HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA: EMERGING ISSUES AND POLICY PERSPECTIVES

February 5-6, 2010, New Delhi

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List of Abbreviations

ASHA - Accredited Social Health Activist

AWW - Anganwadi Worker

BPL - Below Poverty Line

CCT - Conditional Cash Transfer

CSS - Centrally Sponsored Scheme

DGP - Director General of Police

DIET - District Institute of Education and Training

EFA – Education for All

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GER - Gross Enrolment Ratio

GNP - Gross National Product

GoI - Government of India

HDI - Human Development Index

IAS - Indian Administrative Service

 ${f ICDS}$ – Integrated Child Development Scheme

 \mathbf{ICSSR} – Indian Council of Social Science Research

ICT - Information and Communication Technology

IKP - Indira Kranthi Padham

ITI - Industrial Training Institute

JNNURM - Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

MDGs - Millennium Development Goals

MDM - Mid-day Meals Scheme

MFI - Micro-finance Institution

MGNREGA - Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act

MGNREGS - Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme

MHRD - Ministry of Human Resource Development

MLA - Member of the Legislative Assembly

NCEUS - National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector

NFHS - National Family Health Survey

NGO - Non-Government Organisation

NOAPS - National Old Age Pension Scheme

NRHM - National Rural Health Mission

NSSO – National Sample Survey Organisation

NUEPA – National University of Educational Planning and Administration

PDS - Public Distribution System

PHC - Primary Health Centre

PRIs – Panchayati Raj Institutions

RTE - Right to Education

RTI – Right to Information

SC - Scheduled Caste

SHG - Self-help Group

SSA – Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan

ST - Scheduled Tribe

TSC – Total Sanitation Campaign



Preface

This report captures the main proceedings of an International Consultation on 'Human Development in India: Emerging Issues and Policy Perspectives,' held on 5–6 February, 2010 in New Delhi.

The Consultation, which was organised by the Institute for Human Development, New Delhi, with support from the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) and The World Bank, made valuable contributions to the ongoing debates and policy efforts in the sphere of human development in India.

In the backdrop of persistent deprivation, poverty and insecurities amidst growing wealth and prosperity, the Consultation dwelt on five key themes, viz., education; health and nutrition; employment and skills; social protection; and improving the effectiveness of social programmes for attaining better human development outcomes.

Around 120 participants, including policy-makers and well-known experts drawn from academia, the government, and international and bilateral organisations participated in the event. I express my gratitude to the writers of the background papers, panelists and moderators, as well as the distinguished speakers during the inaugural and concluding sessions for their very rich and meaningful interventions at the Consultation.

I am grateful to the ICSSR, particularly to Dr. Ranjit Sinha, Member Secretary, and Dr. U.N. Tawhir, for their support. I would also like to thank the officials of The World Bank for offering valuable support, especially Dr. Michael Rutkowski, Sector Director, Human Development, Dr. Pablo Gottret, Lead Human Development Economist, SASHD, and Dr. Reema Nayar, Lead Economist, who provided their detailed inputs at every stage of the Consultation.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank the IHD team, comprising Dr. Sandip Sarkar, Dr. Preet Rustagi, Dr. Ashok Pankaj, Dr. R.P. Mamgain, Mr. Upendranadh, Mr. Aseem Prakash, Dr. Rajini Menon, Dr. Abhay Kumar, Ms. Amrita Datta, Ms. Diksha Arora, Ms. Rukmini Tankha, Ms. Joyita Ghose, Ms. Kasturi Majumdar, and Ms. Swati Verma. Special thanks are also due to Professor Dev Nathan, who was the overall rapporteur of the Consultation and Ms. Angela Nath for her contribution in preparing this report.

I hope that this report would prove useful for policymakers concerned with the aspect of human development and others who are interested in the ongoing debate on the issue.

Alakh N. Sharma

Director, Institute for Human Development



Background and Objectives

India has been experiencing a consistently high growth rate during the post-liberalisation period following the implementation of economic reforms in the early 1990s. It has achieved excellence in several key areas ranging from information technology and pharmaceuticals to automotive parts, and is now considered as one of the fastest growing economies of the world. Despite these positive developments, India is still among the countries with some of the lowest indicators of human development. Its levels of malnutrition, illiteracy and poverty are unacceptably high. The rise in income inequalities and regional disparities is also a matter of concern. Employment has grown, but the jobs created are not of high quality. Although there has been an expansion in several social services like health, nutrition and education, the quality of most of these services remains poor in most of the rural areas. And above all, an overwhelming majority of the population is deprived of basic social protection. Policy-makers are thus faced with a paradox – the persistence of deprivations and increasing insecurities among a large section of the population amidst growing affluence and prosperity for some. The Eleventh Five-Year Plan has also reflected upon these concerns and has highlighted the need for balanced and 'inclusive growth'.

In the backdrop of these issues, the Institute for Human Development (IHD) organised an International Consultation on 'Human Development in India: Emerging Issues and Policy Paradigms', on February 5-6, 2010, at New Delhi, with support from the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) and The World Bank. The Consultation sought to deliberate on the concerns emerging from the contradiction of persistent deprivation, poverty and insecurities amidst growing wealth and prosperity. The idea was to revisit these issues under the changing context and emergence of new opportunities and challenges caused by the growth process, which influence various aspects of human development. The five major themes of discussion were: (i) education (ii) health and nutrition (iii) employment and skills (iv) social protection and (v) improving the effectiveness of social programmes for attaining better human development outcomes. Discussions on these crucial themes also outlined a broad agenda for inclusive growth as envisaged in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan.

As regards the structure of the Consultation, a background paper was prepared and presented by an expert on each of the themes (except in the case of health and nutrition, wherein two papers were separately prepared on both the themes). The issues raised in the papers were then deliberated upon by a set of panelists and commentators. The idea was to facilitate in-depth discussions on each of the themes, based on the background paper, for bringing the various issues and challenges to the fore and identifying pathways for inclusive development.

Apart from the inaugural session, there were five thematic sessions designed to facilitate discussions on each of the five major areas mentioned above. At the end, there was a session on the overview of the Consultation and emerging perspectives in which some prominent social scientists and policy-makers expressed their views on the entire process.

The Consultation was attended by around 120 participants, including panelists, experts and participants from academia, NGOs, the government, international and bilateral organisations, media, etc. The programme and list of participants are appended for reference.

Recommendations of the Consultation

The Consultation underscored the necessity of linking growth with human development, as mere economic growth is not sufficient for achieving sustained social development. The growth also has to address the larger question of establishing socio-economic equality in order to realise a meaningful political democracy, and should be prioritised in terms of policies and strategies. Throughout the various sessions, there was an overall sense of optimism, flowing from the reasonable success of entitlement-based schemes (like MGNREGS, SSA, etc.), and gradual progress towards further entitlement-based developments like RTE, with the groundswell to access to rights and high growth rates that have made resources available for human development.

The panelists underscored the need to accelerate agricultural growth for tackling poverty. They also raised concerns relating to growth in manufacturing, investment, infrastructure and capital formation, as well as employment generation.

With the Global Monitoring Report (Education for All) placing India among one of the 30 countries that are likely to miss all or some of the 2015 EFA targets, there is a dire need to remove social and economic barriers to accessing education. The education policy must also shift its focus from enrolment to improving the functioning of schools as well as the quality of education outcomes. The panelists raised the issue of slow growth in public healthcare provisions in India as compared to the rest of its economy. They felt that malnutrition is a pressing issue, which needs immediate attention if public health schemes and strategies have to be made effective.

During the course of deliberations, the panelists clearly agreed that the challenge of unemployment had emerged as one crucial issue, as a clear understanding of the ways of dealing with it is largely lacking. They called for increased training and skill development initiatives to bridge the demand-supply gap existing in the organised sector.

There was a consensus on the need to promote social protection, which is needed for promoting growth and equity since 93 per cent of our workforce is engaged in the informal sector and makes a major contribution to the economy.

Some of the major points emerging from the Consultation for each of the themes under discussion are delineated below.

Education

- The education policy should shift its focus from enrolment to improvement in the functioning of schools as well as towards raising the quality of education outcomes.
- Special strategies are needed to improve the outreach of the school system to the disadvantaged and marginalised groups in the country. A more systematic school mapping exercise should be undertaken to provide these groups access to both lower and upper primary classes, for removing social barriers to education.
- Shared public space should be created in education to allow private schools to co-exist with government schools in the delivery of education. Further, there is a need for standardisation of schools, with the mechanical provisioning of core inputs and a well-developed pedagogy.
- Long-term goals are required to bridge the gender gap, which constitutes a key hurdle in achieving literacy in the country, along with measures to ensure universalisation of elementary education among girls.
- Allocation to the education sector should be raised from the existing figure of about 4 per cent to the targeted figure of 6 per cent of the GNP. Simultaneously, there must be an improvement in the targeting of the investment to address state level disparities and social inequities.
- There is a need to plug the gaps in teaching inputs. For this, a well-designed programme of recruitment, retention and deployment of teachers needs to be put into place in each state to ensure a high level of teaching quality and also to clear the backlog of vacancies at all levels.
- The issue of child labour, which is estimated at a whopping figure of 12 million children, should be tackled at the earliest, as without it, there can be no improvement in child participation in schools. The implementation and monitoring of this strategy should be done at the state level, for which respective governments should create additional supervisory structures and mobilise financial and human resources.

Health

• Effective policies in the public health sector call for a convergence of initiatives in different sectors. The focus should be on certain wider

determinants of healthcare like food and livelihood security, drinking water, women's literacy, better nutrition and sanitation, and above all, confidence in convergent community action.

- The public health policy should focus on the prevention of diseases by providing clean water and sanitation rather than fighting diseases by administering antibiotics. This necessitates training of public health specialists and development of health facilities at all levels.
- Crucial attention should be paid to the financing of healthcare. Public expenditure on health in the country constitutes only around 1 per cent of the GDP. It should be raised to about 2 per cent during the next five years. There is also a dire shortage of healthcare staff. In order to meet these challenges, the government could forge partnerships with various stakeholders.
- Along with government healthcare services, India, with its vast size and population, also offers space for private healthcare providers. However, regulations must be put in place to ensure that the private sector follows ethical standards and treatment practices.
- Local workers from the community should be trained in basic healthcare since Primary Health Centres (PHCs) cannot always provide the first point of contact in supplying healthcare in a vast country like India.
- There is need for a rights-based approach in the area of public health services. A high level national steering group could be set up to address this and other critical issues emerging from this Consultation.

Nutrition

- In order to reduce malnutrition, it is imperative to promote policies for increasing food productivity as well as for enhancing land use and desirable cropping patterns.
- With malnutrition being a multi-dimensional issue, national level programmes like the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) need to be revamped and restructured, and efforts made to facilitate their convergence with schemes pertaining to health, education, water, sanitation and food security at all levels.
- Food supplementation programmes are essential for tackling hunger and food security issues, and for ensuring social equity. Food supplements act as a transfer of resources to poor families and are

specially needed to reach some of the population groups like pregnant women and nursing mothers, children below the age of 5 years, school children, and adolescent girls.

- Convergence of the nutrition component of various district plans made by the health department, ICDS, sanitation committee, education department and the local panchayats would ensure not just a shared outcome indicator but also a department-specific output for all the stakeholders.
- There is a need for a National Nutrition Mission with the objective of reducing by half the unacceptably high levels of malnutrition in the country within five to seven years. Simultaneously, continuous monitoring of nutrition indicators should be undertaken for identifying areas of high malnutrition, measuring programme outcomes, and documenting malnutrition trends. This monitoring can be achieved through surveys, and a nutrition surveillance and management information system.
- Women's empowerment can contribute greatly towards reducing malnutrition. This can be achieved by ensuring higher levels of schooling for girls, and higher age at marriage as well as higher maternal age at the birth of the first child.
- Social mobilisation is another way of achieving the nutrition objectives of the country. This entails informing the community about health and nutrition objectives; and generating enthusiasm and awareness to energise them into action, especially at the family and local community levels.

Employment and Skills

- The government policy of divorcing employment creation from the growth process must be reversed in order to address the issue of jobless growth of the organised sector. If this issue is not addressed, the gaps in terms of labour and income, working conditions, and social security, between a small group of formal employees and a larger group of informal workers would go on widening, thereby increasing the prospects of 'Latin Americanisation' of the Indian economy.
- The unorganised sector should be strengthened and sustained with investment to ensure its growth. Due to inter-dependence between the organised and unorganised sectors, labour productivity in the

unorganised sector is crucial for improving employment conditions in the organised sector. This is also important from the perspective of human development as an estimated 90 per cent of the nation's workforce is currently engaged in the unorganised sector or the informal economy and it is incumbent upon the Government to address the livelihood and employment needs of this vast populace.

- While skills need to be developed and upgraded, from the demand and supply perspective, industry-specific and technology-specific skills also need to be simultaneously promoted. This necessitates large-scale development of training institutions and trainers, particularly in the emerging trades, where currently there is an enormous shortfall of skilled workers.
- Annual employment surveys should be conducted for analysis and policy-making. Further, studies also need to be conducted for assessing the impact of outsourcing, a result of the liberalisation process in India, which has boosted the exports of both labour-intensive as well as skill-intensive industries like Information Technology.
- Wages should be monitored to examine the functioning of the labour market and to assess wage elasticity, particularly after the implementation of the recommendations of the Sixth Pay Commission, as these are also likely to have a significant impact on employment in the country.

Social Protection

- Disparities, be they rural-urban or regional, need to be reduced for ensuring a higher level of economic growth. This calls for addressing the social protection needs of special groups such as migrant workers, the elderly, persons with disabilities, and tribals.
- It is important to devise an effective method of identifying beneficiaries for social protection and of targeting programmes towards them. The programmes could be based on a combination of universal, self-targeted or targeted strategies to ensure the universal coverage of beneficiaries, while simultaneously taking into account the costs of targeting. The existing methodology of identifying beneficiaries in static rather than dynamic terms, on the basis of the Below the Poverty Line (BPL) Census, needs to be amended as it tends to encourage perverse incentives because of the premium accorded to those belonging to a group that is eligible for social assistance.

- The effective participation of the people should be ensured for facilitating accountability in social transfers. There is a need to tackle issues of economic and social equity, gender bias, and illiteracy at the grassroots level for this purpose.
- There is a need to recognise the crucial role of women as agents of sustained socio-economic growth and change. This necessitates focusing on removing gender gaps as well as on women's empowerment, which would have a significant impact on reducing poverty and inequality.
- Social protection operates through mechanisms of social security, social assistance and social insurance, and provides a minimum floor, thus promoting social cohesion. In India, there is greater focus on social assistance/promotional measures, but contingency social security measures are mostly available only for organised workers. In view of the fact that 93 per cent of the workforce in the country is not engaged in formal work patterns, it may be more appropriate to ensure that social security needs are anchored to the place of work.
- A Social Security Board could be set up for organising stakeholders occupation-wise and taking into account the needs and perceptions of informal workers. This would also help in making the system more cost-effective and in efficiently addressing workers' grievances.
- Merely designing poverty alleviation schemes is not sufficient; there must also be pro-poor policies at the macro level in the fiscal, trade, and financial sectors. The macro-policies implemented during the post-reform period have not been pro-employment and pro-poor in many developing countries, including India. This trend must be reversed.
- The importance of inclusive governance must be recognised. India has many social protection programmes to improve capabilities, and reduce risks and vulnerabilities. Yet the effectiveness of these programmes is far from satisfactory. There is thus a need for social mobilisation, community participation and the adoption of a decentralised approach to ensure better implementation of social protection policies and programmes.

Strengthening the Social Programmes for Improved Human Development Outcomes

- Provision of services enhancing human development outcomes, such as health and education, cannot be left solely to the market because of the existing critical market failures as well as due to both inelastic demand and substantial information asymmetries. Public-private partnerships may be an effective means of service delivery in these areas.
- For effective fiscal transfers, devolution of Central funds to states may be linked to a performance-oriented quantifiable annual index constructed on the basis of certain agreed economic, social, health, infrastructure-related indicators. Some universally accepted criteria for good budgetary practices could also be included in the proposed index.
- Ministries should suo moto make all relevant information available to the people for ensuring transparency in dealings and probity. 'Outward accountability' is essential for facilitating greater responsiveness to the needs of the public and thereby for enhancing service quality. For departments like Police and Rural Development, which have more public dealings than others, an annual assessment should be conducted by an independent team comprising professionals such as journalists, retired judges, academicians, activists, NGOs, and even retired government servants.
- Public administration needs to become more professional as well as responsive. Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) have become an important arm of the decentralised governance system and can play a major role in this area. They can also be equipped with greater decision-making power at the local level, and their eligibility for obtaining central funds must be linked to their competence in raising resources from internal sources.
- Participatory governance, through organisations of marginalised people (such as the landless, women, Dalits, and adivasis), parallel to the PRIs, should be encouraged. Social movements in contemporary India play an important role in ensuring inclusive policy-making and effective implementation of programmes. There is a need to further strengthen this process.
- Key developments in the area of human development in the country, including the enactment of the Right to Information

(RTI) Act and the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), have helped in evolving systems for the better implementation of these schemes. The rights-based approach, particularly if rights are secured from below, is a positive development and carries some hope for the most vulnerable sections. The role of the judiciary is also particularly important.

Other Over-arching Issues

Some of the overarching issues, which were widely endorsed during the Consultation, are as follows:

- A rights-based approach was preferred to other approaches, as there is acknowledgement of the fact that citizenship is associated with rights to minimum entitlements. Examples of this include the Right to Food, Right to Work (MGNREGA), Right to Information, Right to Education, etc.
- There is a need to clearly identify both the target and the beneficiary. A combination of both universalisation and targeted coverage may be followed in specific areas along with the consideration of costs, problems of exclusion, etc. The overall emphasis is on universalisation of certain essentials like food, education, health, housing etc. Under the targeted system, there are errors of exclusion and inclusion, as well as leakages in a dual price system. Universalisation can be combined with embedded self-selection systems.
- In an open economy, it is necessary to take into account the productivity effects of redistributive policies (for example MGNREGA), including asset redistribution and not just income redistribution, while considering the relative welfare and productivity effects of the two.
- Both the public and private sectors need to be assigned their respective roles in human development in the areas appropriate to each sector, with an emphasis on strengthening the public system. However, the need to improve service delivery is critical for achieving the required growth.
- A reasonable minimum standard needs to be achieved in education, health and other services. Linked to this is the need for developing effective monitoring and surveillance systems for supervising implementation and measure outcomes.

- It is imperative to address the interests of some deprived groups like SCs, STs, women, children, and minorities, as well as to ensure regional equity. Since laggard human development is concentrated in some eight to ten states, the regional dimension must also be addressed simultaneously.
- There is a need for decentralisation and participatory programming. Local institutions and bodies, PRIs, SHGs, etc. need to be assigned a bigger role for ensuring the effective implementation of programmes. Greater accountability as well as a more participatory process through investments in institutions of the poor are required simultaneously. However, the fact that local institutions are often controlled by vested interests also needs to be taken into account.
- Successful programmes and strategies should be replicated universally, while at the same time taking into account the local contexts and requirements to ensure its successful implementation.
- Greater accountability and transparency are required in service delivery agencies. The state agencies need to adopt a more pro-poor stance to ensure the effective implementation of inclusive development strategies and positive human development outcomes.
- There should be a convergence of programmes and schemes apart from an integrated and holistic approach to achieve better planning, resource allocation and better results. However, it is also necessary to ensure that in this process, programmes like MGNREGS do not get treated as multipurpose programmes, which would make them lose sight of their core objectives.
- Issue pertaining to infrastructural constraints and capacity building need to be realistically and urgently addressed. Strategies should be designed to generate the requisite infrastructure in terms of both hardware and software, including schools, teachers, pedagogy, health centres, sanitation facilities, training programmes, etc.
- An effective administrative mechanism/base needs to be instituted for local governance. This would ensure prompt delivery of services, greater professionalism and better management, technological adaptation, design and work process change, and complementary administrative reforms, among other things.



Inaugural Session: Accelerated Growth in India and Human Development Outcomes

Chairperson

Professor Yoginder Alagh, Chairman, IHD and Former Union Minister

Inaugural Address

Dr. Montek Singh Ahluwalia, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission

Panelists

Professor Kaushik Basu, Chief Economic Advisor, Government of India and Professor of Economics, Cornell University

Professor Deepak Nayyar, Professor of Economics, Jawaharlal Nehru University



In his welcome address, Professor Alakh N. Sharma, Director, Institute for Human Development, spoke about the concept behind the Consultation and its objectives. He pointed out that despite high growth in India's per capita income, the progress in human development had not been satisfactory. He reiterated the need for development to be reflected on the ground in terms of a significant reduction in poverty, malnutrition and deprivation. He stressed that there were increasing disparities among various segments of the population and employment had risen mostly in the informal sector, which was typically associated with a complete lack of social protection and low levels of earnings. He also pointed out the need for balanced and inclusive growth in the nation.

Dr. Montek Singh Ahluwalia Professor Yoginder Alagh Professor Kaushik Basu Professor Deepak Nayyar Professor Alakh N. Sharma

Professor Kaushik Basu expressed optimism about the future growth rate of India, if it were to follow a 'top down' process. He also commended the robustness of the Indian economy in contrast to the economies of other Asian countries. However, he cautioned that market processes could not take care of the issue of human development, which necessitates policy planning and building of effective institutions. While asserting that human development and poverty were closely related, he claimed that in order to raise the human development index (HDI), we need to concentrate on the bottom 20 per cent of the population. Pointing to the need for reforming the Industrial Dispute Act, he lamented that the existing labour laws did not serve the interests of either the organised sector or the labourers. His twin suggestions included conferring rights and legal weapons to workers, on one hand, and allowing the free play of market forces to determine the demand for labour, on the other hand.

Professor Deepak Nayyar drew attention to the rise in per capita income and overall GDP growth rates in India during the period 1980-2008. Yet these figures did not capture the real picture, and being mathematical averages, did not indicate the development index for the poorer sections. He pointed out that India has not been able to meet the basic needs of a vast population of 50 million that continues to live in acute poverty and deplorable conditions. In this context, he also raised the following questions: What proportion of the GDP is required to be redistributed to improve this situation; and since 1981 how far have the people above the poverty line moved away? Professor Nayyar referred to the MGNREGS as an effective tool for addressing the problem of social protection for the basic population, though economic growth is needed for raising employment. He concluded by emphasising that economic growth could not be completely disengaged from social development, since such a growth would be neither possible nor sustainable in the long run.

Focusing on the possibilities of a faster growth rate for India in the future, the Chairperson of the session, **Professor Yoginder K. Alagh** averred that such an outcome depends heavily on the levels of investment in the economy. Discussing the mid-term appraisal of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, he noted that during the first three years of the Plan period, there was an improvement in the growth rate of the agriculture sector. Commenting on the rapid rate of urbanisation in the country, he wondered whether the focus of growth should be on agriculture or the non-agriculture sector. He also mentioned the positive role played by MGNREGS in facilitating growth and technological change in the economy in recent times. Further, he stressed on the need to examine the employment issue with this perspective rather than only in terms of labour market reforms. He concluded by asserting that the need of the hour is the adoption of a pro-poor worldview in the rate of growth of agriculture.

Delivering the inaugural address, Dr. Montek Singh Ahluwalia expressed serious concerns as to why the Plans usually did not work out successfully in the case of India. He acknowledged the need for inclusive growth, since economic growth is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for development. He revealed that a whole new matrix of 27 monitorable targets was set for the Eleventh Five-Year Plan. While expressing concern at the poor performance of human development indicators in the country, he outlined the need for assessing whether the accelerated growth rate of the economy leads to faster overall development.

Dr. Ahluwalia asserted that accelerated agricultural growth is a key element in the Plan strategy. After 1997, this sector exhibited deceleration, and the possibility of attaining a 4 per cent growth rate in the sector in the near future does not seem unreachable. According to him, the management of a series of linked weaknesses of the sector, specifically those related to irrigation, is an obvious concern. Referring to various ministries, which undertake strategic decisions on resource allotment to various sectors, he revealed that sizeable resources are being spent on education and infrastructure. He also highlighted the rise in the proportion of informal sector employment, wherein workers do not enjoy any of the benefits that their counterparts in the formal sector do.

While labour-intensive employment offers a comparative advantage to an economy like India as opposed to other countries, Dr. Ahluwalia claimed that India's labour laws were more rigid than most of the countries. Given the equation of fixed labour size and variable capital in the case of India, reforming labour laws is thus an important objective. He also underscored the need for academics to play an important role in this area, and for improving outcomes as far as economic growth is concerned. For this purpose, accountability has to be improved at the grassroot level. He, however, warned that monitoring the actual end-use of money is difficult as it is not easy to restructure or enhance accountability at the lowest institutional levels.

Dr. Montek Singh Ahluwalia Professor Yoginder Alagh Professor Kaushik Basu Professor Deepak Nayyar Professor Alakh N. Sharma

Following his address, the floor was thrown open for questions. There were several queries regarding public-private partnerships in infrastructure, and whether the degree of involvement of the private sector is across the board or selective. Another question related to the large amount of unspent money in every budget. He was asked why the approach to a change in the fiscal model was more input-based than output-based. Yet another question pertained to the reason behind the rejection of the proposal to integrate the tariff policy with agricultural development.

The panelists, though agreeing over the need for innovative thinking and approaches, were clearly divided on the Keynesian view that 'ideas are more important than vested interests'. Some felt that it held true even in the current situation, while others felt that vested interests were still important in determining policies or effecting reforms.

Responding to these issues, Dr. Ahluwalia said that the responsibility of spending money allocated to the social sector by the Centre, termed as a Centrally-Sponsored Scheme (CSS), mainly lay with the states. The failure to appropriately use these funds is accounted for at the implementation stage in the respective states, rather than at the ministerial stage. Referring to public-private partnerships in the infrastructure sector, he argued that the extent of private or public involvement depends on the specific segment of the infrastructure under question. He also presented the case of some states wherein the privatisation of ports has helped in increasing their efficiency.

On the whole, the inaugural session concluded with a sense of optimism regarding the growth, dynamism and robustness of the Indian economy. The participants, however, largely agreed that accelerated growth, though necessary, is nonetheless not sufficient for achieving sustainable social development. There is a need to address human development and poverty alleviation issues through direct action by the State and institutions, without leaving it to the 'trickle-down' effect and market forces. In support of their case, they highlighted the fact that there were more poor people in India in 2010 than the entire population at the time

of Independence. India also has some of the lowest indicators of human development among other countries.

The session underscored that acceleration of agricultural growth should be identified as a key element in the Plan strategy for tackling poverty in the backdrop of increasing urbanisation and declining employment opportunities in the agricultural sector as well as of rising prices. Concerns relating to the structure of growth in terms of manufacturing, investment, infrastructure and capital formation, as well as employment generation were also stressed. As growth in India is not creating sufficient employment opportunities, it was felt that reforms are needed in critical areas like labour market regulation and labour legislation, while taking into account the interests of labour, industry and economy. The attempt should be to utilise India's comparative advantage in labour-intensive manufacture and thus enable the creation of an institutional structure wherein there would be a greater demand for labour, which would also increase the bargaining power of labour. Further, social safety net policies should not become a substitute for direct participation in the benefits of economic growth.

Theme 1: Education

Moderator

Dr. Shanta Sinha, Chairperson, National Commission for Protection of Child Rights

Background Paper Presentation

Professor R. Govinda, Vice Chancellor, National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA)

Dr. Madhumita Bandyopadhyay, NUEPA

Panelists

Dr. Vimala Ramachandran, Educational Research Unit, ERU Consultant Pvt. Ltd.

Professor J.B.G. Tilak, Senior Fellow and Head, Educational Finance Unit, NUEPA

Professor Furqan Qamar, Vice Chancellor, H.P. Central University

Professor Janak Pandey, Vice Chancellor, Central University of Bihar

Mr. Rohit Dhankar, Director, Digantar

Professor Geetha B. Nambissan, Zakir Hussain Centre for Education Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU)

Ms. Rukmini Banerji, Pratham

Dr. Geeta Gandhi Kingdon, University of London

Professor Anjini Kochar, Stanford University

Dr. Sudhanshu Bhushan, Professor, NUEPA

Professor P. Duraisamy, Chairperson, School of Economics, University of Madras

Dr. Praveen Jha, Associate Professor, Centre for Economic Studies and Planning, JNU



This session commenced with the presentation of the background paper on 'Literacy and Elementary Education in India: Emerging Issues and Policy Paradigms' by Professor Govinda and Dr. Bandhopadhyay, wherein they traced the progress in literacy and elementary education in terms of policies, programmes as well as the overall progress. The implications of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act on the implementation of programmes of elementary education in the country were also explored in their presentation.

Although India has witnessed remarkable improvement in the adult literacy rate during the last two decades, it still accounts for around 30 per cent of the world's illiterate population, and 70 per cent of these people are women. The authors outlined the need for special policy attention on gender disparities, by evolving long-term goals with a special focus on the backward areas and social groups.

Although the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) has increased consistently since 2005, the data from the NSSO 61st Round pointed to a persisting social gap in school participation along with the gender gap. This implies that a large number of children still do not have the privilege of benefiting from school education, and they do not constitute a monolithic group. The authors called for differential strategies to deal with such exclusion, including opening more schools with adequate infrastructure in specific areas, and upgrading schools with lower primary classes to complete elementary schooling, which would necessitate a more systematic school mapping exercise for increasing access to education. Further, during the course of deciding the location of facilities, equity issues should also be considered in order to help the children overcome both distance and social barriers.

Professor Govinda and Dr. Bandhopadhyay underscored the need for focusing special attention on the issues of dropouts, repetition of classes and absenteeism of children, particularly in the rural and backward areas across the country. In the coming years, policy-makers should shift their attention from enrolment to improving the functioning of schools and enhancing their outcomes.

The need to address imbalances and inequities in teacher provision emerged as another area of concern. They felt that this problem was compounded by imbalances in teacher training in the states. In addition, it was also asserted that a new perspective is required for engaging private providers in delivering education. In addition, the Government should focus on improving the quality of learning in the classroom. Professor Govinda and Dr. Bandhopadhyay also called

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upon the policy-makers in the sphere of education to urgently focus on childhood care and education, education of adolescents and young adults, child labour, and the convergence of educational initiatives like the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan with other development initiatives like the MGNREGS and ICDS.

The authors concluded by outlining the need for serious political engagement to facilitate consensus building. Mere consultations within the bureaucracy at the central and state levels, as is currently being done under the SSA would not suffice. The process may prove to be difficult but that is what the situation demands.

Discussions

The panel discussions focused on the issues of literacy, elementary education, enrolment and access to education. The members were of the opinion that India's education policy focuses on literacy and elementary education, and expressed optimism at the success of *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA) and passage of the Right to Education Act (RTE). It was also pointed out that this rights-based approach signals a major change in perspective, as it benchmarks the concept of a 'school' and also shifts the onus of provision of education from the parents to the State. The successful generation of financial resources for education through a special levy on taxes and mobilisation of resources from external agencies is another reason for this optimism.

Under the EFA (Education for All) Global Monitoring Report, India has been placed among one of 30 countries that are likely to miss all or some of the 2015 EFA targets. If adult literacy figures are taken as the most basic indicator of educational progress, India still accounts for 30 per cent of the world's population that has no access to literacy, with 70 per cent of them being women. Going by this, India is unlikely to achieve the Dakar target of reducing illiteracy by 50 per cent by 2015.

Although India's policy efforts on increasing enrolment rates have been successful to an extent, a number of related concerns still exist, such as high dropout rates, the gap in the enrolment ratio of girls and boys, and the overall quality of education.

The dropout ratio among schoolchildren reflects an inequality between social groups as well a strong gender bias against girls. In India, girls and women within the age group of 15 to 24 years are twice as likely to be illiterate as men in that group. This gender bias is evident while

comparing the situation in India to neighbouring Bangladesh, wherein the illiteracy rates for women are higher in the age group of 25 to 34 years than for men. However, this gap in the male-female ratio has been eliminated in the age group of 15 to 24 years.

As the dropout rate is also linked with the nutritional status of the children and their mothers, the mother's education level, as well as the prevalence of child labour, the National Literacy Mission has been reoriented to focus mainly on female literacy through the launch of the *Sakshar Bharat* campaign.

While concerted efforts need to be made to improve infrastructure and access to schools, the links between teacher absenteeism, dropouts and learning at the elementary level also need to be explored. Other areas that demand the urgent attention of educationists and policymakers are:

- Childcare;
- Education of adolescents and youth, which is as important as education for the 6-14 year age group, as all stages are interdependent;
- The issue of child labour;
- Convergence of SSA with development initiatives like MGNREGS;
- Systemic issues like financing and increasing investment on education, and apathy reflected in the preference for 'tweaking' the system to achieve goals, among other things;
- Educational needs of children with special cognitive abilities (for example, dyslexia, autism, and attention deficit disorder);
- Governance reform in the form of genuine district and block level planning at the elementary education level to bring governance closer to schools, and
- Increasing the role of private schools in capacity building for ensuring 'quality' education.

The members expressed the view that concerns over challenges of access and of quality are not contradictory but complementary. The poor quality of education is also associated with the inadequacy and availability of teachers, and lack of accountability. In addition to this, lack of quality research affects the quality and effectiveness of policies. There is thus a dire need for promoting quality research for pathways in order to improve the quality of education.

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These issues are compounded by the lack of motivation on the part of the child for undergoing 6-14 years of schooling as there are no economic incentives during these years of education. This makes elementary education an unattractive option for the poor as livelihood struggles take primacy over education. In contrast, because of the prevalence of large-scale factories based on 'cut-stitch-pack' tasks in Bangladesh, which employ 90 per cent of the female labour and MFIs that support widespread commercial activity by women, there is a higher rate of primary education. Thus, the education policy must be viewed in tandem with the labour market policy. Besides, there is also a need for some standardisation in school education, with the mechanical provisioning of all core inputs and a well-developed pedagogy. The main issue that needs to be addressed in this area is the lack of an appropriate academic culture/environment in the existing institutions and systems.

Further, it is important to link the District Institutes of Education and Training (DIETs) with other rungs in order to bring in professionalism. The poor learning outcomes at the elementary level also necessitate a national monitoring system to ensure the translation of efforts into outcomes.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Some of the conclusions and recommendations that emerged from this session are as follows:

- The focus of the education policy must shift from enrolment to improvement in the functioning of schools as well as towards raising the quality of education outcomes. The SSA framework has two components that are specially focused on individual schools, namely, school-specific grants provided to each school, and individual teacher grant. These interlinked investments must be utilised from long-term perspective of improving the quality of every school. While SSA has, in recent years, laid an emphasis on quality enhancement, the scheme needs to devise direct strategies for changing the way in which schools function so that the outcome is an enhancement in learning outcomes rather than just the mechanical supply of teaching inputs.
- Social and economic barriers, which impede effective participation in the learning process, should be essentially removed if the momentum of the movement towards Universal Elementary Education has to be maintained. Towards this end, the currently adopted generic

strategies of promoting access to education and participation for all needs to be replaced by a more nuanced and differentiated strategy that directly targets the marginalised groups. As things stand today, the illiterate population in the country is largely concentrated in seven states. Special strategies must, therefore, be devised to improve the outreach of the school system to the disadvantaged groups in these states. A more systematic school mapping exercise would be useful in order to ensure that access is gained to not just lower primary classes but also the upper primary classes. Further, the location of facilities needs to be based on equity considerations that would help overcome both distance and social barriers.

- Private schools can co-exist with government schools for the delivery of education. A shared public space must be created in education by treating government and private schools as complementary delivery systems working for a common cause. In this context, the stipulation in the RTE Act to involve the private schools in the delivery of free education could mark a new beginning.
- The gender gap is still an important issue in the literacy landscape of India. Long-term goals need to be set up to bridge the persistent gender gap in literacy. Here, improvement in the quality of government schools is expected to play a huge role in ensuring the successful completion of elementary education for a majority of the girls.
- Plugging the gaps in teaching inputs is another pressing need. The government should adopt a well-designed programme of redeployment of teachers within each state, coupled with a rapid recruitment process to quickly fill the existing vacancies. Estimates prepared by NUEPA and the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) show that this would require the appointment of 5.1 lakh additional teachers over and above the existing vacancies of 5.23 lakh.
- Education is not just about studying, but also about health and nutrition, as these ensure the students' ability to make full use of educational facilities. Malnutrition limits the capacity to learn by drastically affecting the motor, sensory, cognitive, social and emotional development of children. The age of six years, the formal age of entry to primary education, may be too late to act in the context of health issues. In this context, the convergence of education with other development initiatives must be emphasised to facilitate the sustainability of gains in the education sector.

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- Education of adolescents and young adults has to be pushed centre-stage to help break the vicious cycle of illiteracy, lack of productive skills and poverty. High levels of non-enrolment and dropouts lead to large numbers of uneducated youth entering the world of work as unskilled labourers. The need of the hour is to equip this section of the population with productive skills so as to enhance their economic prospects and in the long term, also to ensure better education opportunities for the children of these young adults.
- Allocation to the education sector must increase from the existing figure of around 4 per cent of the GNP to the targeted figure of 6 per cent of GNP. Apart from raising the level of allocation, improvements should also be made in the targeting of investments. With regard to inter-state and even district level resource allocation, equity considerations are increasingly playing an important role, while replacing the earlier yardstick of population size. Policy reforms in this area would include investments that aim at fiscal transfers on the basis of existing inter-state regional disparities as well as achieving the goals of social equity.

Other important recommendations include tackling the problem of child labour, with more than 12 million children estimated to be engaged in it, and improving child participation in schools. The state governments have to create additional supervisory structures to monitor implementation and mobilise financial and human resources. To achieve this tall order, some innovative strategies need to be devised, such as, transferring the management of government schools to NGOs and other non-state actors. This would free government resources for focusing on policy-making and monitoring the implementation process.

Theme 2: Health and Nutrition

Moderator

Dr. Srinath Reddy, Chairman, Public Health Foundation of India

Background Paper Presentations

Health: **Mr. Amarjeet Sinha**, Joint Secretary, Department of Health, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India *Nutrition:* **Dr. T. Sundararaman**, Executive Director, National Health System Resource Centre

Panelists

Professor K.S. James, Institute for Social and Economic Change

Professor Gita Sen, Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore

Dr. Prema Ramachandran, Nutrition Foundation of India

Mr. K.B. Saxena, Former Secretary, Department of Health, Government of India

Dr. Ritu Priya Mehrotra, Centre for Social Medicine & Community Health, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Dr. Veena Shatrughna, Former Deputy Director, National Institute of Nutrition

Professor Pauline M.H. Mazumdar, Professor Emeritus, History of Medicine, University of Toronto

Professor N.J. Kurian, Council for Social Development

Dr. Ruhi Saith, Visiting Senior Scientist, Department of Public Health, University of Oxford

Dr. Radha Holla, Breastfeeding Promotion Network of India



In this session, two background papers on health and nutrition were presented separately. The paper titled 'Crafting a Credible Public System for Health and Nutrition for All' was presented by Mr. Amarjeet Sinha, and the paper 'The Challenges of Addressing Malnutrition in India' by Dr T. Sundararaman.

In his presentation, Mr. Sinha traced India's performance in the health and nutrition sector over the last few decades. Given the low levels of public expenditure on health and large presence of the private sector in healthcare, the author has tried to identify ways in which non-governmental healthcare providers can be enlisted to meet public health challenges. There is a need for community workers who link households to health facilities, like the ASHA under the National Rural Health Mission. The author pointed out that the NRHM is also attempting a paradigm shift in the health sector by creating a functional system at all levels.

Highlighting the huge differences in health indicators across the states, he stressed the role of various factors in improving health indicators including food and livelihood security, female literacy, gender relations, income levels, and the hierarchies of social relations. There is a need for deeper understanding of exclusion and income issues in the health sector. The urban–rural divide in terms of access to health services is very stark and it has been difficult to retain human resources for health in rural areas. Even in urban areas, the quality of health services for poor households is very unsatisfactory. He also stressed on the need for a National Urban Health Mission for taking care of the health needs of the poor in urban areas.

Quoting the case of Western countries, which have fought public health challenges by improving sanitation and making clean drinking water available to its people, he said these are directly relevant to our quest for better health for our people. India also has a large private sector in healthcare and its involvement in the sector through health insurance instruments holds the key to meeting our healthcare challenges.

The author averred that despite India's remarkable economic growth trajectory, it is a matter of concern that its performance in terms of the human development parameter has not been satisfactory. The nutrition indicators of the country are worse than those of sub-Saharan Africa, and there is a near absence of regulation to meet the public health challenges. India needs a comprehensive public health law that clearly mandates standards of service delivery and quality of care. The author

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also stressed on the need for adopting a consultative approach and forum that would allow large-scale reform to take place.

Dr. Sundararaman, in his presentation on nutrition, described the dimensions and determinants of malnutrition and reviewed the government programmes addressing these dimensions and their constraints.

India is placed 134th place on the Human Development Index, and along with Bangladesh, has the worst levels of malnutrition in the world. This is despite the economic growth that the country has seen. The author traced the course of various measures taken to address this challenge of malnutrition. In the 1970s, chronic malnutrition was recognised to be related to hunger and poverty, and this led to food supplementation programmes - notably the ICDS, Special Nutrition Programme, Mid-day Meal programme (MDM) in schools, as also a public distribution system for foodgrains. In the 1990s, food supplementation programmes went out of favour as they were perceived to be cost-ineffective and instead focused on micronutrients and counselling for child malnutrition. During the early part of this decade, the emphasis reverted to food supplements and better delivery of services. The author revealed that this change was led and sustained by civil society action along with the Supreme Court rulings. Emphasising the inter-relation between poverty and malnutrition, he also identified the decline in food consumption as one of the reasons for malnutrition. He further linked this decline to iniquitous growth and increase in the cost of meeting non-food requirements.

Listing some of the major government initiatives in the area of nutrition, like the PDS, MGNREGS, ICDS, Mid-day Meal Scheme, and the Rajiv Gandhi Crèche Scheme, he enlisted various issues related to these schemes, including the problem of access, focus and implementation in the ICDS; the sanctioning of an inadequate number of crèches sanctioned and insufficient allocation under the Rajiv Gandhi Crèche Scheme; and substantial leakages and little impact on the reduction of malnutrition under the PDS, among other things.

Dr. Sundararaman also spoke about some innovative interventions that have been carried out to reduce malnutrition both in India as well as worldwide. Thailand stands out as a unique example of the remarkable reduction in maternal and child malnutrition during the 1980s due to the implementation of a poverty alleviation plan. The Velugu Project of Andhra Pradesh, which caters to 1200 villages, also adopts a comprehensive approach to addressing health, nutrition and livelihood issues.

As the way forward, the author suggested a set of macro-economic policies for addressing the issues of poverty, the purchasing power of people, and spiralling food prices, in order to reduce malnutrition. It was also pointed out that policies which strengthen the PDS and increase the diversity of food available through it would also help in reducing malnutrition. The food supplementation programme can also be used to reach pregnant and nursing women, children below the age of five years, school children, and adolescent girls. Above all, he pressed the case for introducing a National Nutrition Mission, with a commitment of reducing by half the impermissible levels of malnutrition in five to seven years.

Discussions

Some of the issues raised during the discussion after the presentation of the papers on the theme of health included public health expenditure, policy interventions drawn from international experiences, the role of private sector, and social determinants of healthcare. The panelists underscored the fact that the policy of liberalisation and globalisation had focused only on economic growth and not on social development. Allocation for public healthcare spending has shown a marginal increase from 1 per cent per cent to just about 1.4 per cent of the GDP. Consequently, a large proportion of health expenditure, that is, about 4 per cent of GDP, is left to be borne out of private income, which creates inequity.

More recently, there has been an increase in public expenditure and investment under NRHM. However, the expenditure on healthcare and healthcare policies starts with the assumption that a public health system—the PHC—exists in rural areas, and is managed by qualified medical personnel. But the realisation that this assumption is not true has led to reformulation of policies since 2005 to ensure that these facilities are, in fact, made available to the public.

The panelists called for designing healthcare policy interventions to ensure the guarantee of services, and not just of institutions and employment. Lessons can be drawn from the experiences of countries like Brazil, with its system of cash transfers conditional to the availing of basic health services, and other countries like Mexico and China. However, while conditional cash transfers can increase the demand for health systems, to be truly effective, they must be matched by simultaneous efforts on the supply side.

The role of the private health sector is critical and needs to be actively incorporated in policies and strategies. It has been seen that states having

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a good public health system also have more cost-effective private health systems. This indicates that efficient public health systems reduce the cost of private healthcare.

The social determinants of healthcare also need to be taken into account for generating awareness about the need to take public health seriously. The panelists mentioned the possibility of addressing health from a rights-based perspective. They also discussed at length the issue of malnutrition, which is a serious problem in India and actually goes beyond child malnutrition. The level of malnutrition is a major determinant of the effectiveness of all public health schemes and strategies. The link between poverty and malnutrition is inevitable, given that poverty is usually defined in terms of food and calorie intake. The diversion of a large part of the income to essential nonfood expenses (such as education, healthcare or transport) also leads to malnutrition. Besides poverty reduction, food supplementation programmes targeting calorie and nutrient intake are also needed to tackle the scourge of malnutrition. Further, general hygiene and sanitation facilities need to be simultaneously improved, as the lack of clean drinking water and sanitation facilities greatly reduces the impact of nutrition interventions.

In the context of child malnutrition, the relevant programmes need to focus on infants below the age of three years. All food supplementation programmes like the Mid-day Meal Scheme and ICDS need to be synergised in such a way that they effectively address the needs of infants, women and adolescent children, particularly girls in the age group of 11-18 years, which is the most critical group in terms of dropping out of school, entry into the labour market, and bearing of children.

The other critical issues discussed during this session are as follows:

- Issues of inequity in health outcomes and nutrition levels due to unequal access to health services across all dimensions—rural/urban, male/female (even within the family), and between social groups.
- Directly addressing the neglected areas like environmental health, disabilities, and mental health.
- The urgent need to tackle anaemia, which is the single most common nutritional deficiency affecting work capacity, learning abilities of children, and morbidity. In India, it is a universal problem, affecting 50 per cent of the entire population and 90 per cent of the poor. Tackling anaemia was flagged as an affordable and effective health intervention, which could substantially improve the health status of the population.

- Developing a specialised public health cadre to deal with the complex issues in this sector, including the basic protocols of care and standards; decentralised management of healthcare; expansion of the nursing and paramedical cadre in deficient states; an urban health mission; and the availability of cheap drugs, all of which could be possible operational interventions.
- The importance of the role of the community health worker in illness prevention and first contact care. 'While ASHA is the goddess of many hopes, she is also the beast of many burdens'.
- Convergence of programmes, like meeting the needs of indigenous women through the tribal development programmes, while keeping in mind the hierarchies and lack of homogeneity at the village level. Integration of different systems of medicine by using a modern holistic approach—since the current public health system is largely based on Western medicine—should also be considered.
- Governance issues like monitoring and supervision, setting up of nutrition surveillance systems, nutrition and health management information systems, food logistics and food safety, capacity building, accountability and inter-sectoral coordination.
- Increasing accountability and transparency of the public health system through the setting up of Self-help Groups (SHGs) and Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs).
- Need for equity/rationalisation in financial allocations; disproportionate allocations for the pulse polio campaign and HIV/AIDS were cited as an example.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The conclusions and recommendations that emerged from the session are as follows:

Public Health

• Convergence of initiatives from different sectors is extremely important for policies in the public health sector to be effective. The importance of the wider determinants of healthcare like food and livelihood security, nutrition, drinking water, girls' education and women's literacy, thrust on changing cultural practices for better nutrition and sanitation, care of adolescents, political commitment

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to social development, and, most of all, a confidence in convergent community action, cannot be over-emphasised. Convergence can only take place when habitations, blocks and districts emerge as the units for health action, and there is a restructuring of the current system of narrow disease-specific or family welfare-oriented budget lines as the source of funding healthcare. The constitution of Village Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Committees under the NRHM is an effort in that direction. For adequately addressing exclusion issues, the 'hamlet' can be seen as a thrust area. While avoiding exclusive caste solidarities, the government can use the homogeneity of the community for holding public systems accountable in the provision of quality healthcare that is accessible, affordable and accountable. In this context, the central, state and local governments need to work in a coordinated manner for ensuring that reforms are implemented in accordance with the availability of resources. There is thus a need for a comprehensive public health law.

- Mapping people's health needs through a habitation-based preparation of District Health Action Plans and the provision of additional resources as per the felt needs, can lead to both effective decentralisation as well as a more accountable system. The NRHM is attempting to bring about such a paradigm shift in the health sector.
- Primary Health Centres cannot always provide the first point contact in supplying healthcare for a vast country like India; there is a need for recruiting locally trained workers from the community. Referral chain and service guarantee networks are needed where the first point contact cannot serve the purpose.
- A National Urban Health Mission has been proposed to take care of the health needs of the poor in urban areas.
- The thrust of the public health policy should be on preventing diseases by providing clean water and sanitation rather than fighting diseases by administering antibiotics. Public health specialists are needed and health facilities at all levels should have basic protocols in place. There has already been an attempt at defining standards for public healthcare (Indian Public Health Standards), which should be further refined and improved.
- India has a comparative advantage in the manufacture of generic drugs but these have to be taken to rural areas at affordable prices in order to ensure that poor families do not incur large out-of-pocket expenses for procurement of medicines.

- Given the vastness of the country in terms of both its size and population, the government is not able to provide the entire range of requisite public health services; there is thus space for private healthcare providers too. But regulations must be put in place to ensure that the private sector follows ethical standards and standard treatment protocol. It is also important to ensure that patients' rights are protected. A Clinical Establishment Act is under consideration and when implemented, it could lead to formal self-registration of all health facilities in the private sector.
- The challenges for financing healthcare in India are formidable. The total expenditure on health is only around 4 per cent of the GDP, of which public expenditure constitutes less than 1 per cent. This expenditure is not enough to ensure free hospital stay for poor people, who have to incur huge out-of-pocket expenses. There is also a dearth of healthcare staff. For meeting these challenges, the government can forge partnerships with various NGOs, especially in remote areas that are under-serviced.
- Public finances need to be understood from the perspective of the states as well. The Five-Year Plans and Finance Commission awards are not co-terminus and, therefore, the states do not have the confidence to invest in human resources as per need. The only way to encourage states to engage human resources on a larger scale and as per need would be by assuring sustainable financing over a 10–15 year time frame.
- Other recommendations include moving to a rights-based approach in the area of public health services, expansion of medical and nursing education, setting up an accreditation body for hospitals, and formulation of a National Health Bill. Also, reforms should be carried out in public recruitments for providing the guarantee of service rather than merely of employment. A national steering group under the National Development Council can be set up to address some of the issues mentioned here. Human development necessitates constant external assessments and the proposed Independent Evaluation Office in the Planning Commission is a step in the right direction.

Nutrition

• For reducing malnutrition, it is imperative to promote policies that increase food productivity as well as land use and cropping patterns, accounting for a much larger diversity, especially in terms of

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access to proteins, oils and micro-nutrients. Increased production and consumption of non-milk animal source foods, wherever culturally appropriate, is also important for tackling the problems of malnutrition and anaemia. PDS can also be strengthened for this purpose. The Antyodaya provisions of the PDS should also be expanded to cover the vulnerable groups. Community-led food security programmes (like grain banks) can complement government efforts in this area.

- In order to address malnutrition issues, it is extremely important to reach children in the age group of 0-2 years. An additional anganwadi worker can be put on this job while a community health worker (ASHA) focuses on healthcare. Apart from performing their respective functions, they can also work as a team for tackling the issues concerning children in the 0-2 age group. The main outcomes of this exercise would be exclusive breastfeeding, elimination of child malnutrition and improved child survival.
- The multi-dimensionality of malnutrition lends itself to another option for revamping ICDS, by converging the scheme with health, education, water and sanitation, and food security efforts at all levels. A single Health, Education, Nutrition, Water and Sanitation Committee can be made responsible for implementing and monitoring programmes like SSA, MDM, TSC, NRHM and ICDS at the village level. The homebased care component of the ASHA workers should be strengthened. The delivery of food supplementation services through the ICDS and Mid-day Meal programmes should also be ensured.
- Food supplementation programmes essentially help the government in tackling issues of hunger and food security as well as those of social equity. Food supplements act as a transfer of resources to poor families. Without food supplementation, counselling and other support measures lack the credibility and effectiveness for addressing malnutrition. Food supplementation programmes can target special population groups like pregnant women and nursing mothers, children below the age of five years, school children and adolescent girls. The impact of malnutrition is long term and inter-generational in these groups. Therefore, the cost-benefit ratios for interventions would be most favourable. Targeting food supplements on the poor identified for this purpose may not be a good idea, for the means of identifying the poor are imperfect. Supplementary feeding during pregnancy would not result in increased birth weight of the newborn unless a significant weight gain of the mother is achieved (at least 10 kg or more). Precisely for this reason, malnutrition programmes need to be targeted at adolescent girls and young women in the marriageable age.

- Appropriate iron and folic acid supplements are needed for prophylaxis of anaemia in all pregnant women and adolescent girls, and in children below the age of five years, especially in population groups wherein the prevalence of anaemia is more than 50 per cent, and also as part of all school health programmes. There is also a need for sustained health education for encouraging consumption of iron rich food.
- Deficiency in micronutrients can be tackled by achieving diversity in diet. Micronutrients and vitamins can be administered through a capsule or pill or in syrup form. Fortified or special commercial foods or special days for administering these supplements in campaign mode are not advisable.
- ICDS can be redesigned in several ways. One option is to reinforce the current design with an infrastructure of three-four rooms having two anganwadi workers, a cook and a helper. In this way, ICDS can help achieve universal pre-school education, provide crèche services, and ensure childcare and food supplementation. The second option is to transfer the food supplementation function of the ICDS to a common community kitchen serving the pre-school and school children, and vulnerable sections like pregnant women and adolescent girls. Even the rest of the population should be able to access it on payment. The ICDS itself focuses on growth monitoring, nutrition education and crèche services for children below the age of two years and on pre-school education for children above the age of three years.
- Women's empowerment is expected to contribute greatly towards reducing malnutrition. This can be achieved through an increase in the number of years of schooling, higher age at marriage as well as higher maternal age at the birth of the first child, and provision of more support for adolescents and young mothers.
- The nutrition component of various district plans made by the health department, the ICDS, the Total Sanitation Committee, the education department and the panchayats could be the same but endorsed by the respective departments. It would thus have a shared outcome indicator but department-specific outputs and process indicators. In this way, each department would know what it has to deliver, and when combined together, would make a notable difference.
- There is a need for continuous monitoring of nutrition indicators for identifying sudden declines in nutrition as well as areas of high malnutrition. Measurement of programme outcomes and monitoring

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Mr. K.B. Saxena
Dr. Ritu Priya Mehrotra
Dr. Veena Shatrughna
Professor Pauline M.H.
Mazumdar
Professor N.J. Kurian
Dr. Ruhi Saith

Dr. Radha Holla

malnutrition trends are also needed. Monitoring can be undertaken through surveys and a nutrition surveillance and management information system.

- Setting nutritional standards in all institutions that provide care, like hospitals, old age homes, hostels, crèches, schools, prisons, etc. is also necessary. Food safety and nutrition standards in institutions and in supplementary food programmes need to be monitored on a regular basis.
- A National Nutrition Mission needs to be set up with the objective of reducing by half the high level of malnutrition in the country within five to seven years of its functioning. States and districts could volunteer to join this mission and be allocated finances once they have fulfilled some basic conditions. The political and administrative commitment that has been absent in backing up previously articulated goals in the Eleventh Plan must be made evident through factions and reforms in governance before any state or district commits to embark on the programme.
- Social mobilisation is another way of achieving nutrition objectives in India. This can be ensured by informing the community of the objectives; enthusing people about the goals and energising them into action, especially at the family and local community level. Many success stories have emerged from a combination of community level workers, social mobilisation, and the effective delivery of food supplements where needed. The ASHA, anganwadi workers, the Village Health and Sanitation Committee, as well as the Self-help Groups and other women's committees need to be synergised to achieve social mobilisation within the community. NGOs can also play an important role in this process.
- Capacity building is needed at the district and block management levels as well as at the levels of the service provider and of supervision. NGOs can be involved for training purposes. Further, there is a need to build capacities for programme management and supervision, for ensuring that cooks prepare nutritious food, and for the SHGs or their federations. Above all, capacity building must be provided to the anganwadi workers and the ASHA for counselling families on nutrition and related behavioural issues.

Theme 3: Employment and Skills

Moderator

Professor T.S. Papola, Hon. Professor, Institute for Studies in Industrial Development

Background Paper Presentation

Professor Ajit Ghose, Visiting Professor, IHD

Panelists

Professor K.P. Kannan, Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram

Professor G.K. Chadha, Chief Executive Officer, South Asian University

Dr. Pablo Gottret, Lead Human Development Economist, The World Bank

Professor T.C.A. Anant, Delhi School of Economics

Professor Dinesh Awasthi, Director, Entrepreneurship Development Institute of India

Mr. Manish Sabharwal, Managing Director, Team Lease

Professor Dipak Mazumdar, Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto

Mr. Subesh K. Das, Principal Secretary to Chief Minister, West Bengal

Professor J. Krishnamurthy, Formar Senior Economist, International Labour Organisation

Dr. Santosh Mehrotra, Director, Institute of Applied Manpower Research

Professor Padmini Swaminathan, Madras Institute of Development Studies

Professor Debdas Banerjee, Institute of Development Studies, Kolkata

Professor Debi S. Saini, Management Development Institute, Gurgaon

Professor B.N. Goldar, Institute for Economic Growth



The session commenced with the presentation of a paper on 'India's Employment Challenge' by Professor Ajit K. Ghose, who sought to develop a policy perspective on employment, an issue which poses a big challenge for an emerging economic giant as India. He said that the rapid economic growth over the past three decades has failed to bring about a substantial improvement in the abysmal employment conditions in the country. Dualism in employment has been growing over time, as shown by the declining share of good jobs (that is, formal employment) in the total employment and the widening gap in labour and income between formal and informal workers.

He linked these trends to the persistent low employment elasticity of growth in the organised sector. The output growth in the sector has been high, but it has been driven largely by productivity growth, which has slowed down the employment growth, making it much slower than the growth rate of the labour force in the economy, he added. Consequently, the rate of growth of the workforce in the unorganised sector has been higher than that of the labour force in the economy over a long period.

Despite these constraints, however, there has been a significant growth of output per worker in the unorganised sector due to the reasonable growth of output in the sector. It is this growth of labour productivity in the unorganised sector that has brought about some improvement in employment conditions and a consequent reduction in poverty, Dr. Ghose pointed out. The pace of improvement in employment conditions as also the pace of decline in poverty would clearly have been much faster had the rate of growth of employment in the organised sector been higher than the rate of growth of labour force in the economy (as would normally be expected). The rapid growth of the organised sector actually made a negative contribution to improvement in employment conditions and to poverty reduction in the economy, he opined. Moreover, the much higher growth of labour productivity in the organised sector than in the unorganised sector has naturally meant a rapidly widening gap in terms of labour and income between the sectors.

The author affirmed that if the trends in the growth process in the past also continue in the future, we would witness a continued strengthening of dualism; the share of the organised sector in total employment would continue to decline and the gap in terms of labour and income between the two sectors would widen. Yet the current government policies do not envisage any alteration in the growth process and focus instead on implementing special employment schemes for the under-employed

Professor T.S. Papola **Professor Ajit Ghose** Professor K.P. Kannan Professor G.K. Chadha Dr. Pablo Gottret Professor T.C.A. Anant **Professor Dinesh** Awasthi Mr. Manish Sabharwal **Professor Dipak** Mazumdar Mr. Subesh K. Das Professor J. Krishnamurthy Dr. Santosh Mehrotra **Professor Padmini Swaminathan Professor Debdas** Banerjee Professor Debi S. Saini Professor B.N. Goldar

workers in the unorganised sector, he added. Such policies would sustain the process of slow improvement in employment conditions and slow reduction of poverty, but would not be able to arrest the growth of dualism. If the growth of dualism has to be arrested and reversed, the policies must focus on increasing the employment elasticity of growth of the organised sector, Dr. Ghose averred.

Panel Discussion

The panel discussions during this session focused on India's failure to generate enough employment for its workforce and how this problem could be addressed. The panelists observed that rapid economic growth in India has failed to generate enough employment, as is evident from NSSO data. However, there is a lack of clear understanding of this challenge, which is qualitative, and the ways of dealing with it.

There are millions of people employed in the informal sector, who are engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled work. The demand-supply gap in the organised sector needs to be addressed by organised training and skill development initiatives, the panelists felt. It was also pointed out that employment generation can be technology-driven, policy-induced or a combination of both.

The panel members were of the opinion that India's planning has seen a gradual separation of growth and employment generation as two distinct objectives, as compared to earlier strategies of generating employment by boosting GDP growth. Employment generation programmes like MGNREGS have directly focused on the unorganised sector workers instead of generating employment through growth.

Economic growth has also failed to have an impact on employment growth, resulting in the persistence of extreme poverty and associated ills like child labour. They asserted that the resulting phenomena could be termed as the 'Latin Americanisation' of the Indian labour market, which has widened the gap between the informal and the formal sectors, and increased the dependence on 'bad' jobs. Over 40 per cent of the workers are employed in 'bad' jobs, with abysmally low wages, low productivity and poor working conditions. Less than 7 per cent are employed in 'good' jobs found mostly in the services sector of the government. Thus, the link between growth and employment cannot be ignored if these 40 per cent of the workers have to be moved to better jobs, and growth must generate a sufficient number of 'good' jobs, they reiterated.

The issue generated considerable debate, with some panelists commenting that it would not be possible to facilitate the transition of workers from 'bad' to 'good' jobs on such a massive scale and, the policies should instead focus on increasing productivity within the informal sector. Other panelists held the view that this approach would only lead to a continuation of the very dualism that it reflected.

Increasing productivity, especially in the organised/manufacturing and non-farm sectors is a critical element of the generation of 'good' jobs. However, productivity growth needs to be labour-intensive rather than capital-augmented, as the latter would lead to displacement of labour and aggravate the problem, the panel members apprehended. They added that the focus should be on facilitation of the right technology for productivity growth. There is a need to analyse disaggregated data to determine those sections of the organised sector wherein the possibilities of employment generation exist.

As regards the challenges for increasing manufacturing productivity and hence employment opportunities in 'good' jobs, it was mentioned that an appropriate strategy needed to be devised for improving the productivity of micro-enterprises and artisanal clusters, and to promote the graduation from Micro and Small Enterprises (MSEs) to larger establishments. 'Good' jobs, which offer regular incomes, along with social security and non-wage benefits, may thus have implications on the cost of creating 'good' jobs, the experts felt. MGNREGS works also lead to some productivity growth through the public goods created under this scheme, as well as through private works on farms managed by Scheduled Castes (SCs)/Scheduled Tribes (STs)/Backward Castes (BCs).

The panelists also wondered why no growth has been witnessed in employment in the organised sector. Arguing that labour rigidity could be one of the reasons for this, they claimed that labour reforms are needed to generate employment and to reduce the gap between 'good' and 'bad' jobs. Labour rigidity and labour laws also have an effect on the levels of corruption and the extent of transparency in the system. In the unorganised sector, however, the entire growth has been in employment even though what is needed here is productivity growth, which necessitates an increase in investments. This poses a real challenge, as employment generation programmes like MGNREGS do not necessarily lead to productive growth and the generation of 'good' jobs, the panel experts pointed out. However, it does take into account the demand side and is a social security and anti-poverty programme, rather than being a mere employment generation programme, they

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added. Land productivity in agriculture is also a critical component of employment in the unorganised sector as it has an impact on various factors such as demand, prices, and migration, among others. The employment elasticity of output in the agriculture sector has remained very low, while employment in the unorganised sector has grown rapidly.

Recognising the interdependence of the organised and unorganised sectors, the panelists said that the incomes provided by the manufacturing sector create a huge market for products and services from the unorganised sector, including technically inefficient and low grade products, thereby hindering growth. They also contended that shifting to 'good' jobs in the organised sector, which require a high degree of skills and offer high wages, has significant implications in terms of training and skill upgradation. There is a need to develop and upgrade skills from the demand and supply perspective, while taking into account the fact that skills are industry - and technology - specific. This necessitates the setting up of training institutions and trainers in large numbers, particularly in the emerging trades. In contrast to an annual inflow of around 8 million persons to the labour market, currently just about 500 ITIs and ICT training centres exist, with a capacity to train one million persons. In addition, there are only around 7000 vocational training schools with a capacity to train another two million persons. Further, there is a need to involve the employers in sharing the burden of training, rather than merely paying for a trained person. The present education policy does not effectively address the need for imparting technical skills and practical knowledge, which is why training facilities in both the public and private sectors need to be expanded. The panelists maintained that the registration and certification process also needs to be expanded and streamlined to ensure a regular supply of certified, qualified professionals. In the unorganised sector, on the other hand, credit and market access are believed to be more critical issues than the creation of skills.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Various important issues were also identified and discussed during this session. The conclusions and recommendations emerging from them are delineated below.

• The recent government stand on divorcing employment creation from the growth process must be reversed. The jobless growth of the

organised sector has to be changed into growth with jobs. If this is not done, the gaps in terms of labour and income, working conditions, and social security between a small group of formal employees and the large group of informal workers would go on widening, thereby increasing the prospects of 'Latin Americanisation' of the Indian economy.

- The growth of employment in the organised sector is driven by the growth of formal employment, the bulk of which is taking place in the services in the government/public sector. The growth of formal employment thus necessitates the growth of these service jobs, and employment-intensive growth of the organised section of the production sectors alone would not suffice. Simultaneously, however, it is hard to argue that there should be rapid expansion of the service jobs in the government/public sector. This dilemma in the realm of policy-making deserves immediate attention.
- There is lack of sufficient reliable data on job creation in the organised sector, which is an important area of focus in the economy. In this context, the setting up of a commission on the organised sector, similar to the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS), may be considered.
- The impact of outsourcing resulting from the liberalisation process in India, which has boosted exports of both the labour-intensive industries as well as the skill-intensive industries like Information Technology (IT), needs to be assessed. Although the global financial crisis has adversely affected employment and income in this sector, an assessment of what has changed needs to be done, such as the changes in the pattern of world demand, regulation, etc.
- There is a need for annual employment surveys for facilitating analysis and policy.
- A major policy issue concerns the sustenance of investment in the unorganised sector to enable this sector to grow. Improving employment conditions of workers is subject to increasing labour productivity in this sector.
- There is an urgent need to implement unemployment insurance schemes for the unorganised sector because of their anticipated effects on productivity.
- There is also a need to monitor wages and wage elasticity in order to determine how the labour market is functioning particularly

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after the implementation of the recommendations of the Sixth Pay Commission – as that would also have an impact on employment.

- The present education policy does not effectively address the needs of technical skills and practical knowledge. This necessitates an expansion of training facilities in both the public and private sectors. The registration and certification process also needs to be expanded and streamlined to ensure a regular supply of certified, qualified professionals.
- There is a need to develop and upgrade both industry- and technology-specific skills, from the demand and supply perspective. This necessitates the setting up of training institutions like ITIs, ICT training centres, as also the recruitment of trainers in large numbers, particularly in the emerging trades, in order to address the enormous shortfall in these areas. In addition, employers must also be involved in the training process instead of merely recruiting a trained person.
- There is a need to monitor wages and wage elasticity in order to determine how the labour market is functioning particularly after the implementation of the recommendations of the Sixth Pay Commission as that would also have an impact on employment.

Theme 4: Social Protection

Moderator

Dr. Rakesh Mohan, Senior Research Fellow, Stanford University and Former Deputy Governor, Reserve Bank of India

Background Paper Presentation

Professor S. Mahendra Dev, Chairman, Commission for Agricultural Costs and Prices (CACP), Government of India

Panelists

Professor Mukul Asher, Singapore National University

Professor Ravi Srivastava, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Professor Kamala Sankaran, Faculty of Law, University of Delhi

Mr. T. Vijay Kumar, CEO, Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty, Government of Andhra Pradesh

Professor Amitabh Kundu, Jawaharlal Nehu University

Dr. Abusaleh Shariff, Senior Research Fellow, International Food Policy Research Institute, Asia Office

Professor A.V. Jose, Director, Gulati Institute of Finance & Taxation, Thiruvananthapuram

Professor Pulin Nayak, Delhi School of Economics

Professor Aasha Kapur Mehta, Indian Institute of Public Administration

 $\label{lem:professor} \textbf{Professor Shovan Ray}, \textbf{Professor Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research}$

Professor Amita Shah, Gujarat Institute of Development Research

Professor S. Irudaya Rajan, Centre for Development Studies

Dr. Surjeet Singh, Director, Institute of Development Studies, Jaipur

Dr. S. Madheswaran, Professor, Institute for Social and Economic Change

Dr. P.K. Nag, Director, National Institute of Occupational Health

Professor Darshini Mahadevia, School of Planning, CEPT University

Mr. V.B. Sant, Director General, National Safety Council



The panel began with the presentation of a background paper on 'Social Protection in India: Issues and Concerns' by Professor Mahendra Dev. Professor Dev sought to provide an overview of the issues and concerns on social protection in India. He affirmed that there is enough evidence to suggest that the poor and poorest of the poor households are vulnerable to a range of risks affecting individuals, households or whole communities, which can have a devastating effect on their livelihoods and well-being. A village level study in three states, viz., Orissa, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh, for the year 2006 has shown that drought was the dominant risk followed by sudden health problems, cyclones/floods, and pest attack. If one considers the risks for all the states together, the occurrence of a sudden health problem emerges as the principal risk for all quartiles. Under covariate shocks, drought dominates other risks followed by cyclones/floods for all the quartiles.

Beginning with the ways in which social protection programmes in India address various issues, the author went on to discuss the different levels of all the programmes currently being implemented in this sphere, including the Universal Capability Enhancing Programmes, Targeted Programmes for the Poor and Vulnerable, and Protective Social Security Programmes for Unorganised Workers. The author also summarised the risks and vulnerabilities faced by the poor in India.

Professor Dev further examined the broad issues and concerns on social protection programmes, including barriers in the extension of these schemes such as the existence of two views on social protection, and the disconnect between risks and programmes. The range of programmes and various related issues covered by Professor Dev include: self-employed programmes; wage employed programmes; food-based programmes; social security for the unorganised sector; social pensions; social security for the migrant workers; universal vs. targeted programmes; direct cash transfers; efficiency in implementation and governance; adoption of a rights-based approach; promotion of capability-enhancing programmes; and accordance of priority for women and children in offering social protection.

Discussions

The discussions in this session ranged from an assessment of the crucial role of social protection policies in reducing risks, as also the issues and concerns regarding social protection and the demand for a rights-based approach to the whole issue.

Dr. Rakesh Mohan Professor S. Mahendra Dev **Professor Mukul Asher Professor Ravi Srivastava Professor Kamala** Sankaran Mr. T. Vijay Kumar **Professor Amitabh** Kundu Dr. Abusaleh Shariff Professor A.V. Jose **Professor Pulin Nayak** Dr. Aasha Kapur Mehta **Professor Shovan Ray Professor Amita Shah** Professor Irudayarajan Dr. Surjit Singh Dr. S. Madheswaran Dr. P.K. Nag

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The panelists traced the evolution of social protection in the West and also the major risks associated with the poor. In the West, social protection evolved as a means to stabilise the market by protecting living standards and promoting occupational mobility, rather than for the alleviation of social destitution. The panelists averred that in the Indian context, social protection is needed for both growth and equity, particularly for providing security to the unorganised sector, which contributes heavily to our economy. The main risks that the poor face are related to health (illness, injury, accidents, and disability), labour market (work in the informal sector which entails a high risk of unemployment and under-employment) and harvesting of crops (drought, pest attack, rain, damage to cattle/livestock). Displacement and access to land, as evident from the struggles of fish workers to gain access to marine resources and of forest dwellers to gain access to forests, also constitute a source of risk for those whose livelihoods are dependent on land. Of these, health and harvest are the greatest risk sources affecting poor households. The experts on the panel added that borrowing from informal sources is the main coping mechanism used to tackle these risks. Other mechanisms include the sale of assets, spending from savings, expanded labour supply, use of child labour and bonded labour, reduced consumption, migration, etc. Since borrowing from the financial sector is being used to cover risks, it was pointed out that any discussion on financial inclusion should thus accommodate the social protection perspective as well. The panelists also reiterated the need for social protection programmes to address the sources of risk. The prevention aspect, in fact, needs to be consciously and actively addressed. Since the State and civil society play a major role in overcoming area-specific shocks, access to and quality of public services becomes important in the case of shocks faced by individual households.

Further, in the urban context, the risk of development-induced displacement also increases the vulnerability of certain groups, such as displacement owing to the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). Although rehabilitation is provided under such circumstances, ignorance of legal processes for land regularisation and land tenure security among the communities make them even more vulnerable to risks. The absence of a property rights regime in the urban areas exacerbates the problem, as it is also a determinant of accessibility to services. Hence, it is imperative to consider the issues of de-regulation of urban land.

Social protection operates through mechanisms of social security, social assistance and social insurance, and provides a minimum floor,

thereby promoting social cohesion. The panel members spoke at length about the various mechanisms for social protection in India, wherein there is greater focus on social assistance/promotional measures, and protection/contingency type of social security measures are mostly available only for organised workers, who comprise a mere 7 per cent of the total number of workers. Besides universal capability-enhancing programmes (like the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, and National Rural Health Mission) and targeted programmes for the poor and vulnerable (such as the Targeted Public Distribution System), other wage programmes/employment guarantee programmes (like the MGNREGS and National Urban Employment Guarantee Scheme) and food-based programmes providing social protection for the formal/informal workers also exist. The problems associated with food-based programmes are, however, well recognised: these include leakages in PDS, high targeting errors in inclusion and exclusion, among others.

The panelists also discussed various existing social pension schemes such as old age security, cash transfer, and the Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme (NOAPS), and expressed concern at the fact that their coverage is very low in several states (less than 10 per cent in some cases). While direct social transfers through Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs) constitute an option, they are seen to have a limited impact owing to supply constraints as well as administrative and institutional gaps in their implementation, in addition to which that also probably undermine the agency of the poor in the development process.

While there is a consensus on the significance of health risks and the need for universal access to health services in the country, the requisite emphasis has not been placed on health-related programmes of social protection. The panelists stressed on the need for a quantum leap in public spending and in the formulation of policies on healthcare, as a single episode of illness can completely upset the household budget in the case of poor families. Further, the importance of occupation-based injuries and shocks must be recognised, and there is a need to provide basic occupational health services instead of just hospital-based services. However, health interventions must take into account the fact that perceptions of illness and ailments vary across social categories; the poor often under-report ailments as they do not understand the magnitude of the illness (and not necessarily because they do not have proper access to water, sanitation, and other services).

The panel members observed that there has also been a shift towards a rights-based approach in the case of social protection, starting with the

Dr. Rakesh Mohan Professor S. Mahendra Dev **Professor Mukul Asher Professor Ravi Srivastava Professor Kamala** Sankaran Mr. T. Vijay Kumar **Professor Amitabh** Kundu Dr. Abusaleh Shariff Professor A.V. Jose **Professor Pulin Nayak** Dr. Aasha Kapur Mehta **Professor Shovan Ray Professor Amita Shah** Professor Irudayarajan Dr. Surjit Singh Dr. S. Madheswaran Dr. P.K. Nag

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right to information, right to work, right to education and the right to food, all of which aim to create rights and entitlements for citizens.

They also deliberated on the issue of anchoring social security to the workplace, with 93 per cent of the workforce in India engaged in informal work patterns wherein social security mechanisms are less developed and barely operational. The NCEUS and its recommendations have played a role in the constitution of a social floor, with additional focus on conditions and dignity of work, and livelihood promotion as important components of social protection. Livelihood promotion is particularly significant, as the Informal Workers Social Security Act provides for only social assistance and does not include any component of livelihood promotion. While there are subsidies for livelihood support, especially livelihoods threatened by the opening of the economy, support for the transformation of livelihoods becomes important. The setting up of a Social Security Board could also be considered, which would organise stakeholders occupation-wise and take into account the needs and perceptions of informal workers, including the amounts that they would be willing to contribute for a social insurance scheme. This would help in making the system more cost-effective and efficient in addressing workers' grievances. For example, Karnataka is the first state wherein such an exercise was carried out for construction workers, by introducing a cess on new buildings, they revealed.

Other major areas of concern expressed by the panel are delineated below.

- There is an urgent need to address social protection requirements of special groups such as migrant workers, the aged/elderly, the disabled, and tribals.
- The method of identifying beneficiaries and targeting programmes— universal, self-targeted or targeted or a combination of all of them (for example, the universal coverage of self-selected beneficiaries)— needs to be reviewed in accordance with the costs of targeting. Further, beneficiaries are currently identified in static rather than dynamic terms. For example, identification of beneficiaries on the basis of the BPL category tends to encourage perverse incentives because of the benefits accruing to a group that is eligible for social assistance. While people fall into and escape from poverty at different points in time, BPL identification by using a proxy as an indicator of poverty leads to a large number of inclusion and exclusion errors. Also, the dominant community tends to control the resources, which results in mis-targeting.

- Governance needs to be decentralised, for ensuring the efficient implementation of social protection programmes, and consequently there is also a need for capacity building at the panchayat level.
- The participation of the people must be ensured, to ensure accountability in social transfers. Issues of economic and social equity, gender bias, and illiteracy also need to be tackled to ensure effective participation. It is necessary to incorporate the demand side of security issues, and stress the importance of institutions of the poor, especially women, which would improve access to banks, markets and other public spaces, as seen in the case of the Kudumbashree scheme in Kerala and in Andhra Pradesh. The collapse of public systems for delivery of social services has also necessitated investment in the institutions of the poor to facilitate the evolution of the architecture of the programme.
- The fact that not enough fiscal priority is accorded to legitimate social protection, resource and infrastructural constraints become serious issues. Thus, there is a need to achieve better results with less resources, and to focus on outcomes rather than outlays.
- Governance needs to be strengthened. Better administration necessitates a shift from welfare orientation to professionalism for managing social security systems, which also implies technological adaptation, design and work process change. Complementary reforms are also needed in other formal social security institutions like the Employees' Provident Fund Organisation, and Employees State Insurance Corporation The Unique ID project is a step in the right direction for facilitating the better implementation of social policies.
- Lack of expertise in social security administration and management in India is also a matter of concern as proper courses on actuarial studies or training on social security are not available in the country.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The conclusions and recommendations that emerged from the session are as follows:

• In India, there is greater focus on social assistance/promotional measures, but protection/ contingency type of social security measures are mostly available only for organised workers. With 93 per cent of the workforce engaged in informal work sector in the country, anchoring social security to the workplace may be considered.

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- Social inclusion can be improved by ensuring the equality of opportunities, even if equitable distribution of assets cannot be achieved. Due emphasis must be given to the provision of clean water, access to healthcare and high quality education for all. In addition, policies should be framed while keeping in mind the specific problems of the socially disadvantaged sections. For instance, the level of human development among the SC community is low due to lack of education, negligence of health and economic backwardness resulting from a high rate of poverty and unemployment, a higher ratio of agriculture and casual labourers, social exploitation, segregation and deprivation of, and crimes and atrocities against the community. The issues concerning the tribal population include displacement, land alienation, indebtedness, shifting cultivation, deprivation of forest rights, low levels of literacy and high drop-out rates, inadequate and inaccessible health services, nutritional deficiencies and diseases, lack of adequate irrigation facilities, and prevalence of extreme poverty among them.
- Developing countries can derive lessons from China on the issues of agricultural growth, rural non-farm employment, public investment and human development. Certain elements from the Chinese experience are extremely relevant for developing countries, including a high rate of labour-releasing agricultural growth, favourable income distribution through broad-based agricultural growth, better availability of infrastructure, higher levels of literacy and skills, inducements for enterprises in rural areas, and easy access to credit and inputs.
- Structural change in the economy should follow the agriculture-industry-service sequence. In terms of GDP shares, India has taken a leap from agriculture to services without concentrating on manufacturing. The share of employment in manufacturing in India is only 11 per cent while the share of agriculture is more than 55 per cent. Therefore, there is a need to develop the industry sector in order to improve employment. Improvement in skills and employment of youth are crucial issues that need to be addressed for enabling people to shift from the agriculture to the non-farm sector.
- The agriculture sector is confronted with a range of deficits in terms of credit, research and extension, access to markets, diversification, land and water management, and education/skill development. The development of agriculture must be accorded priority because of its overall impact on the entire economy.
- The enhancement of the physical and social infrastructure is a priority area. Greater public investment is needed in infrastructure in

both the rural and urban areas for creating more employment and for sustaining GDP growth.

- Resource and infrastructural constraints must also be dealt with by according greater fiscal priority for legitimate social protection.
- Inclusive growth demands technological development since the gains from technology are widely distributed. This was reflected in the case of the Green Revolution in India, which successfully increased agricultural output. Agricultural growth through the use of biotechnology holds promising prospects for reducing regional and inter-personal disparities. Similarly, IT can be used effectively for raising productivity in both the agriculture and industry sectors.
- The importance of inclusive governance cannot be overlooked. There are many social protection programmes in India aimed at improving the capabilities and reducing risks and vulnerabilities. Yet the effectiveness of these programmes is far from satisfactory. Social mobilisation, community participation and the adoption of a decentralised approach are needed in addition to the creation of appropriate institutions for ensuring the better implementation of policies and programmes. The success of the Kudumbashree programme in Kerala and Andhra Pradesh can be used as a benchmark for enforcing a better system of social service delivery throughout the country.
- Rural-urban and regional disparities need to be reduced for achieving higher growth. Attaining equity is important not just for its own value but also for promoting economic development.
- Meaningful economic reforms need to be implemented in accordance with the crucial socio-political factors. Further, structural inequalities rooted in caste, religion and gender need to be tackled urgently.
- The crucial role of women as agents of sustained socio-economic growth and change should be recognised. Focusing on removing gender gaps as well as on women's empowerment can have a significant impact on reduction in poverty and inequality.
- It is not sufficient to merely introduce poverty alleviation schemes—these schemes must be in accordance with pro-poor policies at the macro level in the fiscal and trade sectors. It has been seen that macro level policies initiated during the post-reform period have neither been pro-employment nor pro-poor in many developing countries, including India. This trend must be reversed.

Dr. Rakesh Mohan Professor S. Mahendra Dev **Professor Mukul Asher Professor Ravi Srivastava Professor Kamala** Sankaran Mr. T. Vijay Kumar **Professor Amitabh** Kundu Dr. Abusaleh Shariff Professor A.V. Jose **Professor Pulin Nayak** Dr. Aasha Kapur Mehta **Professor Shovan Ray Professor Amita Shah** Professor Irudayarajan Dr. Surjit Singh

Dr. S. Madheswaran Dr. P.K. Nag Professor Darshini Mahadevia Mr. V.B. Sant

- There is also a need to revisit the method of identifying beneficiaries and consequently deciding on targeting programmes keeping in mind the costs involved. The current method leads to numerous errors of inclusion and exclusion and does not take into account the dynamic nature of poverty incidence, as people may fall below or rise above the poverty levels at various stages of their lives due to changed socio-economic conditions and external factors. All these circumstances need to be considered while devising a more reliable and widely acceptable method of BPL identification.
- Decentralisation in terms of transferring power to local councils is important for development, and this also calls for capacity building. The experience of decentralisation in terms of greater devolution of functions, finances and powers to PRIs and urban local bodies in many states has not been satisfactory, which underscores the need for strengthening of PRIs.
- Social security systems need to be better managed, which necessitates a shift from welfare orientation to professionalism, as also technological adaptation, and changes in design and work processes. For this purpose, complementary reforms in other formal social security institutions like the Employees' Provident Fund Organisation, Employees State Insurance Corporation are also indicated. A Social Security Board could be instituted to organise stakeholders occupationwise and meet the needs of informal workers. It could also take into account the amounts that these workers would be willing to contribute for a social insurance scheme, thereby making the system more costeffective and more effective in addressing workers' grievancesThe adoption of a rights-based approach plays an important role in improving the implementation of development programmes. The introduction to the rights to food, health, education, employment, information, and social security, effectively put pressures on governments to deliver the services to citizens. Finally, better monitoring systems need to be developed at the Central, state, district and village levels to ensure that these rights are actually realised.

Theme 5: Strengthening the Social Programmes for Improved Human Development Outcomes

Moderator

Mr. M.N. Prasad, Secretary to Prime Minister of India

Background Paper Presentation

Dr. N.C. Saxena, Member, Planning Commission and Member, National Advisory Council

Panelists

Mr. B.N. Yugandhar, Former Member, Planning Commission

Professor Atul Sarma, Member, 13th Finance Commission

Dr. Rohini Nayyar, Former Principal Advisor, Planning Commission

Mr. R. Sankaran, Former Secretary, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India

Mr. S.M. Vijayanand, Principal Secretary, Department of Local Development, Kerala

Professor Manoranjan Mohanty, Visiting Professor, Council for Social Development

Mr. Harsh Mander, Special Commissioner of the Supreme Court of India on Right to Food

Ms. Rashmi Singh, Mission Director, Samajik Suvidha Sangam, Delhi Government

Dr. Nisha Srivastava, Department of Economics, University of Allahabad

Mr. M.D. Asthana, Former Secretary, Department of Food and Statistics & Programme Implementation, Government of India

Ms. Moutushi Sengupta, Director, Oxfam India

Dr. K.S. Vatsa, Pricipal Secretary to Government of Maharashtra, Regional Advisor (on deputation), South Asia, UNDP



This session focused on the pressing issue of near stagnant growth in

This session focused on the pressing issue of near stagnant growth in India's social indicators. Concern was expressed on how growth has not been uniformly distributed and the traditionally marginalised sections such as Dalits, tribals and women have remained excluded from the current paradigm of growth. A background paper on 'Improving the Effectiveness of Social Programmes for Better Human Development Outcomes' was given by Dr. N.C. Saxena. He quoted an international survey on 12 Asian economies, wherein India's bureaucracy' was ranked as the least efficient, and working with the country's civil servants was described as a 'slow and painful' process. He claimed that the poor shape of India's bureaucracy has also resulted in indifferent progress on the MDGs. Its high growth notwithstanding, India seems to have failed on two fronts. First, the social indicators on health, nutrition, hygiene, and the quality of education are either stagnant or moving very slowly. And secondly, a large number of the marginalised and disadvantaged people have either failed to gain from the development process, or in many cases, have actually been harmed by this process. He alleged that weak governance, which manifested itself in poor service delivery, uncaring leadership, and uncoordinated and wasteful public expenditure, is the key factor that is hindering development and impinging on social indicators.

Although there has been a growing realisation among some chief ministers about the need to improve governance, only a few of them have been able to translate this into concrete action. This necessarily entails keeping the MLAs and ministers under check, which is difficult when the state is under a coalition regime, or when the ruling party is constrained by a thin margin in the Assembly, or is divided into factions.

Dr. Saxena also spelt out some ways to initiate systemic reforms. He urged the state governments to focus on outcomes. Presently, government officials spend a great deal of time in collecting and submitting information, but rarely use this information for taking remedial action or for analysis. The governments too do not discourage the reporting of inflated figures from the districts, which again renders monitoring ineffective. He said that the situation can easily be corrected by instructing the governments to exhibit greater transparency in the field records, which can be posted on a website, and by increasing the frequency of field inspections conducted by an independent team.

As regards fiscal transfers, he revealed that very little of the central government transfer of roughly Rs. 5 lakh crores (this amount does not include subsidies on food, kerosene, and fertilisers) made annually to the states is linked with performance and good delivery. The concept of

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Dr. N.C. Saxena

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Professor Manoranjan

Mohanty

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Ms. Moutushi Sengupta

Dr. K.S. Vatsa

good governance, therefore, needs to be translated into a quantifiable annual index on the basis of certain agreed indicators, and Central transfers should be linked to such an index, he argued.

Departments such as those of Education, Health, and Rural Development, which have greater number of dealings with the people, should be assessed annually by an independent team consisting of professionals including journalists, academicians, and activists. Such assessments should study their policies and performance, and suggest constructive steps for their improvement, he said.

The author also called for fixing the tenure of higher ranks of the civil services for a period of at least two years, as is being done at the Central level in the Ministries of Home, Defence, and Finance in order to increase the efficiency and accountability of the administration.

He summed up his presentation by asserting that development is an outcome of efficient institutions rather than the other way around. The focus must, therefore, be shifted from maximisation of the quantity of development funding to maximisation of development outcomes and effectiveness of public service delivery. Concerted policy action is needed to lift the 300 million poor people, who are increasingly concentrated in the poorer states, out of poverty. This requires not so much additional resources, as better participation of stakeholders and implementation of sound delivery mechanisms.

Discussions

The panelists in this session focused on the pressing issue of nearstagnant growth in India's social indicators. They expressed concern on how high economic growth in the country has not translated into better outcomes in terms of human development indicators such as the MDGs. Alarmingly, India's social indicators are comparable to those of some of the poorer nations in the world. Even nations like Vietnam, Bhutan, China and some African countries have been performing better than India. There is no uniformity in the distribution of growth in the country and the traditionally marginalised sections such as Dalits, tribals and women remain excluded from the growth process, whereas even Bangladesh has shown a far superior improvement in gender indicators. This situation can be attributed not to the inadequate allocation of resources to states, but possibly to their priorities. The programmes may not always work uniformly well in all states across the country, as the context within which policies are implemented is also very important and varies from state to state, they stressed.

The experts also raised the issue of distinguishing between governance and management. As government institutions have moved towards centralised frameworks, this leads to the question as to who should initiate reforms in the social sector for strengthening it. The Westminster model of democracy is ostensibly not working in India, and Parliament has emerged as the weakest institution, promoting only patronage and power, they added. Other pressing issues discussed during the session are enlisted below.

- There is a need to accord due attention to policy and programme design, which are as important as implementation.
- Convergence of programmes is necessary, particularly from above.
- The devolution of funds must be linked with performance rather than backwardness, in order to convey the right signals to the states. The concept of good governance should be reflected in a quantifiable annual index on the basis of certain agreed economic, social, health, and infrastructure-related indicators. Some universally accepted criteria for good budgetary practices could also be included in the index.
- There is a need to focus on diversity and differences between the states and their performances, and to contextualise programmes appropriately within the local context for improving the countrywide implementation experience.
- Monitoring of programmes is usually done by donors in most developing countries. As the Government of India is the main donor in terms of the provision of social services in the states, it has to assume this role of monitoring and supervising implementation. There is also a need to improve monitoring and evaluation systems in the country.
- Participatory governance, through organisations of the marginalised people (including the landless, women, SHGs, Dalits, and Adivasis), parallel to the PRIs needs to be encouraged. Social movements in contemporary India have been playing an important role in ensuring inclusive policy-making and effective implementation of programmes.
- The role of other delivery agencies besides the government, that is, and PRIs should also be increased. Panchayats particularly have great potential, if they are allocated sufficient funds and made responsible for undertaking quality work. As the agencies of governance, they are more open to negotiation and less prone to conflict. Some taxes should be devolved to them for collection, which would stimulate transparency

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and accountability. Increased public awareness would also serve to improve monitoring and subsequently outcomes.

- Transparency in implementation of programmes and computerisation in maintaining records and official functioning must be encouraged to make the system more open and efficient and also less corrupt. The control of corruption is the first ingredient of good governance.
- Investments are required in the area of capacity building for implementation of programmes and for training modules, among other things.
- Other key developments include the enactment of the Right to Information Act, and implementation of MGNREGA, which have helped in the evolution and enforcement of these schemes. The panelists felt that the adoption of a rights-based approach, particularly if rights are secured from below, is a positive development and offers some hope to the most vulnerable sections. The role of the judiciary particularly assumes importance in this context.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The conclusions and recommendations that emerged from the session are as follows:

- For ensuring effective fiscal transfers, the devolution of Central funds to the states must be linked to a performance-oriented quantifiable annual index, constructed on the basis of certain agreed economic, social, health, infrastructure-related indicators. Some universally accepted criteria for good budgetary practices could also be included in the index.
- 'Outward accountability' is essential for facilitating greater responsiveness to the needs of the public and, therefore, for enhancing service quality. In the case of departments such as the Police and Rural Development, which often deal with the public directly, an annual assessment should be carried out by an independent team of professionals such as journalists, retired judges, academicians, activists, NGOs, and even retired government servants.
- In order to attain transparency in dealings and to ensure probity, the ministries should suo moto make all relevant information available to people. As an experiment, all muster rolls in employment schemes should be posted on the Internet in at least those blocks of a district

where Internet facilities exist. The Official Secrets Act should be repealed and replaced with a less restrictive law. Property and tax returns of all senior officers should be available for scrutiny by the public.

- Resource allocation to social sectors must be increased.
- Outcomes need to be improved by ensuring the more effective utilisation of available resources. The various ways in which this can be done are: (i) simplifying procedures, (ii) improving monitoring and evaluation (that is, the reporting system, and quality assessment), (iii) resolving personnel issues, and (iv) promoting Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs).
- There is a need for increasing both professionalism and responsiveness among the public administration. PRIs have become an important arm of decentralised governance and can play a major role in this process, albeit with some reforms. Since the panchayats mostly receive funds from the central government and such an external supply of funds tends to breed irresponsibility and corruption on the part of the PRIs, the PRIs can be empowered to raise resources on their own through the imposition of taxes and other such measures. They can also be granted more decision-making powers at the local level and their eligibility for obtaining Central funds could be linked to their competence in raising resources from internal sources. Simultaneously, participatory governance, through organisations of the marginalised groups (the landless, women, SHGs, Dalits, and Adivasis), along with the PRIs should be encouraged.
- Considering the fact that external pressure needs to be exerted on the states to ensure an improvement in outcomes, the Government needs to exercise control over the administrative machinery and policy domain in social sector, at least till such a time that the states show signs of improvement in governance.
- It has been observed that MLAs are generally not interested in legislative functions, but always seek greater executive powers, as a result of which most assemblies fail to function properly and fulfil the role that they are meant to. Yet they do influence decision-making processes in the districts and the state indirectly, without taking responsibility for their action. The solution to this rigmarole perhaps lies in making MLAs block presidents, which would not only grant them the power that they so keenly seek, but also make them more accountable to the public.

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Dr. Nisha Srivastava

Ms. Moutushi Sengupta

Dr. K.S. Vatsa



Overview and Emerging Perspectives

Moderator

Dr. Arjun Sengupta, Member of Parliament and Former Chairman of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS)

Summing up of the Consultation

Professor Dev Nathan, Institute for Human Development, New Delhi

Panelists

Professor Yoginder K. Alagh, Chairman, Institute for Human Development and Former Union Minister

Professor K.P. Kannan, Professor, Centre for Development Studies (CDS), Thiruvananthapuram

Professor Sudipto Mundle, Emeritus Professor, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy (NIPFP)

Professor R. Radhakrishnan, Chairman, National Statistical Commission (NSC), Government of India

Professor Ashwani Saith, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague

Mr. Michael Rutkowski, Sector Director, South Asia Human Development Division, World Bank

Professor Abhijit Sen, Member, Planning Commission

Mr. B.K. Sinha, Secretary, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India

Mr. B.N. Yugandhar, Former Member, Planning Commission



The concluding session of the Consultation, moderated by Dr. Arjun Sengupta, provided the overall perspectives of the entire two-day deliberations. Dr. Sengupta commenced the discussion by emphasising the necessity of linking growth with human development, and argued that mere economic growth is not sufficient to achieve a high level of human development. He said that it has to be prioritised in terms of policies and strategies. Moreover, certain externalities are associated with human development, and any strategy of growth and development must consider the benefits associated with those externalities. In conclusion, the panelists expressed their views on the overall discussions and implications of the Consultation.

Professor K.P. Kannan raised larger questions pertaining to the political economy, such as: (a) the nature of human development of different segments of the society, including Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), Muslims and women; (b) the larger issue of establishing social and economic democracy for realising meaningful political democracy; (c) control of local institutions by vested interests; (d) nature of the Indian State and its pro-capitalist shift (like the State acquiring land for the capitalist class and whether the people are ready to part with their land or not). He also emphasised that since the problem of low human development is concentrated in 8-10 states, the regional dimension needs to be addressed simultaneously.

Professor Sudipto Mundle felt that a low human development outcome, despite the high growth rate, is the consequence of insufficient improvement in service delivery. This is due to resource constraints, but more than that, it is also caused by problems of delivery. He also emphasised the need for adopting both public as well as private works without dwelling too much on the benefits of either. Further, he stressed that ideological issues should not be involved in such judgements and policies.

Professor R. Radhakrishnan reiterated that the problem of poverty, inequality and low human development has a strong social and regional component. He averred that socially, the problem is confined to SCs, STs, and minorities, especially Muslims and women; while region-wise, it is concentrated in the central and eastern parts of India. He also highlighted the need for an inclusive development process in which social movements can play an important role. In this context, he suggested that one could learn from the Periyar movement in Tamil Nadu, the successful implementation of the Kudumbashree scheme in Kerala and the Women's Federation in Andhra Pradesh.

Dr. Arjun Sengupta
Professor Dev Nathan
Professor Yoginder K.
Alagh
Professor K.P. Kannan
Professor Sudipto
Mundle
Professor R.
Radhakrishnan
Professor Ashwani Saith
Mr. Michael Rutkowski
Professor Abhijit Sen
Mr. B.K. Sinha
Mr. B.N. Yugandhar

Lamenting that the issue of inclusive growth has retreated without any significant achievement, Professor Ashwani Saith suggested the need to revisit some of the postulates of growth models like the Lewis model for developing countries. He also emphasised the need to explore possibilities of growth in the non-manufacturing sectors. He cautioned against treating MGNREGS as a multipurpose programme and proposed that one should instead concentrate on its core objective. If it is treated as only an employment programme, then the focus should be on productivity. But if it is to be conceived as a social security measure, then the focus should be on reducing leakages and considering cash transfer as a possible alternative. Although a number of social programmes are operational, these numbers have not helped in achieving the desired outcome. Hence, the actual implementation of programmes acquires greater significance.

Mr. Michael Rutkowskie spoke about the high level of aspirations in India and commended the robust growth of its GDP. At the same level, he said that issues concerning people are of critical importance. He suggested that public-private partnerships could be initiated for improving service delivery. He also asserted the need to seriously consider universal entitlement versus targeting as a policy approach of service delivery.

Accentuating the comprehensive character of MGNREGS as a programme, Mr. B.K. Sinha spoke of the positive components of the scheme like planning at the grassroots level and effective community participation, among others. However, he agreed that its implementation needs to be strengthened. MGNREGS is practically a programme of water conservation and harvesting as most of the works permitted under the Schedule are concerned with these tasks. However, if implemented properly, the programme could have larger community effects on the livelihood conditions in rural areas.

Mr. B.N. Yugandhar reiterated the need for rights-based entitlements to social services and consequently, the importance that the role of NREGS assumes in this context. He opined that the exclusionary process of growth could be checked to a considerable extent by adopting the rights-based approach. In particular, he stressed that the rights of tribals as well as the land rights of the poor peasants, which are constantly being threatened by the State, need to be protected. He also urged that drastic improvements in the governance structure need to be brought about, for which purpose accountability becomes important.

Professor Abhijit Sen asserted that any discussion on human development in India must include factors like the prevalence of deep social inequality. He lamented that even after 60 years of Independence, the country does not have an effective administrative mechanism for local governance, and consequently, the problem of delivery persists and needs to be seriously addressed.

Professor Yoginder K. Alagh expounded the need for the convergence of Centrally-sponsored schemes with the Five-Year Plans for facilitating a better planning process and resource allocation. He added that technology could be used for achieving better results, while at the same time expressing concern at the fact that it is not being disseminated sufficiently. A roadmap for better human development could be formulated by freeing wage labourers from the stranglehold of landlords, and facilitating the convergence of government programmes and identification of a cluster of outlays that would result in the desired outcomes.

The discussions that followed the arguments and statements of the panelists highlighted several aspects of emerging policy concerns and perspectives for the future development process. The main points that emerged from the discussions are as follows:

- Economic growth is necessary but clearly not sufficient for facilitating human development as the latter is not just an add-on to economic growth. The extent of human development depends on the nature of growth, such as the growth of income at the bottom rungs of the development ladder. There are critical market failures and one cannot leave it to the market to determine the level of provision of various goods and services that contribute to human development. The health services market could be cited as an example in this case, as it exhibits both inelastic demand and substantial information asymmetries, leading to pervasive market failure.
- Many domains of human development generate externalities, or to express it in another way, there are agglomeration effects of the provision of medical and educational services. These agglomeration effects indicate that the sum of private decisions would lead to an undersupply of these services, making public or collective action, necessary for securing the socially desired supply.
- Being a citizen confers on one the right to some minimum entitlements, based on the consumption of goods and services, mainly food, education and medical facilities.

Dr. Arjun Sengupta
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Mr. Michael Rutkowski
Professor Abhijit Sen
Mr. B.K. Sinha
Mr. B.N. Yugandhar

- Two key features of the economic trajectory, which have an impact on human development outcomes, are poor agricultural growth and poor manufacturing growth, characterised by a pronounced dualism of large and small units, and a missing middle. These issues need to be dealt with as part of the growth process, or inclusive growth rather than through safety measures.
- The overall emphasis should be on the universalisation of certain essential goods and services like the universal coverage of food, education, health, and housing, among others. The targeted system therefore needs to be revamped in order to overcome the problem of exclusion and inclusion errors and to address leakages occurring in the dual price system.
- In an open economy, it is imperative to take into account the productivity effects of redistributive policies such as MGNREGA. However, the discussion during the Consultation focused mainly on income redistribution instead of asset redistribution. However, the question regarding the relative welfare and productivity effects of the two still remains to be answered. It must be remembered that there is an incentive effect in asset redistribution (for example, any land acquired needs to be put to productive use in order to gain the residual surplus). On the other hand, income redistribution may lack this incentive effect.
- The respective roles of the public and private sectors in human development were also discussed but the focus was on the need to strengthen the public system of service delivery. Simultaneously, the issue of standards too came to the fore, and it was reiterated that the public system must meet a reasonable minimum standard in the delivery of education, health and other critical services.
- Overall, there was an air of optimism at the Consultation, which resulted from the following developments and perceived achievements:
 - Reasonable success of entitlement-based schemes (such as MGNREGS and SSA) and the attainment of gradual progress towards entitlement-based developments like RTE and once again, MGNREGA;
 - Increasing people's access to rights, including those categorised as the marginalised sections;

- The availability of greater resources due to accelerated growth of the economy; makes more resources available for human development;
- Increasing willingness among all the stakeholders to discuss and learn from international experiences, such as from Bangladesh, Vietnam, China, Brazil, and South Africa.
- Framing of policies on the basis of the above achievements, which brings to the fore a liberal-democratic policy rather than a market fundamentalist policy.

Dr. Arjun Sengupta Professor Dev Nathan Professor Yoginder K. Alagh

Professor K.P. Kannan Professor Sudipto Mundle

Professor R. Radhakrishnan

Professor Ashwani Saith

Mr. Michael Rutkowski Professor Abhijit Sen

Mr. B.K. Sinha

Mr. B.N. Yugandhar



Annexures

Programme

IHD Rapporteuring Team

List of Participants



Annexure 1

PROGRAMME

DAY, 5 FEBRUARY, 2010

0830 – 0900 : Registration & Coffee/Tea

0900 – 1100 : Inaugural Session: Accelerated Growth In India

And Human Development Outcomes

Welcome and Opening Remarks: Professor Alakh N. Sharma, Director,

Institute for Human Development (IHD), New Delhi

Panellists : **Professor Kaushik Basu**, Chief Economic Advisor,

Government of India and Professor of Economics, Cornell

University

Professor Deepak Nayyar, Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru

University, New Delhi and Distinguished University

Professor of Economics, New School of Social Research, New York; and Former Vice-Chancellor, University of Delhi

Remarks by the Chairperson: **Professor Yoginder K. Alagh**, Chairman, IHD and Former

Union Minister

Inaugural & Keynote Address: Dr. Montek Singh Ahluwalia, Deputy Chairman, Planning

Commission, Government of India

Vote of Thanks : **Dr. Preet Rustagi**, Senior Fellow, IHD

1100 - 1120 : Coffee/Tea Break

1120 – 1345 : **Theme I: Education**

Presentation

Moderator : Dr. Shantha Sinha, Chairperson, National Commission for

Protection of Child Rights, New Delhi

Background Paper : **Professor R. Govinda**, Vice-Chancellor, National University

of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA),

New Delhi

Dr. Madhumita Bandhopadhyay, NUEPA, New Delhi

Panelists in the Roundtable Discussions

Dr. Vimala Ramachandran, Education Research Unit, Roundtable Discussions ERU Consultant Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi

Professor J.B.G. Tilak, Senior Fellow & Head, Educational Finance Unit, NUEPA, New Delhi

Professor Furqan Qamar, Vice Chancellor, HP Central University, Himachal Pradesh

Professor Janak Pandey, Vice Chancellor, Central University of Bihar

Mr. Rohit Dhankar, Director, Digantar, Jaipur

Prof. Geetha B. Nambissan, Zakir Hussain Centre for Education Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi

Ms. Rukmini Banerji, Pratham, New Delhi

Dr. Geeta Gandhi Kingdon, University of London, UK

Professor Anjini Kochar, Stanford University, USA

Dr. Sudhanshu Bhushan, Professor, NUEPA, New Delhi

Professor P. Duraisamy, Chairperson, School of Economics, University of Madras

Dr. Praveen Jha, Associate Professor, Centre for Economic Studies and Planning, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

1345 - 1500 : Lunch

1500 -1800 : Theme II: Health And Nutrition

Moderator : **Dr. Srinath Reddy**, Chairman, Public Health Foundation of

India

Background Paper

Presentations

Health: Mr. Amarjeet Sinha, Joint Secretary, Department of Health, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government

of India

Nutrition: Dr. T. Sundararaman, Executive Director, National

Health System Resource Centre, New Delhi

Panelists in the Roundtable Discussions

Professor Rama Baru, Centre for Social Medicine & Community Health, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi

Professor K.S. James, Professor, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore

Professor Gita Sen, Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore

Dr. Prema Ramachandaran, Nutrition Foundation of India, New Delhi

Mr. K.B. Saxena, Former Secretary, Department of Health, Government of India

Dr. Ritu Priya Mehrotra, Centre for Social Medicine & Community Health, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

Dr. Veena Shatrughna, Former Deputy Director, National Institute of Nutrition, Hyderabad

Professor Pauline M.H. Mazumdar, Professor Emeritus of the History of Medicine, University of Toronto

Professor N.J. Kurian, Visiting Professor, Council for Social Development, New Delhi.

Dr. Ruhi Saith, Developing Countries Editorial Consultant, Cochrane Public Health Review Group and Visiting Senior Scientist, Department of Public Health, University of Oxford

Dr. Radha Holla, Breastfeeding Promotion Network of India, New Delhi.

(Coffee / Tea Break between 1600 and 1620 hrs.)

1900 : Reception Dinner

Venue: Banquet Hall, Hotel Ashoka, Chanakyapuri,

New Delhi

SATURDAY, 6 FEBRUARY, 2010

0900 -1115 : Theme III: Employment And Skills

Moderator : **Professor T.S. Papola**, President, Indian Society of Labour

Economics Research and Development Trust and Hon. Professor, Institute for Studies in Industrial Development,

New Delhi

Background Paper

Presentation

Professor Ajit K. Ghose, Visiting Professor, IHD and Former

Senior Economist, International Labour Organisation

Panelists in the

Roundtable Discussions

Professor K.P. Kannan, Professor, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum and Former Member of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Informal Sector (NCEUS),

Government of India

Professor G.K. Chadha, Chief Executive Officer, South Asian University and Former Vice-Chancellor, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Dr. Pablo Gottret, Lead Human Development Economist, The World Bank, Washington

Professor T.C.A. Anant, Professor, Delhi School of Economics

Professor Dinesh Awasthi, Director, Entrepreneurship Development Institute of India, Ahmedabad

Mr. Manish Sabharwal, Managing Director, Team Lease, Bangalore

Professor Dipak Mazumdar, Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto

Mr. Subesh K. Das, Principal Secretary to the Chief Minister, West Bengal

Professor J. Krishnamurthy, Former Senior Economist, ILO

Dr. Santosh Mehrotra, Director, Institute of Applied Manpower Research, Delhi

Professor Padmini Swaminathan, Madras Institute of Development Studies, Chennai

Professor Debdas Banerjee, Institute of Development Studies, Kolkata

Professor Debi S. Saini, Management Development Institute, Gurgaon

Professor B. N. Goldar, Institute for Economic Growth (IEG), Delhi

1115 -1130 : Coffee/ Tea Break

1130 – 1345 : Theme IV: Social Protection

Moderator : **Dr. Rakesh Mohan**, Senior Research Fellow at the Standford

University and Former Deputy Governor, Reserve Bank of

India

Background Paper

Presentation

Professor S. Mahendra Dev, Chairman, Commission for

Agricultural Costs and Prices (CACP), Government of India,

New Delhi

Panelists in the

Roundtable Discussions

Professor Mukul Asher, Professor, Singapore National

University, Singapore

Professor Ravi Srivastava, Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru

University and Former Member, NCEUS

Professor Kamala Sankaran, Faculty of Law, University of

Delhi

Mr. T. Vijay Kumar, CEO, Society for Elimination of Rural

Poverty, Government of Andhra Pradesh

Professor Amitabh Kundu, Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru

University, New Delhi

Dr. Abusaleh Shariff, Senior Research Fellow, International

Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), Asia Office

Professor A.V. Jose, Director, Gulati Institute of Finance &

Taxation, Thiruvananthapuram

Professor Pulin Nayak, Delhi School of Economics, Delhi

Dr. Aasha Kapur Mehta, Professor, Indian Institute of Public

Administration, New Delhi

Professor Shovan Ray, Professor, Indira Gandhi Institute of

Development Research (IGIDR), Mumbai

Professor Amita Shah, Gujarat Institute of Development

Research (GIDR), Ahmedabad

Professor Irudayarajan, Centre for Development Studies,

Thiruvananthapuram

Dr. S. Madheswaran, Professor, Centre for Economic Studies

& Policy, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore

Dr. P.K. Nag, Director, National Institute of Occupational Health, Ahmedabad

Prof Darshini Mahadevia, Professor, School of Planning, CEPT University, Ahmedabad

Mr. V.B. Sant, Director-General, National Safety Council, New Delhi

1330 -1415 : Lunch

1415 -1615 : Theme V: Strengthening The Social Programmes

For Improved Human Development Outcomes

Moderator : Mr. M.N. Prasad, Secretary to the Prime Minister of India

Background Paper : **Dr. N.C. Saxena**, Former Secretary, Ministry of Rural Presentation Development and Planning Commission, Government

of India

Panelists in the : Mr. B.N. Yugandhar, Former Member,

Roundtable Discussions Planning Commission

Professor Atul Sarma, Member, Thirteenth Finance Commission

Dr. Rohini Nayyar, Former Principal Advisor, Planning Commission, New Delhi

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Dr. K.S. Vatsa, Principal Secretary to the Government of Maharashtra; Currently on depution to UNDP as Regional Adviser (South Asia)

1615-1630 : Coffee/Tea

1630-1830 : Concluding Session: Overview and Emerging Perspectives

Moderator : Late Dr. Arjun Sengupta, Member of Parliament and

Chairman of the Institute of Economic Growth; Former Chairman, National Commission for Enterprises in the

Unorganised Sector, Government of India

Main Conclusions & Deliberations of the Consultation

Professor Dev Nathan, Institute for Human

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Views of the Panellists : **Professor K.P. Kannan**, Professor, Centre for Development

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: **Mr. B.N. Yugandhar**, Former Member, Planning Commission

Annexure 2

IHD Rapporteuring Team

Sessions Rapporteurs

Inaugural Session : Sandip Sarkar and Swati Verma

Education : **Preet Rustagi** and **Rajini Menon**

Health : Abhay Kumar and Amrita Datta

Employment and Skills : R.P. Mamgain and Diksha Arora

Social Protection : C. Upendranadh and Rukmini Tankha

Strengthening the Social Programme: Aseem Prakash and Joyita Ghose

for Improved Human Development Outcomes

Concluding Session : Ashok Pankaj and Kasturi Majumdar

Overall Rapporteur : Dev Nathan

Annexure 3

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