

# Budget TRACK

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## Foreword

Improving access to essential services like healthcare, sanitation, housing, and education are crucial to overcome poverty and discrimination. At present, a large section of our society is still unable to access these basic services mainly due to unaffordability. These are not merely services but bare minimums to one's right to live. One of the primary reasons behind such bleak condition is inadequate public provisions. Successive governments have taken several initiatives in the form of programmes/schemes so as to enhance the access to such basic services. However, the situation remains the same even today.

The current issue of Budget Track, besides the regular budget and policy tracking, draws attention to two major initiatives of the government — *the Mid Day Meal scheme* and the *Total Sanitation Campaign*. Both these initiatives have attracted immense attention of the media and civil society. The current issue also attempts to capture a background characteristic namely the *wealth index* used for the first time in the National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3). Since, the data on maternal and child health, reproductive health and utilisation of health care is classified into wealth quintiles; the article underscores several issues pertaining to accessibility to health services and thus its implications on the health outcomes. Lastly, a write-up on *Budgets and Rights* by Priti Darooka as Guest Column emphasizes the mutual functioning of the two domains.

We hope you find the information presented in this issue of Budget Track useful.

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With the present UPA Government almost completing the last year of its term, the Union Budget 2008-09 assumes special significance. The National Common Minimum Programme drafted by the UPA Government was not just a policy document but underlines many crucial programmes and initiatives having severe implications on every section and sector of the economy. The success of the UPA Government largely depends on the realization of the promises made in the NCMP. The current budget and policy tracking attempts to track two of these: the issue of food security and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act. Also, recently, the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy, announced in 2007 attracted criticism from several spheres. The article makes an effort to flag some concerns relating to the Policy,

given the government's intention to give it a statutory backing. With the Union Budget having been released only a fortnight ago, the article also tracks some of the proposals made by various stakeholders to the Finance Minister during pre-budget consultations.

Over a month since January, the Finance Minister has been pre-occupied with holding pre-budget consultations with different stakeholders. Everyone has a wish list for the Finance Minister, which they believe should be integrated in the budget. This year, the consultative process started on Jan.7, 2008. For the first time, the FM met with the financial advisors to various ministries and the Economic Advisory Council (EAC) to the Prime Minister headed by C Rangarajan. The following illustrates the proposals of different stakeholders.

# Budget and Policy Tracking

- Bhumika Jhamb

## Jan. 7, 2008 Meeting with Agriculturists

*Achieve 4 percent growth in agriculture - was the central theme of the meeting.*

Other issues:

- Rationalise taxes on agricultural commodities
- Stagnation in production of wheat and rice

## Meeting with the EAC

## Meeting with Financial Advisors

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## Meeting with Industrialists Jan. 9, 2008

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## Meeting with Trade Unionists Jan. 10, 2008

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## THE SECOND BATCH OF SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS 2007-08

A second batch of supplementary grants was submitted for the Union Budget 2007-08 which includes a total of 42 grants and one Appropriation. The total grant of Rs. 33, 290.87 crore has been sought which comes to approx. 3 percent of the total original budget. Uptill now, the two batches of supplementary grants amount to 8 percent of the original budget. Out of the supplementary grant sought, Rs. 11,869.60 crore involves net cash outgo and gross additional expenditure matched by savings of the ministries/ departments or by enhanced receipts/recoveries sums to Rs. 21,420.82 crore. In addition, a token provision of 1 lakh each has been sought for each item of expenditure which sums up to Rs. 45 lakh.

- The Department of Agriculture and Cooperation has sought an additional funding of Rs. 198.75 crore (a cash outgo) for implementation of the National Food Security Mission, a centrally sponsored scheme which became operational in select states in late 2007.
- The funding pattern for *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan*, a flagship scheme of the UPA Government which seeks to provide universal elementary education has been revised recently. According to the revised pattern, instead from the present share of Centre at 50 percent, the Centre-State share will be 65:35 for the initial two years of the Eleventh Plan, after which the Centre's share will be subsequently reduced to 60 percent in 2009 and further to 55 percent in the last year of the Eleventh Plan. A further concession was made for the North Eastern States. **Thus, an additional expenditure of Rs. 2,070.00 crore has been sought for in the supplementary grants to meet the expenditure under the revised pattern.** In addition, in order to meet the additional expenditure due to revision of current funding pattern of 50:50 to 90:10, a sum of Rs. 230.00 crore has also been sought.
- The District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) was initiated in November, 1994 in 7 States (42 districts). It moved into its second phase in May 1996 and covered 6 additional States and a total of 80 districts. Currently, the scheme is operational in Rajasthan and Orissa. A provision of Rs. 20 crore has been sought to meet the additional expenditure which will be incurred on extension of DPEP phase II in Rajasthan.
- Many recommendations were made by the Sachar Committee Report on Social, Economic and Educational Status of Muslims in India,

released in Nov. 2006. One of them being to disseminate information through a multi-media campaign regarding welfare schemes for monitoring and base line survey in the identified Muslim concentrated districts. For this purpose, a supplementary grant of Rs. 14.98 crore has been sought.

- The National e-Governance Plan initiated in 2003 seeks to provide impetus to the growth of e-governance. It does so through setting up the core infrastructure and policies and implementing a number of **Mission Mode Projects** at the centre, state and integrated service levels. As part of this larger plan, the Ministry of Panchayati Raj lately recommended computerization of 2.5 lakh gram panchayats in the next three years. Thus, this initiative will kick start the e-governance efforts at the local level and as anticipated, will lead to greater transparency and accountability. Also, it seeks to provide technology access to people who have been deprived of it. For this, an additional grant of Rs. 10 crore has been sought for implementation of Mission Mode on e-panchayats.

## THE UNMET DEMAND: THE ISSUE OF FOOD SECURITY

The issue of food security is inextricably linked to a range of other issues, and thus cannot be seen in isolation. One of the policy thrust areas identified by the UPA Government (to be implemented from 2005) under NCMP was to catalyse new initiatives with a focus on crop yields. The decline in agricultural growth, 77 percent of the population with a per capita daily consumption of up to Rs. 20 (in 2004-05) who constitute the poor and vulnerable and growing informalisation of labour – constitute both cause and effect of the larger issue of food and nutrition security. **The state of under nutrition in India has been reinforced by the findings of NFHS-3, the Global Hunger Index and the recently released State of the World's Children Report 2008.** According to the Global Hunger Report, India has failed to reach the mark of 0.5, which means that it will be unable to fulfil the targets of halving the proportion of calorie-deficient people and underweight children and cutting under-five mortality by two-thirds by 2015 set in the MDGs. Taking the Global Hunger Index figure of 33.3 for India in the base year (1990), the situation continues to be alarming with the figure pegged at 25. Moreover, Ethiopia has registered a better hunger situation than India. The percentage of ever-married women in the age group 15-49 yrs who were anaemic has actually increased from 51.8 percent to 56.2 percent between the two NFHS periods (1 and 2). The figure for pregnant women who are anaemic in the age group 15-49

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“As the Economic Survey 2007-08 also notes, the rate of growth of foodgrains production decelerated to 1.2 percent during 1990-2007 which is lower than the annual rate of growth of population averaging 1.9 percent”

ys stands at a high 57.9 percent (2005-06) from 49.7 percent as in 1998-99.

One of the most important initiatives taken by the government to meet the needs of food security, especially for the poor and marginalized is the Public Distribution System. The current system of Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) is plagued with several problems - large scale exclusion owing to dubious BPL methodology to arrive at the number of beneficiaries, large scale diversion and pilferage – to name a few. **A number of steps have been taken in the past to strengthen the PDS including the recent proposals of introduction of food stamps, multi-application of smart cards and web-enabled services to curb corruption and provide easy access to information. However, the government is silent on the issue of universalisation of PDS.** Instead, the proposal to introduce food stamps as an alternative to the present system will mean dilution of the government’s commitment.

Foodgrains productivity deserves a special mention here. **The NSS 61<sup>st</sup> round (2004-05) shows that**

**Table Production of Foodgrains**

Time Period	Agricultural Production of Foodgrains (million tonnes)	Area (million ha)
2006-07	216.13	124.07

Source: Agriculture Statistics at a Glance 2006, Department of Agriculture and Cooperation, Ministry of Agriculture, Govt. of India

**the per capita intake of calories and protein has declined for rural as well as urban areas. The calorie consumption has gone down from 2221 to 2047 which is even below the calorie norm for the rural poverty line of 2400 calories.** This reinforces the declining availability of the foodgrains – cereals and pulses and the rising requirement.

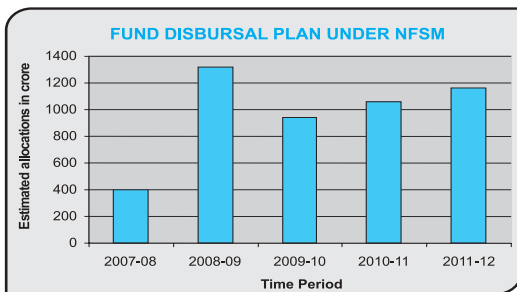
Production of foodgrains since the quantum jump in 1980s has stagnated in the recent decades and has not kept pace with the growing population. As the Economic Survey 2007-08 also notes, *the rate of growth of foodgrains production decelerated to 1.2 percent during 1990-2007 which is lower than the annual rate of growth of population averaging 1.9 percent.* It further notes that *the target for foodgrains production set at 217.13 million tonnes for 2006-07 was lower by 2.7 million tonnes and highlights that the overall production of foodgrains in 2007-08 is expected to fall short of the target by 2.2 million tonnes.*

According to the Department of Agriculture and Cooperation, Ministry of Agriculture, the production of foodgrains is projected to increase from 216.13 million tonnes to approx 220 million tonnes by 2011-12 and further to 235 million tonnes by 2016-17. The corresponding increase in population is estimated at approx 1200 million and 1300 million by 2011-12 and 2016-17 respectively. Therefore, on the one hand, the production of foodgrains will register an increase of 8.7 percent, the population will increase by 26 percent by 2016-17.

Recognising the urgent need of augmenting the foodgrain productivity, a resolution was adopted in the 53<sup>rd</sup> NDC meeting, following which the **National Food Security Mission (NFSM)**, a centrally sponsored scheme was launched on 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2007 to operationalise the resolution. Having three separate components on rice, wheat and pulses, the scheme aims to increase the production of each by 10, 8 and 2 million tonnes respectively by 2011.



The scheme intends to meet the requirement of foodgrains by bridging the gap between the potential of production and current yield of foodgrains. Therefore, out of a total of 35 rice, wheat and pulses producing States/UTs, 16 States/UTs have been selected and from these, 305 districts have been identified where the scheme is in operation. **As stipulated in the guidelines of the scheme, identification of areas and beneficiaries will be done in a way that the marginalized sections are not excluded.** It will be done in accordance with the implementation of Scheduled Caste Sub Plan and the Tribal Sub Plan and further, atleast 33 percent allocations of fund is to be made for small, marginal and women farmers.



The funds will be directly released in installments to the autonomous agency in the State. A total of Rs. 4,882.48 crore is estimated for the scheme.

The Integrated Cereal Development Programme (ICDP), a centrally sponsored scheme would thus be stopped subsequently with the operationalisation of NFSM in the identified districts. In addition, under the Integrated Scheme on Pulses, Oilseeds and Maize (ISOPOM) which has been in operation since 2004, the pulse programme specifically will also be discontinued in the identified pulse-producing districts. As captured from the Outcome Budget 2007-08 of the Department of Agriculture and Cooperation, majority of the targets under specific components of the pulse programme have not been achieved. Two primary reasons mentioned include (a) the projection of targets under various components were made based on the approved action plan of the implementing States wherein the requirement of funds for implementation was also projected, which was more than the allocation made to the State and (b) there was diversion of allotted funds to other approved components.

Thus, from the past performance, the success of NFSM is contingent upon effective coordination at various levels and preparation of State Action Plans. **This is perhaps the first scheme of its kind that apart from the primary aim of increasing the production of rice, wheat and pulses in a sustainable manner, also anticipates**

**creation of more job opportunities and enhancement of farm level economy.** It is also unique in the sense that it focuses on three primary foodgrains consumed in India, thus making the implementation crucial for the availability of the three in future. However, as it is clear from the present dialogue between the Planning Commission and the Finance Secretary, the cut in Gross Budgetary Support as demanded by various ministries would have implications on functioning of the NFSM. As against the demand of Rs 41,258 crore by the Ministry of Rural Development to implement its schemes in 2008-09, GBS has been reduced by 27 percent (proposed allocations). Since the scheme has become operational only recently, it remains to be seen whether it is able to achieve the targets by the end of the Eleventh Five Year Plan. Also, the targets set by the Mission may not be adequate to meet the growing demand for food grains and thus may require revision.

## NREGS – WHAT DO THE DRAFT CAG REPORT FINDINGS MEAN?<sup>1</sup>

The findings of the draft CAG six-month performance audit of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme can be said to be responsible for the recent furor in the media. The issue was covered in almost all national dailies. **The six month performance audit of the NREGS was conducted in 513 gram panchayats spread across 68 randomly selected districts from 26 States.** Consequently, a series of articles spanning four days from Jan. 7 to Jan. 10 reported on the findings. The findings primarily report the non-conformity to the guidelines of the Act at the National level since out of a total of 1,460 irregularities pointed by the report, 61 percent account for deviations from the guidelines, whereas fund utilization and manipulation account for 2 percent and 1 percent respectively.

Therefore, explanations are being sought from different States where the scheme is in operation which will be then incorporated in the draft report. The report points to alleged corruption, inefficiency, diversion and misutilisation of funds and unreliable figures. **The reasons identified for the same include, deficient financial management and tracking system, inadequate and delayed planning of the works, absence of authenticated books for records (in as many as 14 States), and workers being paid wages lower than the minimum wage rate (11 States).** Lack of adequate administrative and technical human resources at the local level has been also marked as one of the main deficiencies affecting implementation of the programme.

NREGS, which was initially implemented in 200

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<sup>1</sup> Pls note that the figures referred here are drawn from the News Reports published by various dailies with regard to the Draft CAG Report which is not in the public domain.

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“According to the report, 52 percent of the 513 gram panchayats had not appointed EGAs. In addition, the panel of accredited engineers at the district and block levels were found to be absent in 23 states”

“There is no denying the fact that NREGA carries immense potential in creating employment through generation of productive assets”

poorest districts, was gradually extended to 130 additional districts. Soon, the scheme would be operationalised in 596 districts of the country leaving roughly 7-8 urban districts. As it stands today, 2.58 crore households have been provided employment and number of persondays totals to 85.54 crore. The proportion of SCs, STs and women in the scheme is 27 percent, 31 percent and 44 percent respectively. (NREGA website). However, on the other hand, the CAG report highlights that only 3.2 percent of the registered households could get the 100 days employment between Feb. 2006 and March 2007 and the average employment generated comes to just 18 days. This can be understood by the fact that as soon as the scheme was announced, many households got themselves registered and thus the percentage of those provided employment in proportion to the households registered would be a very low figure and thus an underestimation as shown by CAG findings.

**Clearly, the CAG findings reveal that the States are finding it very difficult to comprehend and follow the guidelines set at the National level.** This is reflected by 61 percent of the irregularities accounting to deviations from the National level guidelines.

Thirdly, as also noted by many surveys, the performance of some States on NREGS such as Rajasthan, Chattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh has been much better than states such as UP, Orissa and others. The success of the scheme is largely due to strong Panchayati Raj systems in place. However, places such as Jharkhand where such systems do not exist, the functioning of the bureaucratic administration has ushered the process.

The transparency safeguards such as regular social audits have been built in the Act and the role of *gram sabha* in conducting them is clearly defined in the guidelines. However, on the ground, the role is not being exercised by the *gram sabha* but by the NGOs who were to build capacities of the *gram sabhas* to conduct social audits.

**Another crucial aspect of the Act is payment of the unemployment allowance in case of delay in providing employment by the State concerned.** At present, payment of this allowance is solely the responsibility of the State and thus acts as a disincentive for the State. The underlying aim of the States to provide such allowance was to provide employment at the earliest. However, one of the CAG's recommendations includes partial reimbursement of the allowance by the Centre. This might not work in favour of the inherent objective. However, taking cognizance of the financial crunch of the States, such sharing by the Centre and the States in payment of the allowance would be a welcome step for the States.

A crucial bottleneck in the functioning of the NREGS is the paucity of technical staff at the

panchayat level as is also clearly noted by the CAG report and is also included as one of the recommendations. **As required, a *gram rozgar sevak* or an Employment Guarantee Assistant (EGA) needs to be appointed in every panchayat and junior engineers have to be appointed to take note of the work measurements at the sites.** According to the report, 52 percent of the 513 gram panchayats had not appointed EGAs. In addition, the panel of accredited engineers at the district and block levels were found to be absent in 23 states.

An important recommendation of the report is to explore a nationwide agreement with the Department of Posts for all NREGS payments – seen as a way of plugging the leakage in the system. It is a welcome step by the Government to use technology in increasing the efficiency of the programme. **The Government has started the process of linking with PSUs to handle disbursements of funds for the NREGS workers.** At the same time it is important to be cautious of the misappropriation of money by the postal department which is actually intended for the labour.

Finally, there is sufficient evidence that indicates more likelihood of women's participation in the scheme wherever SHGs are functional. This requires Ministry of Rural Development to encourage convergence of schemes and programmes run by other ministries.

Again, with the proposed allocations being much lower than the GBS demanded, as stated earlier, the expansion of NREGA from April 2008 will pose problems. **NREGA, a historic Act, enforced in 2006 faced extreme skepticism by corporate giants and the Finance Ministry.** Although various surveys and CAG's audit point to various irregularities in its implementation and recommend enormous scope for improvement, there is no denying the fact that NREGA carries immense potential in creating employment through generation of productive assets.

## WOMEN AND THE NATIONAL POLICY FOR FARMERS

The feminization of agriculture is clearly evident from the NSS 61st round. The share of agricultural workers in the female workforce is as high as 72.8 percent in 2004-05, primarily due to increasing male out migration. According to the data compiled by the National Commission on Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS) from the NSS 61<sup>st</sup> Round (2004-05), the share of female agricultural workers after remaining almost stable during 1983 and 1993-94 and prior to declining to 38.8 percent in 1990-00, registered an increase of up to 41.6 percent in 2004-05. The share of women farmers in 2004-05 stood almost equal i.e. 64.4 percent for women and 64

percent for men. This trend indicates a decline in casualisation of female workforce in agriculture. The report also notes that amongst small farmers who are women, 85 percent have high levels of illiteracy or education only up to primary level and 6 percent with education above secondary level against 62 percent and 20 percent respectively for the male counterparts. In addition, it notes a high incidence of poverty for landless and sub marginal farmers. Among the farmer households, nearly 15 percent had sub marginal land holdings and 30 percent possessed marginal holdings.

Thus, as it follows from the report, it is important to look at the National Policy for Farmers, 2007 from the lens of women to see as to how far it addresses the concerns of women farmers.

## WOMEN'S ASSET BASE: OWNERSHIP ISSUES

One of the crucial aspects that forces individuals to work as labourers is lack of assets and landlessness. This is particularly true for women farmers since land is largely in the name of men of the family. The Hindu Succession Amendment Act (2005) needs to be considered here since it seeks to provide ownership to females as well. The revenue records in the name of women farmers are especially important for them to access credit. The policy for farmers recognizes the urgent need of empowering women to access credit services through *joint pattas* for homestead as well as agricultural land. A vital asset on which productivity depends is the availability of water/irrigation. The policy acknowledges women's role as managers of water resources as well as their access to the same.

## WOMEN'S LOCAL KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICE

Women's possession of local knowledge and practice is widely recognized and so does the National Policy for Farmers. With the aim of conserving and developing bio resources, one of the ways promoted by the policy includes involvement of women while documenting the traditional knowledge through community biodiversity registers. It recognizes women's role in seed technology training centres and community managed seed villages.

## SUPPORT SERVICES FOR WOMEN

As noted by the NCEUS Report, women are primarily engaged in transplanting, sowing, weeding and harvesting which involve use of implements. The policy promotes use of women-friendly implements, which aim to reduce drudgery, save time, enhance output and provide comfort while handling. **Further, it also seeks to address**

concerns of women farmers through provision of support services such as crèches, child care centres, nutrition, health and training etc., for which funds will be routed through schemes of Ministry of Panchayati Raj, Rural Development and Agriculture.

## ACCESS TO CREDIT

Recognising the urgent need of access to credit for women cultivators owing to lack of ownership of land, the policy seeks to address this through issuance of kisan credit cards for women with *joint pattas* for homestead/agricultural land, and indemnity bonds/guarantees from husband and relatives for those women who do not have *joint pattas*.

## GROUP APPROACH

The policy especially purports a group approach where cooperatives and SHGs will play a major role. This approach has two purposes – dissemination of agricultural technology and inputs and secondly, encouraging investment and production among small scale women farmers wherever possible. Also, for access to information regarding market produce, group approach has been promoted.

On the whole, access to credit, a key concern for farmers and for women farmers in particular, where the issue of land ownership is implicit, seems to be taken care of by the policy. However, there is no mention of women farmers when the policy seeks to address the concerns of special category of farmers such as tribals. Also, integration of existing schemes is vital for provision of support services which will largely depend on the operationalisation of the policy. Such convergence could also be utilized to address the issue of illiteracy amongst women farmers.

## NATIONAL REHABILITATION AND RESETTLEMENT POLICY, 2007

Involuntary displacement of people, especially the marginalized groups such as SCs, STs, farmers and women is rather a norm following the imposition of the neo-liberal policies. Although a comprehensive policy for rehabilitation and resettlement was not identified as one of the thrust areas of the National Common Minimum Programme, it was included as key instruments in the NAC headed by the UPA Government. However, after it became defunct in 2005, the things stood still. The urgency of such a policy in recent times is as a result of large-scale protests against setting up SEZs, especially in Singur and Nandigram.

There were many issues which remained unaddressed in the former policy, National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation for Project

## Budget and Policy Tracking

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“The National R&R Policy, 2007 aims to minimize large scale displacement and promote non-displacing and least displacing alternatives”

Affected Families, 2003 and thus a need was felt, especially after the SEZs episode, to draft a comprehensive policy. Therefore, a National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy was drafted and approved lately in October 2007. Also consequently, to give it a statutory backing, two bills - Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill – 2007 and Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill – 2007 were raised in the Winter Session of the Parliament.

The National R&R Policy, 2007 sets minimum requirements to be integrated by the state governments, PSUs or agencies which have either an R&R policy or are in the process of formulating one. It aims to minimize large scale displacement and promote non-displacing and least displacing alternatives.

In terms of sharing of benefits accruing from the organization/individual acquiring the land, the policy states that if the land acquired for a public purpose is transferred to an individual/organization, eighty percent of any net unearned income accruing to the transferor (individual/organization), it shall be shared amongst the persons from whom the lands were acquired or their heirs. This sharing will be in proportion to the value at which the lands were acquired.

Although, *prima facie* the National R&R Policy looks comprehensive and appears to have plugged the loopholes in the former policy, a closer look at the policy reveals some very crucial unaddressed issues.

1. At the very outset, the Preamble of the policy states that *the adverse impact on affected families needs to be assessed in a participatory and transparent manner. The reflection to do so is absent in the whole policy document barring a provision for consultation with the affected families during the final preparation of the Social Impact Assessment and Environment Impact Assessment reports which will be further examined by an expert group comprising members nominated by the appropriate government.* Even while conducting the census of the affected families, the compulsion of such families is absent in the Policy.
2. The Policy exempts the Ministry of Defence with regard to conducting SIA report for the purpose of land acquisition for national security.
3. The Land Acquisition Act has been contested several times and thus has remained a source of conflict. The Policy defines *land acquisition or acquisition of land as acquisition of land under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 as amended from time to time, or any other law*

*of the Union or a State for the time being in force.* Thus, such a definition provides autonomy to the Government to acquire any land in the name of *public purpose*.

4. Another source of concern is the fact that the Policy states declaration of any area (or areas) as a resettlement area (or areas) for rehabilitation and resettlement of the affected families. The displacement of non-project affected families in such a case cannot be ignored and needs attention.
5. There are far too many ifs and buts in the whole policy when it comes to provision of rehabilitation and resettlement benefits. For instance, the policy states that each affected family owning agricultural land in the affected area and whose entire land has been acquired or lost, agricultural land or cultivable wasteland *may* be allotted only *if* Government land is available in the resettlement area. Similarly, the policy states that in case of land acquisition, the requiring body shall give preference to the affected families *.....subject to the availability of vacancies and suitability of the affected person* for the employment. Also, with regard to provision of scholarships, it states that the requiring body will offer them *as per the criteria as may be fixed by the appropriate government*.
6. One of the definitions of the affected family as provided by the policy is – any agricultural or non-agricultural labourer, landless person, rural artisan, small trader or self-employed, who has been residing or engaged in trade, business, occupation or vocation continuously for a period of not less than three years. The policy fails to acknowledge that tribals may get excluded if restricted to such a definition since the kind of cultivation carried out by tribals and other nomadic tribes requires constant moving in and out which therefore may not mean constant engagement at a place for a period of three years.
7. The policy clearly states that if the land acquired remains unutilized for a period of five years, it will revert back to the possession and ownership of the appropriate government. However, the policy is mute on the concerned government's action after getting the land.

**Thus, on the whole, the National R & R Policy 2007, which was expected to plug the loopholes and suggest a comprehensive framework for addressing rehabilitation and resettlement, fails to do so on many counts.** There is a lack of concrete commitment on part of the appropriate governments to provide adequate protection to the affected families. With the ongoing Budget session, and the related speculation on the Bills passed, the concerns raised above merit attention.

The National Family Health Survey (NFHS) provides state and national level information for India on crucial health indicators such as Fertility, Infant and Child Mortality, Practice of Family Planning, Maternal and Child Health, Reproductive Health, Nutrition, Anaemia, Utilization and Quality of Health and Family Planning Services. As of now, three rounds of household surveys have been conducted, the first round (NFHS-1) was conducted in 1992-93, followed by NFHS-2 in 1998-99; and the third round has been recently conducted in 2005-06. NFHS-3 interviewed around 89,777 ever married women; NFHS-2 also covered around 90,000 ever married women of the age group 15-49 yrs, whereas for NFHS-3, 1,24,385 ever married women were interviewed. The third round of NFHS covered all 29 states and provides information on a total of 29 indicators of which 12 were on maternity and child care.

## ACCESS TO ANTENATAL CARE

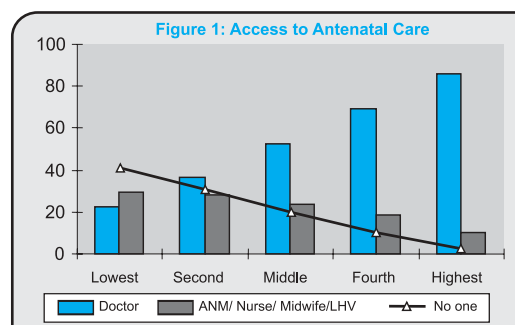
Antenatal care (ANC) refers to pregnancy related health care, which is usually provided by a doctor, an Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) or any other health professional. Reproductive and Child Health Programme aims at providing at least three antenatal check-ups which should include weight and blood pressure check, abdominal examination, immunization against tetanus, iron and folic acid prophylaxis, as well as anaemia management. Almost one out of every five women in India did not receive any antenatal care for their last birth in the five years preceding the survey. **Women not receiving antenatal care tend disproportionately to be older women, women having children with higher birth orders, scheduled tribe women, women with no education and women with households with a low wealth index.** In the lowest wealth quintile, 41 percent pregnant women

# Inequalities in Access to Maternal Health Care in India: Some Reflections based on NFHS-3 - Indranil

One of the background characteristics used for the first time in NFHS-3 Report is an index of the economic status of households called the **wealth index**. The wealth index has been developed and tested in a large number of countries in relation to inequalities in household income, use of health services, and health outcomes. **It is an indicator of the level of wealth that is consistent with expenditure and income measures.** The economic index was constructed using household data for 33 assets and household characteristics. The sample households have been divided into quintiles i.e. five groups with an equal number of households in each group.

The NFHS-3 data based on wealth index can be a very important source of research on health inequalities. It is for the first time that data on maternal and child health, reproductive health and utilisation of health care is classified into wealth quintiles making it possible for assessing the level of inequality. It would be worthwhile to assess the level of inequalities in maternal health using some of the indicators provided in the Report.

do not receive antenatal care, whereas almost every pregnant woman (97.4%) from the highest income quintile receives antenatal care. Women from upper wealth quintiles have greater access to doctors while seeking antenatal care, whereas women from the lowest income quintiles depend more on ANMs, Nurses, LHV's or Midwives. Among those women in the lowest income quintile who could access any form of antenatal care, only one in every five could seek care from a doctor. More than four out of every five pregnant women in highest income quintile visited a doctor. This



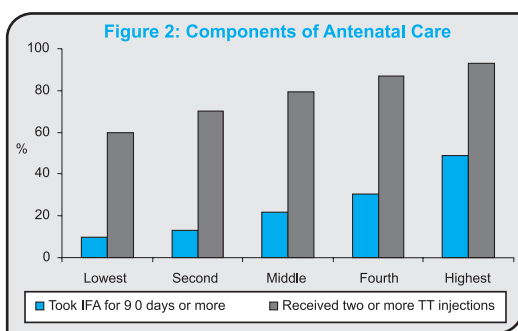
**Inequalities in Access to Maternal Health Care in India: Some Reflections from NFHS-III**

“For every service there exists class gradients, but gradients get steeper as the tests get more complicated”

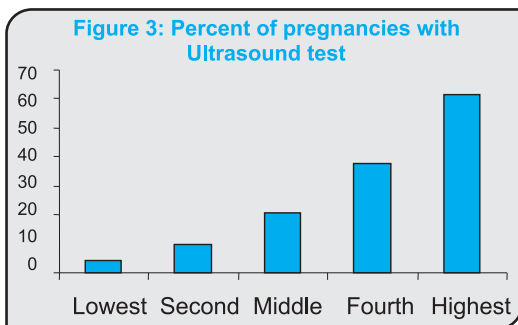
“One in every three institutional deliveries for the poorest wealth quintile takes place in private facilities”

clearly reveals that poorer sections of the society have lesser access to trained professionals or better quality of care.

Important elements of antenatal care include the provision of iron supplementation for pregnant mothers, two doses of tetanus toxoid vaccine and a drug to get rid of intestinal worms. **There exists clear class gradient in each of these indicators. Half the pregnant women in the poorest income quintile receive IFA, but only one in ten take IFA tablets or syrups for full ninety days.** Compared to this, 85 percent of pregnant women in the highest strata receive IFA tablets but half of them take it for full 90 days. More than three quarter of pregnant women receive two shots of tetanus toxoid injection. Though there exists class gradient in the access to TT injection, the gradient is not very steep. Overall, only 3.8 percent pregnant women receive any intestinal parasite drug and access to it for women in better off sections is much higher than those in the lower strata.



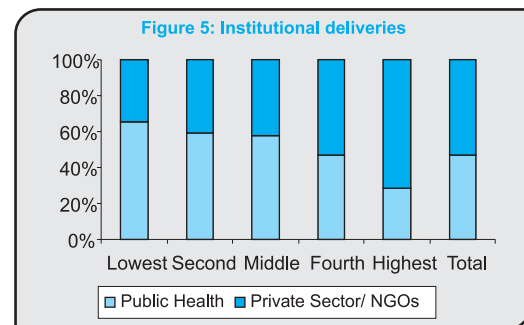
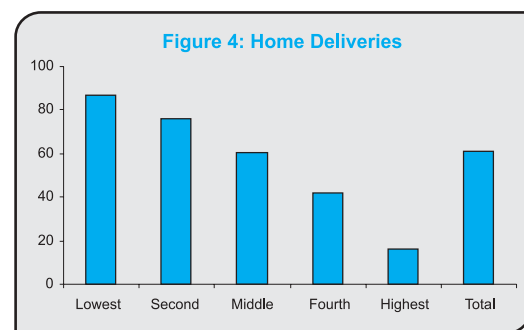
The effectiveness of antenatal care in ensuring safe motherhood partially depends on the tests and measurements done. Tests and measurements like taking weight, measuring blood pressure, urine and blood tests are very important to monitor high risk pregnancies. For every service there exists class gradients, but gradients get steeper as the tests get more complicated. Ultrasound test has become very popular for detecting and monitoring pregnancies, especially among younger, well-off women in urban localities. **Ultrasound tests, being very sophisticated and hence costly - women from the poorer strata have very limited access to it.** Compared to only 4 percent pregnant women from lowest wealth quintile



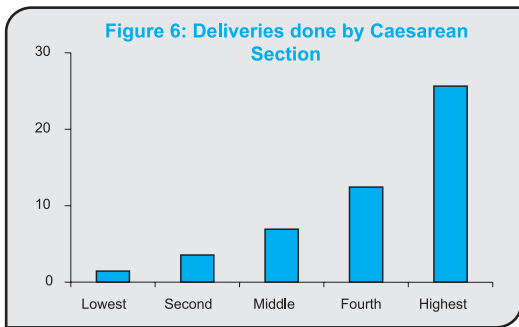
undergoing ultrasound tests, almost 62 percent women in the richest strata access it. This clearly shows poorer women's inaccessibility towards modern technologies.

**DELIVERY CARE:**

Place of Delivery: Deliveries in safe hygienic condition and under the supervision of trained personnel are very critical to ensure safe motherhood. In India, 61 percent deliveries take place at home (fig 4). **For the lowest wealth quintile, 87 percent of deliveries take place at home - as we go up the wealth quintiles, we find lesser home deliveries.** For the richest quintile, only 11.4 percent deliveries take place at home. Nearly 39 percent of pregnant women deliver in some facilities. But if we compare the place of delivery, we find that only 18 percent of all deliveries take place in public institutions, whereas 20.6 percent of deliveries take place either in private hospitals or NGO or Trust hospitals. Dependence of the poorer sections on public institutions is relatively more as compared to those in the rich wealth quintiles (Fig 5). Correspondingly, as income increases relative dependence on private services increases. It is to be noted that one in every three institutional deliveries for the poorest wealth quintile takes place in private facilities. This is despite the fact that private deliveries are costly. The reason may be that they are forced to access private institutions to a great extent in the absence of functional public facilities. It is to be noted however that inequalities in access are much less in terms of public facilities than private or NGO or Trust hospitals.

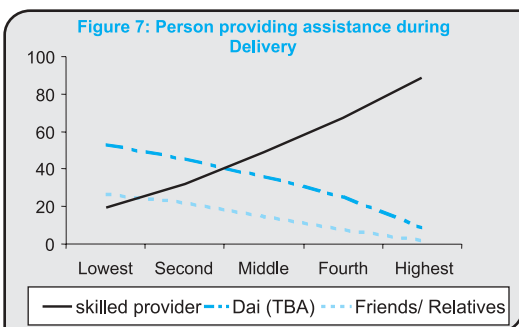


Use of caesarean section has become almost an epidemic for the women in richest wealth quintiles. More than one fourth of the deliveries (25.7%) in the richest quintile are done by caesarean section. Compared to this, only 1.5 percent of deliveries in the poorest quintile are done by caesarean section. **Twenty eight percent of deliveries conducted in private sector are done through caesarean sections; whereas only 15 percent of such deliveries are carried out in public sector.** This clearly shows that access to modern technologies is always very limited for women in the poorer sections of the society; moreover these technologies are only accessible to richest sections.



### ASSISTANCE DURING DELIVERY:

Obstetric care from a trained professional is very critical in reducing maternal and neonatal mortality. Most of the home deliveries take place without assistance from trained professionals whereas most of the institutional deliveries are assisted by health professionals. Forty-seven percent of births in the five years preceding the survey were assisted by health personnel, including 35 percent by a doctor and 10 percent by an ANM, nurse, midwife, or LHV. More than one-third of births (37 percent) were assisted by a traditional birth attendant (TBA), while 16 percent were assisted by only friends, relatives or other persons. Very strong class gradient exists in accessing assistance from skilled providers during deliveries. Less than one in five deliveries in the poorest section are assisted by skilled providers; whereas nine in ten deliveries in the richest section are assisted by skilled personnel. **The two bottom income classes mainly depend on TBAs or**

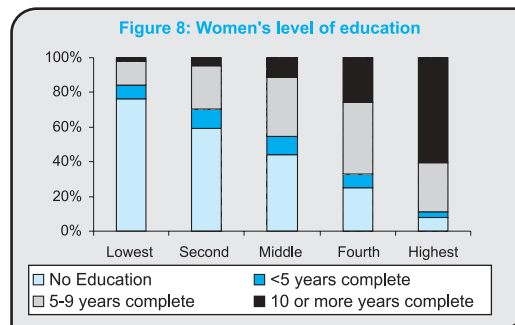


**friends and relatives for assistance during delivery, whereas in better-off sections services of TBAs and relatives/friends are scarcely availed.**

### ACCESS TO EDUCATION:

As we have clearly seen, wide range of inequalities exist in almost every indicator of access to health care. Women in poorer quintiles have lesser access to antenatal care, institutional deliveries, skilled providers, and modern technologies. Clearly, these factors affect their health. However, apart from access to better health care, there are certain factors which affect women's health, but they are not part of health system per se. For instance, level of education, age of marriage, employment status, and power of decision making play a very crucial role in women's health.

Level of education affects women's health seeking behavior, their access to information, and their overall entitlement to resources very positively. These collectively affect their health outcomes. But level of education is also subject to women's class position. As income level increases, level of illiteracy goes down. **Women at the lowest income quintile are nine times more illiterate than those at the highest income quintile. Women attaining ten or more years of education are mostly from the upper two quintiles (84%).** Only 1.7 percent of women from the lowest income quintile are able to access education. Probability of attaining ten or more years of education for the women in highest quintile is 35 times higher than those at the lowest quintile.



Gender differentials in educational attainment and illiteracy are quite high in India. Compared to 18 percent illiteracy among men in the age group of 15-49 yrs, illiteracy is as high as 40.6 percent among women. Among all classes, 34.6 percent of men attain ten or more years of education, whereas only 22.4 percent women reach that level. Gender differentials in illiteracy, measured in terms of ratio of percent of illiterate women to percent of illiterate men, increases with increase in income. For the lowest wealth quintile gender differential is 1.6, which means that for every man, 1.6 women are illiterate. For the highest income quintile, the differential increases to 4.1.

Inequalities in Access to Maternal Health Care in India: Some Reflections from NFHS-III

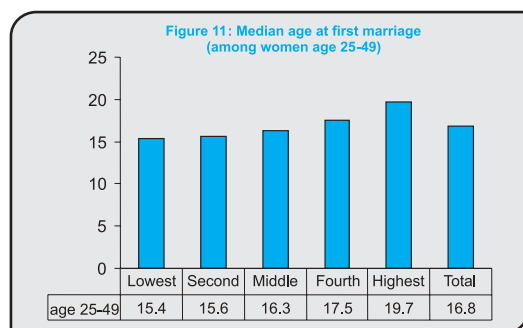
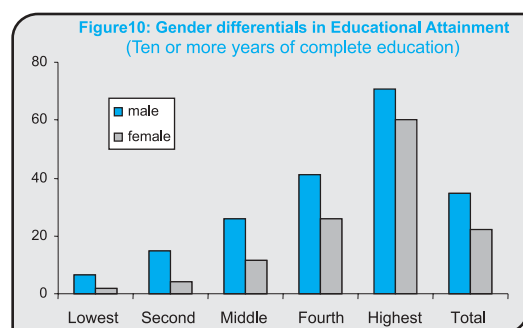
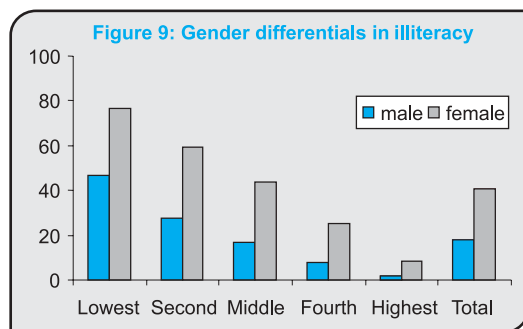
“More than one fourth of the deliveries (25.7%) in the richest quintile are done by caesarean section”

“Probability of attaining ten or more years of education for the women in highest quintile”

Inequalities in Access to Maternal Health Care in India: Some Reflections from NFHS-III

“Differentials in wealth affect age of first marriage to a great extent”

The trend of gender differential reverses when we consider educational attainment of ten or more years - from 0.26 for lowest quintile the ratio reaches 0.85 for highest quintile.



AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE:

Marriage of women before reaching 18 years of age increases the risks related to pregnancy. In India, most of the women get married before they reach the legal age of marriage. The median age of first marriage for women in the age group 25-49 yrs is 16.8 yrs. The median age of first marriage is almost two times higher for women in the age group 20-24 yrs than for women in the age group 40-49 yrs, which means that women are waiting

slightly longer to marry than earlier. Rural women marry earlier than those in urban areas. The median age of marriage among rural women in the age group 20-49 yrs is 16.4 yrs compared with 18.8 yrs among their urban counterparts. Differentials in wealth affect age of first marriage to a great extent. The average age of first marriage for women of age 25-49 yrs in the highest wealth quintile is 19.7 yrs, which is more than four years higher than those in the lowest wealth quintile. The implication of a higher age of marriage can be seen in the health outcomes very clearly.

The above discussion clearly suggests that there exists enormous amount of inequalities in accessing maternal health care. Almost all the indicators we have used show that women in the richer income quintiles have much greater access to services- be it antenatal care, institutional delivery etc. The data also reveals that access to skilled providers is also very limited for women in the poorer sections and they have to depend on semi-skilled or unskilled personnel in accessing antenatal care or birth deliveries. We have also noted that for those services where there is considerable presence of public provisioning, inequality in access is little less compared to services where private providers dominate. Another very interesting result that comes out of the discussion is that access to modern technologies like ultrasound and caesarean section are restricted to women in the top income quintile and poorer sections have very limited access to such services. We also find that women in the poorer sections have very limited access to institutional deliveries, which remain a major impediment to safe motherhood. In the brief analysis of factors extraneous to health services but critical to accessing maternal health like mothers' educational attainment or age of first marriage, strong correlation with wealth quintile could also be found. In a situation where women in the poorer sections have very limited access to services related to maternal health, their health outcomes will definitely be affected. Unfortunately, there is not much emphasis on morbidity and mortality data in NFHS, which restricted our analysis on services delivery. To get a complete picture of health inequalities, there is an urgent need to generate data on mortality and morbidity outcomes based on income classes.

**M**id Day Meal in schools has been operational in India since a long time. In 1925, a Mid Day Meal Programme was introduced for disadvantaged children in Madras Municipal Corporation. By the mid 1980s, Gujarat, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry had universalized a cooked Mid Day Meal Programme with their own resources for children studying at the primary stage. Mid Day Meal was also being provided to children in Tribal Areas in some States like Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. By 1990-91, the number of States implementing the Mid Day Meal programme with their own resources on a universal or a large scale had increased to twelve, namely, Goa, Gujarat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Tripura and Uttar Pradesh. In another three States, namely Karnataka, Orissa and West Bengal, the

- Addressing malnutrition, and
- Social empowerment through provision of employment to women.

## COMPONENTS OF CENTRAL ASSISTANCE

Central Assistance under the scheme consisted of the following:

- (a) Free supply of food grains @ 100 gm/child/school day for primary stage and 150 gram food will be allotted at the upper primary stage.
- (b) Subsidized transportation of foodgrains from nearest FCI up to Rs.125 per quintal for 11 Special Category States including the NER and Rs.100 per quintal for other States and UTs.

# Implementation of Mid Day Meal: Food for Thought

- Pooja Parvati

programme was being implemented with State resources in combination with international assistance. Another two States, namely Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan were implementing the programme entirely with international assistance.

With a view to enhancing enrollment, retention and attendance and simultaneously improving nutritional levels among children, the National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education (NP-NSPE) was launched as a centrally sponsored scheme on 15th August 1995, initially in 2,408 blocks in the country. By the year 1997-98, the NP-NSPE was introduced in all blocks of the country. It was further extended in 2002 to cover not only children in classes I-V of government, government aided and local body schools, but also children studying in centres run under the Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) and Alternative and Innovative Education (AIE) Scheme.

The key objectives of the programme are:

- Protecting children from classroom hunger,
- Increasing school enrolment, retention and attendance rate,
- Improved socialization among children belonging to all castes,

- (c) Rs. 1.50 per child per school day payable to personnel/agency viz. SHG, VEC, SMC by the Centre (with the State/UT contributing a minimum of 50 paise) at the primary stage. In States in the NER, the Centre will provide @ Rs. 1.80 per child per school day (provided the State/UT contributes a minimum of 20 paise). While at the upper primary stage, the Centre provides @ Rs. 2/child/school day with a minimum contribution of 50 paise by the State. In the case of NER states, at upper primary stage, the Centre provides @ Rs. 2.30/child/school day with the State contribution of 20 paise.
- (d) Construction of kitchen sheds @ Rs. 60,000/unit and for procurement of kitchen devices @ Rs. 5,000 per school.
- (e) Management, monitoring and evaluation costs @ 1.8 percent of the cost of food grains and cooking cost.
- (f) Central assistance is also given for providing cooked Mid Day Meal during summer vacations to children in areas declared by state governments as drought-affected areas.
- (g) As per the latest notification by the Ministry, (in addition to extending the scheme to upper primary stage), central assistance towards

**Implementation of Mid Day Meal: Food for Thought**

cooking cost based on Inflation Adjusted Index (Consumer Price Index) every two years will be available beginning 2008-09 for Mid Day Meal both for primary and upper primary stages.

(h) Information, Education and Communication (IEC) activities have been incorporated as a component of Management, Monitoring and Evaluation costs.

**NUTRITIONAL CONTENT**

The Central Government has fixed 450 calories, 12 gm protein, and adequate quantities of micronutrients (Fe, Folic Acid, and Vitamin A) of meal for a primary class student. While for an upper primary student, the calorific value of the meal has been fixed at 700 calories and 20 gram protein for a child a day.

The table provides the amount allocated by the Centre towards the Scheme since it was launched as a centrally sponsored scheme in 1995.

**CONVERGENCE OF MDM WITH OTHER DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAMMES**

Another significant aspect about the Scheme implementation is the nature of interlinkages with other departments/ministries. Several facilities/provisions under the Scheme have been designed to enhance convergence and implement (the Scheme) in a cost-effective manner. However, the actual situation vis-à-vis the potential design will also be taken up in the last section of the paper.

The Scheme is implemented by the Department of School Education & Literacy, Ministry of Human Resource Development, the State Nodal Department for MDM (this may vary from one State to the

**Table showing Central Government Outlays to Mid Day Meal Scheme in Rs. Crore (1995-96 to 2008-09)**

Year	Allocation made towards Mid Day Meal in the Union Budget Scheme	Amount met through Prarambhhik Shiksha Kosh	Total Allocation
1995-96 RE	612		612
1997-98 RE	960		960
1998-99 RE	1400.15		1400.15
1999-2000 RE	1500		1500
2000-01 RE	1300		1300
2001-02 RE	1031.24		1031.24
2002-03 RE	1021.5		1021.5
2003-04 RE	1375		1375
2004-05 RE	1507.5		1507.5
2005-06 RE	3010.76		3010.76
2006-07 RE	1898.2	2915	4813.2
2007-08 RE	3191.6	2812.4	6004
2008-09 BE	2073	5127	7200

Source: Expenditure Budget, Volume II, Union Budget for several years

other) & Food Corporation of India (FCI). At the district level, District Nodal Agencies for MDM and at the sub-district level, the schools (through PRIs and municipalities) along with the nearest FCI godown comprise the key implementing agencies for the Scheme.

“Several facilities/provisions under the Scheme have been designed to enhance convergence and implement (the Scheme) in a cost-effective manner”

Kitchen-cum-shed	Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (Ministry of Rural Development) Basic Services for Urban Poor, Slum Development Programme (Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme), Urban Wage Employment Programme /Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation) Backward Region Grants Fund (Ministry of Panchayat Raj) Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (Ministry of Human Resource Development)
Water supply	Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme, Swajaldhara (Ministry of Rural Development – Department of Drinking Water Supply) Backward Region Grant Funds Panchayats under 12th Finance Commission, Backward Region Grant Funds (Ministry of Panchayat Raj) Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (Ministry of Human Resource Development)
Kitchen devices	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (Ministry of Human Resource Development)
School health programme	National Rural Health Mission (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare)

## PROBLEMS IN SCHEME IMPLEMENTATION: THE ESSENCE

Moving on to some critical aspects with regard to the Scheme implementation, while the overall benefits of the Scheme cannot be overstated, gaps remain. Relevant literature and surveys point towards critical shortcomings, mostly pertaining to operational aspects of the Scheme implementation.

- In 2003, Centre for Equity Studies, New Delhi conducted a survey in three States of Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan and Karnataka to examine various aspects relating to the performance of the Scheme and, among other issues, noted that the meals were not being prepared in hygienic conditions. Pupils falling unwell and the nature of the menu illustrate this. The recent incident in Kumbakonam, Tamil Nadu amplifies this concern. A related problem was the disruption of classroom activity due to cooking the meal in the same space meant for studying. Given the inadequate infrastructure, the only room that might be the classroom would double as the cooking space, distracting the students from studying.
- Substantiating the above, available literature points to lack of infrastructure as a key constraint to effective implementation. Availability of clean water for cooking and hygiene, kitchen sheds or kitchens to ensure teaching and learning are not obstructed, maintenance of existing sheds to prevent access of animals, provision of adequate storage for foodgrains to avoid decay, contamination and corruption (storing grains in the house of president of the Village Education Committee, a common fix to the problem, makes monitoring the available quantity difficult), and adequate staff for managing the MDM (recruiting cooks instead of teachers having to do the cooking as well and providing helpers to assist the cook) are the key aspects related to infrastructure.
- Other relevant studies reveal gaps in management of the Scheme that are also linked to issues of financing. **These include irregular supplies of foodgrains, poor monitoring, partial payment of fuel or transport costs, low and delayed**

**remuneration of cooks and helpers.** Not only do these bottlenecks hamper the functioning of the Scheme but also leave scope for corruption, e.g. partial payment of transport costs induces the need to recover costs by selling some of the rice.

- A growing trend of public private partnerships in managing the Scheme leaves room for commercial interests to use it as a platform to promote their agenda.
- Focusing on socialization, research suggests evidence of caste discrimination in MDM. In Rajasthan, Bihar and Tamil Nadu, access to Dalit students is either denied completely or limited (with segregated seating, different food, labeled plates, lower caste children given water by others, etc.). **Appointment of Dalit (and other minorities) cooks is another facet of the same problem.**
- CBGA, as part of its Monitoring Right to Education study in 2007, conducted a primary survey in three States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa and examined MDM as one of the critical components. The findings (as shared in the previous Budget Track) noted that **while MDM was operational in most of the schools surveyed, the prescribed menu was not followed in many cases. Several instances of cooks not being paid since a long time and overburdened teachers, thrust with the task of managing the meals, were reported. Poor infrastructure and lack of adequate monitoring were the usual suspects.**

Having made a summary scan of the Scheme, it becomes clear that while some progress has been made, there is a long way to go. **While the Centre has extended the Scheme to upper primary level in 2007, a welcome step in itself, this needs to be substantiated by overhauling the management, functioning and monitoring of the programme.** Allocations need to be raised, especially for poorer States, to ensure that the quality and intent of the Scheme is met. Infrastructure is a major determinant in the success of the Scheme. Streamlining the guidelines for classroom and mealtime conduct, the selection of cooks can enhance the perceived social benefits of the MDM Scheme.

## Implementation of Mid Day Meal: Food for Thought

“A related problem was the disruption of classroom activity due to cooking the meal in the same space meant for studying”

“Other relevant studies reveal gaps in management of the Scheme that are also linked to issues of financing”



**I**n the International Year of Sanitation (2008), the Government of India is claimed to have implemented the Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC) in most of the districts successfully; it is being implemented in 583 districts from a total 610 districts. Those districts which remained outside of the TSC coverage are primarily urban, while some are unapproachable districts. **This scheme is considered to be one of the flagship schemes, which is undertaken by the United Progressive Alliances (UPA Government), in the perspective of rural development as well as in honoring India's commitment to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to halve the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation by 2015. Besides, the TSC has set a target to achieve 100 percent rural sanitation by the end of the Eleventh Plan (i.e., by 2012).** The 100 percent sanitation coverage is in terms of Household Toilets, Schools and Anganwadi Toilets, and also providing hygiene education to the people.

of 49 percent. Therefore, the need was felt to revamp the scheme. Based on the recommendations of the National Seminar on Rural Sanitation in September 1992, the CRSP programme was revised and renamed as Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC), which followed an integrated approach to rural sanitation. TSC has some distinct features such as the role of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) as pivotal point in decentralized planning and implementation; considerable reliance on Information Education and Communication (IEC) and social mobilization for creating awareness and demand generation; and focus on hygiene education through community led and people centered approach. Besides, it also provides a range of technological options to beneficiaries, and empowers them to construct latrines by using locally trained masons.

**The scheme claims to be 'total' because it has all components that are inevitable for a holistic coverage of rural sanitation. There are two main types of the components of the TSC: Software**

# How 'total' is Total Sanitation Campaign?

-Gyana Ranjan Panda

## INTRODUCING TSC

In its endeavor to providing basic sanitation to all rural habitations, India launched its first nationwide programme for rural sanitation in 1986 in the form of the Central Rural Sanitation Programme (CRSP) under the Ministry of Rural Development with the objective of improving the quality of life of rural people and to provide privacy and dignity to women. It was supply driven, highly subsidized and gave emphasis on a single construction model. Its feature also included a pattern of centralization in its planning and implementation at State and Districts level for the purpose of selecting villages and beneficiaries and also fixing targets for each village. It hardly had any focus on building awareness and change in behavior for relevant hygiene practices. The beneficiaries had very limited choice in designing the toilets. Rural Welfare Officers/NGOs were authorized to construct latrines by engaging local contractors in the CRSP scheme. The deliverable outcome of the CRSP in the 1990s, as per the UNICEF's report on *Progress for Children*, is 14 percent which was far less than the World average

**and Hardware.** While the Software components are the start-up activities, IEC activities and administrative charges which are primarily essential to run the programme; the Hardware components are tangible outcomes that need to be realized through the construction of Rural Sanitary Mart (RSM) and Production Centres (PC), Individual Households Latrines (IHHL), Community Sanitary Complex, and above all, Institutional Sanitation which includes both school sanitation and *Anganwadi* sanitation, etc.

**But the current statistics of physical and financial performance of TSC components defies the Union Government's claims and commitments and looks far behind the timeline to fulfil universal or total coverage target set by the Planning Commission by 2012 and Millennium Development Goals by 2015.**

## PHYSICAL PERFORMANCE:

- The TSC programme is in its ninth year of implementation with a total outlay of Rs. 1,355,268.71 lakh and its aims to build

11.89 crore Individual Household Latrines (IHHL) units; 11.39 lakh Schools Toilets; 4.14 lakh Anganwadi Toilets; and 27,796 Sanitary Complexes. However, the total achieved performance so far on the above components stands at 4.93 crore IHHL (34%); 5.31 lakh Schools Toilets (46%); 1.70 lakh Anganwadi Toilets (41%); and 12,303 Sanitary Complexes (46%).

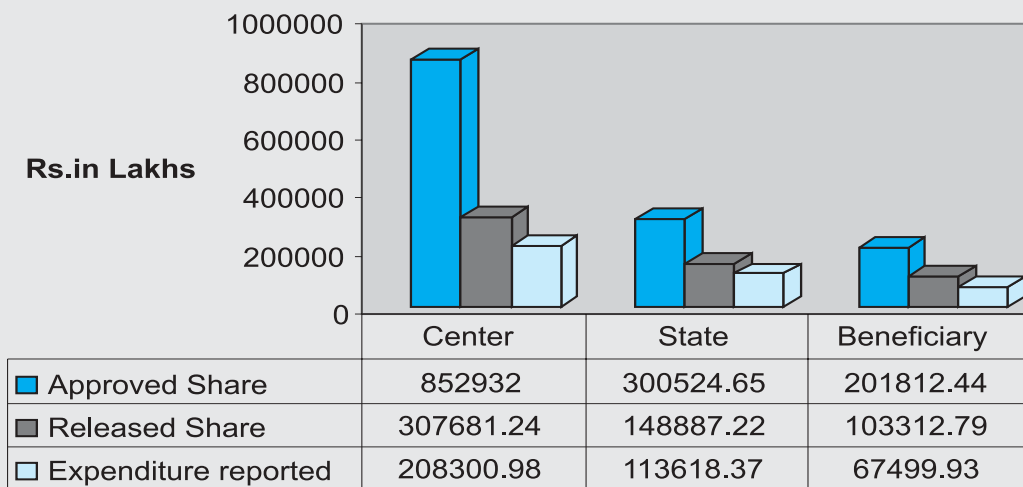
- Among all States, only Sikkim has attained 100 percent target and Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Kerala, Mizoram Tamil Nadu and West Bengal have done fairly well in the performances indices.

### FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE:

- With regard to financial progress in the TSC project, out of 583 projects districts with an outlay of 1,355,268.71 lakh, the total expenditure reported is 389,551.84 lakh which is only 29 percent of the total outlay.
- In the total approved share, Center, States and Beneficiary shares are 63 percent, 22 percent, and 15 percent respectively. In the release of funds, their respective proportions are 36 percent, 49 percent and 51 percent. In the expenditure reported, State's share is most with 76 percent; Center's share is 67 percent;

How 'total' is Total Sanitation Campaign?

**Table: Available Funds For TSC**



Source : [www.ddws.nic.in](http://www.ddws.nic.in)

### Sanitation Coverage in South Asia (%) Against Millennium Development Goals (MDG)

Countries	1990			2004			MDG targets* 2015	Progress towards the MDG targets
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total		

\*

On tracks  
 Insufficient progress—  
 No Progress—

## How 'total' is Total Sanitation Campaign?

"After 1st installment, there are only 250 project districts so far which have availed the second installment, 66 districts sought the third installment and only 2 districts claimed the fourth installment"

"The most important problem is the delay in the fund flow with regard to States' share along with that of the Centre's to the district"

and beneficiary share with 65 percent to their respective released share.

- As the financial norms and guidelines of the TSC requires, all project districts (583) need to avail four installments of the Central and State shares; however after 1st installment, there are only 250 project districts so far which have availed the second installment, 66 districts sought the third installment and only 2 districts claimed the fourth installment. Those two districts which have opted fourth or last installment belong to Sikkim only.

## SANITATION AND MDGs

UNICEF Report on "Progress For Children" (December 2007) considers the South Asia's sanitation coverage among the lowest in the world at 37 percent, about the same as that in Sub-Saharan Africa. Roughly, around a third of the world's total live in this region without any toilets. Though the region has boosted in its efforts regarding access to improved drinking-water sources from 71 percent in 1990 to 85 percent in 2004 and has virtually met its MDG targets of 86 percent; it is lagging far behind from other regions in the sanitation front. The sanitation coverage has been more than doubled from 17 percent in 1990 to 37 percent in 2004, but given the poor start, the pace will have to be considerably accelerated if the region is to meet its target of 59 percent. A further 478 million people, around 48 million a year, will need to gain access by 2015. However, an important reference of the report is that the region has severe urban-rural disparities in sanitation coverage. While the number of people in urban areas without access to sanitation increased from 139 million in 1990 to 153 million in 2004, urban sanitation coverage is more than twice of the rural sanitation coverage. This rural and urban divide is more or less uniform in all the eight countries of the South Asia region.

## WHY NOT 'TOTAL'?

The poor financial and physical performance of the TSC are highlighted by many studies commissioned by the Government of India. The Agricultural Financial Corporation Ltd. (AFCL) conducted the

mid-term review of the TSC programme in 2005. Its coverage was quite selective (20 districts of 14 states viz., Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Tripura, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh). The chief nodal TSC implementing authority, the Department of Drinking Water and Sanitation (DDWS), in its Annual Report and Outcome Budget underlined many challenges faced by the Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC). **Some of the important findings are the moribund state of the PRIs in many States along with the low level of priority attached by political as well as administrative machinery causing poor implementation of the TSC programme; the low motivation level in many grassroots implementing machinery; non-release of share by some States; lack of emphasis on inter-personal communication at village level; inadequate capacity building and human resources at implementation level, etc.**

However, the most important problem is the delay in the fund flow with regard to States' share along with that of the Centre's to the district. This causes delay in the utilization of the first or second installments in many districts. To illustrate, the financial norms of TSC requires the submission of Utilization Certificate (UC) of 60 percent of both Center and State's share along with the audit report before claiming the next installment of TSC programme. **The record of claiming second installment is very poor as data suggests, only 250 project districts have so far claimed the second installment, 66 project districts have claimed the third installment and only 2 project districts have availed the fourth or last installment.**

In sum, the TSC is a well-targeted scheme to provide hygienic and sanitized rural environment to the individual, community as well as to the institutional level. **It has all required components that can be claimed to be as 'total' in its coverage and can lead to both tangible targets and intangible outcomes. However, the present position of the TSC coverage negates what could have been 'total' in the Total Sanitation Campaign.**

In recent years, there are growing collaborations between groups working on human rights, especially economic, social and cultural rights (ESCR) and those working on budget analysis. Although the two frameworks are very different in theory and practice, they both share a common goal—a goal to promote human well being for all. Budget analysis and human rights are interconnected. Promoting human rights have economic consequences as they require resources, similarly economic policies do impact how people enjoy human rights. A better understanding of government budget seems particularly relevant to struggles for human rights. **Budget analysis, especially in context of ESCR can provide much needed teeth to measure progress in a concrete way and advocate for government compliance. Budget analysis can help identify and clarify the sites of negotiations and struggle needed to bring about improvements in human rights situations.**

budget decisions. For example, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) states that

*Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to take steps individually and through international assistance and cooperation, especially economic and technical, to **the maximum of its available resources**, with a view to achieving **progressively the full realization** of the rights recognized in the present Covenant by **all appropriate means**, including particularly the adoption of legislative measures.*

#### Article 2 (1)

The Article recognizes that the resources available to States are limited and full realization of rights takes time. Concept of 'progressive realization' imposes a specific and continuing obligation to

# Budgeting for Human Rights

- Priti Darooka

International human rights framework is at times perceived as overly individualistic and 'Western'. Such criticism might have validity in some cases, however, internationally accepted, the rich normative content of human rights framework of individual dignity and entitlements provides useful ethical and political supplements to economic policies. Human rights standards as outlined in various international treaties are part of domestic legislation and policies, hence can facilitate a rights based approach to government budgets and can ensure no one is left behind. Rights and obligations demand state accountability. Human rights obligations must take priority as human rights are end in themselves whereas budgets are only means to achieve various ends. This also means that financial objective must not be achieved in a way that violates human rights and/or fail to fulfill them.

Budgets are not just instruments of economic policies but are political documents. Budgets reveal values and priorities of a country. It is the financial statement of all government activities. Therefore, **a detailed analysis of budgets in terms of how budget resources are raised and allotted; who benefits from them and who are left behind, what are the cost implications to fulfill human rights obligations, can all be useful tools for human rights advocacy.**

Human rights instruments, especially treaties set clear guidelines that are binding on States in

move as expeditious and effectively as possible towards full realization of rights. The concept of 'maximum available resources' under the article has direct budget implication. Progressive realization does not provide the state with an excuse to manage public finance in disregard of human rights. Under ICESCR, States are required to ensure fulfillment of 'minimum core' obligation of each right. States can never justify non compliance to core obligations as these obligations are immediate in nature. Any retrogressive measures that affect enjoyment of any ESCR require States to show that such measures were introduced only after consideration of all alternatives.

International human rights reporting mechanisms including various treaty bodies provide an opportunity for civil society groups to have constructive dialogue with their governments. Besides highlighting good practices, the process also allows 'naming and shaming'. **India is scheduled to report to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) in May, 2008.** CESCR monitors implementation of International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). Once a country ratifies a treaty, it is expected to submitted periodic reports every 5 years on how it is fulfilling its obligations under that treaty. India ratified ICESCR in 1979 and submitted initial report in 80s and then never reported. India is reporting to CESCR after almost 20+ years.

## Budgeting for Human Rights

India's compliance to ICESCR obligations being reviewed by CESCR provides an opportunity for civil society groups in India to provide CESCR with a parallel NGO report. The official state report usually provides an incomplete picture and the Committee encourages civil society to also submit a report to give a complete picture. **PWESCR (Programme on Women's Economic, Social and Cultural Rights) has initiated a collective process in India to develop a collaborative NGO report for CESCR.** There are about 40+ organizations part of this collective, including Center for Budget and Governance Accountability. Budget analysis was identified by the Collective as one of the cross cutting issue for the NGO report. Attempts will be made to bring budget analysis to all issues covered within the report.

Using budget analysis to monitor ESCR in India will provide the following:

- Combining the moral and legal power of human rights with the technical power of budget analysis can help the NGO report to

CESCR present some very persuasive evidence and arguments.

- Human rights advocates like us at times fail to provide clear recommendations needed to rectify and fulfill human rights obligations especially in terms of ESCR. Budget analysis can highlight inadequacies in expenditure, misdirection of funds and/or disregards to human rights commitments.
- Resources are always limited. Inadequacy of funds is typically and at times justifiably claimed by governments as the main reason for not fulfilling rights obligations. Budget analysis can reveal 'lost funds' by corruption in government spending and in administration of funds.
- Besides highlighting various issues, the NGO report will also provide recommendations for Indian government to rectify these issues. These recommendations will require resources. Budget analysis can reveal how to find additional funds.

Priti Darooka is the Founder and Coordinator of the Programme on Women's Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (PWESCR)

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