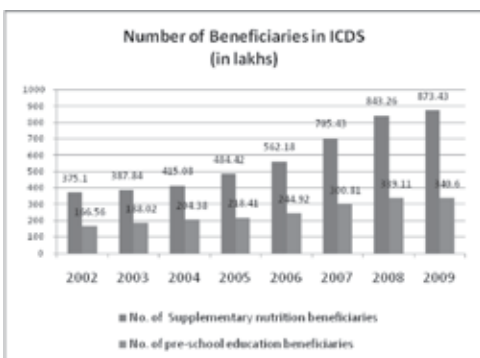
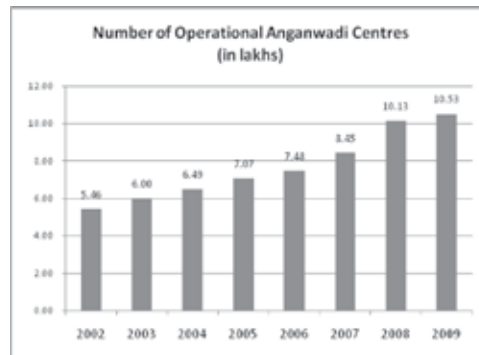
⁶ Please see the list of references on ICDS provided in the end of the paper

nutrition and/or increased salaries, better infrastructure etc.

Although the ICDS programme has been in place for more than three decades, it has failed to make a significant dent on child malnutrition. Different studies show that there are many gaps in both the design and the implementation of the ICDS.⁷ These include low coverage, neglect of children under two years of age—the most important age group for any intervention on malnutrition—no pre-school activities, poor quality of supplementary nutrition, corruption and leakages in the supply of SNP, centralised systems of planning and procurements, overburdening of anganwadi workers, irregular training and monitoring, absence of proper infrastructure and complete lack of focus on support services such as counselling (for nutrition and breastfeeding),

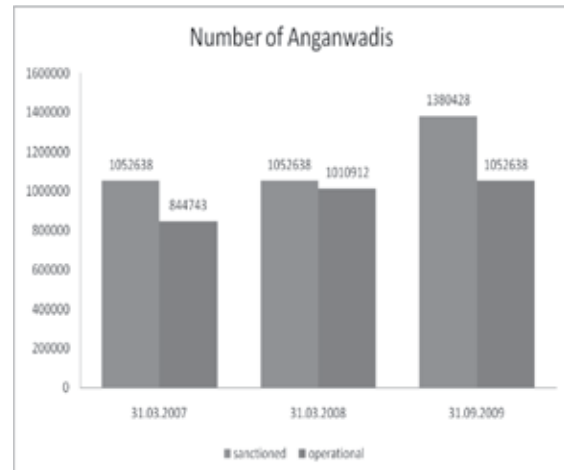
The plan recognises these gaps in the ICDS and calls for ‘restructuring’ it so that the programme is universalised, there is greater focus on children under two, supplementary nutrition is of better quality, fund transfer is smooth, maternity and child care services are provided. Although the plan analyses the problems of ICDS well, it does not spell out specific policy recommendations to resolve these. For instance, while it stresses on the need to shift focus to children under three, there is nothing specified on how this is to be achieved. The section below looks at some of the key issues in relation to ICDS and assesses the Eleventh Plan’s performance till date on each of these.

1. **Universalisation:** It is widely agreed that universalisation of ICDS is essential to address the issue of malnutrition, and provide health, nutrition and education services to children under six. The plan also recommends the universalisation with quality of the ICDS. In the last eight years, since the beginning of the Supreme Court case the number of anganwadi centres in the country has almost doubled from about 5.4 lakhs in 2002 to 10.5 lakhs in 2009. However, the Supreme Court orders state that at least 14 lakh anganwadi centres should be set up for achieving universalisation and the deadline set by the Court for this was December 2008.



Source: Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India

⁷ See FOCUS ,2006;; Gupta A et. Al., 2007; Special Issue of EPW on ICDS, 26 August 2006, Reports of the Supreme Court Commissioners (available at www.sccommissioners.org)



Utilisation of ICDS services (in the 12 months preceding the survey)		
Percentage of children under age six who:	Received food supplements	26.3
	Received immunisations	20
	Received health check-ups	15.8
	Went for early childhood care/pre-school	22.8
	Were weighed	18.2
Source: NFHS-3 (IIPS 2006)		

While the Government of India has now sanctioned a total of 13.8 lakh anganwadis, only about 10.7 lakh anganwadi centres are operational as of 30.09.2009.

There has also been a tremendous increase in the coverage of children in the six months to six years age groups under the supplementary nutrition programme from less than 4 crores to over 8 crores. However, it must be cautioned that these are the official statistics and it is well known that they are overestimates. Although there are no large scale independent evaluations available after the beginning of the Eleventh Plan period, the NFHS-3 which was conducted in 2005-06 gives some indication of the actual coverage under ICDS. According to NFHS-3, while 81.1% children under age six living in enumeration areas are covered by an AWC, only 28.4% of them received any service from the AWC. Only 32.9% of children living in areas covered by an anganwadi received any service from the AWC in the past one year. Only 26.3% of children under six received any food supplements in the 12 months preceding the survey. The coverage of other services such as pre-school education, growth monitoring was also very low.

- Supplementary Nutrition:** The norm for supplementary nutrition until recently was Rs. 2 per beneficiary per day, (this amount was even lower and was increased by double in 2006), which was lower than the allocation for mid day meal in schools (which is Rs. 2 + 100gms of foodgrain). So the SNP was neither nutritious in content nor appealing for the children in taste. What is needed is nutritious, locally procured and culturally appropriate food that are not only good supplements but also attract parents and children to the anganwadi centre for other services such as growth monitoring and nutrition counselling. According to the report of the Supreme Court Commissioners in 2007-08 at an All India level Rs. 1.78 was spent on each beneficiary per day in 2007-08 on SNP under ICDS, which is less than the Rs. 2 which was then the norm.

However, there has been some improvement in this with the Government of India recently increasing the allocation for SNP from Rs. 2 per child per day to Rs. 4 per child per day (as on April 2009) towards improving the quality of supplementary nutrition provided under the ICDS. With 50% of the allocation having to be contributed by the state governments and it remains to be seen whether states, especially the poorer ones are able to allocate higher amounts, based on the new norms. And then, with rising prices, this is still not sufficient to provide good nutrition. The school mid-day meal programme provides for free supply of foodgrains thereby shielding at least that aspect of the meal from price fluctuations while this is not so in the case of SNP in ICDS.

New Financial Norms for SNP

	Existing Rates (per beneficiary per day)	Revised (per beneficiary per day) ¹
Children (6 months to 72 months)	Rs. 2.00	Rs. 4.00
Severely malnourished Children (6 months to 72 months)	Rs. 2.70	Rs. 6.00
Pregnant women and Nursing mothers	Rs. 2.30	Rs. 5.00

Source: wcd.nic.in, Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India

3. Focus on Children under two: The Eleventh Plan emphasises the need for focus on children under two for tackling malnutrition. However there are no concrete strategies proposed to achieve this.

- a. Human Resources:** One of the important ways in which this can be achieved —suggested by almost all the studies mentioned above—is to provide for two anganwadi workers in each anganwadi centre (See FOCUS, 2006; Working Group for Children under Six, 2008). According to official statistics there are on an average more than 90 beneficiaries (women and children) of the supplementary nutrition programme per AWC. This is too high a number to be handled by one anganwadi worker especially because she has a lot of responsibilities: managing the supplementary nutrition programme, providing health and nutrition counselling for families of children under three years of age and pregnant and lactating mothers, mainly a community based activity. She is also responsible for providing preschool education for the 3 to 6 year olds, which is mainly a centre based activity (the average number of children availing preschool education, per AWC, is about 32). For the anganwadi worker to be able to provide enough attention to all the different groups of beneficiaries (children under three, children in the 3 to 6 age group, pregnant and lactating mothers and adolescent girls) it is essential to have at least two anganwadi workers (other than the helper) per centre. There is no proposal to appoint a second anganwadi worker in the EFYP (appointing a second anganwadi worker has also been recommended by the Working Group on Food and Nutrition Security of the Planning Commission, set up to advise strategies for the Eleventh Plan.)

Moreover the conditions of work of the anganwadi worker in terms of salary, training, support and monitoring also needs to be improved. Although the plan mentions improved training, there is no proposal to increase the number of supervisory staff. The anganwadi also needs proper support and guidance from the supervisors and the Child Development Project Officers (CDPOs). While the roles of the supervisors and CDPOs need to be properly defined, it is also important that there are a sufficient number of them. As of 2008, 43.3% of sanctioned supervisor posts and 34.3% of sanctioned CDPO posts were vacant.

- b. Breastfeeding Support and Counselling:** To ensure exclusive breastfeeding for the first six months, one of the most important interventions to address malnutrition and child mortality,

there is a need to provide breastfeeding counselling services along with maternity benefits which encourages poor working mothers to stay at home during this period. The Eleventh Plan also talks about introducing a maternity benefit scheme for encouraging exclusive breastfeeding with a budgetary allocation of Rs. 9000 crores (separate from the ICDS budget). However, such a scheme has not been introduced yet and therefore no money spent on this account. An announcement has recently been made that such a scheme would be introduced soon on a pilot basis. The Indira Gandhi Matritava Sahyog Yojana (IGMSY) proposes a benefit to Rs. 4500 of pregnant women who meet certain conditions (such as registration at the anganwadi centre, complete immunisation of the child and so on) (The Hindu, 2009). There are problems with this scheme. The eligibility conditions assume that there are no supply side problems in meeting these conditions in the areas where the scheme is to be implemented. This is unrealistic since e.g., if immunisation services are not available at the local AWC or Primary Health Centres (PHC), the mother cannot be faulted for this. Further, monetary incentives while useful in their own right are not enough to ensure that mothers understand the importance of exclusive breastfeeding. In order for this to happen a scheme with multiple interventions such as complementary support and counselling services is required.

- c. **Crèches:** Along with maternity benefits, another important intervention for children under two is to provide child care facilities. Most poor mothers are working and young children are either taken along to the work places where there are no facilities or left in the care of older siblings. The Eleventh Plan states, “To tackle malnutrition the Eleventh Plan will introduce an intensive malnutrition control programme within the ICDS scheme. Under this, 6–8 hour crèches for children under three will be provided in the most nutritionally backward districts of the country. The Village Health Sanitation and Nutrition Committee will be funded for providing at least three meals per child per day at these crèches. It will also be provided money for crèche workers.” (Planning Commission, 2007) However, no such scheme has been started nor is there any mention of it in any policy documents.
4. **‘Restructuring’ of ICDS:** The Plan envisages ‘restructuring’ to include greater focus on children under 2, improved quality of services etc. It proposed that the restructured ICDS should become effective on 1st April 2008, however no such change has been brought about yet. Similarly there is no progress on the proposal to modify the fund flow mechanism in order to involve the PRIs and strengthen the district planning process, as mentioned in the Plan.

Year	Budget Allocation (Rs. in crores)
2007-08	5293
2008-09	6300
2009-10	6705
GBS allocated in EFYP per year (= Total GBS/5)	8880

5. **Budgets:** The budgetary allocation for ICDS has been greatly increased. While the budgetary allocation for ICDS Scheme was Rs.10391.75 crore in Tenth Five Year Plan to Rs.44,400 crore in the Eleventh Plan Period. Additionally, as mentioned above Rs. 9000 crore has been allocated for maternity entitlements scheme (none of this has been spent as yet). Firstly, while this is a tremendous increase, it is still not sufficient for ‘universalisation with quality’ of the ICDS. One

estimate suggests that about Rs. 25000 crores per year is required for the same⁸. Secondly, the Gross Budgetary Support of Rs. 44400 crores means an annual budget of around Rs. 8880 crores. However, the budget allocated for ICDS is lower with Rs.5293 crores being allocated in 2007-08 was crores, Rs.6300 crores in 2008-09 and Rs.6705 crores in 2009-10.

There has been some improvement in the ICDS in terms of increase in the number of anganwadi centres and coverage of children and higher allocations for the scheme, but there is still a long way to go towards “universalisation with quality” of ICDS which can be effective towards reducing malnutrition and protecting rights of children under six.

Public Distribution System

India's PDS system is perhaps the largest distribution network of its type in the world with a network of more than 4 lakh Fair Price Shops (FPS) claiming to distribute annually commodities worth more than Rs 15,000 crore to about 16 crore families (Foodgrain Bulletin, August, 2009). PDS evolved as a system of management of scarcity to distribute food from areas of excess to areas where food production is low at affordable prices. There was a universal PDS system prior to 1992 when all consumers had the same entitlements without any targeting.

In 1992 the PDS was revamped to have a geographical focus on hilly, remote and inaccessible backward areas. Within these areas however there was no further targeting. The targeted PDS (TPDS) was introduced in 1997 specifically aimed at people below the poverty line (BPL) in all parts of the country. Based on Planning Commission estimates of poverty in different states, the state-wise BPL quota is fixed. Currently the official poverty lines of 1993-94 are being used for this purpose. Under TPDS each poor family was entitled to 10 kgs of foodgrains per month at specially subsidised prices. The allocation of foodgrains for the BPL families was increased to 20 kg in the year 2000 and to 25 kg. per family per month with effect from July, 2001. It was further increased to 35 kg in 2003-04. (Saxena, 2009; MSSRF-WFP, 2009; Department of Food and Public Distribution, 2007)

For further focus on the poorest of the poor, the Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY) was introduced in the year 2000, initially for 1 crore families, subsequently expanded to now cover 2.5 crore families. AAY provides foodgrains at a highly subsidised rate of Rs 2/ per kg. for wheat and Rs 3/ per kg for rice.

There is a clear distribution of responsibilities between the Centre and the states in implementing the TPDS. The central government is responsible for procurement, storage, transportation (up to the district headquarters), allocation of foodgrains to states and maintenance of a minimum buffer stock. The state governments are responsible for distributing identification of and issue of cards to BPL and AAY families, supervision and monitoring of the functioning of the Fair Price Shops (FPS), distribution of ration through the FPS, storage in state godowns and movement of foodgrains from the district headquarters to the PDS shop.

There are many problems with the way TPDS is currently implemented including targeting errors (of both inclusion and exclusion), high level of leakages and corruption, irregular supplies etc. There are further problems associated with the definition of the poverty line and the resulting BPL quotas which have been contested by many including state governments. With high levels of undernutrition and decreasing levels of calorie consumption, drought situation in many parts of the country, rising food prices along with widely reported problems of targeting in the public distribution system, there is a need to move towards a universal

⁸ This is the estimate made in the Gupta.A et.al (2007), “Strategies for Children Under Six: A Framework for the Eleventh Plan”. According to this estimate, Rs. 24587 crores per year are required for ‘universalisation with quality’ of ICDS and a further Rs. 8400 crores per year for supplementary nutrition for adolescent girls and maternity entitlements (in 2006 prices)

public distribution system. At the very least, there is an urgent need to expand the net of the coverage of the PDS to a larger number of households at the BPL prices. However, there have been no steps taken by the government towards this.

While these are very important and complex issues the present paper does not go into a detailed analysis of the PDS as it is also outside the purview of the Plan⁹. The Eleventh Plan document's section on the PDS also has an analysis of problems of targeting and leakages in the targeted public distribution system. It concludes saying, "*PDS seems to have failed in serving the second objective of making foodgrains available to the poor. If it had, the consumption levels of cereals should not have fallen on average—as it has consistently over the last two decades.*" (Planning Commission, 2007) The recommendations of the High Level Committee on the Long Term Grain Policy are reiterated including moving towards a universal public distribution system with a single CIP for all consumers. Although the plan does not mention any specific scheme or budget allocation for expanding the allocations under the BPL category of the TPDS, it definitely makes a case for the same. The major deficiencies of the TPDS identified by the Plan are: (i) high exclusion and inclusion errors, (ii) non-viability of FPSs, (iii) failure in fulfilling the price stabilization objective, and (iv) leakages.

As food has always been a non-plan subject, the suggestions for the concrete proposals for the PDS in the plan are limited. It only suggests the following steps be undertaken to improve the PDS: (1) taking effective measures to curb diversion and leakages through Global Positioning System, Radio Frequency Identification Device, etc. (2) increasing awareness among beneficiaries (3) Increasing the liquidity among dealers in the rural areas, encouragement of scientific warehousing of goods, lower cost of financing, etc. through a negotiable warehouse system (4) village grain bank scheme (5) Food stamps (6) Multi-application smart cards and (7) Web enabled systems.

The Department of Food and Public Distribution have started these different schemes, but none of them have yet been spread to the entire country. A scheme on computerisation of PDS operations is being implemented in four pilot states, use of new technologies such as GPS is being piloted in three states and so on (Note on Plan schemes of the Department of Food & Public Distribution available at fcamin.nic.in). Even looking at the allocation of budgets for the plan schemes by the Department of Food and Public Distribution, there is a shortage between what was allocated as GBS in the Eleventh Plan and what has been allocated in the three years since the beginning of the Plan. The total projected GBS for the Eleventh Plan for the Department of Food and Public Distribution is Rs 614 crore (at 2006–07 prices) and Rs 694 crore (at current prices). This would come to about Rs. 138.8 crores per annum. In the last three years while about Rs. 90 crores was the budget allocation under the plan budget support, the revised estimates show that even this amount of spending was not being achieved with amount being Rs. 60 crores in 2007-08 and Rs. 65 crores in 2008-09. The budget allocation in 2009-10 is Rs. 95 crores.

Budget Allocations (Plan) of Department of Food and Public Distribution

2007-08 plan outlay (RE)	Rs. 60 crores
2008-09 plan outlay (RE)	Rs. 65 crores
2009-10 plan outlay (BE)	Rs. 95 crores

Source: indiabudget.nic.in

⁹ It is also not possible to do justice to the entire issue of PDS and access to food given the space constraints. For further information and analysis on the PDS see Khera, 2008; Krishnaji and Krishnan, 2000 and other references on PDS at the end of the paper

Reforms in PDS that have been introduced in different states such as end-to-end computerisation in Chhattisgarh, along with other systemic changes, universal PDS in Tamil Nadu etc. have to be studied in detail and can be considered to be pilots for the rest of the country to emulate.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The Eleventh Plan aims to reduce malnutrition, measured as weight for age -2SD, by 50% to a level of 23% and anaemia among women by 50% to a level of 28.1%. Due to an absence of any independent monitoring mechanism of malnutrition rates in the country, other than the NFHS which is conducted once in five years, it is difficult to assess through empirical data on how much progress has been made on the goals of reducing malnutrition by 50%. The ICDS collates the growth monitoring data collected by anganwadi workers by weighing children under six every month. **According to this data the percent of children who were moderately or severely malnourished in the year 2007-08 were 48.62% which reduced marginally to 46.57% in 2008-09.** At this rate, there is no way that the goal of reducing malnutrition to 23% by the end of the Plan period can be achieved.

Field surveys from different parts of the country show that the actual coverage under ICDS is still very low and supplementary nutrition irregular in its supply and of poor quality. Growth monitoring is not done regularly and is not done in an appropriate manner (Samvad, 2009; Dhuru, 2009). This is also reflected in the fact that while the per cent of children who are severely malnourished according to the NFHS is about 16%, according to the data collected by the ICDS the per cent of severely malnourished (Grade III and Grade IV) children is only 0.62%.

An analysis of the Eleventh Plan proposals on the ICDS above shows that while there is some improvement in the ICDS in the last five to eight years, the change is slow and inadequate for it to make any significant impact on malnutrition levels. In spite of many reports on the failure of the PDS to reach people, there has been no significant reform undertaken (excluding some state level measures) to improve the PDS across the country. There is therefore an urgent need to undertake comprehensive measures for the prevention and treatment of malnutrition in the country.

Based on the analysis presented above and existing literature, the following are some of the recommendations for tackling the problem of malnutrition in the country, with special focus on the ICDS:

1. There is no national system of nutrition monitoring, mapping and surveillance in the country. District level disaggregated data not available from NNMB and NFHS surveys. An independent nutrition surveillance system must be set up so that we are able to monitor the progress made on malnutrition at least once in two years, at the district level (along the lines of the District Level Household Survey (DLHS)).
2. The effective implementation of ICDS and related interventions requires a high-level overseeing authority, serving as a technical body and strategic oversight that centrally monitors both health and nutrition outcomes of children under six. This overseeing authority should be linked directly with the Prime Minister's Office and the Planning Commission. It should have a balanced composition, including some representation of civil society organizations but excluding commercial interests.
3. All sanctioned ICDS centres should be operationalised without any further delay.
4. In order to provide all the services of the anganwadi, i.e. health, nutrition and pre-school education; it is absolutely essential that there are at least two anganwadi workers and a helper in each centre. This is the only way in which there can be the necessary focus on children under three through community outreach activities without compromising on pre school education for children in the age group of 3 to 6.
5. The quality of the SNP given in anganwadi centres should be improved by providing free foodgrains

additional (in line with the MDM scheme) to the monetary allocations made and decentralising the system of procurement and distribution to the lowest level so that there can be increased community monitoring.

6. The maternity benefit scheme should be introduced immediately *without any* conditionalities.
7. An anganwadi-cum-crèche scheme should be started immediately, at least on a pilot basis.
8. Steps need to be taken to move towards a universal public distribution system. Further, the public distribution system should along with rice and wheat also provide pulses and oil at subsidised rates, if the PDS was to make any dent on malnutrition rates.
9. Reforms to plug the leakages in the PDS such as end to end automation of the entire PDS chain, introduction of GPS tracking, activating vigilance committees, must be undertaken across the country.
10. Research must be carried out by the Planning Commission to document the 'best practices' in the implementation of government schemes in different states (for e.g. malnutrition mission in Maharashtra, the PDS reforms in Chhattisgarh), especially the PDS and ICDS, so that it can inform national policy.

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Web Resources:

Ministry of Women and Child Development: <http://wdc.nic.in> (all official statistics related to ICDS have been obtained from this website)

Ministry of Food, Public Distribution and Consumer Affairs: <http://fcamin.nic.in>

Planning Commission: <http://planningcommission.nic.in>

Ministry of Finance, Union Budget & Economic Survey: <http://indiabudget.nic.in>

Right to Food Campaign: www.righttofoodindia.org

Supreme Court Commissioners: www.sccommissioners.org

D

Drinking Water and Sanitation

WaterAid India

“More important than innate disposition, objective experience, and environment is the subjective evaluation of these. Furthermore, this evaluation stands in a certain, often strange, relation to reality.”

Alfred Alder

1. Context

Water supply and sanitation were added to the national agenda from the First Five-Year plan. In 1954, the first national water supply programme was launched but as part of the government’s health plan, sanitation formed a section on water supply. The central and state governments provided equal share of funding for water supply schemes. In the initial years, the states faced problems in implementation due to lack of qualified work forces for implementing the projects. In 1968, financial authority was granted to the states to sanction rural water supply projects. This was followed by the launch of the Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme (ARWSP) in 1972. Subsequent years saw the formation of the National Drinking Water Mission in 1986, setting up of the Department of Drinking Water Supply in 1999 and launch of the Sector Reform Project in 1999 and consequently the Swajaldhara Programme was launched in 2002. In 2007, the funding guidelines for Swajaldhara changed from previous 90:10 central-community share to 50:50 centre-state share with community contribution being optional. The new rural drinking water supply guidelines are the latest changes in the rural drinking water supply schemes of the government which have come into effect from April 1, 2009. The new guidelines mention that by March 2012 all rural habitations will be covered with an assured supply of water and that Panchayats will manage water supply schemes in their villages.

However, reaching drinking water to all rural habitation has proved to be a tough job for the government. In the last 55 years the government has missed the target of 100 percent coverage thrice. First it set the deadline of 1997 for achieving the target which was never met. After the Census of 2001 it again reset the target to 2007 but missed. In 2004, Government of India started the time-bound Bharat Nirman programme under which it was supposed to cover all the not covered habitation by March 31 2009. In fact the current coverage rate is 70%,¹a drop of around 26% from 2005 level. Table 1 depicts the see-sawing rural drinking water supply coverage from 2003 onwards.

Table 1: Shifting goalposts

Time	Habitations covered	Habitations to be covered (NC + PC)	Percent coverage (%)	Source
April 2003	869,997	637,352	57.7	National Habitation Survey Results
April 2005	1,367,216	55,067	96.1	WaterAid India
April 2006	1,128,277	294,006	79.3	Economic Survey 2006-07
April 2007	1,121,366	385,983	74.4	Launch of EFYP

April 2009	1,069,875	540,893	66.4	Data from DDWS website (As viewed on March 31 st 2009)
December 2009	1,168,997	489,309	70.3	Data from DDWS website (As viewed on December 10, 2009)

In case of urban areas as of April 2005, 91% of urban areas had access to water supply, this being inadequate and non-equitable in distribution.² The Class 1 towns had highest average access to water (73%) followed by the Class 2 and 3 towns. In India, 607 towns of India have reported slums. The total slum population of India as per the 2001 census is 22.58% of the total urban population of the towns and cities reporting slums.³ However, poor people living in slums have largely been deprived of water services.

The state of sanitation is even worse than the water supply. As per the 2001 census, 36.4% of the country's population had an access to latrine. In the subsequent years though the coverage of rural and urban sanitation has increased, there are concern over usage and with 665 million Indian's still defecating in open⁴, sanitation remains a big challenge.

The Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC) was launched in 1999 to provide individual Household Latrines (IHHL) to all rural households. The project objectives i.e. the number of IHHL to be constructed was 119,833,688. As per information available with the web site of the Department of Drinking Water Supply (DDWS) as on December 1, 2009, to meet the target of complete sanitation for rural areas by 2012 starting from today the number of toilets to be constructed is 60,282,786 which comes to around 48 toilets per minute. The increase in sanitation coverage from April 01, 2008 to March 31, 2009 was 10% and again from April 2009 to November 2009 was 10%. Considering an average 15% yearly growth (value obtained as for the first 8 months of FY 09-10 is 10%, i.e 5% for 4 months and 15 per cent for 12 months), India is like to meet the sanitation coverage of 100 per cent in the FY period 2013-2014. Using the same calculation the number of households covered till March 31 2012 will be 89,875,266 thus leaving 29,958,422 households without a toilet. This will amount to 149,792,110 (around 14.9 crore) people without access to a toilet.

The urban sanitation coverage as on April 1, 2005 stood at 63 % which rose to 83 per cent as per the National Family Health Survey (NFHS)-3 (2005-06). Similarly, rural sanitation coverage rose from 21.9 per cent in 2001 to 45 per cent in 2007 to the current 50 per cent in 2009. An important fact which remains is that coverage need not necessarily mean usage of sanitation facilities. There are various studies which indicate that mere coverage of sanitation have not resulted in usage and resulted behavior change of not defecating in the open. Quality of construction, materials used, poor maintenance and availability of water are some of the factors which influence the usage of toilets. As far as waste water drainage management is concerned, only 3.9 per cent⁵ of the total households in rural India have the closed drainage system of waste water while in urban India 34.5 per cent of the total households have closed drainage facility. There is very high percentage of urban households without any drainage system at all (approx. 22.1 per cent)⁶.

In terms of expenditure till the Tenth Plan the government has made a plan outlay of Rs. 117,683.36 crore and Rs. 52,024.37 crore for rural and urban water supply and sanitation respectively.⁷ An interesting trend observed that despite a rapid increase in the urban population, there has been a gradual shift in priority from the urban to the rural sector. The plan outlay for rural water supply and sanitation as against the total public sector plan outlay from the First Plan to Tenth Plan has increased from 1.46 per cent to 2.89 per cent while in case of urban water supply and sanitation it has seen a minor increase from 1.28 per cent to 1.30 per cent. Table 2 details out the plan outlay for urban water supply and sanitation across various five-year plans.

Table 2: Plan wise investment – rural and urban water supply and sanitation sector

Plan Period	Total public sector plan outlay (in Crores)	Total plan outlay for rural water supply and sanitation		Plan outlay for urban water supply and sanitation	
		Amount (Crores)	of public sector outlay	Amount (Crores)	% of public sector outlay
I Plan (1951-56)	3,360.00	49.00	1.46	43.00	1.28
II Plan (1956-61)	6,750.00	72.00	1.07	44.00	0.65
III Plan (1961-66)	8,573.00	105.70	1.23	89.37	1.04
Three Annual Plans (1966-69)	6,664.97	106.42	1.60	NA	NA
IV Plan (1969-74)	15,902.00	437.00	2.75	282.00	1.77
V Plan (1974-79)	39,303.49	1030.68	2.62	549.44	1.40
Annual Plan (1979-80)	12,549.63	430.22	3.43	197.93	1.58
VI Plan (1980-85)	97,500.00	4,047.00	4.15	1,766.68	1.81
VII Plan (1985-90)	180,000.00	6,522.47	3.62	2,965.75	1.65
Two Annual Plans (1990-92)	137,033.15	4,427.29	3.23	1,721.37	1.26
VIII Plan (1992-97)	434,100.00	16,711.03	3.85	5,982.28	1.38
IX Plan (1997- 2002)	859,200.00	39,538.00	4.46	18,624.00	2.16
X Plan (2002-07)	1,525,639.00	44,206.55	2.89	19,758.55	1.30
Total	3,326,575.24	117,683.36	3.53	52,024.37	1.56

Source: Report of the Working Group on Urban Development, 2006 MoUD

The assets that have been created at the beginning of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan with the said investment in case of rural water supply and sanitation includes –

- 41.55 lakh handpumps – 88.21 per cent reported functional⁸
- 15.77 lakh public stand posts – 93.49 per cent stand posts reported functional⁹
- 1.60 lakh mini piped water supply systems – 91.95 per cent mini piped water supply systems reported functional¹⁰
- 45,000 multi village schemes – 96.26 per cent multi village schemes reported functional¹¹
- Under the swajaldhara programme out of the 19,385 schemes included in the X Plan only 11,046 schemes were completed.¹²
- Under the total sanitation campaign till the end of the X Plan 2.89 crore IHHL were constructed leaving the remaining 7.29 crore IHHL to be constructed in the Eleventh Plan.¹³

Till the beginning of the Eleventh plan the government policies and programmes for water supply and sanitation had not recognized water and sanitation as rights but the subsequent years has seen the inclusion of water and sanitation as basic human rights.

2. Water Supply and Sanitation: Eleventh Plan Commitments

The Eleventh Five Year Plan aims to provide clean drinking water for all by 2009 and ensure that there are no slip backs by the end of the plan. This coincides with the Bharat Nirman target of complete coverage by 2009. The plan also envisages covering the 2.17 lakh water quality affected habitations. The government has also committed to cover the remaining 2.31 lakh rural schools by 2009. In case of urban water supply the government aims to provide 100 per cent water supply coverage for the entire urban population by the end of Eleventh Plan.

In case of rural sanitation the government aims to cover all rural households with individual latrines by 2012. India has set a target of 2012 for complete coverage of all rural households with individual latrines; March 2009 for covering all schools with toilets and 100 per cent urban sanitation by the end of the Eleventh Plan. Of this it is planned that 70% of the total urban population will be covered by sewerage facility and 30 per cent by low cost sanitation. This is in particular to cater to the section of urban population living in slums. For solid waste management 100% population is to be covered with appropriate means of solid waste management.

Thus in a nutshell the Eleventh plan envisages that by the end of the plan period i.e. 2012 India would have achieved 100 per cent rural and urban water supply and sanitation services.

From intent to reality: To achieve the above, the plan document for the Eleventh plan outlined the following measures and initiatives for rural and urban water supply and sanitation programmes.

Rural water supply:

The major challenges facing the rural water supply sector are source sustainability which is one of the prime reasons for slippage of fully covered habitations. The other challenges include maintenance of supply systems and water quality problems. The Chapter of Water and Sanitation and Clean Living Conditions stresses on the following measures for ensuring water to the people of India -

- Rainwater harvesting, conjunctive use of ground and surface water as a means of improving the sustainability of drinking water. The Eleventh Finance Commission calls for handing over the management of water supply systems to the panchayats. The states are advised to share a part of the operation and maintenance costs for initial years.
- One of the challenges of rural water supply systems was the monitoring and data compilation. To overcome this, the Eleventh Plan envisages for the creation of a robust Management Information System (MIS) with every state entering data and this being consolidated at the country level in Delhi.
- Drinking water faces a tough competition from agricultural uses and the plan looks for a cooperative mechanism for regulating water for agricultural and drinking use by panchayat representatives. It also

calls for the provision of compulsory recharge structures for all groundwater sources. The Central Government is supposed to support the states for tapping external assistance for restoration of tanks and other water bodies along with rainwater harvesting for quality affected habitations.

- Initiatives for including the community in monitoring of water supply works as a mandatory condition for release of funds for completed works. Community water quality monitoring of sources to be encouraged.
- Role of women to be encouraged in the operation and maintenance (O&M) of water supply systems. Women SHGs can be encouraged for collection of maintenance funds and taking up O&M of water supply systems.
- Convergence of schemes and programmes like National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA), Watershed schemes of the Department of Land Resources, Backward Region Grant Schemes, National Afforestation Policy, River Valley Project and Integrated Wasteland Development Programme to augment funds and bring institutions for sustainable water supply.

Rural Sanitation: The plan document sees the launch of the Nirmal Gram Puraskar as a major thrust to the rural sanitation campaign. It outlines the following measures for 100 per cent coverage and usage of sanitation facilities in the plan

- The TSC should focus on creating awareness on the importance of sanitation and look beyond the current just preventing open defecation norm. Rural sanitation programme to focus on SWM and school sanitation needs and also look for promotion of low water, low cost eco-sanitation models so that the pressure on water sources are not enhanced. Sanitation technologies for disaster prone areas should also be developed. Decentralized solid and liquid waste management systems as business models needs to be developed.
- Sanitation programs should have specific campaigns to include the special needs of women, adolescents, girls, disabled and the aged persons.
- Community monitoring of sanitation programs to be set up at the state level also ensuring that special attention is paid to look into the coverage of Below Poverty Line (BPL) and Scheduled Castes (SC)/ Scheduled Tribes (ST) households need special attention.
- At a national level the plan document calls for greater convergence between the National rural Health Mission and the Total Sanitation Campaign by converging elements of health care, hygiene, sanitation and drinking water at the village level. This would have to incorporate community involvement and increased attention to IEC activities,

Urban water supply: To provide 100 per cent water supply for the urban population by the end of the Eleventh plan the government has focused on the following two major programs:

- Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM): covering 63 cities with population of over 1 million: This has a tentative outlay of Rs. 100,000 crore, including contribution from states and ULBs. Water supply and sanitation is accorded priority under the program and is likely to get 40 per cent of the funds. The plan calls for channelizing resources from other outlays, Public Private Partnership (PPP) and external assistance and Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns (UIDSSMT) for the remaining 5098 towns having a population of less than one million. Under both these programs special attention will be given to towns and cities affected by surface and groundwater contamination.
- Adequate thrust will be given to O&M of assets created by created sufficient infrastructure within the state departments and Urban Local Bodies (ULBs).
- A comprehensive water tariff and user charges should be fixed. Metering of water supplies to be made mandatory in a phased manner with the aim of conserving water and generate revenue. Also, greater autonomy should be given to fix rates, taxes, user charges. Intensive leak detection and ratifications should receive priority and penalties should be levied on those found responsible for leakage.

- To reduce wastage of water, adoption of low volumetric cisterns and rainwater harvesting made mandatory in all public and private buildings including commercial establishments. The states and ULBs have been asked to implement schemes for artificial recharge of groundwater.
- Research for developing low cost desalination technologies for providing alternate sources of water. Water Quality monitoring should be given top-most priority by the state governments and ULBs. For this purpose water quality testing laboratories to be set up in each town and city backed by qualified staff and resources.
- Developing a robust MIS on urban water supply and sanitation. Trained human resources will be a must for the implementation of programmes and organizations like Public Health Engineering Department (PHED) and Central Public Health and Environmental Engineering Organisation (CPHEEO) to impart training to staff.
- Finally efforts should be made to step up the quantum of funds through institutional financing, FDI, assistance from bilateral, multilateral agencies and people should also seek contributions from the MP Local Area Development scheme.

Urban Sanitation: Solid waste disposal and sewage management are turning out to be the major problems in our towns and cities and the plan documents lay adequate emphasis on these:

- Attention should be given for recycling of sewage and using it for non-potable uses. Industries and commercial establishment should be encouraged to undertake.
- Subsidies should be provided to SCs/ STs and other disadvantaged groups living in urban slums for taking connections for water supply and sewerage, construction of latrines, subsidized water rates.
- Storm water drainage systems to be developed in all towns and cities to prevent water logging during monsoons. Also sewerage facilities to be provided to unauthorized colonies without giving them the right to land.
- All towns and cities to have appropriate solid waste management facilities. Compulsory production of compost by segregating wastes should be promoted. Also the recyclable materials like plastics, glass, paper, tin should be sent for recycling. Awareness programmes urging consumers to minimize waste generation at homes should be initiated and the ULBs should earmark land while planning for setting up sanitary landfills.
- Urban waste management systems should not remain a domain of the public sector but private partnerships should also be encouraged. Community involvement in PPP projects can lead to their sustainability and PPP programmes should be redesigned to include community participation.
- The total outlay in the Eleventh Five Year Plan for Rural Water Supply and Sanitation is Rs. 100,000 crore and Urban Water Supply and Sanitation is Rs. 75,000 crore.

3. Assessing performance

Some of the major initiatives on water and sanitation of the plan include –

- Release of the National Urban Sanitation Policy – October 2008
- Third South Asia Conference on Sanitation and the Delhi Declaration – November 2008
- Launch of the New Guidelines for National Rural Water Supply Programme - April 2009
- New Guidelines for Nirmal Gram Puraskar – August 2009

If one looks at the budget allocation and for the first three years of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan of the Union Government and relates it with the proportion of the Union Government's total expenditure, it is evident that the proportion of the total budget for watsan is a little more than 1 per cent of the total budget (See Table 3).

Table 3: Expenditure on Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Sector

Year	Budget Expenditure (Rs. Crore)	Per cent expenditure on WatSan as proportion of total expenditure from Union Budget
2007-08	7461.8	1.05
2008-09	8501.9	1.13
2009-10	8502.8	0.89

Data Source: How did UPA spend our money, CBGA, 2009

The section below presents the performance, challenges and some possible recommendations in case of the rural and urban water supply and sanitation programmes.

4. Rural water supply

The major challenges facing the rural water supply sector are source sustainability, which is one of the prime reasons for slippage of fully covered habitations. With an increasing population, the demand for water will continue to rise. The present water demand is 634 Km³. This demand has been estimated to show a 42 per cent increase, and reach 1,093 Km³ by 2025.¹⁴ According to a World Bank Report, the demand for industrial water energy production and other uses will rise from 67 billion m³ to 228 billion m³ by 2025 and that for drinking water in the country will double from 25 billion m³ to 52 billion m³ by 2025.¹⁵ As a result, the projected water demand will be more than the projected water availability in the next 17 to 20 years. The other challenges include maintenance of supply systems and water quality problems. There were some problems in the provisioning of water supply to the rural habitations in the Eleventh Plan. Some of the reasons for this included the physical location of the habitations being isolated and the inaccessibility of habitations. This resulted in difficulties in the procurement and transport of materials. Also looking at the possibility of groundwater as a long term sustainable solution proved a constraint. This has called for the need to look at the conjunctive use of water and devising ways of harvesting rainwater in rural areas.

Targets

The monitorable targets proposed for the plan for rural water supply are:

- Completion of 3,052 Not Covered (NC) and 38,894 Partially Covered (PC) uncovered habitations (Total 41,946 habitations) in the first two years of the Plan.
- Tackling of water quality problems in 60,000 habitations affected by arsenic, salinity, fluoride and nitrate by 2009.
- Coverage of 2.52 lakh slipped back and newly emerged habitations by 2009.
- Coverage of left over schools with adequate drinking water facilities.
- Provision of roof top rain water harvesting structures in 50,000 schools which already have toilet facilities.
- Source protection by recharge of 10% of the drinking water sources every year for the next five years with funds available under 'Sustainability' head of Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme (ARWSP) and integrating with programmes of other Departments.
- Coverage of habitations as per relaxed norms in the last three years of the Plan.
- Continuation of survey for detection of chemical contamination and provision of safe source in such quality affected habitations.
- Coverage of uncovered Scheduled Caste (SC) habitations in 71,406 villages which have SC population of 40 per cent or above and uncovered Scheduled Tribe (ST) habitations in 116,850 villages which have ST population of 40 per cent or above.

Strategy

To meet the above targets the Department of Drinking Water Supply outlines the following strategy in its road map for the Eleventh plan:

- Providing regional schemes from alternative sources by extending new pipelines;
- Supplementing with new schemes for habitations served by outlived schemes;
- Rejuvenation of outlived schemes which are functioning below their rated capacity;
- Reviving traditional sources;
- Providing rainwater-harvesting structures;
- Adoption of technology and propmotion of research and development (R&D); and
- Integrated approach by combining in-situ treatment with alternate safe sources, recharging and roof-top rainwater harvesting;

Policy Framework

The major development in the rural water supply sector in the Eleventh plan has been the introduction of the new guidelines for rural water supply. The guidelines for the National Rural Water Supply Programme (NRWSP) have come into effect from the 1st April 2009. The guidelines recognize drinking water as a human right. They also mention that water should not be left to market forces alone and that commodification may shift the focus to markets rather than rights. The need for water security at the household level is emphasized, thorough the creation of village water security plans. These guidelines have made significant changes in the funding pattern; approach to ensuring water security in the villages and greater focus on community management of water supply programmes. It has created a pool of funds for operation and maintenance of drinking water projects by the Panchayats. Significantly these guidelines mention that by 2012, the PRIs will be managing village water supply systems and with the state withdrawing. In a discussion between the Union Ministry of Rural Development with the state departments in charge of water supply and sanitation a need was felt to revise the funding criteria for the rural water supply program. This was done with the inclusion of new funding criteria for the National Rural Water Supply Programme (See Table 4).

Table 4: Funding pattern for the rural water supply program

Components	ARWSP Fund allocation (in % of total)	NRWSP Fund allocation (in % of total)
Coverage	40	38
Upgradation of NC/ PC Villages	10	-
Water quality	5	20
NRDWP (Operation and maintenance)	-	10
NRDWP (Sustainability/Swajaldhara)	-	20
States under Desert Development programme, Drought Prone Area Programme, Hill Areas Development Programme	35	-
NRDWP (Desert Development Programme)	-	5
NRDWP (Natural calamity)	-	5
Overall water resource availability (un-irrigated and over irrigated area)	10	-
NRDWP (Support)	-	2
Total	100	100

Source: National Rural Water Supply Programme Guidelines, DDWS.

States having water quality problems and left over of uncovered habitations, under different components of national rural drinking water program (NRDWP), namely Coverage, Water Quality, and Sustainability–Swajaldhara funds will be allocated to States/UTs with the flexibility to choose the components under which, they would like the funding to be provided.

Rural water supply systems need adequate operation and maintenance (O&M) for sustaining the systems already created. The annual estimated cost of O&M is approximately Rs. 6,000 crore¹⁶ which is heavy for the Government to bear alone. Peoples' involvement is envisaged not only to enhance the economic viability of O&M but also for better upkeep and enhanced life span of the system created. Operation and maintenance has always been a major concern for making rural drinking water projects sustainable. Earlier the Twelfth Finance Commission recommended separate grants to Panchayats to partly meet the operation and maintenance expenditure on ensuring potable drinking water supply. The new framework for rural water supply has created a pool of fund for operation and maintenance of drinking water projects by the Panchayats. In addition to the fund from the Twelfth Finance Commission, the NRDWP has earmarked 10 percent of funds for this and the States/union territories would make a matching contribution.

“All water supply schemes within the GP shall be maintained by Gram Panchayat. For Multi-Village or bulk water supply schemes the source, treatment plants, rising mains etc shall be maintained by the Public Health Engineering Department (PHED) or the concerned agency while the distribution and other components are to be maintained by GP. State Governments shall endeavor to develop sustainable sources of funding for maintenance of rural water supply schemes and shall ensure that the 12th Finance Commission and O&M fund release by RGNDWM is properly utilized,” says the framework.

Devolution to Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) and communities

The rural drinking water supply program aims for the community to plan, implement and manage their own water supply systems and ask the State to transfer the program to the PRIs particularly to the Gram Panchayats. There are incentives for States to decentralize and hand over water supply systems for management, operation and maintenance to Gram Panchayats. These guidelines however have come mid-way into the Eleventh Five Year Plan. The time period for upward planning for water security from the village upwards to the state is too short and may not yield desired results. While what is proposed may be process and community driven, the haste in implementation may derail the exercise. Currently India is facing acute water scarcity. At this time expecting PRIs to work on water security appears ambitious.

The policy and implementation measures as outlined by the department of drinking water supply states that the state governments would have the responsibility of formulating policy for community and gram panchayat involvement and decide upon the quantum of contribution for implementation, operation and maintenance of the water supply programmes and also the means to make their contribution. It also states that people belonging to the SC and ST or living in difficult areas like flood or drought prone areas, hilly areas would have the provision of not paying any charge for operation and maintenance. To further strengthen the community participation in the drinking water sector, the government launched the National Rural Drinking Water Quality Monitoring and Surveillance (NRDWQM&S) Program under which 5 persons in each gram panchayat were to be trained to carry out regular surveillance of drinking water sources. The government provided 100 per cent financial assistance for this along with the provision of providing water quality testing kits.

The management of water supply program by the PRIs and communities has had its share of success and problems. There is however ample evidence which have shown that better participatory planning and management have led to better performing community water supplies. The example of Gujarat is worth mentioning where communities have been involved in planning and then operating and managing water supply systems. The Government of Gujarat set up the Water and Sanitation Management Organisation (WASMO) in 2002 as an institutional innovation to bring in citizens' engagement in service delivery of rural drinking water and a paradigm shift in the role of governance from provider to facilitator. The approach followed by WASMO is that of a demand driven strategy, wherein community participation is internalised at village level through rigorous social process for community mobilisation and software activities like information, communication, education and capacity building on various aspects of management and implementation of water supply systems etc. The main instruments in the whole decentralization process is through the formation of Village Water and

Sanitation Committees known as Pani Samitis, which are sub-committees of the Gram Panchayat, the lowest rung of the three tiered Panchayati Raj system. These committees with representation from all groups in the village are empowered and their capacities built to take up the in-village water supply works.

Over a period of seven years, there are examples all across Gujarat where communities through the Pani Samitis are now in-charge of their water supply systems. The process of self governance for sustainable drinking water supply has been scaled up in the entire State with formation of over 10,000 Pani Samitis. The societal benefits that have been incurred from this initiative includes the social equity and inclusion, resolution of conflicts in villages, sensitization for better hygiene practices, emergence of local leadership, innovations at the grassroots level, efficiency of service delivery in water supply sector and a consequent wiliness to pay for services. The approach has been successful, is replicable and lot of lessons have been learnt.

The problems in communities managing water supply programmes have primarily been due to the fact that it is difficult to convince the institutional players currently managing water supply programmes to shift them to PRI and communities. This has been highlighted in a study done by Asian Development Bank (ADB) for the rural water supply in Punjab. Provision of drinking water supply in India has been considered a forte of the Public Health Engineering Department (PHED) and it is difficult to move from a department led supply programme to a community demanded initiative. Also, another problem that water supply programmes face is that they are cost intensive projects and the local bodies and communities find it difficult to run a high cost operating system. Related to this is the fact the communities and village level institutions do not have the required capacity and necessary human and financial resources to manage such a scheme. This calls for an approach where people are involved in the planning and execution of water supply programmes from the initial stage so that there is a gradual handover to communities for maintaining the systems later.

One of the solution to this can be in the step where the PHED is made into a Rural Development Engineering Department (RDED) where the officials are made in charge of all rural development programmes and report directly to the Secretary RD. Apart from this what is also needed is that the RDED is made to operate under the Zila Panchayat through effective ordinances which would ensure the involvement of the local government as effective partners in execution and implementation of water supply programmes. The management of in-village water supply schemes need to address larger issues of decentralization.

Convergence

Some attempts have started to ensure convergence of the Department of Drinking Water Supply with other programs of the rural development ministry like NREGS for convergence of funds and efforts for creating assets in villages that allow water conservation and recharge. The Department has also initiated efforts to focus on convergence of resources and investments at the district with the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM), Integrated Wasteland Development Program (IWDP), Hariyali, National Afforestation Program, National Project for Repair, Restoration and Renovation of Water Bodies, River Valley project & Flood Prone River Program, Twelfth Finance Commission grants, Backward Regions Grant Fund.

This will however require development of institutional capabilities and skills both at the District Planning Board/Zila Parishad level as well as at the village levels for preparing multi-sectoral water allocation, planning and management, including water distribution mechanism, and features to prioritize allocation for drinking water and protection against pollution.

To enable the PRIs and the community organizations including Village Water and Sanitation Committee (VWSC) to plan and implement water security plan on a sustainable basis awareness generation program and capacity development program under Communication and Capacity Development Unit (CCDU) is proposed be taken up on a continuous basis periodically.

The little attempts for convergence initiated by the central government need the strong backing and support of the state governments. With the funds for development programs directed to the states and given to the districts, it becomes imperative that there is convergence of programs at the district level. The centre on its part can issue guidelines but the operationalising and the implementation lies at the district level, which needs to be ensured.

Technology

The note prepared by the department of drinking water supply as its submission to the Planning Commission states that -states clearly need to opt for low cost technologies to reduce costs and that they may also opt for short term measures to meet the immediate requirements and take up long term measures in the future. Only a few States such as Gujarat take loan from financial institutions for taking up drinking water supply schemes. Maharashtra, Kerala and Karnataka have ongoing World Bank Projects and Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Uttaranchal and Rajasthan propose to tap external funding for which talks are on with the World Bank. These projects would be approximately worth USD 1 billion. States should be encouraged to obtain assistance from financial institutions and external agencies.

Rural water supply systems have so far largely been groundwater based, with 85 per cent of the drinking water needs fulfilled from groundwater. Over the years there has been a depletion of groundwater sources resulting in large scale slip back of fully covered habitations to partially covered category. Due to competing demand from other sectors and over-withdrawal drinking water sources are becoming dry and impacting the sustainability of water sources. This can be gauged by the fact that the rural water supply has fallen from 96.1 per cent coverage in April 2005 to 70 per cent now.

The Department of Drinking Water Supply in its note to the Planning Commission at the initiation of the Eleventh Plan has mentioned that the major reason for slippage has been the drying up of sources. To change from just creating provisions for drinking water availability and access in earlier approach of ARWSP, the new approach is to ensure drinking water security. In principle drinking water security involves creation of source, its sustainability and system for sensible uses enforced by community. The emphasis on rural water supply programs is on evolving village water security plans which are made at the village level with the involvement of people through proper water budgeting of the needs for various uses. It also calls for a groundwater recharging mechanism as an integral part of the system design of all groundwater based water supply schemes old, new or defunct.

With over 2 lakh habitation impacted by various water quality problems, one needs to find solutions for addressing these. There is a stress on the dilution of contamination of groundwater through recharge but one has to work for identifying options for treatment of water. The technologies for improving water quality needs to be standardized and mainstreamed through institutional mechanism and huge system of dissemination of technologies to the grass root levels. Linkage with DST and other scientific institutions for mainstreaming and standardizing technologies will be an essential part of this. There is a serious and general lack of technical and managerial capacity at key levels at central and state levels but most crucially at Panchayat level, results in uneven performance with poor regions, districts and communities receiving the poorest level of service. The current situation and status of the Public Health Engineering studies and research in India is extremely poor and thus creates a serious gap in capacity and knowledge in this crucial area. Water quality management programs have to take into consideration awareness measures coupled with provision of alternate and safe sources of water. This mix not only helps reduce the health impact due to poor water quality but also reduces incidences of increased toxicity due to unawareness on the disease burden (See Box - Providing safe water to tribal communities)

Providing safe water to tribal communities

An innovative fluoride mitigation programme was initiated in Dhar district with VASUDHA, a WaterAid India partner organization. Dhar is one of the seventeen districts in Madhya Pradesh that are severely affected with fluoride in groundwater. The basic purpose of the project is to provide an appropriate model of safe drinking water as a long term solution for the tribal population in the district. The focus of the effort is to create awareness and build up the capacity of the community for their active involvement, create a sufficient scientific database of the existing problem and accordingly opt for solutions.

The project is covering 15 villages where the major emphasis is to create alternate safe drinking water sources. So far three mini water supply schemes based on shallow aquifers have been completed. There is a need to develop a strategy to operationalize the hand pumps, attached with community fluoride filters, where alternate

sources are not available. Analysis for fluoride concentration in urine before the start of alternate water supply to the population was also done, taking 430 samples from different villages. The concentration of fluoride in humans was found quite high due to continuous use of fluoride contaminated water. At the end of programme cycle a same analysis would be done to give a clear health impact on the population where use of safe water is ensured.

Finances

Rural drinking water is one of the components of Bharat Nirman, which has been conceived as a plan to build rural infrastructure in four years period 2005-2006 to 2008-2009. The last two years of Bharat Nirman coincide with the first two years of the Eleventh Plan. In view of the progress made so far and the unfinished tasks ahead, the roadmap for the future has been worked out in terms of physical coverage as well as financial costs involved. Table 5 puts the financial requirement for the Eleventh Plan.

Table 5: Financial requirement for Eleventh Plan for rural water supply (Rs. crore)

Year	Total	Centre	State
2007-08	16,192	9,632	6,560
2008-09	15,840	9,807	6,033
2009-10	17,436	10,800	6,636
2010-11	19,160	11,860	7,300
2011-12	21,000	13,000	8,000
Total	89,628	55,099	34,529

Source: Rural Water Supply and Sanitation: Approach Paper, DDWS

If one looks at the allocation and expenditure on rural water supply programme, one would observe that the expenditure in the first two years of the plan has been 80 per cent and 92 per cent respectively. Table 6 below summarizes the allocation and expenditure for rural water supply and sanitation programmes for first three financial years of the Eleventh Plan

Table 6: Allocation and Expenditure: Rural Water Supply programme (Rs. crore)

Year	Allocation for Rural Water Supply			Expenditure on Rural Water Supply			% expenditure	
	<i>Total (Central +State)</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Total (Central +State)</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>State</i>
2007-08	12,246	5,445	6,801	10,155	4,492	5,663	82	83
2008-09	13,984	6,916	7,068	12,455	5,890	6,565	85	92
2009-10 (Till Nov)	7,679	3,389	4,290	4,598	1,912	2,686	56	62

Source: Department of Drinking Water Supply

The challenges in utilization of money for the rural water supply lie in the fact that states are not able to provide funds in 1:1 ratio. A CAG audit for the rural water supply programme revealed that 10 states namely Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Jammu and Kashmir, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Nagaland, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal were not able to provide matching grants to the tune of Rs 2773.14 crore. There was under utilisation of 45 per cent to 75 per cent of financial assistance from the Centre to the states for the water supply scheme between 2002 and 2007. Of the Rs 16,104 crore released by the Centre for ARWSP during the period, the state governments spent Rs 11,323 crore (70 per cent). Around 45 per cent was utilised in 2006-07 (Rs 2,489 crore spent as against Rs 5,505 crore made available to the states) and 75 per cent was utilised in 2002-03 (Rs 1,816 crore spent as against Rs 2,408 crore available with the states).¹⁷

Social Exclusion

In India, there is a considerable difference in the level of attainment of people on various aspects of well being, depending on their place of residence whether rural or urban, the sex of the person and the social group or the segment of the population i.e. whether the person belong to SC's or ST's. Limited access to education, training or resources, such as land or credit, further impairs their equal opportunities for access to non-caste based occupations and decent works. The deprivation stemming from discrimination in all areas of their life leads to higher levels of poverty among dalits as compared to non-dalits.

There is considerable difference when it comes to the availability of drinking water, sanitation, health and education in case of SC's. The following figures illustrates the difference between dalit and non-dalit household in respect of drinking water -

- 27 per cent dalit households have water sources within premises whereas for others it stands at 45.2 per cent¹⁸
- 19.5 per cent dalit households have access to drinking water sources away from their premises whereas it stands at 14.4 per cent for others¹⁹
- 32.2 per cent of dalit households have access to drinking water from tap, whereas for others it stands at 40.1 per cent²⁰
- In respect of sanitation 23.7 per cent of dalit households have access to latrine facility as compared to 42.3 per cent for households of the general people.²¹

According to National Family Health Survey (NFHS) II data, the neo natal mortality, infant mortality and child mortality and under five mortality is higher for Dalits at all India level as compared with total mortality for others. Cases of anemia is more amongst Dalit women and children as compared to the women of other communities and at national level the full vaccination among dalit infants is less compared to others. The literacy rate among dalits is 45.20% and that amongst the tribes stands at 47.1%²², both of which is also below the national average of 64.8 per cent as per the 2001 census.

There have been instances where the socially excluded communities like the dalits have been excluded from water sources in times of scarcity and shortage. This is illustrated in the example below where in Tikamgarh district of Madhya Pradesh tanker supply in the villages in times of the summer months was not directed towards dalit hamlets and people were prevented from taking their share of water (See Box – *Differentiating water supply*). The needs of the excluded communities in times of distress need to be taken care of in emergency relief provisioning programmes.

Differentiating water supply

WaterAid India with its partner Parmarth Samaj Sevi Sansthan initiated a programme last year to provide water in the villages through tankers in response to the acute water scarcity faced by the people. The tankers were sent three times a day to the dalit habitations which were denied water. The programme helped address the needs of the socially excluded people as prior to this interventions dalit and tribal hamlets did not receive proper tanker supply and were not able to assert their demand for water to the panchayats.

This initiative helped tide over the water scarcity for the people as they now had an assured supply of clean water to meet their needs. While the provisioning of tankers was on it was thought to be a short term measure. People were however looking for a long term solution to their water crisis. Kalpana, who lives in Hateri village while pointing to the water scarcity said, "We are not able to send our daughters to school because they help us in collecting water, if the water problem is solved, our daughters can also go to school."

This initiated the need to make the village's water secure through developing water security plans and a pilot project was initiated in seven villages of the block. The water security plans based on a detailed water budgeting exercise has been completed and steps are on to implement the measures for ensuring water security in the villages.

Source: WaterAid India

According to the guidelines of rural water supply programme, the state governments and UTs are required to earmarked utilize at least 25 per cent of ARWSP funds for drinking water supply to the SCs and another minimum of 10 per cent for the STs. Where the population of SCs and STs is higher, additional funds can be earmarked and states may utilize up to a maximum of 35 per cent for these two groups where the coverage is less than that of the general population. An analysis of government data on expenditure on drinking water for SC and ST habitations by WaterAid India indicates that the allocation of funds for the SC habitations have been less than what is prescribed while that for ST Habitations have been more than what was planned. (See Table 7 and 8 below).

Table 7: Expenditure (in Rs lakh) on rural drinking water supply for 2004-2008 for SCs and percentage denial

Year	Total expenditure	Projected expenditure on SCs based on guidelines	Actual Expenditure on SCs	Percentage denied based on expenditure	Percent denied based on expenditure as per guidelines (25 % of total expenditure)
2004-05	162564.48	40641.12	22624.61	9.45	43
2005-06	316525.65	79131.4125	57787.30	6.75	32.1
2006-07	281794.42	70448.605	42832.80	9.80	46.9
2007-08	100303.81	25075.9525	14150.23	10.90	73.39

Source: DDWS website and in-house analysis

Table 8: Expenditure (in Rs lakh) on rural drinking water supply for 2004-2008 for STs and percentage denial

Year	Total expenditure	Projected expenditure on STs based on guidelines	Actual Expenditure on STs	Percentage denied based on expenditure	Percent denied based on expenditure as per guidelines (25 % of total expenditure)
2004-05	162,564.48	16,256.448	25062.55	0.72	15
2005-06	316,525.65	31,652.565	57787.30	- 1.36	-5.7
2006-07	281,794.42	28,179.442	42832.80	1.63	27
2007-08	100,303.81	10,030.381	14150.23	0.69	56.08

Source: DDWS website and in-house analysis

Data Management

One of the challenges of rural water supply systems was the monitoring and data compilation. To overcome this, the Eleventh Plan envisaged for the creation of a robust MIS with every state entering data and this being consolidated at the country level in Delhi. The department has developed a comprehensive MIS system for data entering and management data (<http://indiawater.gov.in/imisweb/>). Frequent visits to the site would reveal that the data is constantly updated. This has proved beneficial in terms of information compilation, collation and dissemination. However, this information about the MIS is widespread in the states with few people having information on the same. Awareness on the MIS needs to be spread amongst people for greater information and accountability. Questions are however raised on the accuracy of the data entered by the states. One needs to look at the cross validation of the data entered by the states with that on ground.

Conclusion

We are at the crossroads when it comes to rural water supply. However, the future road has the advantage of our past experiences, both positive and negative. There are few fundamental changes needed in our water management and we need four types of sustainability to make clean drinking water a reality. They are: source sustainability, institutional sustainability, financial sustainability and technological sustainability. All the four factors are inter-related and must be attempted simultaneously to achieve universal access to drinking water.

A summary of the challenges for operationalising these guidelines are indicated below:

- *Time frame and timing*- These guidelines have come mid-way into the 11th Five Year Plan. The time period for upward planning for water security from the village upwards to the state is too short and may not yield desired results. While what is proposed may be process and community driven, the haste in implementation may derail the exercise. Currently India is facing acute water scarcity. Habitation coverage has fallen from 94 to 70 %. At this time expecting PRIs to work on water security appears ambitious.
- *Source sustainability* - One of the major problems of the rural water supply program includes source sustainability. With 85% our rural water supply dependent on groundwater, over-withdrawal and increased competition has depleted the source resulting in wide scale slip back. It is time that rural water supply programs incorporate elements of groundwater recharge and conjunctive use of surface water to reduce dependency on groundwater sources. One concern is that with the depleting and deteriorating water sources is that it may pave way for private players to enter the rural water sector and encourage further depletion of water sources and provision of water at a higher cost.
- *Operation and Maintenance (O&M)* - Rural water supply systems need adequate operation and maintenance (O&M) for sustaining the systems already created. The annual estimated cost of O&M is approximately Rs. 6,000 crore which is heavy for the Government to bear alone. Peoples' involvement is envisaged not only to enhance the economic viability of O&M but also for better upkeep and enhanced life span of the system created. This will have to be done through installation of an appropriate community mechanisms based on services provided and satisfaction levels to increase cost recovery.
- *Needs of the excluded* - According to the guidelines of rural water supply program, the state governments and UTs are required to earmarked utilize at least 25% of funds for drinking water supply to the SCs and another minimum of 10 per cent for the STs. Where the population of SCs and STs is higher, additional funds can be earmarked and states may utilize up to a maximum of 35 per cent for these two groups where the coverage is less than that of the general population. An analysis of the expenditure on the SC habitations reveals that there has been a denial to the tune of 11 per cent in the first FY of the 11th plan (2007-08). The figures for preceding years also depict less expenditure of funds in case of SC habitations. The mandated 10 per allocation and expenditure for ST habitations however has been as per the mandated guidelines.
- *Community management of schemes* - The rural drinking water supply programme aims for the community to plan, implement and manage their own water supply systems and ask the State to transfer the programme to the PRIs particularly to the Gram Panchayats. There are incentives for States to decentralize and hand over water supply systems for management, operation and maintenance to Gram Panchayats. The problems facing communities managing water supply programs have primarily been due to the fact that it is difficult to convince the institutional players currently managing water supply programs to shift them to PRI and communities along with the commensurate powers, funds and building up of capacities. Also, another problem is that water supply programs face is that they are cost intensive projects and the local bodies and communities find it difficult to run a high cost operating

system. Related to this is the fact the PRIs and communities may not have the required capacity and necessary human and financial resources to manage such a scheme.

- *Monitoring indicators*- Currently coverage is measured by means of investment made or infrastructure created. Monitoring needs to include actual availability and quality of drinking water made available due to the investment and the health impact.

5. Rural sanitation

The health and well being of individual, communities is dependent on the availability of safe drinking water and proper sanitation. The resulting health and economic burden of inadequate water and sanitation services is immense taking a toll on human life. The Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC), launched in 1999 is the flagship program on sanitation in India. TSC aims at improving the quality of life of people in the rural areas through creation of open defecation free (ODF) and fully sanitized villages. It has been ten years ever since the program was launched in 1999 and one would agree beyond doubt that the TSC has been the most significant reform initiative in the rural sanitation sector in India so far and has the potential to transform the sanitation scenario in the rural areas of the country resulting in positive public health outcomes. The sanitation coverage, which was a dismal 17 per cent in 1999 when the Total Sanitation Campaign was launched, has risen to 50 per cent as of date. According to a Mid-Term evolution of the TSC programme it was found that the rate of adoption of sanitary toilets is 61.5 per cent at all India level with the BPL households having a better adoption rate.²³ Financial constraint was the most frequently stated reason for non-adoption of toilet facility.

However, there are many challenges associated with rural sanitation program in the country. The biggest of these is the coverage and the actual usage of toilets. Though one has seen an increase in sanitation coverage, which means that the number of toilets constructed has increased, how much of that has actually translated in usage is yet to be seen. There have been studies by various organizations, which have shown that toilets usage has been around 30-60 per cent. The Prime Minister in his inaugural address during SACOSAN-III mentioned that the usage of toilets in India is only 50 per cent. To ensure usage of the physical structures created is a major challenge. Other areas of concern include the quality of construction, the technology options for sanitation and menstrual hygiene management.

Targets

The monitorable targets proposed for Eleventh Plan for rural sanitation are:

- 100 per cent sanitation coverage of individual households – which would mean construction of 7.29 crore Individual Household Latrines by March 31, 2012 which is the government's deadline for total sanitation coverage. The required growth rate for this to happen was 10.4 per cent in the beginning of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan;
- Encourage cost effective and appropriate technology development and application;
- Generate demand through awareness and health education;
- 100 per cent school sanitation coverage and promotion of hygiene education amongst students and teachers; and
- Inclusion of solid and liquid waste management in villages.

Some of the constraints in the implementation of the TSC programme include the lack of priority for sanitation by many states. This however seem to have changed with sanitation becoming a priority for various state governments. The examples being that of Chhattisgarh and Bihar recently where the Chief Ministers of the state have taken keen interest in the TSC programme and including it as one of the programmes to be directly supervised periodically by themselves. Another related factor is the non-release of the state share by several states which has hampered the growth of the programme.

Policy Framework and implementation

TSC is the major program on rural sanitation. However, despite the increasing policy and programme focus on sanitation in recent years, most of the state governments do not have a stated state policy and a strategy detailing out the implementation plan on sanitation. Few state governments like Maharashtra and Bihar do have their own state level programs as well; these are called Sant Gadge Baba Grameen Swachhata Abhiyan and Lohiya Swachhata Yojana respectively.

There have been little attempt on part of the people implementing the TSC programme to develop a strategy to implement the program. In places where there have been well articulated implementation strategies for the program, results have been remarkable. One of the common factors in strategies in all these places has been the element of some kind of a campaign mode focusing on people as the key actors and change agents in the process. Involvement of school children and youth in implementation has also been one of the features of these program implementation strategies.

The sanitation needs of the poor in general and the poorest of the poor in particular have been the biggest challenge in TSC implementation on the ground. TSC Guidelines (2007) propose monetary incentive only for the poorest of the poor, which is the only given programme instrument to include them in sanitation campaign as participants. But entry of poor in rural sanitation initiative as recipients of incentive positions them as beneficiaries diverting them of their agency as sanitation activists and change agents in a process of collective local action as equal participants.

Incentive for BPL households

TSC envisages providing monetary support to BPL families for construction of toilets. The subsidy amount was Rs. 1200 since the program began in 1999. There were demands from various states that the amount needs to be raised to take into account that then amount given is less to support the construction of a toilet with a proper super-structure. The subsidy component was revised from Rs. 1200 to Rs. 2200 for BPL families in 2008. Off late there has been a growing debate on the adequacy of the subsidy amount. Many feel that the Rs. 2200/- subsidy for the construction of IHHL is still inadequate and this needs to be raised. There are certain states however where subsidy is provided to APL families as well. These include Bihar and Chhattisgarh where subsidy is provided under the state contribution for APL families as well.

There are however different opinion on the question of subsidy, these being –

- Subsidy for Below Poverty Line (BPL) families - The argument in favour of this is that poor households do need financial assistance for the construction of toilets and that they should be financially supported for the same. There are however instances of malpractices in the issue of BPL cards which leads to people in need not getting their due share. This is one deficiency in the BPL allocation system that needs to be done away with for poor people getting the benefits they are intended for.
- Subsidy for both Below Poverty Line (BPL) and Above Poverty Line (APL) families – Another argument is that subsidy should be provided for all household. The point put forth for this is that sanitation forms the basic need for all irrespective of APL-BPL distinction and hence APL and BPL distinctions need to be removed in TSC subsidy targeting.
- No subsidy - Another view is that of no subsidy. The present need is for demand driven and community owned approaches for sanitation. This should be strengthened as the core mission of all the sanitation programmes. The contention being that subsidy is more of a hindrance than help in achieving total sanitation outcomes at the community level.

In light of the different opinion on the issue of subsidy, this is one aspect that needs to be debated upon to arrive at a mutual consensus on the amount and nature of subsidy to rural households for the construction of toilets.

Nirmal Gram Puraskar (NGP)

To add vigour to the TSC, the government in 2003 initiated an incentive scheme for fully sanitized and open defecation free Gram Panchayats, Blocks, and Districts called the 'Nirmal Gram Puraskar'. The incentive

provision is for PRIs as well as individuals and organizations that are the driving force for full sanitation coverage. There is little doubt that NGP has given a thrust to the TSC and has increased the sanitation coverage. But there are problems with the award system. It has been observed that all the Nirmal Gram Villages have not fully attained the open defecation status. Also, the target driven approach to getting as many NGP nominations and awards as possible at the state and district levels has resulted in a desperate rush to secure the NGP status for the gram panchayat rather than in a community initiative to get the panchayat really open defecation free and fully sanitised. The number of practices characterizing this rush include construction of inappropriate and unsafe IHHLs, school toilets and community complexes without any creation of genuine demand or involvement of community members; usage and behaviour change aspects of sanitation being totally ignored and manipulated during presentation to the visiting verification teams; people being pressurized or threatened to construct IHHLs within tight time schedules etc. The usage of toilets in such cases remains a challenge and thus has an impact the long term sustainability of the nirmal gram panchayat being created. There is currently little attempt at the state or district level to verify and certify the ODF and fully sanitized status of villages applying for NGP strictly.

Components of TSC such as solid and liquid waste management and proper drainage have been largely neglected in actual program implementation on the ground. Appropriate institutional arrangement is the key to effective implementation of a program or project. This basically entails who does what, when and how; who monitors the result; who verifies and who certifies; what are the mechanisms and processes put in place to carry out planned activities under various components of the program. In districts where there has been a dedicated team of trained staff with their roles and functions clearly defined and their performance regularly monitored, results have been relatively much better than the cases where TSC has been implemented in a routine administrative fashion.

Information Education and Communication (IEC)

Under IEC a wide variety of messages and communication media and techniques have been used to create awareness at the community level across different states and districts. The communication techniques used include folk theatre, radio, TV, and communication campaigns involving posters, pamphlets, wall writings etc. In some places social mobilization efforts have been made using Rapid Appraisals (RA) and (CLTS) techniques through trained community facilitators. Inter-personal communication involving persuasive dialogues and discussions with individual members of the household during door-to-door visits has been the most effective communication tool within the IEC framework. It has worked particularly well in cases where due to some resistant households; communities have been facing difficulties in achieving full sanitation coverage in their villages. Written messages in posters, pamphlets, and wall writings have largely not made any visible impact as most of these messages have been designed without any audience analysis and communication needs assessment in most of the districts and states. However, messages highlighting damage to family honour due to adolescent girls and women defecating in the open have worked in terms of hitting at the self-esteem of men during one to one individual and group interactions in places with strong patriarchal societies such as in Haryana.

The key message of public health impact of sanitation is largely subsumed. This has sometimes led to toilets getting constructed and even used by those who need them, but does not necessarily result in instilling sustained behavior change by all the members of the community, which is critical to achieve public health outcomes, which remain the fundamental objective of improved sanitation. There has been little evidence to show that conventional one time standalone IEC methods, used in most of the states have actually mobilized communities into self-analysis and action on their own. As stated in the objective of the Eleventh plan the IEC activities need to look at the wider aspect of improvement in personal health and hygiene as result of improved sanitation.

Technology options

There are major threats of inappropriate technology options for construction of toilets contaminating sub-surface water sources, thereby increasing the risk of avoidable morbidity and mortality. In fact, technology has emerged as a major factor in safe sanitation, which has yet to get the attention it deserves. The idea is not to have only sanitary latrines at the individual household level, but to have a safe pathogen free environment to ensure an improvement in the quality of life of people through significant reduction in avoidable morbidity and mortality, specially infant and maternal mortality. While the stated position on technology is one of promoting

local innovations, in most of the states and districts, there is little effort on making this happen. Availability of water is also a major factor for usage of toilets. This calls for rainwater harvesting for enhancing the availability of water. This can be particularly done in schools and anganwadis.

Single pit and off set latrines are being promoted with uniform hardware models in many districts. Also, in many places people carry this perception that smaller pits would fill up quickly and hence toilet pits should be as wide and deep as possible. There is emerging evidence to suggest that deeper pits are quite likely to cause faecal contamination of sub-surface water sources making things even worse in certain cases. This underscores the need to educate people and present to them a range of safe technology options for toilet construction as per local conditions and context.

Quality of construction of toilets is emerging as one of the critical factors in ensuring usage and sustained behaviour change. There are examples where inadequate attention on the technology aspects has led to non-usage of toilets (See Box - Unaware about technology options)

Unaware about technology options

A toilet, which was under construction in Parmila's house in village Pilkhi, Block Rajgir, District Nalanda in Bihar, is a costly one pit toilet. The household has spent more than Rs. 5,000 and the toilet is yet to be completed. The household had no idea about off - set pits and other technology choices otherwise, as stated by Pramila, they would have gone for better options keeping in view the kind of investment they wanted to make.

Parmila shared a case of Mithlesh who had constructed a septic tank toilet in her house, whose tank was wrongly constructed and it was leaking. This foul water of the toilet was passing through the street that used to stink and therefore often there was a quarrel with neighbours. Finally, her mother-in-law asked her to go for open defecation and stop using the toilet.

Lack of awareness about available technology options has resulted in excess expenditure and reversal to the practice of open defecation.

Source: WaterAid India

Maintenance of the facilities also is an emerging concern in the light of lack of understanding about the intricacies of adopted technology options. There is an urgent need to build in technology concerns and related information in the IEC messages to ensure sustained usage and to arrest slippages. The quality of materials used for constructing the toilets is a serious issue. Materials of inferior quality are being used for construction which has resulted in damages to the structure of the toilet, thereby resulting in its non-usage. The issues of corruption and siphoning of funds have also been raised in many places.

Eco-san has been conspicuous by its absence in many states. Eco-san with its focus on treating human waste as a resource to be used in an eco-friendly manner holds a lot of promise for safe and sustainable environmental sanitation and could be promoted as one of the options in the process of presenting technology options to people under TSC. In this regard there have been attempts by the Department to increase awareness and promote models of eco-san in villages. A draft guidelines for eco-logical sanitation has also been prepared.

Finances

Considering the importance of rural sanitation promotion the fund allocation has been increased in the Eleventh plan as compared to that in the Tenth Five Year Plan. As against the allocation of 2,230 crores in the Tenth Plan, the financial allocation for Eleventh plan is pegged at 11,700 crores (See Table 9).

Table 9: Financial requirement for Eleventh Plan for rural sanitation (Rs. Crore)

Year	Normal Scheme	NGP	Total
2007-08	910	600	1,510
2008-09	1,000	1,000	2,000
2009-10	1,500	1,800	3,300
2010-11	1,300	1,600	2,900
2011-12	990	1,000	1,990
Total	5,700	6,000	11,700

Source: Rural Water Supply and Sanitation: Approach Paper, DDWS

Table 10: Allocation and Expenditure: Rural Sanitation Programme (Rs. Crore)

Year	Allocation for Rural Sanitation				Expenditure on Rural Sanitation				% expenditure		
	Total (Centre + State + Beneficiary)	Center	State	Beneficiary	Total (Centre + State + Beneficiary)	Center	State	Beneficiary	Central	State	Beneficiary
2007-08	1,575	909	390	276	1,289	791	332	166	87	85	59
2008-09	1,959	977	762	220	1,470	837	48,4	148	85	63	67
2009-10 (Till Nov)	1,100	641	33,0	129	861	499	278	84	77	84	64

Data Source: Department of Drinking Water Supply, GoI

Convergence

At a national level the plan document calls for greater convergence between the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) and the Total Sanitation Campaign by converging elements of health care, hygiene, sanitation and drinking water at the village level. This would have to incorporate community involvement and increased attention to IEC activities. Convergence can also be brought about by strengthening the monitoring indicators account usage or behaviour change, the program's stated thrust. At present the thrust is simply on coverage and there is a need to incorporate monitoring indicators of better health outcome in the villages. This could be done by complementing on line TSC monitoring system with periodic field based reviews and community monitoring systems, other than the annual NGP verification carried out by Government of India. There have been some attempts with the Department of Drinking Water Supply writing letters to the states and other departments for ensuring convergence but much more needs to be done.

Data Management

One of the challenges of rural sanitation program was the monitoring and data compilation. To overcome this, the Eleventh Plan envisaged for the creation of a robust MIS with every state entering data and this being consolidated at the country level in Delhi. The department has developed a comprehensive MIS system for data entering and management data and an online monitoring system for the Nirmal Gram Puraskars as well. Frequent visits to the site would reveal that the data is constantly updated. This has proved beneficial in terms of information compilation, collation and dissemination.

For better monitoring of the TSC program, a panel of National Monitors has also been made which includes experts working in the water and sanitation sector in Government of India, State Governments, External Support Agencies, Non Governmental Organizations, and Training Institutions etc. They go to the states to review the quality of Implementation as part of Review Mission constituted by Government of India. There are total of 297 National Level Monitors (NLM) undertaking monitoring work in the districts. A system of report card for each state has been developed to assess the performance of TSC implementation in various districts

of the state on a number of parameters. The report cards are made twice a year and also shared with the State Governments with suggestions to improve the implementation in the relevant areas. The challenge with data management is that sometimes the states enter coverage when money is just transferred to the districts. This calls for the cross-validation of data from time to time to get the real scenario on sanitation coverage.

Social exclusion

Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC) aims to provide sanitary toilet facility to all households in rural area. The guideline provides for special emphasis on Scheduled Caste, Scheduled tribe and disadvantaged sections of the society. Out of total incentives earmarked for construction of household latrines, a minimum of 25 per cent is to be provided to the households from SC/ST as pointed by the Department of Drinking Water Supply in its submission note for the Eleventh Plan to the Planning Commission. Recently, State governments have been requested to pay special attention to 71,406 villages where population of SC/ST is more than 40 per cent as per Census 2001.

The stated strategy of TSC 'addresses all sections of rural population to bring about the relevant behavioural changes for improved sanitation and hygiene practices and meet their sanitary hardware requirements in an affordable and accessible manner by offering a wide range of technological options'. Within the TSC program framework, concerns for inclusion, equity and gender relations are not clearly articulated. As a result, even at the state level, there has been no conscious attempt or strategy to address these issues in an integrated and inclusive fashion.

Sanitation is 'life with dignity' and hence directly linked to issues of inclusion, equity, and gender relations. The poor are often excluded and marginalized having limited or no access to essential services including water and sanitation. Tribals and women are two distinctive categories of people, who have been culturally and socially excluded and marginalized in a number of ways. Hence, involving them as active participants and change agents in the development processes, as also in service provision, requires special efforts, which have been largely missing from implementation plans and strategies of most of the states and districts.

The plan's objectives for rural sanitation speak of sanitation programmes should having specific campaigns to include the special needs of women, adolescent girls, disabled and the aged persons. Women are the major stakeholders in sanitation initiatives, as their lives and the lives of their family members get critically affected by the adverse consequences of poor and unsafe sanitation. There is overwhelming evidence to the effect that women in rural areas have to suffer the most due to lack of sanitation facilities at home; as a result they have to walk long distances in the dark before dawn and after dusk in search of place for defecation in the open. This practice has serious implications for their health and well being. They lose out on their privacy, productivity, and dignity and run the risk of even rape and molestation.

One major issue that the guidelines fail to address is that of menstrual hygiene. Given that 50 per cent of the population comprises of women and that menstrual hygiene is critical for the health of women over a large span of their lives, this omission needs to be urgently addressed. Lack of awareness on menstrual hygiene management leads to health problems in women and retards their well being (See Box- Women misery).

Women Misery

God has blessed women with motherhood and for this purpose a woman experiences menstruation after attaining puberty. Motherhood is a great blessing to woman but sometime wrong or no information creates situation which makes woman to suffer throughout life. This is a heart rendering real story of Mamata Sen who got operated at the age of 25 yrs to remove her uterus after suffering for 7 yrs. Mamta on attaining puberty had enquired about menstruation to her mother. Her mother advised her to use cloth and was unaware of hygienic practices. Mamta used the same cloth for years and at times they were not dried fully before reuse. At the age of 20 she started developed problems of excessive white discharge, and thereafter her menstruation period increased from 7 to 10 & 15 days. Initially she did not consult a doctor owing to hesitation and shame and low income earning in the family. But when the problem became serious she visited a government hospital, but the medication did not provide much relief and finally she was diagnosed of damaged uterus that had to be operated upon. Mamta purely suffered because of ignorance of menstrual hygiene.

Under the Slum Environment Sanitation Initiative Kshitij, WaterAid Partner introduced Menstrual Hygiene Promotion through Self Help Group where Mamta Sen took a lead in educating fellow members and teenage girls by motivating girls and women of Indira Basti, Jabalpur to use sanitary napkin. She takes training on Menstrual Hygiene Management and produces sanitary pads through her Shri Sharda Self Help Group Producing Sanitary Pads at cheaper rates. In doing so Mamta has taken lead in breaking the silence of menstrual hygiene. She is determined about not allowing any other women to bear the pain and sufferings which she had gone through.

Source: WaterAid India

In places where women have been included as key actors and community sanitation activists, results have been significant. In Haryana for instance, women have played a very important role in securing safe defecation practices across several districts. Adolescent girls along with elderly ladies have joined the overall effort by participating in the various vigilance committees, which adopted Gandhian way of persuasion to the community members defecating in the open. Women SHGs have come forward to support construction of individual household toilets financially and has contributed significantly to collective local action in many parts of Karnataka, Chhattisgarh and Haryana. Another section left out are the differently abled people. At present there are no special provisions for them in the TSC guidelines. The special needs of more than 8 per cent population cannot be kept aside.

Usage

There are various factors which affect the usage of sanitation facilities created. Availability of water is one of the limiting factors in using the toilets. It has been seen in places with water scarcity that the women are reluctant in using the toilets because it will result in increased drudgery for them in terms of collecting extra water for use in toilets. The quality of construction and the materials use for constructing the toilets have an impact on the usage. It has been observed that in places where materials of inferior quality have been used people are reluctant to use the toilets. In such places the long term sustainability of toilets is also affected. Usage of toilets is also due behavior change. Sanitation programs face the deficiency of ensuring usage and the prime reason for this is the fact that people have failed to tough the right nerve which will enable people use toilets. This is partly due to the fact that the IEC campaigns have not dealt upon the importance of this in their programmes.

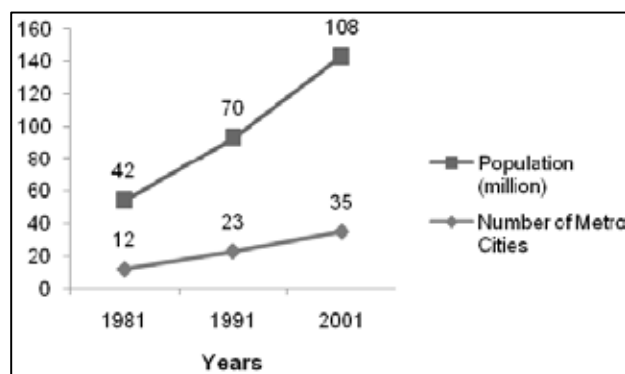
The key problems and related answers for the rural sanitation sector is outlined below:

- **Strategy and action plan for implementation** - Few states have developed strategies backed up by action plans and campaigns to implement the program. This has resulted in non-uniform progress of the program and delay in release of state-share of funds. In places where there have been well articulated implementation strategies for the program, results have been significant. There is a need to have a state implementation plan for the TSC program, with dedicated team of trained staff with their roles and functions clearly defined and their performance regularly monitored.
- **Sustaining Nirmal Grams** - The Nirmal Gram Puraskar did provide an impetus to state governments to address rural sanitation. However, questions and concerns have been raised about the veracity of the claims, the monitoring and the sustainability of Nirmal villages. In some places the scheme has resulted in an almost desperate rush to secure the NGP status for the GP, rather than in a community initiative to get the GP really open defecation free and fully sanitized. The monitoring system for NGP needs to be strengthened with emphasis on how the panchayats have been able to sustain the 'nirmal' status in their villages. A related modification could be that instead of providing monetary incentives for NGPs, options of better schemes/ programs for the Gram Panchayats (GPs). Incentives also need to be provided so that NGPs continue to sustain their status till such time 'sanitation becomes a way of life.'
- **Technology considerations** - There are worrying threats of inappropriate technology options for construction of toilets contaminating sub-surface water sources, thereby increasing the risk of avoidable morbidity and mortality. Technology has emerged as a major factor in safe sanitation, which has yet to get the attention it deserves. While the stated position on technology is one of promoting local innovations there is little effort on making this happen. Quality of construction of toilets is

emerging as one of the critical factors in ensuring usage and sustained behaviour change. Maintenance of the facilities also is an emerging concern. There is an urgent need to build in technology concerns and related information in the IEC messages to ensure sustained usage and to arrest slippages. Eco-san has been conspicuous by its absence in several states.

- **Needs of the excluded** - Within the TSC program framework, concerns for inclusion, equity and gender relations are not clearly articulated. As a result, even at the state level, there has been little conscious attempt or strategy to address these issues in an integrated and inclusive fashion. There have been some cases where SC/ ST households are left out for programme implementation. This needs to be corrected with special attention for the excluded communities. Sanitation is 'life with dignity' and hence directly linked to issues of inclusion, equity, and gender relations. It is important that the TSC programme incorporate elements of menstrual hygiene management and special needs for the differently abled persons. The TSC ignores the components of menstrual hygiene management in the programme, thus ignoring the needs of around 50 per cent of the population. There is an immediate need to widen the concept of sanitation expanded to include personal hygiene including menstrual hygiene and handwashing after defecation and before food.
- **Deepen monitoring to measure outcome** – There is an urgent need to strengthen monitoring indicators that take into account usage or behaviour change, which is the stated thrust of the program. The true impact of the program can be achieved when the improvement in sanitation corresponds to improved water quality and better health outcome in the villages.

Figure 1: Increase in metro cities and population



Urban Water Supply and Sanitation

The rate of growth of urban population has been more than the rate at which the overall population has grown. One can gauge the increase in urban agglomeration in India with the fact that the number of metro cities (cities with population of one million plus) has almost tripled during the period 1981 to 2001. Figure 1 shows the increase in metro cities in the three decades and their population. The corresponding increase in percentage of urban population has been from 26 per cent in 1981 to 32 per cent in 1991 to 37.8 per cent in 2001.²⁴

The Eleventh Plan began with an urban population base of 331 million persons (29.2 per cent of India's population) and it is estimated that approximately 36.8 million persons are expected to be added to urban areas.²⁵

Major programmes and access to services

The Government of India initiated the Accelerated Urban Water Supply Program in 1993-94 to provide safe and adequate water supply facilities to the entire population of the towns having population less than 20,000 as per 1991 Census. The pattern of financing was 50 per cent by the Central Government, 45 per cent by the State Governments and 5 per cent from the beneficiaries. As of November 2008, of the 1,244 schemes sanctioned under the program across all the states 971 schemes have been completed and 272 schemes are

under implementation.²⁶ This program was later merged with the Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns (UIDSSMT), which was launched in 2005 to improve civic services in 5,098 cities/towns (those not covered under the JNNURM). This initiative has objectives similar to the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). The JNNURM was launched in 2005 as one of the major program for providing facilities for urban water supply and sanitation in urban areas. It aims at improving and augmenting the the economic and social infrastructure facilities of the cities; extending basic services to urban poor including security of tenure at affordable prices and strengthening municipal governments and their functioning in accordance with the provisions of the 74th Constitutional Amendment. It is applicable in 63 cities which comprise of all metropolitan cities having a population of more than one million.

The official figures on water supply and sanitation indicates that 91 per cent of the urban population has got access to water supply and 63 per cent to sewerage and sanitation facilities as on April 2004.²⁷ The figures however does not reflect the true picture of service provisioning as there lies wide discrepancy in the reported figures and the access to services. There is a tremendous pressure on civic infrastructure systems like water supply, sewerage and drainage, solid waste management, etc. Recent data suggest that water supply is available for 2.9 hours per day across cities and towns. The non-revenue water that includes physical and revenue losses account for 40-60 percent of total water supply. About 30 to 50 percent households do not have sewerage connections and less than 20 percent of total waste water is treated.²⁸ Solid waste systems are severally stressed. The state of services reflects the deterioration in the quality of city environments.

As per 54th round of National Sample Survey (NSS), 70 per cent of urban households are being served by tap and 21 per cent by tube well or handpump; 66 per cent of urban households have their principal source of water within their premises while 32 per cent have within 0.2 Km; 41 per cent had sole access to their principal source of drinking water and 59 per cent were sharing a public source. In respect of sanitation NSS data reveal that 26 per cent of households had no latrines, 35 per cent were using septic tank and 22 per cent were using sewerage system. Sewerage connections varied from 48 per cent to 70 per cent. It is estimated that about 1, 15,000 MT of Municipal Solid Waste is generated daily in the country. Per capita waste generation in cities varies between 0.2 – 0.6 kg per day and it is increasing by 1.3 per cent per annum.²⁹ The urban water supply and sanitation sector in the country suffers from inadequate levels of service, an increasing demand-supply gap, poor sanitary conditions and deteriorating financial and technical performance.

Finance

The Eleventh Five Year Plan of India has estimated that total fund requirement for implementation of the Plan target in respect to urban water supply, sewerage and sanitation, drainage and solid waste management to be Rs. 12,92,370 million.³⁰ (See Table 11)

Table 11: Fund requirement for urban water and sanitation

S. No	Sub-Sector	Estimated Amount (Rs. In Million)
1	Urban Water Supply	536,660
2	Urban Sewerage and sewage treatment	531,680
3	Urban Drainage	201,730
4	Solid Waste Management	22,120
5	Management Information System	80
6	Research and Development and Training	100
	Total	1,292,370

Source: Working Paper: Urban Issues, Reforms and Way Forward in India, 2009

Programme Implementation

The JNNURM envisages an investment of over Rs. 1,000 billion, of which Rs. 500 billion has been committed by the union government and the rest will be mobilized through state government funding and urban local bodies (ULBs). However, various estimates suggest that over Rs. 3,350 billion is needed to cater to the basic infrastructure needs of the 63 mission cities.³¹

Till December 2008, memorandums of understanding (MoUs) have been signed with 62 mission cities, and 61 mission cities have been brought under the aegis of assistance. The two cities yet to receive assistance under the mission are Jamshedpur and Panaji. As far as implementation of reforms goes, Gujarat leads the tally for the state level reforms. Except for rent control, the state has achieved all the other reforms. Other states, which have achieved the maximum number of reforms, are Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal. So far, 10 states have managed to transfer functions as per the Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA), 17 have set up district planning committees, and three have set up metropolitan planning committees. Progress on the public disclosure and community participation laws has been most tardy with only five states managing to enact the same as part of the reforms agenda. Till April 2009, the Government has approved 342 projects at total cost of Rs. 399,429 million³² for water, sanitation sewerage and solid waste management under urban infrastructure and governance component of the program (See Table 12)

Table 12: Projects sanctioned under JNNURM

S. No	Sub-Sector	Number of Projects Sanctioned	Cost of projects sanctioned (Rs. Million)
1	Water Supply	140	182,346
2	Sewerage	99	121,167
3	Drainage/ Storm Water Drainage	59	72,888
4	Solid Waste Management	40	21,861
5	Preservation of water bodies	4	1,167
	Total	342	399,429

Source: JNNURM, Progress Review, April 2009

In the context of ULB level reforms, Visakhapatnam has the distinction of having accomplished all the reforms pertaining to water supply and sanitation. Other proactive cities to have made significant progress in implementation of reforms are Vijayawada, Chennai, Coimbatore, Greater Mumbai, Hyderabad and Madurai. So far, 23 cities have shifted to double-entry accrual-based accounting system, and 11 cities have set up e-governance centers. Overall, progress on reforms has been slow and more activity is seen in the sphere of implementation of projects. Some progress was achieved in the year 2008, both at the state as well as city level. The number of states and cities to implement the reforms has increased in the previous year. However, mission cities have displayed greater energy in undertaking various projects under the JNNURM. In keeping with the mission objectives, over 70 percent of the projects sanctioned, aim at improving basic urban services like water supply, sewerage, storm water drainage and solid waste management. Among the states, Maharashtra has been sanctioned the maximum number of projects under the JNNURM. A total of 72 projects worth Rs. 101.37 billion have been sanctioned for the state. Other states with most number of projects sanctioned include Gujarat (62 projects, Rs. 46.86 billion) and Karnataka (46 projects, Rs. 38.2 billion). City-wise, Bangalore has been sanctioned the maximum number of projects. A total of 40 projects worth Rs. 27.98 billion have been sanctioned for the city. Since its inception of Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns (UIDSSMT) a total of 691 projects worth Rs. 123.85 billion in 558 towns have been approved under the UIDSSMT.³³

The cities under JNNURM were supposed to develop city development plans (CDPs). All the cities have developed CDPs but as envisaged in the guidelines, the development of CDPs was to be done through a consultative process involving all sections of the society. The inadequate capacity of ULBs in developing the CDPs resulted in doing away of a consultation process by a consultant process. The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act called for devolution of funds, functions and functionaries to the ULBs but in practice there is little evidence to indicate that the devolution to ULBs have happened. There are however exceptions but by and large the devolution of powers to local bodies as outlined in the CAA seems to be inadequate.

Challenges

Sourcing of water - Urban water supply schemes depend on water from rural areas to meet the needs of the city dwellers. This creates conflict between rural and urban areas and is an unfair mode of water distribution. To overcome this one would need to go in for rainwater harvesting and recharge of urban water sources being taken up at a large scale. Urban dwellers also use a lot of water for flushing which in a way is a form of wastage of treated water. The treatment of water involves a lot of cost and flushing out this treated water is a huge waste. This calls for relooking into the option of dual use of water, whereby treated wastewater can be used for purposes like flushing and gardening and devising less water intensive cisterns and flushing systems. This dual water supply system will entail a higher one time investment in terms of laying of infrastructure.

Distribution losses in water supply – Most of the urban water supply systems suffer from distribution losses. The major reasons for this include the old and defunct infrastructure and illegal tapping of water supply pipelines and theft. It is estimated that the physical losses are typically high, ranging from 25 to over 50 per cent.³⁴ Low pressures and intermittent supplies allow back siphoning, which results in contamination of water in the distribution network. Water is typically available for only 2-8 hours a day in most Indian cities. The situation is even worse in summer when water is available only for a few minutes, sometimes not at all. This calls for strengthening the enforcement part in urban water supply programmes and improving the water supply infrastructure; preventing the theft of water; regularizing illegal connections and installing and repairing meters.

Treatment of waste-water and rainwater harvesting – Urban centers produce an enormous amount of waste water totaling to 26,054 MLD. Of this only 27 per cent (7044 MLD) is treated while the remaining 73 per cent (19,210 MLD) remains untreated.³⁵ Most of the Sewage Treatment Plants (STPs) do function not to their full capacity, resulting in release of large amount of untreated sewage. This is one area which requires the attention of the city planners and civic bodies. One needs to understand that the damage caused due to release of untreated sewage into surface water sources reduces the availability of freshwater for towns and cities downstream.

Improving the financial situations of Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) – Most of the ULBs in India have inefficiencies both in terms of financial (operating expenditures) and technical analysis and a vast majority of the water supply utilities are operating at the minimum level of resource input. This is partly due to inadequate revenue collection. Estimates indicate that most of the towns are not able to recover full cost of providing water supply with figures for cost recovery ranging from 11 to 84 per cent.³⁶ There is an urgent need for building up and monitoring an accurate database on connections, meters, consumption, billing and collection. This will help augment the financial resources of the urban local bodies. There lie opportunities for the ULBs in improving consumption-based billing and training personnel for better delivery of services.

Solid waste management - The collection, segregation and disposal of waste is one of the major problems affecting the civic authorities in the urban areas. In case of regularised areas, there is a formal collection and disposal system where the civic agencies collect the waste from designated areas and transport it to the landfills. There is however an informal waste collection system, which involves rag-pickers responsible for some segregation and selling of the household waste generated in residential areas. The scenario is very different in case of urban slums. Most of the urban slums do not have any arrangement made either by public or private services for garbage collection and disposal. The waste normally lies around their areas of living, thereby posing a health risk to the people. There are also chances of contamination of resources like water and there are chances of impact on health due to improper environmental sanitation in these areas. This is one of the area needing attention with municipal bodies improving systems for undertaking the collection, segregation and proper disposal of wastes. Awareness of the need for segregation and safe disposal of wastes to city dwellers will also help with the emphasis on minimizing waste generation at homes. The opportunities for composting of waste needs to

be tapped. However it should be backed by a plan of marketing of the compost involving the horticulture, agriculture and forestry departments.

Operationalizing the National Urban Sanitation Policy - The National Urban Sanitation Policy released in 2008 aims for totally sanitized, healthy and livable cities and seeks to ensure and sustain good public health and environmental outcomes for all their citizens with a special focus on hygienic and affordable sanitation facilities for the urban poor and women. Awareness generation and behavioral change; open defecation free cities; Integrated city wide sanitation; sanitary and safe disposal; and proper operation and maintenance of all sanitary installations are main goals of the policy. A national advisory group on urban sanitation (NAGUS) has been set up by the ministry of Urban Development which will assist the ministry of urban development in implementing the National Policy. As part of the National Sanitation Policy, each state was to formulate its own State Urban Sanitation Strategy with a state level apex body monitoring the implementation of the state strategy. As per the provisions of the Urban Sanitation Policy, cities had to develop City Sanitation Plans (CSP). The preparation of CSP for over 5,000 towns is a challenge. Implementation of the Urban Sanitation Policy and this need to be accelerated.

Private sector participation - The approach in the Eleventh Plan in case of urban areas calls for reducing the monopoly of the public sector in providing basic services in urban areas and calls for the involvement of the private sector. This option needs to be carefully weighed upon.

Needs of the urban poor - The biggest problems facing the urban poor are access to basic services and a major factor contributing of this is the issue of land tenure. A vast majority of urban poor live in tenements which in most of the cases are not notified by the urban local bodies. These areas are mainly cramped and overcrowded. The fear of eviction is a constant source of insecurity for people living in such clusters. Also, most civic authorities do not recognize areas where poor people live. These places are mostly slums which lack basic civic amenities like clean drinking water, solid waste collection, hygienic sanitation systems and adequate health facilities. There is a significant impact on the burdens faced by women in collecting water and maintaining household hygiene. Many times civic services in these areas are controlled by local patrons and people living here become victim to their assault. Addressing the needs of the urban poor by providing them basic services would have to keep in mind land tenure issues so that there is no hesitation in providing services to these areas and they remain on a sustained basis. There are instances where communities have come together to provide and manage basic services within the slums (See Box - Tiruchirappalli shows the way). Such examples need to be replicated across.

Tiruchirappalli shows the way

In most slum communities, the sanitation situation is deplorable, healthy living is impossible and the disease burden is heavy, especially for women and children. The Tiruchirappalli model of community-managed toilets with bathing and washing facilities and child friendly toilets is an example of a partnership between sensitive city authorities, communities and NGOs working together to address these problems. It also highlights that how community participation can guarantee a low-cost, well-designed and user-friendly urban slum infrastructure.

There are 359 toilet units in the city, half of which are now managed by communities and the rest by city authorities. Under the CMT model Gramalaya, one of the WaterAid India partners, supports communities to renovate and take over management of community toilets. In a few cases Gramalaya has supported communities in building complete new toilets. It all began by establishing a number of SHGs in a community, each with 15 to 20 members. There are 2 to 7 SHGs per community. All SHG members are members of the Sanitation and Hygiene Education team (SHE team). Two SHE members are chosen leaders and jointly operate the team bank account. These two members also represent women's action for village empowerment (WAVE) federation on behalf of the SHE slum teams. On an average, half the households in a community are SHG members, hence half the community is directly involved in management of the toilet.

The SHE teams fix the user fees. In most toilets these are set at 50 paise for adults for defecation and at Rs. 2-3 for bathing and washing clothes. Urination and use by children, elderly, and single women is free. In some toilets where the community is reluctant to pay each time they use the toilet, a monthly card system is followed and the rates have been set at between Rs. 15 and 30 per family per month. Monthly cash collections are deposited by SHG teams, each in turn, in the common bank account and financial statement presented at monthly SHE team meetings. After covering O&M expenses, the remaining funds are used for

health and sanitation related promotional activities in the community. In case of sudden major expenditure, the SHE team is authorized to take a loan from the WAVE federation.

On an average, 590 people each day use the slum infrastructure of community toilet complex. The average monthly income of community managed toilets is Rs. 6,000 ranging from Rs. 510 to Rs. 20600 where the toilet is used by both residents and passers-by. Average monthly expenditure of a community complex is Rs. 4800 ranging from Rs.550 to Rs. 15700 per month. The major regular expenditure is on staffing, electricity motor repairs.

Analysis shows that community complexes with less than 200 users per day run at below or around the breakeven point. The analysis also shows that the majority of toilets with less than 500 users per day are barely above the breakeven point. Around 41 per cent of toilets fall into this category. The remaining 49 percent are financially viable on the present terms of operation and maintenance.

Source: WaterAid India

Many a times it is observed that the urban bodies do not have exact information on the slums in their areas. Poverty mapping as a method of estimating the number and situation in slums is a useful approach and has the potential for being included in the city development plans.

The JNNURM has a sub mission named as Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) which focuses on the integrated development of slums including components of water supply, sewerage, drainage community toilets and solid waste management. The Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation is managing this component of JNNURM. The sharing of the programme under two ministries leads to procedural delays and problems in implementation. There are also issues of transparency as information on the program's progress is not widely available in the public domain.

There is little doubt that the coming years will see further increase in urban population and an important determinant on how our towns and cities are able to cope up with this population rise will be the preparedness of our cities to take advantage of the expanding economic opportunities. The Eleventh Plan approach recognises the strong interdependence between urbanization and economic growth and urges the urban development programs to focus on a balanced need between the both. The way forward would thus incorporate the following key points: -

- a. *Orderly and environmentally sustainable development of our towns and cities:* This would require the provisioning and equitable distribution of environmental services which is highly skewed in the current context. In order to achieve this, it is essential that better enforcement mechanisms are set in place. For services like water supply and sanitation, it would entail reducing the leakages, proper metering of water connections and collection of tariffs.
- b. *Reducing the incidence of poverty and deprivation in towns and cities:* There is a catch 22 situation when it comes to the urban poor. The poor are not able to get out of the cycle of poverty due to the absence of resources and services and this absence further leads them to enhanced poverty and deprivation. This entails finding out way and means to reach out to the urban poor and enable them gain access to basic services. This has not been possible to achieve so far because of the fragmented approach to reducing urban poverty with a multiplicity of programs under various ministries. The solution lies in consolidation of all urban poverty alleviation programs under one umbrella program. An important aspect of JNNURM is that it is based on reform principles in ULBs and there lies the scope to include the elements of reforms in ULBs for towns that come under the UIDSSMT program as well.

Manual scavenging

The inhuman practice of manual scavenging still continues in India. The government in the past has missed the deadline for complete eradication of manual scavenging three times and the latest deadline is March 31, 2010. The issue of manual scavengers has emerged in the Planning Commission documents since the 9th Five Year Plan but after two five year plans gone by and the third one in this mid-term, the cause of these people

are yet to be addressed. There were approximately 3.42 lakh manual scavengers in India in 2006, according to government records, which needed to be rehabilitated. In 1993, the Indian Parliament enacted a law prohibiting employment of manual scavengers and construction of dry latrines. Following it, the government introduced several schemes for rehabilitation of those engaged in this work. Though it is illegal to employ or to indulge in manual scavenging, in practice, it very much exists across the country irrespective of states' performance on social and economic development parameters. The National Human Rights Commission of India (NHRC) has termed manual scavenging as one of the worst violation of Human Rights. The NHRC has called for state governments to stick to the definition of manual scavengers as per the Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993. It also mentions that there should be a clear demarcation between manual scavengers and sanitation workers.

There must be serious efforts to encourage and make available alternative dignified employment opportunities for the manual scavengers. In many places, reportedly, dry toilets (chief reason for the existence of manual scavengers) have been done away with. But the new toilets, usually diverting human wastes to a tank, still require manual cleaning. This has further kept alive the need for manual scavengers. Most of India's growing towns and cities do not have proper sewage lines and waste disposal systems. This has led to mushrooming of waste disposal arrangements wherein the human waste flows in open drains, again requiring a human being to manually clean it. Therefore, the role of technology in disposal of human waste cannot be over-emphasized and right technology for sanitation is of utmost importance to eradicating this practice. It is imperative upon civil society organisations, NHRC and government to dovetail their efforts towards eradication of manual scavenging which is a worst form of violation of human right and dignity.

Manual Scavenging is one of the worst form of violation of human rights and dignity. People employed in this profession suffer from acute health problems; subject to discrimination and are treated as untouchables (See Box – Telling tales). Attempts to take them out of the profession has not always met with success as it becomes difficult for them to become a part of the society and for the society at large to accept them. A large programme focusing on the upliftment and overall development of manual scavengers will only help eradicate this blot on our society.

Telling tales

Vimla Bai from Neemach district in Madhya Pradesh has been working as a scavenger ever since she got married. She has been lifting night soil from Rajput families where she is not allowed to enter home with footwear on. She was liberated from this work with the intervention of Garima Abhiyan. Though she faced pressure from Rajput families to resume scavenging, she remained steadfast in her decision to quit. Currently she works as an agricultural labourer. Alike is the tale of Akhtar Bi from the Hela Community, a Muslim scavenging community in central India who belongs to Tarana Tehsil in Ujjain district of Madhya Pradesh. She left scavenging about two years back with help from Garima Abhiyan. She sells papad to make a living now. Her two children study in school. In a similar vein, Lali Bai from Manser district in MP quit her job as a manual scavenger in 2002 thereafter she has struggled to liberate other women in a similar plight. She works with Garima Abhiyan and has successfully liberated 165 women scavengers. According to her scavenging exists in Ratlam district of Madhya Pradesh as well.

The story of Ratilalji is equally telling. He belongs to Mahuva taluka in Bhavnagar district in Gujarat where he has worked as an employee of the municipal corporation. He removed night soil from areas where open defecation was prevalent. Removal of burnt dead bodies and ashes from burial ground was part of his job. He was threatened with a salary cut whenever he refused to do the degrading work. According to him there was a high prevalence of diseases (especially TB) and death among the scavengers. He worked as scavenger for 12 years before coming in contact with Navsarjan Trust and eventually quit his job. He insists that the work still goes on. There were 160 such workers in the Municipal Corporation. Approximately 900 valmikis work as scavengers in homes, factories and the corporation. He works with the Navsarjan Trust.

Source: Garima Abhiyan, Madhya Pradesh 2009

Governance issues

In addition to the above specific points mentioned for rural and urban water and sanitation, there are certain aspects that cover the whole arena of water and sanitation. These include:

Verification of data: Current monitoring systems are largely dependent on state provided information, which means that the state makes the plans, implements and subsequently monitors. There is a need to delink

monitoring. Systems need to be developed wherein communities can easily verify government provided data. One of the best example of such an exercise is the A Household Survey on Water and Sanitation done by Arghyam as an assessment of the drinking water and sanitation scenario in all the districts of Karnataka (See Box – ASHWAS).

ASHWAS

A Survey of Household Water And Sanitation (ASHWAS) conducted in Karnataka in 17,200 households across 172 gram panchayats in 28 districts of Karnataka was released in July 2009. Arghyam, a Bangalore based public charitable foundation working on water and sanitation spearheaded the ASHWAS effort in partnership with 15 non government organisations involving more than 300 people over 40 days, between December 2008 and January 2009. ASHWAS survey comes at a time when civil society and policy makers are beginning to appreciate the positive impact of citizens' audits and assessments. ASHWAS allowed for a nuanced understanding of people's satisfaction levels about public services, their survival or coping strategies and the quality they can expect from public service providers. In contrast, the studies by the Government capture the department's perspective and tend to be about targets and budgets spent. While this gives a picture of what is being done about provisioning of basic services, there is little information about the impact of these interventions on people's lives, what actually reaches people, and their satisfaction with the services, the type and extent of problems they face etc.

The key objective of ASHWAS was to generate structured data that could be analysed for identifying needs accurately, and in turn developing appropriate solutions in the water and sanitation space. Aimed at addressing information needs of policy makers, and support the institutions working in this sector, ASHWAS was designed to deepen the discourse and catalyse action at various levels to address problems.

With a view to ensuring a participative and inclusive process, Arghyam and its partners, engaged surveyors from Self Help Groups (SHGs), village level institutions and local citizen groups. Care was taken to ensure there were 1-2 women in each survey team to discuss gender sensitive issues with women. Another highlight of ASHWAS was its highly interactive nature. To ensure the survey process caught the interest of the citizens, there were activities such as testing water quality from different sources [water quality testing kits were provided for parameters such as nitrates, fluoride and bacteriological contamination] and village transect and mapping of sources and open defecation areas. To ensure information integrity and authenticity of data, a rigorous monitoring process was also put in place.

ASHWAS has created processes and systems for grassroots data collection, management and analysis, which can provide in-depth information from the citizen's perspective of water and sanitation situation, on one hand, and reflect the ASHWAS data back to the community to catalyze local management of issues related to water and sanitation, on the other.

Findings

ASHWAS findings reflect serious issues regarding source sustainability, reliability of water supply, and quality of water accessed by people. It also reaffirms the alarming sanitation and hygiene situation with its inevitable impacts on public health. The root cause of problems related to rural watsan seems to be the distance and disconnect between Government service delivery systems and the people on the ground. Failure of effectively decentralization where the third tier of Government, the Gram Panchayats (GP), have both the responsibility, financial powers and resources to deliver the services is evident from the report.

Overall picture indicates presence of water delivery system reaching a large population, in line with the focus on coverage by the government of India, which is better than many other states in the country. However, presence of infrastructure is not sufficient, as there are the next sets of issues which need urgent attention—both from perspectives of water quality and management systems.

Water supply: *87% of the Karnataka's rural water supply is groundwater dependant. Lack of recharge and source protection has resulted in source sustainability [source depletion and drying up of source and contamination] emerging as major reason behind the shortage of water supply.*

Water quality: Presents an alarming picture. About 60% of water samples tested exceeded 1 mg/l (milligrams per litre) fluoride (the Bureau of Indian Standards norm), 38% had bacteriological contamination and 20 percent had nitrate levels higher than 40 mg/l. However, when people were asked about water quality, 58% said that they were fully satisfied. This powerful finding links the low-levels of awareness with the reality on the ground. Despite the claims of making water testing kits available to all GPs, ASHWAS found that only 42 % of the (GPs) received kits and of this only 49% used it. [See Graph 1]

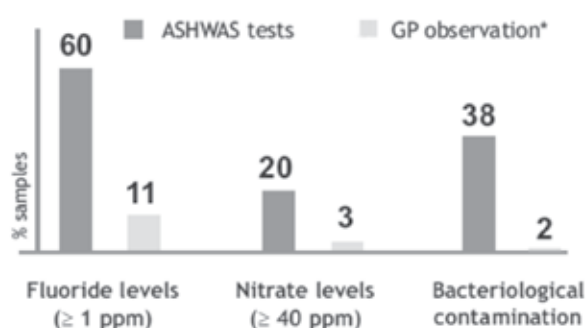
Sanitation: About 72% of the rural Karnataka still practice open-defecation [OD], with the number as high as 98% in the poorly developed Raichur district. In terms of equity, only 13% of low income households have access to toilets as against 56% of high income households. Affordability (59%) and space (29%) emerged as the two major reasons for the high OD rates. Surprisingly, the reported incidence of diarrhea is lower at around 10%. A higher figure might have been expected given the sanitation situation

The survey also brought out the sustainability challenges in the Nirmal Gram Puraskar [NGP] given by Government of India. NGP is awarded to OD free villages with presence of toilets, drains and clean environment. Fourteen NGPs surveyed by ASHWAS reported open defecation to varying degrees. In terms of hygiene it found that only 50% of rural masses washed their hands with soap and water after defecation. [See Graph 2]. It also found that only 42% rural population had access to drains and most of these were not cleaned regularly.

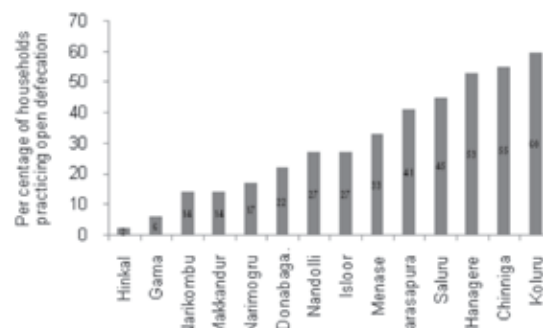
Women's issues: The survey brought out the burden on women due to lack of water supply, sanitation and unscientific menstrual hygiene practices. Since 94% of women use cloth for protection, there is a high risk of fungal and other infections. Lack of awareness combined with the lack of affordable sanitary towels and the complete absence of any facilities for adolescent girls at schools call for remedial measures beginning with an acknowledgment of the seriousness of the issue.

Governance: In line with the 73rd Constitutional amendment, locally elected Gram Panchayats are responsible for maintenance of water and sanitation systems and services, among other duties. That there is need for intensive efforts towards capacity building of GPs is reflected from ASHWAS findings such as 73% of disruptions in water supply being caused from operations and maintenance problems, 50% of committees related to water, sanitation, health and hygiene work only on paper, and lack of awareness and attention to mandatory water quality testing.

Graph 1: High levels of contamination



Graph 2: Sustainability of sanitation an issue



Closing The Loop

Positive government response: HR Bharadwaj, the Governor of Karnataka who released the report called for greater devolution of power and resources to the gram panchayats to improve watsan situation, "The issues highlighted by the report are very delicate. Karnataka was one of the first to introduce Panchayat Raj system. State governments are not happy to part with powers and give them to gram panchayats (GP). But GPs are the best to implement such programmes as they are the ones facing the problems."

Despite the survey findings reflecting inefficiencies in public service delivery systems, response from the government at the state and national levels have been positive. Ravi Kumar, secretary of Rural Development and Panchayat Raj department, Karnataka, said, "the survey by an independent agency gives the government a different perspective - from the user's point of view. The government will act on it."

Robini Nilekani, chairperson, Arghyam called for urgent action, "Our survey's findings are alarming but not aimed at a blame game. There is a huge information gap, and women in particular still live in very unhygienic conditions."

Back to the communities: *Keeping in line with Arghyam's belief of community participation and ownership, the results of the survey are being taken back to each of the 172 GPs who have taken part in the survey. Customized reports prepared for each GP are being taken back by the same network of partners, after rigorous training on information presentation and communication. This is done to catalyze a process of consultation at all levels and to deepen the discourse on what issues need to be addressed and how. This process also aims to strengthen the capacity and skill of individuals and institutions to use a survey as a tool to enhance the understanding of a problem, and to help people to see them as part of a solution.*

As on December 10, 2009 dissemination and action planning meetings are completed in 130 out of 172 gram panchayats. In the meetings ASHWAS GP report cards in Kannada have been formally handed over to the Panchayats and the key issues discussed. Focused discussion with women and school children form an essential part of the meetings. By the end of the meetings, GP level action plan to address the key watsan issues are drawn up. By January 2010, the village level action plans will be consolidated and submitted to the RDPR department thereby closing the feedback loop.

Replication in other states: *Arghyam is also preparing a process document on ASHWAS to enable civil society to take up a similar effort. Designed as a ho-to-do manual, the process document [with tool kits-questionnaires, formats etc] explains the stages of ASHWAS and what it takes to conceptualise and implement ASHWAS. This process document will be ready for circulation by January 2010.*

Source: Arghyam

Service provider accountability - There is no doubt of the stated impact of poor water and sanitation on human health and life. It is also a fact the service provider is responsible for providing safe and adequate water to every household which is the stated mission of the country's water supply program. However, often the water supply departments shy away with the responsibility of providing water of adequate quality and quantity to every household and own their responsibility to the point of release into the supply network. This needs to be re-looked into and it should be the mandated responsibility of the service provider to ensure safe water and proper sanitation to each and every household on the country. The service provider should certify the quality of water being supplied at the 'doorstep' be it a hand pump, household connection, school, common water point or any other facility.

Constructive engagement - Providing basic services to a billion plus population is a challenge. It is also the responsibility of every citizen to help the service provider in their endeavor. A way of constructive engagement for this would be to involve citizens groups, Resident Welfare Organizations (RWAs), Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and civil society organisations in joint monitoring of water supply and sanitation programmes with government departments and agencies. NGOs can also play a role in spreading awareness, monitoring data and services, water quality monitoring and capacity building of communities, PRIs, ULBs. There is a need to formalize, deepen and strengthen the formal engagement of the CSOs with the government so that they become partners. There needs to be a form on constructive engagement between the citizens and the service provider where citizens can demand their share (See Box - *Empowering citizens through Citizens Action*)

Empowering citizens through Citizens Action

Citizens Action is an advocacy initiative introduced by WaterAid in the Santhal Pargana Region of Jharkhand. It aims to transform present levels of state accountability and empower citizens to take action so that they can demand and obtain proper delivery of services from the state as a matter of right.

CA has been developed as a means to 'bridge the gap' between responsibility and action and to build accountability into the watsan service sector. It does so by encouraging transparency, accountability and participatory decision-making at the policy and implementation level. Bridging the gap requires an informed and empowered citizenry. This will then be capable of demanding improved services and holding those responsible accountable for the proper delivery of watsan services. CA is founded on the belief that community empowerment will generate the momentum needed to compel governments to honour their commitments and to ensure that service providers meet the demand for watsan services in a sustainable manner without compromising on quality.

The role of NGOs in the programme is that of a facilitator to the citizen groups. The NGOs empower them to represent themselves and engage with government agencies. It helps communities prepare to engage with service providers and government and then supports that engagement by just facilitating them, rather than mediating on behalf of citizens. This approach is being followed in other WaterAid India programme. The example below is that of the Ambedkar Yojna in Uttar Pradesh where people are demanding accountability of the service provider for better delivery of programmes.

Abbiyan, a Banda based NGO and a WaterAid India partner has been working in 30 villages of Banda and Chitrakoot districts of Uttar Pradesh to empower the communities by informing them of various government schemes, enabling them to make PRIs/government accountable for programmes implemented in water and sanitation; and create social institutions for the dalits to enable them to advocate for their rights and entitlements from the government.

To understand the benefits which have accrued to the communities due to the Ambedkar Yojna ever since it was initiated and the deficiencies in the programme implementation, a gap analysis was done in the project villages. The analysis covered 13 schemes, from village development to old age pension, employment related programme to scholarships for students. The gap analysis helped in identifying the main problems in implementation. This was mainly due to lack of awareness of the people about the Ambedkar Yojna and the provisions that they are entitled to in the programme.

The findings have been shared with the government officials and people have sought the intervention of the district magistrate for complaints redressal. The district officials have assured them of their support.

Source: WaterAid India

Disaster management- The emerging challenges of climate change include increased disasters such as floods, droughts and water quality programmes. These need to be addressed through appropriate guideline modifications, technology and preparedness programmes.

Clearly, drinking water and sanitation is too fundamental and serious an issue to be left to one institution alone. It needs the combined initiative and action of all, if at all we are serious in socio-economic development. Safe drinking water and sanitation can be assured, provided we set our mind to address it.

Endnotes

¹ Department of Drinking Water Supply website- www.ddws.nic.in accessed on 30th November, 2009

² Drinking Water and Sanitation Status in India, 2005, WaterAid India

³ indiabudget.nic.in/es2001-02/chapt2002/chap107.pdf

⁴ Joint Monitoring Study, 2008, WHO and UNICEF

⁵ State of Environment Report, 2009, GoI

⁶ State of Environment Report, 2009, GoI

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E Employment

Kamal Nayan Kabra

The most direct way of raising lowest incomes is to raise the zero incomes of the unemployed...Employment is intimately related to technology both quantitatively and qualitatively. The third world urgently needs more jobs.. Qualitative aspects of employment such as efficiency or satisfying work are luxuries for nations rich enough to have achieved almost full employment. In the third world employment of any kind is an advance over no employment since it provides income, however modest. Creating employment is therefore the best way to reduce poverty. (Tinbergen, 1979, pp. 36-37)

It may be better to allow machines to remain idle rather than to keep human beings unemployed. (Mahalanobis, 1955)

Addressing the problem of unemployment is critical to reducing social inequality. Resolving the problem pertains to addressing problems of poverty and inequalities. "To reduce unemployment is to remove one of the main causes of poverty and inequality. A reduction in inequality will of course reduce poverty *ceteris paribus*." (Seers, 1979).

The magnitude of unemployment has not come down even after over six decades of planned attempts to address the problem. The Eleventh Five Year Plan too does not promise to show an end to the tunnel. A mid-term appraisal of the Plan's performance has to be viewed in this overarching perspective. In fact, the present Plan makes no attempt to break any fresh ground and continues to obfuscate and downplay the employment problem vis-à-vis the pursuit of economic growth as the master key to all the problems.

The Basic Approach to Employment in Planning

Any appraisal of the performance of the plans in India must recognize that Indian planning is basically indicative planning in an open door market economy with a large, informal and black economy and a social framework that respects many primordial linkages and mutual/reciprocal relationships. Thus, the plans make medium term economy-wide projections and supplement them with other projections, called targets. The latter pertain to some key sectors, regions and specific activities, either in financial terms and/or physical terms. Estimates about financing public sector tasks also form a part of the plans along with some broad outline of policy choices and initiatives. Some major public investment projects and socio-economic programmes to be undertaken by the Union and State governments, and lately under the public-private partnership model are also spelled out in the plan. However the basic purpose for planning in India has remained the country's development defined in terms of attaining a high and rising level of per capita national income. Thus Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as the *objective* and *indicator* of economic development is treated as something *intrinsically* desirable; it has the added advantage of having a great deal of *instrumental* significance.

The above considerations are immensely relevant from the perspective of understanding the approach to, and outcomes regarding, the problem of unemployment. For one, the primacy of output growth over the objective of gainful employment for an increasing number of people is built-in and has remained a constant between various phases of economic policies and planning. GDP growth has been relied upon as the main instrument to generate additional employment. Thus one finds that employment elasticity of output growth (whether observed or extrapolated) has remained a matter of high concern in the Indian plans, as against direct concern with manpower or employment. Thus a basic factor in the Indian planners approach towards the employment

question has been to treat it as a matter to be handled indirectly, or of late, through some special programmes for the rural and urban areas and in the small and medium enterprises sector.

The objective of increasing employment opportunities over a given plan period is quantified by the planners on the basis of both the backlog of past accumulated failures and the new tasks in terms of the likely additions in the work force. Sometimes some special groups, such as educated young people or women, have been given special attention. The plans also provide an overview of the present unemployment situation on the basis of NSSO's data, based on three distinct concepts of employment¹⁰.

It can thus be seen that employment—not necessarily organised sector regular employment as understood in mainstream economics, supposed to be applicable to highly industrialised market economies—has been approached as a by-product of GDP growth. Generally the belief seems to have been that higher the growth rate of GDP, the higher its contribution towards reducing unemployment. Only marginal attention has been given to the pattern of development. There is a fleeting mention of the question of labour-intensity, but this has not been accompanied by any effective policy, either positively for encouraging labour-intensive product-mix or negatively for discouraging highly capital-intensive or imported technology and even direct imports of goods and services with high capital-intensity. It would be rare indeed to find a situation when in case of a perceived conflict between the output and employment objectives, the latter has received precedence. These factors have remained constant throughout various phases of planning in India, including, those that saw some dramatic policy shifts like in 1991.¹¹

The Eleventh Plan's performance, till date, also shows that the attempt this time too has been to do more of the same, especially because GDP growth has acquired added importance under the full-blooded liberalisation, marketisation and globalisation policies, disregarding the obvious and widely admitted lessons of the global economic crisis that began in 2007. True, the Eleventh Plan began a few months before the onset of the global crisis and no one had an inkling about the crisis even in the relatively stronger economies. But given the writing on the wall that the crisis is too serious to depart soon, a readjustment of plan policies was needed.

However, compared to the pre-liberalisation plans, there emerged a new element in the transition to structural adjustment. There are strident pleas for liberalisation, marketisation and deregulation of the labour market to make it more flexible as even the Eleventh Plan reiterates that “one of the obstacles to growth of formal employment in the organised sector is the prevalence of excessively rigid labour laws which discourage such employment.” (p.79)

There is a basic fallacy behind the assumption that employers would have stronger inclination to create formal employment when they are permitted to fire or hire workers as casual labour or make use of the required labour power by means of various informal devices as and when need arises. It ignores that employers have a tendency to cut production costs; it also ignores the tendency of corporates to fall back upon their clout with the governmental agencies. If competition with the rest of the world and intra-industry competition fails to make them see the advantage of the economy of high wages and secure and contented employees, it would be the height of credulity to believe that the legally sanctioned right to fire or avoid adhering to fair labour practices can induce them to be more liberal in their hiring policies. Those who do not often tire of citing Japanese precepts seem to have forgotten the advantages of life time employment practices. In any case, given the small and declining share of wages as a proportion of the total sales proceeds garnered by the corporate sector, the reasoning given by the planners in favour of granting the employers the right to fire (especially when the right to hire is used so sparingly) appears to be a lame one. Such arguments ignore the asymmetric character of the labour market: the greater power and multiple options available to the employers vis-à-vis the suppliers of labour power.

¹⁰ These concepts are : daily status, weekly status and usual status or long term status referring to the extent of chronic, intermittent and season unemployment and duration and regularity of work. See, Eleventh Plan, box 4.1 p.64.

¹¹ Thus one finds that the policy orientation during the 1990s is the same with which we started out during the 1950s: investment and output growth with accent on modern technology, through a combination of trickle-down, pull-up and social security over time to create gainful employment opportunities. See GOI, 1993 and Kabra, 1993, p.535.

Enforcement of labour laws is poor and loaded against labour, especially in view of some post-liberalisation court judgments that have replaced adherence to the constitutional values and parameters by those derived from the ideology of liberalisation. These judgements have made it easier than earlier to retrench a worker. This has made the employees' position highly insecure and given a virtual carte blanche to the employers.

The Eleventh Plan and Employment

An appraisal of the Plan should be preceded by a quick recapitulation of its proposals, their justification and the employment situation it was bequeathed with. This Plan reiterates the long standing plan objective regarding employment in terms of “generation of productive and gainful employment with decent working conditions on a sufficient scale to absorb our growing labour force” (p.63). Appreciating the role of employment generation on a sufficient scale as a “critical element in the strategy for achieving inclusive growth”, the planners go on to state “the problem is heightened by the fact that the relatively higher rate of growth achieved during the last decade or so is not seen to generate a sufficient volume of good quality employment.”

However, the planners do not make it clear whether this outcome is a transient factor or something basic, long-term and substantive. The planners' objectives, mentioned above, do make it clear that such outcomes are unacceptable; they call for at least some recalibration of the prevailing approach. Hence, any observer of the Indian scene would go with the planners' assessment “that any reversal of the adverse employment related outcomes requires reversal of *“the pattern of economic growth”* as seen in the recent past”. (Idem, p. 63, emphasis mine). Here is a touchstone for assessing the mid-term performance of the Plan in terms of a criterion advanced by the planners themselves.

The assessment of the employment scene on the eve of the Eleventh Plan provides some basis for understanding the employment situation at the end of its predecessor (pp. 63-67). The worsening of the situation and inheritance of a tougher challenge for the Eleventh Plan made the planners say, “jobless growth is a key concern” (p.64). Also there was growing growth in the informalisation of the labour market, so much so that the *entire* increase in the organised sector was accounted for by the informal sector (p.69) and even the additional non-agricultural employment was largely in the unorganised sector. So the fastest growing sector, the services sector, contributed next to nothing to additional employment in the organised sector; and even the relatively robust growth sectors like manufacturing and power generation etc, moved away from decent jobs based on mutual contract between the employers and then employees. The public sector led the process of reduced employment as public investment was reduced, as a part of the policy of rolling back the state, from 36 percent in 1993-94 to 28 per cent in 2004-05 and overall to 22 per cent during the Tenth Plan period.

To make the situation worse, real wages stagnated or declined for even the organised sector workers, while managerial and technical personnel in the sector succeeded in obtaining large increases in their remuneration packages. Inevitably, the wage share of the organised industrial sector halved after the 1990s. Under these conditions, it is no surprise that the recession-like conditions knocked at the doors of the Indian economy, as seen in the manufacturing sector slow-down in early 2007 even before the ill winds from the US and the European economies reached our shores.

These findings are also confirmed by the main Report of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS, 2009). NCEUS has some additional insights into the actual employment scene, concepts and policies that are significant for effective policies. It also attempts to modify the concepts of unemployment and replace them by one unified concept, the Modified Current Weekly Status (MCWS). The concept provides a better estimate of more durable employment and distinguishes employment from underemployment and part time work. On the basis of this concept the commission calculates that the number of unemployed persons along with severely unemployed ones increased from over 3.62 crore in 1993 to nearly 5.74 crore in 2004-05 (p.8) The commission also shows growing informalisation of labour absorption along with that of the organised sector employment. Employment in the informal sector provided around 86 per cent of employment in 2004-05, reflecting the stagnation of the process of employment generation of formal economy (pp.8-9). The overall conclusion of the Commission is fairly grim and has important policy implications (to which I will come later).

The Planning Commission's own assessment shows that the vulnerable sections of society fare worse in getting access to employment opportunities. The situation of agricultural households is perhaps the most representative. Among them, unemployment rate has gone up from 7.73 per cent in 1983 to 15.26 per cent in 2004-05 that is almost one in every six cultivators is without work and income. Far more serious is the abnormal phenomenon of unemployment among children; the Eleventh Plan reports disturbing trend of increasing unemployment from 4.83 and 7.08 per cent respectively for rural and urban children in 1993-94 to 9.66 and 12.08 respectively for rural and urban children respectively in 2004-05—even though luckily the total number of children in the work force has declined.

It is true that going by Planning Commission definition of employment opportunities in terms of current daily status (CDS), there was an increase of 47 million (the target in any case was 50 million) between 1993-94 and 2000-05 compared to the earlier five years period that gave additional employment to 24 million only. However, owing to faster growth of labour force, unemployment rate increased during the liberalisation era from 6.06 per cent of the labour force to 8.28 per cent: in terms of NSSO of 2004-05 data this means almost 3.5 crore people.

One may also note that the present estimate is conservative compared to the NCEUS estimate cited above. The Plan gives sectorised employment 'targets' and 'achievements' which shows that out of nearly 47 million new employment opportunities, about 18 or so arose in agriculture and industry and the rest, accounting for about 29 million emerged in the services, including construction, sector. There was no progress in changing the occupational structure away from the primary sector and the services sector assumed prominence as the most dynamic source of livelihood.

It is worth noting that while the 'targets' mention that some 30 million jobs are expected to be created owing to normal growth buoyancy, about 20 million jobs are expected to be the outcome of "selective innovative programmes and policies *leading to a changed pattern of growth.*" (p.67. end note of Table 4.4, italics mine). One does not find any mention of policies that can lead to a changed pattern of growth. Hence, predictably, there are no signs of a changed pattern in the direction of more weightage for wage goods or low income goods and labour-intensive products. On the contrary, the manufacturing sector has been losing jobs after 1997. Of course, the weight of the services sector has increased at the cost of agriculture but it is not an employment-friendly change.

What do these categories, targets and achievements of employment used in the plan documents try to capture and in fact, succeed in doing so? The employment targets are derived from the rates of growth assumed on the basis of projected investment growth. The achievements in terms of growth of employment are essentially estimates based on data collected from huge nation-wide household sample survey on CDS basis. NCEUS has raised several questions about the utility of these estimates. These include:

- If a person's employment status varies by the day and over seasons, and even within a work day, when do we say that a person is employed?
- What about the intensity of such work?

Clearly some minimum benchmark level of regularity in employment should be required before we describe a person as employed. Based on such pointers, it can be said planners have not identified an appropriate set of criteria to determine the prevailing level of employment at a period of time. They also do not have a clear set of policies that can be expected to change the pattern of growth in favour of more plentiful employment opportunities.

Given the analysis of the Tenth Plan, the present situation and the challenges lying ahead, the Eleventh Plan projects that India's labour force would grow by estimated 52 million in the Plan period. With about 3.5 crore backlog of unemployment, it is clear that the task ahead is enormous.

It would, in fact, be tougher if the NCEUS estimates of unemployment were used. A major fact emerging from Tenth Plan experience is that organised sector has observed a virtual strike in so far as its hiring decisions on

proper contractual basis are concerned and its emphasis is on demanding the right to fire. However with the new jobs given on casual and informal basis, in actual practice the employers do not have the need for a legal right to fire as the newly hired casual and informal workers have rights to employment security. Basically in tune with the approach of the private organised sector, the public sector has successfully downsized its workforce by devices such as voluntary retirement, non-replacement of the retiring employees, non-fulfillment of vacancies and so on. Hence where is the need for formally equipping the employers with the right to fire?

However the planners seem to endorse the plea of various business bodies and also because it is a part of the unfinished agenda of economic liberalisation of the Congress Party—of course under the garb of leading a coalition government. It would be worth watching how they move in the matter now that there is no danger to the government.

Another salient factor that emerges from the official examination of the Tenth Plan story is that the informal sector is the most prominent player in the employment field. The experience of the past 25 years shows the organised formal sector, including its leading part, the corporate sector, cannot be relied upon to absorb any significant number of people.

The Plan does plead for ensuring faster growth in organised sector work opportunities and thus reduce the extent of unorganised sector employment. It also speaks of the role of the pattern of growth as a critical factor for positively impacting the employment situation. But after this initial mention the pattern of growth as a policy variable hardly ever resurfaces in the rest of the employment chapter. An inkling of the emerging pattern can be had from the NCEUS report. It states: “Thus the growth pattern has increased consumption in equalities, reducing the benefits of the poorer segments. These segments, we have shown, consist predominantly of the informal workers, among whom the socially deprived groups (SC/ST, OBCs, muslims) are over-represented.”(p.20).

The growth rate of the economy has exceeded the rate of growth of employment by nearly 4.5 per cent, so worker incomes should have increased. However the fact that only 18 per cent workers have regular employment and that wages have not improved during the period are enough to indicate that the pattern of growth has been iniquitous.

The Mid-term Employment Situation

The performance of the Tenth Plan with respect to employment underlines the long-standing weak and uncertain connection between the growth of output and growth of employment. The high priority assigned to mimetic pattern of industrialisation and associated pattern of urbanisation, consumption, energy use, infrastructure facilities on the one hand and neglect of the rural economy, agriculture and non-farm rural activities on the other contribute to the poor co-relation between output and employment. As it is, each plan added to the backlog of unemployment and the problem became acute once the economy was opened up after 1991.

Did the Eleventh Plan go beyond doing more of the same? Sadly, the Plan gives no such indication, though during the period a National Commission on Enterprises for the Unorganised Sector was set up. There have been a few reports on various dimensions of the vexed question of unemployment, these have brought to the fore the unorganised sector dimension of the livelihood systems in India, a system that covers over 90 per cent of the people. The planners have also made use of some of the findings and recommendations of the Commission but the basic approach of relying on GDP growth as the driver of employment planning remains unshaken. In a similar vein, it goes about giving sector-wise projections of likely employment generation during the Plan period, along with indication of their potential. It also details how strengthening of the skill-base and vocational education may help encashment of the potential.

To make growth pattern amenable to employment generation, the Plan suggests “encouragement to the corporate sector to move into more labour-intensive sectors.” As for the unorganised enterprises operating in the labour-intensive sectors it suggests “facilitating the expansion of employment and output” (p.79). Is the difference between ‘encouragement’ for one sector and facilitation for the other simply verbal? Or is that substantive? We do not know.

The obsession with output growth persists without examining the past experience, say with respect to the corporate sector's record of employment generation, their preferred investment decisions regarding product-mix, techniques of production, sources of capital goods, energy source, location and so on. In fact, in the absence of a domestic market of sufficient size and depth among the poor masses, how can a market economy move in directions that give preference to technologies, including product choices with mass demand and techniques that prefer to use labour over capital? Can any scheme of subsidies—even if packaged as incentive packages—overcome the limited drive of the corporate sector to increase employment? Even without considering the other adverse socio-economic repercussions of such policies to making the corporate sector the agency for employment expansion, the sheer size of the need for jobs makes it clear that the corporate sector is hardly inclined to or cut out for the task. One may just recall that in its history of over one and a half centuries, the corporate sector has not been able to create jobs for more than 3 per cent of the workforce. One can refer to the detailed explanation provided by the NCEUS for the “lack of growth in formal sector employment” and the reasons it has given for witnessing rising capital-intensity in organised or formal industrial sector (pp. 14-16).

Moreover, the exclusionary effects of lack of work opportunities cannot be reversed if increased employment is not accompanied by increased flow of affordable goods and services appropriate to the needs and life style of the new entrants to the work force. This is of particular relevance in the context of various public works programmes or asset distribution programmes that have been operating for about three decades, mostly in rural India. These are meant to provide some relief to the people without any means of adequate and stable income. In the current context when National Rural Employment Guarantee programme (NREGA) is relied upon to act as a supplement to normally available work and income opportunities, the wage goods supply constraint becomes particularly pointed for real welfare effects. It may incidentally be mentioned that the NREGA cannot logically be treated as an employment generation programme; it is at best a social assistance or relief programme designed to provide some assured relief in return for specified work at local project sights.

Making NREGA Real

NREGA is a kind of social safety net initiated by a section of the neo-liberals at a stage when the outcomes of the post-1991 development policy path were becoming increasingly indefensible in socio-economic terms. Had it been a programme that afforded choices to the poor, many more than 15 crore people would have availed of it and that too for close to 100 days they are currently entitled to rather than the current national average of about 15 days. If one were to take note of the regional variations in accessing it, the situation in many areas would hardly be any different from what it used to be under various discretionary partial coverage schemes.

The following conditions are crucial for making NREGA come fully alive to discharge its historic role.

1. Deliver to every adult of every rural household at her or his doorstep a job card that is the passport or entry ticket to any actual works programme. This could easily be co-ordinated with the forthcoming census operations.
2. Make the possession or holding of any one else's job card a cognisable offence with deterrent punishment.
3. Make wage payment a function of the days and time spent on work during the specified working hours. The present method of work measurement is insulting, breeds corruption and arbitrarily reduces the actual take-home wage below the stipulated minimum. In fact, it often makes actual average take home wage lower than the local market.
- 4 Make wage payment within 10 days a legally enforceable right and provide for both pecuniary and other penalties and punishment on the person who fails to discharge the obligation to make timely and full wage payment .

5. The NREGA administration has to hire and/or organise on voluntary basis groups with varied expertise in identifying and preparing development projects and to give concrete project shape to development of ideas of the local people and panchayats on the basis of studies of the local regional situation/development and employment potential and prepare a shelf of such project with as much detail as possible. These projects have to be explained to the local community and they are to be encouraged to make suggestions based on their own felt needs. However, the choice of works should be taken up ultimately with the local community.

On the basis of the foregoing it would be naïve to expect any greatly different outcomes in connection with our sticky problem of unemployment. The global economic and financial crisis that began a shortly after the beginning of the Eleventh Plan may have queered the pitch further (Roy, 2009, pp 72-76; Ministry of Labour, Labour Bureau, 2008).

As far as the Plan goes, the global crisis, its timing, magnitude, spread, intensity, duration and impact on India were as unknown to the Indian planners as to any one else, more particularly to those who naïvely announced the end of the era of business cycles. But what might be noted is the employment effects of the packages that were introduced to stimulate the economy remains indirect, uncertain and inadequate compared to the loss of jobs that has come about. One fails to see any direct programme of either re-employing the retrenched workers or making the support to the companies contingent on their not removing any one from the rolls. As usual, only indirect support to employment by supporting the companies to preserve the market demand and maintain their capacity use and their bottom line were introduced.

In any case, so far not much information is available about the impact of the Plan, except some patchy bits and pieces about the impact of global and Indian slow-down and confusion in the financial markets. Monitoring and examination of the employment situation on a regular annual basis is not among the major pursuits of the Indian policy establishment that privileges GDP growth and its quarterly estimation as the all important variable—even from the standpoint of employment.

It may be noted that in addition to GDP trends, a close watch on capacity utilisation can help give some concrete basis for tracking the level of unemployment—a variable that also remains unmonitored.

However, for the present, on the basis of various sources, including the thin sample annual surveys of employment scene by the NSSO, the NCEUS has made some estimates about the resent scene. Without going in to the methodological intricacies, we may cite the NCEUS estimates on what it calls Modified Current Weekly Status (MCWS) According to this set of data, formal employment increased from 6.146 crore in 2006-07 to 6.278 crore in 2007-08 and further to 6.84 crore in 2008-09. Informal employment went up by 385.26 million in the three years. Total employment went up from 42.7 crore in 2006-07 to 44.7 crore in 2007-08 and 44.9 crore in 2008-09.

Before concluding the exercise, it may be pertinent to draw attention to the major supply side intervention initiated by the Plan for higher education, vocational training, enhancement of skills, upward mobility of labour and so on largely for improving the ‘employability’ of labour. Given that there is already sizeable unemployment among the educated youth (the Eleventh Plan put the number of unemployed persons among the secondary and above education level in 2004-05 among rural and urban males at 6.5 per cent and 6.2 per cent respectively, while among women it was nearly three times the males level) the benefits from such supply side interventions are unlikely to be impressive or commensurate with the outlays. True, the question of the quality of education deserves attention but that is a long term issue and more than financial outlays, the content, social relevance and quality of education and that of the educators are involved.

A Few Conclusions

As we have seen, the Plan has moved mainly, if not exclusively in terms of growth acceleration. The emphasis of restoring growth may lead to a situation in which higher production may be obtained by economising on labour. As Martin Hutchinson argues, “the rise in productivity common in the early stages of economic

recovery typically reflects manufacturers and service providers increasing output without hiring more staff. The usual impact is that the unemployment rate continues to rise even as output recovers” (Business Standard, 2009). One wonders whether the process of judging signs of revival in terms of picking up of the rate of growth may conceal persistent or even increasing unemployment. These are the dangers of not monitoring the employment situation concurrently and responding to them indirectly by helping the maintenance of demand for the companies by means of the stimulation packages.

The growth-employment link is likely to get further eroded owing to the policy of opening up. As a result of import liberalisation India has been consistently running an increasing volume of trade deficit owing to huge and rising volume of imports, (see Ravi, 2009, p.200). Some calculations have shown that lately the total value of import of manufactured goods in India has exceeded the total domestic manufacturing sector value-added and even after taking note of the export of manufactured goods, the gap remains fairly large. The domestic economy linkages of the opening up induced changes are far from beneficial from the point of level and growth of employment and mainly in the organised sector (for an elaboration of this kind of impact in the present condition of global economic crisis, see Mazumdar, 2009, pp.186-188). It is clear that such net loss of manufactured value-added amounts to shipping Indian jobs to the rest of the world. Along with the slow down and continued deceleration of Indian exports, the country’s imports exceeded exports.

However, more sticky and serious is the problem of those who never had any access to any regular wage employment and their survival or coping strategies are treated as informal employment. It’s also serious that planners take credit for the success of these coping strategies; they see it as a part of the plan’s achievements.

The Plan has recognised the need to update the over three decades old poverty line so that the livelihood adequacy (the test of gainful employment), can be determined and pursued at a human level and the intended beneficiaries can be identified and targeted. However all said and done, the core condition for good employment, that is a level of reward for work that is consistent with a minimum of human needs, remains sidelined and the beneficiaries of so-called anti-poverty programmes (programmes that cannot be different from employment generation and guarantee programmes) are expected to survive on a paltry sum that has remained fixed since the mid-1970s.

The plea of resource constraint would be specious as any number of dispensable schemes lining the pockets of the well-to do are regularly funded on a liberal basis. Need one remind how often the Gandhian talisman is cited by the political class.

Even more serious is the inability to equip crores of children for any gainful and productive work by education and training, either formal or informal. It shows a pattern of priorities that gives lip-service to so many lofty ideals but is followed by little action that may be considered real and effective. It is true a period of two years or so is grossly inadequate to show any results in this respect. But is there any recognition and stirring to show that a reordering of priorities is on the anvil? Even the system of gathering data regarding the organised sector employment remains defective (See NCEUS, p.11, fn 7). Thus one has to face the fact that the Indian planners who have contributed in no small measure to bringing about nearly 14 times increase in real national income since the inception of planning have done nothing to secure gainful employment for 77 per cent Indians.

Little surprise that the Eleventh Plan in its two years, bereft as it was of any fresh thinking and heavily under the sedation caused by neo-liberal ideology remained unable to respond adequately to the accumulated and increasing challenge of massive livelihood inadequacy and insecurity .

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Urban Poverty

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This paper tries to assess the poverty alleviation programmes of the Eleventh Five Year Plan. It will critically appraise the proposals of the plan for alleviating urban poverty and providing employment to the working poor.

For the last decade or so the issue of urban poverty has come to the fore. Earlier discourses on poverty focussed more on rural poverty because an overwhelming majority of the population lives in rural areas. Moreover, urban areas were viewed as places where the rural poor migrate to mitigate poverty. Hence it was presumed that the receiving areas for impoverished migrants would be better off than the places of origin.

Of late, this belief has proved incorrect. Urban areas show greater signs of poverty because they are unable to provide better work for the migrants. There are some related trends that have further increased urban poverty. First of all urban growth is concentrated in the large, class I cities while the smaller towns are growing at a very slow pace. Immigrants to the larger cities comprise those from smaller towns as well as some from rural areas. In other words there seems to be greater urban to urban migration as compared to rural to urban migration. There are some indicators to this trend which we will discuss shortly.

Dimensions of Urban Poverty

The Eleventh Five Year Plan document shows rural poverty has actually declined in absolute numbers over the past 30 years. In 1973, there were 2,612.90 lakhs people in rural areas who were below the poverty line. In 2004, this decreased to 2,209.24 lakhs, a total decrease of 403 lakhs (Eleventh Five Year Plan {EFYP}, 2007, Table 4.2). On the other hand the number of people below the poverty line in urban areas increased from 600.47 lakhs in 1973 to 807.96 lakhs in 2004 (Ibid). (This is understandable and obvious as urban population has grown faster than that in rural areas. However, NSS based poverty trends reveal the gap between rural and urban poverty in (percentage terms) has narrowed down in recent years. The main section of population living below the poverty line in urban areas are casual labourers as they earn less and get no social or economic protection. The percentage of casual labour households increased from 25% of the urban population in 1973-74 to 32% in 1999-2000 (Ibid, Table 4.8).

In addition to the issues mentioned above, there are other serious problems faced by the urban poor which their rural counterparts do not face. First of all, almost all poor migrants to the city occupy homes that are illegal as far as the city administration is concerned. Very few of the urban poor actually reside in places that are legally allotted to them. In other words, the urban poor settle in vacant places where they raise their shanties. In most cases, these places are not designated for slums hence they are always at a risk of being evicted from these areas by the municipal authorities and the police. Being housed in insecure areas makes them vulnerable to corrupt municipal and police personnel. These marauders grab a sizable portion of their earnings as rent so that they can continue to live in their measly homes. Irregular earnings in informal jobs, insecure residences and corruption in the form of rent seeking erode whatever little savings these people can generate.

The other disturbing fact about urban poverty is that in some cases the poor are worse off than those in draught affected regions. A study on urban poverty in Mumbai in 2005 (SHARP, 2006) has made a comparison between children in tribal areas of Maharashtra that are under constant drought and children in demolished slums in Mumbai. The study focussed on incidence of malnutrition among urban *kutcha* (temporary) slum dwellers in the city and tribal landless households in Jawahar and Mokhada tehsils of Thane district. These two tehsils have been in the news for malnutrition related deaths among tribal children. The study found that children living in temporary slums (that were earlier demolished) and on pavements had greater incidence of malnutrition

than the children of landless and marginal landholders. The indicators used were weight for age (underweight), height for age (stunting) and weight for height (wasting). (Indeed in some cases or in short run, urban poor can be worse off than rural poor but it is difficult to sustain the argument at macro level or in the long run, when rural-urban migration is high)

It is not just lack of food and shelter that hits slum dwellers who face demolition. They are in fact unable to pursue their livelihoods, schooling of their children, access to health; sanitation and drinking water too are effectively demolished. Evictions also mean destruction of the meagre assets accumulated by the slum dwellers over the years to have a better future for themselves or their children. In most Indian cities, especially the large ones, the civic authorities and the police have been carrying out such demolitions in order to beautify the city and thereby destroying the livelihoods of the people and creating greater incidence of poverty.

Access to Livelihood and Decent Working Conditions

The Eleventh Pplan has laid down guidelines for providing livelihoods to the people. The focus is clearly on Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) as sources of employment. India, like most of the Asian countries, has an overwhelming majority of its manufacturing units in SMEs. These units comprise over 90% of the total units in manufacturing. The Plan document (EFYP, 2007, para 5.3) notes that productivity of SMEs is higher than that of large industries but it is well below that of other Asian countries. The *Fortune Small Business Survey* ranked India 46th out of 53 countries (Ibid). Improvement of SMEs is absolutely necessary if they are to become the key factors for growth and employment.

The Plan notes that SMEs face a host of problems that need to be addressed. It identifies four major factors lacking in SMEs. These are, firstly, inadequate working capital, secondly, lack of information on market access; thirdly, obsolete technology and fourthly, the workers are mainly unskilled.

Further elaborating on these aspects the Eleventh plan elaborates on how the shortage of working capital is the biggest hurdle in growth of this sector. These units have to depend on private sources of finance that come at high rates of interests that eat into the profits. Only 8% of bank credits are provided for the SMEs. The complications and bureaucratic procedures involved in registration of the units and lack of collateral security are major problems.

A vast majority of small entrepreneurs are not well educated. They find the laws and regulations that they need to abide by, if they are to be viewed as legal entities, extremely cumbersome. Even those who are able to understand the bureaucratic procedures find them too time consuming to fulfil. Owners of SMEs are usually engaged in multi-skilled tasks such as managing production, negotiating with buyers, keeping accounts, managing their workers etc. If these entrepreneurs were registered or if they were granted lease on the land their work occupied they would be in a better position to obtain credit at cheaper rates. But this does not happen.

The situation is similar to what Hernando De Sotro (1989), a Peruvian economist described in what came to be known as the legalist approach to the informal sector (Chen, 2004). De Sotro stated that the informal sector comprises small operatives who work outside the formal economy because they find the legal procedures too difficult to follow. Hence, these people are not willing offenders. They circumvent rules because they find them too complicated and take up a lot of their time. He therefore suggested that if a one-window system for registration is developed, the small entrepreneurs will prefer to stay legal.

The second point that De Sotro stresses on is to provide lease or ownership on land that these industries occupy. In most cases they do not have rights over the land because they may be encroachers or they do not have the record of their title. De Sotro had advised the government of Peru to grant lease to all slum dwellers and to places of work of the SMEs. This would provide them with collateral for bank loans as well as other facilities provided by the state for small entrepreneurs. They could thus invest in their own businesses.

De Sotro's main argument is that streamlining the legal system and formalisation of procedures help capitalism to triumph and ensure a high growth rate in an economy. He, however, does not consider how formalisation process throws the poor out of the system who earlier managed to survive through semi legal methods or by

approaching the local politicians and civil society organisations. This further underscores the fact that the state views the urban poor, especially the self-employed, as illegal entities in the urban scenario. They viewed as disrupters of the urban economy. This is despite the fact that the poor constitute the majority in all cities. In other words this implies that the state views the majority in urban areas as non-citizens or people without any rights (except perhaps the right to vote).

Though there are several loopholes in De Sotto's formulation one underlying feature is that the urban working poor can become more self-empowered if they are provided property rights on the places they dwell in. If the lease of that land is given to them they can use it as collateral to secure loans from the formal banking sector, instead of depending on loan sharks. In India every five year Plan since the third Plan, has directed that slum dwellers should have lease rights on the land they occupy as this will give them access to immovable property. They could use this as collateral and obtain money for either improving their houses or for starting their business. This advice seems to have fallen on deaf ears so far.

The Eleventh Plan states that it will adopt a dualist approach towards SMEs. So far plans had focus on productivity and production and had overlooked the problems of the people engaged in SMEs. It has taken eleven five year Plans to understand that the healthy workers or producers lead to healthy production. Nonetheless, this is a positive approach, because so far planners have by and large looked at increase in employment as a notion of success. However, merely increasing employment may not achieve the desired results of having healthy workers. What is more important is that the workers in SMEs or in the informal sector in general are assured of a need-based minimum wage. In most cases, when there is a lowering of wages employment tends to increase. This may sound contradictory but if a worker is denied a need-based minimum wage, which is enough to provide for his and his family's basic needs, more members of the household will be seeking low-paid employment in order to meet the minimum requirements of the family. For example, if a worker earns half the minimum wage, other members of his family, which will include his wife and children may have to work in low-paid informal employment so as to cover the gap. We may, thus, conclude that there is full employment in the family. The reality is that this form of forced employment is undertaken mainly to get the minimum requirements.

Social Security

The Plan also provides for social security that is sensitive to women's needs (para 5.15). it notes: 'Equal wages, adequate protection, provision of drinking water, toilets, crèche and feeding facilities will be ensured in all small units and for each cluster'. This is of course a positive step but if these are to be implemented it will need changes in the existing labour laws. At present, crèches are to be provided if there are at least 30 women in the reproductive ages in that unit. SMEs in any case have less than 10 workers in each unit and these constitute the majority of industrial units. The Plan however does not take heed to these facts. Hence we do not know how it will be implemented.

Another suggestion made by the plan that relates to women entrepreneurs is that they 'will be provided easy access to credit and adequate advisory and mentoring services' (para 5.15). This again needs to be looked at with reference to what was discussed in the previous section. Most women entrepreneurs run micro enterprises that are largely unregistered and they are ineligible for institutional credit. Will the Plan make special arrangements to fulfil its target? Or else this sounds like mere rhetoric.

Another aspect of social security includes SC, ST and minorities. The Plan states that it 'will provide training and health insurance schemes for these vulnerable groups'. It does not specify how this will be achieved.

Food Processing

India produces 9% of the world's fruit production and 11% of the world's vegetable production. Despite this track record, the processed food sector has not been able to take off at all. Only two per cent of fruits and vegetables are processed, as against 23% in China, 78% in Philippines, 83% in Malaysia and 80% South Africa. Processed foods would mean that the products have a longer shelf life. In the case of fruits and vegetables which are highly perishable, a section of the production could be wasted due to rotting. In fact this is the case

with India because 35% of the annual production is wasted. This would seem almost criminal in a country where a sizeable section of population faces chronic hunger.

The issues relate mainly to storage facilities and processing (value added) products. Lack of infrastructure for storage leads to a lot of waste. Even potatoes which have a longer shelf-life decompose due to lack of proper storage. Other vegetables like tomatoes and green vegetables fall victim even earlier. As a result, one finds a lot of distress sale among the farmers especially when they have a good vegetable crop. Processing and storage facilities are necessary to ensure that there is little wastage of food. Another important reason is that this will ensure the farmer that s/he will get a fairer price. This will in turn help in maintaining production.

The Plan has targeted this sector as an important sector for employment and expansion of activities (para 5.98). It notes that this industry employs a large number of people (130lakhs) directly. Out of these, micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) employ 45.34 lakhs. Clearly, a majority of the employed work outside the MSMEs. Street vendors constitute a major section of this. The Plan notes that this section as well as the household industries has been neglected. The eighth Plan had suggested that food parks be set up, so that street vendors do not have problems in selling their wares. Subsequently, 54 parks were sanctioned. However, most of them are yet to become operational. The Plan notes that only 28 units are running in eight food parks. This is a dismal scene. The Plan has mentioned that there are a large number of food vendors in the different cities. Their number over several lakhs. Yet, no concrete proposals have been made for their improvement.

The Plan rightly suggests that the main outlets for processed food are street vendors. Besides this, street vendors provide cheap food for the urban poor besides other sections of the urban population. Hence, they perform two important tasks in the distribution chain. By providing cheap and fresh food, fruits and vegetables, they are in fact subsidising living costs in urban areas. This subsidy is not restricted only to the poor, but also to other sections who purchase from them. Besides this, they form an effective distribution network.

Despite their positive contributions, street food vendors are treated as encroachers in the urban economy. This attitude needs to change. Unless street vending is made legal, there can be no means of regulating their activities. At present, street vendors operate under uncertain conditions and fear of eviction. They need to bribe the police and civic officials in order to stay on the streets. (New laws pertaining to micro environment, health, safety etc are likely to go against the vendors, given the elite capture in city governance) This is borne out of the results of a survey on street vendors in Mumbai carried out by Tata Institute of Social Sciences in 1998 (Sharma, 1998). The survey found that rent collection by police and municipality in the metro city amounted to Rs. 400 crores per annum. This was over a decade ago and the rates must have gone up in the present. In Delhi, a study by Manushi Trust (2001) found that around Rs. 50 crores was collected every month from street vendors. In fact these findings attracted the attention of the then Vigilance Commissioner, who passed strong strictures against the Delhi administration for indulging in such corrupt practices.

Urban Infrastructure

The Plan document states that ‘The urban sector presently contributes about 62- 63% of the GDP and this is expected to increase to 75% by 2021 (para 11.1). Despite this, India is one of the few countries whose urban population is just a small proportion of its total population. The Plan notes ‘the degree of urbanisation is one of the lowest in the world. The total percentage of urban population is about 27.8’ (para 11.2 [i]). This is much lower than other developing countries, such as China (32%), Indonesia (37%), South Korea (83%) and Pakistan (35%).

The major problem of India’s urbanisation is that its growth is concentrated in a few large cities. In fact Class I cities with more than 1 lakh population account for nearly seventy per cent of the urban population (para 11.2 [ii]). Within this group, we find that the million plus cities have a much higher growth rate. The paradox here is that India will shortly be having the largest number of million plus cities in the world with one of the lowest rates of urbanisation. Hence, what we suffer from is mainly the problem of over-urbanisation. In other words, the existing large centres are over-urbanized which obviously causes a strain on the civic infrastructure and resources.

We had mentioned earlier that urban poverty is on the increase because the rural poor prefer to migrate to urban areas in search of livelihoods. Hence special programmes need to be designed for the urban poor. The Plan states that these have to be in collaboration with central, state and municipal bodies. However, it also points out that though ULBs are ideal for undertaking such programs as they are in direct touch with the urban population, in most states the transfer of power to ULBs as stated under the 74th Constitutional Amendment has not taken place. As a result, the elected representatives have very little say in matters concerning the policies of ULBs. It is the bureaucrats who have a field day in this matter. The plan document notes that ‘this urbanisation is characterised by incomplete devolution of functions to the elected bodies, lack of adequate financial resources, unwillingness to progress towards municipal autonomy...’ (para 11.4). The effect this has on the urban poor is quite obvious. The document mentions that ‘the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act envisages that the functions of urban poverty alleviation and improvement of slums and their upgradation including the provision of urban basic amenities to the poor, are among the key functions of the municipalities’(para 11.80 [iii]). If municipalities are unable to fulfil these tasks, the urban poor will continue to live a miserable life.

The Plan has suggested the need for a long term National Urbanisation Policy (para 11.7) in order to prevent the haphazard growth of urban areas. It suggests that the scheme of Integrated Development of Small & Medium Towns (IDSMT) be strengthened. (The gap between the population growth rate of large vis-a-vis small towns has gone up. The small and medium towns have much higher level of deficiency in basic amenities than larger cities.) Unfortunately, the approved outlet in the Tenth Plan was Rs. 1304.65 crores and the anticipated expenditure was around 43 per cent only. The scheme has been subsumed in JNNURM. One has to look at the migration process in order to understand the success or failure of such schemes. We presume that rural-urban or urban-urban migration is a result of poverty at the place of origin and hence, migrants move out in search of better opportunities for their livelihood. This may not be totally correct, because migrants could also move to the larger cities in search of better opportunities in education or a variety of employment. Usually, for a qualified young person who is not too well-off and living in rural areas, it is difficult for her/him to find opportunities for higher education or better employment commensurate to their qualifications. Hence these people too migrate to the cities to fulfil these aspirations. This would also mean that lack of educational opportunities in rural areas could lead to more migration to the larger urban cities as these offer better opportunities for the educated as also better employment opportunities. One has to examine the failure of the small town in meeting the aspirations of the educated.

Housing

One of the acute problems in the larger cities is that of housing. Our cities are dotted with slums, which provide cheap but extremely unhygienic form of housing to the urban poor. These areas lack the basic civic amenities such as potable water, sanitation and waste disposal. Yet the urban poor can afford nothing better than this. The proliferation of slums is due to the high cost of housing as also proximity to the place of work. The Plan document states that a large number of workers engaged in urban economy are self-employed in the informal sector. Others are low-wage/ salaried workers and casual workers. These categories would largely comprise the urban poor (para 11.62). The document further notes that ‘they play a role in wealth creation, development of infrastructure and providing a quality of life to the urbanites. However, they have themselves been denied shelter, basic urban amenities, healthy urban environment and a dignified life’ (Ibid).

The above observations are quite perceptive and they effectively demonstrate the role of the urban poor in building up the city. Because these people are denied the basic facilities, they are forced to live in slums and shanties. The mushrooming of the slums in the city is not due to sheer chance or because there are empty spaces which the urban poor can ‘colonise’. In most cases, the slums are situated close to the place of work of the slum-dwellers. This cuts down their transport costs. A combination of cheap housing due to slums and low or no transport cost enables the working poor to offer their labour at cheaper rates. The beneficiaries of such a system are obviously those who employ labour. Hence slums in fact help to reduce their labour costs. This fact is unfortunately conveniently overlooked by Planners and the middle classes.

Unfortunately, JNNURM does not give emphasis on tenure security or provision of basic amenities. Its thrust on integrated housing projects implemented through real estate developers is likely to make housing unaffordable

for the poor. The Plan rightly points out that the need is not of demolition, but of upgrading slums to make them liveable. The Plan feels that the schemes for improving urban infrastructure such as roads, water supply and sanitation under JNNURM will benefit the urban poor. This is incorrect because unless specific allocations are made for uplift of slum housing, water and sanitation to slums, the situation will remain unchanged. These improved facilities are likely to bypass the residences of the urban poor. In fact it is found that in JNNURM only a small fraction is allocated for improving infrastructure of the urban poor. Infrastructure investment under JNNURM is for improving efficiency of the cities for global competitiveness.

Another important aspect of the Plan is solid waste management (paras 11.50 - 11.52). The problem of solid waste is more acute in the metro cities. However, the collection of solid waste is also more efficient because 70-90 percent is collected in the cities. In the smaller towns, only half the waste is collected by the municipalities. The Plan says that private parties should be encouraged to be involved in this technology. These groups could use modern technology for collection of waste. They can also convert waste into profitable products like organic pellets, construction material etc. Hence public-private partnership needs to be encouraged. One obvious sufferer in such a system would be the waste recyclers. These people have been collecting recyclable waste from the city roads and garbage bins for long. Several thousand families owe their existence to such recyclable waste. The Plan does not show any inclination for including these people in the modernized garbage collection process. Though at one place (para 11.52 [iv]) it fleetingly mentions that 'NGOs should be encouraged to provide organisational support and identity to the ragpickers who play an important role in recycling waste'. However it does not indicate how the conditions of the ragpickers will improve if they are given identity cards, while their basic source of livelihood, namely waste recycling is snatched away by privately owned companies. NGO sector in Delhi could not provide above poverty line income to "Vatavaran" workers, if they have a family of 5. The same is true for many other NGOs at grass root level. Even much publicised Dabbawallas in Mumbai do not get above poverty subsistence with the new poverty line (Tendulkar Committee)

Urban Transport

Accessibility of transport facilities at cheap rates is essential for the urban poor who need to use public transport to their places of work. We mentioned earlier that by building slums near their places of work the urban poor try to cut transport costs. However the spate of demolition drives of slums tends to push the poor away from their places of work. The rehabilitation schemes for slum dwellers are also situated in the outskirts of the city. We can see this in the case of Slum Rehabilitation Scheme in Mumbai and the relocation scheme in Delhi before the Commonwealth Games. The slum dwellers are pushed far away from their work places. They thus need to depend on public transport for earning their livelihood.

The Plan envisions an Intelligent Transport System (ITS) which means that the traditional buses will be replaced by a broad range of wireless and wire line communications (para 11.144). It will invest Rs. 38,000 crores for introduction of modern buses. The government will replace all existing buses with 'truck chassis body' with low floor/ semi low floor ultra modern busses on public-private partnership basis.

The first thought that comes to mind is: how effective will these low floor buses be during the monsoons when most Metros (esp. Mumbai, Kolkata and Delhi) are prone to flooding. A more important point is that these new transport schemes are too expensive for the urban poor. One can see this happening in the case of Mumbai. The fares charged by these buses are double that of ordinary fares and if they are air-conditioned the charges are between five to ten times higher. The poor still have the suburban trains and the older busses as alternatives. However what will happen to them when these buses are replaced by the modern buses? There are other transportation schemes based on Public-Private Partnership (PPP) which are very expensive for the poor. These include sky rails, mono rail and Metro (underground) Rail. At present the poor have a choice of using cheaper transport but what will happen after this is closed?

The total cost for public transport during the Plan period will be Rs. 1,32,590 crores, A staggering amount (Ch. 5 Table 11). The largest head is on expenditure on modern buses (Rs. 38,000 crores). MRTS comes next with an allocation of Rs. 32,000 crores. The sources of funding (Ch. 5 Table 12) are: Loans from financial institutions (World Bank?) that, at Rs. 61,190 crores, constitute almost half the budget. The next highest contribution will

be from private promoters (Rs. 26,000 crores). NURM will contribute Rs. 15,500 crores while the states and ULBs are expected to contribute Rs. 19,500 crores.

Private-Public Partnerships

There are certain statements in the Plan that are controversial. These relate to involvement of the private sector in improving the conditions of the urban poor. For example, the involvement of private enterprise in improving solid waste management excludes the wastepickers. The other aspect is that though the document feels that centralised planning is essential (after all it has taken great care in framing this document), it has little regard for urban planning as such. In para 11.12, it has strongly criticised the concept of 'Master Plans'. The Document notes that 'it is not well suited to rapidly growing cities and multi-jurisdiction urban agglomerations'. This may be true, but instead of attacking Master Plans, should we not try to see how this plethora of bodies involved in urban administration could be streamlined and they do not overlap in authority. In fact this will be extremely important for any Plan to be successful. For example, the state of Delhi does not own any land as this is under the jurisdiction of the Delhi Administration (DA) which is managed by non-elected bureaucrats. Hence, any democratic decision taken by the state, which involves spatial planning, cannot be implemented without the concurrence of DA. The Delhi Municipal Corporation also faces a similar dilemma. Similarly in Mumbai, there are a large number of competing authorities such as the Municipal Corporation, MMRDA, Railways, and Port Trust etc which lay claim to public land. Hence, schemes like slum rehabilitation or for that matter upgradation of slums can become difficult because of competing authorities for controlling land.

The criticism against the Master Plans is not because of the above, but because these Plans lock in buildable land and space, they inhibit the housing markets and contribute to proliferation of slums. The document however does not explain how this actually happens. By implication, it would mean that Master Plans actually help in making land scarce and thereby increasing their prices. Since the Plan does not elaborate on how this happens it seems more of a belief rather than a scientific, verifiable fact. Unfortunately, Planning should not be left to beliefs of the Planners.

A similar approach can be seen in the Plan's support for removal of the urban land ceiling laws. The reason given is that these laws do not allow the land market to develop freely. It would therefore imply that if the land ceiling laws are withdrawn, land prices would fall. There are states that have scrapped the urban land ceiling act but there are no indications that land prices have fallen or the land market has been more inclusive of those with lesser resources. On the contrary, one finds that corporate houses have got engaged in real estate and housing and they have replaced government in control over land. The point that is being made is that if the earlier system of state and bureaucratic control did not bear the desired results the solution need not necessarily lie in aggressive privatisation. There is certainly another way out.

Some Alternatives

The Plan has a lot of suggestions for alleviation of urban poverty. There are some instances that exist which the Plan could have taken into consideration. Firstly, more than a decade ago the Department of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation of the Ministry of Urban Development had asked HUDCO to frame a policy for slums. This National Policy has been framed but it has remained in the 'draft' form. The policy contains several positive aspects of slums. It recognises the fact that the urban poor make vital contribution to the urban economy. The policy states:

Slums are an integral part of urban areas and contribute significantly to their economy both through their labour market contributions and informal production activities. This Policy, therefore, endorses an upgrading and improvement approach in all slums. It does not advocate the concept of slum clearance except under strict guidelines set down for resettlement and rehabilitation in respect of certain slums located on untenable sites.

The policy also stresses on the role that the urban poor play in building prosperity. This part is very similar to the remarks of the plan (Chapter 5) on slums and the urban poor. In fact it almost seems as if the Plan has borrowed the paragraph from the Draft National Slum Policy. The relevant section is:

The poor represent an extremely important element of the urban labour force and contribute substantially to total productivity and labour market competitiveness. It is vital that all ULBs recognise the contribution of the urban poor in helping to build urban prosperity and make sufficient provision for them to have access to affordable land, house sites and services. The present Planning and development framework is exclusive of slums and informal settlements. It views slums as “problem areas” requiring corrective action. The legal framework with its origin in the pre-independence socio-economic context requires modifications and progressive change. There is a need for a greater commitment to institutional re-orientation by adopting a more ‘enabling’ approach to the delivery of basic services accessible to the poor through the more effective mobilisation of community resources and skills to complement public resource allocations. Major areas of attention include: town planning, land management, poverty alleviation, basic service delivery and capacity building.

Besides the slum policy there is also the National Policy for Urban Street Vendors which attempts to provide legal protection to this important section of the self employed. It also highlights the importance of street vendors in the urban economy, especially in the distribution network. This policy was accepted by the cabinet on 20 January 2004. Later the NCEUS was asked to modify it and finalise it. The policy has finally been accepted by the government. The union government has proposed a model bill on street vending based on the policy. The Prime Minister has written to the Chief Ministers of states and UTs on 4 August 2009 asking them to implement the policy. So far only Orissa has responded positively. A study on street vendors in Bhubaneswar by the author which is yet unpublished found that the conditions of street vendors had improved considerably over the past year when they were treated as encroachers. Besides improving their earnings as they did not have to part with a share for corrupt police and municipal personnel, they were free from the anxiety of having their goods confiscated through sudden raids. The National Policy in fact notes that street vending should be treated as a measure of poverty alleviation.

The Model Act on Street Vending has in fact diluted the recommendations mentioned by NCEUS and the earlier Task Force. There are two major omissions, namely, on beautification of pavements and food vendors. The former may appear as peripheral but it could have serious repercussions on the functioning of street vendors. In many cases street vendors are evicted because the local housing societies want to ‘beautify’ the pavements. One of the earlier municipal officials of the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai, one Rokde, had advised housing societies to put up plants on the pavements in their areas as this would prevent street vendors from occupying the pavements. The original draft policy had stated that in case of beautification the street vendors must be involved in the planning and execution. The other point is that the bill does not mention of the role of food vendors. It would appear that they will not be allowed to operate on the streets. The Plan has mentioned at length on the important role the food vendors play in the urban economy in keeping prices in check and in ensuring food supplies to the vulnerable sections. However, if the model act were to be implemented it would remove this important section of the informal workers.

Conclusion

We have tried to review the conditions of the urban poor based on the Eleventh Five Year Plan document. Urban poverty of course is a multi-faceted problem that needs to be tackled from different angles. First of all, the urban poor themselves should be included in the planning process through consultations and also by seeking their suggestions on how to improve their situation. This would be a proper democratic process. The Plan talks about the need for democratic decision-making and how this is effaced by not disseminating decision-making powers to the ULBs. At the same time, when it comes to the urban poor, their views are conveniently never sought. The Plan document has been made without consultation with the targeted beneficiaries. In other words, it is the Planners who decide what is good or bad for them, while the urban poor have no say. The issue is how to make the working poor more involved in planning for their future. One of the greatest drawbacks of this is that these sections have been marginalised and kept away from mainstream decision making. There is also the belief that slum dwellers are illiterate and hence cannot articulate their problems. Having them in decision making bodies would amount to tokenism. This may be true to some extent in the present context, however it would be a misnomer to think that just because their literacy is low they are incapable of deciding on their own

good. One must remember that the percentage of illiteracy in the country as a whole, at 35%, is higher than that of the cities. Yet these same people have been exercising their franchise in electing governments that are stable. Why can they not participate in urban governance? The need is of capacity building that would make the urban working poor aware of their rights as citizens. This has been denied to them for long by the bureaucrats as well as their collaborators, namely, the microscopic communities of the middle and upper middle classes who tend to think that the city exists solely for fulfilling their needs. We can thus, stress that planning from the top is rarely successful. It does not involve people's participation and it does not always take into account the people's needs.

The Plan has argued forcefully about the role of SMEs in employment of the urban working poor. These organisations operate at low technology and workers required have low skills. Development of skills and continuous training facilities are two aspects that have been stressed on. However the Plan does not lay any specific budget for these two items. Similarly, the Plan has explained the importance of street food vendors as a vital component of the retail chain, yet it does not recommend any steps that ULBs can take to regularise and regulate street food vendors (see above).

Finally there are two vital components for any policy to succeed. Firstly there has to be a system of governance that will assure that the policies will affect the urban poor. This does not seem evident. The Plan does mention about the important role the ULBs play in this process. It also criticises the fact the ULBs have not been given the powers that they deserve under the 74th Constitutional Amendment. This means that the bureaucrats have greater control over the process and policy implementation than the elected members. However the Plan does not propose any improvement in the process that would make governance effective. Secondly, the most important aspect of implementing policies effectively is the political will to do so. If this is lacking all well planned strategies will be failures. Somehow there does not seem to be a political will to ensure policies for uplift of the urban poor are effective. These policies will at the most appear as lip sympathies. We get a similar feeling with the Eleventh plan because while it exemplifies in detail the costs of reorganising the urban transport system and also explains how these expenditures will be raised, we do not find a similar approach towards housing or slum redevelopment for the urban poor.

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Reforming Governance in India Today: Promises to Keep?

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I. Mandate

The last two decades have witnessed enormous shifts in politics and economics of countries and people around the world. As we recall the fall of the Berlin Wall twenty years ago, it is hard to imagine the world we were in then. India's journey of economic and political reforms began in 1991; nearly twenty years later, the scorecard of this reform innings needs reassessment. During this period, and partly resulting from the historic reforms unleashed as above, the agenda of governance began to become central fulcrum for reforms. How do the various sets of reforms undertaken in India stand up to a scrutiny on the framework of 'good governance'?

This paper attempts to make a preliminary assessment of Governance Reforms in India, specially in light of the commitments made in the Eleventh Five Year Plan of the Government of India; and it identifies priority reform agendas demanding urgent attention of the policy-makers, political leadership and civil society in the country today. This attention towards Governance Reforms at this juncture becomes all the more pertinent because the Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012) has a chapter on Governance.

Furthermore, the UPA government at the center has come back to power (and Congress Party in particular) on the promise of reforming governance. In her inaugural address to the newly constituted Parliament on June 4, 2009, the Hon'ble President of India, Smt Pratibha Patil, underscored the commitment of the new government to governance reforms as one of the top ten priorities of the new government.

It is opportune, therefore, to assess the agendas for reforming governance at this juncture. It is hoped that the present government, under the able leadership of Hon'ble Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh, would take up these reforms, considering that he himself was the architect of the first round of economic reforms begun in 1991, and Congress Party championed the political reforms in 1992 (constitutional amendments to create institutions of local self governance).

Therefore, there is political and popular mandate for reforming governance in India today. **The question is whether reforming governance would actually be carried into practice? Whether reforming governance would be comprehensive? Whether reforming governance would be inclusive, from the vantage point of 'aam aadmi' (the common citizen)?**

II. Perspective

Before assessing the reforms on governance, let us outline our perspective on 'good governance'. What is governance? Is it what the governments do? Or, is it something more than that? Over the past two decades, several definitions, meanings and models of governance and 'good' governance have floated around. Let us take a quick look:

"Public sector governance refers to the way the state acquires and exercises the authority to provide and manage public goods and services, including both public capacities and public accountabilities" (Levy, 2007).

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UNDP Strategy Note on Governance for Human development, 2000 defined governance as “a system of values, policies and institutions by which a society manages its economic, political and social affairs through interactions within and among the state, civil society and private sector. It is the way society organizes itself to make and implement decisions - achieving mutual understanding, agreement and action. It comprises the mechanisms and processes for citizens and groups to articulate their interests, mediate their differences and exercise their legal rights and obligations. It is the rules, institutions and practices that set the limits and provide incentives for individuals, organizations and firms” (UNDP, 2007).

“Governance is distinct from government, and is the process through which various stakeholders articulate their interests, exercise their rights, and mediate their differences” (Debroy, 2004).

The Tenth Five Year Plan stated that “Governance relates to the management of all such processes that, in any society, define the environment which permits and enables individuals to raise their capability levels, on one hand, and provide opportunities to realise their potential and enlarge the set of available choices, on the other” (Planning Commission, 2008)

“Tandon (2002) defined it as “the joint responsibility of the state, market and citizens to mobilize public resources and promote public decision-making towards the advancement of common public good.”

Thus, governance is about defining and prioritising public goods, institutional mechanisms and structures for delivery of those goods, and processes by which such structures and mechanisms operate. It focuses on articulation of interests by various stakeholders, specially the hitherto excluded and the marginalized. It recognizes that differences among various interests around public goods, and the preferred modes of delivering the same, would necessarily exist in a democratic polity, and therefore, lays emphasis on negotiated and dialogical approaches to dealing with those differences.

Some approaches focusing on ‘good governance’ tend to take a techno-managerial view, and emphasise what has come to be known as ‘new public management’ approach. In the perspective of this paper, a citizen-centric approach to good governance is taken. By focusing on ‘democratic governance’, citizen-centric elements can be emphasized; these elements, in particular, would include:

- **Downward accountability to citizens of both elected representatives and appointed officials,**
- **Empowered citizenship which is informed, aware and active in an ongoing manner**
- **Participation by all citizens as a right to engage, contribute, negotiate and decide**

In some similar ways, the Eleventh Plan presents **six benchmarks** of such democratic governance:

- Free and fair and timely elections of all spheres of political authority
- Transparency and accountability of all institutions of the state to citizens
- Efficient and effective delivery of socio-economic public services
- Effective devolution of authority, resources and capabilities to PRIs and municipalities
- Rule of law, where legal rights are clear and understood, and legal compliance and enforcements of those rights is time-bound and swift
- Needs and interests of hitherto excluded sections of society are privileged and included, with dignity

It is clear that the government is following a set of standards for reforming governance in the country, which are essentially citizen-centric: transparency, accountability and efficiency of all institutions, agencies and actors of the government, with particular attention to those citizens who have been largely excluded so far.

The following section highlights the priorities for reforming governance in India today.

III. National Priorities

The Constitution of India is based on the principles of separation of powers and functions between the legislature, executive and judiciary. When it was first adopted in 1950, there were only two tiers of governance—

union and states. After the political reforms of 1992, another tier of governance—local governance institutions in panchayats and municipalities—have become a part of this system. However, the organic and systemic integration of this tier of governance has not happened so far. In addition, several distortions have emerged thereby creating duplications, confusions and wastage. It is important to recognize that the present system of division of political authority between local, state and national levels needs to be reorganized on the principle of **subsidiarity**—what can be best done at the levels of panchayats (at each of its three tiers) and municipalities should be their domain; what ever then needs the attention of the state government should be their domain; and, the remainder should be the domain of national government.

However, the governance reform agenda cannot be compartmentalized; **it needs to be holistically focused upon as national priorities.** The process of bringing about such reforms may entail developing political consensus across all spheres of governance, including the voices of citizens; but the agenda has to be set as a set of national priorities. It is clear that reforming governance in India today is a responsibility for all tiers of government, civil society, private sector and others, and not for union government alone. But the central government can play an important leadership role in pushing forward the reforming agenda. Hence, the governance reforms identified in the Eleventh Plan should be treated in a unitary and holistic fashion.

A. Reforming the Legislature

Several studies (Social Watch India Reports, PRS Legislative Research website) have begun to highlight the dysfunctional functioning of our parliament and state assemblies. The National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution (NCRWC) (2000) has made several recommendations in this regard. Some other studies have also elaborated the need for bringing in greater professionalism and accountability in the functioning of these legislative bodies

Key reforms urgently needed are:

1. There should be a **mandatory minimum number of days** (say 100) in which each legislature meets to conduct its business; absence of members (beyond a specified number of days, say 15) from attending the legislature should be penalized. Assemblies in Orissa, West Bengal, Delhi, to name just a few, have been regularly ‘shut down’, and no legislative function is being performed. The unprecedented absence of MPs during Question Hour earlier this month further underscores the urgency of this reform.
2. Functioning of legislative committees to conduct the business of various ministries and departments should be streamlined, and attendance of concerned ministers should be mandatory. “The efficacy of the committee system has been questioned and it is necessary to develop a holistic view on how the parliamentary committees could be made efficacious for exercising effective control over the executive” (Social Watch India, 2006).
3. Each chair of the committee should be able to recruit professional support to enable them to analyse and study various issues related to the agendas of the committees; likewise, each MP or MLA should have provision to engage professional experts in assisting them to study various legislative matters. “It has been observed that research and technical support available to the parliamentary committees are deficient and deserves to be strengthened” (Social Watch India, 2006).
4. Citizens and civil society should be able to access these committees and their agendas; **committee minutes and proceedings should be available in the public domain.** “The meetings of the Committees are held in camera and the demand for making the meetings open to public, at least on selective basis, have not been accepted yet” (Social Watch India, 2006).
5. The legislature is meant to legislate; its task is to review policies and laws, and to enact new ones; its role is to provide oversight to the executive’s performance. But, the legislature, or its members, should not be doing the job of the executive. In this context, **schemes like MPLAD and MLALADs should**

be abolished. The misutilisation of such schemes has been adequately documented, and they end up undermining the roles of executive at different tiers of governance. The Planning Commission found that most of the MPs while allocating funds to individual works seem to be thrifty, despite the fact that there is large unspent balance of MPLADs. None of these funds are used as a part of the district planning process, and depend on the patronage considerations of the concerned elected representative. The situation becomes even more ridiculous with respect to members of Rajya Sabha, who do not have a specific constituency.

6. The voting record of each MP/MLA on various bills and policies legislatures should be available in the public domain.

B. Reforming Election System

Over the past decade, several campaigns and studies have begun to highlight the flaws of our electoral system; many agencies (Former Chief Election Commissioner (CEC), TS Krishnamurthy proposed several of these reforms in his letter to the Prime Minister on July 5, 2004; National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution (NCRWC), in its Report vol.1, chap 4 made extensive recommendations towards this end) have made thoughtful recommendations for reforming the electoral system. Some of the key reforms that can make elections free, fair and accountable to citizens are:

1. Representation of People's Act needs to be amended to ensure that **any one charged with any offence that is punishable with imprisonment for five years, should be automatically debarred from contesting any elections**; and, if already elected, such a person should be automatically disqualified suo moto. Look at the irony when former Chief Minister of Jharkhand Madhu Koda is running around campaigning for himself and his party even as various investigating agencies are charging him with fraud of public funds to the tune of several thousand crores.
2. Election petitions should be decided by the special courts, proposed above. In the alternative, special election benches may be constituted in the High Courts and earmarked for the disposal of election petitions and election disputes (NCRWC Report Vol I Chapter 4).
3. Political parties are not adequately regulated. A **comprehensive legislation regulating the registration, functioning, reporting and accountability of all political parties** (on the lines already prepared by the Law Commission) **should be immediately enacted and implemented** (ADR, 2009).
4. **The norms, standards and systems adopted by the Central Election Commission should be uniformly enforced for State Election Commissions (SECs)**; common electoral rolls, biometric ID cards and synchronization of elections to different tiers should be brought about on an urgent basis. This will ensure that different states do not follow different systems for elections of institutions of local governance, and that the citizen as a voter is commonly identified in all electoral rolls (PRIA, 2004).
5. As the practice in elections to panchayats and municipalities developed over the past fifteen years has shown, **civil society campaigns and monitors in elections can ensure effective participation of the weaker sections**. The practice so evolved in several states by SECs should be adopted at national level by the CEC as well, and election observers, monitors and watchers from civil society (other than official observers) should be formally accredited during elections at all levels (National Election Watch Coalition, 2009).

C. Reforming Delivery of Justice

Most ordinary citizens in the country today fail to receive justice as a basic human right. This failure happens on several counts. The two systems most relevant towards this end are the Police System and Judicial System. Hon'ble President made this a part of her address to the new parliament in June 2009: "My Government will

actively pursue police reform and in order to ensure the active participation of the citizenry in internal security, community policing will be promoted” (<http://presidentofindia.nic.in/sp040609.html>).

Both are in need of urgent reforms, long overdue, but not delivered.

1. Several committees and commissions, set up by the government over the years, have made a series of important recommendations (Ribeiro Committee 1998, Padmanabhiah Committee 2000, Soli Sorabji Committee 2005, to name the most recent ones). These need to be implemented in a comprehensive manner, and not a piecemeal one. **The most important related to Police Reform is functional autonomy and accountability.** (http://www.humanrightsinitiative.org/programs/aj/police/india/police-reforms/citizens_for_police_reform.htm)
2. **Appointments in the police should be made on professional basis**, by an independent body, reporting to a national agency. This is the only way to eradicate corruption, favouritism and sycophancy in the system of policing in the country.

Suggestions for functional autonomy includes constitution of a National Security Commission to prepare a panel for selection and placement of Chiefs of the Central Police Organisations, who would also have a minimum tenure of two years; similarly constitution of an independent State Security Commission, with equitable representation of the legislative and executive wings and the civil society and set up a Police Establishment Board to decide on all transfers, postings, promotions and other service related matters of police officers up to the rank of Deputy Superintendent of Police through a merit based, transparent process and make recommendations on postings and transfers of superior officers. (Common Cause, 2009).

3. Professionalisation of police functions, capacities, institutions and instruments, as per the requirements of a modern state, should be mandatory and adequately resourced.

Creating specialised streams for intelligence, law and order, crime investigation, prosecution, and combating terrorism, insurgency and organised crime; instituting a regime of regular training and skill formation for all categories of police personnel and modernizing the communications and logistic equipment of the police force and optimise the use of information technology in all its functions at all levels down to police stations and outposts are some of the measures to be taken to infuse professionalism in the police system.

4. Complaints against police for harassment of citizens should be dealt with immediately and comprehensively.

Padmanabhiah Committee (2000) on Police Reforms recommended that a non statutory District Police Complaints Authority (DPCA) should be set up with the District Magistrate as the Chairman and a senior Additional Sessions Judge, the District Superintendent of Police and an eminent citizen nominated by the DM as members. Investigations into public complaints against the police should in the first instance be done by the police department itself. Those who are not satisfied can approach the DPCA.

5. Community participation in neighborhood policing, with accountability of police officers, should be implemented uniformly throughout the country.
6. The sheer rules, procedures and practices in Police and Judiciary are outdated from the colonial era, and need to be comprehensively overhauled in one go.
7. **Judicial system needs modernization of recruitment and supervision of judges and other court personnel.** Similarly, professionalisation of lawyers and their agencies is urgently required. NCRWC (2000) recommended for National Judicial Commission for the appointment of judges of the Supreme Court.

8. Adequate numbers of judges at all levels and professional upgradation of judiciary personnel are essential pre-requisites of reforms.
9. A performance tracking and reporting system needs to be institutionalized that would ensure delivery of justice in time. To enforce accountability of Judicial System, NCRWC (2000) recommended for constitution of a committee comprising the Chief Justice of India and two senior-most Judges of the Supreme Court, which shall be exclusively empowered to examine complaints of deviant behaviour of all kinds and complaints of misbehaviour and incapacity against judges of The Supreme Court and the High Courts.
10. **Various aberrations in procedures and practices that result in delays, adjournments and appeals should be overhauled to align them to the needs of ordinary citizens.**
11. Systems of quasi-judicial addressal of conflicts across families and agencies should be so evolved (like Gram Katchehary) as to ensure that conflict management is handled in a practical manner without time-consuming and expensive processes.

D. Reforming Institutions

Over the past sixty years, several institutional mechanisms have been evolved through the constitutional mandates and legislative enactments. These commissions are institutions to protect, and advance rights of the citizens.

Indian constitution provides for several Statutory Commissions like Finance Commissions, SC and ST Commissions, etc. In addition, there are several other Commissions set up through specific Acts of Parliament like Women's Commission, Minorities Commission, Disability Commission, Information Commissions, etc. Several of these Commissions (like State Election Commissions, State Finance Commissions, Women, Backward Caste and Information Commissions) are set up at the state level, both statutory and legislated types.

Over the years, the composition and institutional arrangements of these Commissions (barring National Finance Commissions) have made these bodies ineffective in fully discharging their constitutional and legislative mandates. The appointments to these Commissions (of both Chairs and Members) have been made by the ruling governments without adequate consideration of independent professional knowledge and standing of such persons.

1. It is therefore proposed that **a transparent and effective system of appointments of Chairs and Members of these Commissions** is put in place to ensure that they are able to fulfill their missions well.
 - a) At the national level, the appointment for Statutory Commissions should be done by a three person committee comprising the Prime Minister, Leader of the Opposition in Parliament and the Chief Justice of Supreme Court of India, on the basis of a list of three persons drawn by a Committee headed by the Cabinet Secretary, and comprising of two other eminent persons from the business, civil society and academic community.
 - b) Likewise, for the state level statutory Commissions, the Committee for selection could comprise of the Chief Minister, Leaders of Opposition in state Assembly, and Chief Justice of the High Court, based on the list provided by a committee headed by the chief secretary and two other independent eminent citizens of the state from business, civil society and academic community.
 - c) For other Commissions created through legislations and focusing on subject matters, the selection committee should be headed by the Chair of the Standing Committee of Parliament (or state legislature), concerned Member of the Planning Commission and a civil society expert in that field.

2. Each of these Commissions should be served by an effective and substantial budgetary and staff provisions through a full-time secretary of a senior status and relevant competence.
3. The status of the Chairpersons and Members of these Commissions should correspond to the comparable status of the judges of the High Court and/or Supreme Court.
4. Each Commission's Terms of Reference should be so revised as to make it obligatory on their part to provide Annual Reports to the Parliament and legislatures, and in the public domain, so that its key reports are then publicly debated, and acted upon.
5. In addition, the appointments of Governors as statutory authority has been done in a perfunctory manner, largely bringing politicians and officials affiliated to the ruling party at the Centre. In this regard, the recommendations of the NCRWC (2000) are yet to be implemented (if one looks at the most recent appointments of governors).
6. The Governor is expected to protect the rights of SC/ST populations and provide an annual report to the President in this regard. In such respects, **a system of monitoring these reports should be created so that the accountability of the Governors could be ensured** (PRIA, 2009).

E. Reforming Service Delivery

At the core of the problem of service delivery to ordinary citizens is the urgent need for comprehensive administrative reforms, long overdue. Various committees and commissions have made several recommendations to this effect, but not much has been done so far. Despite an ambitious agenda of inclusive development, and huge allocation of public resources towards that end, the actual delivery of basic services to the citizens of the country has been extremely weak. The Second Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) has made a series of recommendations in this regard during the past two years.

Key reforms needed are:

1. **Professional performance management culture in all government agencies and departments needs to be introduced comprehensively.**
2. This entails **professional recruitment and training of all employees of all agencies and departments.**
3. The procedure for enforcing discipline and penalizing poor performance should be reformed and enforced. This entails **amendment to article 311 of the constitution and repeal of any protection for corruption and wrongdoing** (ARC, 2009).
4. Despite the existence of a National Training Policy, and enormous funds allocated for capacity building of government functionaries in the 11th Plan, this function in the government at all levels is generally treated as a punishment posting. **All existing training institutes should be 'coupled' with various academic institutions and civil society organizations to make them perform this function in a professional and accountable manner** (ARC, 2008).
5. The design, planning and implementation of various development projects should be carried out **with active participation of the intended beneficiaries** (ARC, 2009).
6. Systems of accountability and **independent social audits should be made an integral part of all development schemes and projects.**
7. At the core of the delays in implementation of various projects is the archaic and outdated system of planning and implementation. **Modern system of project planning and financial management should be introduced comprehensively in all tiers and agencies of the government.** This would require thorough revamping of business processes, collections, storage, analysis and disclosure

of information within and outside the system, and use of IT-enabled tools and systems to achieve efficiencies (ARC, 2008).

F. Reforms in Local Self-Governance

The roots of good governance at the local level lie in effective devolution of responsibilities by higher tiers of governments, along with building up local capacities to help them discharge these responsibilities to the satisfaction and betterment of the citizens.

Devolution in the context of governance in its simplest sense can be referred to as a way of decentralization, by handing over certain functions to the local government units in a manner that the unit will have the full power to decide planning and implementation and will bear the full responsibility for the decision. In other term it is the statutory granting of powers from the central government of a state to government at a subnational level, such as a regional, local, or state level” (IRMA, 2008 Vol. I).

From the available assessment, it is clear that appropriate devolution of authority and required support towards capacity enhancement of panchayati raj institutions (PRIs) and municipalities has not taken place. Key areas of reforming local governance have been separately delineated for urban and rural local institutions.

1. Urban Local Bodies

Key Reforms needed are:

- Devolution of functions and functionaries in respect of the 12th Schedule of the Constitution shows that most states have not undertaken this task seriously. Kerala is the only exception.

Some key functions like roads, regulation of slaughterhouses, water supply and sewerage and urban planning including town planning are yet to be devolved to ULBs and rest with para-statal bodies i.e. PHED, IPH, PWD and Town Planning Departments. Very few functions have been devolved to municipalities and ULBs. The core decision-making power rests with the state government or district administration. (PRIA, 2008).

There is an urgent need to ensure that all states devolve functions and commensurate functionaries to municipalities in a time-bound manner.

- The devolution of funds to municipalities has shown even less attention in all the states. Municipalities on their own are not able to raise sufficient resources to cover their costs, and are therefore increasingly dependent on state transfers for financial sustenance. (PRIA, 2008). The 12th Finance Commission report has summed up the financial problems ailing ULBs in various states: “poor own revenue realization by municipalities, excess dependence on state transfer, excess expenditure on establishment, irregular disbursement of Octroi compensation grant and poor accounting practices”. Despite these recommendations, there has been no push for bringing about such reforms by the central government. **Financial reforms need to be pushed in a time-bound manner.**
- The capacity of municipalities to undertake effective service delivery on the most basic urban requirements (such as water, garbage and roads) has not been systematically upgraded. **Large-scale investment in capacity enhancement of systems and institutional mechanisms is urgently needed in all sizes of municipalities in the country.**
- Professional competence in municipalities for spatial planning, service management and financial oversight continues to be weak.
- While JNNURM has provided conditional funding to 63 large and important cities in the country, commensurate reforms by state governments and municipal corporations have not been undertaken. Particularly unattended are reforms related to citizen participation, accountability for service delivery,

setting up of ward sabhas/mohalla committees, computerized financial management, etc. The **Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India, must act forcefully in ensuring compliance to the agreed reforms agenda in a time-bound manner in all JNNURM cities and states.**

- The efforts for reforming the services and institutional capacities of municipalities in small and medium towns of the country have been rather non-existent. (PRIA, 2007). In fact, **a separate Scheme of reform-linked investment in small and medium towns must be initiated, independent of JNNURM.**
- Systematic and ongoing orientation and capacity enhancement of elected councilors and mayors has not been carried out in most states; capacity for providing such capacity enhancement on an ongoing basis is lacking in most states of the country. **Academic institutions, civil society organizations and others should be actively invited to take responsibility for such capacity enhancement with public funding.**
- A large number of city-wide or regional institutional arrangements act as ‘parallel’ bodies to municipalities (prime example in the country is DDA itself), thereby undermining their constitutional mandates. **All such specialized agencies must be made truly accountable to elected political authority in each town and city.**

2. Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs)

Even though a separate Ministry of Panchayati Raj was created in May 2004, the progress in effective devolution of authority and capacity enhancement of these institutions has not happened anywhere in the country. In fact, many state governments (like Karnataka) have even taken regressive steps to erode the existing authority of panchayats. Despite the tall promises made in this regard, most centrally sponsored Schemes (CSS) which account for more than two-thirds of all developmental expenditures in the country, do not privilege panchayats over the line departments and ministries.

The initiatives taken by the then Minister of Panchayati Raj in convening 7 Roundtable conferences in 2004 to develop a national political consensus for reforms on devolution to panchayats has not been seriously implemented, even by the central government. The new government at the center in June 2009 combined the Ministry of Panchayati Raj with Ministry of Rural Development. This will further send a message to other central ministries and departments that panchayats are only relevant to rural development programmes, and programmes of social justice, education, health, water and sanitation need not be brought under the mandates of panchayats.

Comprehensive, systemic and nation-wide reforms in local governance are needed urgently, if the faith of citizens in democratic decentralized governance is to be restored. The growing apathy, disaffection and violence in many rural pockets of this country is closely affiliated to the lack of reforms in panchayati raj institutions. For more than nine years, the state of Jharkhand has not conducted even a single round of elections to panchayats, and the central government has remained a helpless spectator. Thousands of civil society organizations have been working with panchayats in the country for the past 15 years; hundreds of studies, committees and recommendations have been made already; but **the lack of governance reforms in panchayats is the single most glaring weakness till date.**

Some of the key reforms needed are:

- No state has undertaken the allocation of exclusive responsibilities to PRIs, as recommended by Second ARC. Current status of devolution of functions among the three tiers of PRIs continues to cause confusion in terms of responsibility towards citizens and accountability thereof (see annexure1).

From the 29 functions (5 core functions, 13 welfare functions and 11 economic functions) (as discussed in the Srinagar Roundtable conference – 28-29 October 2004 - of State Minister in charges

of Panchayati Raj) on an average, 19 functions have been transferred to the PRIs, while in particular it goes as low as to 10 functions for Haryana to 29 for the four states of Karnataka, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Sikkim (IRMA, 2008 Vol. III). Activity-mapping exercise has not been conducted in as many as 6 states after the Round Tables in 2004 following its recommendations, while there are five states that have conducted activity mapping of all the 29 items enlisted.

An analysis of the state wise factsheet on devolution of functions available in the MoPR website, shows that most functions mentioned in the data sheet are equivalent to agency function or are for implementation merely. While our constitution clearly grants panchayats the responsibility of planning for economic development and social justice and their implementation, there are very limited instances of the same in reality.

The clear and exclusive domains of the three tiers of panchayats should be urgently demarcated and enforced in all states.

- Most states have not transferred actual control of functionaries to respective PRIs; local cadre recruitment is marginal at the moment. Hence, the functionaries remain unaccountable.

Even where staffs have been transferred, the control of the staff is not in the hands of elected representatives except than sanctioning leaves and recording attendances. For any discipline-oriented actions, the elected representatives have to resort back to the block or district level administrative officers.

Apart from Kerala no other states have qualified for full devolution of functionaries. There are 9 states, which enjoy partial devolution of functionaries in terms of sanctioning their leaves. For 9 states though the functionaries are transferred but they are not in the control of the elected body and for the rest five states only general staffs are transferred rather than corresponding to the functional devolution.

All functionaries responsible for the performance of functions so earmarked as above, should be brought under the jurisdiction of elected bodies of appropriate levels forthwith.

- There is vagueness in the terms of financial devolution. Panchayats have a high rate of dependency on outside sources for finances in terms of Centrally and States Sponsored Schemes. Limited exploration and utilization of own revenue sources of the panchayats and dependency on external sources is evident from the highly skewed percentage of the two. According to the MoPR data, as many as 6 out of 18 states have a revenue percentage less than 5 of the overall revenue composition, while the other three categories of own revenue in between 5 – 10 %, 10 – 25 and above 25% account four states in each category. (IRMA, 2008). To add to this is the limited exploration and utilization of own resources of the panchayats to raise their own funds, which in turn increases their dependency on the outside funds. Further, there is a lack of developing any innovative approach for taxation and fund mobilization of panchayats.

A time-bound and accountable system of devolution of authority for mobilization of public resources should be put in place immediately.

- Other than NREGS and BRGF, all other national flagships and CSS continue to be in control of respective line departments; neither PRIs nor citizens have any meaningful role in respect to these. Even BRGF disbursements till date have been disappointing (Annexure 2).

Funds for most of the Centrally Sponsored Scheme (CSS) or State Sponsored Scheme (SSS) are channelised to respective line departments or parallel bodies. Therefore, there remains highly restricted scope for the PRIs to plan for the spending of funds.

The recent initiative of the planning Commission to ensure bottom-up District Planning should be enforced in all districts, not just in BRGF supported ones. At the time of allocation of annual state development

plans, the Planning Commission must ensure that proper district planning has been undertaken.

- Despite several rounds of recommendations, As DRD continue in many states as parallel bodies to PRIs, effectively controlling all fund flows (PRIA, 2008). **These should be brought under Zila Parishads.**
- It is a national shame that no state has notified appropriate rules for the implementations of PESA 1996. As a result, authority of Gram Sabha in tribal areas has been eroded, and decisions regarding use of natural resources under the jurisdictions of such bodies have been exclusively made by district and state level officials and politicians. This has resulted in displacement, misuse and corruption. **There is an urgent need to amend rules and procedures of other departments and ministries (like Tribal Affairs, Forest, Excise, Mining, etc) to create a clear line of decision-making vested in Gram Sabhas.**
- Most states have not undertaken capacity enhancement of PRIs for local planning, implementation and monitoring of services to citizens. Many millions of elected representatives have not been provided any orientation to perform their roles adequately (PRIA , 2008).

Given the large numbers involved, and new entrants to public offices coming from poorer and hitherto excluded sections of society (women, SC/ST, minorities, etc), it is imperative that orientation and capacity enhancement for all elected representatives is made mandatory. **Partnerships with academia and civil society alone can make this possible, as has already been demonstrated in several instances.**

3. Institutional Features

- The composition and functioning of District Planning Committees (DPCs) in most states leaves much to be desired; DPCs remain dominated by officials and MP/MLAs, and do not have the capacity to support decentralized, bottom-up planning and monitoring. They lack the capacity for integrated rural urban planning.

Block level integration of rural and urban plans was not being achieved which may be important especially in the case of small towns which have strong links with the rural hinterland. Inter-sector coordination was not realised and often resisted on account of being inconvenient and against the status quo as well (PRIA 2007).

Composition and status of DPCs should be strictly enforced through a transparent system of incentives and penalties.

- SFCs have not been adequately constituted, staffed and resourced in most states; their Reports are not taken seriously by the concerned state governments (PRIA, 2009).

The TFC, found that most of the states have not appreciated the importance of SFCs in terms of its potential to carry the process of democratic decentralization further and evolve competencies at the cutting edge level by strengthening local bodies. Instead of constituting SFCs with people of eminence, most states have viewed the formation of SFCs as a mere constitutional formality. In many cases, SFCs were constituted in phases and were subjected to reconstitution. The qualifications of the persons chosen left much to be desired. (Srivastava, 2009).

The central Finance Ministry must ensure effective compliance of the recommendations of the Twelfth Finance Commission in this regard. Main recommendations are:

1. SFCs should be constituted at least two years before the required date of submission for their

- recommendations and the deadline should be so decided as to allow the state government at least three months time for tabling the action taken report (ATR), preferably along with the budget for the ensuing financial year.
2. SFC should be a multi- member commission and all members, including member secretary should be full time members.
 3. Citizens should be made aware of the functioning of the SFCs to ensure people's participation and public debates on issues concerning SFC reports.
 4. As recommended by the TFC, ATR must be tabled on the floor of state legislative assemblies within 3 months of submission of report. ATR should be publicized to make citizens aware about its contents and implications.
- SECs in several states remain beholden to the state government for holding timely and fair elections to PRIs and municipalities. Their staffing and capacities are dependent on the whims of state governments till date (PRIA, 2004) .

The reforms needed in this regard have been mentioned in a recent letter (April 2009) from the Secretary, Ministry of Panchayati Raj to all the state governments, and focuses on the following:

1. Expeditionary decision on the Model Panchayat and Municipal Election Bill and (b) the Model State Election Commission (Conditions of Service) Bill .
 2. Making the SECs fully IT-enabled so as to ensure better manageability, transparency in the entire election process and lowering the cost of administration.
 3. EVMs can be used for elections to the Panchayats and Urban Local Bodies also.
- Institutions responsible for capacity development of PRIs and municipalities (like SIRD) lack the basic capacities themselves to undertake this gigantic responsibility on an ongoing basis. Even capacity development funds available under BRGF have not been adequately utilized by the state governments in this regard.

It is imperative that academic institutions and civil society organizations are invited to undertake this mammoth responsibility on an ongoing manner, funds for which are now adequately provided for in all central schemes of development.

IV. From Promise to Politics of Reforms

The political leadership at the center and the senior officials need to recognize the desirability and support for reforms among citizens at large. Actions for any reforms would cause resistance from certain vested interests which benefit from 'business as usual' at the cost of citizens at large. The first confusion and source of inaction is the so-called federal nature of our polity; some areas of reforms are state subjects; some are dual and overlapping. Yet, the exercise of leadership for reforms has to start from the very top of the polity, and demonstrate capacity for building political consensus to implement these reforms. The commitment to reform governance has to be shown in those areas which are central to the very promises made in the 11th Plan. To begin with, performance culture in the government and universal devolution of authority and resources to institutions of local governments can be taken forward. The seriousness of leadership for reforming governance needs to be demonstrated through concrete actions, and its support base expanded through regular communication with citizens around the country.

The consequences of non-reforming governance today are serious in terms of growth, development, inclusion and harmony. They are even more serious in terms of the very legitimacy of democratic governance, so that ordinary citizens do not lose faith in its relevance.

Not reforming governance is not an option today. Can the political and official leadership at the center move forward?

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Annexure 1

Devolution of Functions through Legislations and Activity Mapping

(Based on the information furnished by the State Governments and records of the Ministry)

Sl. No	State	Transfer of matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule to the Panchayats through Legislation				Subjects Covered under Activity Mapping/ State Government Orders			Comments
1.	Andhra Pradesh	Zila Parishad	Mandal Parishad	Gram Panchayat		ZP	MP	GP	On the State Panchayati Raj Act: The AP Panchayat Raj Act has established the Panchayat system as a hierarchy, with the ZP at the top. Therefore, although only one clear original power relating to a matter listed in the Eleventh Schedule has been given to the ZP (to establish, maintain or expand secondary, vocational and industrial schools), it has also been given approval, coordination, planning and supervision powers over Mandals and powers to advise the government. Comments on activity mapping: Government issued 9 Orders between January-March, 2008, devolving activities to the three levels of Panchayats as indicated.
		1	23	21		12			
							10	12	

2.	Assam	Zila Parishad	Anchalik Panchayat	Gaon Panchayat	ZP	AP	GP	The State undertook a revised activity mapping exercise and published it vide its Notification bearing number PDA336/2001/Pt-III/32 dated 25th June 2007. As per this notification, 21 functions listed in the 11th Schedule have been devolved to the 3 tier PRIs. It has also made provision in the State Budget to provide substantial funds to PRIs through a new budget line.
		25	27	28	21	21	21	
3.	Arunachal Pradesh	Zilla Parishad	Anchal Samiti	Gram Panchayat	29			The Arunachal Pradesh Panchayat Raj Act, 1997 devolves all the 29 subjects, listed in the Eleventh Schedule, to at least one of the tiers of Panchayats in the State. The executive order for devolution of 29 subjects of Activity Mapping was issued on 21st October, 2008 for devolution of 29 subjects covering 20 departments. There is overlap of some of the functions devolved to different tiers of Panchayats
	25	28	28					
4.	Bihar	Zila Parishad	Panchayat Samiti	Gram Panchayat	Zila Parishad	Panchayat Samiti	Gram Panchayat	As per the Bihar Panchayati Raj Act, 2006, all the functions of the Eleventh Schedule have been devolved to either of the tiers of Panchayats. The State Government had issued executive orders in respect of 28 matters and only the subject "Technical training and vocational education has been excluded". The State propose to revisit the activity mapping aimed at greater devolution of functions, functionaries and funds to the Panchayat
		25	26	25	23	24	27	

5.	Chhattisgarh	29	27	The Activity Mapping has been prepared for 27 subjects excluding drinking water supply and forests. The executive orders with respect to operationalizing Activity Mapping are yet to be issued in Chhattisgarh.
6.	Goa	Zila Panchayat	18	Out of 29 subjects to be devolved to Panchayats, 6 subjects have been transferred through legislation and 18 subjects have been covered under Activity Mapping. 18 matters are devolved to the Gram Panchayats while seven matters are devolved to the Zila Panchayats. There is an overlap in assignment of responsibility between the two tiers.
	7	18		
7.	Gujarat	15	19	Following the process of Activity Mapping in Gujarat, out of 29 matters listed in the 11th Schedule, 14 have been fully transferred, 5 matters have been partially transferred.

8.	Haryana	Zila Parishad	Only advisory, supervision and coordination powers	Panchayat samiti	Gram Panchayat	ZP	PS	GP	On the State Panchayati Raj Act: The Haryana Panchayat Raj Act has established the Panchayat system as a hierarchy, with the ZP at the top. It states, inter alia that ZP shall advise, supervise and co-ordinate the functions of the Panchayat Samitis in the district On Activity Mapping: In February 2006, an activity mapping was released by the Government through which activities of 10 departments, namely, Irrigation, Food and Supplies, Education, Public Health Department, Women and Child Development, Social Justice and Empowerment, Health Department, Animal husbandry, Agriculture, and Forest department. The ten departments cover ten matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule.
				27	25	10	9	8	
9.	Himachal Pradesh	Zila Parishad	17	Panchayat samiti	Gram Panchayat	ZP	PS	GP	On the State Panchayati Raj Act: In respect of ZPs and PSs, the Act gives specific powers to the General body and its Standing Committees. Both have been reckoned in the overall devolution to the body. On Activity Mapping: A general notification on devolution of functions issued for 15 departments in July, 1996. However, only 8 departments have issued orders in 2001-02.
				16	11	22	23	24	
10.	Jharkhand	Zila Panchayat	27	Intermediate Panchayat	Gram Panchayat	0			No elections held to Panchayats
				27					

11.	Karnataka	Zila Panchayat 26	Taluk Panchayat 27	Grama Panchayat 25	ZP 29	TP 29	GP 29	Activity Mapping has been completed in accordance with the recommendations of the GOI task force, in August 2003.
12.	Kerala	District Panchayat 21	Block Panchayat 18	Gram Panchayat 26	ZP 21	TP 18	GP 26	Activity mapping (Responsibility mapping) has been incorporated into the law through an amendment and matches legislative devolution. The responsibility mapping undertaken is now being revisited by the State
13.	Madhya Pradesh	Zila Parishad 17	Janpad Panchayat 8	Gram Panchayat	25			On the State Panchayati Raj Act: The MP Act, apart from devolving powers and responsibilities to the three Panchayat levels, has also devolved 18 matters to Gram Sabhas. On activity mapping: Executive orders have been issued for 25 matters. The State is revisiting activity mapping.
14.	Maharashtra	28		28			Devolution in Maharashtra is derived from The Bombay Village Panchayats Act, 1958 and The Maharashtra Zila Parishads and Panchayat Samitis Act, 1961. Except the subject Non-Conventional Energy Sources, all other subjects of XIth Schedule are broadly covered in these legislations. It was reported that activities devolved to Panchayats are listed in the legislations itself.	

15.	Manipur	29	16	The State Panchayati Raj Act of 1994 details the devolution of functions to the PRIs, all the subjects listed in Schedule 11 of the Constitution have been devolved to the PRIs. The Activity Mapping approved by the State Cabinet in September 2005 lists only 16 of these subjects. The State Government issued orders on Activity Mapping in September, 2005. Subsequently, funds were also transferred in respect of only 5 departments.				
16.	Orissa	Zila Parishad	Panchayat Samiti	Gram Panchayat	ZP	PS	GP	Activity Mapping document was issued in October 2005. It covers activities relating to 11 departments. Subsequently, the schemes of water supply and sanitation have also been devolved to PRIs.
		16	5	21	18	18	18	
17.	Punjab	Zila Parishad	Panchayat Samiti	Gram Panchayat	13	13	13	Various notifications were issued by the State Government between 2003 and 2006 for devolving 13 subjects pertaining to 7 Departments.
	27	27	26					
18.	Rajasthan	Zila Panchayat	Panchayat Samiti	Gram Panchayat	24	24	24	Executive Orders have been issued between 2001 and 2003 devolving subjects, however, these have been held in abeyance for one subject, i.e., roads, culverts, bridges, waterways and other means of communication. The State Government has revisited the issue and has finalized its report on activity mapping. A final decision is awaited.
	22	25	26					

19.	Sikkim	Zila Panchayat	Gram Panchayat		ZP	GP	Activity mapping completed and notified by the Government in November 2006. Executive orders have been issued for all 29 matters, a number of them for promotional activities.	
		15	18	17	19			
20.	Tamil Nadu	District Panchayat	Panchayat Union	Gram Panchayat	DP	IP	GP	On the State Panchayati Raj Act: There is no unequivocal mandate contained in The State PR Act regarding functional devolution. The act only enables the State Govt. to do so by official notification. Concrete and definite powers have been devolved in respect of 2, 11 and 12 matters in case of District Panchayat, Intermediate Panchayat and Gram Panchayat, respectively in the Act. The Govt. had issued orders for devolution of functions pertaining to all 29 matters, but these are largely restricted to planning and promotional responsibilities.
		2	11	12	29	29	29	
21.	Tripura		29			29		Activity Mapping was completed in 2005. This covers 29 subjects mentioned in the 11th Schedule of the Constitution and applies to 21 departments. The Government of Tripura has taken a decision to implement the Activity mapping in phases. Till now, Irrigation Schemes, Primary Schools, Institutions relating to WCD have been transferred to the Panchayats through executive orders.

22.	Uttar Pradesh	Zila Panchayat	Panchayat Samiti	Gram Panchayat	16	The UP Panchayati Raj Act 1947 and The UP Kshetra Panchayats and Zila Panchayats Act, 1961 provide for devolution of functions. Functions relating to 12 departments have been transferred to Panchayats. Activity mapping is still under the consideration of the Government
	29	29	29			
23.	Uttarakhand	Zila Panchayat	Panchayat Samiti	Gram Panchayat	14	The UP Panchayati Raj Act 1947 and The UP Kshetra Panchayats and Zila Panchayats Act, 1961 providing for devolution of functions are applicable in the State as the State legislation on Panchayati Raj is under preparation. The Activity Mapping of 11 departments related to 14 subjects was released in August 2005. However, the Government has not issued the necessary notifications to operationalize the Activity Mapping. Cabinet Sub-Committee has been constituted to consider the Activity Mapping and the outcome is awaited.
	29	29	29			
24.	West Bengal	Zila Parishad	Panchayat Samiti	Gram Panchayat	18	The State Govt. has devolved all 29 functions included in the 11th Schedule to the 3 tier PRIs. Activity Mapping has been completed for 28 subjects accepting technical and vocational education. As per orders dated 7.11.05, 25.7.06 and 29.10.07, 9 departments have so far issued necessary matching orders. 3 departments have opened separate Panchayat Window for transferring funds to the PRIs.
		18	29	28		

STATUS OF DEVOLUTION OF FUNCTIONARIES TO PANCHAYATI RAJ

INSTITUTIONS IN VARIOUS STATES/UTs.

Sl. No.	State	Devolution of Functionaries
1.	Andhra Pradesh	Only General staff given, departmental staff answer to departments
2.	Assam	Activity Mapping Notification issued by the state provides for devolution of functionaries matching to the devolution of functions to Panchayats
3.	Arunachal Pradesh	Only skeleton staff given
4.	Bihar	Only General staff given, departmental staff answer to departments
5.	Chhatisgarh	Sahayak Gram Panchayat Adhikari, Gram Panchayat Adhikari, Clerical and Class IV cadres of Education Tribal Health and 7-8 other departments declared as dying cadres and new recruitment to these cadres is undertaken directly by the Panchayats. Chhatisgarh has been particularly successful in recruitment of new Shiksha Karmis at the level of the Janpad Panchayats. More than 30,000 teachers have been so recruited into local level cadres
6.	Goa	Village Panchayats can appoint employees other than Secretary or Gram Sevak using Panchayat funds. In ZPs, CEO and Adhyaksha of ZP have full control over ZP staff
7.	Gujarat	2.2 lakh employees devolved to Panchayats, mainly on deputation from State govt to Panchayat level post, covering 11 departments.
8.	Haryana	Activity mapping of Feb 2006 devolves staff through deemed deputation in respect of 3 departments
9.	Himachal Pradesh	Staff is with State govt. Panchayats are appointing authority for 6 types of employees of group C&D category. In addition, Panchayats can report on physical attendance in respect of 2 categories of people
10.	Jharkhand	No elections held to Panchayats
11.	Karnataka	Staff of all departments for which functional devolution undertaken, devolved to Panchayats on deputation. GPs can appoint Panchayat staff, except Panchayat secretary. All transfers within the district done by committee headed by CEO of ZP
12.	Kerala	Staff of 14 departments transferred to Panchayats, with disciplinary control and career review (through CRs) transferred to them

13.	Madhya Pradesh	All Class III village level functionaries converted into dying cadres and fresh recruitments undertaken by Panchayats. These include Panchayat secretaries, primary school teachers, anganwadi workers etc.
14.	Maharashtra	All Group III and IV Panchayat level functionaries to be appointed by Zilla Panchayats. New amendment in 2003 brings all village level officials under the Village Panchayats
15.	Manipur	Staff of the Government are posted to Panchayats and continue under the control and superintendence of the government
16.	Orissa	Officials of departments are to report to Panchayats in respect of transferred schemes. Panchayats do not make any appointments of their own
17.	Punjab	Seven departments propose to delegate powers of supervision to Panchayats. In health department, the powers of outsourcing the running of PHCs has been devolved to Panchayats. Recently, in education department, powers of recruitment of teachers has been given to Panchayats
18.	Rajasthan	Officials of 8 departments placed with each Panchayat through deputation from government
19.	Sikkim	Staff on deputation from the Government. Panchayat secretary elected by the members. Draft Panchayati Raj service rules prepared by the State and is under examination by line departments
20.	Tamil Nadu	At GP level, part-time clerks can be appointed by the Panchayat president. ZPs and Block Panchayats have no control over line department staff
21.	Tripura	Staff in respect of 21 departments deputed to Panchayats from the government, with Panchayats exercising powers of payment of salaries, grant of leave, writing of CRs and disciplinary action
22.	Uttar Pradesh	GPs have power of verification of attendance of all village level workers. Village level functionaries of some departments were transferred to Gram Panchayats in 1999, but they were subsequently withdrawn.
23.	Uttarakhand	In January 2005, executive orders were issued transferring powers of seeking information and supervision over employees of 14 departments to Panchayats.
24.	West Bengal	EO of the ZP made appointing authority for all posts except group D posts at GP level, for which EO of Panchayat samiti is the appointing authority. This has been done by the WB Panchayat amendment Act 2006. Each GP has 6 sanctioned posts.

**STATUS OF DEVOLUTION OF FUNDS TO PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS IN
VARIOUS STATES/UTs.**

Name of the State	Status of Devolution of Funds
Andhra Pradesh	Grants are being released by State Government to Panchayats either (a) directly transferred through the treasury, or (b) transferred by the GOI directly to the parallel bodies at the district level. Funds, including State contribution to Centrally Sponsored Schemes are sent by the line department concerned into the personal accounts of the Panchayats either to treasury accounts or Bank Accounts as the case may be. TFC grants are also being released to PRIs as per guidelines.
Arunachal Pradesh	The schemes of the Department of Rural Development i.e IAY, SGSY, NREGS and Total Sanitation Programme are implemented through DRDA. Under NREGS, GPs prepare project proposals and send them to block level at which projects are also prepared and combined with GPs plans and sent to DRDA. The governing body of DRDA places these project proposals before Zilla Parishad after approval. DRDA is concerned with monitoring of the scheme.
Assam	Funds of schemes such as MPLAD, Member of Legislative Assembly Constituency Development, Self Sufficiency Scheme and Central Rural Sanitation Procaine Schemes, implemented through Anchalik Panchayats. Development grants under various government sponsored programmes implemented through Gaon Panchayats. TFC grants are also being released to PRIs as per guidelines.
Bihar	The funds of centrally sponsored schemes like the NREGS are transferred to Panchayats as per instruction of the Schemes. 50% of the total fund is made available to the GP, 30% to Panchayat Samities and 20% to Zilla Parishad. TFC grants are also being released to PRIs as per guidelines.
Chhatisgarh	The allocations of funds are based on the 1998 order by which each department whose functions are devolved, have been earmarking schemes relating to these functions and devolved funds relating to these schemes into the concerned budget head. The funds of Rs.103674.61 millions for 12 departments have been earmarked for the year 2008-09.
Goa	Matching grants linked to tax collection, grants in lieu of octroi, salary/establishment grants, grants to weaker Panchayats for strengthening administration, grant-in-aid for rural infrastructure, DRDA grants, centrally sponsored schemes grants are devolved to PRIs. TFC grants are also being released to PRIs as per guidelines.
Gujarat	The funds pertaining to functions devolved are being transferred to PRIs. In all, Panchayats were devolved Rs.2880.40 crore, which also include Rs.293 Crore of additional devolution consequent to the State Finance Commission's recommendation. TFC grants are also being released to PRIs as per guidelines.

Haryana	The funds pertaining to functions devolved to PRIs, Centrally Sponsored Schemes i.e. DDP and IWDP are being transferred to PRIs. TFC grants are also being released through banking channels to PRIs as per guidelines.
Himachal Pradesh	The funds pertaining to Centrally Sponsored Schemes and Member of Legislative Assembly Constituency Development fund are being released to PRIs. TFC grants are also being released to GP, PS & ZP in the ratio of 75:15:10 on the basis of per capita population as per guidelines.
J&K	TFC grants is being released to PRIs as per recommendation of Finance Commission. Funds under SGRY are being earmarked to the extent of 50% of the total availability of individual Panchayats. The State Govt. has been contributing matching share under various Centrally Sponsored Schemes like IAY, SGSY, NREGA, IWDP & DPAP, where consequently the schemes are being implemented through PRIs.
Jharkhand	Panchayat elections have not been held in the State due to court case pending in Supreme Court. However, it is reported that there is a strong system of traditional Panchayats functioning in other areas in the form of Manki-Munda and the Parha system. During 2005-06, the State Government decided to allot Rs.50,000/- each to the traditional Panchayats. In the absence of elected Panchayats, the issue of sending of untied funds to Panchayats does not arise. TFC grants are not being given to Panchayats, as election to Panchayats have not been held.
Karnataka	The funds pertaining to functions devolved to PRIs, Centrally Sponsored Schemes i.e. NREGA and other Centrally Sponsored Schemes are being transferred to PRIs. TFC grants are also being released through banking channels to PRIs as per guidelines.
Kerala	The State initiatives of devolving Funds to Local Self Government Institutions (LSGI) are a significant initiative towards fiscal decentralization. The untied funds allocated under three main categories are Development expenditure, Maintenance of assets and Traditional Functions to LSGI. Developments funds are released in 10 equal installments on the first working day of the month from May to Feb. Funds for implementing Centrally Sponsored Schemes i.e. PMGSY, Rural Health Mission, Sarva Sikksha Abhiyan, Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana , NREGA and TFC grants are also being released to PRIs.
Madhya Pradesh	The funds pertaining to functions devolved are being transferred to PRIs. The funds under Centrally Sponsored Schemes i.e. NREGA, mid day meal, old age pension, Indira Awas Yojna etc. are being released to PRIs directly and all such programme have a direct accountability of the Sarpanch. DRDA continue to exist as separate and distinct bodies with the President of ZP as its Chairman. Funds pertaining to rural development programmes are channelised through the DRDA. The schemes like SGSY , IAY, PSYSVBY & SSPY are being handled by DRDA. TFC grants are also being directly transferred to PRIs through Electronic Clearing system wherever possible.
Maharashtra	The funds pertaining to function devolved to PRIs, Centrally Sponsored Schemes and TFC grants are being released to PRIs.

Manipur	The funds pertaining to functions devolved to PRIs, development schemes like Mahila Shakthi Abhiyan, Hariyali Scheme etc. and NREGA and TFC grants are also being released to PRIs as per guidelines.
Orissa	The funds pertaining to functions devolved to PRIs, State Plan Schemes (for development of rural poor, unemployed youth & accommodate to poor people through Rural Housing Programme), Centrally Sponsored Plan Schemes (NREGA etc.), Central Plan Schemes (IYA etc.) and TFC grants are also being released to PRIs as per guidelines.
Punjab	The funds pertaining to functions devolved to PRIs, Centrally Sponsored Schemes, Gram Panchayat have little or no control and independence in utilization of their funds because lack of control over function and functionaries at Gram Panchayat level. Gram Panchayat simply follow the instructions from Block Development Officer & Panchayat Officer. TFC grants are also being released to PRIs as per guidelines.
Rajasthan	The funds pertaining to function devolved to PRIs, & Centrally Sponsored Schemes & State grants are being released to PRIs. TFC grants are also being released through banking channels to PRIs as per guidelines.
Sikkim	Budget of Rs. 1818 lakh were earmarked to Panchayats in 18 departments during the 2007-08. Each Gram Panchayat and Zilla Panchayat receives the untied block grant of Rs. 10 lakh and Rs. 60 lakh respectively. The State has secured only Ist installment of Rs. 1.30 crore for the year 2005-06. High Level Committee constituted as per guidelines of Finance Commission has approved to utilize the grant i.e. 20 lakh for creation of Data base, Rs. 10 lakh for maintenance of Accounts of PRIs and Rs. 1270 lakh for O&M cost for civic services.
Tamil Nadu	The funds pertaining to function devolved to PRIs are being released. To ensure adequate fund to weaker Village Panchayats, State Government has proposed to allocate a minimum grants of Rs. 3 lakh to each Village Panchayat. The Panchayat Union Council can sanction and executive works up to Rs. 10 lakh from their general funds without any external approvals. However, for Centrally Sponsored and State Schemes, prior administrative approval of DC is necessary. TFC grants are also being released to PRIs as per guidelines.
Tripura	Devolution of funds of line departments, only part funds relating to Lift Irrigation Scheme of the PWD (Water Resource) Deptt. have been transferred to PRIs. Some funds of Primary Schools of the School Education Deptt., Social Welfare and Social Education Deptt. and Pension funds were being transferred to PRIs. Untied funds are renamed as Panchayat Development Fund and are transferred to three tier PRIs in the ratio of 20:30:50. DRDAs implement the programmes of the Ministry of RD and CSS after the approval of Gram Panchayats. The State has secured only Ist installment of Rs. 5.70 crore for the year 2005-06 of TFC grants. TFC grants are also being transferred to PRIs similarly to Panchayat Development Funds.
Uttar Pradesh	The funds pertaining to function devolved to PRIs, Centrally Sponsored Schemes & State grants are being released to PRIs. TFC grants are also being released to PRIs as per guidelines.

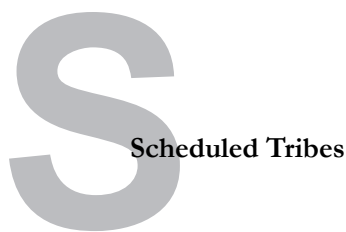
Uttarakhand	The funds pertaining to minor irrigation and watershed departments have completely been devolved to PRIs. Untied funds are being given to Gram Panchayats, Keshetra Panchayats and Zilla Panchayats. TFC grants are also being released to PRIs as per guidelines.
West Bengal	The State Government provides financial support to the Panchayat bodies to discharge the responsibilities entrusted upon them. Funds are provided by the State Government for meeting establishment cost including salary and pension of the employees of Panchayat bodies and honorarium or remuneration and traveling allowance of elected functionaries. The other major source of fund available to the Panchayats is those , which are released by the Centre and State Government for implementation of various Program/ Schemes. TFC grants are being released to Gram Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishad in ratio of 60:20:20.
Dadar & Nagar Haveli	Funds are being transferred to Panchayats as grants-in-aid. Only Village Panchayats are empowered to collect taxes and also utilize completely. Panchayats have received Rs. 46.85 lakhs as untied funds in 2006-07.
Daman & Diu	Matching with the devolution of function to the district Panchayat, simultaneous devolution of finances for implementation at the Panchayat level has been carried out. A separate sector for District Panchayat has been carved out in the annual budget of UT, which contain both plan and non-plan heads. In addition the funds received under the Central plan schemes concerning the 29 matters of the 11th Schedule are also directly transferred to the district Panchayat for implementation.
Lakshadweep	The funds pertaining to functions devolved to PRIs are being received by Panchayats from various departments over the last 5 years. Village Panchayats receive annual untied grants of Rs 5 lakhs which can be utilized only after Panchayats have submitted their plan for the same and the Director of Panchayat have approved the plan. The District Panchayats receives annual untied grant of Rs. 20 lakhs which can be spent only after the DPC chaired by Collector approves the plan for the same. However, District Panchayats can spend, at their discretion, up to Rs. 25 lakhs from the tax revenue.
A&N Island	Tied and Untied funds provided by A&N Islands are utilized by the Panchayats with flexibility in case of untied funds. Untied funds are released in the ratio of 15:15:70 to Zill Parishad, Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayat. Sectoral Funds for road and water are distributed in the ratio of 1/3rd of the total provision to all the three tiers. Grant-in-aid released by the Administration is used for all the developmental activities, maintenance of created assets, infrastructure, office expenses etc.
Chandigarh	There are only 13 villages with 12 Gram Panchayats in UT Chandigarh. Therefore, activity mapping could not be undertaken for Panchayats. However, schemes of Rural Development Department are being implemented through the Panchayats and funds for implementing these schemes are released to Panchayats by drawing from the State exchequer and then the Panchayats utilize the funds by maintaining their own bank accounts.

Puducherry	<p>Financial assistance in the form of tied and untied grants-in-aid are being given the PRIs. With respect to financial autonomy, the Commune Panchayats have been empowered to incur expenditure toward the execution of civil works upto a limit of Rs. 10 lakhs for each work and Village Panchayats are empowered to incur expenditure of Rs. 1 lakh towards the execution of civil works for each work. For Centrally Sponsored Schemes i.e. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, Village Education Committees and School Level Committees have be re-constituted for implementation of the scheme by appointing Village Panchayat President as the President of the Committee. Under NRHM , UT Health & Family welfare Department have constituted four Committees which, inter alia, include Commune Panchayat Councilor as the representative of the Commune Panchayats. National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme is proposed to be implemented in the w.e.f. 1/4/2008 through Village Panchayats.</p>
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(<http://panchayat.nic.in/index.do?siteid=101&sitename=Government%20of%20India%20Ministry%20of%20Panchayati%20Raj>)

Sl.No.	State	No. of BRGF Districts	BRGF Development Grant (Status of Entitlement, Releases and Utilisation):														
			2007 -08					2008 -09					2009 -10				
			Entill.	Release	Utilisation	Utilisation not reported	Entill.	Release	Utilisation	Utilisation not reported	Entill.	Release	Utilisation	Utilisation not reported	% of Release to Entill.	Release	Utilisation
1	ANDHRA	13	335.28	301.88	239.62	62.26	335.28	250.38	0	250.38	335.28	0	0	0	55.26	552.26	239.62
2	PRADESH	1	14.47	0	0	0	14.47	11.07	0	11.07	14.47	0	0	0	25.50	11.07	0
3	ASSAM	11	138.39	59.98	46.44	13.54	138.39	53.23	0	53.23	138.39	1.33	0	1.33	27.59	114.54	46.44
4	BIHAR	36	602.99	538.18	417.5966	120.5834	602.99	421.55	0	421.55	602.99	0	0	0	53.05	417.5966	542.1334
5	CHHATTISGARH	13	235.48	224.92	184.56	40.36	235.48	192.45	0	192.45	235.48	0	0	0	59.08	417.37	184.56
6	HARYANA	2	28.44	25.6	22.44	3.16	28.44	22.45	0	22.45	28.44	0	0	0	56.20	48.05	22.44
7	HIMACHAL	2	28.5	25.65	20.48	5.17	28.5	21.52	0	21.52	28.5	0	0	0	55.17	47.17	20.48
8	PRADESH	6	101.31	0	0	0	101.31	0	0	0	101.31	0	0	0	0.00	0	0
9	JAMMU AND KASHMIR	3	45.85	0	0	0	45.85	40.78	0	40.78	45.85	0	0	0	29.65	40.78	0
10	JHARKHAND	21	322.56	0	0	0	322.56	290.27	65.19	225.08	322.56	13.8	0	13.8	31.42	304.07	65.19
11	KARNATAKA	5	103.17	84.47	12.53	71.94	103.17	0	0	0	103.17	2.02	0	2.02	27.94	86.49	12.53
12	KERALA	2	32.33	21.18	0	21.18	32.33	0	0	0	32.33	0	0	0	21.84	21.18	0
13	MADHYA PRADESH	24	428.4	378.42	329.57	48.85	428.4	300.44	0	300.44	428.4	0	0	0	52.82	678.86	329.57
14	MAHARASHTRA	12	253.57	0	0	0	253.57	0	0	0	253.57	0	0	0	0.00	0	0
15	MANIPUR	3	39.09	34.66	16.73	17.93	39.09	10.02	0	10.02	39.09	0	0	0	38.10	44.68	16.73
16	MEGHALAYA	3	37.01	0	0	0	37.01	33.61	0	33.61	37.01	0	0	0	30.27	33.61	0
17	MIZORAM	2	22.98	19.17	15.58	3.59	22.98	0	0	0	22.98	0	0	0	27.81	19.17	15.58
18	NAGALAND	3	37.05	31.89	28.86	3.03	37.05	30.31	0	30.31	37.05	0	0	0	55.96	62.2	28.86
19	ORISSA	19	305.67	262.72	217.98	44.74	305.67	227.84	0	227.84	305.67	25.5	0	25.5	56.28	516.06	217.98
20	PUNJAB	1	15.65	0	0	0	15.65	0	0	0	15.65	0	0	0	0.00	0	0
21	RAJASTHAN	12	250.99	225.9	183.04	42.86	250.99	183.5	0	183.5	250.99	1.8	0	1.8	54.61	411.2	183.04
22	SIKKIM	1	12.97	0	0	0	12.97	11.67	0	11.67	12.97	0	0	0	29.99	11.67	0
23	TAMIL NADU	6	108.04	0	0	0	108.04	97.21	0	97.21	108.04	0	0	0	29.99	97.21	0
24	TRIPURA	1	12.21	0	0	0	12.21	10.98	0	10.98	12.21	0	0	0	29.98	10.98	0
25	UTTAR PRADESH	34	602.09	0	0	0	602.09	541.74	0	541.74	602.09	0	0	0	29.99	541.74	0
26	UTTARAKHAND	3	41.85	0	0	0	41.85	0	0	0	41.85	0	0	0	0.00	0	0
27	WEST BENGAL	11	244.9	187.25	140.49	46.76	244.9	142.55	0	142.55	244.9	28.585	0	28.585	48.78	358.385	140.49
	TOTAL	250	4401.24	2,421.87	1,875.92	545.9534	4,401.24	2,893.55	65.19	2,828.38	4,401.24	73.035	0	73.04	40.81	5,388.48	1,941.11
																	3447.368

Social Exclusion



Shirish Kavadi, Amit Narkar, Chitra Desai & Sandeep Pattnaik
National Centre for Advocacy Studies

1.The Context

i) Present Scenario in terms of outcome indicators and development deficits

Inclusive growth in the 11th Five Year Plan is based on the country's ability to achieve at least a 9 per cent GDP growth rate. The growth rate has, however, decelerated due to the global economic crisis and stood at 6.7% in 2008-09. This unexpected turn in the economy has had a bearing on social sector spending. Most programmes and schemes aimed at ensuring access to public goods and essential social services to the marginalized sections as a necessary component of inclusive growth have been negatively affected. The Scheduled Tribes (STs) have been the hardest hit as a consequence.

ii) Does the policy framework recognize 'rights' or 'entitlements'?

The policy framework recognizes both rights and entitlements. Inclusiveness encompasses equality of opportunity, economic and social mobility, and affirmative action for marginalized groups. Equality of opportunity is to be accompanied by freedom and dignity for the marginalized sections including the tribals without political obstacles. The Plan further asserts the need to empower the STs through reservations in Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) to ensure their participation in the planning and decision making process. The Plan recommends greater delegation of power and responsibility to the PRIs. It strongly recommends the implementation of PESA in 5th Schedule Areas.

2.Commitments Made in the Plan

i) Goals and objectives of the Eleventh Five Year Plan

The plan envisages a paradigm shift in the development approach to ensure inclusive growth. It aims at a tribal-centric, tribal-participative and tribal-managed development process; a conscious departure from dependence on a largely under-effective official delivery system; and overall empowerment of the tribal people. It promises to accelerate reduction in the incidence of poverty and unemployment and thereby reduction in income inequalities; human resource development by providing economic and health services and development of the confidence among people through intensive educational efforts; development and strengthening of infrastructure base for further economic exploitation of the resources (physical and human both) in tribal areas; and provision of physical and financial security against all types of exploitation.

ii) Measures/initiatives envisaged in the plan for achieving the goals

The strategy to achieve these objectives includes a blend of area based and individual based approach. Proposed measures cover areas such as governance, education, health, economic sector and livelihood opportunities, tribal-forest interface, tribal unrest and socio-political movements, prevention of land alienation, rehabilitation and resettlement, infrastructure, Primitive Tribal Groups, data-based planning, etc. The efforts will be to strengthen and develop vibrant socio-economic infrastructure and to provide better means of livelihood to those who still live on inadequate economic base.

3. Assessing the Plan's Performance

i) Is the policy framework underlying the plan adequate?

- *Recognition of rights/entitlements*

In the name of development, the GoI particularly the state governments of Orissa, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, have turned over large tracts land including forest land the natural habitat of the STs to Indian and foreign mining and industrial ventures. Addressing the Chief Ministers in a meeting on Forest Rights Act in New Delhi in November 2009 Dr Manmohan Singh observed, "There are a host of issues related to the losses suffered by tribals displaced as a result of acquisition of land for various purposes. It cannot be said that we have dealt sensitively and with concern with these issues in the past. It is not just the displacement and disorientation caused by separation from the land that is at issue. One can only imagine the psychological impact of seeing the cutting down of the vast very forests that have nurtured the existence of these communities for centuries."

The plan recognizes both rights and entitlements but contradicts its own rhetoric on rights and entitlements. It speaks of increasing forest cover, preventing land alienation among tribals but when discussing the needs of industry the Plan significantly states that "The foremost problem that needs to be addressed is increasing the raw material base of the industry. Vast opportunities exist on degraded forest land but the rights of local communities and the principle of JFM constitute an insurmountable obstacle in leasing out such land to paper mills." (11th_Vol3/Industry/Paper Industry/Strategy) According to the India State of Forest Report 2009 forest cover in Maharashtra has decreased by 11 square km between 2005-2007 mainly in Chandrapur district and the Konkan region. Current trends show large scale diversion of forest land for mining in violation of the provisions of the Forest Conservation Act of 1980 and the Forest Rights Act, 2006. Rights and entitlements are constrained by this emphasis on meeting the goal of high economic growth. There is contradiction between the Plan's thrust on high economic growth rate and the means to achieve it and its rhetoric of inclusive growth.

- *How comprehensive is the scope of interventions?*

The Eleventh Plan focuses on interventions to improve access to essential services. The Human Development Index (HDI) of Scheduled Tribes when compared with the general population is very low. In order to bring the STs on par with others, special and more rigorous interventions are certainly needed. But the interventions outlined in the five year plan are not comprehensive in terms of budget allocation, provision of staff, monitoring and review mechanisms. For example, the drop out rate of ST students is higher than the national average. However, the Plan sets a goal of reducing drop out rate in general. It neither addresses the tribal specific issues of low enrolment, high drop out and lack of educational infrastructure, nor does it make additional provisions in that direction. The scope of interventions in the Eleventh Plan is comprehensive in letter, but not in spirit.

- *Implications for centre-state sharing of resources and responsibilities*

Thirteen of the 27 monitorable targets are the responsibility of individual States. In relation to the Tenth Plan, states' BCR and borrowings are expected to increase by 1.59% and 0.30% respectively (thereby increasing the States' own resources by 1.70%) in the Eleventh Plan. The resources of the PSEs (to be allocated to the states) will reduce by 0.19% and the central assistance will reduce by 0.23%.

In the Eleventh plan, the states' own resources are expected to increase on an assumption that the fiscal deficit of all states is brought down to 3% by end of 2008 with strict application of the FRBM Act. Many states, especially north-eastern states and large states with large tribal population still have high fiscal deficits and the economic crisis has aggravated the problem. Cost-cutting exercises often begin with and end with curtailing expenditure on the welfare programmes that are a requisite for the development of the marginalized sections.

Mizoram had a fiscal deficit of 8.34% of GSDP in the year 2007-08. The Economic Survey 2007-08 of Mizoram admits that it would be a Herculean task to bring the fiscal deficit down to 3% as an obligation under FRBM Act in the year 2008-09. Fiscal deficit for Madhya Pradesh has been estimated to be 3.73% of GSDP for the year 2009-10.

- *Implications for devolution to PRIs*

The plan recognizes effective decentralized planning of programmes and involvement of PRIs in their implementation. It talks of a need of effective devolution of States and Central Plan Funds to Panchayats at all levels by creating a Panchayat sector in the plans and budgets. The Plan is, however, silent on operational details of how the capacities of PRIs would be built in order to enhance their role in the implementation of the CSSs. The Plan while referring to decentralization and strengthening of Panchayat Institution does not even mention PESA at all! The implementation of PESA has been extremely tardy as seen in the cases of states such as Maharashtra, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, and Chhattisgarh.

Archana Prasad, researcher of tribal affairs, comments: “There is no PESA on the ground and in many states like Jharkhand even Panchayats have not been notified. This has stalled the implementation of the forest rights act also. Further the knowledge about PESA is missing amongst people: there should also be reform and codification of custom especially from the gender perspective.” (Personal Communication, 26th November 2009)

ii) Have adequate budgetary provisions been allotted for the major programmes/schemes in the plan?

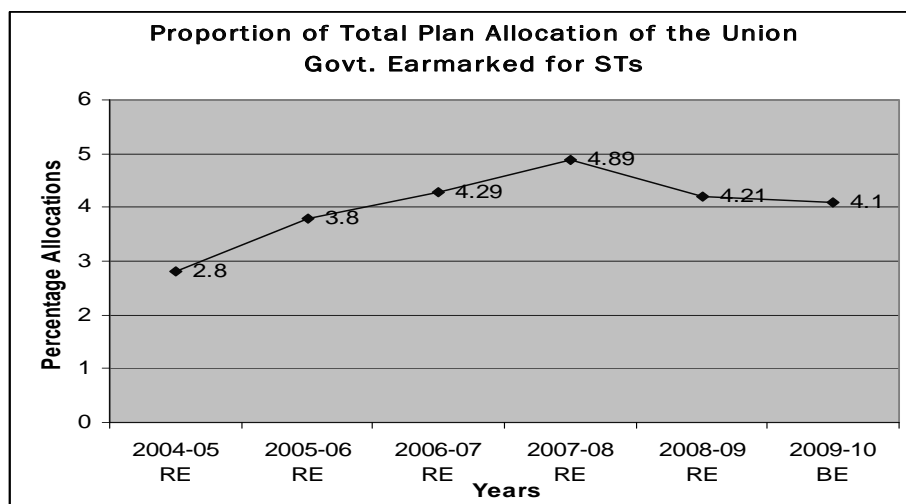
- Implementation of TSP at Union and State

Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) is in place for several years but it is only from 2004-05 onwards that the different Departments/Ministries of the Central Government started showing the proportion of budget earmarked for TSP. In 2004-05, only 5 out of 104 Departments/Ministries showed their earmarked allocations for STs. Since then the number increased and in the year 2009-10 around 30 departments have done. This seems to indicate a low commitment to tribals which is further evident from the fact that the proportion of total allocation for TSP from all Departments/Ministries is way below the expected amounts. What is really disturbing is the declining trend in allocation towards TSP.

- Status of the implementation of TSP in the Union Budgets

The proportion of total Plan outlay of the Central Government earmarked for STs under TSP has increased over the years, but suddenly declined to 4.21 per cent in 2008-09 (RE) from 4.89 per cent in 2007-08 (RE). It further declines to 4.10 per cent in the budget 2009-10. This otherwise signifies the violation of the strategy of Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) for STs. (See Figure-1)

Figure 1: Plan Allocation Earmarked for STs from the Union Budget since 2004-05



Source: Compiled from the information given in Expenditure Budget Vol. I & II (various years)

The budgetary allocations towards TSP never fulfilled the TSP norms and guidelines. In 2009-10 alone Rs. 9756 crore from the total plan allocations of the Union Government are being denied to the STs

Implementation of TSP for STs in Rajasthan

Planning Commission guidelines suggest that only those schemes should be included under the sub-plan that ensures direct benefits to individuals or families belonging to STs and that the state allocation of sub-plan funds should be in proportion to the ST population in the state. As the cases of Rajasthan and Orissa show that hardly happens.

The population of STs in Rajasthan is 70.97 lakhs(2001Census)which is 12.56% of the total state population. As per stated norms the State Government should earmark at least 12.56% of the total State Plan outlay for the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP). The TSP fund should be allotted in proportion to tribal population across all individual departments. There are 30 departments in Rajasthan which earmark and spend under TSP. Data from the state budget documents, however, reveal that only few of them spend funds in proportion to tribal population. The allocation and expenditure in both social and economic services are well below the 12.56% of the total State Plan outlay. (Table below)

Table: Allocation/Expenditure under TSP and Rajasthan State Plan

Year	Amount for TSP in Social Services (Rs. Crores)	TSP as % of State Plan in Social Services	Amount for TSP in Economic Services (Rs. Crores)	TSP as % of State Plan in Economic Services	Total Amount for TSP (Rs. Crores)	Total TSP as % of State Plan
2007-08 AE	246.82	5.47	164.90	7.09	411.72	6.02
2008-09 RE	298.50	4.84	124.03	4.48	422.53	4.73
2009-10 BE	274.03	4.66	98.18	3.24	372.21	4.18

Source: State Budget Documents, Various Years

The total expenditure under TSP has been only 6% during the first year of the Eleventh Five Year Plan according to the actual expenditure data provided in the state budget documents. The allocation in the subsequent year has declined 4.73% during 2008-09 (RE) and to 4.18% 2009-10 (BE). The total outlay for the TSP was envisaged to be Rs. 8693.82 crores during the Eleventh Five Year Plan in the state. **If we compare total expenditure/allocation under the TSP during the first three years of the Eleventh Plan, it comes to only 14% of the total outlay intended to be provided for TSP in the State Plan document. The Sate Plan document earmarked Rs. 1453.05 crores for TSP during the year 2007-08. However, the actual expenditure incurred under TSP during the year was a meager Rs. 411.72 crore which is just 28.33 % of the amount earmarked for the year in the Sate Plan document.**

The major thrust areas of the state five year plan 2007-12 for the tribals are human resource development through education and vocational trainings, economic empowerment through irrigation for agriculture and electrification of wells, and providing non-farm employment in the tribal areas. However, an analysis of the funds allocated to some of the departments which are important to fulfilling the stated objectives of the FYP the picture is disappointing. Table provides percentage of TSP to the Total Plan allocation under select departments.

Table: TSP Expenditure under select departments

Departments	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
Education	4.86%	3.09%	4.25%
Nutrition	10.40%	11.03%	10.26%
Labour & Employment	7.24%	3.73%	5.67%
Crop & Agriculture	6.33%	3.88%	3.33%
Soil & Water Conservation	21.19%	16.87%	10.24%
Major Irrigation	4.80%	5.00%	0.00%
Minor Irrigation	29.52%	18.11%	19.53%
Village & small Industries	0.63%	0.26%	0.25%
Forestry & wild life	19.88%	8.28%	3.12%
Tourism	10.74%	11.87%	3.71%
SC, ST & OBC Welfare	40.55%	26.82%	32.18%

Source: State Budget Documents, Various Years

The education expenditure under TSP was 4.86% during 2007-08 and has been declining since then. Same is true for the departments of labour and employment, crop and agriculture, major irrigation, and forestry and wildlife. In 2007-08, the proportion of amount meant for TSP in the Forestry and wildlife was about 20%, well above the desired proportion of 12.56% but declined sharply to 8% and then to 4% in the subsequent years. Minor Irrigation, however, shows spending under TSP are well above the 12.56% mark during all three years. The major irrigation projects are Mansi Vakal and Devas river dams. Nutrition, Tourism, soil and water conservation are other departments that show high TSP allocation (Ahmad and Rao, BARC, Jaipur).

BUDGET FOR THE TRIBAL SUB PLAN: A Case of Orissa

Scheduled Tribes in Orissa constitute 22.21 per cent of the total population of the state. It appears from the budget figures that the state more or less fulfills the normative requirement of the allocation for TSP i.e. aligned with the proportion of ST population in the State. Allocation to TSP as percentage of the total State Plan outlays were 21.34% in 2007-08, 22.76% (Revised Estimates) in 2008-09 and 21.17% (Budget Estimates) in 2009-10. **As per the guidelines of the Planning Commission, only those schemes should be included under the sub-plan that ensure direct benefits to individuals or families belonging to STs.** However, the budget allocation in Orissa does not reflect this core objective of the Tribal Sub Plan which is to provide direct benefit to individuals and families belonging to STs. For instance, in the case of Health and Family Welfare (H&FW) most of the TSP funds are allocated to meet the matching/normative requirements of the Central Sponsored Scheme but 8 per cent of the total TSP of the H & FW department is being spent to meet the salary and other benefits and a mere 1 percent to address direct health needs.

**Center for Youth and Social Development (CYSD)
Bhubaneswar**

“The fund allotted for Tribal areas are divided at the state level within the departments such as education, health, infrastructure and so the actual fund reaching the tribal area is much less than the allotted. Figures from last two-four years clearly show that 30-40% of the allotted fund lies unutilized. Diversion of tribal funds to profit making works such as urban-rural infrastructure is also rampant.” **Vijay Panda, Adivasi Mukti Sanghtana, Badwani, MP, Personal Communication, 25 November 2009**

iii) Have the major programmes/ schemes in the plan been implemented effectively?

- *Capacity and functioning of relevant institutions*

In a recent speech the Prime Minister admitted that the administrative machinery in some tribal areas is either weak or virtually nonexistent. The limitations in the capacities and functioning of government institutions may be illustrated with an example from the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) a flagship scheme of the Government of India. The NREGA has registered uneven implementation in different states. The CAG has pointed out to the inability of State Governments to utilise the allocated funds. Of the total available funds of Rs. 12074 crore (including the States' share of Rs. 813 crore) upto March 2007, the State

Governments could utilize Rs. 8823 crore (73 per cent). It has also pointed out poor record maintenance of applications by Gram Panchayats thereby making difficult the verification of the eligibility of rural households for unemployment allowance. Some other reports point out that there is hardly any consultation with Gramsabha in the selection of work to be done under the scheme in a village. Even in places where Panchayats do play a role in planning, how much importance is given to development of resources for STs is unclear.

Total expenditure on irrigation facilities to the lands owned by SCs and STs is around one third of the expenditure on rural connectivity. Awareness level of these programmes among STs is limited or absent with the result there is little accountability and transparency in the schemes and large scale corruption has been reported in the ST areas.

Nandurbar, a predominantly tribal district in Maharashtra was one of the first 200 districts selected under NREGS in 2006. A case study of the tribals and NREGA in the district by Chandrika Gupta Singh for NCAS enlists grassroots problems in implementation of NREGA. It has been observed in Nandurbar that funds are either not transferred to the GPs or remain unutilised with them "due to non-availability of technical staff." The number of works carried through GPs as a percentage of total works executed is less than 15 per cent in five blocks. Lack of awareness among the masses and Civil Society organisations has resulted in total absence or at least ineffectiveness of social audit of plans, works and implementation of schemes under NREGA.

Education

The Plan recognizes the need of school buildings and basic amenities in tribal schools. But even today tribal belts lie far behind in terms of facilities, infrastructure & access to schools as compared to rest of the country. Hostels available for tribal children have poor facilities and the monthly food expenses permitted per child are far below the cost of providing decent food to growing children. Increasing the enrollment of tribal students in primary schools is one of the objectives set by the plan. The available figures indicate that not much progress has been made. The secondary education Gross Enrollment Ratio for STs and total population indicates a substantial social gap. To decrease this disparity, establishing Ashramshalas, girls' hostels and improving infrastructure was outlined in the Plan. But the issue of content and curriculum being alien, the school timings and calendar quite ill-suited to their life environment, and the language of instruction in most cases being not familiar to the tribal children, are the main reasons for their poor retention, completion and learning achievement.

Health

In order to improve access and optimize health services in tribal areas, Eleventh plan focuses on health infrastructure, manpower and facilities like medicines and equipment within National Rural Health Mission (NRHM). But problem of availability of trained staff in remote, tribal sub-centers continue to exist. Anand Kappor of SHASHWAT, which works in the Bhimashankar area of Pune district in Maharashtra notes, "Situation in remote tribal areas in Pune district has not changed as expected in last three years, inadequate stock of medicines and absence of resident doctors continues to be the bane of health care." No substantial steps have been taken to address the needs of migrant tribes who lose many benefits as their BPL and ration cards are not valid across state borders.

4. Is the plan addressing the issues of social exclusion adequately? From the perspective of STs

Economic growth has not been inclusive for the Scheduled Tribes. The incidence of poverty remains high and access to most essential services continues to be elusive. Mid way with the EFYP the ground reality is far removed from the rhetoric of the Plan. With a major thrust on raising economic growth it is pursuing policies that encourage infrastructure projects, mining and manufacturing all of which are leading to land alienation among tribals in the process denying and depriving the tribals of their rights over natural resources. Resistance is being met as a law and order problem with use of excessive force. The Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh addressing a meeting of Chief Ministers in New Delhi in November 2009 said “There has been a systemic failure in giving the tribals a stake in the modern economic processes that inexorably intrude into their living spaces,” “The alienation built over decades,” Dr. Singh added, “is now taking a dangerous turn in some parts of our country. The systematic exploitation and social and economic abuse of our tribal communities can no longer be tolerated.” The Prime Minister also observed that the country’s authorities “must change our ways of dealing with tribals” and give them a “healing touch.” It is “highly important,” he declared, “to integrate the tribal peoples into the development processes... But this should not become a means of exploitation or be at the cost of their unique identity and their culture.”

Concluding Remarks

There is very large gap between the rhetoric of inclusive growth and what is being pursued to attain high economic growth. The contradictions are very obvious. There is very little of the promised ‘paradigm shift’ as the approach of the last sixty years towards the rights and the entitlements of STs in the name of development persists. The rights of STs are being sacrificed to make way for infrastructure development, mines and industries. The worst has happened. In sheer travesty of its publicly stated commitments the government has now got into the act of acquiring land for private use in the name of ‘public good’; is paying lip service to rehabilitation and resettlement and its National Mineral Policy of 2008 pays no heed to the rights of the STs.

Forest and forest communities should not be sacrificed for industrial and commercial interests. The process of accepting the decisions of Gram Sabha should be made mandatory for mining and industrial purposes. The process should be clearly elaborated in the land acquisition Act. The Forest Rights Act need to be implemented expeditiously in order to protect the rights of tribals and conserve and increase the forest covers of the country. The governments have done little to publicise the provisions of the Act. The procedure for filing claims is complicated and cumbersome making it difficult for the semi-literate and illiterate tribal population to make their claims. The process involves a great deal of paper work and the administration in all the states has been slow with the verification of claims. Notwithstanding the commitment on PESA no government has acted on it. The need is to go beyond pious rhetoric and PESA rules framed expeditiously.

In the case of NREGA State level monitoring committees need to be reactivated and social audit put into place. To curb corruption in the scheme legislation needs to be introduced that provides for severe punishment - dismissal from the service of government officials involved, imprisonment, and a large penalty. Special courts should be set up to deal with corruption and decide matters in a time bound manner

Proper implementation of TSP should be ensured and most importantly additional funds should be earmarked for TSP to overcome backlog/development deficit.

Provide incentives for government functionaries to ensure availability of adequate and skilled personnel in tribal areas.



Paul Divakar and Abhay Kumar
National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights

Scheduled Castes (SCs) are one of the most excluded and underprivileged communities in India, constituting 16.23% of the total population. It is disappointing to note that no significant improvements have taken place with regard to socio-economic conditions of Dalits even after 50 years of planning.

According to the latest estimates on poverty (NSS 2004-05), there are 302 million people below the poverty line, of which 80 million are Dalits. Moreover, the number of poor Dalits in both rural and urban areas has increased considerably over time. In rural India, while the number of poor Dalits increased at a rate of 0.1 percent between 1983 and 2004, the increase in urban India during the same time period was at the rate of 2.4 percent per annum.

Eleventh Five Year Plan and Dalits: Select Commitments

Scheduled Caste Sub Plan (SCSP)

1. Adoption and implementation of Maharashtra Model of SCSP by all the States/UTs.
2. Designing proper and appropriate developmental programmes/ schemes/activities specifically relevant/useful for the overall development of SCs both within the existing general programmes across the sector, and also conceiving new avenues/programmes for this purpose if not there so far.
3. Designing a special mechanism and making the same as the special agency responsible and accountable for formulation and implementation of SCSP effectively and meaningfully.
4. Making actual budgetary provisions through allocation of funds under a special head designated for SCSP to avoid arbitrariness and adhocism.
5. Ensuring timely release of SCSP funds for the purpose they are meant for.
6. The SCSP strategy needs to be evaluated at the end of the year in terms of financial allocations made and the expenditure incurred and assessment of impact through gauging physical achievements and the ultimate outcomes.

A Committee meant to monitor implementation of programmes under Scheduled Caste Sub Plan will be set up which will ensure that each Ministry's allocation of SCSP is indicated well in advance. Further if any particular Ministry is not able to utilise the earmarked allocation, action should be initiated to transfer the unused fund available to those Ministries/Departments which have implemented the SCSP/TSP more effectively.

Education

- There is need for extending financial assistance so that they (SCs) can access top class educational institutions including those if they are in the private sector.
- Among the SCs, children of scavengers are educationally the most backward. The existing Pre-Matric scholarship for them needs to be revised in its funding pattern from 50: 50 to 100% so that more of the target families send their children to schools.
- Special attention needs to be paid to retention in schools of SC students and the quality of teaching for them.

Economic Development

- The corporations need to be thoroughly professionalised so that programmes financed by them help develop entrepreneurial skills of the loanees.
- In the Eleventh Plan a Commission on Land Reforms will be set up which will specifically look into issues of – (a) continued possession and effective uses of land distributed earlier to SCs under various programmes/legislative interventions; and (b) availability of land for distribution to SCs/STs/landless families. In all these care will be taken to ensure preferential/joint ownership of women.

Legislative Measures:

- The implementation of PCR Act, 1955 and SC and ST (POA) Act, 1989 has to be enforced in letter and spirit to bring about speedy justice to the aggrieved.
- Elimination of caste-based discrimination and harassment in educational institutions should be remedied by institutions by establishing a 'Equal Opportunity Offices'.

The efforts made in the five year plans have brought some improvements in the lives of Dalits, however, significant gaps remain. The Eleventh Five Year Plan made important promises and recommendations for proper implementation of the Scheduled Caste Sub Plan and gives thrust to economic empowerment and education of SCs and availability of basic amenities for Dalits. It is important to take stock of the performance of Eleventh Five Year Plan in relation to its commitments.

Eleventh Plan Commitments and Performance so far

1. **Implementation of SCSP:** Although the SCSP was introduced way back in 1979, it was only from 2004-05 that different Departments/ Ministries started to show the proportion of budget earmarked for SCSP. Since then the number of Departments/ Ministries which showed their earmarked allocation for SCs/STs has increased.

It is important to take note of the following trends

- (i) As the following tables indicate, only a handful of departments/ ministries show the plan allocations earmarked for SCSP.
- (ii) What is more worrisome is the fact that the earmarked plan allocations for SCSP in proportion to total plan allocation of the Union Government (excluding the Central Assistances to the State & UT Plans) were far below the norm of 16 per cent (according to the percentage SC population in the country) for SCSP.
- (iii) Further, allocation for SCSP has increased over the years up to 2007-08 (RE), but it has declined in the subsequent years and in 2009-10 (BE). It is only 6.49 per cent of the total plan expenditure of the Union Government.

Table: 1 Plan Allocations Earmarked for SCs from different Min./Depts. (Rs. Crore)

Min./Depts.	2004-05 RE	2005-06 RE	2006-07 RE	2007-08 RE	2008-09 RE	2009-10 BE
Dept. of Science & Technology	0	2.5	2.5	3	3	3
Ministry of Finance	0	0	3.02	0	0	0
Ministry of Tribal Affairs	0	0	0	0	0	0
*Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment	986.13	1027.78	1260.14	1661.29	1779.25	1928.8
*Dept. of Rural Development	2564.8	2771.67	2293	3134.33	4303.33	4303.33
*Ministry of Labour & Employment	0.27	0.48	0.53	0.61	0.67	2.28
*Dept. of Women & Child Development	0	468.97	641.24	1494.4	1134	1206.9

*Dept. of Secondary Education & Higher Education (Ministry of HRD)	0	266.33	259.28	453.52	4026.31	1477.73
*Dept. of Elementary Education & Literacy (Ministry of HRD)	60	2027.57	2739.86	3509.65	987.16	4323.64
*Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports	0	13.29	13.04	17.9	20.73	29.22
*Ministry of Agriculture	0	0	0	136.37	228.16	302.26
*Dept. of Information Technology	0	0	7.06	20	19.33	33.73
*Dept. of Health & Family Welfare	0	0	1244.35	1676.19	1885.22	1866.84
*Dept. of Small Scale Industries	0	0	0	136.8	210.77	221.65
*Ministry of Textiles	0	0	0	80.93	84.05	89.17
Dept. of Biotechnology	0	0	0	2.5	2	2
Ministry of Culture	0	0	0	2.93	3.93	4
Ministry of Pnachyat Raj	0	0	0	26.61	27.2	30
*Union Territories of Andaman & Nicobar Island, Daman & Diu, Dadra & Nagar Haveli and Lakshadweep	0	0	9.92	11.51	11.91	7
Total Plan Exp. for SCs from Union Budget	3611.2	6578.59	8473.94	12367.77	14727.02	15831.55

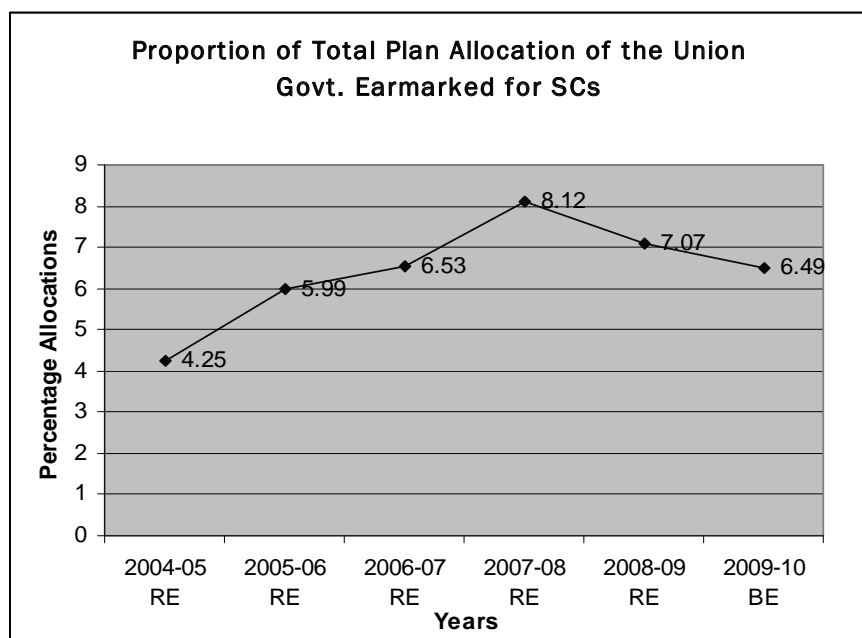
Note: * The Union Budget documents do not segregate the total allocations earmarked for SCs/STs further to show allocations separately for SCs and STs in these Ministries/ Departments. We assume here that following the proportion of SCs and STs in the total population of the country (i.e. 16.2 % for SCs and 8.2 % for STs as in Census 2001), out of the total funds earmarked for SCs and STs together, roughly two-third would be spent for SCs.

Source: Expenditure Budget Vol. I and Vol. II, Union Budget (respective years).

Table 2: Plan Allocation Earmarked for SCs from the Union Budget (Rs. Crore)

	2004-05 RE	2005-06 RE	2006-07 RE	2007-08 RE	2008-09 RE	2009-10 BE
Total Plan Exp. for SCs from Union Budget	3611.2	6578.6	8473.9	12367.8	14727.0	15831.6
Total Plan Exp. of Union Govt. (excluding Central Assistance to State & UT Plans)	85061	109900	129804	152313	208252	243893
Proportion of total Plan Allocation earmarked for SCs (%)	4.25	5.99	6.53	8.12	7.07	6.49

Source: Calculated from the Expenditure Budget Vol. I and Vol. II, Union Budget (respective years).



- (iv) The implementation of SCSP with respect to state budgets is also not encouraging. For instance, in the financial year 2009-10 the government of Bihar allocated only 1.14% under SCSP and the governments of Delhi and Rajasthan have allocated 2.14% and 2.13% of their plan outlay respectively. In few states such as Orissa and Uttar Pradesh where the allocation seems in line with the norms of SCSP, an in-depth analysis shows that 60% of the allocated amount is being used for the construction of roads, bridges, buildings, jails and similar other expenses, which are nowhere linked to the welfare schemes for the development of the SC community.

Major Gaps in Implementation of SCSP

- Violation of SCSP norm i.e. allocation less than the population of SCs.
- Separate minor head '789' not operational in most states.
- Excuse of the indivisibility of the schemes for the notional allocation.
- Discrepancies in the expenditure of the allocated amount due to untimely release of the fund and due to lack of human resources and guidelines.
- Lack of proper monitoring mechanism for the utilisation of the SCSP fund.
- No annual plan of any ministry or department has been disapproved due to non allocation or inappropriate allocation in SCSP.

2. Education

Several schemes are in operation to make education accessible to SCs. However no significant changes have taken place. School drop out rate of SCs is as high as 69% for Class I-X. Main reasons for the limited impact of schemes include, insufficient allocations, for instance meager amounts in the scholarship schemes which need revision; untimely release of scholarships; and the rigid eligibility criteria which exclude many needy beneficiaries.

A study to understand the types and intensity of exclusions faced by Dalit children in schools, revealed unacceptably high level of discrimination faced by Dalit students.¹³ The study showed that SC students were asked to clean the class rooms and toilets; not allowed to use them; asked to sit at the back in the classrooms' and did not have any positive interactions with teachers. Such discriminatory practices can have a debilitating effect on the young students, adversely affecting their ability to perform well.

3. Economic Development

The National Scheduled Caste Finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC) and The National Safai Karamchhari Finance and Development Corporation were established in 1989 and 1997 respectively to provide financial and other support to SCs for taking up various income generating activities. These corporations are plagued by similar problems which have limited their impact. Firstly, the eligibility criteria and requirement of documents excludes a majority of the SC population; secondly, allocations made under these programmes are not sufficient and thirdly, the disbursement of it is untimely. It is worth mentioning that in the last three years of the Eleventh Five Year Plan, no allocation has been made by the Delhi State Government for Delhi Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation (DSFDC) as reflected in the demand for grant document of the State government.

In addition to the above, there is very little support from the government for developing innovative ideas and schemes in this respect. There is a strong need for such schemes to attract more people especially women.

4. Legislative Measures

Two legislations 'Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955' and 'The Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Prevention of Atrocities Act (POA), 1989' are operational in order to prevent the communities from atrocities and crime. Despite these the number of atrocities is increasing; in the year 2008-09, 30031 cases of atrocities were registered under POA (NCRB Annual Report 2008-09). The conviction rate of the cases has been very low. The main reasons for ineffective implementation of these legislations include: non registration of the cases under the Act; non registration of the cases under appropriate sections of the Act; delay in filing Charge Sheet; filing of false and counter cases against dalit victims; non payment of the compensation prescribed under the and lack of access to legal aid.

One can not overlook the need for adequate financial resources for the effective implementation of these acts. In the year 2006-07, the Special Central Assistance (SCA) released for the implementation of the SC/ST POA is Rs. 35.8 crore (Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. Annual Report. 2008-09). An equivalent amount is supposed to be contributed by states on a 50:50 sharing basis. This constitutes Rs 71 crore as outlay for the implementation and compensation for the cases registered i.e. 29,825 (NCRB Report. 2008). Assuming 40% of the amount as cost for the maintenance of the institution and administrative costs and 60% as distribution for compensation to the victims as per the guidelines, the amount available for compensation is Rs. 42.6 crore. Further if we calculate the minimum compensation towards travel and minimum wages compensation for victims and the witnesses as per the guidelines, it would work out to be approximately Rs 90 crore. So the available amount for compensation is less than 50% of what actually is needed¹⁴.

¹³ The study was done by the National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR) with UNICEF in the year 2008-09 in order to develop a inclusive mechanism and further to implement it to address cast based discrimination in schools. It was conducted in four states of Bihar, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra. The report is still in draft form.

¹⁴ The compensation is calculated on minimum 5 hearing per case and 4 witnesses per case. The average amount for travel and food as Rs.100 per hearing per witness and the victim and further the compensation on the proportionate basis at the time of registration of case filling of charge sheet and others as per the guidelines.

The Way Forward

Given this backdrop, the following steps would help in fulfilling the commitments made in the Eleventh Five Year Plan:

1. Implementation of SCSP

The Special Component Plan for SCs should be implemented as per the guidelines suggested by the Planning Commission with immediate effect. Following areas need to be stressed:

- Without proportionate allocation under SCSP, the plan expenditure of the respective ministry should not be approved.
- Earmarked funds for SCSP should be placed under separate budget head (minor head) '789' by every Ministry and Department.
- A dedicated unit should be constituted in every Central Ministry and Department for formulation and implementation of SCSP.

2. Legislative Measures

- The SC/ST POA and Civil Rights Act should be implemented more strongly and the allocations for the same should be increased.
- Mechanisms should be evolved for faster action on cases filed under these Acts.
- Monitoring committees for effective implementation of the POA and SCSP need to be strengthened and given more power.

3. Health, Employment, Education and Others

- Periodic reviews of the functioning of the health care institutions in the SC clusters should be done.
- The reservation policy needs to be followed more strictly in academic institutions for higher education and especially in institutions of excellence like IITs, IIMs and AIIMS in order to check discrimination practices..
- Land reforms need to be implemented more strongly in order to ensure that the SC agricultural laborers get their own cultivable land.
- The guidelines for NSFDC and National Safai Karamchari Finance and Development Corporation should be made more to flexible in order to reach out to a large section of SCs.



Situation of Minorities: Promises and Reality

Zakia Soman, Bharatiya Muslim Mahila Andolan

The Eleventh Five Year Plan recognizes the prevalence of exclusion based on social groups and emphasizes the need for inclusive growth. But the gap between the promise and reality persists. Indian minorities and particularly the largest among them, the Muslims, who have been historically disadvantaged and vulnerable in spite of the Constitutional safeguards, continue to live in poverty and backwardness.

At the outset, it must be stated that the founding visionaries of India had a special commitment to the rights and safety of the minorities. This found reflection in the Constitution of India, which enshrines values of equality, democracy and justice for all citizens. There are safeguards for minorities in the form of various articles prohibiting discrimination on religious grounds and enabling development for minority communities. The fundamental rights are guaranteed to all citizens irrespective of religion, caste, sex or language. Yet even a cursory look at the ground reality is enough to suggest that all is not well. The Eleventh Five Year Plan states that amongst the minorities, the Muslims, and especially Muslim women need special attention since relative to other communities: they have remained socially, educationally and economically backward.

Successive governments since 1947 including those led by *secular* political parties have done little more than paying lip sympathy to the plight of the minorities. Be it persistent socio-economic exclusion as in the case of the Muslims or the menace of communal violence affecting Muslims and now increasingly, the Christians, the minorities have not been given a fair deal. Politics has overtaken priorities such as genuine welfare and safety. Consequently, the minorities have lived in poverty, fear and insecurity. The survivors of 1984 anti-Sikh genocide are yet to get justice after over two decades even as attacks on Christians are becoming a regular feature in parts of the country.

Since the early 1990s, the forces of globalization and privatization in India have driven the poor—dalits, adivasis, women and minorities—to the margins. There has been a direct onslaught on their lands and livelihoods. Civil society organizations have been protesting such exclusion and questioning notions of *development*, which are increasingly finding deep roots.

Basic Facts

The National Commission of Minorities [NCM] Act, 1992, notifies five religious communities—Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Parsis—as minorities. According to 2001 Census, 18.4 % of Indian population comprises minority communities. Muslims constitute 13.4 %, Christians 2.3 %, Sikhs 1.9 %, Buddhists 0.8 % and Parsis 0.07 % of the country's total population. In absolute numbers, Muslims [nearly 140 million] account for 72.8 % of the total minority population of 189.5 million.

In six states proportion of Muslims to total population is above the national percentage of 13.4%: Assam [30.9%], West Bengal [25.2%], Kerala [24.6%], Uttar Pradesh [18.55%], Bihar [16.5%], and Jharkhand [13.8%]. In absolute numbers, Uttar Pradesh [30.7 million], West Bengal [20.2 million], Bihar [13.7 million], and Maharashtra [10.70 million] have the largest Muslim population. The highest percentage of Christians is found in Nagaland [90%], Mizoram [87%], and Meghalaya [70.03%]. There are also substantial numbers of Christians in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Maharashtra and Karnataka. Sikhs constitute 60% of the population of Punjab. The highest percentage of Buddhists is in Sikkim [28.1%] followed by Arunachal Pradesh [13%]. In absolute numbers, Maharashtra has 58.38 lakh Buddhists, the highest in the country. Parsis number just 69,000; they mostly reside in Maharashtra.

Though there has been talk about welfare of minorities at different times since independence very little political towards really addressing the situation. A High Level Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. Gopal Singh was set up in 1980 to study the conditions of the minorities. The Committee, in its report, concluded that the poor among the Muslims could not avail the opportunities in education, employment and economic activities because of isolation and various historical factors. This led to the announcement of the Prime Minister's 15 Point Programme in 1983 to provide a sense of security to minority communities and ensure their rapid socio-economic development. It is ironical that yet another committee appointed by the Prime Minister after 26 years, the Sachar Committee too talks about how the Muslims live in poverty, illiteracy and backwardness. It has also given a set of recommendations following which the Prime Minister's 15 Point Programme has been rechristened the Prime Minister's *New* 15 Point Programme. What the old programme could not achieve is hope to be achieved by the new.

It is not surprising that both the Gopal Singh Committee as well as the Sachar Committee have highlighted the fact of socio-economic exclusion and also about living under fear and insecurity. And it is not surprising that both have recommended steps to remedy the situation.

The Prime Minister's 15-point programme launched in 1983 was based on a three-pronged approach, [i] to tackle the situation arising out of communal riots; [ii] to ensure adequate representation of the minority communities in employment under the Central and State Governments as well as Public Sector Undertakings; and [iii] other measures, such as, ensuring flow of benefits to the minority communities under various development programmes, maintenance and development of religious places, Wakf properties and redressal of grievances of the minorities. But needless to say, this program could not achieve much on the ground.

The continued exclusion led the Prime Minister of India to constitute the Sachar committee to study the socio-economic conditions of muslims in the country in March 2005. The Sachar Committee submitted its report in November 2006 which was laid in the parliament in the same month.

The PM's *New* 15 Point Program has identified 90 Minority Concentration Districts [MCDs] covering 34 % of the minority population in the country. This list is provided as Annexure II.

The identification of the MCDs was also based upon certain population norms:

- a. Districts where minority population is at least 25% of the total population were identified in 29 States/UTs.
- b. Districts having a minority population exceeding 5 lakhs where the percentage of minority population is between 20 and 25% were identified in 29 States/UTs.
- c. Six minority concentrated States/UTs, [Jammu & Kashmir, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Punjab and Lakshadweep], districts having 15% minority population other than the minorities [e.g. other than Muslims in Jammu & Kashmir, other than Christians in Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Nagaland, Punjab and Lakshadweep].

These districts have been identified on the basis of either human development indicators or basic amenities indicators. The human indicators included are:

- i] literacy rate of minorities;
- ii] female literacy rate;
- iii] work participation rate;
- iv] female work participation.

The basic amenities indicators included are:

- i] percentage of households with *pucca* walls;
- ii] percentage of households with safe drinking water facilities;
- iii] percentage of households with electricity;
- iv] percentage of households with W/C latrines.

The preparation and implementation of area/problem-specific special developmental plans for these MCDs are in progress. The effort, it is claimed, is to improve the socio-economic conditions by providing better infrastructure for education, health, sanitation, *pucca* housing, safe drinking water, promotion of income generating opportunities, skill development and marketing support.

Key Findings of Sachar Committee

The Sachar Committee report highlighted how the Muslim community was living in poverty and backwardness with a sense of fear and insecurity. Some key findings suggest:

- Muslims have the lowest literacy rate with 59.1%—Muslim women fare even worse at 50/1%. The national average is 64.8%.
- Muslim parents are not averse to mainstream education or to send their children to affordable government schools. But their access to government schools is limited.
- The average amount of bank loan disbursed to the Muslims is 2/3 of the amount disbursed to other minorities. In some cases it is half. The Reserve Bank of India's efforts, to extend banking and credit facilities under the Prime Minister's 15-point programme of 1983, have benefited other minorities but not Muslims.
- There is a clear and significant inverse association between the proportion of the Muslim population and the availability of educational infrastructure in small villages. Villages with Muslim concentration are not well served with *pucca* approach roads and local bus stops.
- Substantially larger proportion of Muslim households in the urban areas is in the less than Rs.500 expenditure bracket.
- Only 3% officers in the IAS are Muslims, in the IPS this figure is 4% and in the IFS its an abysmal 1.8%.
- Only 4.5 % railway staff is Muslim, 98.7% positioned at lower levels. Representation of Muslims is very low in the Universities and in Banks. Their share in health services is 4.4% and in transport 6.5%.

The Sachar Committee report noted "Fearing for their security, Muslims are increasingly resorting to living in ghettos around the country." Branding of Muslims as anti-national, terrorists and agents of Pakistan "has a depressing effect on their psyche," the report added. It found that 52% of Muslim men were unemployed, compared with 47% of Dalit men. Among Muslim women, 91% were unemployed, compared with 77% of Dalit women. Almost half of Muslims over the age of 46 couldn't read or write. Muslims accounted for 40% of those in prison in India. They held less than 5% of government jobs.

The Sachar Committee report was welcomed by all and on May 17, 2007, the Cabinet approved a follow-up action on its recommendations. It involved 76 recommendations/suggestions in all, spreading out to 22 different ministries of the Government of India.

It was announced that these follow-up actions would be achieved through what was now rechristened as Prime Minister's New 15 Point Programme. Under this new program Special development initiatives for 90 MCD were announced. Measures leading to affirmative action – setting up an Equal Opportunities Commission and developing a diversity index, National Data Bank [NDB] and Assessment & Monitoring Authority [AMA],

Unorganised Sector Worker's Social Security Bill, delimitation of constituencies would be looked at, it was suggested. The issue of access to credit was to be addressed by opening more branches, priority sector lending, transparency, creating awareness, micro-finance, entrepreneurship development training [EDP], and enhancing authorised share capital of NMDFC. The access to education was sought to be improved through opening of girls' only schools, emphasis on school education, literacy campaign, improving enrolment, study centres, teacher's training, girls' hostels, madarsa modernisation, madarsa equivalent, text books, promotion of Urdu language. Care would be taken towards representation of minorities in selection committees it was suggested. Trainings for sensitisation of government officials, civil rights centres, posting of Muslims in such places would attempt to address the sensitization of the mindsets. A multi-media campaign too would be undertaken to sensitize the public. A Wakf Development corporation, amendment of Wakf Act, framing model Wakf rules would also be undertaken.

Ground Reality: Preliminary Findings on Implementation

A mention needs to be made here of the fact that there is relatively very little civil society engagement with the minorities. The NGO community largely works with the dalits, adivasis, women etc but not so much with minorities, particularly Muslims. It is left to religious groups to work with them. Based on the promises made in the PM's *New 15 Point Program*, women activists of Bharatiya Muslim Mahila Andolan framed a set of 20 questions which are being posed to various district and state officials in different states including Delhi, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Orissa, U.P, Bihar, M.P etc. These 20 questions are attached as Annexure I. The women activists are visiting different departments with these questions requesting a response. They are also probing the awareness as well as penetration of these schemes in their interaction with the community. The comprehensive survey is still going on but the initial findings are not at all encouraging.

Though the Eleventh Five Year Plan emphasizes the PM's *New 15 Point Program*, the program has no legal backing. There is very little or no awareness of the 15 point program within the community, the NGO sector and the officials who are supposed to implement them. Officials reacted with surprise and disbelief when women activists approached them with the set of questions pertaining to the program.

According to the Eleventh plan, the Ministry of Minority Affairs should ensure that the minorities get their due share in the developmental schemes of various ministries and departments at central as well as state level. It also mentions that the Ministry of Minority Affairs will have to advise the concerned ministries and departments and monitor the implementation of PMs 15 Point Programme. But this has remained on paper. The women activists were repeatedly told "*hume koi information nahin he*" [we do not have any orders] when they inquired about how many people were helped under various schemes. Those with genuine concern in the bureaucracy even said they would be ready to help if they had any GR or any instruction in writing. But some were annoyed and said, "*why should there be special schemes for you Muslims*"

The much-touted educational scholarship scheme *is a Demand Driven Scheme*. So it's perfectly fine if Gujarat or M.P or Chattisgarh, and even the Congress-ruled states do not feel the need for this scheme. No wonder, the women activists were told point-blank by the officers in Gujarat, "*we don't have any schemes for you people.*" The governments need to do more to publicize the scheme and to simplify the paperwork involved. When we conducted a meeting in West Bengal with civil society groups in 2007, very few had even heard of the scheme. In the politically aware state of Kerala, the announcement was made barely 72 hours before the deadline. It took a mass agitation from the students there to further postpone the dates for more students to apply.

Even where a student succeeds the scholarship amount is too small and involves too much paperwork. Another problematic area when it comes to education is the over dependence on SSA which is being positioned as a solution to all education needs. There is little awareness about the KGBV [Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas] for girls and it is too much to expect that muslim parents will suddenly locate the KGBVs in their areas and enroll their daughters there. Specially, when there are no moves from the government to popularize and facilitate the option.

The women activists found no *anganwadis* in several Muslim-dominated localities in Bombay, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Lucknow, Jaipur, and Bangalore. The situation was somewhat better in Tamil Nadu where the state officials were willing to listen and follow up on the implementation of various schemes. The Maharashtra government has set up a state level 15-point Program Committee for implementation but it has a long way to go in fulfilling the needs of the people.

The Minority Affairs ministry also stresses that where existing schemes of Ministries/departments can fill the requirements of MCD towns, they have taken necessary action. But the Bharatiya Muslim Mahila Andolan women found the officials were uninterested and unwilling. The women activists found very poor people without BPL cards. Families complained about ration shops remaining shut, poor quality of grains, inadequate quantity of kerosene.

The women activists' visits to the NMDFC [National Minorities Development Finance Corporation] were really disappointing. In most cases, they could not provide a list of people whose lives had changed owing to the financial help from the corporation. The officials, in two cases the chairmen themselves said that they have no money to help the community and were dependent on the respective states for allocations.

In some states, the bankers refused to talk to the women. In most cases the bank officials could not understand how a group of women are '*entitled*' to demand information.

Is There a Way Forward?

The living conditions of minorities are an indicator of success of a democracy. It is a question of state accountability to its citizens on which there can be no middle way other than genuine participation by all. The steps announced under the PM's *New* 15 Point Program need to be backed by financial resources and the programme must be publicized adequately. There is also need to create a conducive climate for citizens, both women and men, to be able to approach the authorities without fear of rejection and discrimination.

Why is it so difficult to sensitise the bureaucracy and administration at all levels? Why can't there be penalties for erring officers on the lines of the POA –Prevention of Atrocities on Dalits act? Why can't there be a sub-plan for minorities in the Planning Commission on the lines of SC/ ST sub-plans? The persistent socio-economic exclusion makes it a strong case for one. There should be sufficient budgetary allocation to address issues of such deep exclusion. Special efforts must be made to alleviate the plight of the dalits and backward within the minorities and the women.

The government must appoint a monitoring committee comprising parliamentarians to oversee the implementation of the PM's *New* 15 Point Program. Civil society groups can also be invited to monitor the program's progress and implementation. An assessment and evaluation of the penetration and impact of the PM's 15 Point Program – both old and new - is more than overdue. Civil society as well as the general public must be informed about the steps taken to make these programs work and the change it has brought about in the living conditions of minority communities.

The Ministry of Minority Affairs needs to be given full status and supported by budgetary allocation. The states can have their similar ministries and their own financial provision. Moreover, there needs to be a demonstrated action plan of implementation the progress of which should be regularly shared with the public. More seriousness is desired for sensitization of officials in the administration including the police.

There should be a clear-cut translation of the measures emphasized by the PM's *New* 15 Point Program into well-laid out schemes pertaining to education, financial assistance, marketing support assistance, capacity building etc in the 90 MCDs as well as each state. Officials in various departments in the states should be oriented, instructed and trained to fulfill their obligations in carrying out the schemes. They should be made aware of the findings of the Sachar Committee, the PM's *New* 15 Point Program, the constitutional obligations etc. There should be no ambiguity in communication such that the officials do not get away by feigning lack of knowledge of schemes. The public interest advertisements for educational scholarships are an example to be followed.

Since this is a new beginning, civil society groups can be involved in supporting the public to access the schemes. There can be an ombudsperson in every state for the public to meet with grievances. The government is bound by Constitutional obligations to enable the minorities to participate in the socio-economic processes in our society. The question is will they do it. Sachar Committee was a positive step. Three years after submission of its report the women and men belonging to the minority communities are waiting eagerly for a better life.



BHARATIYA MUSLIM MAHILA ANDOLAN

Survey Form

1. No of primary schools added in the district in Muslim locality [Dept of Education]
2. No of teachers recruited in these schools [Dept of Education]
3. No. of Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalyaya (KGBV) sanctioned in educationally backward blocks, having a substantial minority population [DIET]
4. No of people assisted under Swarnjayanti Gram Swarojgar Yojana-SGSY [DRDA]
5. No of BPL families assisted with houses under Indira Awas Yojana-IAY [DUDA]
6. No of muslim persons included in NREGA in your district, how many women, how many men?
7. No of beneficiaries assisted under Swarn Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana-SJSRY?[DRDA]
8. Operationalisation of Anganwadi Centres under ICDS in Muslim localities – how many?
9. Addition of ITIs and upgradation of existing Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs) in Muslim localities, how many and where?
10. Total No of accounts of Muslims, loans given with amount specified, also amount of fixed deposits [different banks including nationalized banks]
11. How many colleges/universities have you sensitized for giving admissions to Muslim students specially girls? [Dept of Education]
12. What steps have you taken to give vocational skills training to Urdu medium students?
13. How many hostels have been opened for Muslim girls? [Dept of Social Welfare/ minority Affairs]
14. What steps have you taken to include minorities under the principles on which Equal Opportunities Commission has been set up?
15. Number of special programs conducted with police department towards sensitizing them to minorities? [DGP/ SP, Town, city]
16. What steps have been initiated for the development of dalit Muslims? [Dept of Social Welfare]

17. How many persons were helped financially by NMDFC? [NMDFC officials]

18. How many PHCs have been opened in Muslim-dominated districts? [District Health Officer]

19. What is the yearly budget for minorities welfare that you spent this year? How many women and men were benefited? [State Minorities Commission]

20. How many Muslim women got widow pension from you? [dept of Social Welfare]

P.S: No 14 and 17 may vary depending on your state

Translated from Hindi

A

Annexure II

List of Minority Concentration Districts

Under the PM's *New 15 Point Program*

Sr	District	State
1	Nicobars	Andaman & Nicobar
2	Tawang	Arunachal Pradesh
3	West Kameng	Arunachal Pradesh
4	East Kameng	Arunachal Pradesh
5	Papum Pare	Arunachal Pradesh
6	Lower Subansiri	Arunachal Pradesh
7	Changlang	Arunachal Pradesh
8	Tirap	Arunachal Pradesh
9	Kokrajhar	Assam
10	Bongaigaon	Assam
11	Dhubri	Assam
12	Barpeta	Assam
13	Goalpara	Assam
14	Kamrup	Assam
15	Darrang	Assam
16	Marigaon	Assam
17	Nagaon	Assam
18	Cachar	Assam
19	Karimganj	Assam
20	Hailakandi	Assam
21	Paschim Champaran	Bihar
22	Sitamarhi	Bihar
23	Darbhangha	Bihar
24	Araria	Bihar
25	Purnia	Bihar
26	Kishan Ganj	Bihar
27	Katihar	Bihar
28	North East Delhi	Delhi
29	Sirsa	Haryana
30	Gurgaon	Haryana
31	Leh (Ladakh)	Jammu & Kashmir
32	Sahib Ganj	Jharkhand
33	Pakaur	Jharkhand
34	Ranchi	Jharkhand
35	Gumla	Jharkhand
36	Bidar	Karnataka

37	Gulbarga	Karnataka
38	Wayanad	Kerala
39	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh
40	Buldana	Maharashtra
41	Washim	Maharashtra
42	Hingoli	Maharashtra
43	Parbhani	Maharashtra
44	Senapati	Manipur
45	Ukhrul	Manipur
46	Thoubal	Manipur
47	Chandel	Manipur
48	Tamenglong	Manipur
49	Churachandpur	Manipur
50	West Garo hills	Meghalaya
51	Mamit	Mizoram
52	Lawngtlai	Mizoram
53	Gajapati	Orissa
54	North Sikkim	Sikkim
55	Saharanpur	Uttar Pradesh
56	Muzaffarnagar	Uttar Pradesh
57	Bijnor	Uttar Pradesh
58	Baghpat	Uttar Pradesh
59	Meerut	Uttar Pradesh
60	Ghaziabad	Uttar Pradesh
61	Jyotiba phule nagar	Uttar Pradesh
62	Moradabad	Uttar Pradesh
63	Rampur	Uttar Pradesh
64	Bulandshahr	Uttar Pradesh
65	Bareilly	Uttar Pradesh
66	Pilibhit	Uttar Pradesh
67	Shajahanpur	Uttar Pradesh
68	Budaun	Uttar Pradesh
69	Kheri	Uttar Pradesh
70	Bahraich	Uttar Pradesh
71	Sharawasti	Uttar Pradesh
72	Balrampur	Uttar Pradesh
73	Siddarthnagar	Uttar Pradesh
74	Bara Banki	Uttar Pradesh
75	Lucknow	Uttar Pradesh
76	Hardwar	Uttaranchal
77	Udham Singh Nagar	Uttaranchal
78	Koch Bihar	West Bengal
79	Uttar Dinajpur	West Bengal
80	Dakshin Dinajpur	West Bengal
81	Maldah	West Bengal
82	Murshidabad	West Bengal
83	Birbhum	West Bengal
84	Bardhaman	West Bengal

85	Nadia	West Bengal
86	North 24- Parganas	West Bengal
87	Kolkata	West Bengal
88	Haora	West Bengal
89	South 24- Parganas	West Bengal



Measures to Improve the Condition of Women

Vibhuti Patel

1. Current Macro Economic Scenario

The current macroeconomic scenario has intensified feminization of poverty. A mid-term evaluation of the Eleventh Five Year Plan from a gender perspective therefore is the need of the hour. Real wages of a large number of women have declined. Women's work burden in unpaid care economy (cooking, cleaning, nursing, collecting fuel, fodder, water, etc) has increased many-fold due to withdrawal of state from social sector (Chakraborty, 2008). Privatisation of education, health and insurance has increased unpaid work of women in the working class and lower middle class households (Hirway, 2009)—not accounted in the system of national accounting. Gender friendly implementation of National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) in terms of skill building, resource generation, work conditions and remuneration reaching actual women beneficiaries is still a distant dream. While large majority of women are drowning in the ocean of market fundamentalism, they are given small sticks in the form of Self Help Groups (SHGs) and micro finance to save themselves.

Inflation in agricultural commodities, sky rocketing prices of essential food items such as grain, vegetables and seasonal fruits has imposed massive hardship for women. The Arjun Sengupta Committee's Report on Unorganized Sector Labour (2007, GoI) notes that over 394.9 million workers (more than 85 per cent of the working population and more than 78 per cent of the workers in unorganised sector) live with an income of less than Rs. 20 a day. 80% of the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes, 80% of the Other Backward Classes and 85% of Muslims belong to the categories of "poor and vulnerable," who earn less than Rs. 20 a day. 21% to 46% of men and 57% to 83% of women in non-agricultural sectors are employed as casual workers, who get less than minimum wages. The unorganised work-force contributes around 60% to the national economic output of the country.

The neoliberal economic policies of financial sector reforms; attacks on the livelihood base of the farmers, forest people and slum dwellers; land grab in the name of creation of Special Economic Zones, massive displacement and relocation of the masses to suit the interests of construction industry violate 'rights' or 'entitlements' of the urban and rural poor, especially women from the marginalized sections.

2. Commitments Made in the Eleventh Five Year Plan

Goals and objectives of the Eleventh Five Year Plan have not translated into better output and outcome indicators and persistence of gender based disadvantages are evident (Mishra & Jhamb, 2009) as follows:

Child Sex Ratio: Mid decade census has revealed further decline in the child sex ratio in several parts of India. In the urban centers, deficit of girls has increased due to pre-birth elimination. In- spite of demands of women's groups and recommendations of the Eleventh Five Year Plan to revisit the two child norm laws, several state governments continue to victimize the victim, namely poor, dalit, tribal and Muslim women and unborn girls (as the norm has resulted into intensified sex selective abortions).

Reproductive and Child Health: Evaluation of *Chiranjivi Scheme* to prevent maternal mortality has revealed that the public private partnership in this scheme allows private practitioners milk tax payers money without giving necessary relief to pregnant woman. Only in cases of normal delivery, does the private practitioner admit women for delivery. In case of complicated delivery, the concerned women are sent to over-crowded public

hospital. In the National Rural Health Mission, the National Social Health Activists (ASHA) are not paid even minimum wages but are paid “honorarium”!! (Acharya & Paul, 2009).

ICDS: Restructuring of ICDS must promote convergence of several schemes of different ministries such as health, rural development, tribal development, and NREGA. The Eleventh Five Year Plan promised “Walk-in ICDS centers” at railway stations and bus stands for migrant women and children. However, that has not happened even in big cities such as Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata and Chennai.

Food Security: As against targeted Public Distribution System (PDS), the state needs to adopt an approach of universalisation and up-scaling of PDS.

Women and Violence: Women survivors of violence need major attention, but the Scheme for Relief and Rehabilitation of Victims of Sexual Assault promised by the Eleventh Five Year Plan has not borne any major fruit. Women’s groups providing support to women survivors of Domestic Violence are disappointed because the Plan has no separate allocation for Implementation of Domestic Violence Act, 2005. This is important because the Act had defined major role of service providers such as hospitals, law and order machinery, protection officers/ counselors and shelter homes.

Schemes: Schemes for Working Women’s Hostels and Swadhar Scheme for women in difficult circumstances should easily be made easily available to women’s groups and the state must facilitate the process of acquiring of land, physical structures-building construction, connectivity with road, transport, health centre, schools, etc. for Swadhar Centres. The state governments and the Zilla Parishads should be asked to encourage women’s groups and SHGs to come forward to run them in a democratic and participatory manner.

Water: The Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG’s) audit report on accelerated rural water supply programme (ARWSP) has made a shocking revelation that despite recurrent bouts of water borne diseases across country, all states are ignoring drinking water quality. Most of the state governments did not conduct water quality tests during 2008-09. Poor urban, rural and tribal women’s major survival struggle revolves around safe drinking water. Leaving supply of safe drinking water to private players has enhanced hardship of common women.

Budgetary Allocation for Water Supply & Sanitation that affects women’s life greatly as consumers and unpaid and partially paid-workers does not mention women. “This has perpetuated the unproductive female workload of fetching water from long distance,” avers Indira Rajaram. She contends, “water-sheds in the country need to be contoured on the Geographical Information systems (GIS) platform. Using space technology for mapping of aquifers, a five year plan needs to be drawn up for creating sustainable water sources within reasonable reach of rural habitation.” (Rajaram, 2007).

Energy Expenditure of Women: Reproductive work and domestic duties demand major time and energy of women. A study conducted in urban Delhi through a household survey between September and November 2006 estimated that “Working women spend five hours on an average per day on housework/childcare in addition to six hours on paid work; where unpaid work is also being done, this adds on another four hours. Women who are not working spend on an average of seven hours in housework and care work.” In the rural and tribal areas, collection of fuel, fodder, water, looking after the livestock, kitchen gardening demand great deal of time and energy from women and girls. The Eleventh Plan document has acknowledged the fact, but in reality nothing significant has been done in terms of priority given to alternative to bio-fuels that causes smoke related illnesses.

Social Security for Women in Informal Sector: The Bill on Social Security for women workers, introduced in the Parliament of India has been shelved. There is trafficking of girl children, women are exploited in

domestic work, slave labour is employed in hazardous occupation and young women workers in Special Economic Zone are hired and fired according to the whims of employers and are paid miserable wages. Comprehensive legislation for Protection of Domestic Workers, informal sector workers, farm and forest workers applicable throughout the country is needed urgently.

90 % of women do not get maternity benefits. The design of Maternity Benefit Scheme must be critically examined and details should be provided for its judicious implementation and concerned officers who are guilty of non-performance must be made accountable and punished.

In Unorganized Workers' Social Security Act, 2008 (Bill No. LXVII of 2008), special problems of women unorganized workers must be included.

Elderly Women: Half Way homes and Elderly Women's Homes must be provided in every district. Pension Scheme for old, disabled women is implemented only in states such as Kerala, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs) must be motivated to provide an extensive database on women over 60. For widows or elderly women, community based half way homes fully equipped with counseling facilities, temporary shelter, gat-tot-gather, drop-in-centre, skill building/ up gradation and technical training, is a far more humane way of providing social security.

NREGA: Trade unions and women's rights organisations from M.P., Punjab and Bihar have repeatedly reported that even under NREGA there are wage disparities. Though NREGA provided jobs to 56, 29,822 women in 2007-08 (GOI, 2009), they were assigned unskilled and low paying tasks. Development economists and feminists have demanded that NREGA be turned into an earn-while-you-learn plan through a public private partnership model that creates an on-the-job training module aimed at up gradation of skills of women working at the sites. National Skill Development Mission plans to add 1 crore workers to the non-agricultural sector by improving skills must respect 30 % women's component. Women capital formation is a must for value addition among women employed in NREGA. Central Employment Guarantee Council that is supposed to be an independent watchdog for NREGA must be made accountable towards gender sensitive implementation of NREGS.

JNNURM: Vocational Training for women must be an inbuilt component of JNNURM. Support services such as Crèche, working women's hostel, schools, ICDS centers, ITIs must converge to effectively utilize the infrastructure.

Feminization of agriculture: 71% women workers are in agriculture and women form 39% of total agricultural workers. So there is an urgent need for a paradigm shift from micro-credit to livelihood finance, comprising a comprehensive package of support services including:

- a. financial services, (including insurance for life, health, crops and livestock: infrastructure finance for roads, power, market, telecom etc and investment in human development),
- b. agriculture and business development services (including productivity enhancement, local value addition, alternate market linkages etc) and

Institutional development services (forming and strengthening various producers' organisations, such as SHGs, water user associations, forest protection committees, credit and commodity cooperatives, empowering Panchayats through capacity building and knowledge centers etc.).

SHGs: It is learnt that only Andhra Pradesh provides loans at 4 % interest rate. Federations of Women's Self Help Groups (WSHGs) are pressuring other state governments also to provide loans at differential rate of interest.

- A network of capacity building institutions should be set up to strengthen and develop SHGs.
- Milk cooperatives must be run and managed by women. The local authorities should facilitate meeting of WSHGs with the bank managers, lead bank officers and NABARD officers. 10% of authorised shopping areas should be reserved for WSHGs.

- WSHGs with primitive accumulation of capital should charge 2% or below 2 % rate of interest. The WSHGs that have acquired *Swarnajayanti Gram Swarojgar Yojana* (SGSY) loans should reduce the rate of interest to 1.5 %.
- Female headed households (single, divorced, deserted and widows) should get special consideration while granting loans.

Women's Component in Scheduled Caste Sub Plan, Tribal Sub Plan and Ministry of Minority Affairs:

Gender audit of SCP, TSP and Ministry of Minority Affairs is urgently required. So far only proclamations are made by the state governments but except for Kerala, rest of the states have not implemented WCP in all development oriented schemes and programmes.

Need to Emphasize Women's Component in All Mega Schemes, 2008-09	
■ Education	Rs. 34400 crores
■ Health	Rs. 16534 crores
■ NREGS	Rs. 16000 crores
■ Bharat Nirman	Rs. 31280 crores
■ AIDS Control Programme	Rs. 969 crores
■ Skill Development Fund	Rs. 1000 crores
■ Food Processing	Rs. 290 crores
■ Loan Waiver Package	Rs. 60000 crores
■ Animal Husbandry, Dairying & Fisheries	Rs. 1000 crores
■ Dept. of Agri Research & Education	Rs. 1760 crores

Women Workers Rights: State and professional bodies have made no efforts to educate employers about basic human rights of women workers. The Supreme's Court directive in the Vishakha Judgment concerning safety of women at workplace is still not implemented by most private sector employers and media barons.

Utilisation of Financial Allocation for Pro Women Schemes: Only four states are taking advantage of financial allocation for *Swadhar*, working women's hostel, short stay homes for women in difficult circumstances, UJJAWALA: A Comprehensive Scheme for Prevention of trafficking and Rescue, Rehabilitation and Re-integration of Victims of Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation. So what are the bottlenecks? The implementation of the crèche scheme is far from satisfactory. Three meals per child per day at the crèches recommended by Eleventh Five Year Plan are rarely provided. Except for Tamilnadu, Cradle Baby Reception Centres are non-existent in rest of India. No status report is available on Integrated Child Protection Scheme (ICPS) promised in the Eleventh Five Year Plan.

It is encouraging to note that the proposal to reserve 50% seats for women in PRIs was cleared by the Cabinet on 27-8-09. But Fund flow to PRIs has not been streamlined even after separate budgetary allocation for PRIs made in the current budget. How many states have provided women's component in Panchayat funds? Is it utilized judiciously for women's practical and strategic needs? - are questions that need to be asked.

All state governments must be made to work towards fulfillment of longstanding demands of women's groups. Provisions should be made in the composite programmes under education, health and rural development sectors to target them specifically at girls/women as the principal beneficiaries and disaggregated within the total allocation.

Road and Rail Transport for Women: Most working women in urban and rural areas travel in overcrowded buses and trains. In the transport sector top priority needs to be given for women special buses and trains in all cities. For women street vendors, seat-less buses and special luggage compartments in trains need to be provided.

Implementation of Laws: Promise of the Eleventh Five Year Plan to allocate funds for Implementation of PCPNDT ACT, 2002 and Domestic Violence Act has remained unfulfilled in most states and marginally fulfilled in states such as Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

In several states, implementation of Pre-conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques Act is far from satisfactory. There is no budgetary allocation for creating structures and mechanisms for monitoring abuse of sex determination and sex pre-selection technologies.

There has been no progress in providing audit of land and housing rights of women by any ministry- Urban Development, Rural Development, Tribal Development, PRIs and Urban local self Government bodies.

The Rajendra Sachar Committee Report, 2007 highlighting the deplorable socio-economic status of majority of Muslims in India led to special budgetary allocation for socially excluded minority communities. But in the sub-plan for minorities with an allocation of Rs. 513 crores, there is no specific allocations is made for minority women.

Crucial schemes affecting survival struggles of women have received inadequate funds : the Rajiv Gandhi National Creche Scheme for Children of Working Mothers (Rs. Rs. 56.5 crore), Working Women's Hostel (Rs. 5 crore), Swadhar (Rs. 15 crore), Rescue of victims of trafficking (Rs. 10 crore).

3. Assessing the Performance of the Eleventh Plan

Several women specific schemes and programmes don't make state government responsible for better financial allocation through appropriate ministries. Synchronization of funds from the ministries to targeted population through specially designed schemes is very important. For example, need for schemes for education, health and nutrition, skill development for girls in the age group of 6 years to 15 years who are neither covered by heavily funded ICDS (that targets 0-6 age group) or RCH (that targets 15-45 age group).

In rhetoric, the policy framework underlying the Eleventh Plan recognizes the rights/ entitlements for women but the structures and mechanisms for interventions are too bureaucratic, top down which don't allow women's groups to take the lead. For example, schemes for women in difficult circumstances- SWADHAR, working women's hostels. For women specific centrally sponsored schemes, the state governments are not coming forward with matching grant and funds of the union budget for women remain unutilized.

Women Elected Representatives in PRIs: The Eleventh Plan promised empowerment of PRIs as the primary agents to deliver essential services crucial and critical to inclusive growth. But in reality, PRIs are treated as beggars and are starved of funds. Series of workshops conducted for women elected representatives repeatedly brought out the fact that "Even in 2009, democratic decentralization in PRIs has not ensured financial decentralization." (Raskar, 2009). The leakage in delivery mechanism and poor accountability at the state level has prevented funds from reaching the targeted beneficiary (Ahuja, 2009).

Except for RCH programmes, all schemes and programmes targeted for women have grossly inadequate budgetary resources.

Inclusion of Gender Budget Statement in the annual national budget has been a noteworthy achievement for the women's movement in India. (Nakray, 2009). Under the Eleventh plan, several state governments (such as,

Maharashtra, Assam, Rajasthan and others) have not fared well on utilization of allocated funds because funds were not released on time.

Women's Rights to Land and Housing: Women's land and housing needs must be understood from the point of view of their rights to dignified life. They should not face discrimination in exercising their right to land and housing due to caste, race, age, religion and ethnicity. State and civil society initiatives must facilitate the process of women's empowerment. The following issues need to be addressed:

- The local self government bodies should reserve 10% of all houses/flats/industrial units/ shops in the market places for women.
- Rural and tribal women must get access to their land and housing rights. Schedule Caste Plan and Tribal sub Plan financial allocation should be used for this purpose.
- Half-way homes for special needs of elderly, disabled and mentally ill women should be created in the community/ neighbourhood.
- Schools of Architecture, Engineering Colleges and Institutions for Interior Designing must incorporate gender concerns in housing, land use and town planning in their syllabi and must organize capacity building workshops and training programmes for women.
- Gender sensitization of the decision-makers in the housing industry (both public and private sector) and the elected representatives of the mainstream political bodies should be given top priority.
- For formulation of gender-sensitive policies, gender experts and CBOs working on the housing-land-water and sanitation must be inducted in the apex bodies of urban, rural and tribal housing projects.

Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

The Eleventh Five Year Plan needs to not only recognise and value social reproduction but work pro-actively to redesign development services and macroeconomic policies that ensure social security and support services to mass of women (CBGA, 2009). Gender commitments of the plan must reflect budgetary commitments coupled with greater efficiency and effectively targeted and utilized resources for women to guarantee substantive equality for women. Enhancement of public spending on social infrastructure is the only way to gender inclusive growth.

Studies need to be commissioned to highlight the gap between plan outlay and outcome, local and global implications of pro-poor and pro-women budgeting, alternative macro scenarios emerging out of alternative budgets and inter-linkages between gender-sensitive budgeting and women's empowerment (Patel, 2009).

There is an urgent need to sensitize economists about visibility of women in statistics and indicators by holding conceptually and technically sound training workshops by gender economists. The most difficult task in the gender analysis of budget is to compile gender segregated data on allocation and expenditure on pro- women and gender neutral schemes which are not generated from the existing formats and schedules of budgetary procedures and reporting systems. Again, mere expenditure analysis does not give any true picture about the actual impact of such expenditure on women. This certainly calls for more in-depth analysis on sectoral issues over a larger than annual time frame. It is also necessary to formulate uniform guidelines and procedures so that valid comparisons and inferences can be made at the regional and national level.

Ministry of Women and Child Development needs more visionary leadership, political will and courage of conviction to strive to not only fulfill the promises made by the Eleventh Five Year Plan but also expand the democratic space for women and girls in socio-cultural, economic, educational and political spheres.

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Persons with Disabilities: Large Commitments, Uneasy Outcomes

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AARTH-ASTHA

The Eleventh Plan of India focuses on inclusive growth. The country recognises there are groups of people who have got excluded from the development process and that development is only possible if there is equity.

Inclusion is a process. It is “a never-ending search to find better ways of responding to diversity. Therefore, at the level of strategy, it is important that we set milestones that can measure the process.” Inclusion involves identifying the barriers groups of vulnerable people face. Inclusion is also about the presence and participation of all people who are vulnerable in a society and under different contexts. So it also involves collecting, collating and evaluating information from a wide variety of sources to plan for improvements in policy and practice. And finally it mandates a clear emphasis in any policy and program on those who are vulnerable

For all that to happen there have to be clear strategies with budget allocations in place. The government of India has already accepted that people with disabilities have been marginalised in the development process. The recognition has been strengthened (in the beginning of the Eleventh Plan) with India being one of the first few signatories to the United Nation Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCPRD) in 2007. This Convention is the first convention where the primary stakeholders (persons with disabilities) were at the heart of all negotiations. It is therefore a Convention that truly reflects the lived experiences of persons with disabilities all over the world.

Inclusion is not only a principle but also the underlying philosophy of this Convention. It also therefore becomes the concept that needs to be translated into strategies and then monitored. Indeed, this new Convention has in a way brought about a paradigm shift in thinking about disability- from the charity to the human rights model.

In terms of policies and laws, India has made many commitments to people with disabilities in the last 15 years. Three laws have been enacted; (The Persons with Disabilities Equal Opportunities, Full participation and Protection of Rights Act, 1995, The National Trust for The Welfare of Persons with Autism, Cerebral palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disabilities, 1999, The Rehabilitation Council of India Act 1992.) In 2006 a national policy for Persons with disabilities was declared and in 2007 India signed and then ratified the UN Convention.

The UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

This Convention focuses on the inclusion of children and persons with disabilities on an equal basis in all aspects of life. The general principles of this Convention function as a yardstick to check all actions and policies to be made for persons with disabilities. These Principles are

- a) Respect for inherent dignity, individual autonomy including the freedom to make one's own choices, and independence of persons;
- b) Non-discrimination;
- c) Full and effective participation and inclusion in society;
- d) Respect for difference and acceptance of disability as part of human diversity and humanity;

- e) Equality of opportunity;
- f) Accessibility;
- g) Quality between men and women; and
- h) Respect for the evolving capacities of children with disabilities and respect for the right of children with disabilities to preserve their identities.

This Convention ensures all social –economic and political rights to all persons with disabilities. Historically, in our country and others, legal capacity as a right has been denied to people with disabilities, particularly people with intellectual and psychosocial disabilities. This has meant that people living with these impairments did not have the right to vote, to open bank accounts, to marry and start a family and were debarred from many other situations where legal capacity was required. In a very strong move to ensure all rights to all people with disabilities, the UN Convention changes this situation and proclaims equal recognition under the law to all.

Breaking from earlier practice, this Convention does not single out any particular impairment group as vulnerable. Instead, in two separate articles (Article 6, Women with Disabilities and Article 7, Children with Disabilities) it recognises the vulnerability of women and children with disabilities. The needs of women and children with disabilities are recognised in the Convention's other articles as well.

Further, the Convention outlines certain concepts which will be extremely important in all policy and planning in the future. The concepts of universal design, a wider understanding of what communication and language is and the importance of reasonable accommodation in ensuring equality and non discrimination need to be part of our planning process.

Meanwhile, active advocacy by disability activists has led to the government actually conceding in the Eleventh Plan document that people with disabilities constitute at least **5 to 6 %** of the country's population. The official figures till recently were as low as **2.13%** of the population. In real numbers this means that from the accepted 21.9 million there is an acknowledgement now of at least **6 crore** people with disabilities in the country.

Yet the question before us is whether this change in perception and growing recognition of the rights of persons with disabilities has led to any change in actual programming and budgeting. So, the question before us is also about the importance of people with disabilities in the planning process.

In this paper we look at two aspects of the planning process. Firstly, we look at the commitments made in the Eleventh Plan by the Planning Commission for persons with disabilities. Many of these are the prime responsibility of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (MSJE), the nodal ministry for persons with disabilities. Then we look at another very important commitment made by the government in the Tenth and the Eleventh Plan - that other relevant ministries are to allocate at least three percent of their budget for disability concerns and create guidelines for its implementation. This we see as a major strategy for inclusion of persons with disabilities in the development process.

Some of the Major Commitments made in the Eleventh Plan Section on Disability

1. Promises a focus on Health, Education, Employment, Accessibility Affirmative action and Research and Manpower Development.
2. Emphasise and adopt a multi-pronged, cross sectoral approach to identifying, preventing, managing, treating and rehabilitating persons with mental disabilities.
3. Reservation of three percent allocation for persons with disabilities in all relevant Ministries, along with formulation of clear guidelines and monitoring mechanisms
4. National Institute of Universal Design to be set up to promote barrier free environment

5. A concerted effort be made to make all public buildings and facilities such as schools, hospitals, public transport barrier-free
6. Building bye-laws, municipal and civic regulations, relevant codes for construction and design should incorporate the requirements of a barrier free environment.
7. A sign language research and training centre to be established.

Education

1. The setting up of disability units in the University Grants Commission (UGC), All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE), National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), *Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan* (KVS), and all other apex education bodies.
2. Action Plan on Inclusive education to be pursued
3. At least one residential special school upto 12th grade for deaf children in every state and one degree college for the deaf in every zone to promote the educational development of people who are deaf
4. Disability certificate for every person with disability. This is to be the responsibility of the Ministry of Health
5. Office of the Chief Commissioner of Disability to be strengthened with greater allocation, autonomy and powers of recommendation.
6. The 'Disability Division' of MSJE will be converted into a separate department, so that it can liaise effectively with all the other concerned Ministries/ Departments and fulfill its responsibilities towards the disabled.
7. Amendments to the Persons with Disabilities Act 1995 in relation to the UNCRPD

The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment

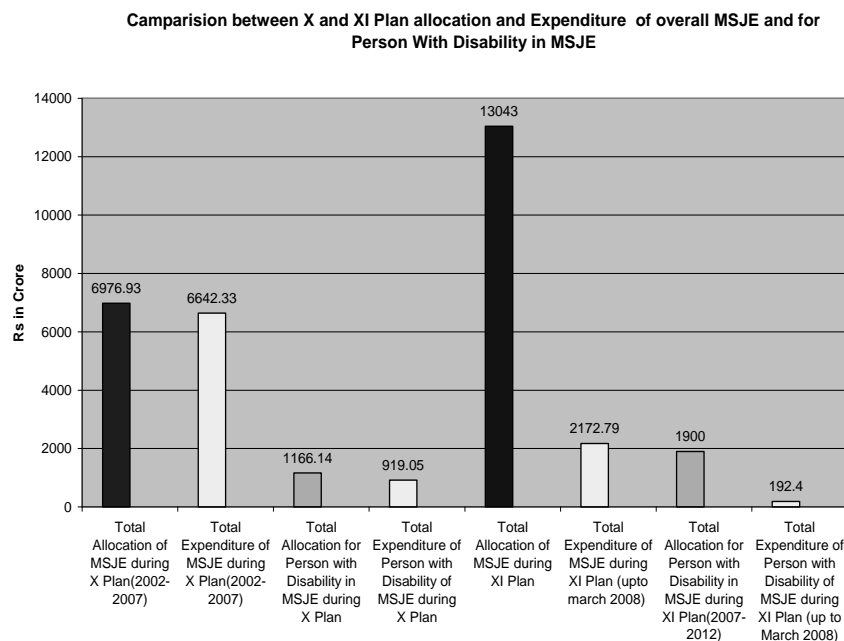
An attempt has been made to look at the budgets of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, some of the schemes through the Tenth Plan and the first few years of the Eleventh Plan. The questions we ask are:

- Given the fact that India was a party to the four years of the drafting process of the new UN Convention, is there a rethinking in the programmes and schemes of the nodal Ministry for disability, the MSJE?
- What kinds of budget allocations have been made in the Tenth and then the Eleventh Plan and what is the expenditure?
- How have the schemes been conceptualised?

The Disability Budget

Table: 4.1 Comparison between total Allocation of Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment and Allocation for Disability Sector during Eleventh and Tenth Plan

Total Allocation of MSJE during X Plan(2002-2007)	Total Allocation for Person with Disability in MSJE during X Plan	Total Expenditure of Person with Disability of MSJE during X Plan	Total Allocation of MSJE during XI Plan	Total Allocation for Person with Disability in MSJE during XI Plan(2007-2012)	Total Expenditure of Person with Disability of MSJE during XI Plan (up to March 2008)
6976.93	1166.14	919.05	13043.00	1900.00	192.40



To implement various programmes/ schemes, MSJE has been allocated **Rs. 13,043 crore** for the Eleventh Five Year Plan. This is a **fifty three percent (53%)** increase from outlay of the Tenth Plan which was **Rs 6976 crore**.

The allocation of the disability budget of the total allocation of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, rose from **Rs 1166 crore** in the Tenth Plan to **Rs 1900 crore** in the Eleventh Plan; an increase of nearly **800 crore**.

An 800 crore increase in outlay between the Tenth and the Eleventh Plan is a rather large increase. However, the percentage of allocation to disability in the Plan seems to have actually decreased. The percentage of allocation for disability in the Tenth Plan was **17%** of the total allocation of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. In the Eleventh Plan, although there is a substantial increase in the total budget of MSJE, the relative allocation for persons with disabilities has come down to **15%** of the total budget.

India's signing of the UNCRPD and the government's acknowledgement of a substantially increased percentage of the population comprising of people with disabilities does not seem to have led to a corresponding increase in the percentage of allocation for persons with disabilities.

The questions of-course, are not only those of budgeting, although that is very important. Our questions are even those of adequacy of the design and reach of these schemes. These must now be scrutinised in the light of the UNCRPD.

A look at Two Major Schemes

We first look in detail at the two major schemes of MSJE for people with disabilities; the Deendayal Disabled Rehabilitation Scheme and the Scheme of Assistance to Disabled Persons for Purchase, fitting of Aids and Appliances (ADIP scheme). Together they account for more than 50% percent of the disability budget of the Ministry. Together, these schemes account for **Rs 1142 of the Rs 1900** budget allocation for the Eleventh Five Year Plan.

Deendayal Disabled Rehabilitation Scheme

“The Deendayal Disabled Rehabilitation Scheme (DDRS) of this ministry is a Central Sector Scheme that includes projects for providing education and vocational training and rehabilitation of persons with orthopedic, speech, visual and mental disabilities. The services provided include:

- programmes for pre-school and early intervention
- special education
- vocational training and placement
- community based rehabilitation
- manpower development
- psycho-social rehabilitation of persons with mental illness
- rehabilitation of leprosy-cured persons, etc.

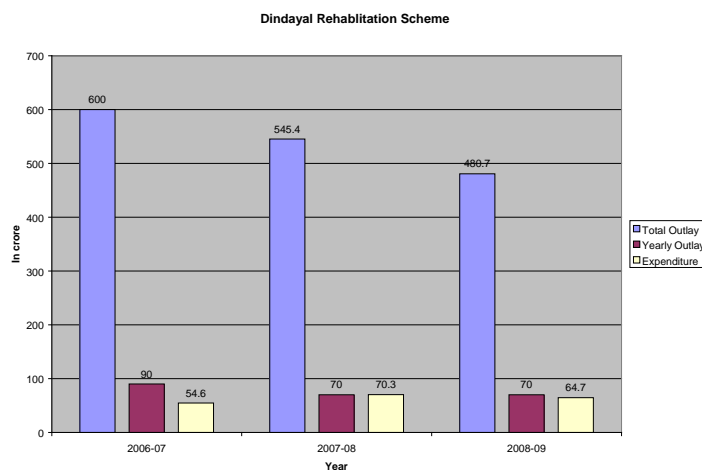
District Disability Rehabilitation Centres set up by the Ministry are also funded under this scheme.

Table: Comparison between Tenth and Eleventh Plan Allocation and Expenditure of Deendayal Rehabilitation Scheme

Total Tenth Plan Outlay	Total Tenth Plan Expenditure	Total Eleventh Plan Outlay	Total Eleventh Plan Expenditure 2007-08-09
411	335.2	600	189.6

Table: Eleventh Plan Budget Allocation and Expenditure of Deendayal Disabled Rehabilitation Scheme

Year	Total Outlay of Eleventh Plan for this Scheme	Yearly Outlay in Eleventh Plan	Yearly Expenditure in Eleventh Plan
2006-07	600	90	54.6
2007-08	543.4	70	70.3
2008-09	480.7	70	64.7



As can be seen, the expenditure on this scheme in the Tenth Plan was just **Rs 335 crore** as against the allocation of **Rs 411 crore**. Nearly **Rs 70 crore** of the largest scheme of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment went unutilised. In the Eleventh Plan, the allocation for the scheme has gone up dramatically by nearly **200 crore**, a very large increase for a scheme that obviously needs to be questioned for its concept and implementation. Even in the Eleventh Plan the implementation of the scheme seems to be lagging behind the allocation.

This scheme undertakes funding for a range of projects from early intervention to vocational rehabilitation to special schools to the district disability rehabilitation centres to the rehabilitation of persons with mental disabilities. The question here is that can such a wide ranging scheme adequately address the needs of all people with disabilities right from childhood to old age? If the design of a scheme has anything to do with the quality of the work and its outcomes then this all encompassing scheme needs to be looked at in its very design. Each one of the areas this scheme proposes to fund is a full fledged area by itself. The largest scheme of the ministry for habilitation and rehabilitation of children and persons with disabilities is dependent on the availability of non government organisation. It seems that the responsibility of rehabilitation has been mainly given to voluntary organisations.

Each one of the areas the scheme funds is an area by itself that requires structures and thought throughout the country. For example, if community based rehabilitation is being advocated as a strategy in our country, it cannot be left to be just a part of one scheme. As per the 2008-9 Annual Report of The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, the expenditure on CBR is just one percent (1%) of the total expenditure of this scheme. The demands of CBR are very different from that of running a special school or a vocational rehabilitation centre.

Also while the scheme gives a sense of dealing with a range of areas, a look at the actual funding pattern reveals the largest amount of money (**60% in 2008-09**, Source; Annual Report Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment) is being used up in the running of special schools. Disability activists have, for years, been demanding that all education of children with disabilities come under the purview of the Ministry of MHRD; the ministry most qualified to supervise education. A large number of special schools funded by the scheme are run as non formal centres with no affiliation to any board of education. These are largely special schools run for students with intellectual disabilities, multiple disabilities and Autism.

Important areas such as early intervention, vocational rehabilitation, CBR or the rehabilitation of persons with psychosocial disabilities are hardly funded. The scheme in its structure and design does not demand that there be a countrywide spread of programs in these important areas.

Scheme of Assistance to Disabled Persons for Purchase /fitting of AIDS Appliances (ADIP)

According to the Eleventh Plan document, section on disability:

The Scheme of ADIP, launched in 1981, was supposed to provide durable, sophisticated and scientifically manufactured, modern, standard aids and appliances to people with disabilities in order to promote their physical, social and psychological rehabilitation. However, due to the lack of awareness, very few disabled people are able to benefit from this Scheme. The Eleventh Plan will endeavour to create awareness about ADIP and other such schemes. This is one scheme which must be universalised. Any disabled person should be able to approach the district magistrate and derive benefit from her/him.” (6.185.) (emphasis ours)

The income ceiling for availing assistance will be raised to Rs 10000 per month. Moreover, the ceiling for purchase/ fitting of aids and appliances

should also be enhanced to Rs 25000 per month. For manufacturing these aids and appliances, there is need to enhance the production capacity and ALIMCO should not be a monopoly supplier. *The approach should be to provide the best possible assistive devices by encouraging multiple manufacturers, and even through imports. The Eleventh Plan shall allocate adequate funds for strengthening ADIP.*” (emphasis ours)

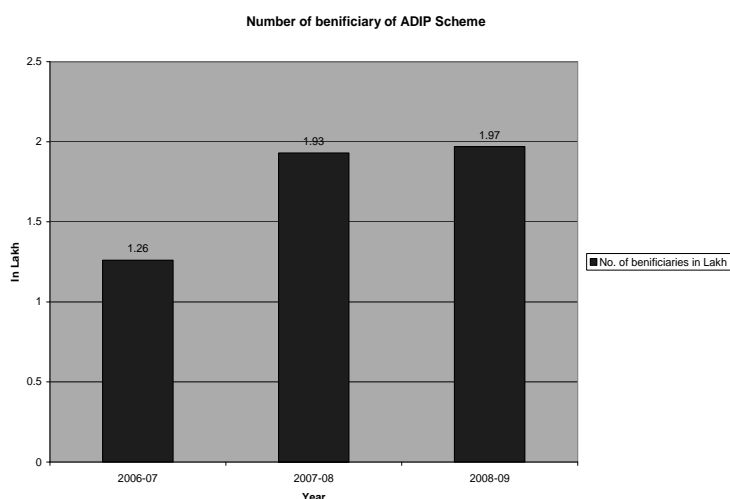
Table: Scheme of Assistance to Disabled Persons for Purchase /fitting of AIDS Appliances, Tenth and Eleventh Plan Allocation and Expenditure

Tenth Plan Outlay	Tenth Plan Expenditure	Eleventh Plan Outlay	Eleventh Plan 2007-08-09 Expenditure
310.2	300.69	542	198.09

In the Tenth Plan the outlay for ADIP was **Rs 310 crore**, while in the Eleventh Plan the outlay for a scheme that does not seemed to have worked is **Rs 542 crore**, a jump of **Rs 200 crore**. **With such an increased outlay, a look at the number of people that the scheme is reaching out to is consistently low; being less than two lakhs in the whole country every year.**

Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment

Year	No. of beneficiaries of ADIP Scheme (In Lakh)
2006-07	1.26
2007-08	1.93
2008-09	1.97



The questions to be asked here are the ones that need to be asked of all the schemes of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. Is it enough to allocate much more money for programs that are obviously flawed in their conception apart from implementation?

Looking at the numbers of people that the Ministry has been able to reach out to, it seems that the promise of the plan to create an awareness and to have a system whereby a person with disability just approaches the District Magistrate to get their aids and appliances does not seem to have materialised as yet.

Further, it is not enough to just be able to access a device. The ADIP scheme for example, has no component of follow-up and training. To be used effectively, people have to be trained to use any assistive device. They need to know where to go to repair it. Assistive devices need to be culturally suitable. In our country we need to have low cost or subsidised devices that suit different geographical terrains. Sometimes technology needs to be customised to individual needs. There also have to be many more spaces where the assistive devices are accessed by people across the country. There is urgent and long overdue need for research and development in this area. While we see growing numbers of private manufacturers and outlets for expensive aids and appliances, the in the country, these are not benefitting people who are poor. The poor are left to the devices of the ADIP scheme.

What seems to be working!

- While the structures of MSJE seem to be reaching out to very few people, convergence with other ministries seems to be resulting in much more outreach in terms of numbers. For example, it seems that the convergence with *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan* (SSA) has been useful for the ADIP scheme and has been able to reach out to many more children than it has through its own distribution centres.
- According to the 2009 Annual Report of MSJE 12.7 lakh children with disabilities have received aids and appliances under the specific plan for convergence between the MSJE and the Ministry of Human Resource Development. While it is unclear whether this is a one year or a three year figure, it is still a large one. While the issues of training, and follow-up remain even here, tie-ups with schemes such as the poverty alleviation schemes where there is a three percent reservation for persons with disabilities would be very useful.

Scheme of Implementation of Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995

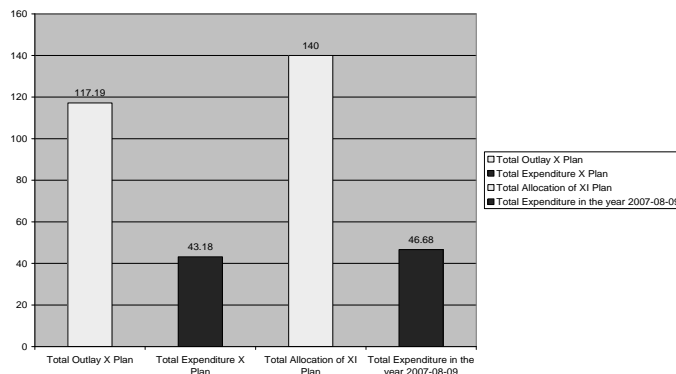
Another scheme that seems to provide funding for a range of issues, from accessibility to awareness. According to the Annual report of the Ministry of Social justice and Empowerment (2008-9)

Grant-in-aid is provided under this Scheme to various bodies set up by the Central Government and State Government, including autonomous bodies and Universities, to support activities relating to implementation of the provisions of The Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995, particularly relating to rehabilitation and provision of barrier free access. The District Disability Rehabilitation Centres and Composite Rehabilitation Centres set up by the Ministry are provided support under this scheme. The range of activities for which grant in aid is provided with regard to barrier free access is wide, including ramps, lifts, tactile paths, new product development and research.

Table: Comparison between X and XI Plan Allocation and Expenditure for Scheme arising out of the implementation of PWD Act 1995

Total Tenth Plan Outlay	Total Expenditure of Tenth Plan	Total Allocation of Eleventh Plan	Total Expenditure of Eleventh Plan in 2007/08/09
117.19	43.18	140	46.68

Comparison between X and XI Plan Allocation and Expenditure for Scheme arising out of the implementation of PWD Act 1995

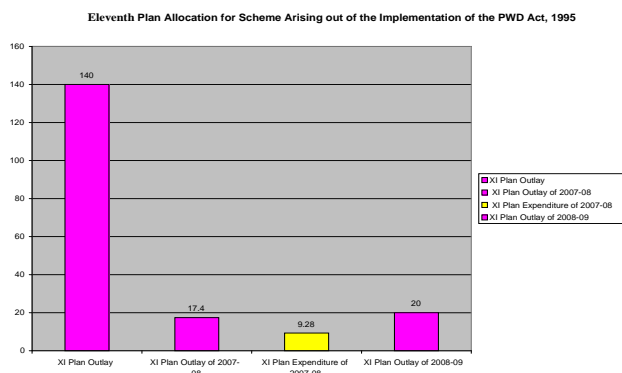


The Tenth Plan mid-term review lamented the fact that the Persons with Disabilities Act was not being implemented properly. This law has been used in all documents of the government as the major policy statement for persons with disabilities since 1995. It is therefore unsettling when a scheme that aims at the implementation of the Act is consistently underutilised. As can be seen, the Tenth Plan utilisation of the scheme was less than 50% of the allocation. In the Eleventh Plan the allocation for the scheme has risen, the expenditures continue to be low.

Table Eleventh Plan Allocation for Scheme Arising out of the Implementation of the PWD Act, 1995

Total Eleventh Plan Allocation	Eleventh Plan Allocation of 2007-08	Eleventh Plan Expenditure of 2007-08	Eleventh Plan Allocation of 2008-09
140	17.4	9.28	20

Eleventh Plan Allocation for Scheme Arising out of the Implementation of the PWD Act, 1995



It is clear that the MSJE in its disability specific programming is unable to reach out to the large numbers of persons with disabilities in the country. The adequacy of the targeting and the designing of the schemes through which this Ministry works, needs to be questioned. In fact our very performance in the Tenth Plan could have alerted us to rethink the schemes that seem to be consistently under utilised.

Of the other major commitments made in the Eleventh Plan, we do not see, as yet, any mention of the National Institute of Universal Design or the Centre for Sign Language Research and Training. These would be extremely important initiatives would give a much needed push to these very important areas.

The other significant promises in the Eleventh Plan include the setting up of disability units in the University Grants Commission (UGC), All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE), National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), *Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan* (KVS), and all other apex education bodies.

Such important commitments need to be fulfilled within the Eleventh Plan period. At present, except for the NCERT, which has had a specific department we see no evidence of such units in other apex bodies. These will enhance the inclusiveness of education in our country.

With the gradual change in thinking about disability and with the government having openly endorsed and acknowledged the change by ratifying the UN Convention on The Rights of Persons with Disabilities, there is an urgent need to rethink our policies and schemes and services.

A focus on inclusion requires both disability specific programmes as well as inclusion of disability related concerns in all areas of development. The issue of governance is equally important. The Government of India seems to be unsure of its position on disability. While we are one of the first countries in the world to ratify a UN Convention, issues of implementation of this Convention need a lot of attention. The Convention requires there be a focal point in the government for monitoring and implementation and this needs to be done in the Eleventh Plan period. Within this period India is committed to submit its first country report to the international committee. We have still not upgraded the 'Disability Division' of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment into a separate department, as per the commitment of the Eleventh Plan. This commitment was given so that the department "can liaise effectively with all the other concerned Ministries/ Departments to fulfill its responsibilities towards the disabled".

Even this commitment needs to be revisited in the light of the requirements of the new convention for the creation of a focal point for implementation. Clearly, the whole structure of governance for disability affairs needs to be re-visited. Unless this is done soon, it is unlikely that we are going to see any dramatic changes in the status of children and persons with disabilities in the country.

However the government has already started, and nearly completed the process of the amendments to the major law for Persons with Disabilities, the Persons with Disabilities, Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full participation Act 1995. The proposed amendments are already on the website of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. However, civil society and people with disabilities have critiqued the draft for not encapsulating the paradigm shift that the UN Convention so clearly reflects.

Such a paradigm shift requires deep seated change in structures, programs and policies.

There is an urgent need to reexamine the role of this Ministry vis a vis the person with disabilities. The purpose and vision of the work of this Ministry with regard to persons with disabilities needs to be rethought.

Disability is a Cross Cutting Issue: The Importance of Convergence

Commitments made in the Eleventh Five Year Plan

The absolute necessity of convergence with other ministries cannot be underlined enough. It is the only way inclusion can happen. It is also a commitment that our country has made even before signing the UNCRPD. Despite the fact that this commitment was initially made in the Tenth Five Year Plan and carried over to the Eleventh Plan, we still see more rhetoric than actual implementation and budgeting. According to the Eleventh Plan document

“In the Eleventh Plan, a firm four-pronged approach is necessary to:

- (i) delineate clear-cut responsibilities between the concerned ministries/departments;
- (ii) concerned ministries/departments to formulate detailed rules and guidelines within six months of approval of the Eleventh Plan;
- (iii) ensure that each concerned ministry/department shall reserve not less than 3% of their annual outlay for the benefit of disabled persons as enjoined in the Persons with Disabilities Act, 1995;
- (iv) set up monitoring mechanisms at various levels and develop a review system so that its progress can be monitored on a regular and continuing basis.”

A look at the commitments made by some ministries

We look first at the Ministry of Women and Child Development and ask

1. Does the Plan document talk about the integration of concerns of women and children with disabilities?
2. Do any major schemes of this Ministry specifically include children and women with disabilities?
3. Is there any reporting with specific regard to children and women with disabilities?
4. Is there any specific budgeting for children and women with disabilities?

The Eleventh Plan document, chapter on “Towards Women’s Agency and Child Rights” starts with describing the essence of the approach for women and children. It recognises the “differential needs of different groups of women and children.” It also recognises the need for inter-sectoral convergence as well as focused women and child specific measures. It makes a strong commitment to women with disabilities and really none to the child with disabilities.

For women with disabilities it promises that,

The RCH program will pay attention to the reproductive health needs of women with disabilities. Violation of their reproductive health rights through forced sterilisation, contraception and abortion specially in institutions will be dealt with severely.” “In the Eleventh Plan women with disabilities will be specifically included in gender equity programs, both as beneficiaries and as project workers. (6.61)

However, the question we ask is how is this being implemented? What kind of protection measures have been put in place for women with disabilities living in institutions or otherwise so that their reproductive rights are not violated?

Do any of the schemes of the Ministry of Women and Child Empowerment include any measures for women with disabilities? Do any of them report figures on the number of women with disabilities who are beneficiaries of the scheme or project workers in the scheme?

A look at the annual reports of the Ministry for the years 2007-08 shows no acknowledgement of the above.

The Disabled Child: In No Man's Land!

For children with disabilities this chapter makes no real commitments. Instead, it clearly absolves itself of any commitment. It says:

Ministries of Social Justice and Empowerment and Health and family Welfare deal with the subject of disability. Yet it is critical to see disability as a child protection issue as well.

Ensuring access to education health or nutrition for children with disabilities is an formidable task. The plan will ensure among other things, provision of ramps in schools, development of disabled friendly curricula and training and sensitisation of teachers.

A look at the annual report of the Ministry of Women and Child Development (2007-8) shows very little mention of the child with disabilities. Even amongst the vulnerable groups, there is very little mention of the child with disabilities.

Child Budgeting

Child rights activists have in recent times successfully advocated for child budgeting in the planning process. Even though the annual report of the Ministry of Women and Child development (2007-8) talks about an increase in the quantum of child budgeting (**from 4.86 % in 2006-07 to 5.08 % in 2007-08**) in India and this increase will surely reflect on the child with disabilities, the lack of any kind of targeted strategies for vulnerable children like children with disabilities in the programs of this Ministry is clearly apparent and disappointing.

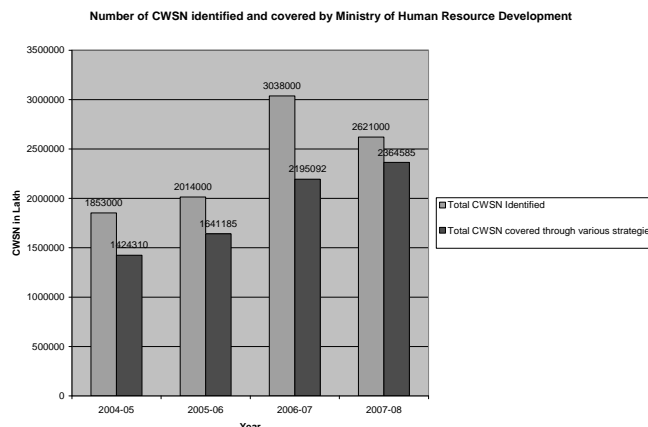
Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS), the only programme for early childhood development in the country, has no analysis of the participation of the child with disabilities in it. Our contention here is that unless there are specific strategies put in place for children who are vulnerable, just more of the same (hike in ICDS budgets)is unlikely to result in larger participation of the vulnerable child.

In-fact, it seems the Ministry of Women and Child Development does not take responsibility for the child with disabilities. The Ministry Of Social justice and Empowerment on the other hand, does not report separately for the child with disabilities. We have therefore very little understanding of where this child is in the whole fabric of planning for children.

The Ministry of Human Resource Development

The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), the flagship programme of the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) has the education of the child with disabilities as a monitorable goal.

Education



Although we see many contradictions in the commitment made by this Ministry to the child with disability, it still understands how the child with disabilities is being included in education. On the positive side the ministry has taken distinct responsibility for the education of the child with disabilities.

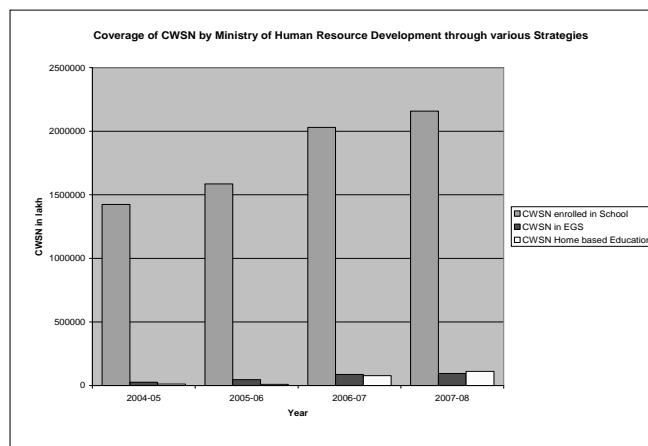
But ideologically the commitment is still an uneasy one. This Ministry still does not take responsibility for the education of all children with disabilities. Despite commitments in the 2006 policy for persons with disabilities, and strong demands by the working groups on disability for the Eleventh Plan that the responsibility of the education of all children with disabilities is with the ministry of MHRD, the special schools continue to run under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. Despite the no rejection policy for all children with disabilities in the education system, the Eleventh Plan document, chapter on education only talks about a focus on children who are **“physically challenged.”**

Both the sections on primary education (“Special Interventions for the Disadvantaged Groups” sec 1.1.54), and the sections on secondary education (Section 1.3.25 “Inclusive Education”) talk about higher allocations, and capacity building are promised for certain groups of children. Among the children with disabilities **only children who are physically challenged are mentioned.**

Children and people with other disabilities (intellectual disability, autism, cerebral palsy, mental illness are often nowhere in the picture. A look at all the schemes for higher education also only focuses on students who are physically challenged. In fact, the right to education for many of these students has got watered down with provisions for non formal and home based education as legitimate avenues of education for students with disabilities.

Ministry of Human Resource Development

Year	Children With Special Needs (CWSN) enrolled in School (In Lakh)	Children With Special Needs (CWSN) in Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) (In Lakh)	Children With Special Needs (CWSN) Home based Education (In Lakh)
2004-05	1424310	26,040	12,014
2005-06	1585000	46591	9594
2006-07	2030000	88009	77083
2007-08	2158000	94987	111598



Although the numbers are not large, our worry is such non formal provisions are now legitimate and are slowly increasing rather than decreasing in the Eleventh Plan period. The recent advocacy for the inclusion of children with disabilities in the Right to Education Act 2009 once again shows the uneasy commitment of this Ministry to children with disabilities. When the Right to Education Act was passed, children with disabilities had been deleted from vulnerable categories. It was only after very strong advocacy from the disability sector countrywide, there were promises of amendments.

What is significant therefore is the absolute lack of specific commitment made in other flagship programmes of the government, such as the ICDS, the NRHM of the Health Ministry and others. If one flagship programme of our government sees the inclusion of the child with disabilities as a monitorable goal, why do the other flagship programmes ignore this person? These are matters to be deliberated at the level of policy.

There is an urgent need for a re-look at disability concerns across all areas of development. We should have specific strategies for children and people with disabilities in our country in all areas of development.

Context

Children continue to be among the most vulnerable section of Indian society with their rights to survival, protection, participation and development being cause for concern in the country. India is home to the largest population of children in the world¹⁵. It is also home to the largest number of children living in poverty anywhere in the world¹⁶. In addition to the staggering scale, deeply entrenched discrimination based on gender, caste and culture makes the challenge of ending child poverty more formidable.

Significant numbers of the country's child population continue to remain deprived of their rights, many chronically denied multiple rights all the time. For other children, disadvantage is transient. Children face such disadvantages when they do not have access to one or other of the basic rights of protection, participation, nutrition, education, healthcare, safe water, and healthy environment.

The causes and consequences of child poverty are distinct for those living in rural villages and those living or migrating to urban slums. In addition, the rapid changes in India's economy are affecting these contexts differently – providing opportunities *and* disadvantages to children. Children living in rural and remote areas are likely to have higher infant, child and maternal mortality rates, poorer nutrition, access to healthcare and other services. Urban areas present other specific challenges for those in poverty and these impact children's rights in different ways. The urban poor child lives in cramped, unhygienic environments, without a secure home, and faces risk to violence and exploitation.

- ♦ 1 million new born die during their first month of life
- ♦ 1 million die between 29 days and 5 years
- ♦ 55 million children under five are underweight for their age
- ♦ In excess of 20 million children in the primary school age are not attending school
- ♦ India is home to 25 million of the world's child brides and 29 million child labors
- ♦ Sex Ratio is 927 girls for every 1000 boys

(Data Sources - State of the World's Children, UNICEF, 2009, Report Card on Child Protection, UNICEF, 2009, Census 2001, MHRD data)

Whatever the life circumstances, the girl child faces greater disadvantage. Gender discrimination and preference for the male child have resulted in female foeticide and infanticide. Early marriage and motherhood affects the health of adolescent girls and denies them opportunities in life. Disabled girls, those combating poverty and or social exclusion will find themselves doubly or multiply disadvantaged both by their gender and the social situations that they find themselves in.

It needs to be reiterated that all children regardless of their economic or social situation are vulnerable to exploitation and abuse and therefore violation of children's rights and needs must not be seen as confined to only some groups but as an issue concerning all children and in the context of the social, political and economic situation in the country.

There are wide variations regarding the definition of a child in India. Different laws continue to define the child differently. This confusion not only hampers the collection of data but also makes addressing the problems facing children complex, legally as well as programmatically. Not given a voice, children's participation in decisions that affect their lives is neither internalised nor incorporated in any formal structure.

¹⁵ The child population in India is 19% of the world's child population. See UNICEF, 2009.

¹⁶ India has one third of the world's poor. See DFID, 2009

The challenges in realising child rights are complex and despite ratifying international conventions, having national policies, well intentioned and extremely forward looking statements of intent and investing substantially (though still not adequately in some sectors like education), the State-the primary duty bearer has so far been unsuccessful in making significant and visible improvements in the lives of a majority of the country's child population.

Does the policy framework recognize 'rights' or 'entitlements'?

The Eleventh Five Year Plan (EFYP) chapter '*Towards Women's Agency and Child Rights*' recognises the rights of women and children and sees them as agents of change rather than passive recipients. It also recognises the indivisibility and interdependence of rights highlighting the need for successful integration of the core rights of survival, development, protection and participation for accomplishing all aspects of a child's well being. The Plan document highlights the multifaceted challenges faced by women and children and acknowledges the necessity to provide targeted and context based interventions to address different needs thus recognizing multiple discriminations and the heterogeneity among and within groups.

For the first time child protection has been highlighted as a major area of intervention and the Plan document makes reference to creating both a preventive and a protective environment that "will ensure every child's right to survival, participation and development". The EFYP has also made mention of specific groups of children who are vulnerable to exclusion from services due to social and situational reasons.

The Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) has been identified as the nodal agency for carrying out the initiatives for women and children. While proposing to continue with specific child centred schemes from the Tenth Plan, there is also a commitment to supporting some new initiatives. The EFYP emphasises the need for intersectoral convergence as components of the description of interventions are still outside the ambit of this Ministry

Commitments Made in the EFYP

Interventions and measures for children are not confined to the Chapter on '*Towards Women's Agency and Child Rights*'. Children's rights to survival and development are also catered to under the chapters on Health and Education as well as water and sanitation and food and nutrition. It also needs to be recognised that any interventions involved in alleviating poverty, housing or any other development will have an impact on the child's well being as well. These areas are covered in separate sections in the Plan document and as such schemes under them for children have been appraised in greater details separately.

Through the Chapter on Women's Agency and Child Rights, the Eleventh Plan commits to:

- Developing specific interventions to address malnutrition, neonatal and infant mortality including focused interventions for the girl child
- Creating child friendly protective services focusing on both the protective and preventive aspects
- Reviewing all legal provisions for children and undertaking necessary amendments based on international commitments and ensuring effective implementation of laws and policies by personnel trained to work with children

Monitorable indicators *

- i) Raise sex ratio for age group 0-6 from 927 in 2001 to 935 by 2011-12
- ii) Ensure that at least 33% of the direct and indirect beneficiaries of all government schemes are women and girl children
- iii) Reduce infant mortality rate (IMR) from 57 to 28 and Maternal mortality ratio from 3.01 to 1 per 1000 live births
- iv) Reduce malnutrition among children of age group 0-3 years to half its present level
- v) Reduce drop out rates for primary and secondary schooling by 10% for both girls as well as boys

Note: These indicators are common for all child related programmes across sectors.

- Establishing child impact as a core indicator of Eleventh Plan interventions with special emphasis on the status of the girl child
- Ensuring institutional care to those children who need them
- Devolution of powers and resources to the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) and involving communities, civil society organisations and urban local bodies in implementing, monitoring and providing them with technical and administrative support
- Strengthening capacities of families and communities, police, judiciary, teachers, PRI representatives, bureaucrats and other implementation personnel who deal directly with children
- Recognising child budgeting as an important policy analysis tool to take stock of development investments for children and identify gaps in resource investment and utilization

Measures/Initiatives Envisaged in the EFYP for Achieving the Goals

- *Promoting Inter-Sectoral and Inter-Ministerial Action* that will include monitoring exclusion/ disparity in access by groups and communities, availability of gender disaggregated child data, enforcement of law and guidelines for protection and development of children, integration of children's participation in policies and programmes, and specific provision for the girl child.
- *The restructuring of the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS)*: The EFYP proposed the restructuring in Mission mode of the ICDS, the Ministry of Women and Child Development's flagship scheme catering to the needs of children in the 0-6 years. It talks of increased community involvement for better functioning of the scheme, setting block or district level specific objectives and targets, widening the target group to check malnutrition in children under the age of three years, ensuring early childhood education for the 3-6 year group and increasing resources to not just expand coverage but also ensure availability of adequate infrastructure. Universalisation with quality is the aim for this scheme. The Anganwadi centres and ICDS facilities are expected to be initiated in the special districts identified by the Ministry of Minority Affairs and some pilot ICDS centres are expected to be set up for street children.
- *Launching of the Integrated Child Protection Scheme (ICPS)*: Provision of Child protection has been seen to be an important initiative in the EFYP. Child protection refers to protection from violence, exploitation, abuse and neglect. The Integrated Child Protection Scheme will be an umbrella scheme that will merge existing schemes for protection of children. These include i) An Integrated Scheme for Street Children, ii) A programme for Juvenile Justice iii) Scheme for Assistance for Homes iv) Central Adoption Resource Agency (CARA)
- *Changes in the Rajiv Gandhi National Creche Scheme*: This includes widening eligibility criteria, monitoring results through output and outcome indicators, upgrading infrastructure and materials, regular training of crèche workers etc.
- *New Pilot initiatives like the Pilot Scheme on Conditional Cash Transfer for Girl Child with insurance cover*: This is a pilot scheme in selected backward districts of the country wherein conditional cash will be provided to the family of the girl child (preferably the mother) on fulfilling certain conditionalities for the girl child, such as birth registration; immunisation; enrolment retention in school; and delaying the marriage age beyond 18 years. The scheme will also include a sub-component for providing insurance cover to the girl child
- *Comprehensive Scheme for Prevention of Trafficking, Rescue and rehabilitation and reintegration of victims of trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation* based on pilots projects initiated during the tenth plan is also expected to take off during the current Plan period.

Assessing the Performance of the EFYP

Recent legislative actions on child rights issues include The Commission for the Protection of Child Rights Act 2005, the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children), Act, 2006, the proposed Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Amendment Bill 2006 and the Child Marriage Act. The MWCD's National Plan of Action 2005 also provides a framework for action.

The focus of the chapter on Child Rights is primarily on early childhood care and development and the protection of vulnerable groups of children that come under the MWCD. As regards the scope of interventions, the chapter limits itself to either children below the age of 0-6 years and groups that are especially disadvantaged. Health, nutrition and education rights find more detailed elucidation in other chapters, a throwback to earlier plans which also use the sectoral approach.

There has been much public discourse on the performance of the ICDS scheme over many plan reviews. It is too early to talk of the impact of the new structure or initiatives of the ICDS proposed in the EFYP. The MWCD has yet to set out its plan for addressing nutritional needs for the under 3 years as indicated in the Plan document but it is difficult to understand how the current structure of the ICDS will be able to take on this component. While the construction of the Anganwadi Centres (AWC) in the 90 identified districts by the Ministry of Minority Affairs have been sanctioned, these have yet to be constructed. The Eleventh Plan proposed the setting up of walk in ICDS centres at railway stations and bus stands for street children to offer food, health care and identity cards. These have yet to be initiated.

Surveys by NGOs continue to indicate that though communities and children are being reached by the Anganwadi centres (AWC) these centres are predominantly ill equipped and services not always adequate. In a survey on the status of young children in North Eastern states (Forum for Creche and Child Care Services, n.d), it was found that most of the AWCs did not have weighing scales, or other material. In Uttarakhand among the 73 percent of children under age six who are in areas covered by an anganwadi centre, only 32 percent receive services of some kind from a ICDS centre. The most common services children under age six receive are supplementary food (28%), immunisation (14%), and health check-ups (10%). Only one-fifth of children ages 3-5 years receive early childhood care or preschool education. Only 13 percent of children ages 0-59 months in areas served by an anganwadi centre have had their weight measured in an AWC (NFHS Uttarakhand Report).

Thirty five years after being introduced and being seen as a flagship programme the ICDS continues to remain a Plan scheme rather than a sustained intervention by the government (CBGA, 2009). The dates for universalisation of the ICDS as directed by the Supreme Court Order of 2006, have been postponed to 2012.

The ICPS scheme has yet to take off. Most state governments and officials are yet to familiarise themselves with the scheme. While some states have come up with plans, the need to set up different structures indicate that at least in this Plan period, the implementation and impact will be limited.

Not much information is available on the Conditional cash transfer scheme for the girl child but it would be relevant at this time for the Ministry to ensure monitoring of the scheme especially in relation to the conditionalities.

Intersectoral convergence: The Plan document talks about setting up of a High powered Coordination group to oversee this convergence. So far this group which includes civil society representatives seems to have met up only twice.

The voicelessness of children finds mention in the overview section of the EFYP on the status of children saying "In spite of legislations in the past, children have no right to be heard in either administrative or judicial processes. This limits their access to information and to choice, and often to the possibility of seeking help outside their immediate circle". Disappointingly but not surprisingly following this, the document remains silent on how it hopes to ensure children's participation in decisions that affect them.

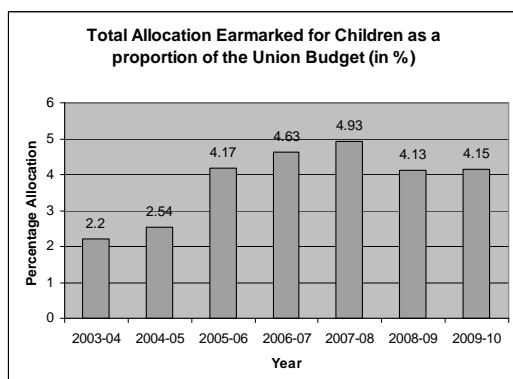
Allocation of Resources¹⁷

The National Policy for Children, 1974, declared children to be a “supreme national asset”. It pledged measures to secure and safeguard all their needs, making wise use of available national resources. Unfortunately, eleven successive Five-Year Plans of the government have not allocated adequate resources. That the country earmarks only 4.15% (CBGA, 2009) of its budget for 41% of the country’s population¹⁸ is indicative of the low priority given to children. It is no wonder that the outcome indicators for children, captured by various rounds of government data (NFHS, SRS, NSSO, Census of India) highlight the disadvantaged status of our children.

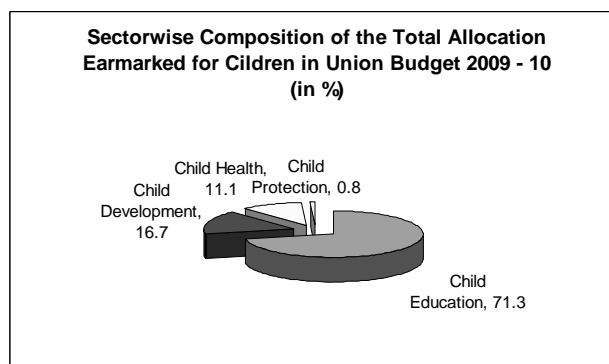
Since 2005, the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) has undertaken a Child Budgeting exercise. It has identified the following ministries as having child specific schemes - Women and Child Development, Human Resource Development, Health and Family Welfare, Labour and Employment, Social Justice and Empowerment, Tribal Affairs, Minority Affairs and Youth Affairs and Sports.

The Ministry documents that the last three Union Budgets, saw outlays for some of the important social sector schemes, e.g. *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan*, Mid Day Meal and ICDS, which directly benefit children, have been increased. Union Budget outlays have also been increased for several other programmes/schemes (e.g. National Rural Health Mission, Total Sanitation Campaign, and Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme), which benefit children as well as others.

The exercise also highlights that the “Union budget continues to not pay adequate attention to the persisting deficits with regards to the development and protection of children”. The total allocation earmarked for child specific programmes increased in 2009-10 (BE) by 5193 crores over 2008-09 (RE) out of which Rs. 3514 crores is in the child education sector. While the budget for the education sector has seen an increase, it has still not been allocated the budget that is in consonance with the amount collected through the education cess.



Budget 2009-10



Source: CBGA, 2009. Response to the GOI

However outlays may not necessarily translate into budget allocation in the Annual Budgets. A look at the two significant schemes under the MWCD highlights this.

While budget allocation for restructuring ICDS in the Eleventh Plan is Rs. 44,400 crore (Economic Survey 2009), i.e. an annual budget of around Rs. 8480 crores. However, the budget allocated for ICDS in 2007-08 was Rs.4759 crores, in 2008-09 Rs. Rs.5665 crores and in 2009-10 Rs.6026 crores.

Similarly, the outlay for the Integrated Child Protection Scheme for the Plan period was to have been 1000 crores, despite a Ministry request for Rs 4000 crores. The ICPS has yet to take off but the allocations for the scheme has been brought down from Rs. 180 crores in 2008-09 (BE) to only Rs 60 crore in 2009-10. That

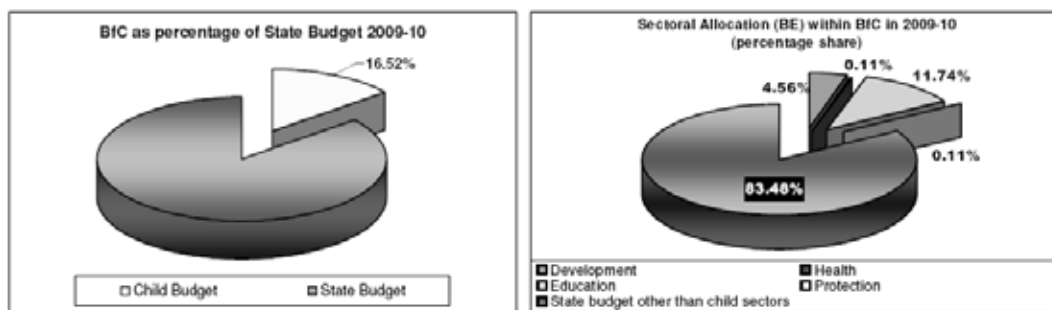
¹⁷ Information on budget allocations and inferences have been drawn from two primary sources- Ministry of Women and Child Development document on Child Budgeting and the CBGA budget exercises.

¹⁸ Children under the age of 18 year.

the original outlay is in itself inadequate has been highlighted by HAQ, a child rights organization which has estimated that the cost of just one day's expenditure to have all Child Welfare Committees (CWC) and Juvenile Justice Boards (JJB) members in place is Rs. 213800 per day without administrative and infrastructure costs!(HAQ, 2009).

Allocations for schemes addressing the problem of child workers have decreased (viz the National Child labour Project and Indus Project have reduced from Rs. 156 crores in 2008-09 (BE) to only 90 crores in 2009-10(BE)

Allocation of state budget follows similar pattern. A look at the state budget for Uttar Pradesh shows an allocation for child specific programmes and schemes is 16.52, the sectoral allotment indicates that Child protection slice is 0.11%.



Uttar Pradesh – Budget allocation.

What is of even more concern is that budgets allocated for children are not effectively utilised - the government's Education for all (SSA) programmes in 2008-09 utilised only 70% of the total allocation, even though education is a major issue (GoI, 2009).

Capacity and Functioning of Relevant Institutions

The performance of schemes does not depend only on the financial outlay but also in the capacity and functioning of relevant institutions. The ICPS scheme merges into it the different schemes for protection of children. The Child Welfare Commissions and the Juvenile Justice set ups are supposed to assist the institutions that will help in the monitoring and implementation of the scheme. However the institutions themselves are missing or inadequate in most states. Of the 70 districts of Uttar Pradesh, only 17 have JJBs. For the 23 districts in Assam, 2 JJBs and 23 CWCs have been notified. Redressal takes an unacceptably long time - 42.9 per cent juveniles await trials (HAQ, 2008)

The Commission for Protection of Child Rights Act 2005 provides for setting up of National and State Commissions for the Protection of Child Rights to monitor the child rights situation in the country. However State Commissions for Protection of Child Rights have only so far been constituted in Delhi, Goa, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Sikkim.

Indication on how systemic issues like availability of staff, adequacy of infrastructure (identified in the Working Group documents on Children for the Eleventh Plan) will be addressed, is unavailable. Meanwhile mechanisms for monitoring the access to child rights are still being put in place.

Report from the Field: Listening to Children

In 2007, children belonging to Umang, a children's group in Uttarakhand carried out a survey covering 142 villages in the thirteen districts that make up the state. They made observations on three issues concerning children's rights –the status of birth registration, primary education and discrimination. The children behind

this report belong to very remote mountainous regions, typical rural mountain communities, towns and cities. The observations made by the children are a reflection of the status on ground in many states and therefore worth noting. Some of their observations are given below (*As We See it*, 2009)

On Birth registration:

In our block there are 86 Gram Pradhans, 12 ANMs, 50 Ashas, 19 Village Development Officers and 54 Anganvadi Kendras. Despite this we found that most parents and guardians were either unaware of the issue of birth registration or didn't think it necessary. Some only had them made as and when they needed them. Out of the 446 children in the ten schools we surveyed only 3 had birth certificates.

Tehri Reporting

On school construction:

We found that the primary school Chilmurb broke down before construction could be completed! So imagine if you can 41 children of different ages and classes, all studying different courses sitting close to each other, in one room!

We also found that in Uttarkashi district which is in zone 6 of the earthquake zone no schools have been built with earthquake resistant material and construction techniques. In the light of the recent earthquake in China where 9000 school children lost their lives this is unacceptable.

Children's team from Uttarkashi

On inclusion of disabled children in schools

found ten disabled children in the in ten schools surveyed. All these children were mostly ignored by the teachers who said they can't teach them because they don't understand anything.

Children's team from Nanital

found twenty disabled children in the ten schools they surveyed. The Block Education Officer said that all schools had been provided with ramps and railings for disabled children, but during the survey they didn't observe even one instance where this was the case.

The Haridwar Team

On school infrastructure

Toilets have been provided but due to an acute shortage of water they are hardly used by the children. Teachers from around the state have routinely informed our teams they cannot let the children use the toilets as they dirty them so the very children for whom the toilets are built are unable to use them

On discrimination:

During our survey on the problem of casteism in schools we found that according to all the teachers we spoke to there was no casteism and all the children were treated equally. But in almost all the schools the children had the opposite to say.

Children say – “because we belong to the lower caste we are made to sit separately to eat.”

45 year old Bhavani Devi of Nirayi village of Almora told the team that her children were made to sit separately while the midday meal was served, “it is a centuries old tradition” she says, “what can we do about it?”

In one primary school the teacher said that sixteen children didn’t eat the midday meal because the bhojan mata was from the scheduled caste. In one startling case highlighting how rigid the caste system is in the state we found that in the Khamari primary school in Nainital District, the upper caste children are discriminated against. They are made to sit at the back of the class and those from the Dalit groups made to sit in front because the teacher herself belongs to the scheduled caste.

Dehradun team

In the District of Bikaner, young children undertook a survey of Anganwadi centres; They highlighted issues of discrimination, lack of infrastructure, material and absence of the Anganwadi worker.¹⁹



A photograph taken by children of a classroom in Uttarkashi

Reaching the last child: Is the EFYP addressing the issues of social exclusion adequately?

Social exclusion continues to remain a principle cause for children’s inability to access their rights. Various studies (see Mander and Kumaran, 2008; PROBE, 1998; GoI, 2007a; 2007b) have indicated that class, caste, gender and ethnicity are the primary bases for exclusion and deprivation of children from their entitlements. A survey of the Mid-day meal scheme observed that dalit children in 306 villages across Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh face discrimination in school when it came to serving of midday meals (Thorat and Lee, 2006). Children from dalit and adivasi communities are also at greater risk of dying than other children

¹⁹ Me ri Anganwadi

The chapter on Women and Child Rights identifies vulnerable groups of children and highlights their needs –however it seems to focus more on the summation of what needs to be done rather than how these violations of rights will be addressed through the Plan. The ICPS in its current structure appears to be primarily catering to only those children who fall through the safety net (the governments own term) when they come in conflict with the law or are placed in particularly vulnerable situations. Interventions for children with disabilities, children affected by HIV and AIDS, children who are orphaned continue to be inadequate and piecemeal

Not only is exclusion reflected in the lack of access to services but also in the quality of services. The definition of adequate services itself is different. The “something is better than nothing” mantra means a two rupee meal provided by one of the largest child programmes in the world to combat malnutrition, para teachers to teach them in alternate settings, home based education for the multiply disabled child who is anyway confined in his home deprived of any socialization or peer interaction (*Measuring Progress for Children 2002-2009*, n.d.).

The attempts to reduce the gender gap need to be intensified .Despite amendments to the Pre natal Diagnostic Act [PNDT Act 1994 (the amendment Act came into force in January 2003)], “no significant impact of the Act has been felt at the grassroots level because of the difficulties associated with the implementation of the Act.”²⁰ NFHS -3 puts the national sex ratio at 918 girls to 100 boys, a figure lower than the 921 girls to 100 boys seen in the census 2001. There are no indications that this ratio will rise in the next census.

.....In July 2008, Government of India team went on a random inspection to see whether the said act was being implemented in the state effectively or not. The general observation made by the committee was that “the act was being rampantly violated in UP”. Lauding certain efforts to check violation of the act in the recent past, the team went a step further and concluded: “Nabbing diagnostic or ultrasound centres violating provisions under pre-conception and pre-natal diagnostics techniques (prohibition of sex selection) (PCPNDT) Act is not enough. The state desperately needs disposal of pending cases and book the wrong-doers so as to create fear among the fraternity.”
- Quoted in *Child Rights Situation Analysis –Plan India 2009*

Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

At the outset it is necessary to mention that the achievement of the rights of children is more than the sum of the achievements of government schemes. Schemes for children may be divided across ministries but the indivisibility and interdependence of rights requires a holistic and inclusive approach. The measurement of rights achievements must be through the lens of inclusion, non discrimination and the best interests of children. There is a need to consciously look at this group that comprises 41% of the population in all its diversity and develop inclusive plans for the survival, development, protection and participation of all children. A cohesive and convergent approach to planning is called for.

Documents reflecting the status of children from the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) have been very honest and comprehensive in identifying the gaps and violations. There were several recommendations made by the ‘Working Group on the Development of Children in the Eleventh Plan.’ This is also reflected in the Planning Commissions document. The recommendations of these documents stand. The Planning Commission and the MWCD would do well to revisit these as they look to appraising the Plan performance.

The confusions regarding the definition of the child needs to be cleared and a single age must be set out. Disaggregated data and statistics on children at the national and sub national level remains a concern and a challenge. The diverse aspects of different stages of development of children call for separate focus on the issues relating to statistics on children.

²⁰ Conclusions drawn at The All India Conference of State Secretaries - Health and Women and Child Development, DGPs and NGOs on implementation of the PNDT Act. This conference was convened at the Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi on 11th August, 2005, by the National Commission for Women.

The situation of children's health remains a concern. It looks highly unlikely that the current health initiatives will lead to the achievement of the monitorable indicators for health set by the EFYP. Full vaccination coverage has still to reach more than half the identified population²¹. And malnutrition among children less than 3 years has already been identified as matter of "National Shame" by none other than the Prime Minister of the country. There is a need to prioritise interventions in this particular area through a concerted effort on the part of the Ministry of Women and Child Development, Ministry of Health among others. The health needs of children in the age group 6-18 years largely ignored also needs attention and interventions.

There must be a sustained and concentrated effort to prevent violence against children in all environments especially government institutions like schools and institutional care homes. The recent Supreme Court order to the union and state governments of India to establish JJB, CWC, Special Juvenile Police Unit (SJPU) in all districts and police stations within a short time frame is a welcome move. The Integrated Child Protection Services has to be fast-tracked. There must be a review of the requirement of trained personnel with an understanding of the special needs of children and of special groups of children. Gaps in investments in such training should be analysed and addressed.

The survival and development of the girl child must continue to remain a focus with sustained and intensive campaigns, investments and initiatives accompanying the policy and plan statements.

The Ministry of Women and Child Development's approach paper cited - "systematic identification across the entire GOI budget is a prerequisite for accurately determining the quantum of resources that is now available for children and what is more important for quantifying the additions that need to be invested over the years in order to reach the set goals for the child" (Working Group on Development of Children for the Eleventh Five). The Ministry needs to ensure that it takes the analysis of child budget across every ministry beyond the child specific schemes in order to make recommendations for the next plan. Inter-ministerial convergence as envisaged in the EFYP must be ensured over the next two years.

Children must not always be seen as "victims" of circumstances. The inborn resilience of children even in the most difficult of situations must be built on. Their participation and involvement in decisions that affect them must get more emphasis and opportunities and spaces must be provided through a concerted plan of action at every level.

A document put out by the Ministry of Women and Child Development mentioned that given its low level of achievements on accepted national goals for survival, development and protection of children, if all child rights indicators were to become a critical measure for the Human Development Index (HDI), the world's tenth largest economy would fare even worse than its current rank of 127.²² We need to move now from intention to action to ensure that the commitments made to and for children are met.

The situation data clearly indicates that the benefits of government laws, policies and schemes are not reaching the most marginalized groups of children who continue to be deprived of their rights and entitlements and excluded from the developmental processes. Many do not survive the denials, but those who do, live with abuse and exploitation, malnutrition, ill-health, poor hygiene, disability and being out of school. Child vulnerability is a matter of deep concern for all, but a comprehensive solution to overcome it is yet not at sight. **Reaching the last child must now be first on the agenda of the Government of India.**

²¹ NFHS-3 data indicates that only 44% have received full vaccination

²² Inference drawn in the document by the Working Group on Development of Children for the Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012)

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Rama Kant Rai,
National Coalition for Education New Delhi

The Government of India (GoI) regards education as the basic element for overall development of its citizens. In fact, the GoI, in principle recognised the importance of elementary education and made a resolve in the Constitution of India in 1950, much before the formulation of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) resolutions and the World Bank, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The Indian Constitution states that, 'the state shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years (Article 45).'

Over the years India has also become a signatory to a number of international Covenants (like the Jomtien Declaration, UNCRC, MDG goals, Dakar declaration SAARC SDG charter for children), thereby reinforcing its commitment to making education a reality for all children.

Sixty years after the Constitution of India came into force, the commitment to provide education to all, remains unfulfilled. While India is home to 22 per cent of the world's population, it accounts for 46 per cent of the world's illiterates. Almost one fourth of the world's total child labour force, and a very high proportion of the world's out of school children and youth are in India. A large proportion of India's below 18,²³ population suffers from the worst forms of deprivation and exclusion and are victims of various forms of exploitation and abuse.

Education in the Eleventh Plan

The Approach Paper to Eleventh Five Year Plan states that education is the most critical element in empowering people. Education provides people with skills and knowledge, thereby enabling them to access productive employment in the future. All children should be able to get as much education as they are capable of getting irrespective of their parents' ability to pay. Further, the approach paper states that development of children is at the centre of the Eleventh Plan and the government is committed to ensure that children do not lose their childhood because of work, disease or despair. Children should be given the right start from early childhood until the age of 6 to 8 years. This is the most critical period as foundations for life-long development is laid during this period.

Commitments made in the Eleventh Five Year Plan for Child Education

- Universal enrolment of 6–14 age group children including the hard to reach segment.
- Substantial improvement in quality and standards with the ultimate objective to achieve standards of Kendriya Vidyalayas (KVs) under the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) pattern.
- All gender, social, and regional gaps in enrolments to be eliminated by 2011–12.
- One year pre-school education (PSE) for children entering primary school.
- Dropout at primary level to be eliminated and the dropout rate at the elementary level to be reduced from over 50% to 20% by 2011–12.
- Universalised MDMS at elementary level by 2008–09.
- Universal coverage of ICT at UPS by 2011–12.
- Significant improvement in learning conditions with emphasis on learning basic skills, verbal and quantitative.
- All EGS centres to be converted into regular primary schools.
- All States/UTs to adopt NCERT Quality Monitoring Tools.
- Strengthened BRCs/CRCs: 1 CRC for every 10 schools and 5 resource teachers per block.

²³ Persons below 18 years of age account for 41 percent of India's total population.

The Eleventh Plan acknowledges that education, in its broadest sense, implies the development of youth, i.e. empowering people with skills and knowledge and giving them access to productive employment in future. Improvements in education are not only expected to enhance efficiency but also augment the overall quality of life. It places the highest priority on education as a central instrument for achieving rapid and inclusive growth. It presents a comprehensive strategy for strengthening the education sector covering all segments of the education pyramid.

1. Elementary Education and Literacy

Elementary education, that is, classes I–VIII consisting of primary (I–V) and upper primary (VI–VIII) is the foundation of the pyramid in the education system. This had received a major push in the Tenth Plan through the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), and it continues to remain extremely significant in the Eleventh Plan Period.

SSA was launched by the GOI in 2001. External funding from the European Commission (EC), Department for International Development (DFID) and the World Bank began in 2002 to support the universalisation of elementary education in India, in line with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in education. The SSA covers all states and union territories in the country, reaching out to about 194 million children in formal and informal schools, such as Education Guarantee Scheme Schools, Bridge Classes, and Alternative Education Centers and so on.

The four SSA Goals are as follows:

- Enrollment of all children in school.
- Retention of all children till the upper primary stage by 2010.
- Bridging of gender and social category gaps in enrollment, retention and learning.
- Ensuring significant enhancement in the learning achievement levels of children at the primary and upper primary stages.
- Ensure basic learning conditions in all schools and acquisition of basic skills of literacy and numeracy in early primary grades to lay a strong foundation for higher classes.

While visible progress has been recorded in a number of areas, the progress made is not enough to fully realise the country's goals set within the SSA framework of Implementation. GoI estimates that about 4.5 million children, constituting the 'hardest to reach' category, are still out of school. The bulk of the out of school children are from states like Bihar, UP, West Bengal and Orissa. In some states, dropout rates remain high, student and teacher attendance continues to be low and quality of education is not yet satisfactory –revealed by the low mean achievement scores as indicated in the baseline surveys, for grades 3, 5 and 7, that was conducted by the National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT).

According to Joint Review Mission Report 2008-09 preliminary DISE 2008-09 Statistics show a decline in Government primary school enrolment, from 101.2 million to 97.9 million (this does not include approximately 1.5 million government primary school students in Haryana).

The class wise enrolment data reported in DISE 2008-09, suggest that 2.7 million children drop out of school each year, which would indicate a much higher number of out of school children overall, once the never-enrolled children are included.

1.1.Upper Primary School:

Secondary education: goals, target, and strategies for the Eleventh Plan.

- Raise the minimum level of education to class X and accordingly universalise access to secondary education;

- Ensure good quality secondary education with focus on Science, Mathematics, and English.
- Aim towards major reduction in gender, social, and regional gaps in enrolments, dropouts, and school retention.
- The GER in secondary education is targeted to increase from 52% in 2004–05 to 75% by 2011–12 and the combined secondary and senior secondary GER from 40% to 65% in the same period.

While significant progress has been made at the upper primary level, much remains to be done. In just four years, from 2005-06 to 2008-09, GER and NER have gone up by more than 10 percentage points. There is, of course, huge variation at the State level, with some States (e.g. Tamil Nadu and Himachal Pradesh) reporting upper primary GERs above 100 and others (e.g. Bihar and Uttar Pradesh) reporting upper primary GERs of around 50. The ratio of primary to upper primary schools/sections has steadily improved (i.e. declined), from 2.45 to 1 in 2006-07 to 2.32 to 1 in 2007-08, thus approaching the target of 2 to 1, but some States such as West Bengal, Arunachal Pradesh, Bihar and Sikkim still have ratios above 3 to 1, and 11 States still have ratios over 2.5 to 1.

Furthermore, even taking into account the large numbers of over-age children in primary school (reflected by the primary GER of 113), both the GER and NER for upper primary indicate very large numbers of children are dropping out of school before completing Class 8.

The Joint Review Mission's own calculation of the Primary Completion Rate is 83.6%, while for Upper Primary it is just 47% for 2007-08.

In many respects, the upper primary level remains the unfinished access agenda for SSA and should continue to receive the highest attention. As the system moves towards universal transition from primary to upper primary, there needs to be proportionate numbers of upper primary classrooms per grade as in primary

According to MHRD's latest report on the number of out of school children (2.8 million), slightly less than 50% of these children were never enrolled in school and slightly more than 50% are dropouts. Boys and girls are equally represented among this group of OOSC. 25% of these OOSC are Scheduled Caste children (although they make up 20% of the overall child population 6-14), and this represents 1.7% of all SC children aged 6-14. 20% are Scheduled Tribe children (although they make up 10% of the child population); they account for 2.6% of ST children aged 6-14. 23% are Muslim (although they make up 13% of the population aged 6-14), which represents 2.4% of all Muslim children aged 6-14.

1.2. EGS/AIE Centres: (the target of Eleventh Five Year Plan was that **all EGS centres shall be converted into regular primary schools.**

Though EGS centre have converted in regular primary schools much needs to be done. Some of the EGS centers have declined considerably: from 82,766 in 2002 to 26,548 in 2009. Not all EGA centres have been converted to regular primary schools.

1.3. Enrolment of Children with Special Needs (CWSN): Children with special needs CWSN were identified 2.85 million in 2008-09 (up from 2.4 million in 2006-07), of which 2.3 million (81%) have been enrolled in schools, 91,000 have been enrolled in EGS/AIE centers, and 114,000 are provided home-based education, for a total coverage of 2.5 million (or 88%). The total number of identified CWSN corresponds to about 1.4 percent of the total child population, which remains a bit below the expected figure of around 2 percent.

Also the children were supposed to be enrolled in regular schools not in EGS centre.

2. Infrastructure: Civil works

The Eleventh Plan focuses on the following infrastructure amenities:

- Setting up 6000 high quality Model Schools at block level to serve as benchmark for excellence in secondary schooling.
- Upgrading 15000 existing primary schools to secondary schools.
- Increasing the intake capacity of about 44000 existing secondary schools.
- Strengthening infrastructure in existing schools with 3.43 lakh additional classrooms and additional 5.14 lakh teachers.
- Encouraging establishment of good quality schools in deficient areas in both public and more in PPP mode.
- Expansion of KVs and NVs in underserved areas.
- 100% trained teachers in all schools and reaching PTR of 25:1 by 2011-12.

The cumulative progress of civil works since program inception till 31st March 2009 is summarised as follows:

Table 1 Status of Additional Classrooms

Status of Additional Classrooms State	Additional Classrooms Target	Additional Classrooms Completed	Additional Classrooms Completed %
Andhra Pradesh	44,696	34,335	77%
Bihar	120,620	72,027	60%
Chhattisgarh	22,139	12,213	60%
Goa	227	33	15%
J & K	5,572	4,380	79%
MP	66,200	41,622	63%
Manipur	1,312	886	68%
Meghalaya	2,634	1,691	64%
Nagaland	3,202	2,672	80%
Orissa	36,610	25,986	71%
Uttarakhand	5,885	4,237	72%
Andaman & Nicobar	143	56	39%
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	301	96	32%
Delhi	1,238	1,063	86%

Table 2 Status of Primary Schools

Status of Primary schools State	Primary Schools Target	Primary Schools Completed	Primary Schools Completed %
Arunachal Pradesh	941	806	86%
Bihar	17466	3735	21%
Chhattisgarh	10050	7120	71%
Haryana	902	788	87%
J&K	8204	4075	50%
Jharkhand	17842	14084	79%
Kerala	511	305	60%
Maharashtra	10497	6427	61%

Meghalaya	1495	981	66%
Orissa	7568	4073	54%
Punjab	545	405	74%
Tripura	1094	976	89%
Uttarkhand	2406	1592	66%
West Bengal	4124	3620	88%
Chandigarh	14	7	50%
Dadra Nagar Haveli	58	10	17%
Delhi	10	6	60%

Table 3 Status of Upper Primary Schools

Status of Upper Primary schools State	Upper Primary Schools Target	Upper Primary Schools Completed	Upper Primary Schools Completed %
Bihar	544	474	87%
Haryana	1151	791	69%
J & K	1119	591	53%
Jharkhand	8175	2339	29%
MP	16323	11718	72%
Meghalaya	1261	306	24%
Nagaland	80	57	71%
Tamil Nadu	4644	2707	58%
Uttarakhand	1974	1117	57%
West Bengal	3300	446	14%

A closer analysis of these states reveals that they may have insufficient supervision structure or weak capacity to implement a programme at the scale of SSA. It is important to note here that Student Classroom Ratio (SCR) is also among the highest in some of the following States due to gap in infrastructure (Source DISE 2008-09, Flash Statistics):

Table 4: Student Classroom Ratio State

States	% of schools with SCR > = 60
Assam	21%
Bihar	54%
Chhattisgarh	6%
Jharkhand	23%
Chandigarh	14%
Uttar Pradesh	19%
West Bengal	18%

Nationally, DISE 2008-09, Flash Statistics reports the following gaps:

Table 5: Current Infrastructure Gaps

Drinking water facility	Common toilets	Toilets for Girls	Classrooms (numbers)
12%	34%	47%	601666*

The gap in classroom infrastructure is most acute in the following States:

Table 6: Gaps in Classroom Infrastructure

Table 8: Gaps in Classroom Infrastructure State	Classroom Gap in number*
Andhra Pradesh	37,860
Assam	30,807
Bihar	165,323
Chhattisgarh	27,246
Jharkhand	56,531
Madhya Pradesh	80,204
Uttar Pradesh	97,102

Source: TSG, MHRD, updated till 30th March 2009.

3. Gender Disparities

There are around 89 million girls currently attending elementary schools (64 million in primary and 25 million in upper primary grades) compared to 96 million boys. Girls now constitute 48.4% of primary enrollment and 47.6% of the upper primary enrolments). However girls still constitute half of the out of school children (OOSC) – three percentage points more than their share in the population – is a pointer to the still existing gaps in gender wise provision of education

4. Minorities

The reported share of Muslim children enrolled at the primary level is 11 % and 9% at the upper primary level in 2008-09 (DISE figures) which is lower than their share in the population (13 %). Muslims are over represented in OOSC among whom they constitute 23.4%.

5. Transition Rate from Primary to Upper Primary

Though an overwhelming majority of children are enrolling in primary school and completing a cycle of primary education, many of these children are overage at the time of completion of the cycle. DISE calculates transition rates on the basis of the enrolment in Grade V and gives a figure of 82% for 2007-08 – this is well short of the target value of 87% and is lower than the baseline of 84% set in 2005 . There is also considerable regional variation in the transition rate with Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh causing the most concern; see the figure below. It is important to note that primary and upper primary cycle variation (I-IV and I-V; V-VII and VI-VIII) continues to be a matter of concern, in several States such as West Bengal, Maharashtra, etc.

6. Teachers

Teacher recruitments and deployment

According to SSA figures 9.86 lakh teachers were recruited against a target of 12.27 lakh till March 2009. Consequently, the percentage of schools with greater than 60 dropped from 18% in 2005-06 to 14% in 2007-08. However, the number of single teacher schools is 10%. In addition, Pupil Teacher Ratios (PTR) are still quite high in many districts in States like Bihar (53:1), UP (50:1), Jharkhand (45:1) and WB (45:1). The recruitment deficit in states like Bihar (91657), MP (15898), WB (46797), Rajasthan (28499) and UP (33718) is very considerable. Lack of recruitment appears as a continuing problem in these states as can be noted from the reports of previous JRMs. This is a matter of serious concern and the SSA needs to make special efforts to ensure that the PTRs move towards acceptable figures all over the country, particularly in states with chronic shortage of teachers. SSA would have to move towards a better rationalisation of teacher placements.

6.1.Para Teachers:

In fact in most of the states retiring teachers are replaced by para teachers who are given a 11 month. This is not going to make in qualitative improvement. There is need to fill the vacancies of teachers by full time regular and qualified teachers.

7. Early Childhood Care and Protection (ECCE) /Pre-school Education (PSE)

“The Eleventh Five Year Plan envisages to provide one year pre-school education (PSE) for children entering primary school”

After the adoption of the National Policy for Children (1974), the Government of India evolved the Integrated Child Development Services Scheme, popularly abbreviated as ICDS.

There are approximately 60 million children in the age group of 3-6 years (as per census, 2001), Out of this only 24 million children are covered through ICDS centers and rest of the children are still un-served either in early child hood care or protection.

- The PSE component of ICDS-Anganwadi is very weak with repetition high and learning levels low. This in turn discourages many children from continuing their education.
- Despite the fact that government has acknowledged the importance of Early Childhood Care and protection it still lacks a rights based provision in either the RTE Act or otherwise programmes.
- It is a pity that despite the declaration of Indian National Congress Manifesto the issue of 0 to 6 years children (Early childhood care and protection) is not included in the recent Right of children to free and compulsory education Act 2009.

8. Adult Education

The NLM programmes will be revamped in the Eleventh Plan. The targets and special focus areas are:

- Achieve 80% literacy rate,
- Reduce gender gap in literacy to 10%,
- Reduce regional, social, and gender disparities,
- Extend coverage of NLM programmes to 35+ age group

Major Weaknesses in Adult Education Programmes

- The constraints in the implementation of adult education programmes include inadequate participation of the State Governments, low motivation and training of voluntary teachers, lack of convergence of programmes under CEP, and weak management and supervision structure for implementation for NLM.
- Besides, the funding for various components of NLM schemes was also inadequate.

The adult education programme has gone in a back seat position with very meager budgetary provision and priority

9. Mahila Samakhya (MS)

The MS programme will be continued as per the existing pattern and expanded in a phased manner to cover all the EBBs and also in urban/ suburban slums, as it contributes to educational empowerment of poor women. There is a need to operationalise the National Resource Centre of MS to support training, research, and proper documentation.

Mahila Samakhya is running on a government intervention with less civil society intervention on rights based approach. It has low priority in terms of budget and programmes

10. The Right to Education Act 2009

Government of India has amended its constitution (86 Amendment) which makes elementary education a fundamental right to every child between the age group of 6-14 years. This implies that the State must provide free and compulsory education to all the children of age 6-14 years. Earlier this was under the Directive Principles of State policy in the constitution, and the government was not obliged to the same. This new provision in the Constitution which has an indirect but significant bearing upon the role of the government of India in education is entry 20 of list III, which is concerned with “Economic and Social Planning”. Education planning being an essential element of economic and social planning, the government of India and the State Governments has to work together in preparing and implementing the national plans for the reconstruction of education.

Despite recognition of education as an investment, and as a ‘crucial investment, for national survival’ by the government of India, the new constitutional amendment is still silent on various issues i.e. (i) it does not recognise the 0 to 6 years age group children. (ii) It does not cover 14 to 18 years aged children (iii) it also does not advocate a common school system as has been advocated in various committees.

The long awaited “Right of Children to Free and Compulsory education Act 2009” was cleared by the Indian parliament on August 4, 2009. This Act enables all the children between the age of 6-14 years free and compulsory education. The Act obliges the state to provide school facility to all children within their neighborhood. In case of non-availability of government school it makes it mandatory to all private aided schools to reserve 25% of their seats for poor children (to be defined by the state governments). Though the Act still has lot of flaws and lapses but at least after 62 years the children of India have got this right. The other major positive point of the Act is the provision of active participation of civil society through school management committees in extending helping hand in good governance of school. The Act leaves space for entry of private sector and does not give a clear road map for regulating the private schooling system. It is now a big challenge for government and civil society to ensure that all the children are enrolled and complete their elementary education of good quality.

The Act still does not include the 0 to 6 years aged and 14 to 18 years old children’s right to education. This is violation of Apex court judgment in the Unnikrishnan case. This also violates article 45 of directive principle of our constitution.

This is further a violation of Convention of the Rights of the Child for which India is a signatory.

11. Model Schools

Government of India has proposed to set up 6000 model schools at the rate of one school per block. These schools will be centers of excellence and would have infrastructure and facilities at least of the standard of Kendriya Vidyalayas with stipulation for pupil-teacher ratio, educational environment, appropriate curriculum, and emphasis on output and outcome. About 3500 educationally backward blocks would have model schools that would be set up in the government. The remaining 2500 blocks would have model schools to be set up under PPP to be managed by the private partner with full autonomy and management control. The government would provide a capital incentive.

We fail to understand why government of India is keen to introduce model schools. This will create multi layered education system further increasing the gap between rich and poor backward and forward. This is in contravention of “Kothari Commission’s recommendation”.

12. The Public Private Partnership (PPP) initiative

Ministry of Human Resource development, Government of India has recently issued a concept note for launching privatisation of education in the name of so called “Public Private Partnership (PPP) (dirsch1.edu@nic.in). Government is convinced that there is an urgent need for replacement of bureaucratic controls in education by professional regulations along with private-public partnership to ensure universal primary education. Competition in tertiary and secondary education is also equally essential. This provision has also been mentioned in the Eleventh Five Year plan document. The very intention of government to embrace private sector has already been placed in the election manifestoes. Government is keen to invite public private partnership in three areas i.e. (1) Infrastructural development (2) Support services and (3) Educational service.

This is nothing but shirking of state from its responsibility. Now the 86th Constitutional Amendment Act, 2002 has led to insertion of a new Article—21-A in Part III of the Constitution. This has made Free and Compulsory Education to all children of 6 to 14 years of age a Fundamental Right.

On the one hand government is patting its back for making elementary education a fundamental right and on the other it is promoting privatisation in the name of PPP to involve private players in elementary as well as higher education.

Government of India cannot retreat back from its commitment as enshrined in the constitutional amendment.

13. Voucher System

In the Eleventh Five Year plan government of India has also proposed for a Voucher system. Also there is a provision in the Right of children to free and compulsory education Act 2009. In case the government if not able to provide school to every child the parent can choose to send their children to private school for which government will reimburse the cost through a voucher. This has been tried in many countries under dictatorships. This is a conspiracy of some business houses to influence the government for introducing the “voucher system”.

It is feared that this will be highly misused by private schools and parents also and the children will be looser. This is also against the spirit of fundamental right of education for all children.

- The functioning of the Central Institute of Vocational Education, Bhopal, will be reviewed and the institute restructured to serve as a national resource institution for policy, planning, and monitoring of VE programmes and for developing a NVQ system.

During the Eleventh Plan, VE will be expanded to cover 20000 schools with intake capacity of 25 lakh by 2011–12. The programme will ensure mobility between vocational, general, and technical education and multiple entry and exit options.

14. Higher Education: Targets and Strategies in Eleventh Plan

An Inter-Ministerial Working Group should be set up to work out a detail reforms agenda on outlines given below.

- Common calibration and admission based on Common Entrance Test and/or other relevant criteria for at least professional and PG courses in CU in the first phase.
- Universalising the semester system.

- Continuous internal evaluation and assessment to eventually replace annual examinations.
- Introducing credit system to provide students with the possibility of spatial and temporal flexibility/mobility.
- Curriculum revision at least once in every three years or earlier to keep syllabi in tune with job market dynamics and advancement in research.
- Setting up of a new Inter-university Centre on higher education to undertake specialised research for policy formulation.

The higher education in India is gradually being privatised with lesser control of state. This will make poor and common people out of the reach of higher education. Also the unregulated privatised higher education will produce lower quality of students from lower paid staff and inadequate infrastructure.

15. Assessing the Performance of Education in the Eleventh Plan

The Census of India 2001 reveals that despite a host of schemes and programs, only 65.38 per cent of the Indian people were literate (75.85 per cent men and 54.16 per cent women). Sixty-five million children aged 6-14 years were not attending any educational institutions in India, (Census 2001) which were much higher than the education department estimates of 25 million children (MHRD 2002). This has made the entire claim of the education plans under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan out of sync with reality. A staggering number of children, (38.41 per cent of boys and 51.88 per cent of girls in the age group 6-14) were not attending schools (Census 2001). The National Sample Survey (NSSO), Government of India (61st Round, 2004-05) reported the enrolment rate to be 80 per cent among boys and 73 per cent among girls in rural areas and 88 per cent among boys and 85 per cent among girls in urban areas.

According to 7th All India Educational Survey about 53% habitations had primary school facility within them, while 88% habitations have primary schooling facility within or at a walking distance of one km. Upper primary schools/sections are found located in 19.1% habitations and 78.12% habitations have upper primary schooling facility within or at a distance of 3 km. However several mountainous regions and tribal areas lack access to primary schools even within the distance of 2 to 3 kilometers.

Issues of Girl Children

Despite all promises and goals the issue of girl child and gender still remains a big challenge in Indian education sector. At the national level, positive trends were observed with respect to enrolment of girls the SC and ST, Muslim minorities, children from urban slums, migratory families and those in difficult circumstances. However in relation to retention, proportion of OoSC and achievement, disparities still prevail. The next section (Goal 3) shows that retention in particular is an equity issue. For girls and socially marginalised groups the issue is not merely one of bridging quantitative gaps in enrolment and retention but also of ensuring the right of children from these communities to an education that is free of discrimination and one that empowers them to participate as equals in all spheres. In this context it is important that discrimination against marginalised communities (including CWSN) should be dealt with in all aspects (for example, classroom practices, teacher behavior, peer relations and so on). While special intervention programmes such as NPEGEL, KGBV are important, girls' education cannot only be dealt with through schemes and must addressed systemically.

In 1986, India was a prime mover in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) to install child rights as a regional priority; the issue still stands at summit level. In 1990, India's acceptance of the UN Child Survival and Development Goals set for 2000, inferred that the State as a whole would work to achieve the objectives set. The then Prime Minister V P Singh made this commitment to the 1990 World Summit for Children. Atal Behari Vajpayee served as India's special envoy to that Summit process. The turn of the century came and went, and most of the 1990s' goals were missed; India was one of the defaulters.

A decade after, there was not much sign of any sense of urgency. The UN moved to remind world governments. India's signing on to the 2000 Millennium Summit and its eight MDGs again technically underlined priority attention to children as key target beneficiaries. The 2002 UN General Assembly Special Session on Children improved on the Millennium Goals by spelling out 64 action objectives for all countries to meet, and called for country plans. The Government took nearly three years to put one together.²⁴

The NPA's actual status as a practical template for official action and coordination remains unclear. It has Cabinet approval. It reflects an assumption that the Government would work cross-sectorally to implement it.²⁵ It placed responsibility on the Central and State governments and on local governments, and promised efforts to mobilise additional resources to meet needs and reduce disparities. Budget allocations have remained inadequate. Late release and transfer of funds have continued to undermine prospects for timely use. For this and other unstated reasons, fund utilisation levels remain poor.

There is no doubt that the SSA targets are ambitious, surpassing the international expectations articulated in the Dakar Summit, which sets the target of 2015 for achieving the goal of EFA. While one can debate on the relevance of setting such ambitious targets, ignoring the practicability of mobilising necessary physical, financial and human resources, an important point needs to be borne in mind. For the poor and the marginalised, basic education continues to be the only hope and means of redemption. But across socio-economic considerations, a deep sense of desperation is setting in the minds of the people with respect to the capability of the state to meet their educational needs. An urgent requirement is to dispel this sense of despair and re-establish public faith in the state-sponsored delivery mechanisms, be it primary schools or adult literacy programmes. This can be done only through actual demonstration of effectively functioning institutions that produce desired results and meet the aspirations of the society. It is this resolve and determination of all those concerned with EFA in the country to persist with accelerated efforts that holds the key *for* achieving the goal of Education *for* All.

16. Have adequate budgetary resources been allocated for the major programmes / schemes in the EFYP?

Government of India has not been able to allocate enough resources for education sector as proposed in CMP document. It has been able to spend only upto 2.8 percent of GDP, roughly half of the expenditure proposed in NCMP. It is not out of place to note here that developing countries as a whole prioritise 20 percent of the budgetary expenditure for education, while India devotes only 11 percent towards this head.

Also the Union Government is shifting the financial burden of funding elementary education increasingly towards the States, and hence reducing its contribution. During the 9th Plan period, the share of Centre and States in financing elementary education was 85:15, which remained 65:35 during the 10th Plan. Financial burden of funding elementary education during the Eleventh Plan further shifted towards States and the proposed ratio is 50:50. Thus, it is clear that the financial commitment of the Central Government towards financing of elementary education is shrinking gradually. This is leading to space for privatisation, voucher system reimbursement and deprivation of the poor and migrant children of India from the right to education

(a) Public Spending on Education by the Union Government

The public spending at the level of Union Government has increased but only in a small measure and not enough to make a difference to the overall level of spending by the country on education. Spending as a proportion of the GDP increased from 0.42 % (2004-05) to 0.7 % (2009-10 BE).

²⁴ National Plan of Action for Children/ MHRD, Govt of India: 2005

²⁵ NPA-2005: V:18: Mobilising Resources, Implementation of the Plan, and Monitoring 18.1-18.4; 19.1 and 19.4.

(b) Public Spending on Education by the States

The States too have a dismal story to recount with their budgetary spending hovering around 2.25 % to 2.39 % as a proportion of GDP in the last five years.

(c) Public Spending on Education by the Centre and States (Combined)

The promised 6 % of GDP as public spending on education remains as elusive today (at 3.24 % in 2006-07) as it was when the UPA came to power in 2004-05 (3.09 % of GDP). Although the budgeted spending has marginally increased for the country with the Education Departments spending more as compared to the Other Departments (Figure 1.3), looking at Figure 1.1, we find that the budgeted expenditure on education by Education and Other Departments (Centre and States) as a share of GDP is on the decline. Spending on education as a share of the total budget for all sectors also has remained at about the same level for both the Centre and the States, reflecting low priority for this critical sector

It is pertinent to note here that while spending on by union government on higher education increased by 69.65 percent between 2007-08 (Rs. 6397 crores) and 2008-09 (Rs. 10853 crores), while spending on elementary education increased by only 7.25 % during the period between 2007-08 (Rs. 18440 crores) and 2008-09 (Rs. 19778 crores). The Central Government has reduced its financial commitment towards education if we take into account the revenue collected through cess on central taxes. For example, during financial year 2007-08, out of total spending on elementary education of Rs. 18440 crores, SSA and MDM schemes were allocated Rs. 11128 crores, which were financed entirely and exclusively through cess collections. Thus, the government contributed only Rs. 5441 crores. Similarly, during fiscal year 2008-09, spending on elementary education by the central government was Rs. 19778 crores, while the education cess collections were to the tune of Rs. 18444 crores. Thus, it is clear that the contribution of Central government towards financing of elementary education which was Rs. 5219 crores (during 2003-04) before the imposition of education Cess, started showing a declining trend afterwards. Centre's contribution (excluding cess collections) towards financing of elementary education reduced to Rs. 2317 crores in 2004-05, Rs. 4244 crores in 2005-06 and Rs. 4933 Crores in 2008-09.

Some comments on implementation of education schemes/programmes:

- Spending on education” Government of India has not spent 3% of GDP on elementary education as proposed and agreed in NCMP promise.
- Adult education budget has been left ignored and a very meager budget is allotted on adult education. This leaves space for poor and adult illiterates to remain illiterate in future. This is also in contravention to various treaties and conventions where India has been signing and agreeing to spend resources.
- Insufficient infrastructure. As much as 25% posts of teachers in primary schools are remaining vacant for years together. The recent vacancies are being filled by para teachers which are against the spirit and requirement of quality teaching.
- School building and other infrastructure: Various studies show that inadequate in-frastructure is discouraging the children and community to send their children in school.
- Government of India recognises that as many as 45 million children are out of schools and languishing the scourge of child labour. According to Bachpan Bachao Andolan's (Save the children movement) estimate there are 66 million children in child labour work. This is because the regulatory mechanisms are not strict and enforced.
- During Eleventh Five Year Plan there could not be formulated strict laws against trafficking and redressing the exploitation of children out of schools.
- Children migrated out of natural disasters, calamities and economic necessity are still being trafficked and law against human trafficking is still awaited.

- The Juvenile Justice (amendment) Act 2006 is still not implemented with child friendly policing arrangements.
- The long proposed nation Commission for Education as well as state commission for education was replaced by National Commission for Protection of Child Rights which in itself does not have enough power and scope to redress the children's right.
- The child marriage restraint act is still not effectively implemented leaving the scope for girl child marriage during the school going age.
- Government is gradually promoting private schools where poor parents cannot afford to send their children for education.
- The child abuse and corporal punishment are the issues which still go un monitored in the schools and affect the school performance adversely.
- The private sector goes unregulated and unmonitored and this leaves space for privatisation and making education a commodity for business.
- Despite all the efforts of the government of India, universalisation of elementary education in India remains a distant dream. This is because of the persistent poverty and various prejudices prevailing in the Indian society. While the growth in female literacy is increasing at a faster rate than male literacy, the gap in the male female literacy has been a major hindrance in the universalisation of elementary education in India. While the total literacy rate is 65.38% according to 2001 census, the female literacy rate is only 54.16%. Another area of concern is to reduce the gap between the rural and urban literacy rate. While 80.3% urban people are literate, only 59.4% of the rural population is literate according to 2001 census data.

Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

The people of India had great hope that Indian National Congress will further strengthen the earlier commitment of education but it proved to be rhetoric. The Indian National Congress suddenly withdrew its focus and changed the manifesto in a diluting manner as;

"We will make quality education affordable to everyone.

1. *We will bring a sharp focus on the special needs of children, especially the girl child.*
2. *The Indian National Congress commits itself to the Universalisation of the ICDS by March 2012 and to provide an Anganwadi in every habitation and full coverage of children up to the age of six for food, nutrition and pre-school education.*
3. *The special requirements of children of migrant workers in towns and cities will be met through new programmes in association with civil society organisations."*

While we appreciate the progress made by the government of India in the education sector, still there is a lot to be done especially for all those who have been deprived of education rights. We thus make our recommendations as under:

1. It should be mandatory to make all the deaths, births and marriages registered and monitored by the state. Unfortunately not all births and deaths are registered in our country. The Registrar General of India (RGI) may be directed to track all births, death and migration as well as marriages in the country.
2. Government should also direct the RGI to recognise and count all the children who are out of schools and engaged in any activity other than schooling.

3. All the children belonging to the age group 0-18 years should be included in the definition of children under the proposed Act (it is relevant to make a note of the fact that United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, Juvenile Justice Act of India etc. follow the same definition of the children i.e. 0-18 years).
4. Atleast six percent of GDP and 20 percent of total government expenditure should be prioritised for education, and half of this public spending on education should be targeted towards elementary education.
5. To ensure quality of education, regular and trained teachers should be recruited in place of untrained and Para teachers. Para teachers recruited so far should be trained and regularised.
6. The existing laws should be amended suitably and implemented strictly for total eradication of the menace of child labour, child servitude and child trafficking, and all the children of age group 0-18 years should be enrolled in schools.
7. Make constitutional provisions that stipulate that adult literacy, adult and youth education are rights, in line with the UN Convention against Discrimination in Education.
8. Increase budgetary allocations to ensure that adequate funds of education budgets are spent on adult literacy.
9. Changes should be carried out in the said legislation for quality education system with measurable indicators so that parents and community can monitor the quality of education.
10. There should be common schooling system for all the children irrespective of their parents' socio-economic status.
11. All forms of privatisation of education including the Public Private Partnership should be reversed.

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Rural Development: Issues in the Eleventh Five Year Plan

The Eleventh Five Year Plan (EFYP) had envisioned an ambitious development trajectory for the nation with high economic growth alongside a proactive shift towards social inclusion and rendering economic justice to a large swathe of population living with poverty and exclusion. Given the predominantly rural nature of poverty in India, rural development forms the centrepiece of any sustainable and equitable development effort that the EFYP envisages. The multi-dimensional nature of poverty in the rural sector characterised by income poverty, lack of access to gainful employment opportunities, inadequate access to basic amenities in health and education and social exclusion therefore calls for a multi-pronged approach to rural development.

The rural development strategy as put forth in EFYP document therefore relies on three major thrust areas viz. rural poverty alleviation through employment generation programmes (e.g. NREGS, SGSY), rural infrastructure creation for improvement in living conditions and productive assets (e.g. rural housing, rural roads) and ensuring social security for disadvantaged groups (e.g. NSAP). Therefore, a Peoples' Mid-Term Appraisal of the rural development strategy as laid down in the Plan document requires a critical assessment of the context in which the strategies were formulated, the programmatic interventions and their level of effective penetration.

1. Rural Employment and Livelihood Security

According to the NSS 61st round 2004-05, a little over 73 percent of the households belong to rural India and constitute around 75 percent of the total population. With 73 percent of the people living below poverty line residing in the rural sector (as per URP-consumption data), poverty within the rural economy in India is characterised by lack of gainful employment opportunities, hidden unemployment, large underemployment, low agricultural wage rate, uncertainty in getting employment due to seasonality of agricultural operations and declining agricultural productivity. As per the Eleventh Five Year Plan, the overall unemployment rate for the rural sector as of 2004-05 was 8.28 percent (as per current daily status) and particularly, the unemployment rate among the agricultural labour household had risen from 9.5 percent in 1993-94 to 15.4 percent in 2004-05. Underemployment had also been reported to be on the rise, given the widening gap between the usual status and current daily status measures of creation of incremental employment opportunities during the periods 1994 to 2000 and 2000 to 2005. Low wage rate and exploitation also play a compounding factor in accentuating rural poverty. NCEUS (2009) observes that share of wage workers securing wages below National Minimum Wage norm is significantly high across industries and in this context 85 percent of all casual workers in rural areas received wages below the minimum wages.

Employment generation in the rural sector has been a major area of intervention by the government and have in the past focused on creating supplementary employment opportunities for the rural poor during lean seasons. These programmes and schemes were geared towards providing gainful employment apart from creation of durable community assets, which would enhance productivity of the rural sector along with increase in demand for labour. However, efficacy of these schemes in attaining the desired objectives was suspect due to several problems pertaining to implementation, transparency and awareness among potential beneficiaries. The enactment of National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) 2005 (rechristened Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act) was a considerable departure from the erstwhile programmes on employment generation. The Act guarantees at least 100 days of wage employment on demand, failing which the state government will have to pay an unemployment allowance. The Act also incorporates crucial features of transparency and accountability like mandatory requirement of social audits and payment of wages through bank or post office accounts rather than cash payments. In addition to employment guarantee, the governments also implements a self-employment programme viz. Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY) for enhanced livelihood security.

1.1 Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme

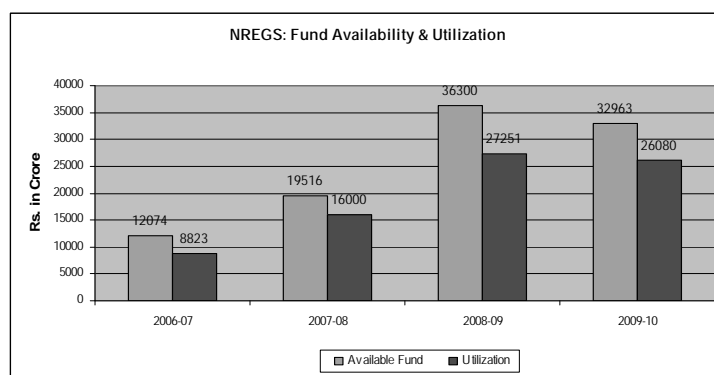
The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) enacted in September, 2005, was implemented from February 2, 2006 in 200 identified districts of the country in the form of NREGS with the stated objective to provide 100 days of guaranteed wage employment to each rural household opting for it. The coverage was increased to 330 districts with the addition of 130 new districts in 2007-08. The ongoing programmes of Swarnajayanti Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) and National Food for Work Programme (NFFWP) were subsumed under NREGS in these districts. The coverage of NREGS has now been extended to 615 districts (excluding the urban districts) in the country in 2008-09.

The novelty of the scheme compared to its precursors like SGRY and NFFWP are: a) a paradigm shift to a rights based framework, which entails a legal guarantee of work unlike other programs which could be withdrawn by a government at will; b) disincentive for underperformance as unemployment allowance has to be paid by the state government within 15 days if work is not provided within 15 days of demanding; c) resource availability under the scheme is demand driven; d) accountability of the public delivery systems through social audit. Evidently, the scheme being demand driven, utilization and in turn allocation depends on the actual demand for work by households.

The allocation for NREGS in the Eleventh Plan (at current price) is tentatively provided at Rs 100,000 crore. However, NREGA being a demand driven programme and the government is legally bound to provide employment mandated under the act, the allocation is only indicative. The bulk of the financial cost for NREGS are to be borne by the Central Government, which includes a) entire cost of wages of unskilled manual workers; b) 75% of the cost of material, wages of skilled and semi-skilled workers; c) administrative expenses which will include, among others, the salary and the allowances of the Programme Officer and his supporting staff and work site facilities; d) expenses of the National Employment Guarantee Council. The State Government on the other hand bears the financial costs pertaining to 25 percent of material, wages of skilled and semi-skilled workers, unemployment allowance and expenses of State Employment Guarantee Council.

Allocation and Utilization of NREGS Funds

The extent of allocation and utilization of funds under NREGS is dependent on the efficacy of its implementation, given that the scheme is demand-driven. The scheme in its initial phases witnessed certain inertia in implementation, largely owing to lack of awareness among functionaries and potential beneficiaries, which led to low allocation and utilization across the states. However, over the financial years 2008-09 and 2009-10 the expansion in the coverage of districts and the concomitant financial allocation has been substantial with the budgetary allocation for the scheme increasing manifold over allocations in 2006-07 and 2007-08. A noteworthy feature of the allocation and utilization pattern of the scheme even after phenomenal increase in coverage of districts and increased popularity and awareness about NREGA, is that the availability of fund per district has been hovering around Rs. 60 crore and utilization per district varies between Rs. 44 crore to Rs. 48 crore, showing very little improvement in the uptake of the scheme.

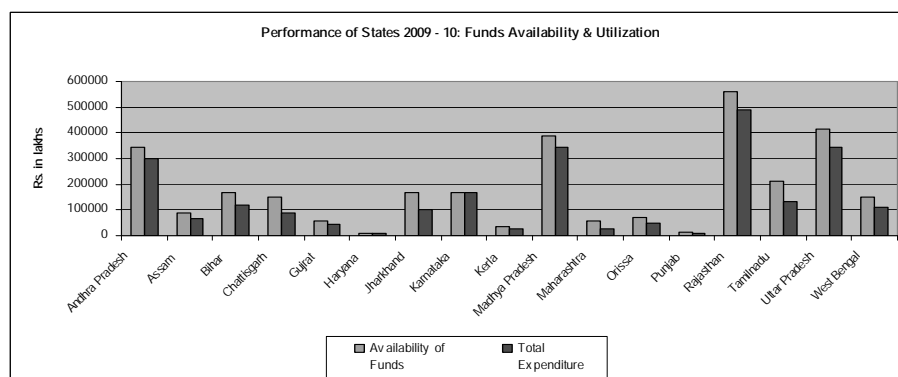
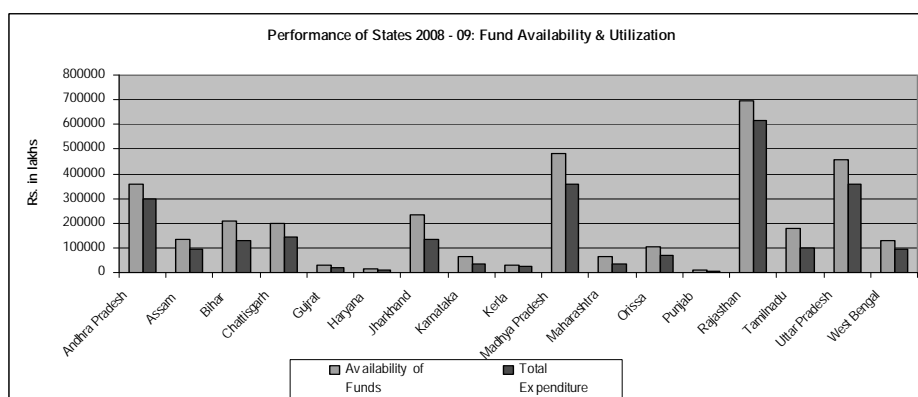
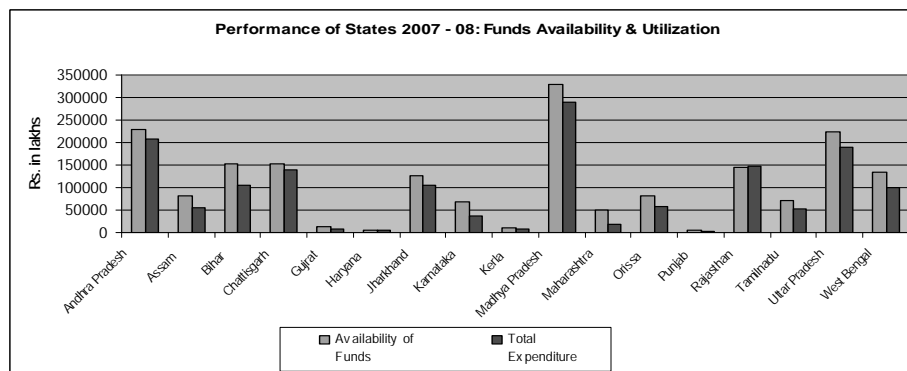


Source of Basic Data: www.nrega.nic.in.

Note: Fund availability and utilization for year 2009-10 is reported till December, 2009

A major reason for the lack of improvement in the average uptake of the scheme is that majority of the states (barring a few like Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh) have consistently been unable to improve upon the uptake. States like Orissa, Bihar, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Assam, West Bengal and Maharashtra having large number of its population living in poverty and significant share of its rural areas being backward with large tribal population, have failed to improve the performance of the scheme. While performance of the scheme in some states like Haryana, Punjab, Kerala, Karnataka and Gujarat has been comparatively abysmal owing to several factors like minimum wage rate under NREGS being, lower than the market wage rate or works permissible under the scheme having little use for local area development within these states.

Comparative Performance of the States in NREGS



The apathetic performance of NREGS in many states owes to several inimical factors primary among which is low capacity of functionaries at grassroots level to prepare a shelf of projects through which employment can be provided under the scheme. Preparation of labour budgets for the proposed projects and their requisite administrative and technical sanctions take longer time than usual often due to unavailability of adequate human resources. In most of the cases, the Gram Panchayat secretary who is usually entrusted with the responsibility of implementing the scheme is over-burdened with responsibility of more than one Gram Panchayat with no mobility support to move from one work site to another.

Additionally, in few states where implementation of NREGS could have been strengthened by its convergence with other departments or other rural development schemes, such initiative failed to take off because of lack of clear policy guidelines to this effect.

Impact of NREGS

Despite the poor performance of NREGS in many states, it has been successful in transferring resources to the poor who own neither capital nor any kind of skill. Other positive externalities of the scheme include rise in the market wage rate leading to lesser exploitation of wage labour, better organisation of the rural poor into collectives, large number of women beneficiaries have given rise to the potential of women's agency within the rural economy and creation of community assets having potential of raising agricultural productivity and general economic well-being of the rural poor. The NCEUS (2009) reports that some other positive benefits of the scheme are reduction in distress out-migration, improved food security with wages being channeled into incurring expenses on food, health, education and repaying of loans, employment with dignity, greater economic empowerment of women workers, and sustainable asset creation.

However, in terms of ensuring the basic entitlement of NREGS of providing 100 days employment to households demanding work, the performance of the scheme is far from what is desirable. The State wise implementation of NREGS reveals that apart from Rajasthan, no other State has been able to provide 100 days of wage employment to a significant portion of households (HHs) provided employment. The striking feature of this phenomenon is that poorer states like Bihar, Orissa and Jharkhand have performed worse than most other states. A GBPSSI (2009)²⁶ study of six north Indian States revealed that proportion of the sample workers who reported 100 days of work in the past 12 months was invariably very low - Chhattisgarh (1%), Bihar (2%), Uttar Pradesh (4%), Jharkhand (9%), Madhya Pradesh (19%) and Rajasthan (36%).

Table 1: State-wise Implementation Status of NREGS*

	Percentage of HHs completed 100 days to total no. of HHs provided employment	Percentage of Wage Expenditure to Total Expenditure	Average Wage Expenditure per HH provided job (in Rs.)
Andhra Pradesh	5.7	73.7	2907
Assam	4.8	63.5	2753
Bihar	0.6	64.8	2027
Chhattisgarh	5.6	64.3	3979
Gujarat	2.6	70.6	1408
Haryana	1.6	80.3	5279
Himachal Pradesh	5.4	62.3	3506
Jammu & Kashmir	1.7	57.4	2246
Jharkhand	3	52.8	3913

²⁶ Cited in NCEUS 2009.

Karnataka	2.4	64.3	2001
Kerala	0.6	82.4	2209
Madhya Pradesh	8	60.6	3633
Maharashtra	3.1	88.6	3994
Orissa	1.8	61.2	2948
Punjab	0.4	59.8	2468
Rajasthan	20.7	71.3	5565
Tamil Nadu	8.6	95.7	2605
Uttar Pradesh	8.7	64.9	4310
Uttaranchal	1.4	64.2	2912
West Bengal	0.2	65.4	1617
India**	7.4	68	3438

Source: NCEUS (2009)

Note: * Figures reported are upto January 2009, ** Includes all States and Union Territories

Given that the stated objective NREGS has been to provide livelihood security for the rural poor, its impact on the well-being of various socio-economic groups is important to assess its penetration. In this context the performance of the scheme in providing a safety net to the disadvantaged section of the society has been fairly robust. As per the Outcome Budget (2009-10), the share of SCs in the person-days of job created under NREGS has been 27 % in 2007-08 which increased to 29 % in 2008-09. For STs the share of person-days of job created has been 29 % in 2007-08 which however declined to 25 % in 2008-09 with the addition of 285 additional districts. The participation of women in the NREGS works have been significantly high with their share of person-days being 43 % which increased to 48 % in 2008-09.

The overwhelming participation of socially disadvantaged groups in NREGS clearly underlines its necessity for these groups to attain basic sustenance in the face of multiple deprivations. The GBPSSI (2009)²⁷ study of six north Indian states found that 73 percent of respondents who had worked in NREGS belong to the SC/ST families. It is also reported that often the participation of SCs and OBCs are higher than their respective shares in total households.

Table 2: Participation of Various Groups in NREGS (Percentage of Person Days to Total Person Days)

	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe		Women	
	2007-08	2008-09	2007-08	2008-09	2007-08	2008-09
Andhra Pradesh	27.72	26.49	12.79	12.92	57.75	57.92
Assam	7.6	9.52	39.12	33.59	30.85	25.84
Bihar	45.66	43.86	2.46	4.58	26.62	26.73
Chhattisgarh	14.91	16.86	41.39	39.22	42.05	45.65
Gujarat	5.92	11.69	65.92	54.79	46.55	38.36
Haryana	53.8	58.69	0	0	34.42	32.27
Himachal Pradesh	32.19	32.25	7.26	8.43	28.49	42.51
Jammu & Kashmir	9.85	6.46	24.34	28.54	1.08	7.33
Jharkhand	20.74	19.03	41.65	40.51	27.17	28.79
Karnataka	30.23	27.85	19.18	14.55	50.27	55.99
Kerala	16.87	20.87	16.89	9.89	71.39	86.08
Madhya Pradesh	17.87	17.39	48.76	46.78	41.67	42.84

²⁷ ibid

Maharashtra	18.44	17.17	38.49	45.26	39.99	44.75
Orissa	24.33	22.62	39.65	33.79	36.39	34.56
Punjab	76.29	88.47	0	0	16.29	13.41
Rajasthan	19.24	29.13	46.39	24.37	69	68.19
Tamil Nadu	57.36	59.09	2.63	1.73	82.01	80.29
Uttar Pradesh	53.75	53.9	1.85	2.28	14.53	15.2
Uttaranchal	27.3	27.44	4.34	4.77	42.77	34.92
West Bengal	36.28	39.23	13.8	15.18	16.99	23.86
Total	27.42	29.61	29.33	25.11	42.56	48.12

Source: NCEUS (2009)

Note: * Includes all States and Union Territories

In the context of participation of women in NREGS, the success of the scheme can be measured in terms of the fact that on an average their participation has significantly higher (48 %) than the stipulated minimum requirement of 30 percent. However, there are huge variations across states with Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal reporting participation less than the stipulated requirement, while in states like Tamil Nadu and Kerala participation of women are more than 80 percent.

It has also been reported that the wages earned from NREGA is largely spent on food consumption and on health related issues. In many cases it has also been reported that income generated from NREGS has allowed people to send their children back to school, repay past debts, avoid migration and hazardous work.

In a nutshell, in spite of the debate and prognosis on enhancement of corruption due to NREGS, the beneficial impact of the scheme on the rural poor clearly calls for the strengthening of its implementation. In this regard, necessary attention has to be given to the operational issues of the scheme particularly in augmentation of human resources at the grassroots level and strengthening of accountability mechanisms like social audits for better implementation and transparency in the operation of the scheme.

1.2 Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY)

The Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY) aims at bringing the assisted poor families above the poverty line by ensuring appreciable sustained level of income over a period of time. This objective was to be achieved by organizing the rural poor into SHGs through the process of social mobilization, their training and capacity building and provision of income generating assets. The overall objective of the scheme has been to integrate provisions like skill upgradation, infrastructure including marketing development and technology penetration into a programme providing for poverty alleviation and sustainable livelihood options. By design, the programme meant to create widespread income generating activities, through the empowering mechanism of SHGs, where group dynamics are expected to compensate for the basic weaknesses of the individual rural poor and present them as credit worthy and financially accountable units.

The funds are shared between Centre and States in the ratio 75:25, except in the case of North-East states where it is on 90:10 basis. Within the target groups, the guideline for the scheme provides that SC/ST should account for 50 percent, women 40 percent, minorities 15 percent and 3 percent disabled. The revised estimates of SGSY for 2008-09 has shown a marginal increase from Rs 1933 crore to Rs. 2113 crore. However, over the five-year period of UPA rule the allocation for the scheme has shown a general trend of increase keeping in line with the allocations in the sector. In this context the targeted allocation for the Eleventh Plan (at Current Price) is tentatively provided at Rs.17,803 crore.

Table3: Financial and Physical Progress of SGSY

	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09
Available Fund (in Crores)	1509.85	1558.52	1724.55	2394.16	2981.24
Utilization (in Crores)	1290.88	1338.77	1424.19	1965.97	2198.08
% Utilization	85.5	85.9	82.58	82.12	73.73
% Credit Disbursed	-	-	79.86	73.73	85.07
Swarozgaris Assisted (in lakhs)	11.15	11.51	16.9	16.99	18.25
% of SC	31.62	33.28	35.48	33.02	31.9
% of ST	13.36	14.37	14.26	14.82	14.6
% of Women	54.32	57.58	73.71	63.79	64.45
% of Minorities	-	-	3.58	8.38	14.83

Source: Outcome Budget (various issues), Dept. of Rural Development, GoI.

Issues to be Addressed in Eleventh Plan

Setting up of an Autonomous Agency: A National Agency outside the ministry will be set up to manage the National Rural Poverty Elimination Programme. This will enable the achievement of the objectives of the programme meaningfully and comprehensively. Such an Agency will form the intellectual backbone of the rural development programmes and provide requisite technical expertise and capacities, while the ones at the level of the State Governments will be the functional bodies.

Federating the SHGs: The SHGs can be further strengthened and stabilized by federating them at village or cluster of villages or block level depending upon the number of SHGs and their spatial distribution. The federations shall be formal organizations registered under the most appropriate Acts (Societies Registration Act, State Cooperative Act, Trust, Mutually Aided Cooperative Societies Act, or Mutual Benefit Trust) that exist in the State. The Village Level Federations (VLFs) would provide a forum to voice the problems of the poor in the village, exchange of experiences including flow of information from various government departments, and raises resources required to take up the appropriate development interventions in poverty reduction.

A Demand-driven Model for SGSY: In order to strengthen the existing programme an effort should be made to graduate the allocations in such a manner that all further increases in the allocations to the SGSY should be based on demand-driven model, with attendant commitments of the State with respect to erecting institutions of the poor, dedicated implementation machinery and adhering to the framework provided by the national level agency. The current allocations to the SGSY can taper off over the balance Plan period so that at the end of the Plan period the new model will be firmly in place.

New Horizons for SGSY: In order to harness the emerging opportunities within the economy due to the processes of globalization and liberalization, it will be necessary to launch a new sub-set of the SGSY—that can be known as the placement-linked skill enhancement programme. The sectors that can be looked at are Textiles, Leather, Gems and Jewellery, Retail Chains, etc., where there is a shortage of supply of trained labour.

2. Bharat Nirman: Selected Schemes

2.1 Rural Housing (Indira Awaas Yojana)

Rural Housing is a major focus area for a holistic rural development and poverty alleviation initiative of the Government of India. Provision for housing facilities for the rural poor is crucial to enable these people to live a healthy and productive life in addition to imparting a sense of identity that comes with the ownership of productive assets. Accordingly, several rounds of assessments have been done to estimate the shortfall in housing facilities throughout the country. On the request of the Ministry of Rural Development, the Registrar General of India (RGI) had assessed the rural housing shortage at 148.33 lakh houses in 2005. This data was used for making State-wise fund allocations under the Indira Awaas Yojana in 2005-06.

Other independent assessments of shortage in rural housing have however pegged the shortfall to a much higher level. HUDCO had assessed the shortage of rural housing in its publication “Trend and Gaps in Housing and Basic Amenities, India 2001” where it estimates the shortage to be 240 lakh as on April 2001. National Housing Bank (NHB), in its Mid-term Business Plan, had estimated the rural housing shortage for the period 2002-2007 and 2007-2012 based on the decennial growth rate of population, households and housing stock drawn from census data between 1991-2001. The NHB assessment put the figures for housing shortage to a staggering level of 577 lakh for 2002-2007 and 550 lakh for 2007-12. The Working Group on Rural Housing constituted for the 11th Five Year Plan by the Ministry of Rural Development has estimated the shortage in rural housing for the period 2007 to 2012 to be 474.3 lakh out of which 90 per cent (i.e. 426.9 lakh) is rural housing shortage for BPL families.

IAY is one of the major schemes of the Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD) and aims at providing proper houses to rural shelter-less people or people lacking proper shelter particularly ones who are below poverty line. The popularity of the scheme can be attributed to the fact that the scheme enables beneficiaries to participate and involve themselves in construction of their home. The role of the State Government is confined to mere facilitating use of local, low cost, environment-friendly, and disaster resistant technology and in encouraging construction of sanitary latrine and smokeless *chulha*.

The Central budget is allocated to the States based on a 75% weightage to housing shortage and 25% weightage to poverty ratio. Similarly, the district allocation is based on a 75% weightage to housing shortage and 25% to the share of SC/ST population. Out of the total allocation under the scheme, 60% are earmarked for SC/STs, 3% for persons with disability, and 15% for minorities. It is expected that all houses will be sanctioned in the name of women or jointly with the husband. These provisions are geared to enable effective targeting of the weaker sections of the society. The financial assistance provided under the scheme for each house is Rs. 35,000/- in plain areas and Rs. 38,500/- in hilly / difficult areas. Up to 20 per cent of annual allocation of IAY can be spent for upgradation of *kutchha* houses and/or credit-cum subsidy scheme. Rs.15,000/- is provided for up-gradation and under Credit-cum-Subsidy Scheme households having an annual income of not more than Rs. 32,000/- are provided subsidy of Rs. 12,500/-. They can also avail loan upto Rs. 50,000/- from banks for construction of house.

Table 4: Financial and Physical Progress of IAY

	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09
Available Fund (in Crore)*	4320.25	4586.74	5037.88	6527.17	14443.21
Utilization (in Crore)	3261.54	3654.09	4253.42	5464.54	8282.86
Percentage Utilization	75.49	79.67	84.43	83.72	57.35
Physical Targets (in lakhs)	15.66	14.41	15.33	21.27	21.27
Physical Targets Achieved	15.16	15.51	14.98	20.44	20.93
% of Physical Targets Achieved	97	107	97.71	96.09	98.40
Women Beneficiary (in lakh)	7.37	8.79	8.27	13.01	17.15

Source: Outcome Budget (various issues), Dept. of Rural Development, GoI.

Note: Available Fund includes Centre and State shares.

The measurable target against which the performance of IAY has to be judged, is the proclamation in the Eleventh Plan that, 150 lakh houses which are disaster resistant, environment friendly and which will have proper sanitary facilities and smokeless *chulha* will be provided for the rural poor during the present plan period. However, as of now the allocations provided by the government and the targets achieved do not provide much optimism towards attaining the above-mentioned objective.

Unit Cost of Rural Housing

The Working Group on Rural Housing constituted for the 11th Five Year Plan, taking into consideration the low quality of construction, envisaged an increase in the unit cost during the 11th FYP period. The Ministry of Rural Development also to assess the revision of unit cost, consulted different organization. The HSMI (HUDCO) along with BMTPC gave an estimated range Rs. 60,000 to Rs. 81,900 for 25 to 30 sq. metre of plinth area for IAY housing which can be proportionately downscaled for IAY prescribed norm of 20 sq. metre of plinth area. Therefore, the estimated cost of an IAY dwelling unit would be within the range of Rs. 48,000 to Rs. 54,000 depending on the difficulty of the terrain. However, compared to the suggested unit cost, the unit cost for rural housing adopted by the ministry is still grossly inadequate.

Given the regional diversity across the country, in terms of resource availability for construction of quality housing and the ability of poorer sections to access these, it may also be worthwhile to explore the development of region specific range of unit cost that adhere to certain prescribed building norms relating to the structure and sanitation facilities. Such a system can ensure quality housing for the rural poor and rationalisation of cost of providing housing across the regions. Moreover, while targetting of rural housing schemes are ill advised, there may be a scope for differentiation in financing mechanism. BPL households while may be provided the cost of construction entirely as capital subsidy, beneficiaries other than BPL can be provided options of subsidised credit over for requirements over and above the budgeted costs. Subsidised credit for rural housing is also essential, as the effective rate of interest in the rural sector is higher than in urban areas limiting the scope of housing finance in rural areas.

2.2 Rural Roads (Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana)

In order to give a boost to rural connectivity, a rural roads programme, Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY) was launched as a 100% CSS in December 2000. The Bharat Nirman Programme envisages a massive scaling up in terms of habitation connectivity coverage, construction targets, and financial investment. To achieve the targets of the Programme, 1,46,185 km of rural roads are proposed to be constructed to benefit 66802 unconnected eligible habitations in the country. In respect of the Hill States (North-East, Sikkim, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir and Uttaranchal) and the Desert Areas, the objective would be to connect habitations with population of 250 persons and above. It is also proposed to upgrade nearly 1.94 lakh km of the existing rural roads which are identified through routes of the core network. However, the physical targets set under the Bharat Nirman Programme till the end of 2008–09 are found to be beyond the capacity of the States. Therefore, the leftover targets of the Programme for 2007–09 will be completed only by the end of the financial year 2009–10. In order to augment funding for meeting the targets of rural connectivity under the Bharat Nirman Programme, it is proposed to borrow Rs 16500 crore from NABARD by leveraging the cess accruals.

Budgetary allocations for PMGSY since 2004-05 (R.E) i.e. Rs. 2219 crore has steadily increased to Rs. Rs. 10,933 crore in 2009-10 (B.E). Given that the Union Budget 2009-10 is an interim budget, allocations for PMGSY has been substantially increased by almost 51 percent over 2008-09 (R.E.) figures, compared to other programmes.

Table 5: Financial and Physical Progress of PMGSY

	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09
Available Fund (in Rs. Crore)	2436.64	4190.59	4519.34	29680.18	47834.97
Utilization (in Rs. Crore)	3025.26	4560	4560	27398.01	46807.23
Length of road work (in K.M.)	23481.43	17454	27250	55020	64440
Work completed (in K.M.)	1104	22756	30710	41231	52644.62

Source: Outcome Budget (various issues), Dept. of Rural Development, GoI.

3. Conclusion

To sum up, the overall sectoral spending on rural development may have surpassed expectations, given the conservatism in fiscal expansion manifested by the UPA regime in its fiscal policies. However, before warming up to the numbers, caution needs to be exercised on the ground realities that prevail within the rural economy. Moreover, even to meet the targets set in the Eleventh Five Year Plan document, budgetary allocation for the remaining two years of the plan period need increased manifold. There are also certain structural issues in the implementation of schemes like the NREGS and the IAY which needs to be addressed in the long run. Even for smaller tranche of spending to have maximum impact, it is necessary to improve the quality of expenditure. The government's commitment on this front have definitely fallen short of expectations given the low amount of non-plan spending in all the programmes/schemes, which is necessary to strengthen monitoring and other supportive activities required to improve the quality of public service delivery.


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Commitment and Achievement in Climate Change in the Eleventh Five Year Plan

Aditi Kapoor

Context

India's Eleventh Five Year Plan (EFYP) is the first Plan that takes note of climate change in an independent vein. It is treated as a separate and distinct dimension of 'environment' and a section with clear action plan is devoted to it. This is a good first step especially because the approach paper to the Eleventh Five Year Plan had dismissed climate change in one line and talked about it only as a threat and a challenge to 'future generations.'

Fortunately, the approach paper had acknowledged India's failure to address environmental sustainability, recognised its positive link with 'human wellbeing' and stated the need to address this. Environmental sustainability is addressed in the Eleventh Plan under different sections but not in a comprehensive, focused manner and is not analysed from the climate lens. Several ongoing schemes and policies address adapting to climate vulnerabilities but these are primarily driven by the objective of sustainable livelihoods and poverty alleviation.

India's focus on climate change is relatively new, though the Tenth Plan (2002-07) had a strong focus on investing in renewable energy, which has been retained and is more ambitious in the Eleventh Plan. Yet, the imperative for this has been economic, not mitigation of greenhouse gases from burning of fossil fuels. In August 2005, for instance, former President APJ Abdul Kalam in his Independence Day address to the nation spoke about giving the 'highest priority' to 'energy independence' and achieving this 'within the next 25 years,' therefore, by the year 2030. The Eleventh Plan has brought this into the climate change fold.

Formal references to climate change concerns are contained in several documents, such as the National Environment Policy, the Integrated Energy Policy, and also the Tenth Five Year Plan. The Integrated Energy Policy 2006 focuses on meeting the country's energy demand in a technically efficient, economically viable, and environmentally sustainable manner. Both energy intensity and emissions intensity of the economy have exhibited a decreasing trend in the last two decades. This trend is on account of policies such as adoption of renewable energy technologies, energy efficiency, and use of cleaner fuels such as natural gas.

The NATCOM (India's communication to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change [UNFCCC]) reports, initiated in 2001, is the platform India has used for studying climate-linked emissions and impacts following this requirement post ratification of the Kyoto Protocol. The outputs of the NATCOM I study have been used, for instance, to assess changes in drought and floods. Concentration of droughts is projected in Gujarat and Rajasthan, which are already drought-prone, and in Orissa, which is currently flood-prone. NATCOM-linked institutions like the Indian Agricultural Research Institute (IARI) and the Indian Institute of Science have been undertaking research in other areas of climate change. The IARI, for instance, has predicted that wheat production for the country as a whole may

The National Disaster Management Authority, established in 2005, has the overall mandate to undertake comprehensive multi-hazard risk assessments and integrate disaster risk reduction into development planning, including adaptation to climate change impacts. Each of the states are required to set up state-level Authorities and several of the states now have these.

The National Action Plan on Climate Change (NAPCC) is the first concrete outcome of the Eleventh Plan. The NAPCC was developed by an expert committee set up under the aegis of the Prime Minister's office and is integrated into the Eleventh Five Year development plan. The NAPCC gives comprehensive details on the

impact of climate change in different areas and addresses both mitigation and adaptation measures through eight National Missions. The NAPCC briefly refers to the resources – 2.6 % of the GDP – that is currently being invested into adaptation but gives no clarity on what it means by these adaptive measures .

The Eleventh Plan and the NAPCC recognise that the poorest and the most vulnerable bear a higher burden of climate change impacts and also do not have the capacity to cope with it. The first guiding principle of the NAPCC is to protect ‘the poor and vulnerable sections of society through an inclusive and sustainable development strategy, sensitive to climate change.’ Yet, the Missions are not designed from a ‘rights’ perspective and do not address several of the fundamental needs for adaptation of these sections of society.

Commitments made in the EFYP

Goals and objectives of the Eleventh Plan are set out in the eight Missions of the NAPCC and these are linked to India’s development policies. Three of these Missions address mitigation and four address adaptation. These Missions are:

Mitigation

- National Solar Mission
- National Mission for Enhanced Energy Efficiency
- National Mission on Sustainable Habitat

Adaptation

- National Water Mission
- National Mission for Sustaining the Himalayan Ecosystem
- National Mission for a Green India
- National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture

The National Mission on Strategic Knowledge for Climate Change aims to encourage collaboration on research and development with the global community to improve infrastructure and modeling to understand key climate linked phenomena and processes regionally and globally.

Each Mission is linked to its thematic ministry and the aim is to set out specific objectives to be met during the remaining part of the Eleventh Plan and the Twelfth Plan (2012-13 to 2016-17) with adequate resourcing.

The measures/initiatives envisaged to achieve these goals are essentially rooted in India’s ongoing policies and programmes and have not been developed with climate change in mind. With regard to mitigation, these include:

- Energy labeling for appliances (2006);
- Energy conservation building code (2007);
- Energy audits mandatory for large industrial companies (2007);
- A thrust on public transport under the National Urban Transport Policy;
- Clean air initiatives on polluting vehicles and industries;
- Promotion of energy saving devices; and
- National Mission on Bio-diesel aims in the first (demonstration) phase to establish biodiesel (jatropha) plantations in 26 states, while the second phase will lead to the production of sufficient biodiesel to enable a 20% blend in vehicle diesel in 2011/12. Biodiesel Purchase Policy mandates petroleum industry to blend ethanol with gasoline (2003)

National Electricity Policy (2001) aims to supply electricity to all areas including villages and hamlets by 2012 primarily through decentralised RE (renewable energy) technologies. Accordingly, the Rajiv Gandhi Grameen Vidyutikaran Yojana (RGGVY) scheme, with an outlay of Rs 180 billion, aims to electrify about 1, 25,000 unelectrified villages across the country, targeting poor households through 90% subsidies.

- Promotion of renewable energy together with Indian Renewable Energy Development Agency Ltd (IREDA) as a specialised financial institution. The Eleventh Five-Year Plan aims to increase the installed capacity for renewable power (excluding large hydropower) by 14,500 MW, i.e. 20% of the overall increase in installed utility-based capacity (78,577 MW).

On adaptation, the measures are the continuation of India's livelihoods security and poverty alleviation programmes and have not been chalked out as a result of any climate policy. These include:

- Crop improvement programme including development of arid-land crops, pest management and capacity building of extension workers and NGOs on vulnerability reduction practices
- Drought proofing, with a special aim to improve the socio-economic conditions of the resource poor and disadvantaged sections of society
- Afforestation under the Forest Conservation Act 1980 and promotion of joint forest management
- Water harvesting programmes and watershed development

Declaration of 200 to 500 m of land from the HTL (high tide line) as 'no development zone' in coastal areas to protect coastal ecosystems; also construction of coastal protection infrastructure such as mangroves and building cyclone shelters

- Surveillance and control of vector borne diseases, provision of emergency medical relief and training of medical staff
- Risk financing including crop insurance scheme which supports farmers against climate risks as well as Credit Support Mechanism for crop failure due to climate variability
- National Disaster Management Authority 2005, programme includes preparedness for disasters and relief and response to those affected by disasters
- Biological Diversity Act 2002 and National Biodiversity Authority

There are some other commitments made in the Eleventh Plan which are critical and will contribute to climate change initiatives. These commitments have yet to be achieved. Some of these key commitments include:

- Setting up an independent, statutory, representative body on sustainable development to guide and monitor government policies, making them socially and environmentally sustainable.
- Restructuring State Pollution Control Board as statutory Environment Protection Authorities with a mandate to develop regulations and standards, upgrade facilities and enforce compliance.
- Revive the Paryavaran Vanihis (committees of concerned citizens) at the district level to act as environmental watchdogs and to monitor the environmental situation in the area.

Assessing the Performance of the EFYP

The NAPCC is a good start because it brings together impacts of climate change and measures required for mitigation and adaptation across climate-sensitive resources like land, water, forests and energy under one umbrella. Yet, it is largely old wine in new bottle and remains inadequate for several reasons. Here are some of the reasons:

One, the process by which it has been developed has been largely non-inclusive and non-transparent. There was virtually no consultation with poor and vulnerable people or people's organisations which are at the frontline of climate impacts and have devised coping mechanisms which could have contributed to policy making. The civil

society representatives on the Prime Minister's Council have very limited grassroots footprint. The decision-making process lacked an institutionalised way of consulting with the multitude of civil society organisations. Subsequently, the finalisation of the Missions has also been done minus any institutionalised inclusive process. Some of the draft Missions have been put on the net inviting comments/suggestions but this has excluded the vast majority who are not net savvy. At this point in time, only some of the Missions have been finalised and these have also been shared only on the net. Considering climate change impacts every aspect of our lives, the government needs to widely share its mitigation and adaptation initiatives and generate a public debate on these before deciding to adopt any of these.

Two, the Missions influence almost all socio-economic development schemes targeting poor and marginalised people but the Missions do not factor in the shortcomings that have been highlighted in these schemes and policies. Two critical examples are the inclusion of biofuel (jatropha) and GM crops. Both are highly controversial and are being vehemently opposed by a large section of civil society for their adverse effects on poor and marginalised people. Yet, there has been no dialogue between the government and the people before adopting these as adaptation strategies. For a developing country like India, adaptation requires assisting the vulnerable population during adverse climate events and empowering them to build their lives and to cope with climate risks in the long term. For this, their voices need to be heard in designing and monitoring the development schemes that impact them. There is a need to provide for socio-economic auditing of the schemes which now have the deemed status of being adaptation schemes.

Three, the rights based perspective is missing in the Plan. The three Missions addressing land, water and forests gloss over having rights over productive resources. The approach to solving the climate crisis is essentially a technological and a managerial one. What is missing is how to address the socio-economic challenges and the need for regulation, both of which are essential even to make this techno-managerial approach work. The drivers of climate change are as much socio-economic and legal as techno-managerial. Ownership, access and control over productive resources drives patterns of consumption, production and exploitation and these lie at the centre of coping with climate change. A good example is the Mission on Sustainable Agriculture which opts for biotechnology to develop water-efficient plants, drought-resistant crops, etc. as a major adaptive mechanism. This is almost at the cost of vast on-the-ground successes of adopting organic or low chemical input farming where farmers can own small pieces of land (80% of India's farmers are small and marginal), harvest the rainwater that falls on their land, protect their village forest and cope with climate changes. The number of landless agriculture labour is on the rise, especially among women. Techno-managerial adaptation mechanisms alone have known not to work with small farmers and further decline in agricultural productivity will make the landless even more vulnerable unless they own some productive asset. The worst effects are going to be felt by those who do not have any rights over productive resources, including agriculture knowledge.

Four, the Missions, especially those related to mitigation, address the needs of the better off classes in urban India rather than addressing the needs of rural or urban poor. The Energy Efficiency Mission, for example, only addresses efficiency in the commercial energy sector which is a small part of the total energy consumed in the country. It excludes energy from biomass-based sources like fuel-wood, diesel and kerosene. The latter is what poor communities use and considering half of India's population is excluded from grid electricity, this is a very large number indeed. Thus, for instance, a poor dalit women farmer in Hazaribagh, Jharkhand, has been helped by an NGO to form a group and together use a low Horse Power (HP) diesel water pump to irrigate her small patch of land and share this pump with her group. These small pumps of two or three or four HP run on diesel and are not included under the energy efficiency regulation. The same applies to several of the biomass-based or kerosene cook stoves that women use. Emerging areas like renewable energy, which inherently have decentralised production and distribution systems, are not seen as alternative livelihood options for poor people (many of whom want to move away from unproductive agriculture). In the Solar Mission, for instance, it is envisaged that rural solar thermal applications would be 'pursued under public private partnerships where feasible.' The Sustainable Habitat Mission too seeks green building codes and eco-friendly transport only in urban areas. What happens to the climate friendly shelter and transport needs of the poor in the rural areas? The question remains unaddressed.

Five, the NAPCC has developed climate policy frameworks only where climate-sensitive resources are involved – energy, land, water and forests. It remains silent on other sectors that are going to be adversely affected by climate. These especially include public health and education. The NAPCC states that its health programme is sufficient as a climate-responsive programme. This, however, is not true. Adaptation to climate change impacts will require, for instance, extended surveillance systems for vector-borne disease, research and development on new or mutated breeds and additional financial resources. Education is given a complete miss though schooling will suffer following frequent, unpredictable and intense disasters (floods, droughts, etc) predicted for the Indian sub-continent by the Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (<http://www.ipcc-wg2.org/>). Schools are often used as cyclone or flood shelters. Schools are shut down following disasters during the relief and response phase. Loss of crops, livelihoods following disasters force people to migrate. Where enrolment is low and dropout rate is high climatic catastrophe can lead to higher illiteracy rates in our country. The NAPCC needs to be amended to be more comprehensive and include other development schemes like public health and education which require integration of adaptation mechanisms.

Six, while the NAPCC is quite strong on mitigation, it is comparatively weak on adaptation. This is because the Plan relies heavily on India's ongoing development and poverty reduction schemes and does not add the 'additionality' or adaptation dimension. Most of these schemes are oriented towards livelihood security and welfare of the weaker sections but these are the sections who are going to be impacted the most and will have the least capacity to cope with the impacts. All schemes endeavouring to raise their standard of living and empower them must have additional adaptation measures with adequate resourcing. Most of these are Central, or centrally-sponsored, schemes under different ministries and departments aimed at achieving social and economic development. Development schemes can be explicitly referred to as 'adaptation schemes' only if they contain elements (objectives and targets) that clearly relate to risks from climate variability.

Seven, the NAPCC is complacent over disaster management. The ongoing National Disaster Management Programme needs to be reviewed from the climate lens and included in the Plan. The spatial and temporal distribution of droughts, floods and cyclones in the country needs to be factored into the programme with adequate resourcing. The National Disaster Management Authority and the some of the state-level authorities are informed about adaptation measures adopted by communities but these are not adequately informing disaster prevention mechanisms. This programme has the mandate to integrate adaptation with development through existing development schemes, policies and delivery systems. The NDMA is headed by the Prime Minister yet the disaster management programme has still not been rolled out effectively at the state-level. Given its importance in the wake of climate change, it should be included within the NAPCC in a mission mode. Else there is a danger that the programme will not be given the required fillip to be responsive to climatic changes. Disasters affect the poorest and the marginalised the most and they often push many under the poverty line. The disaster management programme is an institutionalised programme and the NAPCC must include it within its fold to give it priority.

Eight, the NAPCC has glossed over adaptation funds. Stating that it is investing 2.6% of its GDP into adaptation is neither here nor there if the nature of this investment is not clarified. It seems as if the monies are for business-as-usual development schemes which the government would have anyway invested in climate change or no climate change. What is that additional aspect that has been added to these schemes and resourced? Are there any new schemes? Have the ongoing schemes been modified in a way so as to enhance adaptive components in it? What is adaptation and what is disaster risk reduction mechanism? Has the government been able to differentiate funding for adaptation and investing in disaster risk reduction? These and many questions need to be answered before the government can give a figure on adaptation funding. The answers to these questions are not given in the NAPCC and are not available anywhere else. Not even with government officials. In fact, just like the entire NAPCC process, there is no information available even about the schemes that the government has included to come to this figure. The government should immediately bring out a white paper on the adaptation budget of 2.6% of GDP.

The NAPCC covers too many schemes and programmes to do an analysis here on their implementation. Many of these see some role for Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). Broadly, with regard to adaptation schemes, there are three overall challenges for which the government needs to ensure:

- Sound delivery mechanisms at the district and block level.
- Institutionalisation of effective community participation from community-based organisations including user-committees, joint forest management committees, farmers' organisations in government schemes.
- Effective functioning of PRIs with clear roles and responsibilities and delegated resourcing.
- Adequate resourcing of the 'additional' adaptive measures integrated into ongoing development schemes and programmes.

With regard to mitigation programmes, the overall approach must:

- Integrate into renewable energy generation livelihoods options for poor people.
- Bring non-fossil fuel energy sources into the fold of energy efficiency.
- Provide low-carbon public transport to rural and semi-urban areas.
- Invest in research & development towards eco-friendly, locally available, safe building material in rural and semi-urban areas.
- Expand awareness programmes on renewables.

The Missions are now being designed, reviewed and beginning to be rolled out so the time is ripe to plug the gaps and address the needs of poor and excluded people at the start rather than mid-way.

Is the EFYP addressing the issues of social exclusion adequately?

Some of the analysis from the social exclusion lens has been included above. Again, since climate change brings into its fold a multitude of development policies and programmes, it is not possible to do an analysis of all here. The overriding concern remains that climate change threatens to deepen the social divides. Thus, when the government reviews each scheme from the climate lens, it must also ensure that the worst affected will not bear a double burden and remain excluded from the adaptation schemes too. For instance, if the government is training agriculture extension workers on drought-proof crops, are they thinking of dalit women farmers?

Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

Climate change is here. In 2009 alone, there were reports of variable rainfall patterns, higher and variable temperatures and frequent and more intense and unpredictable natural disasters (floods, droughts, cyclones, landslides, etc). With these were reports of their impact on food production and lives of poor people.

The late and erratic rainfall in 2009 resulted in poor paddy crop and India was forced to import rice for the first time. Two-thirds of India's districts received deficient rainfall. The drought forced villagers to leave their land to find work as daily wagers in nearby towns and cities, forcing school children to discontinue school. The intense rains and the sudden floods in non-disaster prone states of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra also caught citizens and authorities unawares. The late setting in of the 2009 winters could well impact our rabi crop as many of the farmers in north Bihar villages are already telling us. Fisherfolk in Andhra Pradesh speak about frequent sea storms within a cyclonic season. Those in Orissa are already talking about sea level rise and dead zones that are forcing them to travel up to 60 Km into the sea to catch fish which, a decade back, had been available much closer to the shore.

Case Study 1

When I was a girl, I remember we started wearing our warm clothes either by end-September or early- October. This year (2008), we took them out only in December. Winters months have reduced and it is not as cold as it used to be. Ten years ago snowfall was common with 2 ft snow in our village. Now we are unable to see any snow even in the nearby forests where it is comparatively colder. 'Burass' is a plant that usually flowers during the Shivratri festival in February as the summer sets in, but this year the

budding and flowering took place in December itself, which was a surprise for all the villagers. We feel that the summers have advanced by at least two months in our region. There is also a visible and evident change in the rainfall pattern. It usually rains in our region in the month of May (which is when we sow paddy), but this time it rained in August and that too very scantily in the forests. The glaciers in our region have also been melting rapidly now. Ice blocks from Gangotri have been breaking and creating a lot of problems like flash floods in our village. In July – August this year our village was flooded due to glacial breaking and it took with it whatever little crops we had. We also had a lot of problem getting fresh water as the sources of fresh water in our region have disappeared.

We usually take two crops - wheat and paddy – every year. This year (2008-09) there was no snow or even winter rain so we lost our entire wheat crop which needs the cold temperature to mature. We did not even get enough wheat to make seeds for the next season. We were waiting for the rains to come in May, so that we could sow paddy, but it did not rain at all in May, June and July. In August we had very scanty rains and we have sown paddy just for the sake of it. In the hills we sow “barah anaja” (which is mixed cropping of twelve pulses and grains), but this year as the rains did not come on time this crop has also failed. Water in the rivers and streams has also reduced by half because of scanty rains so we do not have any water for irrigation. Lack of rains has reduced fodder and grazing grass for our cattle and we women have to walk long distances to get the grass and dry wood we need.

Himla Devi, 32, Pujar village, Pratapgarh, Tehri Garhwal, Uttarakhand. Courtesy: Oxfam India

Climate change is set to impact India's economy, polity and society in deep and different ways. India's economy is impacted because India is still an agriculture-based economy and primarily dependent on fossil fuel consumption. The impact of climate change on health will lower productivity and potential productivity of those who are under- or mal-nourished, primarily the excluded groups like poor dalits, adivasis minorities and women.

Climate change impacts India's polity, as Centre-State relations determine the failure or success of India's mitigation and adaptation endeavours. Climate change impacts society as the poorest and the socially marginalised people are the most vulnerable to the impacts and have the least wherewithal to cope with the changes. With two out of three Indians still living off \$2 a day, we are talking about a majority of our 1.2 billion people. And with rising inequality (Topalova, 2008), climate change will push the vulnerable sections of society further into the poverty and social exclusion trap.

Specific recommendations have been made in the sections above. I would like to end with the table below which uses the Millennium Development framework (http://www.undp.org/climatechange/cc_mdgs.shtml) to reveal the impact that climate change will have on our aspirations for growth across sectors. Therefore it is necessary to integrate climate change concerns into all our development policies and programmes specifically keeping in focus the poorest and the most vulnerable sections of society including poor dalits, adivasis, minorities and women.

MDGs	Climate Risks
Goal 1: Eradicate extreme hunger and poverty	<p>Changes in natural systems and infrastructure will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce the livelihood assets of poor people • Alter the path and rate of national economic growth • Undermine regional food security
Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education	<p>Climate change could lead to a reduction in the ability of children to participate in full-time education by causing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Destruction of infrastructure (such as schools) • Loss of livelihood assets (increasing the need for children to engage in income-earning activities) • The displacement and migration of families
Goal 3: Promote gender equality	<p>Depletion of natural resources, reduced agricultural productivity and increased climate-related disasters could:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Place additional burdens on women's health • Limit women's time to participate in decision-making and income-generating activities • Reduce the livelihood assets of women
Goals 4, 5, and 6: Reduce child mortality, improve maternal health and combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases	<p>Increased child mortality, reduced maternal health and the undermining of the nutritional health needed by individuals to combat HIV/AIDS are expected to occur as a result of climate change-induced:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extreme weather events • Increase in prevalence of certain vector-borne and water-borne diseases • Heat-related mortality • Declining food security • Decreased availability of potable water
Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability	<p>Climate change will have a direct impact on environmental sustainability because it:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Causes fundamental alterations in ecosystem relationships • Changes the quality and quantity of natural resources • Reduces ecosystem productivity

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India's model of planned economic development is based on the Five Year Plans. The Five Year Plans provide the overall direction and basic framework for policies, programmes and schemes for the various Ministries and Departments as well as for the Annual Plans of states. The Mid Term Appraisal of a plan provides an opportunity to assess and appraise the functioning of the plan and undertake corrective steps needed to overcome the weaknesses identified during the course of the appraisal. Currently the Mid Term Appraisal of the Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012) is being done by the Planning Commission.

Since people are central to governance, it is imperative that they play a role in the crucial exercise of evaluating the objectives and targets set in the Eleventh Five Year Plan. Recognising the need to bring people into this process, several organisations have come together to organise a People's Mid Term Appraisal, to assess from a people's perspective how the Eleventh has worked.

This report, which is part of the process of the People's Mid Term Appraisal, carries research papers on important areas/sectors of concern.

