

ISSN 2319-6157

# THE ADMINISTRATOR

---

Journal of LBSNAA

July, 2021  
Volume 61, Number 3



 LBSNAA

---

Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration





ISSN 2319-6157

# THE ADMINISTRATOR

Journal of LBSNAA



July, 2021  
Volume 61, Number 3

## Editorial Board

Monika Dhani	Member
Nandini Paliwal	Member
Disha Pannu	Member
Abhiram G. Sankar	Member
Nitesh Jha	Member
Dr. Srishtee R. Sethi	Associate Editor
Gauri Parasher Joshi	Editor and Member Secretary



**LBSNAA**

Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration



Copyright © 2021 TRPC

Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie (Uttarakhand)

---

This Journal or any part thereof may not be reproduced in any form without the written permission of the publisher.

The view expressed and facts stated in the articles contained in this volume are of the individual authors and are in no way those of either the Editor, the institution to which he/she belongs, or of the publisher

*Published by :* TRPC

Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie (Uttarakhand)

Printed in India at Print Vision, Dehradun - 248 001



# The Administrator

Volume 61

July, 2021

Number 3

---

## CONTENTS

---

Sustainable Development Goals: Road Map for Implementing and Achieving in North Eastern States of India : Inder Jit Singh	01
Farmers and Agricultural Marketing Opportunities through Electronic Trading Platforms: Issues and Challenges : Abhilaksh Likhi	15
Recent Circular on Bhoodan Land in Bihar: A Correction : Dr. Vidyarathi Vikas	21
Monitoring the Court Cases Better : Dr. Saumitra Mohan	41
Redevelopment of Shahjahanabad - A Walled City of Delhi : Renu Sharma	47
Reducing Transaction costs in International Trade - Moving Vigorously Towards the T Organisation : Sumeet Jerath	65
The Seshan Effect : Bhamathi Balasubrahmanyam	74
River Kosi Rejuvenation Project: A Geographical - Information System (GIS) based approach to rejuvenate a Himalayan river in India : Nitin Singh Bhadauria	79
A Report on Foreign Study Tour : Radhika Jha	88
Towards Universal Health Coverage through financing and information systems in primary health Care : Aditya Dahiya	94
15 Years of Gender Budgeting in India : Dr. R.K. Choubisa	103

---

Rethinking global anti-corruption campaign : Kannan Perumal	117
Impact of Covid-19 on Training Scenario : Shrinivas Madhav	138
Transforming Pre-primary Education in India: BACHPAN Project - A Perspective from the Himalayan District of Chamoli : Swati S. Bhadauria	141
Life at The End of The Tunnel! : Manasi Sahay Thakur	148
Smart Cities Responses to COVID-19 : Durga Shanker Mishra	153
The Applicability of Durverger's law on Political Parties vis-à-vis Party System in India : Monika Dhama	162
Self-reliance and Innovation through Affordable Rental Housing : Amrit Abhijat	171



# Sustainable Development Goals: Road Map for Implementing and Achieving in North Eastern States of India

Inder Jit Singh

## Abstract

*North East of India, though endowed with rich natural resources, is one of the lesser developed regions of the country. As per SDG India Index 2019, which measures the development status of States and UTs of India in social, economic and environmental sectors, amongst 28 states, four North Eastern States are having rank below 20 and three of them rank between 10 to 20. Except for Manipur and Sikkim, which have SDG 2019 Index score of equal to or better than national average, other NE States are below the national average. Sikkim, with a rank of 7th is the top ranked amongst NE States and is the best performing state on Goal 7 and 15, and 19 indicators across 16 goals (in some cases jointly with other states). NE States have taken many initiatives to implement and localize the SDGs. Achieving SDG in next 10 years require a multi-pronged approach, concerted and coordinated efforts and focus on sectors where NER has inherent advantages. Unfortunately, COVID-19 pandemic, which has adversely affected almost all the sectors of the economy, has cast some doubts on the feasibility of achieving the SDG as per the original timelines.*

North East of India – covering the states of Sikkim and the seven ‘sisters’ of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura, is endowed with rich natural resources. It comprises of 7.98% of total geographical area of the country and has 3.78% of the total population of India with the population density varying from 17 in Arunachal Pradesh to 398 in Assam. It has long international borders (98% of its borders) with Nepal, Bhutan, China, Myanmar, and Bangladesh. Scheduled Tribes (ST) constitute 27.70% of total population in North Eastern Region (NER), with states like Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland having ST population above 85%. NER is one of the less developed regions of the country. It faces many challenges, important ones being; poor infrastructure, particularly in the area of connectivity, remoteness, hilly and difficult terrain, high operational costs, lack of employment opportunities, subsistence farming, resource constraints etc. On many critical parameters in the fields of health, education,

infrastructure, etc., North Eastern (NE) States are below the national average. Not only that NE States are less developed as compared to other states and UTs of the country, there are wide inter-state and intra-state disparities in terms of level of development. However, NER has immense potential for development. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are a set of targets across various sectors to be met by member states of United Nations by 2030. These were adopted by 193 countries, including India, at the UN General Assembly in 2015. The SDGs have 17 goals, 169 related targets and 232 indicators. SDG India Index 2019, which has been constructed by NITI Aayog using 100 indicators and covers 54 SDGs targets across 16 goals, gives valuable insights into the social, economic and environmental status of the States/UTs of the country, including NE states. This was preceded by SDG India Index 2018, which was based on 62 indicators covering 39 targets across 13 goals. In this paper, an attempt has been made to assess the current status of NE states under various goals and important indicators covered within such goals as per SDG India Index 2019, the gaps compared to rest of the country, and suggest some policy prescriptions to ensure that the region is not left behind.

During 2018-19, country's overall score increased by three points, from 57 as per 2018 index to 60 as per 2019 index. Kerala, with an index score of 70, retained the top rank amongst 28 states, while Bihar, with an index score of 50 was at the bottom of the ladder. Amongst UTs, Chandigarh, with an index score of 70, also maintained its top position amongst 8 UTs. During the period 2018-19, amongst 28 states, 22 states improved their index score, 3 states' index score remained constant and index score of 3 states declined. Based on the overall index score, amongst 28 states, 4 North East states are having rank below 20: Arunachal Pradesh (26<sup>th</sup>), Meghalaya (25<sup>th</sup>), Assam (23<sup>rd</sup>) and Mizoram (21<sup>st</sup>). Three states have rank between 10-20: Nagaland (18<sup>th</sup>), Tripura (15<sup>th</sup>) and Manipur (13<sup>th</sup>) (Figure-1). Based on 2019 Index score, NITI Aayog has classified the states into four categories, based on their distance from the target, 'Achievers' with a score of 100, 'Frontrunners' with a score of 65 or more, 'Performers' with a score of 50 and above, and aspirants with a score of below 50. Based on this classification, no State/UT in the country was in the Achiever and Aspirant Category. Amongst 8 states in the Frontrunner category, Sikkim was the only NE state, while all the remaining NE states were in the Performer category.



Figure 1: SDG Index Score and Rank 2019 and 2018

		Change in Index Score 2019-18	Rank 2019	Rank 2018	Change in Rank 2019-18
	Best State: Kerala (70)	↑	1	1	0
	Best State: Kerala (69)		1		
	Best UT: Chandigarh (70)	↑	1	1	0
	Best UT: Chandigarh (68)		1		
	Sikkim (65)	↑	7	7	0
	Sikkim (58)		15		
	India (60)	↑			
	India (57)				
	Manipur (60)	↑	13	12	1
	Manipur (59)		12		
	Tripura (58)	↑	15	15	0
	Tripura (55)		18		
	Nagaland (57)	↑	18	18	0
	Nagaland (51)		23		
	Mizoram (56)	↓	21	21	0
	Mizoram (59)		12		
	Assam (55)	↑	23	23	0
	Assam (49)		27		
	Meghalaya (50)	↑	25	25	0
	Meghalaya (52)		21		
	Arunachal Pradesh (53)	↑	26	26	0
	Arunachal Pradesh (51)		23		

2019 Index Score	2018 Index Score	Increase in Index Score over 2018	Decrease in Index Score over 2018	No Change in Index Score over 2018	Not given for the actual Pradesh
------------------	------------------	-----------------------------------	-----------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------

Amongst NE States, 4 states improved both their score and rank, 3 states improved their score, but their rank fell and in case of one state, both the score and rank declined. NE States like Sikkim, Tripura, Nagaland and Assam improved their rank over 2018, with Sikkim showing the best performance with a jump of 8 positions<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, Manipur slipped by one rank, Mizoram by 9 ranks, Meghalaya by 4 ranks and Arunachal Pradesh by 3 ranks. Except for Manipur and Sikkim, who have an SDG 2019 Index score of equal to or better than national score, other NE states are below the national average (Table-1). Sikkim, with a rank of 7<sup>th</sup>, is the top ranked amongst NE States, and is the best performing state in the country on two goals out of 16 (Goal 7 and 15) and 19 Indicators out of 100 across 16 goals (in some cases jointly with other states). Sikkim has achieved commendable improvement in Goal 7, where it has recorded an increase by 50 points. In Goal 9, Sikkim made a jump of 26 points and in Goal 11, by 18 points. Subsequent paragraphs give the goal wise and important indicators wise position of NE states based on 2019 Index Score and corresponding data.

On Goal 1: No poverty, which consists of 5 indicators, NE states like Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Sikkim have fared well, getting second, fourth, fifth and sixth rank respectively, Arunachal Pradesh is ranked at position 26 and Manipur at Rank 23.

On Goal 2: Zero Hunger, all NE states are better performing and are above national average, with Mizoram having 2<sup>nd</sup> rank, Nagaland 4<sup>th</sup>, Manipur 5<sup>th</sup>, Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim 6<sup>th</sup> and Tripura 9<sup>th</sup>. Amongst NE states, Meghalaya has the lowest score of 35, just equal to national average, with Assam's score of 39 no better and these states have a long way to go before they can come closer to the Target 2030 of zero hunger.

On Goal 3: Good Health and Well-being, Nagaland is at the bottom of ladder (28<sup>th</sup> rank). Only Manipur and Tripura with an SDG 2019 Index Score of 62 and 61 respectively are equal to/above national average of 61, all other NE states are below the national average.

On Goal 4: Quality Education, only Manipur, Mizoram, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh are equal to/above national average, with Manipur at rank 4<sup>th</sup> amongst 28 States.

On Goal 5: Gender Equality, Sikkim, with an index score of 49, is ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> and Arunachal Pradesh at rank 25. Other NE state to have this index better than national average is Nagaland (42), while all other states have this index below the national average.

On Goal 6: Clean Water and Sanitation, except for Arunachal Pradesh, all other NE states are below national average. Tripura was at the bottom amongst States (28<sup>th</sup> rank) followed by Meghalaya at 27<sup>th</sup> rank and Nagaland at 25<sup>th</sup> rank.

Table 1 : SDG Rank and Index Score - North Eastern States

Goal No	Goal Name	National Average		Best State(s) Score	Best UT(s) Score	Assam			Manipur			Meghalaya			Mizoram			Nagaland			Bihar			Tripura															
		Score 2018	Score 2019			Rank 2018	Rank 2019	Score 2018	Score 2019	Rank 2018	Rank 2019	Score 2018	Score 2019	Rank 2018	Rank 2019	Score 2018	Score 2019	Rank 2018	Rank 2019	Score 2018	Score 2019	Rank 2018	Rank 2019	Score 2018	Score 2019	Rank 2018	Rank 2019												
1	2	3	4	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	
	Overall	60	57	70	69	68	28	23	53	51	23	27	55	43	13	12	60	59	25	21	54	52	21	12	56	59	18	23	57	51	7	15	65	68	15	18	58	55	
1	No Poverty	50	50	72	76	58	61	26	18	34	52	17	48	53	23	27	42	44	4	4	68	68	5	2	67	71	10	12	56	59	6	8	65	64	2	2	70	71	
2	Zero Hunger	35	48	76	80	73	72	6	10	66	58	15	14	39	53	5	2	69	74	19	25	35	43	2	5	75	69	4	5	70	69	6	7	66	67	9	10	49	58
3	Good Health and Well-being	61	52	82	82	71	66	23	24	50	36	25	28	44	33	12	7	62	67	20	17	50	52	21	14	52	53	28	27	29	34	16	17	59	52	13	14	81	53
4	Quality Education	59	58	91	87	88	85	13	27	58	44	25	17	44	54	4	12	70	65	15	28	55	38	12	17	61	54	23	26	47	45	13	24	58	47	15	16	55	56
5	Gender Equality	42	36	52	50	53	58	25	23	33	32	25	19	33	35	22	28	34	25	22	19	34	36	17	5	37	43	8	11	42	42	3	1	49	50	27	16	32	38
6	Clean Water and Sanitation	38	63	96	100	100	100	9	11	86	64	20	26	78	42	11	24	87	44	27	72	40	16	6	81	67	25	17	75	58	19	6	79	78	28	28	39	38	
7	Affordable and Clean Energy	70	51	97	89	97	98	13	20	74	44	15	28	70	18	14	22	72	39	28	23	62	11	9	2	81	78	15	19	70	46	1	18	97	47	24	24	56	32
8	Decent Work and Economic Growth	64	65	82	80	64	91	25	6	52	72	22	15	62	61	28	28	27	33	16	14	65	62	26	12	42	65	27	28	28	40	13	18	68	57	21	25	33	52
9	Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure	65	44	88	72	100	100	24	24	31	16	17	16	48	35	20	1	43	72	27	13	22	42	26	27	6	0	28	27	23	1	25	26	27	1	15	14	48	38
10	Reduced Inequalities	64	71	94	100	94	100	27	28	38	47	14	15	67	75	2	4	81	98	4	1	78	100	15	1	66	100	19	9	61	80	17	23	64	67	28	8	45	89
11	Sustainable Cities and Communities	53	38	79	71	83	64	20	8	43	44	21	22	40	32	26	25	28	31	28	13	22	39	24	22	33	32	27	22	23	32	4	2	74	66	25	15	31	38
12	Responsible Consumption and Production	35	100	100	-	-	77	-	87	-	6	-	68	-	3	-	85	-	11	-	60	-	20	-	50	-	1	-	100	-	11	-	60	-	2	-	32	-	
13	Climate Action	60	-	71	-	100	-	26	31	14	-	47	-	-	-	21	37	-	24	-	36	-	16	-	45	-	11	-	51	-	20	-	38	-	21	-	37	-	
14	Life Below Water	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
15	Life on Land	68	90	100	100	100	100	24	22	71	73	14	1	90	100	1	100	100	3	9	98	94	22	24	75	69	10	18	94	75	1	7	100	98	18	15	36	86	
16	Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions	72	71	86	91	94	92	25	11	82	77	28	28	62	53	18	17	70	70	27	28	58	53	23	15	63	71	4	3	84	87	19	19	69	68	14	15	73	71
17	Partnership	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Sources: Computed with data from MTI Agency (2018) and NIM Agency (2019).  
 Note: For the 2018 UTs, no of states was 29 with the formation of Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh as UTs. no of states in 2019 is 28. Ranks of the states have been taken as per the original data source.

On Goal 7: Affordable and Clean Energy, Sikkim, with an index score of 97, has topped the list of States, with Meghalaya at 26th position. Sikkim showed a massive improvement during 2018-19 period moving from rank 18 in 2018 to rank 1 in 2019 while Mizoram's rank fell from 2 to 9 during this period.

On Goal 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth, most of the NE States are at the bottom of ladder. Barring Meghalaya and Sikkim having a SDG 2019 index score of 65 and 68 respectively, against a national average of 64, other NE States are below the national average.

On Goal 9: Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure, Manipur was the best performing State in the country in 2018 but its rank fell to 20 in 2019. All NE States have SDG 2019 index below the national average.

On Goal 10: Reduced Inequalities, Manipur ranked second among States and Meghalaya was at fourth rank. Both Meghalaya and Mizoram were at rank 1 in 2018, but their rank fell to 4 and 15 respectively in 2019. Tripura's rank fell from 6 to 26, and Nagaland's from 9 to 19 during this period.

On Goal 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities, Sikkim is ranked fourth, Meghalaya twenty eight, except for Sikkim, other NE States are at the bottom of ladder.

On Goal 12: Sustainable Consumption and Production, Nagaland, Tripura and Manipur occupy first three positions. All NE States, except Mizoram have index score above national average of 55, with Nagaland having achieved target 2030 of (100).

On Goal 13: Climate Action, which has 4 indicators, all the NE States have index score below national average, with Arunachal Pradesh being the worst state amongst North Eastern States, having an index score of 31, and rank of twenty sixth.

On Goal 14: Life on Land, Manipur and Sikkim, with an index score of 100, have been ranked first, followed by Meghalaya which has index score of 99 and is ranked third. All NE States have index score above national average of 66 on this Goal.

On Goal 15: Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions, Nagaland is ranked fourth, and Assam 28<sup>th</sup>. Except for Nagaland and Tripura, other NE States have index score below national average (72). Table-2 gives the status of NE states on some of the indicators under selected Goals like Poverty, Education, and Health etc. Against a Target 2030 of 10.95%, as per SDG 2019 data<sup>2</sup>, 21.92% of India's population is living below national poverty line. Six states and six UTs have already achieved the national target of reducing poverty rates to below 10.95% by 2030. States like Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Assam with 36.89%, 34.67% and 31.98% respectively of its population below the national poverty line are far below the national average on this parameter, while Sikkim (8.19%), Meghalaya (11.87%), Tripura (14.05%), Nagaland (18.88%) and

Table 2: SDG 2019 - Important Indicators

S. No.	Particulars	G1: No Poverty				G2: Zero Hunger				G3: Good Health & Well Being							G4: Quality Education Rank						G5: Clean water & sanitation				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26		
		Proportion of Population Below National Poverty line (%)	Households living in kutcha houses (rural + urban) (%)	Children under age 5 years who are stunted (%)	Pregnant women aged 15-49 yrs who are anaemic (110g/dl) (%)	Children aged 0-4 years who are underweight (%)	Maternal Mortality Ratio	Proportion of institutional deliveries (%)	Under-five mortality rate per 1000 live births	Total case notification rate of Tuberculosis per 1 lakh population	HIV incidence per 1000 uninfected population	Total physicians nurses and midwives per 10000 population	Adjusted Net Enrolment Ratio at Elementary (Class 1-8) and Secondary (Class 9-10) education (%)	Children in the age group of 6-13 who are out of school (%)	Average Annual Drop-out rate at secondary level (%)	Percentage of students in grade III V, VIII and X achieving at least a minimum proficiency level in terms of nationally defined learning outcomes in the Gross Enrolment Ratio in Higher education (15-23 years) (%)	Households having improved source of drinking water (%)	Rural households with individual household toilets (%)	Urban households with individual household toilet (%)	Districts verified to be Open Defecation Free (%)							
1	Target 2030	10.99	0.00	2.50	25.15	0.90	70.00	100.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	45.00	100.00	0.00	10.00	100.00	30.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00		
2	National Average	21.92	4.20	34.70	50.30	33.40	122.00	54.70	50.00	160.00	0.07	38.00	75.83	2.97	19.89	71.03	26.30	95.50	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	98.41		
3	Best State(s)	5.09	0.20	19.60	22.60	11.00	42.00	74.00	7.00	66.00	0.01	112.00	94.72	0.00	7.03	81.25	53.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00		
4	Best UT(s)	1.00	0.00	15.50	28.00	13.00		151.20	13.00	29.00	0.02	44.00	92.95	0.78	0.00	79.19	50.60	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00		
5	Assam	31.96	2.40	32.40	44.80	28.40	229.00	53.00	57.00	128.00	0.04	23.00	80.85	2.89	27.60	76.74	18.70	91.40	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00		
6	Assam	31.96	2.40	32.40	44.80	28.40	229.00	53.00	57.00	128.00	0.04	23.00	80.85	2.89	27.60	76.74	18.70	91.40	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00		
7	Manipur	36.09	2.50	29.90	26.00	13.00	-	56.70	26.00	97.00	0.08	44.00	88.21	1.72	21.06	70.91	33.70	74.90	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00		
8	Mizoram	11.87	2.30	40.40	53.10	30.00	-	47.50	40.00	139.00	0.06	28.00	68.39	2.90	28.07	59.09	25.80	90.90	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00		
9	Nagaland	20.40	6.00	27.40	24.30	11.30	-	70.70	48.00	210.00	1.32	54.00	79.60	0.80	30.67	71.71	25.70	96.30	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00		
10	Nagaland	18.86	0.70	26.20	28.90	16.30	-	40.60	37.00	208.00	0.09	1.00	56.24	0.90	31.28	61.28	18.70	84.50	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	96.36		
11	Sikkim	8.19	0.60	21.80	23.60	11.00	-	49.30	32.00	221.00	0.03	24.00	45.47	0.58	24.15	66.36	53.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00		
12	Tripura	14.05	2.60	51.90	54.40	23.80	-	64.50	83.00	66.00	0.05	22.00	94.72	0.79	29.76	63.90	19.20	87.60	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	90.73		

Source: Constructed with data from NITI Aayog (2018c) and NITI Aayog (2019b)

Mizoram (20.4%) are better placed as compared to national average, but they have a long way to go before they come close to the best performing state of Goa, which has only 5.09% of its population below the national poverty line and best performing Union Territory (UT) of Andaman and Nicobar Islands having just 1% of its population below the national poverty line.

With regard to children under age 5 years who are stunted, against a target 2030 of 2.5% and national average of 34.7%, Meghalaya has 40.4% of its children under age 5 who are stunted. Similarly, for children aged 0-4 years who are underweight, against a target 2030 of 0.9%, and national average of 33.4%, all NE states are better placed, Sikkim with a figure of 11% being the best state in the whole country amongst all States and UTs followed by Mizoram (11.3%), Manipur (13%), Arunachal Pradesh (16%) and Nagaland (16.3%). On Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR), Assam with a figure of 229 is the worst performing in the whole country, with national average and 'Target 2030' being 122 and 70 respectively. With regard to under-5 mortality rate, Assam (57) is below the national average of 50. Manipur is the best state in the country as regards percentage of fully immunised children in the age group 0-5 years (75.1%) followed closely by Mizoram (73.4%).

Tripura with an adjusted net enrolment ratio at elementary (class 1-8) and secondary (class 9-10) education of 94.72% is the best performing state amongst all States and UTs, with states like Manipur (88.21%), Assam (80.65%), Mizoram (79.6%), Arunachal Pradesh (79.02), being above national average of 75.83%. On percentage of children in the age group of 6-13 who are out school, NE States are better placed as regards national average of 2.97, with Mizoram (0.6%) Nagaland (0.9%), Sikkim (0.58%) and Tripura (0.79%) being amongst the better performing states. However, when it comes to average annual dropout rate at secondary level, all NE States are performing badly as compared to the national average of 19.89. Coming to gross enrolment ratio in higher education (18-23 years), Sikkim with figure of 53.9% is the best performing state amongst all states, while states of Assam (18.7%) Meghalaya (25.8%), Mizoram (25.7%) Nagaland (18.7%) and Tripura (19.2%) are below the national average of 26.3% (with target 2030 being 50%). On the indicator of percentage households having improved source of drinking water, Sikkim (100%) was the best performing amongst all states, followed by Arunachal Pradesh (98.8%), Mizoram (96.3%). All rural households in NE states have individual household toilets, but in urban areas only in Assam all urban households have individual household toilet. As regards indicator of percentage of targeted habitations connected by all-weather roads under Pradhan Mandir Gram Sadak Yojana is concerned, Arunachal Pradesh (140%) was the best performing state in the country. The only other NE state above national average (69.89%) was Sikkim (74.29%).

In its policies and plans for development, Government of India has been giving a special thrust to NER. The central assistance is provided to NER States on 90:10 basis. As per extant policy each non-exempted Central Ministry/ Department is mandated to spend 10% of its Gross Budgetary Resources (GBS) of Central Sector and Centrally Sponsored schemes for NER. A separate Ministry for Development of North Eastern Region (DoNER) has been set up to coordinate the developmental efforts in the North Eastern Region (NER).

In the recent past, Government has taken many steps to create new and improve existing infrastructure in NER, intra-state, inter-state, as well as cross border. Seven NE states are on railway map now. Four capital rail connectivity projects to connect the capitals of Sikkim, Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland are underway and likely to be completed during 2022/2023. Entire meter gauge has been converted to broad gauge and plans are afoot to electrify the entire 2352 kms by 2023. Work of Bogibeel Bridge, Asia's second and India's longest rail-road bridge over Brahmaputra River in Assam, which was stalled since 2012, was completed in 2018. The three Road Capital connectivity projects (Kohima, Itanagar, and Gangtok) will also get completed by 2022/2023. Under Special Accelerated Road Development Programme-North East (SARDP-NE), out of 6418 kms of approved roads, 3323 km roads have been completed, all state capitals are connected by 2 lanes and 4-laning work for Kohima and Itanagar is underway. Recently approved Bharatmala Pariyojna, plans to upgrade 5196 kms of roads by 2024. Work on a new green field airport at Pakyong (Sikkim) was completed during 2018 and work on another Greenfield airport at Halongi (Arunachal Pradesh) has started and is likely to be completed by 2022. Government also plans to expand and improve the facilities at existing airports at Guwahati, Imphal, Dimapur and Dibrugarh. In addition, plans to improve navigation of the Brahmaputra Rivers (NW-2) and Barak River (NW-16), which will result in efficient use of a low cost option, especially for cargo transport, are underway. NW-2 and NW-16 are being connected to Kolkata/Haldia ports by Indo-Bangladesh Protocol Route, which is expected to be functional by end 2020. Three major cross-border connectivity projects, which notwithstanding delays in their execution, are India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway from Moreh in India to Mae Sot in Thailand through Myanmar, Kaladan Multimodal Project linking the port of Sittwe in Myanmar to Zorinpuri in Mizoram, which once completed will result in access to Bay of Bengal for landlocked NER states and the Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor (BCIM). First phase of Agartala-Akhaura rail link is likely to become operational by the end of 2021. Work on North East Gas Grid Project, which will cover all the NE states by a 1656 kms pipeline, has been approved. Work on setting up a National Sports University at Manipur and an AIIMS at Guwahati are also under way. Work

on 2000 MW Lower Subansiri Hydro Power Project, which was stalled due to agitations and court cases, has recommenced in 2019, dam construction is under way and is likely to be completed by 2022-23.

Achieving SDG in next 10 years require a multi-pronged approach and concerted and coordinated efforts. In line with India's commitment to achieve SDGs as per set time frame, the NE States have taken many initiatives to implement and localize the SDGs, including preparation of Vision Documents and Action Plans, setting up of implementation and coordination structures at different levels, mapping of development programmes on SDGs and associate targets, identifying the State specific indicators for monitoring of SDGs, preparing capacity building resources and tools in local languages and aligning the state budgets with SDGs. Unfortunately, COVID-19 pandemic, which has adversely affected almost all sectors of the economy and forced the Central and State Governments to re-determine their priorities, spend their valuable resources on handling emergency health situation, has cast some doubts on the feasibility of achieving the SDG as per the original timelines. Fortunately, the North Eastern States have handled the COVID-19 pandemic quite effectively, which is evident from the fact that as on August 23, when the country crossed the 3 million cases mark, case fatality rate in NER was quite low at 0.30% as compared to 1.86% for the country as a whole and case positivity rate of 4.32% was also below the national average of 8.53%.

The region is endowed with abundant untapped rich natural resources, varied topography, vibrant human resource, and bountiful nature which offer vast potential for agriculture, horticulture and forestry. Bamboo is one of the most versatile and fast growing plant species and India has the highest area of 16.0 million hectares (ha) (more than 50% of world area under bamboo) but has only 3% market share in the world. NER is endowed with rich bamboo stock and diversity, 33.45 % of country's bamboo area being in NER. However, the potential of the bamboo sector has not been exploited optimally and the industrial base of bamboo in NER is low. Realizing the importance of this sector, Government of India launched Restructured National Bamboo Mission (NBM) in 2018-19 for focusing on the development of complete value chain. However, the scale of operations of the mission has been limited. In 2017, the Government also amended the Forest Act, bringing bamboo outside the definition of tree. Bamboo has also been identified as one of the 5 key sectors for development of NER by NITI Forum for North East. There is a great potential to exploit the high impact value chain in this sector. Amongst some of the recent initiatives taken by the Government to promote bamboo in NER is the establishment of a Bamboo Industrial Park at Manderdisa in Dima Hasao district of Assam and setting up of a bio-refining plant at Numaligarh in Assam, which will take bamboo as feedstock from all the North Eastern States.



NER has a strong comparative advantage in variety of horticulture crops; it has 53% of marketable surplus in fruit production, and is by and large self-sufficient in vegetables production. Major spices produced in NER: ginger, turmeric, and chilli have unique properties and better recovery rate of active ingredients when hydrated. Top six spices that include chillies, ginger, turmeric, coriander and cardamom constitute over 90% of spice production in India, and NER's share is 11.1% of total production in India. Major fruits from NER that include passion fruit, kiwis, and pineapple enjoy niche market. However, poor cultivation and harvesting practices of growers, lack of cold chain logistics along with poor handling and packaging practices result in high levels of waste and high share of low grade production. NER can capitalize on rising demand for fresh fruits and vegetables and for fresh high quality spices. Horticulture Mission for North Eastern Himalayan States (HMNEH) aims to promote holistic growth of horticulture sector through area based regionally differentiated strategies. NER can be developed as an 'organic hub'. Sikkim, the first organic state in India, has already shown the way to other states in the region. Mission Organic Value Chain Development for North Eastern Region (MOVCDNER) aims to cover an area of 50,000 ha. under organic farming in NER. Youth in NER need to be empowered through knowledge and skill. NER can create a 'Brand North East' with emphasis on healthy living and environment-friendly production of horticulture product.

Tourism sector has been universally recognized as an agent for socio-economic growth and development, with backward and forward linkages, generating employment in various sectors. NER is rich in all facades of tourism, and has a great potential for developing into a major contributor to the state exchequer, provide livelihood options to the locals, employment to skilled/unskilled local population without damaging the sensitive ecology of the region. As per India Tourism Statistics 2018, tourist footfall in North East is just about 0.53% of all India tourist foot-fall. Ecological, cultural and geographical richness of NER can be harnessed through integrated tourist circuits across states. However, showing the NER as one tourism destination requires a lot more efforts.

Education is the main driver of development, especially in achieving all the other SDGs. To ensure access to all children to basic education, NE states need to strengthen their early education interventions, bring all out of school children within schooling, and ensure inclusive schooling and rapid expansion of secondary school enrolment. Further, the higher and technical education infrastructure needs to be expanded along with improving its quality and efficiency. There is a need to develop vocational and skill-based learning. For ensuring universal health care to enhance productivity, NE states need to prepare a dedicated NE health care plan to address the unique issues

pertaining to NER, strengthen health infrastructure in NER by developing new facilities and upgrading/expanding existing secondary and tertiary care facilities and utilizing technology mobile units, ensure availability of skilled health care professionals by expanding medical education and training infrastructure, harness the local knowledge promote traditional knowledge system, including tribal or ethno-medicinal systems.

The NE states need to adopt a holistic approach for industrial and economic development of the region. Entrepreneurship can play an important role in addressing various social and economic challenges like unemployment, poverty, low rate of health and well-being etc. and contribute to the achievement of SDGs. Provision of world-class infrastructure in various sectors and connectivity in the region would require a significant increase in public and private investment. NE states need to strengthen their institutions and capacity in localising the SDGs and put in concentrated efforts to achieve these Goals. NER as New Engine of India's growth and economy has immense potential for development and growth and is ideally suited to produce a whole range of handloom, handicrafts and agri-horti products, much of which can be processed and exported. These efforts will facilitate timely achievement of SDGs as per set timelines. However, governments alone cannot achieve the SDGs; other key stakeholders have to play a vital role in turning the SDGs into reality.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> SDG India Index 2018 and 2019, and consequently corresponding ranks are strictly speaking not comparable, and does not measure the overtime progress correctly, as 2018 Index is based on 62 indicators across 39 targets and 13 goals, while 2019 index is based on 100 indicators across 54 targets and 16 Goals with only 40 indicators being common across two indices. Moreover, data period for some indicators included in 2018 and 2019 indices is the same. (e.g. data pertaining to % of population below national poverty line used in both 2018 and 2019 indices pertains to 2011-12 period (Tendulkar Committee Estimates period)

<sup>2</sup> Pertains to 2011-12 period; (Tendulkar Committee Estimates)

---

## References

- Exim Bank and UNDP (2019): Sustainable and Profitable Bamboo Value Chain Management in Assam.
- Falguni Rajkumar (2011): Rainbow People-Reinventing Northeast India (Manas Publications: New Delhi).
- Government of Assam (2018): Assam Agenda: 2030, Strategies and Actions for Achieving Sustainable Development Goals.
- Government of Nagaland (2016): Nagaland Vision 2030.
- Government of Tripura (2019): Vision 2030 Tripura, 7 Year Strategy and 3 Year Action Plan and Indicators.
- Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region (2020): Annual Report 2019-20(<https://mdoner.gov.in/about-ministry/annual-report>)
- Mitra, Aritra (2020): "India Gearing up for a Horticultural Shift", Business Economics, February 16-19.
- NITI Aayog (2018a): Contributing to Sustainable Development in the Himalayan Region- Key Messages from Five Thematic Reports and Way Forward. A Summary Report.
- NITI Aayog (2018b): Report of Working Group IV- Strengthening Skill and Entrepreneurship Landscape in Indian Himalayan Region.
- NITI Aayog (2018c): SDG India Index, Baseline Report, 2018
- NITI Aayog (2019a): Localising SDGs: Early Lessons from India.
- NITI Aayog (2019b): SDG India Index and Dashboard 2019-20
- North Eastern Council (NEC), Government of India (2015): Basic Statistics of North Eastern Region 2015.
- North Eastern Development Finance Corporation Ltd (NEDFi) (2016): Study on Contribution of Tourism Sector (Hospitality) to the State GDP in the States of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya and Sikkim- Final report prepared by I-Win Advisory Services Ltd.
- North Eastern Development Finance Corporation Ltd. (NEDFi) (2017a): "North Eastern States Economy (Banking Sector)", NEDFi Data Bank Journal Issue No 38 (November 2017).
- North Eastern Development Finance Corporation Ltd. (NEDFi) (2017b): "North Eastern States Economy (Horticulture- Fruits and Vegetables)", NEDFi Data Bank Journal Issue No 36.
- North Eastern Development Finance Corporation Ltd. (NEDFi) (2018): "Final Report: Study of Infrastructure based on Act East Policy"
- North Eastern Development Finance Corporation Ltd. (NEDFi) (2019a): "North Eastern States Economy (Agricultural Sector)", NEDFi Data Bank Journal Issue No 45 & 46.
- North Eastern Development Finance Corporation Ltd. (NEDFi) (2019b): "North Eastern States Economy (Agricultural Sector)", NEDFi Data Bank Journal Issue No 43 & 44.

- Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI), University of Oxford (2018): Global Multidimensional Poverty Index 2018.
- Phukan, Parag (2019): “Small is Beautiful”, FINER News & Views, Nov/Dec 2019.
- Phukan, Pranjali Kumar (2019): “Strengthening and Enabling MSMEs for Industrial Growth in North East India”, FINER News & Views, Nov/Dec 2019.
- Policy Perspectives Foundation (2018): Connectivity in the North East: A Contextual Study 2018.
- Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS) and Tata Trusts (2020): North East and SDGs – Partnerships, Cooperation and Development.
- Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS) (2011): Expansion of North East India’s Trade and Investment with Bangladesh and Myanmar-An Assessment of Opportunities and Constraints.
- RupaChinai (2018): Understanding India’s Northeast-A Reporter’s Journal.
- Tata Trusts (2019): Stories of Change- Journey to the Global Goals.
- UNDP (2019): Human Development Report 2019- Beyond Income, Beyond Averages, Beyond Today: Inequalities in Human Development in the 21st Century.
- UNDP (2020): SDG Conclave 2020: State Indicator Framework & District Indicator Framework of North Eastern States.
- World Bank (2020a): Playing to Strengths: A Policy Framework for Mainstreaming North East India.
- World Bank (2020b): Strengthening Cross-Border Value Chains – Opportunities for India and Bangladesh.

---

**Inder Jit Singh**

*The author is an IAS officer of 1985 batch, Kerala cadre. He is currently posted as Secretary to Government of India, Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region.*



# Farmers and Agricultural Marketing Opportunities through Electronic Trading Platforms: Issues and Challenges

Dr. Abhilaksh Likhi

## Abstract

*The e-National Agricultural Market (e-NAM) launched in 2016 is a virtual market but has a physical market at the back end. The recently enacted Farmers Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Act, 2020 aims at providing a facilitative framework for electronic trading in addition to trading through regulated markets to reduce transaction costs. In this context, e-NAM has to be strengthened to become a focal point around which other private and public electronic trade platforms enable farmers and multiple stakeholders to connect and benefit. There is also a dire need for creation of awareness generation especially amongst small and marginal farmers. This is to sensitize them about use of e-platforms as tools of trading so that they can effectively make such platforms a part of their daily marketing practices.*

The COVID-19 pandemic has presented immense challenges for the agriculture sector in India. One key challenge has been farmers getting timely competitive and remunerative prices for their agricultural produce in regulated markets.<sup>1</sup> In this context, the enactment of The Farmers Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Act, 2020 by the Parliament is a step in the right direction. It aims at the creation of an ecosystem for farmers and traders to enjoy the freedom of choice relating to inter-state and intra state sale and purchase of farmers produce outside the regulated market. This, the Act, intends to achieve by providing a facilitative framework for electronic trading in addition to trading through regulated markets to reduce transaction costs.<sup>2</sup>

International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) has reported the case of Kiran Khalkho, a marginal farmer of Chitarkota village in Ranchi District, Jharkhand. During the pandemic and for the first time from the farmgate, she was able to sell fifteen quintals of water melon through the e-National Agricultural Market (e-NAM) portal with the assistance of the Pandra Market Committee. Online auctioning on the portal led to purchase of her produce at Rs 8 per kilogram by the “All Season Farm Fresh Company” based at Golmuri, Jamshedpur. This transaction fetched her an income of rupees 12,000 and the payment for her produce was deposited directly into her bank account through the e-payment gateway.

There are more than one crore farmers and one lakh traders registered on e-NAM across eighteen states and three Union Territories in one thousand regulated markets. As on 27<sup>th</sup> September, 2020, total trade volume recorded on

the e-NAM portal was 3.60 crore metric tonnes with a trade value of INR 1,05,261 crore.<sup>3</sup> Farmers like Kiran Khalkho across the country are reaping the benefits of a transparent price discovery through the e-NAM portal launched in 2016. Interestingly, e-NAM is a virtual market but has a physical market at the back end. Its guidelines stipulate that while one-time registration of farmers, gate-entry, weighment, assaying (quality assessment), auction and payments are online, actual material flow happens physically through the regulated market. Besides, entire arrivals of agricultural commodities selected for trading on e-NAM are traded online only.<sup>4</sup>

Experts have pointed out a few issues that need to be addressed to strengthen e-NAM to protect, foremost, the interests of small and marginal farmers. First, the sale of farmers' crop in the regulated market through licensed commission agents is a competition limiting entry barrier. Second, there is a need to fine tune the assaying infrastructure in regulated markets to conduct effective quality tests for agriculture produce. Third, the transport logistics has to be made seamless for the transacted agricultural commodity between the seller and buyer. Fourth, there is an immediate need to further empower farmers seeking price discovery on e-NAM through extensive information, education and communication activities.

Several initiatives have been taken by the Government of India in the above regard. The ecosystem of the new Act also complements and supplements these initiatives already in place. With the aim of harnessing the collective strength of small and marginal farmers, more than one thousand existing registered Farmer Producer Organizations (FPOs) on e-NAM have been allowed to trade online from the farm gate directly. Similarly, farmers have also been allowed to directly trade on e-NAM from registered warehouses where their produce is stored (the e-warehouse receipt system in addition enables availability of pledge loans to farmers).<sup>5</sup> Third party quality assayers have been allowed to be engaged by the state marketing boards for notified e-NAM markets to ensure time bound results. Further, to facilitate seamless agri-logistics<sup>6</sup> on e-NAM, a pan India transportation platform has been launched with participation of more than ten private aggregators such as Blackbuck, Rivigo, Truck *Suvidha*, Elastic Run etc.

Experts have also highlighted the issue of restricting trade transactions to farmers and traders registered with the concerned e-NAM regulated markets. This, they say, inhibits actual intra and inter-State trade. Even before the enactment of the new Act, the Government of India had allowed the seamless interoperability of e-NAM with Karnataka's Rashtriya e-Market Services Private Limited (ReMS), an agricultural marketing platform of the Karnataka Government. This initiative has helped farmers of Karnataka to sell their produce online to a large number of e-NAM traders and even farmers from other e-NAM *mandis* to sell their produce to Karnataka traders registered on ReMS.<sup>7</sup>

The objective of e-NAM is ultimately twofold. One, integrate markets at the level of the states and eventually across the country through a robust online market platform. Second, contribute to marketing efficiency by providing farmers online access to more buyers and markets. The Doubling Farmers Income (DFI) Committee Report, 2017 also observes that to achieve the vision of a full-fledged national agricultural market we have to aim at having an interoperable electronic architecture that would let as many markets and as many models of markets as possible to bloom under different ownership types.<sup>8</sup>

Therefore, in context of the enactment of the new Act, e-NAM has to be strengthened to become a focal point around which other public and private trading electronic platforms enable farmers and multiple stakeholders to connect and benefit. Such a robust ecosystem will cover the entire agricultural value chain ranging from activities of inputs, sowing and production in the pre harvest stage; processing, packaging, storage, distribution, trading and end markets outreach at the post-harvest stage. Availability of market intelligence and price information with its dissemination framework for farmers will nevertheless be critical all along the value chain. The formulation of the latter is also a key aspect envisaged in the new Act.

There are private sector online platforms like *Agri Bazaar* that provide buying and selling services for the entire agricultural value chain. Online platforms such as *Farmkart*, *Agricolos*, *Khetgaadi* provide input services, precision services, agri-rental services respectively. Third party assaying and warehousing services are provided by platforms such as *Intello Labs* and *Godamvale*. *Kisanmandi.com* provide access to market intelligence including price information. There are also state government online platforms such as *e-Kharid* of the Government of Haryana and institutional buyers such as *Big Basket* etc. Last but not the least, there are e-commerce platforms such as *Amazon*, *Flipkart*, *e-Bay* etc.<sup>9</sup> The key issue will be to leverage the features and capabilities of such online trade platforms and create a win-win solution for e-NAM both in terms of value and volume.

Experts further emphasize that commodity derivative markets should also be widely accessed not only to increase private sector participation but also cover small and marginal farmers, especially in rainfed farming areas.<sup>10</sup> Commodity derivatives market, according to them, has the potential to serve as an efficient tool by providing farmers with online access to alternative modern markets to hedge their price risk and ensure a minimum price for their produce. Taken together the national commodity exchanges such as the National Commodity & Derivatives Exchange (NCDEX) have helped to improve market efficiency and broaden market access in commodity supply chains by reducing transaction costs. Since 2016, NCDEX has on boarded 250 FPOs across 13 States

with over 5.2 lakh farmer members. Amongst them approximately 100 FPOs have used futures to hedge their price risk in 17 commodities.<sup>11</sup>

Infact, the definition of a farmer in The Farmers Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Act, 2020 significantly includes the agency of cooperative societies and FPOs. Parallely, to further empower small and marginal farmers to participate in a barrier free electronic ecosystem, a dedicated Central Sector Scheme for formation and promotion of 10,000 FPOs across the country has been launched. It provides hand holding and support to FPOs through equity grants and credit guarantee up to five years.<sup>12</sup> Besides, the recently launched Agricultural Infrastructural Fund (AIF) also provides instruments of funding for supply chain services, FPOs and e-marketing platforms.<sup>13</sup>

The need for strengthening trading of agricultural produce through e-platforms gains importance and criticality on account of another phenomenon too. Prof. Prabhu Pingali, in the book 'Transforming Food Systems in a Rising India', observes that the increasing demand for diversified foods has led to a growing emphasis on grades and standards to ensure quality, health, safety and differentiation of products based on tastes and preferences. He further adds, that due to such a demand, along with spot markets, we see the rise of organized value chains for food that necessitates making the farm-retail linkage efficient as well as effective. India's retail sector in 2017, according to him, was valued at 641 billion USD.

Finally, there is a dire need to provide a fillip to awareness generation for, and seek feedback from, small and marginal farmers to strengthen the use of e-platforms as tools of trading. This should be institutionally done in a sustained manner under the leadership of the District Magistrates/Collectors/Deputy Commissioners, by utilizing the vast network of Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) led Krishi Vigyan Kendra's (KVKs) in the community, blocks of districts and states. They must strive to formalize one key activity in their demonstration trial, capacity building and outreach functions, and further this mapping, coordinating and sharing, with small and marginal farmers, the work and experience of numerous agri startups (specially in Aspirational Districts identified by Niti Aayog having low socio-economic indicators). These startups such as *Ninja Cart*, *Crofarm* etc, like several FPOs, are using innovative methods and low-cost technologies to introduce automated supply chain efficiencies and hence ensuring better price realization for farmers.

Fostering of such an ecosystem is critical for holistically enabling marginal farmers like Kiran Khalkho from Ranchi to access digital technology through online trading platforms. This is also to sensitize farmers like her to make use of such online platforms an effective part of their daily marketing practices.



## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> A majority of agricultural marketing in India takes place through spot markets. The three agricultural marketing channels are state trading, cooperative marketing and private trade (GOI, 2007). The Agricultural Produce Marketing Committee (APMC), often referred to as the mandi is the regulated marketing infrastructure found in States. There are, till date, approximately over 6000 functioning mandis in India.
- <sup>2</sup> Higher transaction costs are due to low economies of scale, low bargaining cost, poor connectivity and information asymmetry. These costs are household specific, farm specific, location specific and crop specific. Small holders with limited marketable surplus may not directly sell to the markets but to intermediaries who consolidate the produce before selling to traders, retailers or processors. (Pingali, Khawaja, & Madelon, 2005)
- <sup>3</sup> <https://enam.gov.in/web/dashboard/trade-data> last accessed on 30th September, 2020
- <sup>4</sup> Please see Operational Guidelines for Promotion of National Agricultural Market (New Delhi: September, 2016).
- <sup>5</sup> Storage in ware house systems is an essential instrument for agricultural marketing. There is a system of e-warehouse receipt in the country wherein farmers while storing their produce in a registered warehouse are issued an electronic receipt which functions as a derivative and can be traded or put up as collateral with banks for immediate cash needs. For more information see Transforming Food Systems for a Rising India, Prabhu Pingali Et al (Palgrave Macmillan: NY, 2019)
- <sup>6</sup> Most critical is the need for inbound and outbound transportation, integrated packhouses for grading, sorting, farmgate warehousing capacity coupled with cold chains to mitigate food loss. For more information please see Report of Committee on Doubling Farmers Income, Department of Agriculture, Cooperation & Farmers Welfare, Ministry of Agriculture & Farmers Welfare, Government of India, Volume III, Chapter 2, (New Delhi, August, 2017).
- <sup>7</sup> <https://www.pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1622906> last accessed on 30th September, 2020.
- <sup>8</sup> For more information please see Report of the Committee on Doubling Farmers Income, Department of Agriculture, Cooperation & Farmers Welfare, Ministry of Agriculture & Farmers Welfare, Government of India, Volume IV. Chapter 3 (New Delhi, August 2017).
- <sup>9</sup> For more information please see NASSCOM Report on Agritech in India, 2019 at the link <https://community.nasscom.in/download.php?file=wp-content/uploads/attachment/18174-agritech-in-india--emerging-trends-in-2019.pdf> last accessed on 28th September, 2020.
- <sup>10</sup> Rainfed agriculture which is totally rain dependent accounts for 55% of the net sown area of the country. It influences livelihoods of small and marginal farmers and is most vulnerable to monsoon failures. For more information please see Report of Committee on Doubling Farmers Income, Department of Agriculture, Cooperation & Farmers Welfare, Ministry of Agriculture & Farmers Welfare, Government of India, Volume VI, Chapter 2 (New Delhi, November 2017).
- <sup>11</sup> For more information please see Vijay Kumar, Taking Small Farmers to the Market, Handbook of Indian Agriculture, The Hindu Business Line, (2020).
- <sup>12</sup> For more information please see Operational Guidelines for Formation and Promotion of 10,000 FPOs at the link <http://agricoop.nic.in/sites/default/files/Operational%20Guidelines%20for%20Formation%20and%20Promotion%20of%20Farmer%20Producer%20Organizations%2028FPOs%29-English.pdf> last accessed on 28th September, 2020.
- <sup>13</sup> For more information please see Operational Guidelines of Agriculture Infrastructure Fund at link <http://agricoop.nic.in/sites/default/files/FINAL%20Scheme%20Guidelines%20AIF.pdf> last accessed on 28th September, 2020

## References

- Acharya, S.S., & Agarwal, N.L. (1987). *Agricultural Marketing in India*, Oxford and IBH Publishing Company, New Delhi.
- Agarwal, N., Jain, S. & Narayana, S. (2016). *The Long Road to Transformation of Agricultural Markets in India: Lessons from Karnataka*. Working paper no. 2016-026, Indira Gandhi Institute for Development Research, Mumbai.
- Chand, R & Singh, J. (2016) *Agricultural Marketing and Farmer Friendly Reforms Across States and UTs*. National Institute of Transforming India, NITI Aayog, New Delhi.
- Dey, K., (2016). *National Agricultural Market- Rationale, Roll out and Ramifications*. *Economic & Political Weekly*. 59(19), 35-39.
- Knight, S.H. (1954). *Food Administration in India, 1939-47*. Stanford Press, Stanford, California.
- Pavithra, S., Gracy, C.P., Saxena R, & Patil, G.G (2018). *Innovations in Agricultural Marketing: A Case Study of e-tendering system in Karnataka, India*. *Agricultural Economics Research Review*, 31 (1), 53-64.
- Rajagopal (1993). *Indian Rural Marketing*. Rawat Publications, Jaipur, India.
- Roy, D., Joshi, P.K. & Chandra R. (2017). *Elements of a National Agricultural Market in India*. In: *Financing Agricultural Value Chains in India* (Mani G, Joshi P., Ashok M. eds.). Springer, Singapore.

---

**Abhilaksh Likhi**

*The author is an IAS officer of 1991 batch, Haryana cadre. He is currently posted as Additional Secretary, Agriculture & Farmers' Welfare in the Government of India.*



# Recent Circular on Bhoodan Land in Bihar: A Correction

Dr. Vidyarthi Vikas

## Abstract

*A circular was issued by the Department of Revenue and Land Reforms, Government of Bihar in August 2016 relating to the allotment of Bhoodan land. The said document (herein after referred to as the Circular) lays down that any piece of gairmajarua khas/malik land allotted to landless people under the provisions of the Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Act 1954 has no legal validity as they run counter to the provisions of an earlier Act, The Bihar Land Reforms Act (BLR Act) 1950. The reason assigned for declaring such settlements unlawful is that the erstwhile zamindars were not authorised or competent to donate the piece of land in question after vesting the estate with the state in compliance with the provisions of the BLR Act 1950. It has come to the knowledge of the author that the circular was issued on the basis of the legal opinion obtained from the office of the Advocate General of Bihar. The author apprehends serious agrarian unrest in Bihar following the enforcement of the provisions of the circular. Agrarian unrest apart, the circular issued by a director-level official could lead to greater social inequalities, corruption, discrimination, against the poor and possibly land eviction, mass movement what is of particular interest is Para 4 of the Circular. I believe that the Circular can be read to mean that settlements made by Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Committee are illegal and that the State authorities can settle these land afresh. It is felt that implementation of this circular unsettle the settle position.*

## Background

The backdrop to the circular<sup>1</sup> issued was that a conference of additional collectors of Bihar was held in which a query was made, whether ex-zamindars were authorised to donate the *gairmajarua khas/malik* land<sup>2</sup> subsequent to *Zamindari Abolition Act (Bihar Land Reforms Act) 1950* and the vesting of their estates in the State of Bihar. Another query was raised on the acts of donation made by ex-landlords prior to the Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Act (BBYA) 1954 on the basis of this query, the District Magistrate (DM), district of Siwan vide his letter number no. 135/ 29.07.2016 addressed to the Department of Revenue and Land Reforms (RLR Department), Government of Bihar sought guidance regarding *gairmajarua khas/malik* land donated by the ex-zamindars after the *zamindari Abolition Act (Bihar Land Reforms Act) 1950*. The Revenue and Land Reforms Department in turn sought legal opinion from the Advocate General's Office on this issue. Based on the legal opinion,

the circular 970/7, dated 23 August 2016 was issued by the Revenue and Land Reforms Department. Orders were issued to all District Magistrate and revenue officials that if *gairmajarua khas/malik* land donated by the ex-zamindars had been allotted to any landless people by the Bhoodan Committee, after the Bihar Land Reforms Act (BLR Act) 1950, the settlement of such lands be declared unlawful as *zamindars* were not authorised to donate the land after BLR Act 1950 came into effect. Unfortunately, the Circular issued after 50 years of the settlement affected around 400 thousands of *Bhoodan* donees household or 2200 thousands people (the then 150 thousands<sup>3</sup> according to Chairman Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Committee 2015) due to fragmentation and subdivision of land holdings (estimates are based on population theory of Thomas Malthus). The revenue officials in compliance with the provisions of the circular were adamant on taking action and reclaiming the land by force.

I had a conversation with Deputy Collector of Land Reforms (DCLR) Hathua sub division, Gopalganj district on the subject as they advised me that they were going to implement the instructions in the Circular in pursuance of the Circular's instructions had been issued to all Circle Officers for implementing the instructions. I also discussed this matter with revenue officials responsible for the issue of the Circular. They took the same that the Circular was based on the Advocate General's advice. I discussed the matter with the present Chairman, Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Committee (BBY Committee) and he said that the Circular completely violates the provisions of the Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Act (BBY Act) 1954 and was in complete disregard of all the efforts by Vinoba Bhave, the then Government, Jai Prakash Narayain, Rammanohar Lohia and other social activists who did so much to make the *Bhoodan* movement successful.

Some of the recent circulars issued by the Revenue Department relating to restoration of evicted people, 5 decimal homestead land for landless people and distribution of ceiling surplus land have not been implemented whereas the anti-poor Circular has been implemented by the officials with alacrity. Any reasonable individual would want to know why this has been done ?

Some of the immediate questions which came up are:-

Was the opinion of the Law Department obtained on the circular issued in accordance with The Bihar Bhoodan Act 1954, the circular issued in 1954, The amendment promulgated in 1954, Amendment 1965<sup>3</sup>, The Limitation Act 1963 and other laws? Whether the Bhoodan grantees to whom such *gairmajarua khas/malik* land was allotted after confirmation<sup>4</sup> has acquired a vested right and whether such rights can be taken away? Does a circular have an overriding effect on an Act? Does this Circular serve the purpose of 'development with

social justice' of the present government? Have successive government and agencies incharge carefully managed *Bhoodan* land? Is the 'Bhoodan Yagna Committee' going to fight for *Bhoodan raiyat*? It is intended to discuss some of these issues here.

### Setting the Context

This is a well known fact that immediately after attainment of the independence, almost universal demand for the redistribution of land was a very natural outcome of the inequality of its present distribution (Krishna 1959: 302). According to the National Sample Survey (1958), a First Report on Land Holdings in Rural Sector '15 million or about 22 percent of them do not own any land; another 25 percent own less than one acre' in India. Average 50 percent of Indian household were landless or near to landless. On the eve of independence, the Government of India and Indian States started working in the area of redistribution of land to the tiller or landless through Land Reforms Act and consequently different legislations were enacted. In Bihar, in particular, there were two types of important measures for redistribution of land namely *Bhoodan* Movement (an effort from below<sup>5</sup>) and Ceiling Surplus Land (an effort from above). The agrarian history to change agrarian relationships is an example of 'from below' and 'from above' (Joshi 1976: 88).

On the issue of *Bhoodan* movement, First Five Year Plan (1951) says that "other schemes of land distribution are likely to confer restricted benefits to the landless whereas *Bhoodan* movement has created an opportunity for landless to access the land easily". Bihar was the first State who enacted Bihar Land Reforms Act in 1950 and The Bihar Bhoodan Act in 1954. In this regard, a letter 5107-LR/E/VII-1016/54 issued by the then Additional Secretary to Government of Bihar on 6<sup>th</sup> September 1954 stated that "*Bhoodan* movement is a voluntary donation of lands by people among landless persons and the poor. The Bhoodan Yagna is a humanitarian movement, and the State Government decided that such gifts of lands should be facilitated and that there should be a proper machinery for management and distribution of the lands. The Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Act 1954 which came into force on the 21<sup>st</sup> July 1954 provides for a procedure to facilitate the donation of lands in connection with the Bhoodan Yagna and to provide for the settlement of such lands with landless persons as defined in the Act". Through this circular, Government of Bihar had accepted the importance and the legal sanctity of Bihar Bhoodan Act 1954.

Bhoodan movement in Bihar: Shri Acharya Vinoba Bhave, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi started a campaign for getting donation of lands from rich people, for the benefit of the poor and he travelled Bihar during September 1952 to December 1954 for the fulfillment of the objective (Cholkar 2010). People came forward in droves to donate land. Big landlords who were

apprehensive about the upcoming land reforms legislations rushed to donate their *gairmajarua* lands as well as other unproductive lands. In Bihar, The Bhoodan Yagna Committee was formed at the State level and its branches were also started in every district that handled the acceptance of donations and redistribution of the lands to the beneficiaries, namely, the poor people. Although many of the *Danpatras* passed through the confirmation proceedings and confirmations were made after bidding out the fraudulent sustainable donations but the sad state of affairs of the State officials of the State of Bihar is apparent from the fact that after passing of more than 60 years, the process of confirmation of majority of the lands has not yet been completed and all kinds of mismanagement is at play on the altar of confirmation/non-confirmation.

Uniqueness of Redistribution of Bhoodan Land in Bihar: If we see the success of redistribution under *Bhoodan* movement and Ceiling Surplus Land (an effort from above), Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Committee received 648 thousand acres of land, in which, 262 thousands acres of land was suitable while 386 thousands acres of land was not suitable for distribution. After six decades 256 thousand acres have been distributed. Another side entail redistribution of Ceiling surplus land, an effort 'from above' to provide land to the landless. On record, according to the annual report (2015-16) of the Revenue Departments around six decades after the enactment of ceiling legislation in the state, the government claimed to have acquired as much as total 329 thousands acres of land as 'Ceiling Surplus'. Out of the land acquired, 250 thousand acres of land are said to have been distributed and 99,125 acres are reported to be 'disputed' in different appellate courts (Annual Report of Department of Revenue and Land Reforms, GoB 2015-16: 20). It is a fact that complete government machinery was available to implement the Bihar Ceiling Act 1961 (Bihar Land Reforms: Fixation of Ceiling Area and Acquisition of Surplus Land) while a *Bhoodan* committee with limited self-motivated worker was available to implement the Bihar Bhoodan Act 1954. This reveals that besides many anomalies of *Bhoodan* movement "an effort from below" was comparatively better than that of ceiling surplus practices "an effort from above" in Bihar.

Dynamics of land donated/distributed under Bhoodan: A total 648 thousand acres of land was donated in Bihar of which 56 percent (366 thousands acre) of land was confirmed<sup>4</sup> and 40 percent (282 thousand acre) was not confirmed. Of the confirmed land only 262 thousand acre (71.71 percent of the total confirm-donated land or 40.46 percent of total donated land) has so far been distributed. In sum, 59.54 percent donated land was not distributed. Non-confirmation of the 282 thousands acre lands and non-distribution of 103 thousand acres of confirm but not-fit land clearly indicates lethargy of

Government and Bhoodan Yagna Committee. It is pointed out that almost most of the land which was confirmed and fit has already been distributed by the Bhoodan Yagna Committee. Confirmed or certified by the State government means their land details are with the in-charge agencies. In flux of time after 50 years, it is possible that 103 thousand acres of confirmed but unfit land may become fit and fertile and can be distributed to the landless. It raises hopes and concerns too.

The low level of allotment of land among different castes has largely been due to unwillingness or lethargic work culture of the agencies in-charge. Numerically the distribution process, enlists that members of the backward castes got priority over others and among them on an average 0.58 acre has been allotted per head. The per head allotments to others were 0.75 acre to Scheduled Castes, 1.21 acres to Scheduled Tribes and 0.73 acres to other castes.

Castes/Bhoodan land	Allottee		Area (Acre)		Average Size
	No.	percent	No.	percent	(acre)
BC	157762	45	91548	36	0.58
SC	141849	40	106926	42	0.75
ST	17086	5	20658	8	1.21
Other	36680	10	37249	15	1.02
All	353377	100	256381	100	0.73

Source: Structured from Annexure 1

The details of Bhoodan land in Bihar are complex in nature and can be seen in Annexure 1.

*Anomalies in Bhoodan movement in Bihar:* Many 'structural problems' were faced by the Bhoodan movement. Compilation of data on Bhoodan and accuracy of Bhoodan statistics have provided scope for malafide practices. Huge tracts of waste land which were widely scattered land lead to their non-distribution being categorised as *ashampushta* (uncertified). It is pertinent to note that the Bhoodan Committee is an autonomus institution for distribution of land in a coordination with the State Government. Bhoodan Act has a provision to distribute the land after *sampushta* (certification by the Department of Revenue and Land Reforms, Government of Bihar) while Bhoodan land was directly operationalised by the Bhoodan Committee. The lack of proper administrative set up of the Bhoodan Committee has caused failure in the distribution of land. There were no ditrect lines of various elements of the movement, i.e., workers and leaders, Bhoodan Committee and the concerned Government departments.

### Impact of the Circular

After the issuance of the circular, Collectors and District Collector of Land Reforms (DCLRs) of different districts have escalated their action of cancellation of *danpatras* and instructions were issued to Circle Officers to strictly follow the said circular. The then Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Committee, immediately sent a letter dated 11.08.2015 to protest the circular issued by a Joint Director, Agricultural Census Unit and drawing his attention towards its unwanted impact on landless or poor people. In a continuation to this letter he also drew attention towards the drastic ill effect of the said circular and invoking cancellations of allotments on account of the fact that those grants related to the lands which were recorded as *gair majarua khas* land in the old survey and state of chaos was unleashed in the State of Bihar. The then chairman written a letter to the Secretary, Revenue and Land Reforms, Government of Bihar for nullification of the said resolution, drawing their attention to poor allottees of *Bhoodan* but apparently all those letters were falling deaf on ears (Annexure 4).

I had a telephonic conversation with the Circle Officer (Block Level Revenue Officer) of Hathua Block of Gopalganj district on 20 December 2017 regarding the Circular. He said that they were not issuing the *Malgujari* receipt (tax receipt of land) of those *Bhoodan* grantees who were not eligible candidates and cancelling the rights of *Bhoodan* grantees one and another. DCLRs cancelled a *Bhoodan* land certificate<sup>6</sup> (*Patta* of *Bhoodan* Land Certificate) number 681447, dated 28.02.2000 of Shivji Prasad, and Keshar Prasad, S/O- Raghunath Prasad, Village- Mahuawa, Block- Panchdevri, Hathua District followed by Circular number 929, dated 24.07.2015 (Annexure 3). In a group discussion with some affected *Bhoodan raiyats* of village- Laxmipur, Block- Farbisganj of Araria Districts, voiced that “rent receipt was being issued by the revenue authorities regularly for last 60 years and now they are not issuing the rent receipt and threatened us to “vacate the land soon”. In a Focused Group Discussion (FGD) with affected *Bhoodan raiyat* of Kohwari Panchayat, Barachatti Block, Gaya district; Anil Kumar (a trusty of the Sahoday Trust of *Bhoodan* Land) a resident of village Kohwari said that 693.57 acres of land was distributed among 692 landless in 1988 and 1995 but only 10 percent allottee or settle of *Bhoodan* land are residing at the allotted land due to several difficulties created by the local people and government officials. Now allottee and settlee are not getting rent receipt after the issuance of this circular. Not only this, in many cases, rent



fixation and authentication was not done by the revenue officials. The *Bhoodan raiyats* of the Kohwari village are very poor and residing in *kachcha* home and unable to wear proper clothing and eat two square meals. A good number of *Bhoodan raiyat* have raised their voice at different administrative level including National Human Rights Commission, India were threatened. Pankaj, a social activist of Bihar, said that “it will have a drastic and adverse impact on social relations, harmony and economy of the State, and could provide a boost the Naxalite movement”. Kapileshwar Ram (the then member Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Committee), a social activist working on *Bhoodan* land said that ‘It will increase litigation and give rise to agrarian agitation on a large scale’. Ram Jee Singh, a Gandhian, stated that the said Circular cannot be superseded and it is wrong and illegal so far. Mridula Mishra, a Retired, Judge Patna High Court and Chairperson, Bihar Land Tribunal hinted that ‘A time, possession and land rights of *Bhoodan* tenants will be disrupted and dismantled’. Again the role of New Class Nexus<sup>7</sup> due to *Bhoodan* land issues will become immense. Instances of corruption will increase and officials are likely to extract money from *Bhoodan* tenants and *Bhoodan* tenants may have to approach courts of law. All *Bhoodan* tenants are likely to fall into the clutches of landlords. Low wages could be the result. An interview<sup>8</sup> on these issues, with the present Chairman, Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Committee revealed that ‘A fair number of petitions have been filed at *Bhoodan* Committee office and the same have been reported by District level *Bhoodan* officials. It is the need of the hour to resist such types of Circulars’. Chairman, Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Committee said that it was only a institution who has been providing protection to the *Bhoodan raiyat* since 1954 which was dissolved by the Bihar Government in June 2018. Vikas (2017: 16-17) reported that over a time period, their possession and land rights will be dismantled due to the Circular.

Public Interest Litigation<sup>9</sup> (PIL): A PIL (CWJC no. 15092 of 2017) was filled by Kameshwar Kamat against the Circular in the High Court Patna and got stay order from Patna High Court, Patna, but the story does not end here. Government of Bihar setup a committee in November 2017 to evaluate the land distribution and activities under Bihar Bhoodan Yagna committee till date and dissolved the Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Committee in June 2018.

Statutory Provisions of the Act and Earlier Views of the High Court

It is important to look at the preamble of the Bhoodan Act 1954 that it is apparently was enacted to facilitate donation of land and settlement of such

land with landless persons. After receiving the assent of the President, it was published in the Government Gazette 21 July 1954. The Act was amended in 1959, and 1965. It was the desire of Vinoba Bhave that the lands donated to him in connection with the Bhoodan Yagna prior to the commencement of this Act shall be transferred, and vested in, the Bhoodan Yagna Committee'. Thereafter, the Circular 5107-LR/E/VII-1016/1954 issued by the then Additional Secretary of Revenue department, Government of Bihar stated that " Shri Vinoba Bhave has initiated a movement, known as the Bhoodan Yagna, for voluntary donation of lands by people with the objective of distributing the lands so donated among landless persons and the poor. The Bhoodan Yagna is a humanitarian movement, and the state government have decided that such gifts of lands should be facilitated and that there should be a proper machinery for the management and distribution of the lands. The Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Act 1954 provides for a procedure to facilitate the donation of lands in connection with the Bhoodan Yagna Act and to cater the settlement of such lands with landless persons as defined in the Act".

Section 10 of the Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Act 1954 provides that any person being an owner of any land may donate the land to Bhoodan Yagna Committee by declaration in writing in that behalf and such documents will be called *danpatras*. It also expressly provides for the categories of land i.e, burial ground, tank or pathway, *gairmajarua aam*<sup>10</sup> land, forest land, mines and mineral land which can be donated by the land owner under a proviso to Section 10. Section 10 does not provide that *gairmajarua khas/malik* land cannot be donated by the landowner. This view was supported by Patna High Court in its report in the case of Pandit Brahmanand Nand Chaube Vs. Members of *Bhoodan* Committee, 1986 PLJR 414.

In this view of the matter, it is in violation of statutory provisions of Section 10 of the Act 1954. Section 12 of the BBY Act 1954 deals with donation of land by a proprietor or tenure holder after vesting of the land with the State under BLR Act 1950. Section 12 emphasises that the proprietor/tenure holder whose estate or tenure was vested in the State under BLR Act 1950 has to make a declaration in writing regarding donating the land to Bhoodan Yagna Committee. Then such a declaration shall be treated as Bhoodan Danpatra and provisions of this Act shall apply *mutatis mutandis* in respect of the land donated once the land is treated as *Bhoodan* land and it is automatically vested

under the relevant section of the Act. Such lands to be settled under the provisions of Section 14 of the Act.

Section 18 (2) focuses special attention on *gairmazarua khas/malik* land and lays down that if a *danpatra* has been made with respect to *gairmajarua khas/malik* land or any other class of land for which rent has not been assessed, the revenue officer shall assess the rent in the prescribed manner. Section 23 of the BBY Act 1954 is very clear that the provisions of the Act shall have over riding effect, notwithstanding anything contrary in any other law for the time being in force. BBY Act 1954 is a special and self contained act; will exclude the general Acts as held by the Patna High Court in the case of Samachar Bharti Vs. Kedarnath, 1972 PLJR 365: AIR 1972 Pat 397 (Bihar Bhoodan Act 1954).

All the above provisions of this Act make it very clear that the Revenue Department of Bihar cannot by issuing a circular take away a vested right of a *Bhoodan* tenant after more than sixty years of the settlement of donated land. With them even the donated plots were *gairmajarua khas/malik* land. Guidelines issued in this Circular are completely in violation of this statutory provisions contained in the Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Act 1954. Once a *danpatra* has been issued it cannot be reclaimed by the Department of Revenue, Government of Bihar from the *Bhoodan* settlee after sixty years. A *Bhoodan* tenant has similar right as a landlord and they cannot be penalised illegally by the said Revenue Department, once settlement is complete. Thakur (1988; PP132) states that the provisions of *Bhoodan* Act 1954 are applicable to such lands also which were donated and were distributed prior to the enactment of the Act.

#### Adverse Possession

A question can be raised on two fronts, whether donated land was private or public (Government land). It could be private, when it refers to *zamindars* and public when it refers to Government land. As far as the '*private property*' is concerned, the law on adverse possession is contained in the Article 65, Schedule I of The Indian Limitation Act 1963. The provisions of Article 65, Schedule I, prescribe a limitation of twelve years for a suit for possession of immovable property or any interest therein based on title. It is important to note that the starting point of the limitation of twelve years is counted from the point of time "when the possession of the defendants becomes adverse to the plaintiff". As far as the *Government (Central or State)* property is concerned, the period of limitation for any suit (except a suit before the Supreme Court) is 30 years and the starting point of limitation is the same as in the case of a suit by a

private person (vide Article 112, Schedule I of the Limitation Act 1963). This view of the Act has been supported by the Supreme Court in case of *Krishnamurthy S Setlur v. O. V. Narsimha Setty*, (2007) 3 SCC 569.

It is clear that the circular is also against the rights created in the favour of *Bhoodan* tenant account of remaining with the tenant for more than sixty years within the knowledge of the State Government, and they have recorded, paying rent for such land. A clear title has been created in favour of the *Bhoodan* tenants as they remained in possession of the tenants for more than sixty years. They have perfected these titles on account of the lands remaining in possession of these land for more than 30 years. The government has full knowledge of all such facts but it never objected against any illegal possession of those lands.

#### Discussion

It is evident that the Act has provided for three types of donations- (a) Donation of land by a proprietor or revenue holder after the vesting under the BLR Act 1950 but before the commencement of the Act [Section 12], (b) Donation of land prior to commencement of the Act [Section 15 (3)], and (c) After commencement of the Act [Section 10]. A proprietor could have settled *gairmajarua khas/malik* land but not *gairmajarua aam* land in which community has interest. Provisions of Section 10 (1) refer to the exclusion of *gairmajarua aam* land and are silent about *gairmajarua khas/malik* land. Provisions of section 12 (1) categorically state that the Revenue Officer shall deal with such lands as if they have not vested in the State. Sub-section (2) of Section 12 is another non-obstante clause that notwithstanding anything contained in BLR Act 1950 such land shall be excluded from estate for the purpose of payment of compensation and on confirmation of *danpatra (gift-deed)*. The land shall vest in the committee. Rule 6 (A) of *Bhoodan* Rules (1956) and the September 1954 circular refer to Section 18 which provides for fixation of rent in respect of *gairmajarua khas/malik* land. As long as it can be shown that the particulars of the Act flow from humanitarian grounds and are in favour of landless people, it is to be held as valid consequently. The view 'adverse possession' also goes in favour of The *Bhoodan raiyat* as they have remained in possession of the land the last sixty years. Discussion suggests that opinion of the Law department obtained on the Circular had issued the same contravene that the Act provides.

The Constitution and the rules of executive business framed thereunder provide for a manner of authentication/communication of orders. In accordance with these provisions the officials of the Directorate are not authorised to do what they plan to. The recent trend is that secretariate empower the executive/directorate to issue clarifications in the initials years, usually one or two years at the most. On the current Circular, this instruction has been issued after more than sixty years and it affects the rights of *Bhoodan* tenants and it is bound to have serious impact on the marginalized sections of the State of Bihar. The Circular indicates that the Government shall resettled the settle position of the *Bhoodan raiyat* and it would create a lot of difficulties and uncertainty. The problems being faced by the *Bhoodan* movement are not due to problems in the concept, but it lies in in-charge agencies.

Confirmation of land under the provisions of the Bihar Bhoodan Act clearly says that after the confirmation of *Bhoodan* land, Right, Title and Interest of the donor in any land donated to the Bhoodan Yagna Committee shall stand transferred to, and vest in, the Bhoodan Yagna Committee and evidences say that the Circular cannot have an overriding effect in any case.

The Questions are Answered as Follows

The earlier opinion of The Law Department and subsequent opinion of AAG 2 and the clarification issued vide letter dated 23 August 2016 are contrary to the provisions of Bhoodan Act, Rules and 1954 circulars. They will take away the vested rights of those thousands of *Bhoodan* tenants, to whom the *gairmajarua khas/malik* land was settled after confirmation. To save the interests of Bhoodan tenants, present Chairman, Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Committee said that “a case has been filed in Patna High Court on these issues and he also indicates that the issue had been discussed at a very high level but they were disappointed and were hence moving the court”. It has also come into the notice of Bihar Land Reforms Core Committee (2014) who too will discuss these issues in the appropriate forum. The CPI-ML, has taken this into account as an exploitative Government Circular and is planning to raise its voice against the said circular in Bihar Legislative Assembly. However, it is doubtful whether the in-charge organisations, which sponsor and carry forward the line of rural reconstruction or the governmental policies which are framed to facilitate the spread of the *Bhoodan* movement, will take cognisance of the socio-economic and political problems that have arisen in the State.

## Conclusion

These issues which unfold are many but the important ones which can be put forth are the following:

The issue should be understood in its entire context. If the meaning is plain, effect must be given to it irrespective of consequences and construction of "plain meaning". Though a welfare State, an anti-poor and anti-landless circular may not be issued. The Circular needs to be immediately withdrawn and the Government must come out with a retrospective modification to the effect that all the allotments of land under BBY Act 1954 are valid even if they are seemingly in legal contravention of the provisions of the Bihar Land Reforms Act 1950 for abolishing *zamindari*. Follow up action taken if any, should also be cancelled to avoid unnecessary litigation. In the flux of time, situation could become very challenging. The question of 'take care of *Bhoodan raiyat*' has disappeared with dissolve the Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Committee.

In view of the above facts flowing from under the Bhoodan Yagna Act 1954, the decision of Hon'ble High Court, and adverse possession on a humanitarian ground as also the canons of 'development with social justice', the settled land *gairmajarua khas/malik* land' cannot be reclaimed and resettled from *Bhoodan raiyat* and they cannot be dispossessed from their homestead and agricultural land which provides them their livelihood. It cannot be taken away and cannot be resettled by any Authority. The objectionable Circular could have a spillover effect at the country level too. These measures may raise the hopes of the landless class who are facing eviction at large scale.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The circular which read thus: any *gairmajarua khas/malik* land settle with any landless people after the *Zamindari* Abolition Act 1950 (The Bihar Land Reforms Act 1950) under the Bhoodan Yagna Act 1954 the settlement of the such land is unlawful because *zamindars* were not authorised to donate *gairmajarua khas/malik* land after vesting the estate in the State under the Bihar Land Reforms Act 1950". is given in Annexure 2. Circular was accessed from the website of Revenue and Land Reforms Department, Government of Bihar on 21.09.2016 from [http://lrc.bih.nic.in/Circulars/970\\_7\\_2\\_06092016122.pdf](http://lrc.bih.nic.in/Circulars/970_7_2_06092016122.pdf). Bihar is a one of the first Indian State who initiated Land Reforms Act 1950 just after independence.

<sup>2</sup> *gairmajarua khas/malik* land means an uncultivated land of *zamindars*.

<sup>3</sup> The Bihar Bhoodan Yagna (Amendment) Act 1965 says that "If such land had before the commencement of this Act been granted to any person in pursuance of the Bhoodan Yagna, it shall, with effect from the date of grant, be deemed to have been granted to such person)".

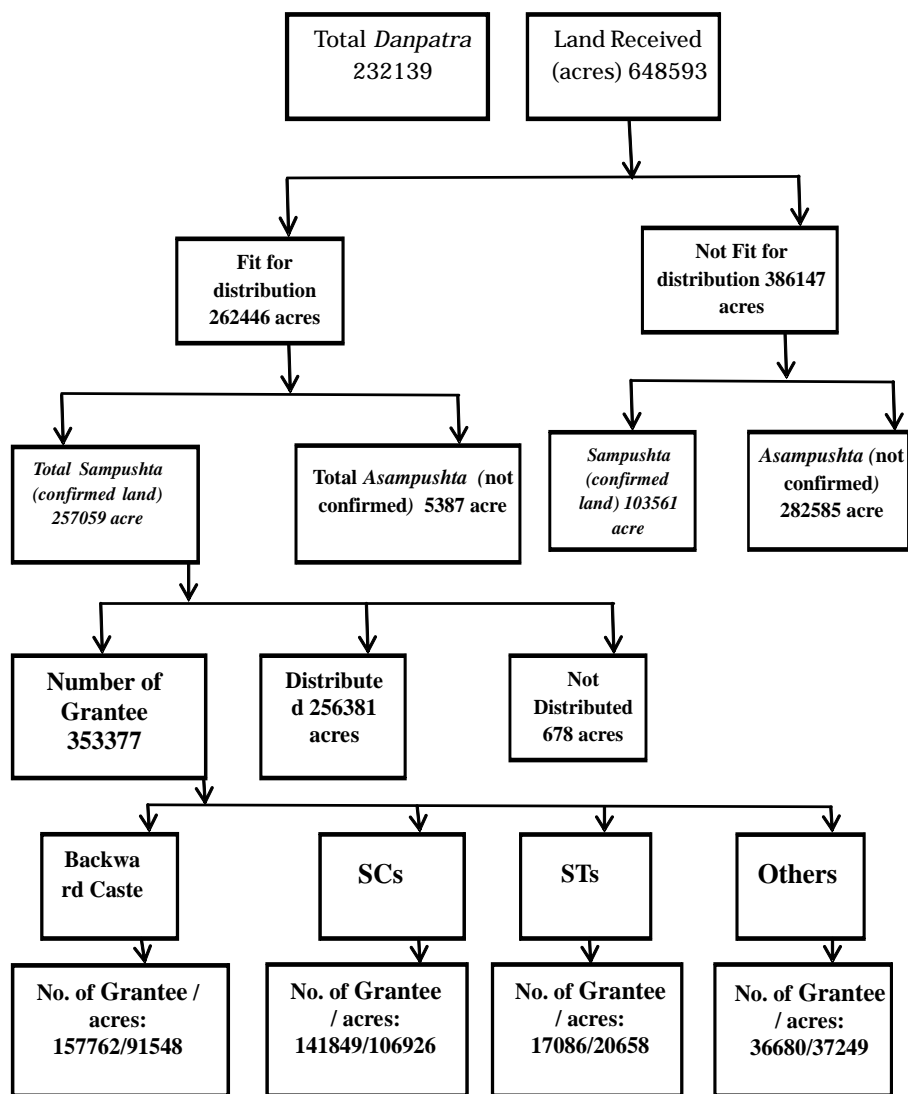
<sup>4</sup> Confirmation- Confirmation of donated land means the right, title and interest of the donor in any land donated to Shri Acharya Vinoba Bhave or to the Bhoodan Yagna Committee shall stand transferred to, and vest in, the Bhoodan Yagna Committee for the purpose of the Bhoodan Yagna.

---

Deputy Collector of Land Reforms (DCLR) confirms the land after complete procedure under the Bhoodan Yagna Act 1954.

- <sup>5</sup> Joshi 1976 emphasised the importance of 'from below' and 'from above' in his Book "Land Reforms in India".
- <sup>6</sup> DCLRs cancelled a *Bhoodan* land certificate (*Patta of Bhoodan* Land Certificate) number 681447, dated 28.02.2000 of Shivji Prasad, and Keshar Prasad, S/O- Raghunath Prasad, Village- Mahuawa, Block- Panchdevri, Hathua District of Bihar followed by Revenue and Land Reforms Department, Government of Bihar's Circular number 929, dated 24.07.2015 wide his letter number 761/ dated 14.09.2015 keeping same argument.
- <sup>7</sup> "New Class" word was used for nexus among government officials, bureaucrats, and businessmen/ landlords by Milovan Djilas in his book "The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System" published by Thames and Hudson, London (1957).
- <sup>8</sup> In an interview of Chairman Bhoodan Yagna Committee 2017, he said that around 150 thousands households had received *gairmajarua khas/malik* land in 1960s. In an estimate it may be around 400 thousands household in 2010s (pre-supposes land was received by male member), if two generation passed according to population theory of Malthus (1803). He also said that committee has been facing continuously lack of coordination and mutual support between Government of Bihar and Bhoodan Yagna Committee, lack of staffs, and lack of adequate finance.
- <sup>9</sup> Public Interest Litigation<sup>8</sup> (PIL)- The case CWJC number 15092 of 2017 has been filed by the Bhoodan Yagna Committee at Patna High Court.
- <sup>10</sup> *gairmajarua aam* land refers to public lands, roads, burial ground, canal etc.

## Annexure 1 : Basic Characteristics of Bhoodan Land in Bihar as on July 2014



**Source : Bihar Bhoodan Committee Office, Patna**



## Annexure 2

Circular 970/7, 23.08.2016 of Department of Revenue and Land Reforms, Government of Bihar (Source: [http://lrc.bih.nic.in/Circulars/970\\_7\\_2\\_06092016122.pdf](http://lrc.bih.nic.in/Circulars/970_7_2_06092016122.pdf))

	पत्रांक-7/भूदान (विधि)-1/15	/20.
	<b>बिहार सरकार</b>	
	<b>राजस्व एवं भूमि सुधार विभाग</b>	
प्रेषक,	दिनोद कुमार झा, संयुक्त निदेशक, कृषि गणना।	
सेवा में,	सम्बन्धिता, शिवान।	
विषय -	भूदान में प्राप्त भूमि के वितरण के संबंध में।	पटना-15, दिनांक-.....
प्रसंग-	आपका पत्रांक-135/रा0, दिनांक-29.07.2016	
महोदय,	निदेशानुसार उपर्युक्त विषय से संबंधित प्रशासनिक पत्र का संदर्भ लिया जाय, जिसके द्वारा भूदान में प्राप्त भूमि के वितरण के संबंध में निम्नलिखित किन्तुओं पर विभागीय परामर्श/मार्गदर्शन की अपेक्षा की गयी है :-	
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. सैरात भूमि का पूर्वा निर्गत/वितरण।</li> <li>2. सरकारी भूमि का पूर्वा निर्गत कर वितरण किया जाना।</li> <li>3. असंपुष्ट भूमि का पूर्वा निर्गत कर वितरण किया जाना।</li> <li>4. जमींदारी उन्मूलन के पश्चात् भूतपूर्व जमींदार द्वारा गैर मजकुरा मालिक भूमि का दान दिया जाना।</li> <li>5. बिहार भूदान यज्ञ अधिनियम के प्रभाव के आने के पूर्व दान में मिली भूमि।</li> </ol>	
	उपर्युक्त क्रमांक 1 से 5 पर अंकित पृष्ठों के आलोक में बिहार भूदान यज्ञ अधिनियम, 1954 में निहित प्रावधान एवं विधि विभाग से प्राप्त परामर्श निम्नवत है :-	
	<b>1. सैरात भूमि का प्रमाण-पत्र निर्गत/वितरण :-</b>	
	बिहार भूदान अधिनियम की धारा 10(1) में जमीन को दान के रूप में आचार्य प्रभोवा नावे अथवा बिहार भूदान यज्ञ समिती को दिये जाने के संबंध में निम्न प्रावधान अंकित किया गया है :- "Any person being the owner of any land may donate such land to the Bhoodan Yagna Committee or to Shri Acharya Vinoba Bhave by a declaration in writing in that behalf (hereinafter called the Bhoodan Yagna Danpatra);	
	उल्लेखनीय है कि सैरात की जमीन पर किसी भी भिन्न व्यक्ति/परिवार का स्वामित्व नहीं होता है। अतः सैरात की जमीन पर किसी भी भिन्न व्यक्ति/परिवार का स्वामित्व नहीं होता है। अतः सैरात की जमीन पर किसी भी भिन्न व्यक्ति/परिवार का स्वामित्व नहीं होता है। अतः सैरात की जमीन पर किसी भी भिन्न व्यक्ति/परिवार का स्वामित्व नहीं होता है। अतः सैरात की जमीन पर किसी भी भिन्न व्यक्ति/परिवार का स्वामित्व नहीं होता है।	
	<b>2. सरकारी भूमि का पूर्वा निर्गत कर वितरण किया जाना :-</b>	
	सरकारी भूमि (गैर मजकुरा आम, खास, केशरे हिन्द, खासमहाल आदि) को भूदान यज्ञ समिति को दान स्वरूप दिये जाने हेतु सरकार द्वारा किसी भी प्राधिकार का गठन/निर्धारण नहीं किया गया है। सरकारी जमीन की बन्दोबस्ती रखन श्रेणी के व्यक्तियों/परिवारों के साथ किये जाने का प्रावधान निर्धारित है। यदि सरकारी जमीन का प्रमाण-पत्र भूदान यज्ञ समिति को द्वारा वितरित किया गया है, तो वैसी स्थिति में इसकी मान्यता नहीं दी जा सकती है, क्योंकि वैसी जमीन को दान स्वरूप भूदान यज्ञ समिति को दिये जाने हेतु कोई भी व्यक्ति अथवा सरकारी पदाधिकारी प्राधिकृत नहीं है। लेकिन इस संबंध में विभाग का स्पष्ट अभिमत है कि यदि गैर मजकुरा खास जमीन का प्रमाण-पत्र	
	D:\SR 68\Agpr\Exam\11-8-16	

-2-

किसी कसम श्रेणी के व्यक्ति अथवा परिवार को बिहार भूदान यज्ञ समिति के द्वारा दिया है तो वही जमीन संबंधित व्यक्ति/परिवार के साथ बन्दोबस्ती कर उसे नियमित कर दिया जाय।

### 3. असंपुष्ट भूमि का पश्चात् निर्गत कर वितरण किया जाना :-

भूदान के अन्तर्गत दान स्वरूप प्राप्त भूमि के वितरण का प्रावधान बिहार भूदान यज्ञ समिति की धारा 14 एवं 15 में अंकित किया गया है। ऐसा भी हुआ है कि कुछ प्रमाणिक दान पत्र सम्पुष्टि के लिए भूदान यज्ञ समिति के द्वारा भूमि सुधार उप समाहर्ता के न्यायालय में दाखिल कर दिये गये एवं सम्पुष्टि से पहले ही वैसी भूमि का वितरण भी कर दिया गया। इसके संबंध में विभागीय आदेश - E/VII-3067/60/60-9091-L.r., dated Patna, the 12th/14th November, 1960 में निम्न प्रावधान अंकित किया गया है :-

".....Government have, therefore, been pleased to decide that in all cases where lands have been donated in Bhoodan Yajna, in respect of which the Danpatras have either been confirmed or are pending confirmation, the revenue officers should not settle such lands with anybody. On the other hand, if the lands have been distributed already by the Bhoodan Committee and Danpatras have also been confirmed, immediate steps should be taken for mutation in the names of the Bhoodan Committee as well as of the Bhoodan Tenants names in Rent Rolls, and in case of division of holding, assessment of rent should also be carried out without any loss of time. If, however, lands have been distributed by the committee in anticipation of the confirmation of the Danpatras, the revenue officers should immediately take steps to ensure that the cases pending to the confirmation of Danpatras are disposed of quickly.

इस प्रकार यदि किसी असंपुष्ट भूमि का वितरण बिहार भूदान यज्ञ समिति के द्वारा भूमिहीन परिवारों के साथ कर दिया गया है तो वैसी स्थिति में संबंधित भूमि सुधार उप समाहर्ता दान पत्र के सम्पुष्टि की कार्यवाही करेंगे। यदि वैसे दान पत्रों को सम्पुष्ट कर दिया जाता है तो वितरित प्रमाण-पत्रों को सही माना जावेगा और यदि वैसे दान पत्रों को असंपुष्ट किया जाता है, तो असंपुष्टि से संबंधित प्रमाण-पत्रों को भूदान यज्ञ समिति के द्वारा वापस ले लिया जायेगा एवं जमीन संबंधित रकत/सरकार का माना जायेगा।

### 4. जमींदारी उन्मूलन के पश्चात् भूतपूर्व जमींदार द्वारा गैर मजूरूआ मालिक भूमि का दान दिया जाना :-

इस संबंध में अपर समाहर्ताओं की बैठकों में एवं प्रमंडल स्तर पर आयोजित राजस्व से संबंधित बैठकों में प्राप्त पृच्छाओं के आलोक में विधि विभाग से परामर्श प्राप्त किया गया। विधि विभाग के द्वारा इस संबंध में निम्न परामर्श अंकित किया गया है :-

..... जमींदारी उन्मूलन के पश्चात् यदि किसी भूतपूर्व जमींदार के द्वारा गैर मजूरूआ खास जमीन भूदान यज्ञ समिति अथवा विनोवा भावे को दान स्वरूप दिया गया है तो ऐसे दान पत्रों की वैधानिक मान्यता नहीं होगी क्योंकि जमींदारी उन्मूलन के पश्चात् खास भूमि सरकार में ही निहित हो चुका है।

अतः ऐसी गैरमजूरूआ खास जमीन, जो जमींदारी उन्मूलन के पश्चात् भूतपूर्व जमींदारों द्वारा दान स्वरूप दी गयी हो एवं जिसे तत्कालीन भूमि सुधार उप समाहर्ता द्वारा संपुष्ट किया गया है उसे भी वैधानिक नहीं माना जा सकता है।

क्योंकि उक्त जमीन का स्वामित्व भूतपूर्व जमींदार को प्राप्त नहीं था एवं तदनुसार उसकी बंदोबस्ती करना अवैध कार्यवाई की श्रेणी में आयेगा एवं उनके द्वारा की गयी बंदोबस्ती अवैध माना जायेगा।

विधि विभाग के उपर्युक्त परामर्श के आलोक में महाधिवक्ता कार्यालय (माननीय उच्च न्यायालय) के द्वारा भी निष्कर्षतः इस संबंध में निम्न परामर्श दिया गया है :-

".....Considering these aspects of the matter in my opinion the Ex-land Lord i.e. Jaminadari cannot settle Gairmazrua land which has vested in the State of Bihar."

-3-

6. बिहार भूदान यज्ञ अधिनियम 1954 के प्रभाव के आने के पूर्व दान में मिली भूमि :-

बिहार भूदान यज्ञ अधिनियम, 1954 की धारा 15 में यह स्पष्ट प्रावधान किया गया है कि बिहार भूदान यज्ञ अधिनियम, 1954 के प्रभाव में आने के पूर्व यदि आचार्य विनायक भावे को दान पत्र के माध्यम से जमीन दान स्वरूप प्राप्त हुआ, तो वैसे जमीन को भी बिहार भूदान यज्ञ अधिनियम के अन्तर्गत मानी जाये एवं उसका वितरण धारा 15 में निहित प्रावधान के आलोक में की जाये। इस संबंध में निम्नलिखित प्रावधान निम्नलिखित हैं :-

1. "Where any land has been donated in writing for purposes of the Bhoodan Yagna prior to the commencement of this Act, the Bhoodan Yagna Danpatra concerning such land shall be forwarded by the Bhoodan Yagna Committee to the Revenue Officer of the local area within which the land is situated and the provisions of this Act shall apply mutatis mutandis in respect of land donated under such Bhoodan Yagna Danpatra as they apply in respect of donation of land made after the commencement of this Act;

3. If such land had before the commencement of this Act been granted to any person in pursuance of the Bhoodan Yagna, it shall, with effect from the date of grant, be deemed to have been granted to such person under section 14 subject to the restrictions and conditions imposed thereunder."

उपर्युक्त विभागीय परामर्श/मार्गदर्शन के आलोक में अपने स्तर से अपेक्षित कार्यवाई करने की कृपा की जाय।

विश्वासभाजन,

ह0/-

(विनोद कुमार झा),

संयुक्त निदेशक, कृषि गणना।

ज्ञापक :-

११०-१७

/रा०.

पटना-15 दिनांक-23/8/16

प्रतिलिपि-समी जिला पदाधिकारी, बिहार को सूचनाार्थ एवं आवश्यक कार्यापत्र प्रेषित।

(विनोद कुमार झा),


संयुक्त निदेशक, कृषि गणना।

## Annexure 3

Office order of DCLR Hathua District, Bihar for cancellation of a Bhoodan Patta

326

**अनुमंडल कार्यालय, हथुआ।**  
पत्रांक-761/घ0



प्रेषक, भूमि सुधार उप समाहर्ता,  
हथुआ।

सेवा में, क्षेत्रीय पदाधिकारी  
-सह-  
कार्यालय मंत्री, जिला भूदान यज्ञ कार्यालय,  
गोपालगंज।

हथुआ, दिनांक-14.09.15

विषय :- बिहार भूदान यज्ञ अधिनियम-1954 की धारा-21 के अंतर्गत प्रमाण पत्र रद्द करने के संबंध में।

प्रसंग :- आपका पत्रांक-43 दिनांक-06.08.15।

महाराज,

उपर्युक्त प्रासंगिक पत्र के आलोक में मौजा महुआवा धाना नं०-466 अंचल पंचदेवरी अंतर्गत आदात शिवनी प्रसाद वो केशवर प्रसाद, पिता-रघुनाथ प्रसाद, राठो-महुआवा के नाम से आगटित भूमि खाता नं०-259 खेसरा नं०-533, 541, 541, 1368, एवं 692 रकबा क्रमशः 1/2 डी०, 0.02 डी०, 0.14 डी० 0.014 डी०, 0.08 डी० एवं 25 डी० कुल रकबा- 0.38 डी० का निर्गत भूदान प्रमाण पत्र नं०-681447 दिनांक 28.02.2000 को बिहार भूदान यज्ञ अधिनियम-1954 की धारा-21 के अंतर्गत प्रमाण पत्र रद्द करने की अनुशंसा की जाती है।

आपके कार्यालय से पूर्व में प्रेषित पत्रांक-928 दिनांक-07.02.15 के तहत संपुष्टि के संबंध में संयुक्त निदेशक, कृ०ग०, राजस्व एवं भूमि सुधार विभाग, विहार, पटना के पत्र पत्रांक-929, रा० दिनांक-24.07.15 की कठिनाई-3 के अनुसार 'जमींदारी उन्मूलन के पश्चात यदि किसी भूतपूर्व जमींदार के द्वारा नैर मजकूआ खास जमीन बिहार भूदान यज्ञ समिति अथवा विनोबा भावे को दान स्वरूप दिया गया है तो ऐसे दान पत्रों की वैधानिक मान्यता नहीं होगी। उक्त जमींदारी उन्मूलन के पश्चात नैर मजकूआ खास भूमि सरकार में विहित वा चुक है।'

सूचनाएं एवं आवश्यक कार्रवाई प्रेषित।

विश्वास-राज  
07/10/15  
भूमि सुधार उप समाहर्ता,  
हथुआ।

28/10/15

बिहार भूदान यज्ञ कमिटी  
गर्दनीबाग, रोड नं०-34, पटना-2

पत्रांक- 134/016-965

प्रेषक-

शुभमूर्ति,  
अध्यक्ष ।

सेवा में,

प्रधान सचिव,  
राजस्व एवं भूमि सुधार विभाग,  
बिहार सरकार, पटना ।

पटना, दिनांक 13/2/17

विषय-

भूदान में दानित गैरमजरूआ मालिक भूमि के संबंध में निर्गत परिपत्र को निरस्त करने के संबंध में ।

प्रसंग-

इस कार्यालय के पत्रांक 446 दिनांक 11-8-15, पत्रांक 8-11-16 एवं पत्रांक 17-03-16.

महोदय,

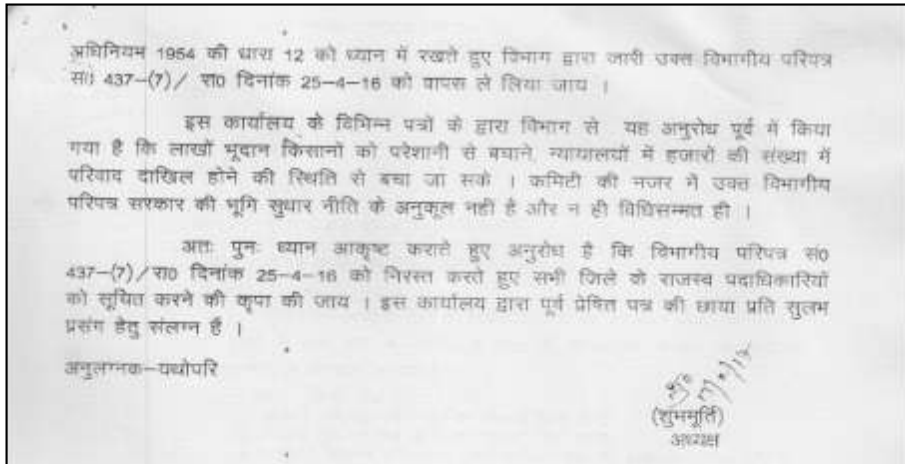
उपर्युक्त विषय एवं प्रसंग के तहत कहना है कि विधि विभाग द्वारा दिये गये सुझाव (पत्रांक-437-(7)/ रा० दिनांक 25-4-16 ;[Ex-landlord i.e. Jamindari can not settle Gairmajarua land which has vested in State of Bihar] के आधार उक्त आशय का विभागीय परिपत्र प्रांत के सभी सम्बद्ध राजस्व पदाधिकारियों को प्रेषित कर दिया गया है, जिसके कारण लाखों भूदान किसान परेशान हैं ।

दरभंगा महाराज अथवा हथुआ राज आदि द्वारा भूदान में दानित गैरमजरूआ मालिक भूमि जो भूदान कमिटी द्वारा भूदान किसान को आवंटित कर दी गई है, वे राजस्व पदाधिकारियों द्वारा कब ब्रेदखल कर दिये जायेंगे, उन्हें प्राप्त भूमि का दाखिल-खारिज नहीं होगा, ऐसे अनेक प्रश्न उनके सामने खड़े हो गये हैं ।

उपरोक्त प्रकार की समस्यायें विभिन्न जिलों में राजस्व पदाधिकारियों द्वारा खड़ी की जाने लगी है । ऐसे ठोस उदाहरण भी सामने आये हैं । भूदान कमिटी द्वारा उक्त समस्याओं पर धिता प्रकट करते हुए सरकार से अनुरोध किया था कि बिहार भूदान यज्ञ

## Annexure 4

Correspondence letter to Principal Secretary, Revenue & Land Reforms Department, GoB by the Chairman, Bihar Bhoodan Committee



## References

- Cholkar, Parag (2010): Sabai Bhumi Gopal Ki: A story of movement of Bhudan-Gramdan (Ahmedabad: Gujrat Vidyapeeth, Vol.3).
- Djilas, Milovan (1957): The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System (London: Themes and Hudson).
- Government of Bihar (2015): "Annual Report of Department of Revenue and Land Reforms".
- Government of Bihar (1954): "Bihar Bhoodan Act 1954".
- Government of India (1951): "First Five Year Plan (1951-56)".
- Government of India (1963): Limitation Act 1963 (New Delhi: Universal's Publication).
- Government of India (1958): "National Sample Survey, First Report on Land Holdings, Rural Sector".
- Joshi, P C (1976): Land Reforms in India (New Delhi: Allied Publishers).
- Krishna, Raj (1959): "Agrarian Reform in India: The Debate on Ceilings" Economic Development and Cultural Change, 7(3): 302-317.
- Malthus, Thomas (1803): An Essay on the Principal of Population (London: JM Dent).
- Thakur, D (1988): Politics of Land Reforms in India (Patna: Janaki Publication).
- Vikas, Vidyarthi (2017): "Development Dialogue on Land Reforms, Water Conservation and Agricultural Transformation in Bihar" Proceedings, A N Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Patna.

Dr. Vidyarthi Vikas

The author is a Faculty of Economics at the AN Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Patna, Bihar.



# Monitoring the Court Cases Better

Dr. Saumitra Mohan

## Abstract

*The enormous pendency of court cases results in delayed delivery of justice as a good number of cases run into years before being finally disposed of. The same makes the access to justice a costly affair for the common Indian. There were altogether 3.3 crore cases were pending in different tiers of Indian courts in 2019.*

*Notwithstanding improvement of administration and governance in this country, still a huge number of cases are filed every day against different government agencies every day. With many of these agencies and departments being hobbled by different structural and non-structural weaknesses, this makes it difficult for them to attend to all the court cases filed against them.*

*A better system of monitoring aided by the tools of information technology, better training of officials, better briefing of lawyers, better logistics and financial resources, a good pool of more experienced lawyers and timely disposal of different court orders coupled with an efficient service delivery in different government offices are urgently warranted for faster disposal of humongous court cases in this country.*

A democratic country wedded to the tenets of 'Rule of Law' and liberal values presupposes, among other things, existence of a well-oiled system of governance and justice. A liberal democratic country like India has been committed to these ideas and has accordingly been developing its institutions for realizing the basic ethos. India definitely has come a long way since its independence in 1947 when it comes to ensuring the same, more so when it is compared with many of her peers and time-twins across the world. However, we still have miles to go before we can afford to sleep.

Notwithstanding all the efforts made by the Government and top leadership of our judiciary, we still have a huge number of pending court cases in this country. The enormous pendency of these cases also results in delayed delivery of justice, as a good number of cases run into years before being finally disposed of. While the same makes access to justice a costly affair for the common Indian, it also goes against the grain of truth enshrined in the adage, 'justice delayed is justice denied'.

As per a statement issued on behalf of the Union Law Ministry in June, 2019, around 43.6 lakh cases were pending in various High Courts of India out of

which over eight lakh cases were 10 years or older. Former Chief Justice of India, Justice Deepak Mishra has said that 'altogether 3.3 crore cases were pending in different tiers of Indian courts in 2019'. While 2.84 crore cases were said to be pending in subordinate courts, the share of such cases were 43.6 lakh and 58 thousands for the High Courts and the Supreme Court respectively. Reportedly, of all the pending court cases, 60% are more than two years old, while 40% are more than five years old.

According to the National Judicial Data Grid (NJDG), the five states which account for the highest pendency of court cases include Uttar Pradesh (61.58 lakh), Maharashtra (33.22 lakh), West Bengal (17.59 lakh), Bihar (16.58 lakh) and Gujarat (16.45 lakh). While Indian judiciary has been working on detailed action plans and measures to ensure the speedy disposal of such cases, it is also imperative for other stakeholders to chip in with matching plans and efforts to make delivery of justice more accessible and timely.

Reportedly, there are many Government departments and agencies across India which are involved in a vast number of litigations because of the nature of the subjects and issues dealt by them. The number of court cases dealt by these government departments and agencies are more also because of the number of stakeholders and people affected and impacted by their functioning is many times more than any other agency or department. Such departments include those dealing with land, health, transport, education, police, agriculture or the ones relating to local bodies and general administration.

While the administration and governance in this country has definitely improved immensely ever since its inception as an independent nation-state, still a huge number of cases are filed every day against different government agencies with some departments shouldering a bigger share of the caseload. While a good number of these cases are putatively frivolous and filed with an intention to take advantage of the systemic weaknesses including delayed disposal of the cases, most of the cases are filed with a view to elicit justice due to the alleged slothful, procrastinating and opaque functioning of some segments of the system of governance in the country.

It has been noted with concern that many of these agencies and departments are often hobbled and handicapped by different structural and non-structural factors and weaknesses. These inturn make it difficult for them to attend to many multifarious demands for government services and benefits in time, thereby attracting a concatenation of litigations against them. Such factors, inter alia, include depleted strength of requisite human and other resources for timely responding to the same. Weak administrative set-up, negligence and structural sloth are some other factors.



Most of these agencies don't have the requisite number of officers and staff members to attend to all the court cases as are filed against their departments. Even where they exist, they are not suitably trained to appreciate the nuances of handling such court cases, more so when their number runs in thousands. In fact, some government departments have such a huge number of court cases filed against them that it is humanly impossible for them to attend to the same efficiently and effectively given the problems faced by them.

While handling the court cases are specialized tasks to be attended by legal mavens, they are mostly dealt by officers and staff members with little legal knowledge or perspicacity. These are the officials who not only draft the affidavits, reasoned orders, instructions to the lawyers and other court responses, but often are also the ones doing basic clerical jobs including stenography, typing and photo copying the required court documents as there is no dedicated clerical support available for the purpose.

All said and done, the factors affecting the efficiency and effectiveness of these government agencies are more or less the same, as they result in the piling of massive number of pending court cases in different tiers of our judicial system across the country. Such factors include unavailability of adequate number of officers and staff members trained to handle sensitive and delicate court cases, absence of basic minimum resources and logistics like vehicular support for regular movement between office, court, lawyers and other stakeholders or the unavailability of the required number of computers, printers and xerox machines for timely printing or xeroxing of soft copies of writ petitions, appeal petitions, affidavits and other documents. Vague rules and anomalous government orders are other reasons encouraging filing of more court cases against certain government agencies and departments.

Besides, unavailability of the requisite financial resources for timely payment of lawyers' fees for defending the government in court or for doing other legal homework like drafting and filing appeal petitions or obtaining certified copies, efficient drafting of reasoned orders and affidavits, absence of efficient and knowledgeable law officers, timely briefing and instructions to lawyers and a better system of communication among all stakeholders are some other factors affecting the timely responses of the responding agencies. Often, the writ petitions or the court orders are not received on time because of sundry factors, thereby delaying the response from the respondents. The latter could happen because of systemic weaknesses, but also happens because of the deliberate collusion of some vested interests.

Many of these departments facing massive number of litigations either don't have the complete record of court cases filed against them or have actually lost track of the number of cases filed against them because of different structural

constraints including poor record-keeping, thereby making it well-nigh impossible to dispose of the same efficiently and effectively. Hence, instead of proactively dealing with these cases, they are usually found to be only reacting to the immediate and emergent court orders as they come.

Often, the matters involved in court cases are not attended and are disposed by the official respondents on the plea of the matter being subjudice. However, they need to understand that as long as there is no express judicial prohibition or injunction against proceeding further, one can very well dispose of the cases. This should be definitely done, at least, after the writ petitions are filed without waiting for the final order. If the petitioners' claims are admissible as per the extant government rules, orders and guidelines, the same should be granted right away without awaiting the final order. Again, if the petitioners' claims have not been granted or delayed due to some systemic lapses or wrong interpretation of the obtaining government rules and orders, the respondents should allow the same forthwith as long as there is no stay-order or specific instruction of the relevant court against doing the same.

The miscommunication, discommunication or the misrepresentation of facts and circumstances sometimes result in the judicial direction being served even upon those officials or agencies who are not connected with the compliance or where the actions or compliances with the relevant court orders don't lie. The petitioners' lawyers sometimes implicate the superior officials as respondents just to force an early decision and action in the matter. The ploy often works as the senior officials' attention, once drawn to the details and merit of the case, ensures early disposal of the cases in line with the demands of the petitioners. However, hauling those who are not responsible for compliance or delayed action on court orders seem to be against the grain of justice.

Usually, the lower level functionaries are hobbled by the bureaucratise or administrative red tapism for obtaining permission of their superior authorities for filing an appeal in time or for complying with a mandatory court order because of their conflicts with the extant governmental orders, guidelines or policies or simply because the same is beyond their jurisdiction. The departmental protocol, rules of business or standard operating procedure often warrant these functionaries to obtain such prior approval before proceeding or taking a decision on such court orders whose compliance may have implications and ramifications for the existing government policy. Often some court orders impose a financial liability on the government by way of cost, penalty or creation of recurring financial burden by sanctioning employments which also require reference to the higher authority for permission of compliance, more so when an appeal is being contemplated.

Often late filing or mentioning of appeal before the relevant courts by the government lawyers also results in adverse court orders. It is because of the

unusual delay resulting in the compliance with some of the court orders that many of the subordinate government officers and functionaries are sometimes unwittingly rapped on the knuckles for no fault of theirs by the upholders of justice. More often than not, these officers or agencies are unable to report the reason for non-compliance with a particular order in the open court for bringing any aspersions to their superior competent authorities for not inviting their wrath.

Often, such decisions and permission for compliance keep hanging fire for months together for unknown reasons, thereby bringing trouble to the poor subordinate officials in the line of fire who meekly face the music and humiliation in open court. If the relevant files or chain of correspondence are duly checked, the onus for non-compliance shall squarely shift at the portals of those who easily escape through the systemic gaping holes. The fire and brimstone courtroom atmospherics on certain days also pre-empts against the dispassionate hearing of the court cases, thereby discouraging younger and inexperienced lawyers to place the facts before the court. But, that is more of an exception than a rule.

The personal appearance of the officials heading the offices attracting paranormal number of court cases further compromise the systemic efficiencies of these agencies, offices and departments. Because of the dearth of adequate number of dedicated officers and staff members, such officers spend most of their time in court attending to multiple calls for personal appearance, filing affidavits or having conferences with their lawyers, thereby making them unavailable for attending to regular office functions and responsibilities.

This not only compromises their primary responsibilities and assignments, the same also makes it difficult for them to organise themselves within the limited resources and logistics for attending to the newer or older court cases for working on the systemic improvements or the quality of disposal of such court cases. They are found to be mostly reacting to the latest court orders being served upon them, hardly finding time to proactively attend to the same, not to speak of finding time to monitor and supervise other services and functions of their offices.

The problem gets further magnified due to the absence of adequate number of empanelled government lawyers and pleaders to attend to the huge load of court cases. The problematic and byzantine process of their empanelment often leaves much to be desired. Because of multiple cases being listed in different courts simultaneously, the lawyers find it difficult to attend to all of them because of which they are unable to appear in particular courts to defend the govt positions thereby attracting adverse or ex parte orders.

The delayed payment of remuneration of these lawyers also demotivates them

for attending to government cases. The government fees for the empanelled lawyers in many parts of the country are often so low that it becomes very difficult to convince senior and experienced lawyers to come on the government panels. Poor homework, shoddy groundwork and weak defence by some pleaders and lawyers are other reasons for adverse orders against the government interests. More often than not, a lack of timely communication among different stakeholders including government respondents and pleaders also results in government interests being compromised in many of the court cases.

Besides, overload of work and absence of officers and staff members also mean that many normal office works are often compromised and remain unattended, thereby inviting increased number of court cases. The vicious cycle only ends up multiplying the number of pending court cases. A nexus of middlemen and vested interest at different tiers also ensures the systemic dysfunctionalities, thereby encouraging poor work culture or a popular penchant to resort to court cases than trying better and less costly avenues.

A timely, faster and transparent disposal of pending petitions and applications for availing different government services and benefits in various government offices, as is being done in many parts of the country, shall save costs both for the government and the common people. Ergo, it is more than desirable to improve systemic efficiency through process re-engineering and better service delivery mechanism. Hence, it is also advisable that the problems and challenges as identified above are duly addressed for speedier disposal of pending works in different government offices and departments while also devising an efficient and effective mechanism for faster disposal of pending court cases.

A better system of monitoring and supervision aided and assisted by the tools of information technology, better training of officials, better briefing of lawyers, better logistics and financial resources, a good pool of more experienced lawyers and timely disposal of different court orders coupled with an efficient service delivery in different government offices are urgently warranted if we are to become an extended part of the initiative to expedite the disposal of humongous court cases in this country. Once this is ensured, we can promise justice to every citizen while firmly establishing and strengthening the 'Rule of Law' in our country.

---

Dr. Saumitra Mohan

*The author is an IAS officer of 2002 batch, West Bengal cadre, presently working as Mission Director, National Health Mission and Secretary in Health & Family Welfare Department, West Bengal.*



# Redevelopment of Shahjahanabad – A Walled City of Delhi

Renu Sharma

## Abstract

*In recent years, inner-city revitalisation has become an area of interest for governments because of its positive impact on socio-economic, cultural and physical infrastructure benefitting communities. For redevelopment of Walled City of Delhi, the Delhi Government established a Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV)– The Shahjahanabad Redevelopment Corporation (SRDC) in the year 2008. However, the efforts for conservation of built heritage and revitalisation of local economy remained, to a large extent, piece meal attempts. With her hands-on experience as Chief Nodal Officer appointed by the High Court for 'Redevelopment Project of Chandni Chowk', the author shares various challenges before the SPV in the absence of regulatory frameworks and institutional capacities.*

*This article is an attempt to suggest policy alternatives for a paradigm shift from current approaches to ensure that any redevelopment initiative for heritage conservation, tangible or intangible, should be holistic and participatory. The initial successes of the 'Redevelopment Project of Chandni Chowk' have demonstrated that urban regeneration and adaptive reuse built around corner stones of stakeholder consultations, involvement and cooperation leads to an ownership of the project.*

Shahajahanabad (the old Walled City of Delhi) is an important historical icon with a distinct identity and character, a derivative of its ancient heritage, its buildings and public spaces and its long standing tradition of being a cultural melting point with a diverse population and a core business district with a pulsating economy. It has 42 protected monuments, including the Jama Masjid and the Red Fort, and about 500 heritage *havelis* with unique and distinct historical and tourism profile.

Considering the importance of preserving cultural heritage and need for urban revitalisation, the Government of NCT of Delhi set-up the Shahajahanabad Redevelopment Corporation (SRDC) in 2008.

There have been several piecemeal attempts to revitalise the walled city but in the absence of a clear cut action plan, the desired impact has not been achieved. Some of the causes for this failure are lack of institutional capacity, multiplicity of authorities, negligent inter-departmental coordination or stakeholder consultations and weak regulatory/enforcement frame-works.

Today Shahjahanabad is on a decline, both environmentally and economically. Deteriorating infrastructure and civic amenities, haphazard commercialisation, incompatible trade activities, along with the ever-growing traffic congestion of both motorized/non-motorized vehicles have contributed to a steady out-migration of residential population.

The MPD 2021 of the Delhi Master Plan (DDA) has identified Shahjahanabad under the Special Area Redevelopment Scheme for in-situ redevelopment to improve its architectural and heritage character as well to revitalize the trade and commerce in the area in an environmentally sustainable manner.

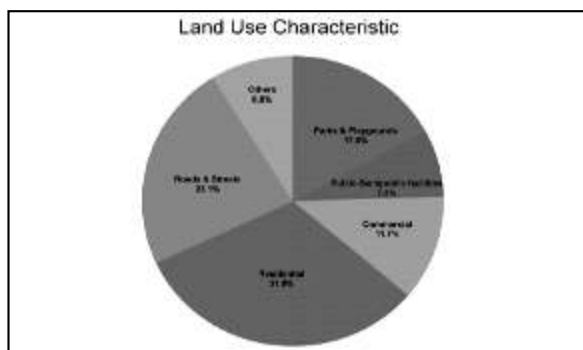
In spite of detailed Master Plans, Zonal Plans, Local Area Plans and Redevelopment Schemes for the area, the policy framework appears to be not workable or responsive to the requirements on ground as not much headway has been achieved. Against this background, it is interesting to note the role of the courts in giving an impetus to the revitalisation exercise in the area by compelling institutional and stakeholder participation through the mechanism of a court mandated Chief Nodal Officer (CNO) and a periodic review and reporting progress to the court. This has ensured that the long stalled works in Shahjahanabad have got energised again. Based on these experiences of the author as CNO, a policy framework and an action plan for dealing with issues of re-development and revitalisation of the special area is being worked out.

By and large, the diagnosis and prescriptions for re-development are available. What is missing is the action on the ground. Therefore, a clear-cut and defined action plan based on stakeholder consultation/participation has to be at centre stage of all endeavours.

In the realm of policy, special area redevelopment perhaps needs a specific executive intervention, with an exclusive role for planning, redevelopment, municipal governance, heritage-management and regulations. This requires a paradigm shift in managing and governing such special areas. This is suggested to be brought through an integrated Urban Civic Management System for Heritage Areas, which shall clearly identify approaches, deliverables and accountability at each level and integration with existing schemes of urban rejuvenation.

Shahjahanabad's size and shape, main streets and major landmarks, a product of imperial planning, are still largely intact and still define its character.

Out of a total of 7.12 sq. kms, residential area is 31.8%; commercial use 11.7%; public and semi-public facilities 7.5%; parks, playgrounds and open spaces



17% and roads and streets 23.1%. There are 10 main roads with the right of way of 80 feet to 120 feet, where the commercial activities are recommended on the ground floor and also commercial activity on upper floors.<sup>1</sup>

The challenge of redevelopment is to retain the heritage character of the area and at the same time to accommodate the interests of the inhabitants and pave way for traffic and utilities, boost economic growth for a unique and niche tourism and shopping/trade destination. Therefore, the challenge is to arrive at policy interventions after consulting the widest range of impacted stakeholders and participating departments/agencies. There is possibly no other comparable area to Shahjanabad which has a similar history, intensity of activity and use by pedestrians and non-motorised vehicles. Any proposed intervention would have to consider all these factors and balance their needs without adversely impacting the users of the area.

For conceptualising the redevelopment plan and its execution in certain specific cases, the High Court has recently appointed the author as the Chief Nodal Officer (CNO) to coordinate with different executing government agencies/departments, institutional/statutory bodies and stakeholders for implementation of redevelopment plan for (i) Chandni Chowk - Ist tranche - 1.4 KM stretch from Red Fort to Fateh Puri Mosque. (ii) Redevelopment of precincts of Jama Masjid (iii) Development of NMV lanes in SPM Marg.

Based on court mandate and directions, the attempt as CNO has been to develop an integrated approach with all government agencies/departments and stakeholders (citizen groups, trade bodies, NGOs etc) with the support of institutional and statutory bodies. In the past 18 months, 51 detailed meetings with nearly 22 odd stakeholders have seen the physical work start at Chandni Chowk and detailed DPRs being developed for Jama Masjid and S.P.M. Marg. The different interests and benchmarks are sought to be balanced as every stakeholder intervention has an impact. In Chandni Chowk, the 'purist' argument of the Delhi Urban Arts Commission (DUAC) for conserving the

heritage character as it existed in the Mughal era is militating against the current usage patterns of the area being considered by the Public Works Department and advocated by the trade bodies and citizen groups. This face-off is presently being attempted to be resolved.

Once a beautiful city and pleasant living place, Shahjahanabad and its heritage today, is marked by the following negative features which have overtaken its cultural vibrancy:

- Unplanned and Haphazard Commercialisation
- Ever over-growing Incompatible and Negative Trade Activities
- Massive Unauthorised and Unplanned Construction
- Deteriorating Infrastructure
- Congestion and Overcrowding of Motorised and Non-motorised vehicles.
- Diminishing Heritage character and its identity
- Lack of Planned Heritage Tourism

The challenges before the SRDC was to set-up specific objectives, establishing concepts, plans, cost estimates, financing schemes, and implementation procedures for each of the projects which were conceived. Most of the activities are duplicity of works carried out by different government agencies working in separate silos without balance and synergy of improving urban infrastructure and retaining and enhancing heritage character. Therefore the prime effort has to be to work towards the entire redevelopment into an integrated revitalization framework for implementation and management (including O&M) for projects or programme and its sustainability in the Walled City.

The urban redevelopment plan not only requires a multi-disciplinary approach for conceptualization, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the project but it also needs specific extensive interventions to bring a transformational change in a more transparent, accountable and public-participation effort in bottom-up local area planning.

The Urban Development Department, Govt of NCT of Delhi conducted a study through IL&FS (City Development Plan Delhi, 2006 p.8), wherein SWOT analysis<sup>2</sup> for Delhi also identified various issues concerning to Shahjahanabad (Old Delhi).

Master Plan for Delhi (MPD)-2021<sup>3</sup>: The MPD 2021 recognizes Shahjahanabad as a component of separately designated Special Area which is characterized by a mix of different land uses and have similarities in compact built form, narrow circulation space and low-rise high-density developments, mainly accommodating residential, commercial- both retail or wholesale and industrial uses. The MPD 2021 suggested that in the case of traditional inner



city areas, it is essential first to distinguish between the heritage segment of the area and the non-heritage segment of the area so that a well-designed Special Area Redevelopment Scheme is prepared for traditional areas giving the development control parameters for the heritage areas keeping in view archaeological norms/architectural character and general parameters for the non-heritage segment of the traditional area. The MPD 2021 suggested that the basic objective of Special Area Redevelopment Scheme in traditional areas shall be bringing about *in situ* improvements, which shall help in improving architectural character of the area, i.e., design, and layout, as well as revitalizing trade and commerce in the area. However any redevelopment plan in traditional areas like Shahjahanabad should not only bring improvement in tangible aspects of these areas but should also ensure social inclusion, environmental sustainability, commercial viability and gender equity and a distinct heritage character to the area. It requires a project oriented mission approach with clear cut demarcation of timelines and outcomes in consultations with stakeholders and experts of heritage restoration and planning.

(Gazette notification MPD-2021, 2007 p.15)

Zonal Development Plan for Walled City (Part Zone A and C): The Zonal Development Plan noted that as the area is prone to commercialization, particularly with improved accessibility due to the MRTS, the Plan proposes to regulate and shift noxious and hazardous wholesale trades and industrial activity from this area while giving special treatment to traditional areas to conserve its heritage value while retaining the residential character. The physical environment in the Walled City could be enhanced by proper urban design and street scape on the important junctions and *chowks*, landmarks and nodal points. However, the Zonal Development Plan is at a macro level and focuses mostly on decongestion. It does not lay down specific executable plans.

Shahjahanabad Redevelopment Corporation (SRDC) is not broad-based enough to ensure consultation/participation processes with residents and civic society. International expertise/expenses for such niche work is lacking. The consultation linkages with statutory/regulatory bodies (i.e. ASI, DUAC, HCC etc.) are almost non-existent.

#### Policy Alternatives and Evaluation

It is to be noted that even with available institutional frameworks and provisioning of adequate funds, all development works seem to be propelled by the directives of various court orders. Therefore, the present institutional mechanisms need to be re-visited and following alternatives could be considered.

Designing Re-development Plan for General Infrastructure and for Heritage Conservation- Proposals for redevelopment could be moulded around 2 rubrics. The first could be the doable proposals for redevelopment in general including redevelopment of existing urban areas, increasing connectivity, development of alternate markets with a design and functionality of boosting the architectural and cultural heritage of the area. The urban infrastructure physical and functional forms have to be distinctively unique to the heritage background of the area to make it a niche tourism and trade centre. The second could be the proposals in context of the Special Areas Redevelopment Scheme that would be primarily aimed at conserving the heritage value per se of the area and would require wider inputs of heritage conservation expertise.

Crowd Sourcing - the Peoples' Plan- Urban rehabilitation and adaptive reuse is to be built around the cornerstone of stakeholder consultations, involvement and cooperation as only this will lead to an ownership of the project. Moreover, when conservation of urban heritage is also a key element and statutory/institutional bodies involved, enabling channels of communication for a mutual appreciation of interests becomes vital. As CNO, this principle of wider consultations with stakeholders was deployed for the redevelopment of *Chandni Chowk*. The usage of the area has changed dramatically since the original planning of the street was done in the Mughal period. Since *Chandni Chowk* is a living and intensely used street supporting hundreds of businesses and thousands of livelihoods, it cannot be compared to a static monument. The present renewal is an exercise in redevelopment of a historic street with numerous complex parameters of usage, commerce, urban utilities etc. This complexity can only be attended to if each and every stakeholder input/intervention is accounted for in the final decision, as the bench-marking/impact of every intervention is very different. In this connection, the Hon'ble High Court has itself emphasised for dialogue and deliberations amongst the stakeholders whose varying stands should be amenable to change if considered feasible and within the framework of the law.

Integrated Urban Civic Management System for Heritage Areas- In the realm of policy, special area redevelopment needs a specific executive intervention, with an exclusive role for planning, redevelopment, municipal governance, heritage-management and regulations. This requires a paradigm shift in managing and governing such Special Areas. This is suggested to be brought through an integrated Urban Civic Management System for Heritage Areas, which shall clearly identify approaches, deliverables and accountability

at each level and integration with existing schemes of urban rejuvenation. The execution of revitalisation of Special Area should be owned by one single executing body that has clear goals before it.

#### Recommendation of a Policy Alternative

The overall impact of a revitalisation plan should achieve the following objectives<sup>4</sup>:

- Improving (alternative) mobility and accessibility
- Supporting and attracting economic and cultural activities
- Securing multi-functionality, balancing the different needs
- Community involvement and stimulating cooperation
- Heritage conservation
- Trade and tourism promotion for enhancing economic and livelihood opportunities.

(Urban II Thematic Network (HerO - Heritage as Opportunity) - Sustainable Management Strategies for Vital Historic Urban Landscape, 2009, pp.22-47)

In order for any revitalization plan for Shahjahanabad to succeed, it must be placed into an overall conceptual framework endorsed by all stakeholders and supported by investors and Government that could facilitate an investment programme on a scale sufficient to see the overall initiative achieve success.

#### Strategy

In this context, the redevelopment policy needs to be formulated with the following aspects:-

**Institutional Strengthening:** The most efficient cases of urban revitalization and heritage conservation have associated simultaneously, different stakeholders such as public officials, private investors and dedicated members of the civil society by helping to focus funding and expertise on old neighbourhoods and original architecture settings. It is then easy to draw international attention and to use experts, architects, craftsmen, academics and artists to build up and document the process, with national impact on politicians, administration and the corporate sector (as in the cases of Bern and Zurich for instance, or the Neemrana Fort in Rajasthan and the Pol neighbourhoods in Ahmedabad). This process implies a considerable task of training for the urban administration, and specific techniques of dissemination in order to build public support. <sup>5</sup>(Heritage-Based Sustainable Urban Development, 2010, p.10).

However, employing the aforesaid approaches in an integrated manner requires a paradigm shift in municipal governance for Shahjahanabad so as to make intervention through an Integrated Urban Civic Management (IUCM)

system, which should clearly identify deliverables and accountability at each level of governance through technology, IoT, System Thinking, Data Analytics and Community Participation/Empowerment. Further, innovations in municipal governance should be encouraged by integrating government schemes like 'Swaach Bharat Abhiyan' with 'Start-up India' and so on. For example, installing dust-bins<sup>6</sup> (made by a start-up) in market areas or bus stops, wherein free wi-fi be accessed for adopting good social behaviour towards cleanliness.

As a CNO, it was experienced that the delay in adopting a holistic redevelopment plan for Shahjanabad was a systemic lacuna due to multiplicity of authorities/stakeholders and absence of convergence of ideas. As CNO, a policy response in the context of the Chandni Chowk initiative has been to build up precedents for participatory design and stakeholder engagement - to balance historical considerations with current usage and requirements.

As the top-bottom approach towards urban renewal often generates dissatisfaction while ruining social community ties, therefore, an overriding objective of urban redevelopment and revitalization project should be to minimize dissatisfaction/displacement of communities. At the same time, the redevelopment plan should provide modernization of the physical infrastructure with a scope for both tangible and intangible heritage to evolve and to adapt to current usage and new environment. It has to be a unique initiative to restore the cultural and historic heritage of the old city with an integrated approach of improving and enhancing the existing infrastructure and civic amenities and focus on boosting the economic opportunities of the area by promoting adaptive use and creating a niche trading centre and tourism hub. The success will hinge upon a multi-sectoral participation of the stakeholders, experts, civic societies and government and needs a paradigm shift in governance and management of the heritage area schemes by creating an all encompassing urban body in the form of an integrated Urban Civic Management System for Heritage Areas tasked with planning, executing and regulating the area. In this context, the improvement in living conditions *viz.* sanitation, water supply, traffic congestion, solid waste management, public safety etc. will bring community support for such projects. Therefore, the focus of revitalization and rehabilitation of historic centres, like the Walled City of Delhi, has to be holistic, participative and involving all stakeholders.

### Rapid Area Assessment

The rapid area assessment of walled city helped in identifying the issues and problem areas thereof, which is summarised as below:

Aspects	Issues	Problems
Physical Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conservation of Heritage Buildings</li> <li>• Safe housing/Shelter</li> <li>• Absence of solid waste management system</li> <li>• Lack of Parks or encroachments thereof</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dilapidated buildings</li> <li>• Poor air quality</li> <li>• Area prone to flooding filled with residue and garbage</li> <li>• Poorly maintained parks is not only disturbing the fabric of the historic city but also depriving residents and visitors from enjoying a good environment.</li> </ul>
Socio-Cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Walled City is Delhi's multicultural melting pot.</li> <li>• Rich urban heritage and cultural traditions</li> <li>• Strong living heritage,</li> <li>• Public trust low due to social and political reasons</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dilapidated buildings</li> <li>• Street/public spaces occupied by squatters and other illegal occupants.</li> <li>• Area currently associated with informal and illegal activities, crime and an uninviting social environment.</li> </ul>
Economic & Financial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Walled city once the centre of commerce and financial activity.</li> <li>• No incentives to invest</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Modern development outside Walled City has absorbed new investment.</li> <li>• Land values in adjoining areas more reasonable and consistent with investor expectations.</li> </ul>

Legal & Institutional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Administrative coordination insufficient</li> <li>• Restrictive building by laws</li> <li>• Land Ownership issues</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Special urban management issues still to be recognized in legal, institutional, and regulatory framework</li> </ul>
Accessibility and Attractiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Land for parking and road widening unavailable, which complicates private motorized transport. Worsening traffic congestion.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traffic mainly generated by retail activities in area.</li> <li>• Undesirable heavy vehicle traffic generated by small-to medium-scale warehouses.</li> <li>• Poor pedestrian facilities</li> <li>• Attractiveness reduced by competing new developments North and South of Walled City due to wider roads and parking facilities.</li> </ul>

### SWOT Analysis for Shahjahanabad (Walled City)

On the basis of the available information, an analysis of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to the walled city was undertaken, which will be instrumental in formulating the vision and strategies for development that is to be formulated thereafter<sup>7</sup>.

#### 1. STRENGTHS

SECTOR	STRENGTHS
<b>City Economy:</b> The economy of Delhi is enjoying a period of high growth	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High per capita income at Rs. 0.2 million at current prices in 2012-13</li> <li>• High spending capacity/tendency</li> </ul>
<b>Trade and Commerce:</b> The walled city has major wholesale and specialized markets of regional importance. Fatehpuri Bazaar, Chitli Bazaar, Urdu Bazaar, Jauhari Bazaar, Khari Baoli, Khas Bazaar, Faiz Bazaar; and wholesale market of Old Delhi the hardware market in <i>Chawri Bazar</i> ; dry fruits, spices and herbs at <i>Khari Baoli</i> ; and the <i>Phool Mandi</i> (Flower Market) of Daryaganj are some of the major distributions centers for commodities in the Northern and North west region of the country.	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The walled city is well connected to regional supply chains.</li> <li>• The walled city gained an importance as a centre of retail trade.</li> </ul>
<b>Tourism</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• World famous tourist destination like Red Fort and Jama Masjid etc.</li> <li>• Attracts both domestic as well as international tourists.</li> </ul>
<b>Heritage</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is famous for its heritage and culture, both built and unbuilt</li> <li>• Walled City of Delhi has 700 heritage structure and 229 historical monuments.</li> </ul>
<b>Administrative Reforms:</b> State Government is undertaking various institutional and legislative reforms.	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pro active government</li> <li>• Emphasis on Public-Private Partnership</li> </ul>

## 2. WEAKNESSES

SECTOR	WEAKNESSES
<b>Infrastructure:</b> Inadequacies in the water supply, sewerage, solid waste, drainage and transport infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of solid waste management facilities (for treatment and disposal) in the walled city leading to indiscriminate dumping of garbage and land pollution.</li> <li>• Lack of parking space in the city.</li> <li>• Lack of tourism infrastructure facilities</li> <li>• Inadequate public conveniences.</li> </ul>
<b>Urban Growth and Land Management</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Haphazard growth of the walled city due to lack of provision of developed land and infrastructure.</li> <li>• 25 percent of homeless living in Central District, which includes walled city</li> <li>• High population density within the walled city (Shahjahanabad).</li> <li>• Lack of parks and open spaces.</li> <li>• Violation of rules, byelaws by the public and residents of walled city leading to the loss of heritage in the walled city.</li> <li>• Overcrowding of businesses and people in the walled city.</li> </ul>
<b>Conservation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of integration of heritage concerns with planning process</li> <li>• Lack of proper database management in each sector especially in the Heritage and Infrastructure development.</li> <li>• Absence of clear-cut guidelines and responsibilities of various organizations.</li> <li>• Lack of awareness among in the city people towards heritage conservation.</li> <li>• Ineffective maintenance of heritage sites like Red Fort, Fatehpuri Mosque etc as well as buildings in the walled city and Extension areas.</li> </ul>



<b>Urban Environment</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loss of traditional water systems like Baolis, water bodies etc.</li> <li>• Extreme Depletion or Contamination of ground water.</li> </ul>
<b>Institutional coordination</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Overlapping jurisdictions between DDA, North Delhi Municipal Corporation; PWD</li> <li>• Overlapping of functions between line departments</li> </ul>

### 3. OPPORTUNITIES

<b>SECTORS</b>	<b>OPPORTUNITIES</b>
Economic competitiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Being wholesale and retail trading centre, the economic activity can be enhanced manifold with infrastructure improvement, technical assistance and regulatory support ultimately resulting into inclusive growth of walled city.</li> <li>• Potential to attract private developers and FDI in the shelter-housing improvement and infrastructure sectors</li> <li>• Walled city has a highly entrepreneurial population</li> <li>• Capacity to attract many tourists because of its rich heritage and culture if private investment for boutique hotels, restaurants, museum, recreational centres etc comes.</li> <li>• Potential to emerge as “Cultural Events Capital” and “Traditional Food Centre”</li> </ul>
Proposed Projects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Redevelopment of Chandni Chowk</li> <li>• Redevelopment of Jama Masjid Precinct</li> </ul>
State urban reforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Initiating reforms in governance models such as E-governance; PPP models for project implementation etc.</li> <li>• Institutional reforms</li> <li>• Heightened focus on key issues-urban slums and improvement of basic infrastructure</li> </ul>

### 4. THREATS

<b>SECTORS</b>	<b>THREATS</b>
<b>Economic</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wholesale trade is concentrated in core walled city area, which attracts workers and traders to the central location-leading to deterioration of the city environment</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of adequate infrastructure to capitalize on economic opportunities (streets, hotels, sanitation, water supply, electricity, freight handling facilities etc)</li> </ul>
<b>Infrastructure</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High population growth can lead to further pressure on the infrastructure sector in the future. Augmentation of civic amenities and infrastructure is crucial.</li> <li>• Lack of sewerage system, solid waste management, poor distribution of water can lead to health problems and epidemics in the walled city.</li> <li>• Poor infrastructure like narrow streets, dilapidated building, outdated drainage system, are a threat to quality of life.</li> <li>• Infrastructure provision in the slums is inadequate resulting in very poor living conditions.</li> </ul>
<b>Institutional and fiscal reforms</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Capacity building of all the government organizations because inadequate capacity would result in unsustainable assets or infrastructure creation.</li> <li>• Lack of linkage between Physical Planning Strategy and Financial Planning lead to project over costas fiscal reforms are key for carrying out projects and provision of infrastructure in a sustainable manner.</li> <li>• Urban Development in the city is the responsibility of Central government; DDA is under Central Government whereas MCD is under</li> </ul>
<b>Institutional and fiscal reforms</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Capacity building of all the government organizations because inadequate capacity would result in unsustainable assets or infrastructure creation.</li> <li>• Lack of linkage between Physical Planning Strategy and Financial</li> </ul>

	<p>Planning lead to project over costas fiscal reforms are key for carrying out projects and provision of infrastructure in a sustainable manner. Urban Development in the city is the responsibility of Central government; DDA is under Central Government whereas MCD is under State Government.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Overlapping roles between state and central government, in one hand and amongst different agencies have led to non-accountability and fragmented planning. e.g. responsibilities of maintenance of Road/ Streets PWD or MCD on the basis of width, encroachment removal on pavements responsibility of MCD but pavements maintained by PWD etc.</li> <li>• Lack of standardised code for designing civic amenities or infrastructure led to uneven development e.g. width of pavements.</li> <li>• Lack of co-ordination with regard to developmental projects in the area led to duplicity of work.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Conservation</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of repair and maintenance of heritage buildings can lead to rapid deterioration of built fabric in the walled city.</li> <li>• Continued negligence of heritage areas can also lead to loss in tourism revenues</li> <li>• Walled city and Extension faces threat in the event of disasters both natural as well as man-made.</li> </ul>

POSTSCRIPT (15th February 2021)

Redevelopment of Chandni Chowk – 1st tranche – 1.4 kms from Red Fort to Fateh Puri Mosque.

The selection of the 'Redevelopment of Chandni Chowk' tableau for the 2021 Republic Day parade marked the culmination of a complex journey of reimagining and redeveloping an important historical icon. This selection at the national level was much more than a tribute to the technical dimension of architecture, aesthetics and layout of the heritage area. It was a recognition for the surge of cross-section partnership and ownership that saw nearly 25 odd stakeholders from civil society and government departments reach an unprecedented meeting of minds and action.

The representation in the tableau was symbolic of many other features. When it rolled down Rajpath on January 26<sup>th</sup> 2021, it represented a microcosm of Indian religion and culture in the mile long stretch of the redesigned street. Between the magnificent Red Fort and Fatehpuri Mosque were showcased the diverse places of worship, a quintessential mélange of the symbols of Chandni Chowk - the Digambar Jain Lal Mandir alongside the Gauri Shankar Temple followed by the Central Baptist Church and the Gurudwara Sis Ganj Sahib - micro India with distinct yet shared aspirations.

Chandni Chowk strikes you at many levels. Built as Shahajahanabad by the Mughal elite to the present day ownership by the old Delhi stakeholders – it is a Dickensonian tale of two cities jostling shoulder to shoulder. Shahajahanabad's size and shape, main streets and major landmarks, a product of imperial planning, are still largely intact and still define its character. It has a long standing tradition of being a cultural melting pot with a diverse population and a core business district with a pulsating economy.

There have been many previous attempts to revitalize the walled city but the desired impacts have not been achieved. Lack of institutional capacity, multiplicity of authorities, low inter-departmental coordination, sporadic stakeholder consultations and weak regulatory frameworks have denuded the efforts. Considering the importance of preserving cultural heritage and need for urban revitalization, the Government of NCT of Delhi set up the Shahjahanabad Redevelopment Corporation (SRDC) under Minister Urban Development that is spearheading the present redevelopment project.

A PIL filed by Manushi Sanghatan slowly unleashed the juggernaut. Picked up by the High Court for continuous mandamus, it saw the Government commence debates on various proposals for redeveloping Chandni Chowk - a

task taken up by the UTTIPEC (the Unified Traffic and Transportation Infrastructure Planning & Engineering Centre), vocally advocated and tirelessly supported by the Chandni Chowk Vyapaar Mandal (CCVM) and the SRDC. The role of the courts, both High Court and Supreme Court, in giving an impetus to the revitalization exercise in the area by compelling institutional and stakeholder participation through the mechanism of a court mandated Chief Nodal Officer, Nodal Officers and the GNCTD's assigned lead officer Managing Director SRDC along with a periodic review and reporting progress to the court was the fulcrum of the construct. Yet, stability of this top-down model was provided by the resultant 'we-feeling' of popular ownership of the project carefully fostered over more than fifty meetings of diverse stakeholders that saw the work finally commence on the 1.4 kms of this street in the December of 2018. And the work has since progressed without a single day closure of one of the busiest markets of the country, if not the world - the first tranche of its redevelopment to be completed by March 2021.

The tribulations on-course were multiple. Kept on toes by various guardian authorities of the heritage area, a fine balance had to be ensured between the protection of antiquity and requirements of modern utility. Pace of work at site was affected by jurisdictional complexities, episodic events like the pandemic and the untimely loss of the architect of the project, Pradeep Sachdeva. Right through these ups and downs it was the strong support by the courts, the UTTIPEC, the city government, and the stakeholders, in particular the CCVM, that saw the project meaningfully move forward.

As the project nears the completion of first phase, this selection as a tableau theme will definitely give the project national and international visibility that would pave the way for further pedestrian modes and developing other heritage sites of Delhi.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Review paper by Bikram Kumar Dutta, Sanhita Bandyopadhyay on "Regeneration of Heritage Urban Space of Delhi, Shahjahanabad, the Walled City" ([http://www.corp.at/archive/CORP2012\\_25.pdf](http://www.corp.at/archive/CORP2012_25.pdf))

<sup>2</sup> Reference: [http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/CDP\\_Delhi.pdf](http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/CDP_Delhi.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> [http://dda.org.in/tendernotices\\_docs/jan12/Gazette%20notification%20MPD2021.pdf](http://dda.org.in/tendernotices_docs/jan12/Gazette%20notification%20MPD2021.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> Sustainable Management Strategies for Vital Historic Urban Landscapes - Good Practice Compilation (Urban II Thematic Network HerO - Heritage as Opportunity) - April, 2009

<sup>5</sup> Administrative Aspects of Urban Heritage Conservation in India and Switzerland by Isabelle Milbert

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jd-54aB5B3M>

<sup>7</sup> Reference: [http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/CDP\\_Delhi.pdf](http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/CDP_Delhi.pdf)

## References

- Bikram Kumar Dutta, Sanhita Bandyopadhyay, (2012, p.) "Regeneration of Heritage Urban Space of Delhi, Shahjahanabad, the Walled City", available at [http://www.corp.at/archive/CORP2012\\_25.pdf](http://www.corp.at/archive/CORP2012_25.pdf). [accessed on 06th June, 2019]
- JNNURM, Department of Urban Development Government of Delhi (2009, p.8), City Development Plan Delhi, available at: [https://ccs.in/sites/default/files/files/00%20Executive\\_Summary.pdf](https://ccs.in/sites/default/files/files/00%20Executive_Summary.pdf) [accessed on 06th June, 2019]
- Delhi Development Authority, Gazette Notification MPD 2021(2007, p.5), available at: [http://dda.org.in/tendernotices\\_docs/jan12/Gazette%20notification%20MPD2021.pdf](http://dda.org.in/tendernotices_docs/jan12/Gazette%20notification%20MPD2021.pdf) [accessed on 06th June, 2019]
- Steinberg Florian, Conservation and Rehabilitation of Urban Heritage in Developing Countries(1996, p.1), available at: <http://orcp.hustoj.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/1996-Conservation-and-rehabilitation-of-urban-heritage-in-developing-countries.pdf> [accessed on 06th June, 2019]
- URBACT- European Programme for Urban Sustainable Development, Sustainable Management Strategies for Vital Historic Urban Landscape, (April 2009, pp.22,26,41,47), available at: [file:///C:/Users/srdc/Desktop/Policy%20Paper/HerO\\_Good\\_Practice\\_Compilation.pdf](file:///C:/Users/srdc/Desktop/Policy%20Paper/HerO_Good_Practice_Compilation.pdf) [accessed on 06th June, 2019]
- Scholl Bernd and Basu Sanghamitra, Heritage-Based Sustainable Urban Development (2010, p.10), available at: <https://www.eda.admin.ch/dam/countries/countries-content/india/en/Heritage%20Published%20Emb.pdf> [accessed on 06th June, 2019]
- Steinberg Florian, (2008, p.22). Revitalization of Historic Inner-City Areas in Asia (The Potential for Urban Renewal in Ha Noi, Jakarta, and Manila" available at: <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/27553/revitalization-inner-city.pdf>: [accessed on 06th June, 2019]
- available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jd-54aB5B3M> [accessed 06th June, 2019]

---

## Renu Sharma

*The author is an IAS officer of 1988 batch, AGMUT Cadre. She is currently posted as Additional Chief Secretary (Urban Development) to the Government of NCT of Delhi.*



# Reducing Transaction Costs in International Trade – Moving Vigorously Towards the T-organisation

Sumeet Jerath

## Abstract

*The robust Indian growth story is currently facing serious economic challenges like decelerating growth rate, rising inflation rate, widening Fiscal Deficit (FD), burgeoning Current Account Deficit (CAD) and declining manufacturing sector. The need of the hour is that various government officers in the value chain work in tandem with team work and synergy as T-managers and Transformational leaders using Electronic Data Interchange (EDI) and also interact with our customers– the Exporter Importer fraternity through ICT. Though we have travelled a long way, there are still lots of gaps in the system. The strategic shift enunciated could be achieved by adopting changes elaborated in the paper and taking action on all the four parameters of the ‘T-organization’ which includes technological improvements and empowering human resources: T-managers, transformational leaders and teamwork.*

## Outline of the Policy Problem

The robust Indian growth story is currently facing serious economic challenges like decelerating growth rate, rising inflation rate, widening Fiscal Deficit (FD), burgeoning Current Account Deficit (CAD) and declining manufacturing sector. The CAD has widened to a record 4.8% of GDP in FY 2012-13, far above the benchmark of 2.5% of GDP what the Reserve Bank of India considers to be prudent and sustainable. The worsening CAD has led to precipitous fall in the external value of the Rupee which has even pierced the psychological ceiling of Rupees 60 to a Dollar in recent times.

The Government is fully aware of the matter and leaving no stone unturned to arrest the decline in the country’s external sector by launching a multifarious strategy. The Medium Term Foreign Trade Policy (FTP) 2009-14 was further tweaked and fine-tuned to face these challenges by the launch of the Annual Supplement of FTP 2013-14 to give a fillip to exports; Gold imports have been discouraged by hiking the customs duty from 2% to 10% in trenches and the value addition norms for gold imports have been steeply hiked from 1% to 20% recently; Government is mulling over the idea to hike customs duty on non essential luxury imports and has recently hiked the customs duty on flat picture tube TVs and gold jewellery. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) caps

have been revised upwards in a number of sectors. The Government is determined to contain the CAD and ensure its full and safe financing by vigorous export promotion, efficient import substitution and flow of maximum possible long term and non-debt creating capital flows.

Enhancing trade facilitation and reducing transaction cost and time in international trade is also another means to bridge the CAD. It is also a key determinant of a country's competitiveness in the international market. The World Bank brings out a Doing Business Report every year. As per the Report of 2010, India ranks 94<sup>th</sup> out of 183 countries in terms of ease of trading across borders. We are far behind comparable economies like China, Indonesia and Mexico and not to forget small countries like Singapore and Denmark which are in the forefront of doing business across borders. This underlines the urgent need to 'change and reform' and catchup with the Johannes's.

The first Task Force under the Chairmanship of Director General of Foreign Trade (DGFT), Dr. Anup Kumar Pujari had submitted its reporting 2011 and given a number of recommendations covering a wide gamut of issues and departments encompassing the whole export value chain. These recommendations interalia covered simplification and rationalisation of procedural complexities; addressing infrastructural inadequacies and bottlenecks; encouraging the use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) tools and recruitment of more manpower.

An important step has also been taken in the FTP 2013-14 to set up the Second Task Force on transaction cost in exports under the chairmanship of DGFT.

Proposed framework for solution to CAD

Of the multifarious recommendations, this policy paper focuses on only two - Technology as the hardware (hard innovation) and Team work as the software (soft innovation) to usher in the T-organisation. This paper exhorts and gives a clarion call for moving from the traditional model of Max Weber's Bureaucracy to the modern paradigm of Jack Welch's T-organisation - Technology organisation also called the 'Boundary less organisation' where information flows are seamless cutting across silos, horizontal and vertical barriers.

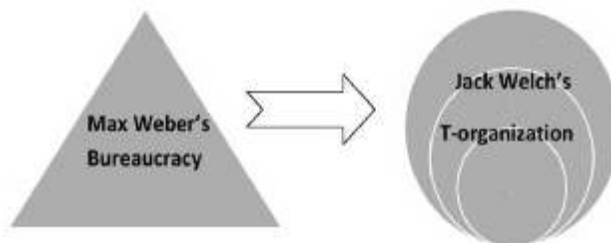


Figure 1: Transformation for Weberian Bureaucracy to T-organization



Infact it goes a step further and extends the vocabulary of T to include not just 'Technology' but also encompass 'Team work', 'T-managers' and 'Transformational leaders'. This is a brilliant superimposition of 3 more Ts on the original T given by Jack Welch making the T-organisation more holistic and synergistic.

The need of the hour is that various government officers in the value chain work in tandem with team work and synergy as T-managers and Transformational leaders using Electronic Data Inter change (EDI) and also interact with our customers – the Exporter Importer fraternity through ICT.



Figure 2: Extending the T-organization

DGFT and its field formations called Regional Authorities (RAs) are aware of the ICT benefits and are currently working devotedly, motivated by the vision to be 'the most IT savvy and e friendly organisation in the country' and fired by the mission of 'delivering hightech with a human touch' and 'Serving with a smile'.

Current IT environment

Some of the remarkable IT achievements of DGFT are as follows:-

- Applications can be filed online for issue of Importer Exporter Code (IEC) and special licences for import of restricted and SCOMET (Special Chemicals, Organisms, Materials, Equipment and Technologies) items under Chapter 2 of the Foreign Trade Policy (FTP); Issue of export incentives like Focus Product Scheme (FPS), Focus Market Scheme (FMS), Vishesh Krishi and Gram Udyog Yojna (VKGUY), Status Holder Incentive Scrip (SHIS) etc under Chapter 3; Duty free import of inputs required for export production under Advance Authorisation (AA) and Duty Free Import Authorisation (DFIA) under Chapter 4; Duty free import of Capital Goods for Export Promotion (EPCG) under Chapter 5.

- Online applications are incentivised by way of 50% rebate on application fees if the licencing application is made online using Digital Signature Certificates and payment made through Electronic Fund Transfer (EFT).
- IEC is transmitted to Customs electronically based on unique PAN.
- Licences / Authorisations under Chapter 4 of the FTP – AA and DFIA and under Chapter 5 of the FTP – 0% EPCG are transmitted electronically to Customs.
- DFIA transferability is transmitted electronically to Customs.
- Redemptions/Export Obligation Discharge Certificates (EOCs) adjudicated and issued by DGFT RAs under Chapters 4 and 5 of the FTP are displayed on the websites of the respective RAs.
- Comprehensive Shipping Bills with all the relevant fields are transmitted electronically by Customs to DGFT server for filing applications under Chapter 4 - Duty remission scheme of Duty Entitlement Pass Book (DEPB) scheme.
- Latest crowning achievement is the successful migration of Bank Realisation Certificates (BRCs) from the manual platform to the electronic platform from 17th August, 2012. No wall Commercial Banks upload thee-BRCs from their consoles to the DGFT server doing away completely with the need to append manual BRCs with the application.

IT has been a powerful force and has had a domino effect on the Customs Department and its field formations as well. Customs have a very dynamic web site—the ICEGATE. Blue shipping bills (which reflect the intention to receive export benefits) are posted on the ICEGATE and these are accessed by the DGFTRA stocheck the authenticity of the physical shipping bills submitted by the exporters before the issue of Duty Credit Scrip's (DCSs) under chapter 3 while claiming export incentives.

Diagnosis of the issue - Lacunae and Loopholes in the current system

Though we have travelled a long way, there are still lots of gaps in the system. Some of the grievous lacunae and loopholes are as follows:-

Technological Issues

- While applying for Importer Exporter Code (IEC), the prospective exporter- importer has three options to apply to the DGFT—come physically with the filled in application to one of the field formations; send the application by post or apply electronically. Our experience in the office of Additional DGFT—North Zone, CLA, Delhi has been that only about 10% of the IEC applications are filed electronically. On enquiry and investigation, it was revealed that online applicants face numerous

problems and challenges like the e-IEC application is not user friendly; there is not enough guidance given for filling in the application, the pop ups do not appear to guide and navigate the applicant during the filling up of the application, documents like Memorandum of Association (MoA) and Articles of Association (AoA) for corporate exporters are difficult to upload, the photograph uploaded is sometimes of a very small size and the applicant does not get to see the complete application in a snap shot before he or she presses the send button. There are also no clear instructions regarding filling up the field of 'NRI Status' in the application form. These lacunae need to be corrected if we have to incentivise more and more to submit their IEC application on line.

- As pointed out earlier, though applications to claim benefits under Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the Foreign Trade Policy (FTP) can be filed on line, the ground reality and bottom line is that processing of applications in DGFT RAs commences only when the applicant files hard copy of the application along with all supporting documents (as attaching documents electronically is a tedious and cumbersome procedure). This practice is legalised under Para 2.70.1 of the Handbook of Procedures (HBP).
- Though licences under Chapters 4 and 5 of the FTP are transmitted electronically to Customs, sadly DCSs under Chapter 3 are still not transmitted to Customs electronically. Also unfortunately, Customs insist on the hard copy of Chapter 4 and 5 authorisations from Trade and Industry even though these are available on the DGFT server and can be accessed by Customs electronically.
- Even though Redemptions/EODCs are available on the RA's websites, sadly Customs insist on their hard copies from the Exporter-Importer fraternity before release of Bank Guarantee (BG)/Letter of Undertaking (LOU)
- Sadly Customs does not electronically transmit comprehensive Shipping Bills for claiming incentives under Chapter 3. Customs is posting blue Shipping Bills (reflecting the intention to claim export benefits) on the ICEGATE but these do not cover all the fields that need to be checked and verified randomly by the DGFT RAs before release of Chapter 3 benefits. Customs is issuing physical copy of the Shipping Bills that leads to wastage of time and money.
- Amendments in AAs and DFIA's like enhancement in import period and export obligation period; revalidation of AAs and DFIA's affected by DGFT RAs are transmitted to Customs through EDI, even then they sometimes insist on hard copies from Industry and Trade. This is

symptomatic of the typical bureaucratic problem where the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing; nay the left finger does not know what the right finger is doing.

#### Human Resource Issues

- The National Informatics Centre (NIC) staff currently manages the IT backbone of DGFT and its field formations. They are miniscule in the DGFTHQs and practically negligible in the field formations.
- The officers and staff in the DGFT RAs are woefully short. The backbone of DGFT formations are the Indian Trade Service (ITS) officers whose higher echelons are disillusioned a lot given their lack of promotional avenues and stagnation in service. They are demotivated in terms of Adam's equity theory of motivation when they see gross inequities in their promotions as compared to other Central Services like the Customs and Income Tax. Also there is a vacuum in between as the Government had stopped recruitment of the ITS officers in between. Of course of late there has been some recruitment of ITS officers but then 'feasting after days of fasting' does not help matters much.
- The lack of personnel at the level of Lower Divisional Clerks (LDCs), Upper Divisional Clerks (UDCs) and Foreign Trade Development Officers (FTDOs) is even more acute and there has been no recruitment in recent times.
- While the ITS officers have had the exposure of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) Geneva and the Indian Institute of Foreign Trade (IIFT) New Delhi, it is sad to note that the junior staff in the DGFT RAs – the Foreign Trade Development Officers (FTDOs) have not attended a single capacity building and training workshop in the IIFT.

*There is therefore, an urgent need to plug these gaps and move vigorously towards the T-organisation for reducing transaction costs in international trade.*

Strategy for changing the current paradigm (Walking on two legs)

The strategic shift enunciated could be achieved by adopting the following changes and taking action on all the four parameters of the 'T-organization'.

#### Technological Improvements

- Trade and Industry to be enabled to file all applications under Chapters 2,3,4 and 5 of the FTP electronically with the facility for up loading of all documents obviating the need for then physical filing of applications.
- Redemptions/EODCs under Chapters 4 and 5 of the FTP should be electronically transmitted to Customs.

- Most of the IT interventions so far have been Government to Government (G2G) like DGFT to Customs. It is time to look at and encourage more Government to Customer (G2C) interfaces like effecting EDI between the Exporter – Importer fraternity and the DGFT RAs so that they can respond to the ‘deficiency letters’ issued by the RAs electronically (while doing the due diligence of their applications under the various chapters of the FTP) rather than communicating physically by letters, the extant practice.
- DGFT RAs to be empowered to send SMS alerts on the mobile phones of the Trade and Industry apprising them that their licenses/ authorizations are ready for collection. All these steps would give a sharper ‘marketing focus’ to the DGFT RAs and enhance their ‘customer centricity’.
- DGFT RAs and the field formations of Customs and Central Excise to have more coordination meetings to bring in synergy through teamwork and be networked through a seamless flow of information obviating the need for physical documents.
- We have to ultimately aim towards the paradigm where application; response to deficiencies if any; final issue of the licenses/ authorizations; redemptions/EODCs and then release of (Bank Guarantee) BG/LUT (Letter of Undertaking) from Customs takes place through EDI between the DGFT, Customs and the Exporter – Importer fraternity. This would inter-twine the major stake holders in the export value chain into a truly networked, virtual, modular and T-organisation. This would also help in minimising/eliminating the footfalls of the Exporter–Importer fraternity into the DGFT RAs and the Customs field formations.

Empowering Human resources: T-managers, Transformational leaders and Teamwork

- Quantity can be increased by fresh recruitment and quality can be improved by bestowing the requisite Knowledge, Skills and Attitude (KSA) on the personnel. An attitudinal change has to be engineered in them so that they work as ‘*Niryat Bandhus*’- do the hand holding of not just the first generation exporters but the entire Exporter–Importer Community which is our target market audience.
- Further, they have to be equipped with the knowledge base of T-managers – like the vertical part of the letter ‘T’ have depth of the Foreign Trade Policy (FTP) and the Handbook of Procedures (HBP) and like the horizontal part of the letter ‘T’ have breadth of knowledge on the Customs & Central Excise Policy, Banking Issues, Logistics Problems (Surface Transport, Civil Aviation, Ports and Shipping) at the micro level and

Fiscal, Monetary, Exchange Rate, Wages and Incomes, Infrastructure and Industrial Policies at the macro level. Knowledge is power in the current Information age and Knowledge economy and therefore our Officers and staff would be truly empowered.

- Also they need to be armed with the requisite ICT skills to be friendly and IT equipped. They also need to be sensitised to the basics of Organisational Behaviour like leadership, motivation, structure and culture, conflict and change. This could be achieved by capacity building and training imparted to the Officers and staff of the RAs right till the level of FTDO/ UDCs and LDCs (who do the due diligence in the files) in the Department of Commerce's Business School—the Indian Institute of Foreign Trade (IIFT), New Delhi. A module on 'Ethics and Probity resulting in good governance' could also be built in to the training programme so that both 'competence and character' of the officers is robustly built.
- Experience sharing of good practices and pitfalls to be avoided could also be done in workshops organised at the level of Zonal Additional DGFTs and in the DGFTHQs or for that matter in the RAs on a daily basis. In fact, the good practice of Office of Additional DGFT – North Zone, CLA, Delhi of Officers discussing new Statutory Orders (SOs) and Public Notices (PNs) issued by DGFT HQs; new and interesting cases under FTP coming up every day over a cup of tea in the morning and while having lunch together during lunch time could be emulated by other RAs. This would transform DGFT and its RAs truly into what Peter Senge calls a 'Learning Organisation'.
- There is also an urgent need to effect a cadre review of the ITS officers and apportion sufficient number of Senior Administrative Grade (SAG) positions to enhance their motivation and boost their morale. Their feeling of deprivation, sense of injustice and suffering of inequity needs to be redressed and repaired immediately. They are already a competent lot and by effecting their long overdue promotions, they would become more committed, leading to better work efficiency and effectiveness thereby reducing transaction cost further.
- Not only the heads of DGFT RAs but all the officers right till the level of FTDOs have to adopt Blake and Mouton's managerial grid (9,9) - team leadership style (through high concern for task efficiency and high concern for human relationships) as it is an organisation with 'distributed leadership'. Infact we have to go one step further and move from the

---

model of a 'transactional leader' (who guides and motivates his followers in the direction of established goals by clarifying role and task requirements) to the paradigm of a 'transformational leader' (who inspires followers to transcend their ownself - interests and is capable of having a profound and extraordinary effect on followers) to ignite the fire in the belly of junior officers and staff to become '*Niryat Bandhus*'. Senior ITS officers could also have a mentor - mentee (protégé) relationship with the junior ITS officers so that they are properly groomed to take up leadership positions in the RAs in future. Senior Officers also ought to adopt an 'Ethical and Exemplary' leadership style so that they become role models for the junior officers to emulate.

Enlightening, enthusing and empowering our Bottom of the Pyramid (BoP) and moving rapidly towards the paradigm of the T-organisation would be the right mantra to tackle our challenging Balance of Payments (BoP) situation.

---

Sumeet Jerath

*The author is an IAS officer of the 1985 batch, Assam-Meghalaya cadre. He is currently posted as Secretary of Department of Official language, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi.*



# The Seshan Effect

Bhamathi Balasubrahmanyam

## Abstract

*In mid nineties, the author was posted election observer in a state by election when Seshan was Chief Election commissioner, where a high-profile former Chief Minister was contesting for the seat vacated by a ruling party MLA. The article narrates as to how she oversaw the conduct of elections and reined in with neutrality, impartiality and firmness, all those found violating the code of conduct, officials or non officials. One officer, established on record to have favoured the ruling party candidate was suspended by the CEC on the report of the author and after she met the CEC and explained the matter fully. She got all the election expenditures, detected during her whirlwind tours, booked by the Expenditure Observer. This put the fear of God. However, on the polling day she had to come down heavily on senior party workers for disturbing the counting process, amidst threats of violence. The author acted without fear or favour in upholding the rule of law. She owes it the inspiring personality of the CEC, who walked the talk and stood by in stolid support of the authors legitimate and balanced actions. The author dedicates this article by way paying her tributes to the memory of Mr. Seshan .*

In the mid nineties, I was appointed as Election Observer in a by-election to the Legislative Assembly of a state. This was my first appointment as Observer. One was overawed by the terrorizing mention of the CEC, Mr. Seshan, also widely acclaimed as “Al-Seshan or Alsation”. The CM of that state stood for a by-election to a seat vacated on the resignation by an important MLA of the ruling party. The Returning Officer was a young IAS officer, who had recently been given his first posting as SDM.

On my first visit to the State, I met the State CEO and then on arrival at the district, the district officials provided a briefing, lauding all the arrangements done. That evening some complaints were received from a certain political party that the officers, especially, the engineers were still inviting tenders and also getting roads constructed in violation of the code of conduct. The DM was directed to provide data on all the road schemes tendered during the operation of the code of conduct in this constituency and in adjoining areas of the neighboring constituency. Reluctantly, the data was provided. The documents showed that road projects in the constituency were all split into several parts of



Rs 50,000/- each and allowed to be taken up through contractors in the name of departmental work, while the same modality of implementation was not applied to any of the projects in the neighboring constituency not involved in the election process. Obviously, it was a clear violation of the election code and had been done to favour the candidate. These facts were also cross verified and affirmed through my field visits.

The complaints also alleged that a very important road/bridge project was to be inaugurated by the 'ex MLA' much after he had officially resigned and his resignation had been accepted by the Speaker of the assembly! The newspaper advertisement confirmed the allegation.

On return to Delhi, I contacted the CEC office, hoping to get an appointment to meet or to speak to the CEC. To my utter surprise, the phone was picked up by none other than Mr. Seshan, the CEC himself, saying in a thunderous and booming voice "Seshan..." I introduced myself and sought an appointment with the CEC, stating the circumstances, very briefly. CEC asked "when would it be convenient for you to come?" Stammering for a moment, I responded saying "Anytime convenient to you, Sir". "Ok, come now" CEC said and put the phone down.

The entry into Nirvachan Sadan was facilitated with prior instruction from the CEC office. I entered the CEC's large room with the CEC himself in a rather measuring way. Never a more sanitized table devoid of papers or files was seen. "Tell me," he said. I explained and showed all the supporting documents. He listened and went through the papers quickly. He then asked "what do you think I should do? Should I countermand the elections?" I hastened to state that "No, Sir, I am not suggesting countermanding of elections". I explained that the need was to go on with the election process and enforce the code of conduct, rigorously and to spare none, including a sitting head of Government. He suggested that some officers perceived to be close to the candidate would need to be removed and that would send the necessary signal to all the officials. He said "OK". I returned after the brisk and business-like meeting and submitted my report, thereafter.

I soon returned to the Constituency for the second visit as 'Observer'. This time, there was a posse of security personnel and civil officials, as I landed at the airport, displaying obsequious behavior. I tried to scurry through the sides. Little did I realise that I was the culprit. I drove straight to meet the CEO of the State. He wanted to know, from me, if any Observer's report had been submitted to the CEC. When I responded in the affirmative, he informed that the Executive Engineer, incidentally carrying the surname of the candidate, had been suspended on the orders of the CEC and that fear of Observer and terror of Seshan had struck among the civil and police officials. He jestingly

said the security arrangements was for the newly attained status of a VIP Observer, from Tamil Nadu cadre of the IAS, a Madrasi or South Indian girl (used interchangeably) and a close relative of Mr. Seshan, who has her eyes and ears. All of it was wrong as wrong could be.

Once in the district, I resumed extensive touring of the entire length and breadth of the constituency, each day. In all the tours I video graphed the number plates/election symbols of the vehicles used for election and other expenditures incurred by all the candidates and reported to the Finance Observer. The candidates were asked to declare the vehicles and other equipment being used. The 'Finance Observer' promptly issued daily notices to the candidates to meet and explain the expenditure details, along with the statement of accounts.

In one of my journeys in the district, I saw a lavishly decorated high-rise arch-shaped gate. I stopped to interact with the people assembled there and inquired about the purpose of putting up the gate by the national level members of the party to which the candidate belonged. They informed that this gate was to welcome the "*kalash*" of a late national leader of that party that was being carried across from West to East of India through the state. It was obviously to generate voter's sympathy for the candidate. From all angles, it did not seem justified to have a gate at that juncture for the purpose mentioned. Even if one did not want to interfere with the homage part, it was clear that the extravaganza generated through this and similar arches on the way were only to influence the public in favour of that party's candidate. I decided that the rites can go on, regulating decibel levels, but that should not be translated into an election stunt, with massive gathering. When I said that they should meet the Finance Observer and submit the expenditures incurred, they decided to bring down the gate by that evening. When I returned through the same road after some hours, the gates had been dismantled!

The CM who was also the candidate was being followed by the media, as is done normally during the campaign period. He reportedly pleaded with them not to follow him, he said that the Observers were booking all the expenditures in connection with the entire entourage including the vehicles used by the media; to be booked against the election expenditure of the CM!

Several political parties kept meeting and making allegations about violations of the code of conduct and I kept myself free to meet all parties concerned. All the officials were kept on their toes to verify the complaints take action and report compliance in the quickest time frame. Through discreet and unannounced movements based on information received, I was able to trap campaigners for a party distributing *sarees*, *dhotis* and cycles in the

constituency. They were seized, and the illegal activities were stopped forthwith and notices issued for booking expenditures.

Therefore, I had observed the same to the DM/SP that joint patrolling of police and magistrates was not at all visible on the roads, although vehicles had been requisitioned and notwithstanding an elaborate standing order of DM and SP on record for round the clock patrolling. They tried to explain it away, even remarking that the state was calm and peaceful and did not require such rigorous measures! I ensured that the control room was constantly tracking vehicle movements for patrolling purposes over wireless, to act as deterrence for poll violations, as the date of polling was fast approaching.

The polling day passed off peacefully. I had regular meetings with the media and with political parties. By then neutrality and firmness of the Election Observer in ensuring free and fair polls had been completely established and the word spread around. While the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police were extremely uncomfortable, the young SDM fully assisted the Observer, even though the SDM's actions were resented by his superiors and complaints against him were lodged with political bosses of the state. The SDM continued to remain fair and effective, unmindful of the consequences. He was later transferred to a remote location on completion of the election process.

Counting was arranged in a high school, with ample space being securely fenced. I took my position, in the adjoining makeshift camp office within the school premises, equipped with phones and wireless. The poll agents of the ruling party, specially, were moving freely with their henchmen. One of them was reported to be very close to the Chief Minister who was also the candidate and was both notorious and feared. With each round of results being announced, they would go up to the gate, announce the status to their party followers cheering from outside and return to the counting hall with looks of triumph and invincibility. I called up a responsible officer of the Election Commission's office for some advice. I was cautioned to be careful about taking any action, lest any law and order situation should ensue! I decided to deal with the matter at my level. I called the Deputy SP manning the gate with his security personnel and asked him to lock the gate for entry of any vehicle and movements of rabble rousers creating a raucous, walking in and out, at will, as this was disturbing the counting process.

By then it was clear who was winning and the poll agent of the CM, was trying to move out. The Deputy SP informed then that the gate is locked and the key is with the Observer's office. The Observer's camp office was located at a vantage point from where all the activities were fully visible. The agent came to the

‘Observer’ and bowing with folded hands sought permission to leave the premises, promising also that they did not wish to return. The Deputy SP opened the gate and they left.

As I was getting ready to make the final announcements local intelligence officials approached me to say that it was no more safe for me to stay in that location, as the winning/ruling political party had certain plans afoot, perhaps, to harm me physically. I was persuaded to sign papers and complete the formalities from the government guest house where I was lodged. Despite being persuaded, I completed my task and moved out only after formally signing off and headed straight to the CEO’s office in the State Headquarters, before taking off to Delhi.

I was satisfied that certain unbecoming and illegal practices of parties, violative of the code of conduct, could be stopped and officials contributing to such practices by acts of commission and omission were put on alert, and strictly dealt with, including, removal of officials biased from the election scene, as in this case. The temerity and arrogance, abated albeit temporarily. It created a stigma of a sort for officers, covertly and overtly, favoring candidates. All this could happen, only with the remote but virtual rule of law established by the CEC, well beyond pale of any individual. He established the supremacy of the constitutional body. The awe inspiring impact of his personality made him an apostle of democracy. His unequivocal and unflinching support empowered the ‘Observer’ to ensure that democracy wins and parties who adopt illegal means are reined in and the electorate is provided the enabling environment to exercise their franchise, fearlessly and fairly. The enforcing official may be branded as tough, but it is the law that is supreme. It is the might of the law that is to be demonstrated and ensured. It is said that sweeping the steps has to start from the top. Mr. Seshan showed us the way. May his soul rest in peace.

---

**Bhamathi Balasubrahmanyam**

*The author is an IAS officer of 1979 batch, Bihar cadre. Superannuated in the rank of Secretary to Government of India in August, 2013 to join the Central Administrative Tribunal in October, 2013.*



# River Kosi Rejuvenation Project: A Geographical Information System (GIS) based approach to rejuvenate a Himalayan river in India

Nitin Singh Bhadauria

## Abstract

*Almora city in the Himalayan state of Uttarakhand, India and its surrounding towns and villages depend on river Kosi for its drinking water, irrigation and other needs but the water level of the river has been going down drastically over last three decades and Kosi river which once used to be perennial river, is now seasonal. Hence there was an immediate need to take concrete steps to revive the Kosi river.*

*Over the last year, several works have been taken to revive the river. Based on a scientific study, recharge zones have been marked and plantation, water conservation work are being carried out. The water conservation efforts taken up include digging of infiltration holes, infiltration trenches, bio-percolation barriers, infiltration tanks, check-walls and ponds, besides taking up plantation work on a large scale. More than 74 million litres of water conserving capacity has already been created that has resulted in an increase in mountain water table.*

*Kosi rejuvenation project is based on geographically identified recharge zones and geo-tagging all works (plantation, water conservation) using latest GIS technology. Such innovation in implementation of the project has also made the project highly replicable. The project was planned on the basis of community-based participatory approach to turn it into a community movement by making them stakeholders in the project. The benefits of the project include an increase in the plantation cover and water holding capacity and an increased awareness towards water conservation activities in the communities involved.*

*Kosi rejuvenation project has been identified as a critical project of national importance by National Mission on Himalayan Studies, Ministry of Environment and Forest, Government of India and has received funding for expansion and monitoring based on the progress done by district administration. The project has won several accolades including the National Water Award - 2018 by the Government of India and is also an Indian national record holder listed in the Limca Book of National Records.*

## Introduction

River Kosi is a rain-fed river, which forms the lifeline of Almora district in India. Due to developmental activities, deforestation and a reducing rainfall pattern, the perennial river Kosi turned into seasonal as water discharge flow

fell. Since rivers in Kumaon Himalayas are generally rain-fed, this region was facing acute water shortage as the rainfall was running off the slopes. Thus, this project was started with the vision to rejuvenate river Kosi.

### Planning the Kosi River Rejuvenation Project

A detailed scientific feasibility study was conducted in partnership with Prof. J.S. Rawat, Head of Department, GIS Cell, Kumaon University and a Fulbright Scholar. The flow pattern of the river was studied over a period of time and the permeability of the internal rock structure so that area where intervention needs to be made could be identified. A detailed work plan was then drawn on the basis of this study. The drainage area was divided into 14 recharge zones. The works to be done were mapped on Geographical Information System (GIS) maps with proper latitude and longitude readings.

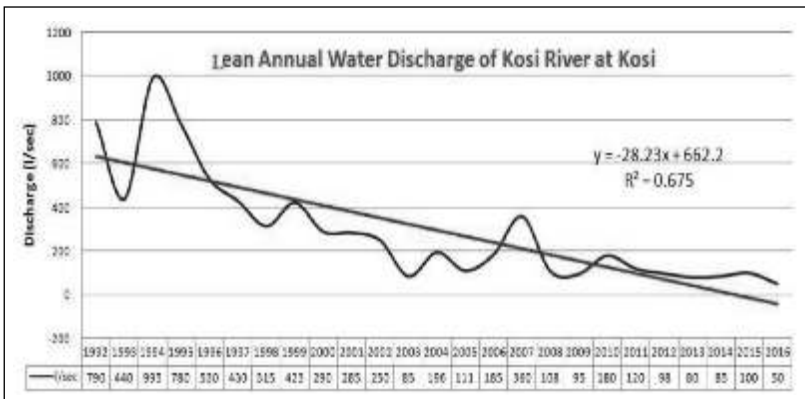


Figure 1: Decreasing annual water discharge of river Kosi

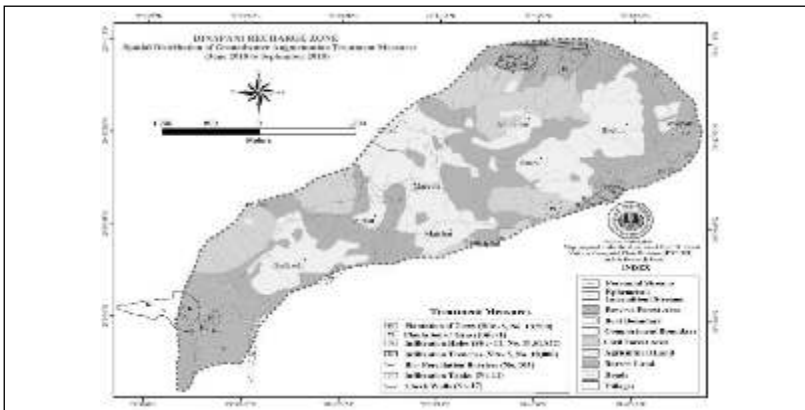


Figure 2: GIS-based Dinapani Recharge Zone Map listing the spatial distribution of Groundwater Augmentation Treatment Measures

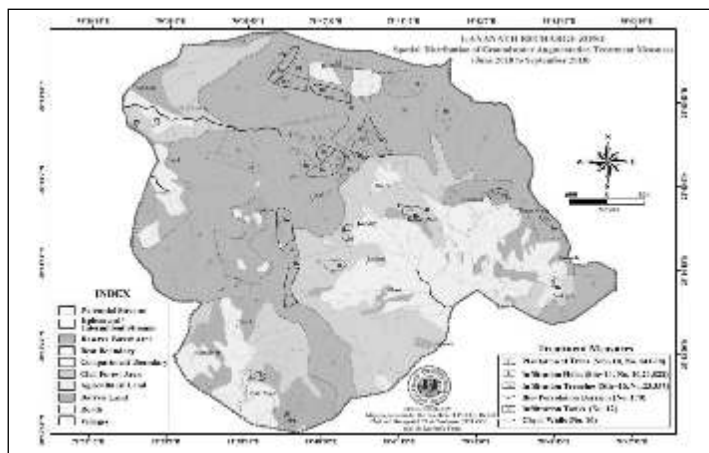


Figure 3: GIS-based Gananath Recharge Zone Map listing the spatial distribution of Groundwater Augmentation Treatment Measures

In each recharge zone, the works were classified as:

- Tree Plantation Activities
- Infiltration holes
- Bio-checkdams
- Infiltration Trenches
- Dry-stone checkdams
- Ponds

Thus, a clear plan was formulated on the activity to be taken up and the area where it was to be carried out, with the GIS map for the same. Depending on whether the activity to be undertaken was in revenue or in forest area, MNREGA and CAMPA funds were utilised for implementation purposes, respectively. The core team was then identified and there were Nodal Officers designated for each recharge zone for implementation.

The works to be taken up were standardised for maximum results, wherever possible scientifically, by a group of experts. For infiltration trenches, the maximum length and breadth was standardised as well as the distance between them. Thus, standard site specific works were planned and taken up for optimum results.

To involve people and encourage community participation, each of the 14 recharge zones were handed over to an organization be it Army, para-military forces (Indo-Tibetan Border Police Force based at Kosi-Katarmal), NGOs (Syahi Devi Vikas Samiti at Sheetlakheth) or to a Government Institutions (Block Development Office at Hawalbagh). The objective was to ensure the

survival and monitoring of the saplings planted. Each of the plantation area was bounded by barbed wires, which was then handed over to Village Management Committees for increasing community ownership of the programme and ensure that the programme turns into a self-sustained community movement.

School-children and community were actively engaged in tree plantation activity, where planted saplings were adopted by them. They were made responsible for watering and ensuring their well-being.

Community Activities conducted as part of Kosi Rejuvenation Project

All the works that have been executed in the Kosi rejuvenation project have been planned keeping the local community in the focus. Right from the planning to the implementation of the project, local villages and groups have been involved. Plantation, construction of trenches, infiltration holes, check dams are works that have been done by the villagers themselves as they were already familiar with implementing MNREGA works, a Government of India programme in the field of rural development.

Community mobilisation activities were planned in partnership with the Panchayati Raj Institutions. Specific orientation workshops were organised to familiarise the people with the activities to be taken up. These workshops were organised at block levels and then, at village levels so that people were suitably oriented towards a common aim.

The logo of the Kosi Rejuvenation Project was developed to give an identity to the programme. It was attached as Kosi sticker on all the vehicles plying in the area and hoardings were hung at prominent public places to increase awareness about the programme. Specifically designed badges with Kosi logo were distributed amongst school-children designating them as Kosi Ambassadors. Save Kosi pamphlets were distributed to people.



Figure 6: The logo of the Kosi Rejuvenation Project

An Environment Summit focusing on Rejuvenating River Kosi was organised in Almora to highlight the programme on national and international levels.



Shri J Goburdhan, High Commissioner of India to Mauritius was the Chief Guest at the Summit, who praised the initiative. The Summit also featured several eminent speakers - Shri Nikunja Sundaray, Joint Secretary in Ministry of Environment and Forest, Prof RS Rawal, Director, GB Pant National Institute of Himalayan Ecosystem and Sustainable Development and several other prominent dignitaries. The aim of the summit was to forge an academic discussion and come out with an agenda for rejuvenating rain-fed Himalayan rivers. It was also attended by Panchayati-Raj functionaries and people from the project area who actively participated in it.

Kosi Awareness rallies with participation from school and college children were organised in each village of the project area. Each rally was followed by a Save Kosi Pledge which was undertaken by all the participants. The pledge was specifically designed in the local Kumaoni language so that people could feel a sense of belongingness to the programme. It would end with a signature campaign pledging their commitment to saving river Kosi. A 'Save Kosi River Marathon' and Kosi Cycle-rally were also organised from Almora to Kosi-Katarmal and specific 'River Kosi clean-up drives' were organised from Almora city to Kosi- Katramal at regular intervals to highlight the programme. Several Save-Kosi theme competitions like painting, quizzes, declamations, creative writing etc were carried out in schools to increase awareness about the programme amongst the children of Almora.

Regular Kosi-Samman felicitation ceremonies were organised to recognise the positive work done by all village elected representatives and district officers involved and keep them motivated to the cause of Kosi River.

It has made the community and the people stakeholders of the project, provided work and wages to them and ultimately, has facilitated the timely implementation of the project and assured its success in the long run.

#### Work Completed

The following number of structures have been made to hold rainwater and recharge ground water table:

Infiltration Trenches	11,96,057 (m.)
Infiltration Holes	1,84,86,280 (No.)
Bio-checkdams	2,010
Dry stone checkdams	152
Ponds	375

## Benefits of the Project

The tangible benefits of the project were as follows:

*i. Recharge of around 74 million litres of water in the ground water table*

Irrigation potential created can be calculated as amount of water recharged into ground water table:

$$\begin{aligned}
 &= \text{Infiltration trenches (in m.)} * (270/3) + \text{Infiltration holes} * 2.35 + \text{Ponds} * \\
 &20,000 + \text{Bio percolation tanks} * 6,000 \\
 &= 11,96,057 * 90 + 1,84,86,280 * 2.35 + 375 * 20,000 + 2,010 * 6000 \\
 &= 10,645,130 + 43,442,758 + 7,500,000 + 12,060,000 \\
 &= 73,647,888 \text{ litres} \\
 &\sim 74 \text{ million litres of water recharged}
 \end{aligned}$$

*ii. Creation of 2,960 hectares of additional irrigation potential*

74 million litres of water for irrigation is conserved as it has been recharged in the ground water table. This translated to 2,960 hectares of additional creation of irrigation potential. (Assuming average pond of capacity 50,000 litres is used to irrigate 2 hectares of land)

*iii. Around 225 kms of length of the river Kosi under rejuvenation*

*iv. Plantation of around 24 lakh plants with more than 90% survival rate*

*v. GIS mapping and tracking of all plantation sites ensuring transparency*

*vi. Reuse of waste water*

The intangible benefits of the project were:

*i. Increased awareness towards water conservation and climate change mitigation works*

*ii. Increased community mobilization, build-up of community networks and community ownership of the project*

## Analysis of the Project

River Kosi Rejuvenation Project has also been successful on the following dimensions:

1. Sustainability

The water harvesting structures created under MNREGA are easy to construct as the villagers already have an expertise in executing MNREGA works and the ownership of the assets lies with the community itself. Once the structure fills up, it can be cleaned up easily, thus, making the assets created under the project long-lasting and highly sustainable. Further, the high community

involvement in planning and implementation has made the project itself, self-sustaining.

## 2. Cost-effectiveness

The programme utilises already available funds from MNREGA. The works taken up are approved under MNREGA, which are readily available in all the districts. Hence, no extra funds are required by the districts for implementation of the initiative, making it cost-effective.

## 3. Transparency

GIS mapping and tracking has been taken up for all the plantation sites with their latitudes and longitudes including the pictures of each plantation site at the inception and post-implementation ensuring complete transparency. A time line analysis of all the plantation and work sites is done by taking pictures of the captured latitude-longitude to ensure their tracking and changes over a period of time. The documents of the project come under the purview of the Right to Information Act and hence, freely available under the public domain.

## 4. Accountability

The MNREGA work plan for the village is made in partnership with the villagers themselves, in an open meeting. It makes them accountable for works that they themselves want to take up. Post-implementation, these works undergo rigorous social and financial audits conducted by a group of expert teams. Responsibility is also fixed for any deviations and any financial irregularity, is duly punished. Thus, it makes every stakeholder of the project duly accountable at every stage of the implementation of the project.

## 5. Scalability

Since, the project consists of works which can be implemented in any area, it is highly scalable. In Almora district itself, the project has been scaled up to include the revival of rivers Ramganga, Jataganga and Gagas as well. GIS-mapping can be easily done once the training is imparted, thereby providing a scientific basis to implementation.

## 6. Replicability

Kosi Rejuvenation Project is based on geographically identifying recharge zones and geo-tagging all works (plantation and water conservation) use latest GIS technology. Such innovation in the implementation of the project has also made the project highly replicable. It utilises MNREGA funds which are

readily available in all the districts. All the practices are well documented and mapped on GIS portal. Common people of towns and villages living in the recharge zones of the river are well aware of the practices to be able to implement them each successive year.

Accolades won by the Project

Kosi Rejuvenation Project is the winner of the 'Best Project in River Rejuvenation Category' at National Water Awards given by Ministry of Jal-Shakti, presented by Shri Nitin Gadkari.

The Project is a Limca Book of National Record holder under the 'maximum number of tree plantations in an hour' category at 167,000.

It was adjudged the best project for CM Excellence Award in Uttarakhand (2018-19).

It is a "critical project of national importance" identified by MoEF quoted by Shri Nikunja Sundaray, Joint Secretary, MoEF in his address and greatly praised by Shri J Goburdhan, the High-Commissioner of Mauritius at Kosi Rejuvenation Summit.

Conclusion

After the successful implementation of the Kosi Rejuvenation Project in the Almora district of Kumaun Himalayas, Kumaun River Rejuvenation Committee was formulated at the directions of the Hon'ble Chief Minister of Uttarakhand, Shri Trivendra Singh Rawat with the mandate to take up the river rejuvenation in all the districts of the state of Uttarakhand on the model of GIS-based approach of Kosi Rejuvenation Project. A Kosi Secretariat has also been set up to increase association with similar projects and collaborate on learnings worldwide.

References

- Rawat, J.S., "The rivers networks of Almora", Companion, Vol.1, Issue-1, 2014, pp.92-95.
- Kumar, Manish and J.S. Rawat, "Monitoring land use/cover change using remote sensing and GIS techniques: A case study of Hawalbagh block, district Almora, Uttarakhand, India", The Egyptian Journal of Remote Sensing and Space Science, Vol 18, Issue 1, June 2015, Pages77-8.
- Wohl, Ellen, Stuart N. Lane & Andrew C. Wilcox, "The science and practice of river restoration", 50th Anniversary of Water Resources Research, Volume Issue, 12 June 2015, pp5974-5997.

Annual Report, Ministry of Water Resources, Government of India.

[http://mowr.gov.in/sites/default/files/Annual\\_Report\\_MoWR\\_2017-18.pdf](http://mowr.gov.in/sites/default/files/Annual_Report_MoWR_2017-18.pdf)

<https://egov.eletsonline.com/2019/03/almora-bags-top-conservation-award-for-kosi-rejuvenation-project/>

<https://www.therrc.co.uk/>

<https://www.ecrr.org/>

---

**Nitin Singh Bhadauria**

*The author is an IAS officer of 2011 batch, Uttarakhand cadre. He is currently posted as Additional Secretary, Drinking Water & Mission Director, Jal Jeevan Mission (Rural).*



# A Report on Foreign Study Tour (Phase-IV)

Radhika Jha

## Abstract

*Immersive learning is critical to understanding the nuances of any growth trajectory so that its emulation can be ensured effectively. United States is definitely that one nation, whose professional practices across domains could be imbibed by India to catapult its progress trajectory. In this article, crisp experiential learnings are shared on how Americans ace policy making with professional insights, stakeholder engagement and technological impetus. Under the overall umbrella of Governance - the benchmarked practices of US educational system, Health delivery, Social security schemes and infrastructure development are also touched upon to give a snippet view of the developed American horizon. Their Community Colleges/Skilling schools are the urgent need of the hour in India to bridge the employment gap. It is also impressive how the Americans want to continually raise the bar as they aggressively fish out competition at the international level. Their focus on macro economic planning on one hand and detailed micro implementation of works on the other hand forms a lethal combination that keeps them at the top of the world pyramid. India need not reinvent the wheel but can simply contextualize the learnings from the United States.*

## Reflections and learning for our work place

After three weeks of an enriching engagement on Policy formulation at the Academy, the conclusive week was organised at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public affairs, Syracuse University and at New York with the view to better appreciate the U.S. systems of governance and bring back the learnings.

Reflecting back today, I am also able to connect the sessions to the actual experience we had during our foreign study tour. United States has been the world leader in almost all areas spanning from technology, innovation, economic growth to academic breakthroughs etc. There are interesting lessons that we can imbibe from the U.S. growth paradigm, to enhance our developmental trajectory, as India is at a historic inflexion point.

## Policy formulation and implementation

The overarching formulation of effective policies and their implementation are the cornerstone of good governance covering all aspects of economic growth, internal security, education, health, employment, social security etc.

To begin with, it was interesting to note that in addition to the federal US Constitution, all the fifty States have their own Constitution. The governance structures were multi-layered and power play is intricately balanced. Unlike our country, the local governments were quite powerful and resourceful which could be seen in better management of urban affairs and service delivery. This forward looking country does not have a permanent senior bureaucracy like ours but still their policy formulation was based on better empirical evidence, data and projections. If policies are made on the basis of data, counterfactuals and effective analysis there are strong probabilities of successful implementation. The committed bureaucracy in the United States works much more professionally with the support of domain experts/advisors and Senior Executive Services. It was interesting to understand that a large number of programs are being delivered through third parties. In fact, NGOs account for nearly 11% of employment in the US.

The complex boundary less policy making is facing expectations galore from all public quarters and as civil servants we shall have to adapt quickly. The main learning from the American experience are that we need to use emerging technologies, better civil society interface, effective engagement with experts and use of various policy tools. In an engaging session, Prof. David M. Van Slyke talked about the following tools- Regulation, Public information, Loan guarantees, Tax credits/ subsidies, Contracts, Vouchers and Grants. He urged us to think on how we could use them most effectively as per our sector requirements and the ecology. It made us think afresh about evaluating our policies on the touchstone of Effectiveness, Efficiency, Equity, Implementability and Legitimacy. The American focus on communication, co-ordination and goal alignment was evident in their programme implementation.

Behavioural sciences have a critical impact on human mind and should be used effectively for better policy design and implementation. The United States has been the pioneer in all such research, formulations starting from cognitive, behavioural theories to the recent concepts of Anchoring, Nudging etc. The session by Prof. Leonard M. Loppo was truly enriching as he talked about various biases and heuristics that we unconsciously use. "Nudge" has emerged as an important tool world over now to enhance policy implementation and we could also use it effectively in the fields of education, health, skill development, Swachh Bharat Mission etc.

Education

America records the highest sustained economic growth and this makes a compelling case to study its educational system and surrounding work

environment. Unlike our country, education in the United States is in the domain of local government with financing being made available by the State/Federal governments also. The accountability, financing and certification is an interesting mix between the three levels of government corresponding to three stages of education. Their system primarily depends on the location of the school and major portion of the funding comes from property taxes. The most impressive fact was that their educational spending was huge ranging from \$600 to \$2000 per student (depending on the respective States), and their accountability was fixed at all levels. Thus, it proves the hypothesis that by fixation of accountability and appropriate spending, educational levels can be effectively achieved. Their schools have a system of daily evaluation at senior levels while in the junior school they focus on activity based learning. This mix was very prudent as it made the child develop experientially to begin with and then moved towards academic rigour. In addition to ensuring social inclusion, their schooling system also encouraged merit aggressively. Our offline interaction with some students at Syracuse University also made us realise that their curriculum was contemporary in design and very rigorous in delivery.

It was an eye opener to see that even with the existing educational excellence, the Americans were worried about their learning levels internationally. Their drive to excel came across clearly when the session co-ordinator Prof. Amy Ellen Schwartz, mentioned that their nation was at risk and talked about how the government wants to overcome the challenges in the educational systems vis-à-vis social inclusion, differing school levels, low academic achievement and loss of their competitive edge globally. If there is one thing India should definitely learn from the United States, it is their educational governance starting from primary to the University levels.

#### Skills and Employment

The logical conclusion of an effective educational system is meaningful employment and the U.S. Community Colleges bridge that gap effectively. The visit to Onondaga Community College was inspiring in more than one ways. The way they had structured their presentation was a window to showcase how they work with the students, very hands on and focussed! Their Community Colleges actually work as “Skilling schools” in their local areas. They assess the needs of the industrial and commercial establishments in their sphere and accordingly design programmes to train the youth so that they could be absorbed likewise for gainful employment. In a way, it also assists people who cannot or don't want to pursue higher education but their employability is guaranteed at very good income levels. The infrastructure as



seen during our field visit astonished all of us as we don't have such facilities even in our most prestigious Universities. Americans are truly perfectionist in their approach as even after attaining such levels of employability, their presentations always spoke of the challenges, the gaps that they still want to fill in order to raise the bar further!

In contemporary times, Government of India and all State Governments are zealously pursuing the skilling targets and here we can actually replicate the model of Community colleges by refurbishing/reinventing our Polytechnics to re-model them as "Skills Colleges". These colleges can design courses as per the demands of the catchment area and deliver them professionally to ensure meaningful employment, in a win-win model for all stakeholders. Integration of our polytechnics shall have to be a precursor in their transformation. Insights into the management of these colleges and huge amount of financial outlays reiterated the American Government's focus on employability of the youth.

#### Health Services

The sessions on health service delivery were keenly attended as our country is also committed to provide Health Insurance to all under the "Ayushman Bharat" scheme similar to the earlier rolled out "Obama care", though their original scheme had started in year 1965 with federal funding. Their Medicare pay out in year 2015 was around \$ 632 million but still there were issues that they were grappling with, like, complete coverage, inclusion, issues of payments etc. Unlike the U.K. health systems where the government provides health care through N.H.S., the U.S. system was a mix of public and private institutions being served by health insurance of both types.

About 84% of the population is covered by insurance and they spend 17.1% of their GDP on health in comparison to ours which is around 4.7%. Consequently on outcome parameters, their life expectancy and infant mortality is much better than ours.

As, India is going through major transition in the health sector, it is pertinent to analyse the problems of 'Obama care' and strategise well to leapfrog the ones faced by the United States in the interest of holistically healthy India!

#### Welfare and Social Security Schemes

In our country, we have a plethora of Ministries, Departments and schemes running for the welfare of the people but in the United States they have the most well-structured social security programme and focus their spending on Medicare, Education and safety net programmes. The Federal Government spends around 24% on social security, 25% on medicare subsidies, 10% on safety net programmes and 3% on education. The measures taken by them on

poverty alleviation/social security were very well targeted but it was an eye opener for us to know that their definition of poverty was very loosely established and much higher than even our per capita average national income.

#### Infrastructure Development and Urban Services

During the Foreign Study Tour, there was no separate session on infrastructure development or Urban issues but through this exposure visit, a lot of learning took place on the sidelines through informal discussions. We experienced world class infrastructure in the form of roads, pavements, mobility, and the marvel of sky scrapers. It was an engineering miracle to witness these structurally safe high rise buildings made perhaps a century ago. It was intriguing to note, what planning would have gone into ensuring power, water supply, sewerage and other urban facilities for the same!

During our discussions with people, we realised that their contract management was very strong with respect to project delivery and also services management. We experienced in this short stint that their work culture was very professional and accountable at all levels. They had successfully used technology to monitor deliverables and had largely done away with human interface.

#### Growth and Global Perspective

The growth trajectory of the United States had always baffled us but during the session by Professor George Abonyi, we gained insights into how Americans thought “global” from the very beginning. Their horizon of competitiveness was always the world and they made huge efforts by way of technology and innovations to catapult their developmental graph. Global value chains and cross border production networks helped them produce world class products/services. The macro growth drivers focussed by the Americans were- policy liberalization, technological innovation, increasing mobility of capital and demands of increasing competition globally. Their governance structures are so well organised that delivery was ensured on time and this was something which we must emulate from them. Across the United States, they have made growth centres as per their strategy and resource mapping.

Their economic development has been a meaningful amalgamation of technological innovation, professional planning, global understanding and impeccable execution. New York State’s regional economic growth has been on the themes of high-tech/high wage jobs, exports and training of work force etc.

---

## Conclusion

The experience of the foreign tour was truly enriching and insightful. I have already briefed the Hon'ble Chief Minister and Chief Secretary regarding a number of things that we could possibly implement in our State. The integration of Polytechnics and their transformation into "Skill Colleges" is something that the Hon'ble Chief Minister has also agreed to. The experiential learnings that I have gained with respect to Urban Planning and better Contract Management have also been shared with my colleagues and Chief Secretary, so that we can start thinking in the right direction. As I conclude my reflections and learnings from Phase IV, I am reminded of what one of my school teachers stated in the most simplistic way, *"Small steps can lead to big results, and let's not reinvent if we can learn from someone else."*!!

---

**Radhika Jha**

*The author is an IAS officer of the 2002 batch, Uttarakhand cadre. She is serving as Secretary to Government of Uttarakhand, Energy & Non-conventional Energy, Urban Development and Honb'le Chief Minister.*

# Towards Universal Health Coverage through Financing and Information Systems in Primary Health Care

Aditya Dahiya

## Abstract

W.H.O. has defined Universal Health Coverage (UHC) as all individuals and communities receiving health-care as per their need, without any financial hardship. Though it may seem to be a cost-intensive and a distant dream, many resource-constrained countries have demonstrated that it is possible to make significant advancements towards UHC using strategic and sustainable solutions to the problem of insufficient revenues. A stronger and quality-driven Primary Health-Care (PHC) sector is correlated with greater equity in access to health services, lower amount of spending for similar outcomes and higher satisfaction rates. Some developing countries have shown that it is possible to strengthen the foundations of health systems by promoting quality in PHC. Quality in primary health-care is mainly determined by the way the funds are collected and utilized in payments made to health-care service providers. Of these, studies have shown that prospective payment methods, which involve advance collection and pooling of funds through mandatory health coverage schemes are far more successful. The various mechanisms by which these funds flow to the providers can then be termed as passive or strategic. Strategic mechanisms are far superior, and a purchaser-provider split improves the strategic purchasing outcomes. Another important determinant of quality in PHC are Information Systems – they are generally under-funded by most developing countries. However, there do exist some best practices for other nations to replicate at a minimal cost. Lastly, there is no ‘silver-bullet’ in health financing and information management systems. It is best to deploy a blend of internationally acclaimed practices.

## The need for Universal Health Coverage

The World Health Organization has defined Universal Health Coverage (UHC) as all individuals and communities receiving health-care as per their need, without any financial hardship. It is a comprehensive concept which encompasses the full spectrum of health services like preventive care, medical treatment, rehabilitative therapies and even palliative care<sup>1</sup>. It focuses not only on the health services, but also on how they are financed, managed, delivered. It also means a move towards making the health services integrated and commensurate with the needs of the community. UHC does not imply free provision of all health services for all people, as this cannot be financially

sustainable in any country. Further, it is not a minimum package of health-care, rather it means a progressive expansion of health services provided and financial protection offered, as more and more funds get pooled. Lastly, apart from individual health treatments, it covers with equity and quality in health-care, methods of communication and information management, financing the health-care providers and capacity building in health work-force, all of which are means to achieve UHC.

The Consultative Group on Equity and Universal Health Coverage setup by the WHO highlighted the importance of UHC in its detailed report<sup>2</sup>. It showed that UHC is essential to ensure that even the marginalized and the poor can seek care for the common causes of disease and death. It is essential that such care is of a certain bench-marked quality and thus effective in improving their health. The report also demonstrated the impoverishment associated with out of pocket payments while seeking health care, by citing various studies in developing countries which have established health care expenses as a major cause of distress selling of assets, borrowing at exorbitant rates etc. This emphasizes the need for providing proper financial coverage, using prepaid methods which diversify the risk and prevent people from being pushed into poverty owing to their health care needs.

Though it may seem to be a cost-intensive and a distant dream, recently, many resource constrained countries have demonstrated that it is possible to make significant advancements towards UHC using strategic and sustainable solutions to the problem of insufficient revenues.<sup>3</sup> Some prominent examples include Ghana, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Cambodia, Rwanda, Chile, and Colombia.<sup>4</sup>

#### Quality in Primary Health Care for achieving UHC

In most countries, especially the developing ones, primary health-care providers are the first point of contact for most people seeking health services. This allows them to have the biggest impact on health outcomes, compared with all the other parts of the health system combined, particularly amongst the marginalized and vulnerable populations. Data from various international studies confirm that a stronger and quality driven Primary Health Care (PHC) sector is correlated with greater equity in access to health services, lower amount of spending for similar outcomes and higher satisfaction rates.<sup>5</sup>

However, the data from these studies also brings out various obstacles to an effective and efficient PHC. First, there tends to be an over reliance on hospitals in many countries to deliver even the basic primary services, due to a rudimentary referral system. This leads to over-use of tertiary care centres,

and under provisioning of high priority services in primary health centres. Secondly, countries often face challenges in allocating the limited resources and managing costs in PHC. Thirdly, there is insufficient monitoring and measurements of PHC outcomes, leading to sub-optimal clinical practices. Lastly, policy makers face challenges in designing payment methods to encourage achievement of desired objectives by the PHC workers. As a result, even though many countries are increasingly providing PHC services at an affordable cost, the resultant poor quality means that most of the people do not actually use these services, because they perceive them to be of little advantage. This becomes an impediment to achieving UHC.

Recently, some developing countries have shown that it is possible to strengthen the foundations of health systems by promoting quality in PHC. Costa Rica presents an example of an innovative PHC system which comprises of EBAIS (*Equipos Básicos de atención integral de Salud*) which are basic teams integrated with Community Clinics.<sup>6</sup> They serve around thousand households each, focusing on four essential PHC functions: first-contact access, continuity, comprehensiveness and coordination.<sup>7</sup> In Uganda, the Citizen Voice and Action (CVA) project model has been successfully used in PHC, by allowing the communities to know about the materials that ought to be present at the primary health-care centres such as equipment, vaccines, health workers etc.

The initial step in building a quality PHC should be providing a high-quality and skilled PHC work-force, through a national strategy which looks at the numbers, shortages, gaps and work-force retention over the short and long-term. Experience from various programs around the world has shown that the PHC work-force should be salaried (not voluntary), have continued in-service trainings, have specific well-defined roles (which are not overwhelming or too general) and be a part of feedback system with the supervisory level.<sup>8</sup> The Training for Health Equity Network (THENet) in Philippines is a good example of continuous training and retention of PHC workers using support from medical institutions.<sup>9</sup>

Since developing a quality PHC work-force is resource intensive, there are other innovative ways to promote quality in PHC through focus on people-centred strategies. One approach is roping in community health workers, who are individuals from the local community trained in surveillance, early detection of conditions and delivery of specific health services. As they come from the community itself, they are quite effective in engaging the locals, especially in areas with linguistic or cultural barriers. Another approach is

engaging patients and their families in collective action, as documented by WHO's Patients for Patient Safety program.<sup>10</sup> This program relies on engaging with persons having similar conditions to support each other and play an active role in their own care.

Amongst the other determinants of quality in primary health care are financing & payment models, and robust information systems. These are discussed in the next two sections.

### Financing Mechanisms to promote quality in PHC

Apart from total funds availability, quality in primary health care is determined, to a large extent, by the way the funds are collected and utilized in payments made to health care service providers. The initial step is the "pooling" of health care funds. Pooling is broadly categorized into four models.<sup>11</sup> The first, Beveridge model, is a sort of 'socialized health care' which collects funds through taxes and provides government-led health-care for all citizens (Spain, UK, New Zealand). The second, Bismarck model, uses contributions from employers and employees to finance an insurance system which is not for profit, and the service providers are private workers (Japan, Germany, Switzerland). The third, National Health Insurance model is a hybrid of the first two, using funds collected by government taxation and providers from the private sector (Canada). Lastly, the out of pocket payments model covers most of the developing countries which have no organized system, and only the persons with capacity to pay are able to access health-care services (parts of South America, Africa & India). Various studies have conclusively demonstrated that prospective payment methods, which involve advance collection and pooling of funds through mandatory health coverage schemes are far more successful<sup>12</sup>. On the contrary, retrospective payment methods, like out of pocket payments etc. are not associated with good outcomes because the impoverishment associated with these payments can lead people to avoid seeking health care in a timely manner which causes worsening of conditions.

Even when the funds are collected and pooled in advance, the way in which these flow to the service providers also determines the quality of outcomes. The various mechanisms by which these funds flow can be termed as passive or strategic. Passive purchasing refers to annual or line item budgeting which allocates funds to clinics and hospitals based on previous years' spending, irrespective of quality indicators and outcomes. Strategic purchasing, on the other hand, involves use of available information, tools and levers to channelize funding in a way that promotes specific health objectives.<sup>13</sup> The

various health objectives can include equity and affordability in health care services, adequate financial protection according to need, financial sustainability of programs and quality and efficiency of service-providers.

For strategic purchasing, various types of purchaser agencies have emerged in different countries. Some countries use a single national purchaser for health care services like Estonia and Slovenia, while countries like Netherlands and Israel use competing purchasers which are open to everyone for subscription. Thailand has multiple but non competing purchasing agencies, one for civil servants, one for formal private sector employees and another one for rest of the population. England and Austria deploy both national and local-level purchasers, each with its own set of services offered. Unfortunately, a large number of countries still depend on supply side financing (passive purchasing) through budget allocations by the Ministry of Health, or on out-of-pocket payments (with the purchaser bearing only a fraction of the total cost).

The success of strategic purchasing depends not only on its methods, but also on its governance model. Sufficient autonomy and authority in hands of the purchaser is needed to allow economically sound decisions. This can be achieved by a purchaser provider split, in which third party payers are kept organizationally separate from service providers, as in the case of Finland.<sup>14</sup> The purchaser should also be sufficiently authorized to audit and prevent over provisioning and over billing by the service providers.

Although there is no ideal strategic payment method, most of the countries are now increasingly moving towards some variant of a capitation payment system for PHC. This is because it is suited to promoting equity and quality in primary health systems. Another reason for its increasing popularity is the failure of line-item budgeting or out of pocket payments in delivering an equitable and quality driven PHC system. Estonia presents a good example of a blended payment system for PHC, through the Estonian Health Insurance Fund (ESIF) that was formed by a merger of non competing regional sickness funds. ESIF uses a combination of strategic purchasing with specific performance incentives for family doctors and PHC service providers to take responsibility for outcomes of treatment.<sup>15</sup> It also employs some commonly accepted purchasing principles like centralized pooling of funds, mandatory participation for risk diversification, solidarity (covering the cost of health care services, irrespective of the amount of social tax paid by an individual) and minimizing fragmentation (a central pricing system, paid by a single national purchaser relying on activity based costing).



### Information Systems to monitor and drive better primary health care

Timely and accurate measurement of the outcomes, user experiences and provider performance in health care services is essential to continuously improve the quality of PHC. This needs a large amount of data for policy making and strategic purchasing decisions. This data includes (1) complex needs-weighted formulae for resource allocation (2) service standards and specifications for contracting services to providers (3) case-mix tools and standardized outcomes' measurements for provider payments, (4) risk analysis techniques for risk diversification amongst the beneficiaries and (5) management related data for day to day administration of the purchasing program.

Unfortunately, most governments and donor agencies spend too less on developing timely and validated health information systems.<sup>16</sup> This results in most of the critical data on processes and outcomes not being captured at all at the PHC level. Even when such data gets collected, it is poorly organized by paper-based methods, and thus cannot be analysed or bench marked due to absence of a standard terminology in hand written formats. Though some countries have adopted digital data collection tools, these tends to be incompatible with data systems at policy and purchasing levels resulting in water tight silos which prevent free-flow of information.

However, there do exist some best practices for other nations to replicate. The EuroHOPE (European Health-care Outcomes, Performance and Efficiency) Project is an example of a performance information system to monitor and improve quality of outcomes.<sup>17</sup> Amongst developing countries, Uganda's Mobile Vital Records System is a good example which links mobile phones, clinics and hospitals' computers with the central government server.<sup>18</sup> This has vastly improved the civil registration and collection of vital statistics in the PHC. Lastly, the DHIS-2 (District Health Information Software 2) is an open source and free-to-use health-care data management platform which is widely used in over 60 countries.<sup>19</sup> It provides an integrated platform for data on disease surveillance, monitoring of patient health etc. and speeds up access to data across all levels of decision making in governments.

Though each country may choose to develop its own health information system, any good system must perform the 4 key functions: (1) data generation, (2) data compilation, (3) analysis and synthesis, and (4) data communication and use. The performance of a country's system can be evaluated by a desk review through independent experts such as the World Bank Statistical Capacity Indicator.<sup>20</sup> This external approach, however, carries the risk the countries may not agree with the experts' assessment and thus may

not implement the recommendations. Alternatively, countries can do a self-evaluation of the health information systems through General Data Dissemination Strategy<sup>21</sup> and Health Metrics Network (HMN)<sup>22</sup> information assessment that can guide governments' efforts to advance their health information systems by identifying areas for improvement which donor aid-agencies can then support.

## Conclusion

Universal Health Coverage (UHC) is now a globally accepted goal to aspire towards. Equity, access according to need, and improved quality in primary health care (PHC) without financial hardships is the most efficient way of achieving progress towards UHC. While there are many determinants of quality in PHC, financing techniques and information management systems are two key factors which can lead to sustainable improvement in PHC quality. There is no silver bullet in health financing and information management systems, and generally it is best to deploy a blend of internationally acclaimed practices. This blend must be a system which is designed intelligently, is based on the country specific needs, promotes coordinated care for patients with complex needs and rewards quality while penalizing sub-optimal practices.

## References

- Fifty-eighth World Health Assembly (2005): Resolution 58.33. Sustainable health financing, universal coverage and social health insurance.
- World Health Organization (2014): Final report of the WHO consultative group on equity and universal health coverage - Making fair choices on the path to universal health coverage.
- Lagomarsino G, Garabrant A, Adyas A, Muga R, Otoo N. (2012): Moving towards universal health coverage: health insurance reforms in nine developing countries in Africa and Asia. *Lancet*. 2012; 380:933-43
- World Health Organization (2015): UHC Forward, a WHO compilation of success stories - Tracking universal health coverage: first global monitoring report; Geneva. ISBN 978 92 4 156497 7
- World Health Organization (2018): Building the economic case for primary health care: a scoping review; Reference Number WHO/HIS/SDS/2018.48
- Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2017): OECD reviews of health systems: Costa Rica; Viewed on May 8, 2020 (<https://www.oecd.org/countries/costarica/oecd-reviews-of-health-systems-costa-rica-2017-9789264281653-en.htm>)
- Madeline Pesec, Hannah L. Ratcliffe, Ami Karlage, Lisa R. Hirschhorn, Atul Gawande, Asaf Bitton. (2017) Primary Health Care That Works: The Costa Rican Experience. *Health Affairs* Vol. 36, No. 3: Delivery System Innovation

- Dahal, Gokarna & Ghimire, Niroj & Hassan, Mohammad & Pokhrel, Prabha. (2017). Nepal's transition toward universal health coverage: A challenging pace for implementation. *International Journal of Medical Science and Public Health*. 1. 10.5455/ijmsph.2017.1165423012017.
- World Health Organization; (2010). Increasing access to health workers in remote and rural areas through improved retention: global policy recommendations. Geneva. Viewed on May 8, 2020 -(<https://www.who.int/hrh/retention/guidelines/en/>)
- World Health Organization: Patients for Patient Safety. Geneva. Viewed on May 4, 2020 (<https://www.who.int/patientsafety/en/>).
- Wallace LS. (2013) A view of health care around the world. *Ann Fam Med*. 2013;11(1):84. doi:10.1370/afm.1484
- World Health Organization; (2010): World health report. Health systems financing: the path to universal coverage. Geneva.
- Mathauer I, Dale E, Jowett M, Kutzin J. (2019) Purchasing of health services for Universal Health Coverage: How to make it more strategic? Policy Brief, Department of Health Systems Governance and Financing, Geneva: World Health Organization; 2019 (WHO/HGF/PolicyBrief/19.6)
- Tynkkynen LK, Keskimäki I, Lehto J. (2013) Purchaser-provider splits in health care-the case of Finland. *Health Policy*. 2013 Aug;111(3):221-5. doi: 10.1016/j.healthpol.2013.05.012. Epub 2013 Jun 19.
- Jan De Maeseneer (2016) W.H.O Regional Office for Europe: Strengthening the model of primary health care in Estonia. Viewed on May 1, 2020 ([http://www.euro.who.int/data/assets/pdf\\_file/0007/321946/Strengthening-model-primary-health-care-Estonia.PDF?ua=1](http://www.euro.who.int/data/assets/pdf_file/0007/321946/Strengthening-model-primary-health-care-Estonia.PDF?ua=1))
- World Health Organization \*2012) Management of patient information: trends and challenges in Member States, based on the findings of the second Global Survey on eHealth. Geneva
- Hagen TP, Häkkinen U, Belicza E, Fatore G, Goude F, and on behalf of the EuroHOPE study group. (2015) Acute myocardial infarction, use of percutaneous coronary intervention, and mortality: a comparative effectiveness analysis covering seven European countries. *Health Economics*. 2015; 24:88–101
- UNICEF Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office (2012): Case study on narrowing the gaps for equity, Uganda. Right to identity: using mobile technologies to improve delivery of, and access to, birth registration services for all children.
- Braa, J., Hanseth, O., Heywood, A., Mohammed, W., & Shaw, V. (2007). Developing Health Information Systems in Developing Countries: The Flexible Standards Strategy. *MIS Quarterly*, 31(2), 381-402. doi:10.2307/25148796
- The World Bank: Data on Statistical Capacity. Viewed on May 4, 2020 (<http://datatopics.worldbank.org/statisticalcapacity/>)

International Monetary Fund: The General Data Dissemination System: Guide for Participants. Viewed on May 6, 2020 (<https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/gdds/guide/2013/gddsguide13.pdf>)

World Health Organization (2008): Health Metrics Network: Assessing the National Health Information System (An Assessment Tool) Version 4.0. Viewed on May 4, 2020 (<https://www.afro.who.int>)

#### Abbreviations

- WHO : World Health Organization
- UHC : Universal Health Coverage
- PHC : Primary Health Care

---

**Dr. Aditya Dahiya**

*The author is an IAS officer of 2011 batch, Haryana cadre. He is currently posted as Deputy Commissioner, Jind District, Haryana.*



# 15 Years of Gender Budgeting in India

Dr. R.K. Choubisa

## Abstract

*Gender Budgeting (GB) is considered as a powerful tool for fostering gender equality and empowerment. It is the application of gender mainstreaming in the budgetary process. The last Budget announcement made by the Union Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman proposed for setting up a committee to evaluate 15 years of Gender Budgeting through a gender lens. The committee is yet to be constituted even after one year. The present paper examines the concept, meaning and rationale of gender budgeting in India. Underlying myths and assumptions have been discussed. Gender Budgeting was introduced for the first time in the year 2005 as a budgetary practice. It is considered as a fiscal innovation-based policy making women and men equals on the same platform. GB has been institutionalized by introducing a Gender Budget Statement (GBS) in union budget since 2005-06. The GBS captures the total quantum of resources earmarked for women in a financial year. It comprises two parts-Part "A" and Part "B." Part "A" presents women-specific budget provisions under schemes in which 100% provisions are meant for women. Part "B" presents women-specific budget provisions under schemes where such allocations constitute at least 30% of the total provisions. The paper analyses budgetary provisions made in the GBS in the last 15 years starting from 2005-06 to 2020-21. In the end, few suggestions have been offered.*

## Union Budget 2019-2020

In her maiden Union Budget speech on 5 July 2019 at the Parliament, India's first full-time woman Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharamana spoke about the women of India saying that the country's tradition has been 'Naari Tu Narayani.' (Woman, you are a goddess).

She shared a quote from the letter of Swami Vivekanand to his mentor and guru, Swami Ramakrishnanda that "there is no chance of welfare in the world unless the condition of women in India is improved. It is not possible for a bird to fly on one wing."<sup>1</sup> We can make progress with greater women participation. Thus, she highlighted the importance of women for the world. She announced setting up of a broad based committee with Government and private stakeholders to evaluate 15 years of Gender Budgeting and suggest actions for moving forward.<sup>2</sup>

Gender means Females, Males and Transgenders

India is the second largest nation in terms of population. India's population accounts for world's 17.5% population. As per Census of India (2011), the population of India is 1210.2 million. Of this total, 623.7 million are males and 586.5 million are females. Women constitutes 48.5% of India's population. The all-India sex ratio, according to Census 2011 data, is 940 women per 1000 men. Indian census has never recognized the third gender i.e. Transgender while collecting census data for years. However, in 2011, data of transgenders was collected for the first time with details related to their employment, literacy and caste.

In India, the total population of transgender persons is around 4.88 lakh (actual tally: 487,803) as per the 2011 Census.<sup>3</sup> The highest proportion of the third gender population, about 1.37 lakhs is identified in Uttar Pradesh. Only 30,000 are registered with the Election Commission. Transgender community is a socially marginalized community in the country because they do not neatly fit into the general categories of gender of "male" or "female." Consequently, they face problems ranging from social exclusion to discrimination, lack of education facilities, unemployment, lack of medical facilities and so on. Estimates suggest that there are 50 to 60 lakh transgenders in India. The Supreme Court of India in its order dated 15<sup>th</sup> April 2014, passed in the case of National Legal Services Authority (NALSA) v. Union of India, *inter alia*, directed that the Central Government and State Governments should take steps for the welfare of transgender community and to treat them as a third gender for the purpose of safeguarding their rights under Part III of the Constitution of India and other laws made by the Parliament and the State Legislature.<sup>4</sup> The apex court has held that the right to self-identification of gender is part of the right to dignity and autonomy under Article 21 of the Constitution of India. This landmark judgement has affirmed that the fundamental rights granted under the Constitution of India will be equally applicable to transgender people, and gave them the right to self-identification of their gender as male, female or third gender. The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act 2019 (No. 40 of 2019) passed by the Parliament provides for protection of rights of transgender persons and their welfare.<sup>5</sup> More legal and administrative measures are due to be taken.

The principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Constitution of India. However, the reality is altogether different on ground. Many indices affirm that women are not economically, socially and politically equal to males. To promote mainstreaming of gender issues, Ministry of Women and Child

Development, Government of India recognized Gender Budgeting in 2004 as an important and powerful tool for women's empowerment, and as a way of addressing the observed inequality. Government of India adopted "Budgeting for Gender Equality" as a mission statement, and framed a Strategic Framework of Activities to implement this mission. The Ministry of Finance, Government of India has also recognized the potential of Gender Budgeting in the country.

#### Origin of the Gender Budgeting

Australia was the first among the Commonwealth nations to adopt an original approach to Gender Budgeting in 1984 with budgetary allocations for gender implications over a period of 12 years. Being a pioneer, Australia was the first country to introduce gender-sensitive budget in 1983-1984 at the national level. It was implemented as a gender mainstreaming strategy that integrates economic and social policies with a whole government approach. Back then, they were called "Women's Budget" due to the focus on the feminine impact on the budget, but just a decade later the terms "Gender Budgets", "Gender-Sensitive Budgets", "Gender Responsive Budgets", "Applied Gender Budget Analysis" and "Gender Budget Initiatives" etc. came into common practice. All these terms refer to gender budget initiatives.<sup>6</sup> The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report that over 90 countries including Africa, America, Asia, Europe, Middle East and Pacific countries, have adopted Gender budgeting and each one has had a unique experience with its implementation. World Economic Forum has reported several Global Best Practices in the world. Notable are: Austria, Bolivia and Rwanda have mandated gender budgeting in their constitutions. In a way, they have made it legal. Countries like Morocco and Afghanistan have aligned budgetary goals with national gender equality plans or the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Finland, Ireland and Spain have committed to undertake studies to look at the gender aspects of revenue and taxation policies. Uganda has "local Budget Clubs" where citizens discuss expenditure priorities and hold government accountable for equitable spending right for the local level. Likewise, the UK and Canada are conducting thorough annual gender sensitive analysis of the Budget. Australia, Philippines, Korea, Canada, Great Britain, South Africa, Nepal and Sri Lanka and a few African countries has adopted gender budgeting.<sup>7</sup> Most countries in the world have adopted fiscal policies to address gender inequality, while some 90 have implemented "gender budgeting." Some countries have made progress on gender-related goals without adopting "gender budgeting."

India adopted gender budgeting in 2004-2005 based on the recommendations of an expert group committee constituted to review the classification system for Government transactions by the Ministry of Finance on Classification of Budgetary Transactions (2003), and a statement on gender budgeting was incorporated in the Gender Budget Statement No. 19, Expenditure Budget (2005-2006), Vol. I.

For the first time, section on gender inequality appeared in Chapter on Social Sector in Economic Survey (2000-2001) based on the Interim Report on Gender Budgeting done by National Institute of Public Finance and Policy-NIPFP). Status of women was discussed in terms of gender equality with reference to health and labour participation. Ministry of Women and Child Development added a new and separate chapter on Gender Budgeting in its Annual Report. Gradually, the concept has become popular in mainstreaming of the budget. A need for reviewing gender budgeting is being felt nowadays.

What is Gender Budgeting?<sup>8</sup>

Budgets are usually perceived as gender-neutral in their effects- they affect men and women in different ways in terms of both revenue and expenditure. Decision related to budgeting affect different groups of people in different ways which is why a gender perspective is required in preparing budget. However, Gender Budgeting (GB) recognizes that budgets are never neutral because policies and how they are funded have different and unequal impacts on women and men and different groups of women and men (young, old, urban, rural etc.). Besides, women and men have different roles and responsibilities, including in the economy so budgets affect them differently.<sup>9</sup>

GB is a process of bringing forward a gender perspective at all stages of policy making. This covers the employment of a gender lens in the formulation of legislation, policies, plans, programmes and schemes, allocation and collection of resources, implementation, monitoring, audit and impact assessment of programmes and schemes, and corrective action to address gender disparities. GB seeks to achieve a gender equal distribution of resources.

GB is a new way of promoting gender equality. It means to transform the allocation of public spending and revenue in a way that promotes equality. Preparing budgets for analyzing them from a gender perspective. It is a powerful tool for achieving gender mainstreaming so as to ensure that benefits of development reach women as much as men. It is a strategy to achieve equality between women and men by focusing on the public resources are collected and spent. Gender Budgeting is way for governments to promote



equality through fiscal policy. It involves analyzing a budget's differing impacts on men and women and allocating money accordingly.

GB is a strategy to ensure that public investments translate into better outcomes for women and girls. GB initiatives facilitate coherence between planning, budgeting and gender equality goals by intervening across the planning and budgeting cycle.

A common definition of GB is “integrating a clear gender perspective within the overall context of the budgetary process through special processes and analytical tools, with a view to promoting gender-responsive policies.” It refers to mainstreaming gender in the design, implementation and evaluation of financial allocations, across all government expenditures. (OECD-2016)

GB involves dissection of the Government Budget to establish its gender differential impacts and to translate gender commitments into budgetary commitments.

In short, Gender Budgeting entails the following:

- It is concerned with gender sensitive formulation of legislation, programmes and schemes; allocation of resources; implementation and execution; audit and impact assessment of programmes and schemes; and follow-up corrective action to address gender disparities.
- It is a powerful tool for achieving gender mainstreaming so as to ensure that benefits of development reach women as much as men.
- Monitors expenditure and public service delivery from a gender perspective.
- Expands dissection of the Government budgets to establish its gender differential impacts and to ensure that gender commitments are translated in to budgetary commitments.
- It is an approach designed to mainstream the gender dimension into all stages of the budget cycle. It refers to the process of conceiving, planning, approving, executing, monitoring, analyzing and auditing budgets in a gender sensitive way.
- It involves analysis of actual expenditure on women and girls as compared to on men and boys taking into account their different needs and priorities.
- Covers analyzing various economic policies of the Government from a gender perspective?
- It is the use of fiscal policy and administration to promote gender equality and girls' and women's development.

### Myths/Assumptions of Gender Budgeting<sup>10</sup>

*Budgets are gender-neutral economic instruments:* Policy makers should not assume that government expenditures and taxes impact equally on women and men, since women and men generally occupy different social and economic positions.

*Gender budgets are not separate budgets for women and men:* Instead, it brings overall gender awareness and sensitivity into the policies and budgets of all sectors. It mainly seeks to ensure that all the needs and interests of various social groups are highlighted in the budget as women and men have different priorities, due to their separate roles in the society.

*Gender budgets are not 50% budget for men and 50% budget for women:* But it analyzes financial resource generation, allocation, expenditure and the impact from a gender perspective.

*Gender budget does not increase the overall budget:* Rather it is re-prioritization in the overall expenditure. It emphasizes on reorientation of programmes within sectors rather than changes in the overall amount allocated to particular sectors. It does not merely involve earmarking of funds for women; it is an exercise that scrutinizes the budget through a gender lens.

*Gender budget is not all about “who makes how much by doing what”:* It also focuses on the non-financial contributions made towards the economy and society by recognizing the unpaid but committed labour of women in bearing, rearing, and caring of citizens.

*Gender budget is not just about government budgets:* It is also concerned with budgets of NGOs, Civil Society Organizations, Elected Assemblies, Departments as well as Central and Local Governments.

Gender Budget can cover/be applied to whole budget, expenditure of selected departments or agencies, expenditure on new programmes, selected forms of revenue and new legislation.

### The Five-Step Framework for Gender Budgeting

Debbie Budlender (2002), gender budget expert and specialist researcher has developed a five-step framework for carrying out the gender-aware appraisal.

The Gender Budgeting process can be divided into a five-step framework:

**Step 1: *Analyzing the Situation:*** An analysis of the situation for women and men and girls and boys (and the different sub-groups) in a given sector.

**Step 2: *Assessing the gender-responsiveness of policies:*** An assessment of the extent to which the sector's policy addresses the gender issues and gaps described in the first step.

*Step 3: Assessing the budget allocations:* An assessment of the adequacy of budget allocations to implement the gender-sensitive policies and programmes identified in step 2.

*Step 4: Monitoring spending and service delivery:* Monitoring whether the money was spent as planned, what was delivered and to whom.

*Step 5: Assessing outcomes:* An assessment of the impact of the policy/programme/scheme and the extent to which the situation described in step 1 has changed.

A comprehensive gender analysis, based on sex disaggregated data, provides a solid foundation for each of the five steps. It was developed for the South African Women's Budget Initiative (2000).

Rational behind Gender Budgeting

Gender budgeting is important because:

- Women represent 48.5% of the total population of the country;
- Women face disparities in access to and control over services and resources<sup>11</sup>;
- There are specific needs of women that need to be addressed specifically;<sup>12</sup> and
- Bulk of the public expenditure and policy concerns are in “gender neutral” sectors. Certain sectors like defence, power, trade, transport, commerce etc. are perceived as gender neutral.<sup>13</sup> Implications on women in the above sectors are not recognised or identified.
- Wholesome development of women and children is crucial for sustainable and equitable development of the country.
- A substantial proportion of women and children lag behind on many social indicators like health, education, economic opportunities etc.
- Gender budgets policies can contribute to achieving the objectives of gender equality, human development and economic efficiency.

Gender Budget Statement (GBS)

For the first time, the Government of India included a statement on gender budgeting in the Union Budget 2005-2006 which presented the magnitude of allocations for various programmes/schemes under demands for grants of the Union Government. It has institutionalized Gender Budgeting by introducing a Gender Budget Statement (GBS) since 2005-06. GBS reflected the quantum of budgetary allocations for women-oriented programmes. The GBS captures the total quantum of resources earmarked for women in a financial year. It is

prepared on the basis of the information furnished by the Ministries/ Departments. It is part of the Expenditure Budget, Vol. I of the Union Budget documents. Herein, gender-related budgetary allocations are reflected in a two-way classified GBS:

- Part A reflects Women Specific Schemes, i.e. those which have 100% allocation for women.
- Part B reflects Pro Women Schemes, i.e. those where at least 30% of the allocation is for women.

Gender budgeting was adopted on the recommendations of an expert group committee constituted in 2003 under the chairmanship of Shri Ashok Lahiri by the Ministry of Finance, Government of India on “Classification of Budgetary Transactions” and a statement on gender budgeting was incorporated in the Expenditure Budget (2005-2006).<sup>14</sup> As per the recommendations of this Expert Group, a Gender Budgeting Secretariat was placed in the Ministry of Finance, and Gender Budgeting Cells (GBCs) were constituted in the sectoral ministries. At present, 57 Ministries and Departments have set up GBCs to pursue gender budgeting. Department of Expenditure, Ministry of Finance issued a Charter for GBCs outlining the composition of GBCs and their functions. These GBCs are responsible for conducting gender based impact analysis, beneficiary needs assessment and beneficiary incidence analysis to identify scope for re-prioritization of public expenditure.

Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India and National Institute of Public Finance and Policy entrusted with the task of jointly undertaking a review of the public expenditure profile of the Departments of Rural Development, Health, Family Welfare, Labour, Elementary Education, Small Scale Industries, Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation, Social Justice and Empowerment and Tribal Affairs, through the gender lens, conduct beneficiary-incidence analysis and recommend specific changes in the operational guidelines of various development schemes so as to improve coverage of women beneficiaries of the public expenditures. Village women and their associations were also encouraged to assume responsibility for all development schemes relating to drinking water, sanitation, primary education, health and nutrition.<sup>15</sup>

The then Union Finance Minister Shri P. Chidambaram presented his fourth Budget (2005-2006) in Parliament on 28 February 2005. He announced that Government of India is going to introduce Gender Budget which will be institutionalized in a year in the country. As a result, GBS was first introduced in the Budget, 2005 with the hope of tackling stark gender inequality. Gender

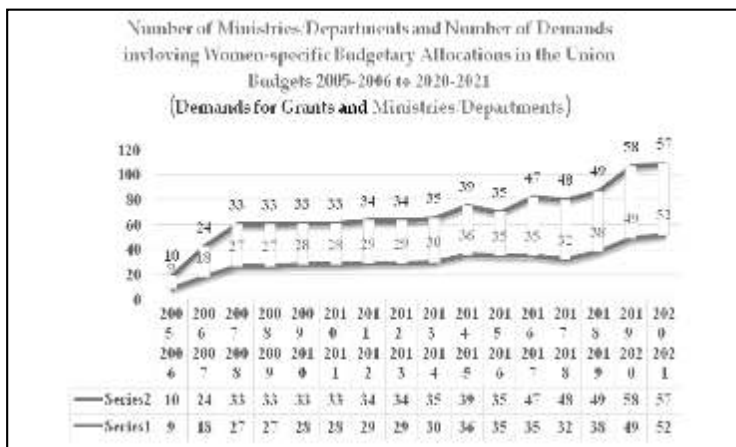
Budget Statement No. 19 was added in Expenditure Budget, Vol. I, Union Budget 2005-2006. Later, Statement No. 19 became Statement No. 20 from 2006-2007 onwards till 2016-2017. Since budget, 2017-2018, it is now known as Statement No. 13.

### Budget Allocation in GBS

Budgetary allocations were made under 10 demands for grants (Demand No. 49, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 65, 79, 81 and 88) of 9 Ministries/Departments. Provision for Budget Estimates of Rs. 14378.68 Crore (Plan Rs. 14342.41 Crore and Non Plan Rs. 36.27 Crore) was made in 2005-2006.<sup>16</sup> It constituted 2.79% of the total expenditure. This is called magnitude of Gender Budget. Budget Estimates were revised as Rs. 24240.51 Crore in 2006-2007.<sup>17</sup> The aim of gender budgeting in India was to ensure efficiency in fiscal policy and gender equality. There was no idea of preparing a separate budget for women. The purpose was to allocate budget for gender specific outcomes and apply a gender lens on fiscal expenditure.

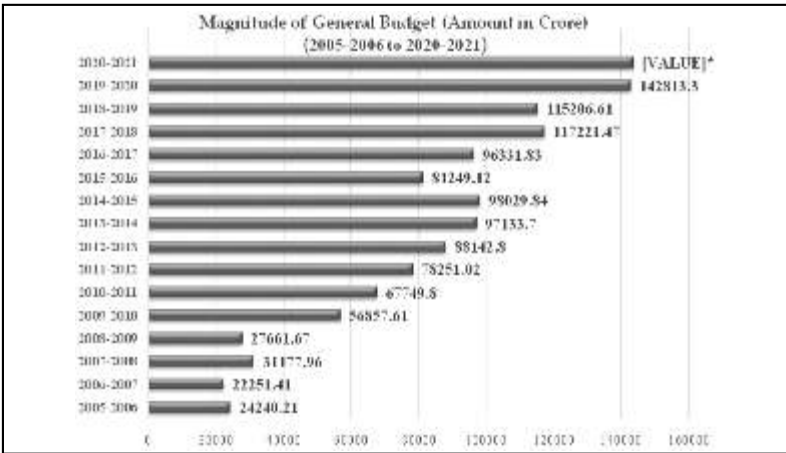
With budget 2006-2007, this gender budget exercise was extended to cover 24 demands for grants under 18 ministries/departments of the union government and five union territories. At present, there are 101 demands for grants under 51 ministries and 56 departments in Union Government. Demands for grants and number of ministries/departments and union territories from 2005-2006 to 2020-2021 can be seen in Graph-1. Year-wise allocation for the gender budget have been indicated in Graph-2.<sup>18</sup>

Graph-1



Source: Ministry of Finance, Government of India, Union Budgets, Expenditure, Budget, Vol. I (Gender Budget from 2005-2006 to 2020-2021) (Data compiled)

Graph-2

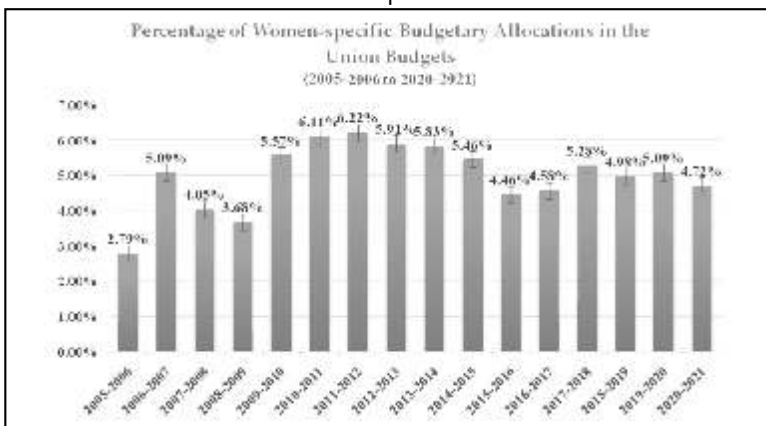


\*Figures against each year are Revised Estimates (RE) but in case of Year 2020-2021, Allocations are shown as Budget Estimates (BE).

Source: Ministry of Finance, Government of India, Union Budgets, Expenditure, Budget, Vol. I (Gender Budget from 2005-2006 to 2020-2021) (Data compiled)

In 2006-07, when gender budgets were introduced as a separate section of the Union budget, 5.09% of total spending was allocated for women-related schemes. This rose to 5.57 in 2009-10, 6.11 in 2010-11 and 6.22% in 2011-12. Thereafter the share of gender budget was on decline till 2016-17. It went up in 2017-18. As shown in Graph-3, the share of gender budget as a percentage of total budgetary expenditure has been 4.98% in 2018–19, 5.09% in 2019–20 (RE-revised estimates) and only 4.72% in 2020–21 (BE-budget estimates). The average share of such spending was 5% during the past five years. The highest was 6.22% in 2011-12. The share has more than doubled from 2.79% in 2004-05. Over the last 15 years, size of the gender budget has remained below 6%, with a few exceptions.

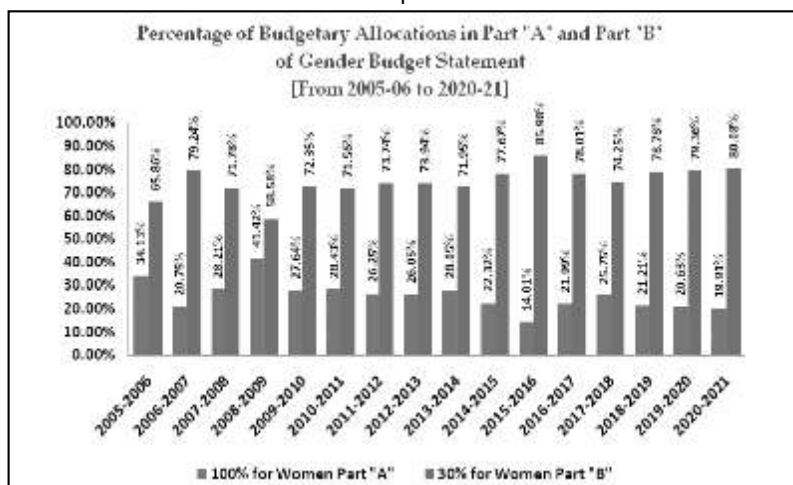
Graph-3



Source: Ministry of Finance, Government of India, Union, Expenditure, Budget, Vol. I (Gender Budget from 2005-2006 to 2020-2021) (Data compiled)

Graph-4 depicts the percentage of budgetary allocations under Part “A” (100% women specific programmes) and Part “B” (Other schemes with the minimum 30% women beneficiaries) of gender budget statement since 2005-2006 to 2020-2021. It is pertinent to mention that percentage share of allocations under Part “A” had always been below than the allocations under Part “B.” Part “B” constitutes the maximum portion of funds under gender budget statement which is not exclusively for women. As regards Part “A”, share of gender budget was the minimum 14.01% in 2015-2016 and the maximum 41.42% in 2008-2009. On the other hand, share of gender budget was the minimum 58.58% in 2008-2009 and the maximum 85.98% in 2015-2016

Graph-4



Source: Ministry of Finance, Government of India, Union, Expenditure, Budget, Vol. I (Gender Budget from 2005-2006 to 2020-2021) (Data compiled)

### Conclusion

Gender budgeting applies a gender lens to expenditure and prioritizes gender-specific outcomes. It has emerged as a popular way for governments across the world to empower women and improve gender equality. Gender budgeting has been sustained for the last 15 years in the country.

Gender budgeting has not only been sustained but implemented in States and Union Territories also. It is not only the Union government, but also many States that have adopted gender budgeting. By December, 2019, as many as 18 States including Two Union Territories (UTs)–Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Dadra and Nagar Haveli–had adopted gender budgeting by the end of 2012.<sup>19</sup> (See, Table-1).

No doubt, Gender budgets, and related policies, will contribute towards achieving gender equality and will simultaneously improve the population’s

### States in India with Gender Budgeting, by Year of Initiation

Year	States (Early Adopters)
2004	Odisha
2005	Tripura, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh
2006	Gujarat, Lakshadweep and Karnataka
Year	States (Subsequent Adopters)
2008	Himanchal Pradesh, Assam and Bihar
2009	Nagaland
2010	Kerala
Year	States (Recent Adopters)
2011	Rajasthan (August) and Dadra & Nagar Haveli
2012	Andaman & Nicobar Islands (November) and Punjab
2013	Maharashtra (January)
2015	Jharkhand

welfare and lead to more sustainable and inclusive growth and employment. It is found that the overall quantum of the gender budget is still less than 1% of the GDP and remains concentrated in very few sectors.<sup>20</sup> It is observed that monitoring and implementation remains inadequate due to lack of accountability mechanisms. Gender budgeting should be aligned with national development goals on gender equality and women's development. It should translate these goals into fiscal policies and programs. The government must adopt policies consistent with these goals and fund programs and the administration to achieve them. Furthermore, Gender Budgeting can also address goals related to men and boys, though typically it has not been done. The ministries/departments of government must identify important and achievable objectives, consistent with gender-related national development goals. There is a need to align gender budgeting goals to national development plans and ensure that their objectives are clear, ambitious, and fit into the budget process. Collection of appropriate data and use in supporting analysis is critical for policy development and evaluation. Non-governmental organizations, academic scholarship, and advocacy play at times a catalytic role. However, government involvement is essential for success. Monitoring of outcomes and evaluation are essential.

#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Union Budget, 2019-20, Budget Speech of Finance Minister Nirmala Seetharaman, Part "A", 5 July 2010, para 76.

<sup>2</sup> Union Budget, 2019-20, Budget Speech of Finance Minister Nirmala Seetharaman, Part "A", 5 July 2010, para 78.

<sup>3</sup> Census of India, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> National Legal Services Authority v. Union of India, W.P. (Civil) No. 400/2012



- 
- <sup>5</sup> The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill, 2019 (No. 169 of 2019) was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 19 July 2019. Lok Sabha passed the Bill on 5 August 2019. The Bill was passed by the Rajya Sabha on 25 November 2019. The Bill passed by the Parliament received the assent of the President on the 5 December 2019. Thereafter, The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill, 2019 (Bill No. 40 of 2019) was published as The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act, 2019 in the The Gazette of India, Part-II-Section-I, New Delhi, Thursday, 5 December 2019.
- <sup>6</sup> Dalal, Annu, "Role of Gender Budgeting in Development of Women", in *International Journal of Advances in Management and Economics*, Vol. V, Issue-3, May-June 2016, pp.52-28. See also, Nisha, Velleppan Nair and Jon S.Mullakattu, "Gender Responsive Budgeting-The Case of a Rural Local Body in Kerala", *Sage Open*, January-March 2018, p. 1-14. , *Gender Budgeting Handbook for Government of India Ministries and Departments*, Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India, New Delhi, 2007, p.10-18
- <sup>7</sup> *Global Good Practices* have been compiled by Lekha Chakraborty, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, New Delhi.
- <sup>8</sup> For a simple description of meaning of gender budgeting, See, *Gender Responsive Budgeting in Asia and the Pacific-Key Concepts and Good Practices*, Escap, 2018, pp.5-10, Rudra, Shalini, *Gender Responsive Budgeting-A Task ahead for Ideas-15 Finance Commission*, ORF Occasional Paper, August 2018, p.5, *Gender Responsive Budget Brochure*, Nepal, Kathmandu, Ministry of Finance, Budget and Programme Division, Gender Responsive Budget Committee, Kathmandu, August 2008.
- <sup>9</sup> Chakraborty, Lekha, *A Case Study of Gender Responsive Budgeting in India*, Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013, p.1
- <sup>10</sup> *Gender Budgeting in India: A Tool of Women's Empowerment*, Lok Sabha Sachivalaya, Research and Information Division, Information Bulletin No. LARRDIS (EF) 2016/YB.1, p.2, See also, *Gender Responsive Budgeting in Asia and the Pacific-Key concepts and Good Practices*, ESCAP, 2018, p.7
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p.2
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p.2
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p.2
- <sup>14</sup> *Classification of Government Transaction*, Report of the Expert Group constituted to review a Classification System for Government Transaction, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, July 2004, pp.1-78
- <sup>15</sup> Ministry of Finance, Government of India, Union Budget, 2005-2006, Statement No. 19, Gender Budget, Expenditure Budget, Vol. I, 2005-2006, p.50
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.50-51
- <sup>17</sup> Ministry of Finance, Government of India, Union Budget, 2006-2007, Statement No. 19, Gender Budget, Expenditure Budget, Vol. I, 2005-2006, p.55
- <sup>18</sup> For analysis of year-wise budget allocation for Gender Budget, see, Das, Subrat and Yamini Mishra, "Gender Budgeting Statement-Misleading and Patriarchal Assumptions", in *Economic*

and Political Weekly, July 29, 2006. Pp.3285-3288. Ghadai, Sanjaya Kumar and Satya Narayan Mishra, "Gender Budgeting in India: An Impact Analysis", in International Journal of Recent Technology and Engineering (IJRTEE), Vol.7, Issue-6, March 2019, pp.1716-1722, Mehta, Asha Kapoor, "Union Budget 2020-21:A Critical Analysis from the Gender Perspective", Economic and Political Weekly, ISSN 2349-8846 (Online), Mehta, Asha Kapoor, Union Budget, 2020-21: Contrasting States and the Center's Approach to Gender Budgeting", in Economic and Political Weekly, ISSN 2349-8846 (Online).

<sup>19</sup>Annual Report 2019-2020, Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India, New Delhi. p.89.

<sup>20</sup>Shekhar, Divya, "How can Union Budget 2020 be made Gender Sensitive?" Published in Forbes India on

<sup>22</sup>January 2020.

---

Dr. R.K. Choubisa

*The author was a resource person under Indo-British Gender Planning Training Project handled by LBSNAA in early 1990s. He was a former Professor of Public Administration and Civil Service Trainer.*



# Rethinking Global Anti-corruption Campaign

Kannan Perumal

## Abstract

*In this work I make seven remarks on two topics viz, 1. Corruption control paradigm and 2. Implementation issues which are closely related with the new corruption control campaign. The arguments are about the relationship between corruption and growth; conceptualising corruption; corruption measurements; empirical relationship between corruption and other indicators of governance; continuing corruption control dilemma in developing countries; lack of demand from the powerful for controlling corruption and the need for looking beyond corruption merely as a problem. This work attempts to bring out inadequacies of the current corruption control approach both on conceptual and contextual aspects. This study argues in favour of a rethinking by making the corruption control efforts comprehensive and beneficial to the developing world.*

## Introduction

A vast majority of countries support the new anti-corruption campaign in their appetite for development as this movement talks corruption control as an inevitable means of achieving economic growth. This campaign further claims that incidence of corruption comes down with increasing level of development (Enste, 2017); and developing countries face the problem of systemic corruption (Wigwe, 2016). The idea of good governance asserts that corruption needs to be controlled for increasing the economic growth (Chimezie, 2016). The neo-liberalism driven multinational initiatives like OECD<sup>1</sup>, UNCAC<sup>2</sup> etc. do attempt to harmonise the practices across jurisdictions for better corruption control. The UN, World Bank and donor agencies talk about global programme against corruption covering institution building; enforcement; international legal cooperation etc. (UNODC, 2004). Regional efforts like, the African governance initiative etc. talk about the need for context specific interventions for better corruption control. As a result, many countries have taken measures to incorporate the provisions of the initiatives like, UNCAC; and made revisions in their regulations wherever the provisions were overlapping.

But, review of anti-corruption works over the period of past three decades

gives the idea that corruption control efforts have not been received with equal enthusiasm by all countries (Khan, 2013; UNODC<sup>3</sup>, 2004). It is evident that from 1990s the anti-corruption movement has consciously built the narrative that corruption control is essential for economic growth by considering corruption as an independent variable. But, both the approach and claim of the current anti-corruption movement are contested by scholars as the effect of corruption control in increasing the growth rate is not very evident; and no country in the world has achieved economic development by controlling corruption (Khan, 2013). It is widely believed that the current campaign understands corruption in a very narrow sense of mutual demand and supply between two corrupt actors; and is driven by the concerns of market competition.

I organise this work as a set of seven remarks on topics 1. Corruption control paradigm and 2. Implementation issues as these topics are closely related with the current approach of corruption control. Essentially, in this work I highlight the need for new thinking on the paradigm shift in corruption control from 1990s; and argue in favour of a new finding on the relationship between corruption and governance by addressing the underlying causes of corruption. In this context, I examine the issues of quantifying corruption; applicability of tailor made anti-corruption interventions in different settings; and the evidences of corruption control on economic development. Discussion on conceptual and theoretical inadequacies of the current corruption control approach forms a substantive part in this section. On the topic implementation issues, I make three remarks. In this section, I focus on the continuing dilemma of corruption control in developing countries and reasons thereof by describing the structural drivers of corruption and their impact on policy. This part of the work shows that corruption control have more to do with the contextual political economy rather than with the global understanding on corruption.

1. The relationship between corruption and growth is not well identified; and outcome of the projected gains of corruption control are predominantly aspirational.

Argument for adopting the anti-corruption campaign goes on the following lines: Corruption undermines legitimacy (Bhargava, 2005; Meon & Weil, 2010); and corruption has negative correlation with economic growth (Mauro, 1995; Tanzi & Davoodi, 1998; Aghion, *et al*, 2004). The new governance agenda pushes through corruption control as a means of achieving economic growth by arguing that corruption negatively impacts growth. If so, the new corruption control campaign should pass the following tests: 1. historical data should be consistent in showing significant negative correlation between

corruption and economic growth and 2. the causality between corruption and economic growth should be able to be explained empirically in different settings. It is fact that the new corruption control programme recognises the mechanisms that allow internal regulation of social interactions within corrupt networks (Vannucci, 2015). Still, this neo-liberal view of corruption control is a historical (Bedirhanoglu, 2007).

Khan (2013) argues that corruption control has not helped any country to achieve economic growth. Even the high growth developing economies like Japan, China, South Korea etc. did not take very active corruption control measures at early stages of their development. Blackburn, *et al.* (2006) also find little evidence to support the claim that corruption control promotes economic growth. They argue that many of the most poor and corrupt countries in the past still remain poor and corrupt. Similarly, the study conducted by Person, *et al* (2010) found that the position of most of the African countries in corruption control remain the same since the anti-corruption reforms were initiated in the 1990s. Findings of Johnston (2005) and Kpundeh (2004) also indicate that corruption has become more entrenched in many developing countries along with their efforts to control corruption. The theoretical model developed by Aidt & Dutta (2008) shows that corruption has negative impact on economic growth in countries where institutional quality is strong and vice versa. Méon & Weill (2010) would also produce similar evidence in their study. The study of Egger & Winner (2005) for seventy three countries shows that corruption stimulates growth by eliminating government failures emphasising the functional effects of corruption.

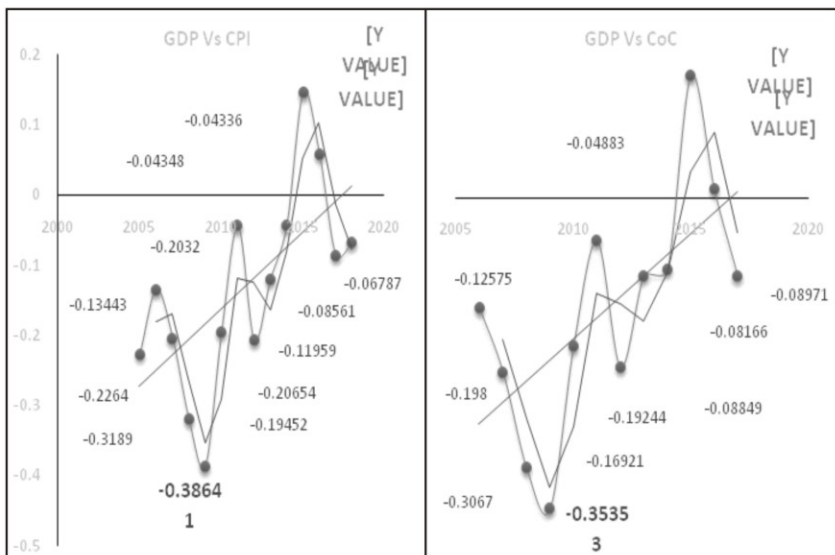
These views lead to the argument that corruption control could be the function of economic development and vice versa need not necessarily be true. It is also true that the neo-liberal way of approaching corruption has created governance crisis in developing countries by increasing the costs of corruption control and by undermining the contextual drivers of corruption.

In this context, this work studied the impacts of corruption on GDP growth for 159 countries using the GDP growth rate published by the International Monetary Fund; Corruption Perception Index and Control of Corruption Index released by the Transparency International and the World Bank respectively. Panel data for the period from 2006 to 2018 were studied through correlation and linear regression analysis. It was aimed to see impacts of corruption on GDP growth of various countries over the period of time. The following table shows the correlation values of GDP growth Vs Corruption Perception Index; and GDP growth Vs Control of Corruption Index for 159 countries from 2006 to 2018.

Correlation analysis clearly leads to the following inferences: 1. the association between corruption and GDP growth is normally negative, but weak; and 2. the direction and strength association between the variables are not consistent as they fluctuate over the period of time. The linear trend lines indicate the decreasing trend of negative effects of corruption on GDP growth over the years.

Year	GDP and CIP	GDP and CoC
2006	-0.12575	-0.13443
2007	-0.198	-0.2032
2008	-0.3067	-0.3189
2009	-0.35353	-0.38641
2010	-0.16921	-0.19452
2011	-0.04883	-0.04348
2012	-0.19244	-0.20654
2013	-0.08849	-0.11959
2014	-0.08166	-0.04336
2015	0.13857	0.1459
2016	0.0092	0.05848
2017	-0.08971	-0.08561
2018	NA	-0.0679

Evidently, there was negative correlation of -0.38641 and -0.35353 for the two sets of variables under study for the year 2009. But for subsequent years, results show further decrease in the strength of association between the variables. Interestingly, results for 2015 and 2016 show positive relationship between corruption and GDP growth for both the sets of data. The results indicate that the corruption-GDP growth relationship is dynamic and can even be positive and thus, the axiomatic view that corruption impedes growth is well contestable. Distribution of correlation values; linear trend lines; and moving average lines for the variables under study give the pattern shown below.



When the variables were regressed separately, the regression results produced the following:

SUMMARY: GDP Vs CPI <sup>4</sup>		SUMMARY: GDP Vs CoC <sup>5</sup>	
<i>Regression Statistics</i>		<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.366723	Multiple R	0.015113815
R Square	0.134486	R Square	0.000228427
Adjusted R Square	0.128973	Adjusted R Square	-0.006139544
Standard Error	2.02979	Standard Error	2.181546835
Observations	159	Observations	159

The regression results lead to the inference that corruption is not a strong determinant of GDP growth; and that the relationship between corruption and economic growth is not direct. Since the impacts of corruption on economic growth are dynamic and could even be positive, looking for direct causality to explain the negative impacts of corruption on economic growth can mischaracterise the relationship between the variables. The findings thus, while countering the assumption that corruption impedes growth, indicate that corruption control strategies must focus on tackling the indirect drivers that may happen over the period of time impacting growth, instead of treating corruption as an independent variable.

Narrow conceptualisation of the phenomenon reducing corruption to a mere law and order issue is not accommodative to the varied aspects of corruption. Corruption is found to have different causes and consequences in different societies (Rodriguez-Sanchez, 2018). Still, conceptualising corruption remains a contested area both in academia and in policy arena as there is no single agreed definition of corruption (Perumal, 2019). The UNDP (2015) admits that the complex and evolving nature of corruption makes it difficult to have a commonly agreed definition. Nonetheless, there is convergence of understanding about the harmful effects of corruption (Brook *et al.*, 2013).

Governance literature defines corruption in a very narrow sense of abuse functions; bribery; accumulating disproportionate assets; embezzlement; cheating etc. that impact various aspects of governance. There is uniformity among the institutions that support the current corruption control approach in defining corruption. The World Bank (2013) defines corruption as abuse of public office for private gain. Transparency International (2013) relates corruption with abuse of entrusted power. According to the United Nations (2004) corruption is the abuse of power for private gain. To put in perspective, the new governance agenda based anti-corruption efforts limit their focus to

those governance factors that cause or are affected by corruption; and by focussing on those behaviours that need to be criminalised instead of getting into the issue of defining corruption. Brooks, *et al.* (2013) while criticising this approach argue that focusing only on bribery while trying to understand corruption will overlook the complexity of the problem. They further argue that corruption is the result of an illicit agreement and that there is a willing partner in a corrupt transaction to bribe the agent.

Literature shows divergent views in understanding corruption in the society. Rational; cultural; anthropological and functional approaches try to define corruption from different perspectives with their own assumptions. Functionalism sees corruption as a way to distribute resources in the society and to generate economic growth for general welfare. For Samuel Huntington (1968) corruption is the way to grease the wheels to get things done. Similarly, the neo-functional approach sees corruption as a problem solving arrangement. But, for the rationalist approach corruption is dysfunctional to society; and actors to a corrupt deal aspire to maximise their profit (Pertiwi, 2017). Accordingly, the economic models of corruption like, the Principal-Agent theory and the Rational Choice approach see corruption as the result of profit maximising behaviour of rational actors at the cost of society. Institutional approach to corruption emphasises to understand corruption through the functions of institutions. Schwickerath (2017) argues that institutions can help to understand the key components of corruption. The neo-institutional approach emphasises to consider also the mechanisms which allow the internal regulation of social interactions within corrupt networks; and their effects on individuals beliefs and preferences (Vannucci, 2015). Rose-Ackerman & Palifka (2016) see corruption as a particular form of unethical behavior which harms the organisation and the society as a whole. Cross disciplinary approaches to corruption focus on understanding corruption by looking at what it means to individuals implicated by the phenomenon while engaging in social relations and situated in different contexts (Prtiwi, 2017). For Brubaker & Rogers (1998) corruption is a meaningful and culturally constructed social phenomenon. Seleim & Bontis (2009) see corruption in institutional collectivism. There are views that attempt to define corruption in also the context of relationships. Anthropological approach, following social constructivism, prefers multiple views of ethics and morality rather than moral evaluations (Prtiwi, 2017) for understanding corruption. Similarly, fragile states do not have functional institutions and there is lack of rule following behaviour. In such contexts looking for the key components of the existing popular definition of corruption and detecting violations to rules is complicated (Schwickerath & Düsseldorf, 2017).



Apart from conceptualisation, also there is the problem of contextualising corruption by the new anti-corruption movement as these efforts apply the same rules and practices in all settings (Dixit, 2016) irrespective of context specific realities. Bratis (2003) argues that the universalistic approach of understanding corruption overlooks historical, cultural and social specificities that cannot be ignored while trying to understand corruption. Such context based issues may remain hidden and can act as drivers of corruption if go unaddressed. Also there are contentions about the spread of anti-corruption norms in global governance promoted by various international institutions. The basis of current universalistic movement against corruption like, increasing evidences about corruption and the convergence of views about fighting corruption are also under severe criticism (Gephart, 2009). It is true that the universalistic approach dominates the world of corruption control. But, premises of this approach can create false dichotomies between corruption and various other aspects of human life due to its narrow understanding of the phenomenon. Thus, the understanding of current corruption control approach both in conceptual and contextual aspects lacks comprehensiveness and is not inclusive as well.

Are we measuring the immeasurable?

One of the most significant outcomes of the current corruption control campaign is the corruption measurements that attempt to capture perception about corruption through various variables. Obtaining direct data about corruption is a challenge due to the secret and illegal nature of corruption and in order to overcome this challenge corruption measurements were developed. These measurements have strong implications on the issues of governance as they are perceived to be indicating the performance of governments. Now, many international and regional agencies are providing corruption measurements and in spite of their merits in helping to understand corruption, corruption measurements have their inherent weaknesses as these are primarily perception based; and do not capture the actual instances of corruption. Andvig, *et al.*, (2000) argue that perceptions about corruption may not reflect the reality as they depend upon perspectives of specific groups or business and political orientations. This apart, the understanding of people about corruption varies irrespective of the level of corruption (Kube, 2017). As a result, corruption measurements face both methodological and ontological challenges from critiques.

Actually, the corruption indices based on aggregating data from various sources emerged in the mid-1990s. It is claimed that the aggregate indicators attempt to look beyond subjective factors while measuring corruption (UNDP,

2018). These measures are called as composite indicators (Arndt and Oman, 2006) and aggregate indicators (Kaufmann, 1999). Incidentally, most of the corruption measurements aggregate data from various sources in different forms for quantifying corruption. Though the third generation measurements try to limit the level of data aggregation, composite measures dominate the corruption measurements for at-least two decades (Malida, 2013). Criticism faced by composite indices for aggregating the data are varied. Even the UNDP (2008) admits that aggregating the data from many sources may lead to lose of conceptual clarity while measuring corruption. Knack (2006) argues that the measurements based on data aggregation lack conceptual precision as aggregation of data may not be based on independent judgments. For Arndt and Oman (2006) aggregate indicators are susceptible to misuse due to their selection bias; poor methodology and scoring criteria. Rohwer (2009) has reservations about transparency in collecting information for aggregating the data. Since the composite indices simply re-assemble data from different units of measure, re-scaling them into a single unit is also a problem (Rohwer, 2009). As a result, there are difficulties in interpreting the statistical results; changes in methodology; and data sources (Kaufmann and Kraay (2007). In addition, there are issues related with comparison of corruption measurements over time and across countries. Also there are correlation errors in sources while aggregating the data from various sources. Kaufmann and Kraay (2007) argue that composite data have not been found effective for comparison over time and among various countries.

It is true that perception about corruption impacts decisions as political and business decisions are taken after taking public perception into account. Perceived level of corruption has been cited as one of the reasons for less effective anti-corruption interventions in different countries. Objective data about corruption can give precise understanding about corruption and its causes for correct decision making. But, objective measurement in corruption is extremely rare and most of the corruption indicators rely on subjective measurements (Francisco & Javier, 2007) though there are attempts to build objective corruption measurements through innovative tools (Duncan, 2006).

Subjective data have their inherent shortcomings like, lack of precision; potential interdependence of sources; problems in validating the underlying data sources etc., You & Khagram (2005) argue that the perception based data for measuring corruption may be imprecise and biased; and they may not reflect the actual occurrence of corruption (Andvig *et al.*, 2000). Donchev & Ujhelyi (2007) warn that using corruption perception indices measures of corruption may be more problematic than suggested by the existing literature

due to lack of objectivity. Still, the UNDP (2008) believes that perceptions based data can be of use when data are not available with formal government institutions. Kobis (2017) views that it is important not to draw too strong conclusions from corruption indicators. These views lead to the argument that corruption cannot be quantified precisely and that the inherent shortcomings of corruption measurements need to be appreciated before accounting them in policy decisions.

Estimates of corruption are not uniform across settings; and the inferences resulting from empirical relationship between corruption and other indicators of governance do not present actually what the scenarios are, rather they are often misleading.

It is well understood that corruption measurements have conceptual issues. Considering the growing importance of corruption measurements in governance it is essential that they are consistent across settings because, inconsistent measurements with contestable validity can mislead the priorities in governance. Thus, it is imperative to examine if the corruption measurements have validity related issues when applied in different countries. There are studies that indicate that corruption measurements could not be validated in cross country studies (Shukhova & Yulil, 2017; Kaufmann & Kraay, 2007). Shukhova & Yulil (2017) argue that corruption measurements provide poor estimates of corruption level in countries with high corruption levels. Kaufmann & Kraay (2007) also agree with this finding. The broad aspects of validity related issues could be: 1. Content validity<sup>6</sup>; 2. Construct validity<sup>7</sup>; 3. Concurrent validity<sup>8</sup>; and 4. Predictive validity<sup>9</sup>. When these issues are adequately accounted, ideally, the corruption measurements should not face validity challenges and further, they should produce similar results across settings. Here, how far have the corruption measurements and the subsequent corruption control narrative altered the corruption control landscape could be a measure to assess the efficiency of corruption measurements as many interventions have been devised on the basis of insights given by corruption measurements. Considering the resource spent on the new anti-corruption campaign, the logical expectation is that the three decades of corruption control would have significantly enhanced the achievements of various countries in their efforts to control corruption.

For studying this aspect, I test the following set of two null hypotheses: 1. There is no significant difference in the perception about corruption control among various countries and 2. There is no significant difference over the period of two decades in controlling corruption among various countries.

Analysis of variance without replication test was applied for studying these hypotheses using secondary data developed by the World Bank (2019) for control of corruption index from 1996 to 2018 for 189 countries. The control of corruption index reflects perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption; as well as capture of the state by elites and private interests (World Bank, 2019). The effect of time period of over two decades starting from 1996 to 2018 on the scores of 189 countries in control of corruption index was studied in this work.

ANOVA						
<i>Source of Variation</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>F crit</i>
Rows	3724.711	186	20.02533	483.3561	0	1.182198
Columns	1.009146	19	0.053113	1.282	0.183696	1.589452
Error	146.4128	3534	0.04143			
Total	3872.133	3739				

The inferential statistics tool two factor ANOVA without replication test for the given data set produced the above results. Results show that the calculated F-value for the time period considered under this study (483.3561) is less than the corresponding critical F-value of 1.182198, indicating that the calculated F-value falls in rejection region. This shows that there is statistically significant variation in the mean value of control of corruption index among 189 countries. But, for the mean column values which is related with the time period of 19 years, the changes were found to be random and did not have statistical significance as the P-value was found to be 0.183696.

Data analysis further reveal that the group of countries that had positive scores in control of corruption index right from 1996 do show significant difference in their mean values and this is negative in the case of top hundred countries that continue to score negatively from 1996 in control of corruption index. This second group of countries constitute the developing world.

ANOVA						
<i>Source of Variation</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>F crit</i>
Rows	542.5577	68	7.978789	701.1601	0	1.309517
Columns	0.765342	18	0.042519	3.736483	2.2E-07	1.612286
Error	13.9284	1224	0.011379			
Total	557.2514	1310				

<b>ANOVA</b>						
<b>Source of Variation</b>	<b>SS</b>	<b>df</b>	<b>MS</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>P-value</b>	<b>F crit</b>
<b>Rows</b>	79915377	99	807226	1912970	0	1.253312
<b>Columns</b>	5.982919	19	0.31489	0.74623	0.772569	1.592046
<b>Error</b>	793.7355	1881	0.421975			
<b>Total</b>	79916176	1999				

When the Z-test for two population proportions, considering the countries with high score and poor score on control of corruption index as two independent populations, was conducted to test the null hypothesis that the mean values of the two independent populations were equal, the following results were obtained: The test Z statistic value of -11.067324 does not fall in the 95% critical value accepted range [-1.9600:1.9600] and  $x_1-x_2=-50.34$  is not in the 95% accepted range [-8.9100 : 0.9600]. The statistic S' equals 4.549. As per data analysis, the P-value is: 0.00000, i.e.  $(P(x \leq Z)) = 0.00000$  which is less than the alpha value of 0.05. Results thus, show that the chance of type-I error (rejecting a correct H0) is nil or very small. Thus, results support the claim that mean values of two independent populations under study are not equal indicating that there exists statistically significant difference between the group of countries with high and low corruption incidence over the period of two decades in control of corruption index.

Results thus, show that corruption measurements work differently in different settings and the developing countries have their context specific issues that need to be addressed for efficient corruption control. These inferences have implications on the current narrative of corruption control and on the standard corruption control strategy as they bring out the differences in the performance of corruption measurements in different settings. The gap in performance between the sets of countries under study is unlikely to close in near future as the reasons for gaps are not very clear; and, though the models evolved and tested in the developed world have been deployed in developing countries the drivers of corruption in developing countries are still localised. Further, studies suggest that differences in the institutional capability between developed and developing countries is also the reason for inconsistent performance of anti-corruption tools. But, these assumptions need particular empirical corroboration because developing countries, in general, have less efficient institutions (Khan, 2007) when measured against western standards.

The corruption control dilemma does live on in developing countries as many of the contextual drivers are more powerful than the corruption control efforts undertaken.

The convergence of understanding about corruption has not substantively altered the systemic nature of corruption in developing countries in the past three decades. According to Svensson (2005), corruption is systemic and rampant in developing countries. The systemic nature of corruption distorts governance because in the environment of systemic corruption institutions of government that are supposed to prevent corruption also become corrupt (Klitgaard, 2004) and the rules become incapable of breaking the informal behaviours that nurture corruption (Nicholls, 2011).

Lack of competitiveness; low level of distribution of power and resources; and low capacity of the state to bear the costs of corruption control etc. have been found to be sustaining systemic corruption (Khan, 2007). The presence or absence of these drivers is the function of capacity of the state to enforce rules and to bear the costs of enforcement (Perumal, 2019). Khan (2007) argues that detailed rules for allocating resources and strong counteracting institutions help the developed countries to have low incidence of corruption which often the developing countries do not. As a result, anti-corruption enforcement in developing countries continues to be weak and their institutions are working in environments adverse to their efficiency (Perumal, 2019). While talking about historical reasons for corruption Angeles & Neanidis (2010) argue that colonialism is of paramount importance for understanding corruption in developing countries. It has been studied that significant disparity in the distribution of power and resources in developing countries was caused by their colonial past (Amundsen (1997). This disparity promotes competing interests among various groups for power and resources through patron-client arrangements.

The level of economic development remains to be a strong determinant of clientelism (Bustikova; Corduneanu-Huci, 2009) and in weak economic environment the cliental networks become powerful. Since, economy and institutions in developing countries are weak, the political leadership rely on cliental networks to remain in power. Interestingly, this patron-client relationship is repetitive (Semenova, 2018) as there is a typical exchange of loyalty and resources which cannot be done formally (Hicken, 2011).

In their study Trantidis, *et al.*, (2017) argue that clientelism retains a politicised economy that fosters rampant corruption and makes no serious effort to control corruption in developing countries. Study of Arriola (2009) about patron-client networks in Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, and Senegal suggests that

leaders can achieve a degree of stability for their regimes by using state resources to facilitate intra-elite accommodation. Arriola further produces evidences of cabinet appointments to reinforce patronage based rule in many African countries. Such arrangements can be seen in many developing countries particularly where various social and economic groups are politically powerful. Clientelism is common in Asian countries also. Khan (1998) argues that the Malaysian clientelist networks co-exist with capitalist sector due to its vast mineral wealth. In Sri Lanka, due to penetration of politics into working class organisations strong patron-client system has developed (Gamage, n.d). While talking about the influence of clientelism in Ukraine and Russia, Miller (1998) argues that use of contacts and influence has shifted from the subtle towards an increased use of crude monetary bribes. In the case of India, power rests on multi-class coalition of patrons-client networks (Kohli, 2009).

Since clientelism is associated with higher levels of rent seeking (Hicken, 2011) and active support from those who are in power it has adverse implications on corruption control. Unless in the case of petty corruption where gratification and favour are exchanged, clientelism can result in grand corruption whereby rules can be framed to suit the interests of the interested groups. Thus, patron-client networks have the potential to distort the state policies for their own interest in developing countries by engaging in corruption at higher levels.

Costs of corruption control is a well-researched area in academia and it has been found that if the developing countries tend to enforce rules efficiently the costs of corruption control on their politics and economy will be so high that they will not be able to bear. For example, in the case of India, by amending the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988 in 2018 (Government of India, 2018) it was made it mandatory for the anti-corruption agencies to take prior approval from the governments for instituting enquiry; inquiry or investigation against a public servant unless the public servant is apprehended while committing the offence. Though this provision is in contravention to the idea of independent anti-corruption agencies, it was perceived by the authorities that the anti-corruption enforcement was hampering the functioning of the government; and it was argued that (because of the 1988 Act which did not mandate prior approvals) many honest public servants were harassed; reputations ruined and a fear amongst decision makers was created leading to the tendency where civil servants would postpone decision to their successor rather than taking risks in decision making (Jaitley, 2018). This demonstrates the inability of the state to bear the costs of corruption control through functionally independent anti-corruption enforcement. In the case of Brazil,

Ketchel (2019) argues that political parties act as vehicles of patronage facilitating negotiations between regional and economic interests and the government all in the guise of democracy. Her study about the political parties engaging in patronage politics in Latin American countries also provides similar results.

While talking about the politics of privileges, Weingast (2008) argues that privileges are not always arbitrary and they can serve the purpose of maintaining equilibrium in the society. Corbridge (2009) supports the view of positive effects of privilege politics by arguing that opportunities need to be provided to poor and excluded people in economic development in order to deter them from going in the paths of unrest and rebellion. Such commitments constrain the developing countries to reorient their policy priorities in such a way that their inability to bear the costs of corruption control does not distort their policy objectives. Thus, the conventional corruption control approach by assuming fair distribution of power and resources in governance ignores the governance obligations of developing countries for their socio-political transformations and the developing countries struggle between their commitments for socio-political transformations and meeting their corruption control objectives.

Lack of demand for corruption control from the powerful

Institutional approach to corruption looks upon demand from the stakeholders for controlling corruption. Theoretically, stakeholders constitute all the interested groups irrespective of their capability to influence the state. But, all stakeholders could not equally impress upon the state to make policies favourable to them. Here comes the role of powerful organisations with whom the state shares significant level of power and resources. Such organisations can be political parties, social movements, business corporations, pressure groups etc. Khan (2013) argues that the powerful forces in developing countries do not want to control corruption because of their inability to stand on their own without patronage. Evidently, patronage and illegal rent seeking are common in developing countries. Demanding corruption free environment thus, would go against the interests of powerful forces. The presence of organised groups in resource re-distribution have been found to have distorted the economic policies in Russia and in Bangladesh. Khan (2013) presents evidence about redistributive corruption through political patronage for uncompetitive, but politically connected corporations in the power sector of Bangladesh. In redistributive corruption, part of the public money is shared by the private players with those who illegally allot rents to them and this cannot be tackled by conventional anti-corruption approach because the



enforcers themselves are party in redistributive corruption (Khan, 2007). In other words, the principals are part of the re-distributive corruption. As a result, there is lack of demand for corruption control from powerful forces in developing countries. Absence of or weak rules for regulating political party funding; unregulated rent allocations; tailoring the rules to suit the interests of powerful groups etc. can explain the lack of interest among the powerful for controlling corruption. On the other hand, in developed countries there is demand for corruption free environment by their powerful organisations as they are more in numbers and they are competitive as well. Such organisations cannot work in the environment where there is informality in rent allocations. Even in developing countries like China, Japan etc. where the corporations have acquired global competitiveness there is demand for corruption free environment. This is evident from the fact that most of the developed countries like the USA, UK, France, Germany and developing countries like China, South Korea etc. have criminalised the practice of bribing foreign public servants. Thus, demand from the powerful stakeholders for corruption free environment is very critical for corruption control.

Looking beyond corruption merely as a problem: Should corruption not be seen as an opportunity to repair the institutions that sustain corruption?

The definition of corruption is often derived from the Principal-Agent model (Lambsdorff, 2007). But, as we see this approach is not a complete explanation to corruption because in spite of corruption control efforts based on the Principal-Agent framework for years, corruption continues to remain and is pervasive particularly in developing countries. This has turned the scholars and practitioners towards Collective Action solutions (Persson, *et al.*, 2013; Peiffer & Alvarez, 2014) for controlling corruption. Though there are arguments that these models complement each other, there is a definite difference in the approach between these two models in understanding corruption as the Principal-Agent model focusses on asymmetries in power and information between the Principal and Agent; whereas the collective action approach focuses on incentives to groups for resisting corrupt behaviours (Walton & Jones, 2017). But, the relevance of these models is shaped by their compatibility with social and legal norms. The principal agent theory can work well in environments where there is significant alignment between cultural and legal norms. In case where there is inconsistency between cultural and legal norms such contexts are likely be impacted by collective action problems of adverse selection and patronage politics (Walton & Jones, 2017). In such scenarios, Principal Agent solutions become less relevant. Also it is true that the collective action solutions of awareness raising

or value based training for controlling corruption may not work similarly in all the settings (Marquette & Peiffer, 2015) as the understanding of people about corruption differ. Thus, taking the prescriptions of Principal-Agent or the Collective Action models as universal solutions to corruption cannot actually solve the problem and there are evidences showing contestable validity of these models. Naidoo (2013) argues that in several instances, African anti-corruption efforts confronted both principal-agent and collective action theory type challenges due to weak legal framework and indirect encouragement to violate the mandatory norms.

Secondly, these theoretical models see corruption as a problem in a very narrow technical sense and attempt to cure the problem by controlling the agent and by encouraging the group to limit the corrupt behaviours in society. Thus, these models address one end of the problem where a corrupt agreement does occur. But, considering corruption as a problem may well ignore the real challenge of institutional weakness. What enables the agent to demand bribe is something which is the function of the quality of institutions that limit the discretions of agents. Thus, corruption is the manifestation of institutional weakness.

It is quite true that there is no full proof arrangement to detect and punish all instances of corruption. It is also true that the primary objective of enforcement is to create deterrence by creating demonstration effect and as a result, many corrupt deals go undetected. Similarly, opportunities for engaging in corruption can differ; and the effects of corruption and subsequent enforcement in different sectors too can differ. These views make the case for the anti-corruption tools that look beyond enforcement by going into the structures that facilitate and sustain corruption. This can be the effort which will substantively complement the corruption control efforts through enforcement. To put in perspective, considering corruption as a symptom of underlying weak structures can help us to re-orient our approach towards controlling corruption. This could serve as an opportunity to constantly locate the loop-holes in the institutions and to repair them in order to destroy the opportunity structures that sustain corruption. Though there are good number of studies that argue in favour of treating corruption as a symptom of underlying problem (Alam, 1995; Edgardo, 1995; Rose Ankerman, 1997), this approach has not built an alternative narrative to corruption control. Adopting this approach would help to understand the actual causes of corruption by examining the functioning of the institutions; and this may help to prevent the corrupt deals from happening. Thus, so long as corruption is treated only as problem the underlying causes will continue to sustain corruption.

## Conclusion

Thus, there is more to understand both on theoretical and empirical fronts in understanding corruption; and corruption should not be limited to mutual demand and supply between two actors in connection with an official favour. Similarly, corruption measurements need to become more precise in both methodological and ontological aspects because explaining the causality with limited conceptual clarity can be misleading. In this work, I demonstrate that the impacts of corruption on economic growth is dynamic and could even be positive. This leads to the argument that corruption can be functional to growth in developing economies highlighting that the prescriptions of current corruption control approaches work differently across settings. This study further shows that the underlying contextual drivers are critical for the success of the global anti-corruption policy. State capacity and socio-political commitments of the political leadership tend to keep the corruption control efforts sticky to contextual factors and this has huge implications on the global corruption control agenda. Low sensitivity to the anti-corruption movement could also be due to lack of complementary efforts from the powerful forces in developing countries. But, the scenario is quite different in the developed world where the forces that can influence the policies of the state cannot operate in uncertain environments and as a result there is demand for corruption control from the powerful forces. This contrasting reality between developing and developed countries strengthens the argument that the level of economic development itself can be a determinant of corruption control.

Lastly, on the theoretical front besides understanding the implications of the current narrative of corruption on growth we also need a better understanding of the links between corruption and other drivers in different settings. In this context how would the developing world really benefit from the global efforts against corruption can be an area that can take the corruption control efforts forward. This study further highlights the idea of repairing the institutions in order to destroy the structures that sustain corruption because treating corruption merely as a problem could not treat the underlying causes.

## References

- Aghion, P., Alesina & Trebbi, F., 2004. The endogenous political institutions. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Issue 119, pp. 195-220.
- Aidt, T. & Dutta, J., 2008. Policy compromises: corruption and regulation in a democracy. *Economics and Politics*, XX(3), p. 335-60.
- Alam, M. S., 1995. A Theory of limits on corruption and some applications. *Kyklos*, XLVIII(3), pp. 419-435.
- Amundsen, I., 1997. *Political corruption: introduction to the issues*, Bergen, Norway: Chr. Michelson Institute.

- Andvig, Amundsen & Søreide, 2000. Research on corruption. s.l.: Michelsen Institute (CMI) & Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI).
- Angeles & Neanidis, 2010. Colonialism, elite formation and corruption, Glasgow: University of Glasgow.
- Arndt, C., & Oman, C., 2006. Uses and abuses of governance indicators. Paris: OECD Development centre.
- Arriola, L. R., 2009. Patronage and political stability in Africa. *Comparative Political Studies*, XLII(10), pp. 1339-1362.
- Bedirhanoglu, P., 2007. The neo-liberal discourse on corruption as a means of consent building: reflections from post-crisis Turkey. *The World Quarterly*, XXVIII(7), pp. 1239-1254.
- Bhargava, V., 2005. The cancer of corruption, s.l.: World Bank.
- Blackburn, 2006. The incidence and persistence of corruption in economic development. *The Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control*, pp. 2247-2267.
- Blackburn, Bose & Haque, 2006. The incidence and persistence of corruption on economic development. *The Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control*, Issue 30, pp. 2447-2467.
- Brooks, Walsh, D., Lewish, C. & Kim, 2013. Defining corruption. s.l.: Springer nature.
- Brubaker, & Rogers. (1998). Ethnic and nationalist violence. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 423-452.
- Bustikova, L. & Corduneanu-Huci, 2009. The correlates of clientelism: economic development and historical state capacity, Toronto: American Political Science Association.
- Chimezie, C., 2016. The role of good governance and development administration in national development. *International Journal of Development and Management Review*, XI(3), pp. 176-186.
- Donchev, D., & Ujhelyi, 2007. Do corruption indices measure corruption? London: Economics Department, Harvard University,.
- Duncan, N., 2006. The non-perception based measurement of corruption: a review of issues and methods from a policy perspective. London: Ashgate Publishing.
- Edgrado, B., 1995. Judicial reforms in Latin America: the obstacles ahead. *The Latin American Affairs*, pp. 8-13.
- Egger, P. & Winner, H., 2005. Evidence on corruption as an incentive for foreign direct investment. *European journal of political economy*, IV(21), pp. 932-952.
- Enste, 2017. Causes and consequences of corruption – an overview of empirical results. Konrad-Adenauer-Ufer: Institute der deutschen Wirtschaft Köln
- Francisco & Javier, 2007. Assessing corruption: an analytical review of corruption measurement and its problems-perception, error and utility. Georgetown: Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University.
- Gamage, S., n.d. Democracy in Sri Lanka: past, present and future. *Democracy in Asia*, XVII(1), pp. 107-116.
- Gephart, M., 2009. Contextualizing conceptions of corruption: challenges for the international anti-corruption campaign. Hamburg : German Institute of Global and Area study.

- Government of India, 2018. nic.in. [Online]  
Available at: <http://www.egazette.nic.in/writereaddata/2018/187644.pdf>  
[Accessed 29 January 2020].
- Heeks, R., 2012. Understanding the success and failure of anti-corruption initiatives. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, LVIII(5), pp. 2-19.
- Hicken, A., 2011. Clientelism. *Annual Review of Political Science*, XX(2), pp. 289-310.
- Jaitley, A., 2018. New anti-graft law comes into force; *The Economic Times*, 31 July.
- Johnston, M., 2005. *Syndromes of corruption: wealth, power, and democracy*. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kaufman, 1999. *Aggregating governance indicators*. Washington: World Bank.
- Khan, M., 2006. *Governance and anti-corruption reforms in developing countries: policies, evidence and ways forward*. New York: United Nations Publications. .
- Khan, M. H., 1998. Patron-client networks and the economic effects of corruption in Asia. *European Journal of Development Research*, X(1), pp. 15-39.
- Klitgaard, 2004. *Leadership under systemic corruption*, s.l.: cgu.edu.
- Kohli, 2009. *Power, patronage and clientalism: limits of political governance in India*, s.l.: s.n.
- Kpundeh, S., 2004. *Building state capacity in Africa*. 1st ed. Washington: World Bank Publications.
- Kube, I., 2017. The importance of social norms in defining corruption. In: A.K. Schwickerath, ed. *How to conceptualize corruption?*. Paris: Interdisciplinary Corruption Research Forum.
- Lambsdorff, J. G., 2007. *The institutional economics of corruption and reform: theory, evidence and policy*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Marquette, H. & Peiffer, C., 2015. *Collective action and systemic corruption*. Warsaw, University of Warsaw.
- Mauro, P., 1995. Corruption and economic growth. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Issue 110, pp. 681-712.
- Méon, P. G. & Sekkat, K., 2005. Does corruption grease or sand the wheels of growth?.. *Public Choice*, II (122), pp. 69-97.
- Meon, P. & Weil, L., 2010. Is corruption an efficient grease? *World Development*, Issue 48, pp. 244-259.
- Miller, 1998. How citizens cope with post communist officials: evidence from focus group discussions in Ukraine and the Czech Republic. *Political Studies*, XLV(3), pp. 597-625.
- Naidoo, V., 2013. The politics of anti-corruption enforcement in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, XXXI(4), pp. 523-542.
- Nicholls, C., 2011. *Corruption and misuse of public office*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Peiffer, C. & Alvarez., L., 2014. Who will be the 'principal principals'? the determinants of active opposition to corruption. s.l., Developmental Leadership Programme, University of Birmingham. .

- Persson, A., Rothstein, B. & Teorell, J., 2010. The failure of anti-corruption Policies- a theoretical mis-characterization of the problem. Gothenburg, Sweden, Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg.
- Persson, Rothstein, A. & Teorell, J., 2013. Why anti-corruption reforms fail?- systemic corruption as a collective action problem. *Governance*, XXVI(3), pp. 449-.
- Pertiwi, K., 2017. Contextualizing corruption: a cross-disciplinary approach to studying corruption in organizations. *Administrative sciences*, 1-19.
- Perumal, K., 2019. State capacity, drivers of corruption and anti-corruption interventions: contextualizing corruption in Indian context- a rational choice approach. *International Journal of Development Research*, IX(11), pp. 323-330.
- Rodriguez-Sanchez, 2018. Measuring corruption in Mexico. Mexico: Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University.
- Rohwer, A., 2009. Measuring corruption: a comparison between the transparency international's corruption perception index and world bank's global governance index. Munich: Ifo Institute for Economic Research.
- Rose-Ankerman, 1997. Corruption and development. New York, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
- Rose-Ackerman, & Palifka, 2016. Corruption and government: causes, consequences, and reform. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schwickerath, A. & Düsseldorf, 2017. Conceptualizing corruption in fragile states. In: A. K. Schwickerath, ed. How to conceptualize corruption?. Paris: Interdisciplinary Corruption Research Forum, pp. 29-33.
- Seleim, A., & Bontis, N., 2009. The relationship between culture and corruption: a cross-national study. *Journal of Intellectual Capital*, 165-182.
- Semenova, E., 2018. The global encyclopedia of informality. 2nd ed. Berlin: Freie Universität.
- Shukhova, A. & Yulil, N., 2017. Measurement of validity of corruption indices. Mannheim: Higher School of Economics, National Research University, .
- Svensson, 2005. Eight questions about corruption. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, V(19), pp. 19-42.
- Tanzi & Davoodi, H., 1998. Corruption, public investment and growth. In: S. H & T. Ithori, eds. The welfare state, public investment and growth. Tokyo: Springer, pp. 41-60.
- Trantidis, A. & Tsagkroni, V., 2017. Clientelism and corruption: Institutional adaptation of state capture strategies in view of resource scarcity in Greece. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, XIX(2), p. 263-281.
- Transparency International, 2013. Retrieved February 15, 2020, from <https://www.transparency.org/>
- UNDP, 2015. User's guide to measuring corruption and anti-corruption. 1st ed. New York: United Nations.
- UNODC, 2004. UN anti-corruption toolkit. 3rd ed. Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

- 
- Vannucci, A., 2015. Three paradigms for the analysis of corruption. *Labour Laws and Issues*, I(2), pp. 3-31.
- Walton, G. & Jones, A., 2017. *The geographies of collective action, principal agent theory and potential corruption in Papua New Guinea*, s.l.: Development Policy Centre, Crawford School of Public Policy, Australian National University.
- Weingast, 2008. *Why developing countries resist the rule of law*, California: Department of Political Science, Stanford University.
- Wigwe, C., 2016. Corruption as economic barrier to development in third world countries. *Harcourt Journal of Business Law*, II(1), pp. 324-336.
- World Bank, 2019. [worldbank.org](http://worldbank.org). [Online]  
Available at: <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/Home/Reports>  
[Accessed 25 January 2020].
- You, & Khagram, 2005. A comparative study of inequality and corruption. *American Sociological Review*, 136-157.

---

**Kannan Perumal**

*The author is an IPS officer of 2005 batch, Bihar cadre. He is currently posted as Deputy Inspector General of Police, Shahabad Range, Bihar.*



# Impact of COVID-19 on Training Scenario

Shrinivas Madhav

## Abstract

*COVID-19 introduced social distance, hand hygiene and masks as new social norms. Traditional classroom training programs required significant modifications in their methodology.*

*Dr MCR HRD Institute of Telangana (MCR HRD IT) started such initiatives early, by converting existing foundation courses into virtual training programmes. Government of India released “Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) for Functioning of Training Institutes”.*

*Virtual training programs have advantages like saving time and other resources for both sides, flexibility to interact with the faculty and so forth. This opens new opportunities like for faculty who can interact from distant places without any effort.*

*For training institutes, virtual mode of training results in less expenditure on accommodation, food and so on. Can save expenses on travel of faculty.*

*On the other hand, concerns about virtual trainings about peer learning and building camaraderie among the trainees need to be addressed. Earlier Trainer Development Programs focused on skills that are not so relevant now.*

COVID-19 created a culture change by introducing social distance, hand hygiene and masks as new social norms in society. One particular requirement, social distance or physical distance, is going to change how trainings will be conducted in the future. Traditional classroom training programs require a thorough review in view of this new requirement. Government of India released “Standard Operating Procedure for Functioning of Training Institutes of the Central and State/UT Governments” to be implemented from 15<sup>th</sup> July 2020 in this regard. Dr MCR HRD Institute of Telangana (MCR HRD IT) started this initiative three months ago, when the Institute converted the whole Special Foundation Course (SFC) for All India Service officers into a virtual program by introducing online Foundation Course - instead of discontinuing the program - immediately after lockdown without losing time. Sri B.P. Acharya, IAS, Director General and Spl. Chief secretary to Government steered the Institute in the right direction, in the face



of a crisis. This saved precious time for the officers by saving them from the need of undergoing the course again. The officers therefore were able to devote their precious time for public service as scheduled.

Later in the month of June, the Institute started a three-day training program for teachers working in the schools run by the Tribal Welfare Department of Telangana and lecturers for Junior Colleges, covering academic and administrative topics. About 1500 teachers and 400 lecturers attended this virtual program. One of the teachers, in his interaction with the Secretary, Tribal Welfare, stated that as a special needs person, he faced many hurdles while attending the training programs and that he was now able to complete the training program without facing any problems, from the comforts of his home.

#### Advantages of Virtual training programs

**For trainees:** They need not travel to the Institute and can attend the program from home. It ensures work life balance by spending time with family members and complete the training required simultaneously.

*Freedom to interact with the faculty:* Earlier, in a class room setting, very few trainees used to interact with the faculty particularly those who faced barriers such as stage fright, spoken language fluency, scarcity of time and so on. In the virtual mode, they can access messaging option through the chat box and ask questions, share comments even while the class is going on. They can use video or audio options at the end of the session or whenever the faculty provides them the opportunity for interaction.

**For faculty:** Virtual trainings save time to travel to the Institute and expenses incurred thereof.

**For Training Institute:** Less expenditure on accommodation, food and so on and additionally can save expenses on travel of faculty. (Institutes end up spending large sums of money on air travel.) MCR HRD IT could invite national and international speakers for some sessions, without much effort, both logistically as well as financially.

#### Concerns about Virtual trainings

**For trainees:**

*Peer learning:* An important component of learning – this can be compensated to some extent by organizing group/panel discussions and other initiatives such as virtual cultural events and debates by the Institute.

Most of the video conference applications allow free meetings up to 40-50 minutes. limit. This allows trainees to conduct video meets themselves, informally.

*Sports and Recreation:* Institutes like MCR HRD IT are more facilitative to the trainees since they offer many options for sports and recreation. It is quite difficult therefore to deter trainees from campus life. The Institute can cater to the need of a few officers by organizing recreational activities in the online format since, online programs have no such limitations.

For Training Institutes and faculty: It can be noted that previous Trainer Development Programs focused on skills that are not so relevant now.

In the virtual mode, very few trainees can appear on screen and most of them remain on invisible mode. This presents a major challenge of alternatives and focus on various questions whether trainees are actually listening or not? This is a peculiar challenge and requires completely different set of skills. Engaging to assist with and keep the trainees focused in continuous discussion; short questions in between and making presentation more dynamic could help.

This perhaps may be the same problem faced in the class-room setting too where some trainees remain physically present but often immerse themselves in their own thought processes.

Obtaining feedback and conducting course-end exams pose some other critical challenges. Faculty needs to be trained in using virtual platforms effectively; such as using screen sharing, presentations, white board and other innovations.

COVID-19 can be thus blamed entirely for many of these consequences and changes but not for its timing. Alternatively a positive outcome is that we have the Internet, technological advancements, and video conferencing applications which are accessible to common people and increases efficiency and communication manifold.

MCR HRD IT thus proved that the virus is just a punctuation mark in the history of training.



# Transforming Pre-primary Education in India: BACHPAN Project - A Perspective from the Himalayan District of Chamoli

Swati S. Bhadauria

## Abstract

*Anganwadi Centres are 'Pre-primary Schools and Health Centres' for children of 6 months - 6 years as well as serve as 'Nutrition Centres for pregnant women'. Better Anganwadis for Childhood Progress and Nourishment (BACHPAN) project was initiated by the District Administration with the twin objectives of improving the nutritional and health status of children in the age group of 0-6 years and those of pregnant women as well as to lay the foundation for proper psychological, physical and social development of the children.*

*As a first step, an activity-based module was developed to serve as Anganwadi Workers' guide on a daily basis. The next step was provision of basic amenities and more advanced learning aids, along with introduction of uniforms and hygiene kits. Round tables and baby chairs were provided to facilitate group activities and social development. Colouring books, story books, finger paints, educative toys and audio kits with pre-loaded jingles were given for mental nourishment of the kids. Slides, rocking horses, coloured mats and other run-and-playgames etc, enabled their physical development. Use of audio kits pre-loaded with the educative material aids teachers in accessing vast amount of data so that the children can learn something new everyday.*

*To inculcate the habit of cleanliness, hygiene kits were provided to each student of all the Centres. Similarly, to ensure easy and healthy nutrition, gas connection, electricity connection, water purifiers and medicine kits were provided. The concept of Building As Learning Aid (BALA) was widely used to enhance children's inclination towards studies from a very early age.*

*A better convergence with the Health Department has been brought in and with the help of the team of National Child Health Programme, health registers have been compiled at the Anganwadi level so that the history of illness, malnutrition or deficiency of a child can be maintained for future reference and shared with the parents.*

*The initiative has drawn the attention of the entire country towards Anganwadi Centres. This has re-inforced the trust of people in the government system and the attendance in Anganwadis has drastically gone up. Similarly, the positive gender awareness messages spread through the Anganwadi Centres have seen a steep increase in Child Sex Ratio. Studies prove that better facilities and new pedagogical training have improved the morale of the Anganwadi workers and supervisors as well. The well-*

*researched menu implemented in the centres and a close monitoring of the health team have all resulted in better nutrition status and health of the children.*

## Introduction

Health and education form the backbone for the development of any country. It is important to have a holistic view in these sectors to have far-reaching impact. It was with this idea that a brainstorming session was conducted with the public representatives, officials, self help group members and social organizations on the strategies to achieve this long lasting impact. Herein a consensus was reached that the most crucial institution to achieve these dual goals would be Anganwadi Centres in India. It is here where pregnant women as well as young children have direct reach and impact. In this context, the Anganwadi Centres were chosen for this reformative project so that an early intervention in health as well as education can be brought in effect.

BACHPAN project was initiated with the twin objective of improving the nutritional and health status of children in the age group 0-6 years and those of the pregnant women as well as to lay the foundation for proper psychological, physical and social development of the children. To achieve the above objectives, it became imperative to take the Anganwadi workers on board and to train the month provision of a wholesome atmosphere to the children. Typically, an Anganwadi centre would have two employees - an Anganwadi worker, responsible for running the centre and an Anganwadi assistant, who helps the Anganwadi worker in the day-to-day working. Typically, the children enrolled in the centre spend four hours there, for which an indicative curriculum was developed as well. BACHPAN, which in Hindi stands for childhood, was an apt name for the project as the project focuses on protection and improvement of childhood.

Project BACHPAN envisages holistic development of children through a systematic approach. It is not just a piece meal approach of providing certain basic amenities to an institution. Rather, it started as a mass movement involving the local self-governing institutions like municipalities and village assemblies, officials, community and all stakeholders; with the aim of turning Anganwadis as the focal point for good health and education.

Thus, the project envisages to bring about multi-dimensional development of children with its various sub-components:

- Integrated Learning Approach Training to the grass root workers
- Social Mobilization
- Community Ownership
- Infrastructure Augmentation

- Use of Technology
- Standardization of Menu
- Ensuring Better Health of Children
- Convergence of schemes and funds
- Better Monitoring Mechanism

#### Training of Ground level Workers

To achieve this, DIET (District Institute of Education and Training) at Chamoli was roped in and an expert group was formed to develop an Activity-Based Module to serve as Anganwadi Workers' Guide on a daily basis. DIET faculty was trained to be the master trainers of the module. These master trainers along with the supervisors of the Child Development Project conducted training sessions for all the Anganwadi Workers with the use of audio-visual mode and hand-made teaching aids. Videos of best practices of private play schools and other good Anganwadi Centres were also shown to facilitate easy learning. A pre-test and a post-test of the trainees were conducted to keep up their attention levels. Thus the system of pre-school learning has seen perceptible improvement, as the activity based curriculum clearly outlines the learning outcomes of the children every month. It also outlines the interesting activities the children should be engaged in, so that they achieve the desired learning without creating mental burden on the small kids. The learning aids like finger-paints, 'ABCD' and shape identifiers, audio-kits consisting of popular Nursery Rhymes, recorded in English, Hindi and vernacular languages etc have become an added source of interest for the young children. Routine tests and refresher courses for the Anganwadi Workers were also conducted to assess as well as guide them in regular intervals, thus leading to their improved skill set.

#### Social Mobilization

While these activities were happening, concurrently a parallel motivation and awareness drive was started in the form of Poshan Rallies, Mahila Mandal Meetings with Anganwadi workers, Gram Panchayat level conferences to increase awareness about the benefits being provided by Anganwadis and how they can act as nodal points for healthy foundation of their children. As a step further, the District Magistrate got her 2-year old son to a local Anganwadi centre to give an impetus to the entire movement. Several other officers followed suit and a positive environment for the reform process was created. This even re-inforced the trust of the people in this institution and the attendance in the centres saw a huge jump.

### Infrastructure Augmentation

The next step was provision of basic amenities and more advanced learning aids, alongwith introduction of uniforms and hygiene kits. For this, 40 Anganwadi centres were chosen on a pilot basis. Round tables and baby chairs were provided to facilitate group activities and social development. Colouring books, story books, finger paints, educative toys and audio kits with pre-loaded jingles were given for mental nourishment of the kids. Slides, rocking horses, coloured mats and other run and play games etc. enabled their physical development. Use of audio kits pre-loaded with the educative material aids teachers in accessing vast amount of data so that the children can learn something new every new day.

### Provision of Furniture, Audio Kits and Projectors

To inculcate the habit of cleanliness, a hygiene kit was provided to all students of the Centres. Similarly, to ensure easy and healthy nutrition, gas connection, electricity connection, water purifiers and medicine kits have been provided. The concept of Building As Learning Aid (BALA) has been widely used and the walls have been painted with educative messages and pictures, to enhance children's inclination towards studies right from a very early age.

### Standardization of Menu

Healthy mind and healthy body go hand in hand. Therefore, for a fuller and more balanced nutrition to children, an expert panel was put together at the district level to recommend a balanced diet menu. This menu was implemented in all Centres so that the children get a variety in taste as well as nutrition. District level officers were involved to supervise the menu, Village Health and Nutrition Day, Pratibha Diwas and other general activities were conducted at the Anganwadis.

### Ensuring Better Health of Children

The initiative has led to a better coordination amongst the departments of Health, Education and Women and Child Development. The rosters for health check-up of National Child Health Programme teams are shared with Anganwadis in advance so that proper supervision of the programme is possible. Health registers have been compiled at the Anganwadi level so that the history of illness, malnutrition or deficiency of a child can be maintained for future reference and shared with the parents.

Also, the District level officers adopted the severely malnourished children on the occasion of National Girl Child Day. They regularly visit their adopted children to help them improve their health by timely advice and interventions.

### Ensuring Multi-dimensional Development

To provide children a small platform to display their talent and to curb tendencies of stage fright amongst children, Pratibha Diwas on the last working day of every month was started, herein the parents and guardians were invited to witness their wards performances. At the end, Parent Teacher Meet is also conducted so that the guardians may be apprised of any good or bad tendencies visible in the children and timely interventions can be made. This initiative also ensured that the community gets involved and becomes partners in effective running and monitoring of the Centres.

Clubbing the two days together also ensures that the attendance of parents is high, as they are eager to see their children perform. Hence, Anganwadi workers have better reach and communication with the parents, and positive messages can be spread through them. Also, parents get a better chance to interact with the officials in case they are not satisfied with the services provided.

### Convergence

With these interventions, the Anganwadi centres have started occupying centre stage in allotment of funds, inspections, reporting and supervisory set ups. A convergence of funds was ensured for the project and contribution from CSR, MPLADS, untied fund and funds from Beti Bachao Beti Padhao programme was mobilized for effective implementation of the project.

### Better Monitoring Mechanism

Village Health and Nutrition Day is conducted on the fifth of every month. The officials are given the responsibility of supervising these days to ensure that Take Home Ration is distributed to the children and pregnant ladies in a transparent manner. The photos are also shared on whatsapp groups created to ensure direct monitoring at the highest level.

Also, through increased involvement of parents through Pratibha Diwas and Parent Teacher Meeting, better community monitoring is ensured.

### Outcomes

- The initiative has drawn the attention of the entire district towards Anganwadi centres. This has re-inforced the trust of people in government systems and the attendance in Anganwadis has drastically gone up. The registration in Anganwadis in the month of December 2018 was 24276, while as a result of this initiative the registrations increased to 28298 in March 2019 (in just on equarter).

- Similarly, positive gender awareness messages were spread through the Anganwadi centres during motivation drives and extra vigil kept by the officers have seen a steep increase in our sex ratio (0-6 years). The figures have increased from 958 in 2017-18 to as high as 971 in 2018-19.
- Better facilities and new pedagogical training have gone a long way in improving the morale of the Anganwadi workers and supervisors. The audio kits with pre-loaded jingles have opened up a new way of learning and teaching which keeps the students. The activity based learning module serves as their guide and keeps them better prepared for their day to day activities.
- Similarly, the children have developed a liking towards Anganwadis. With their attractive buildings, new toys, books, and learning aids, the children have a lot to explore and learn. This early interest in learning would lay a strong foundation for their studies even after they pass out of here. Events like Pratibha Diwas helps them explore their talents and inculcates confidence in them. This also has the twin benefit of bringing in community ownership of the Anganwadi centres. Sharing daily experiences and observations in Parents Teacher Meeting provides wider perspective for parents as well as the teacher to plan, prepare and execute planning for better learning outcome of a child.
- The well researched menu implemented in the Centres, introduction of hygiene kits, water purifiers and a close monitoring of the health team have all resulted in better nutrition status and health of the children. The number of acutely malnourished children has seen a decline of 33%.

## Conclusion

The project which started in a pilot mode in 10 Anganwadi centres has brought about a revolution in the early health and education status of the children. It has thus been scaled up and is now being replicated in 250 Centres of the district.

## References

<https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/district-magistrate-sets-example-admits-son-to-anganwadi-centre-1941513>

<https://www.timesnownews.com/mirror-now/society/article/uttarakhand-chamoli-district-magistrate-dm-swati-bhadauriya-son-enroll-public-private-school-anganwadi-centre-gopeshwar/308196>

<https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/this-ias-officer-sends-her-son-to-anganwadi-centre/article25403464.ece>



<https://www.google.com/amp/s/m.jagran.com/lite/uttarakhand/chamoli-aanganbadi-centre-will-developed-at-model-18806268.html>

<http://www.newsexpress100.com/ft/ykf/kcljht&Lokrh&,l&Hknk&11/>

<http://www.dainikjayantnews.com/anganbari-karyakartiy-supervisor-evam-sahayikawo-ke/>

<https://www.google.com/amp/s/m.jagran.com/lite/uttarakhand/chamoli-change-in-aanganbadi-centre-18626785.html>

**Video Link:**

<https://youtu.be/rbzxLxeJXJI>

Gotarkar S, Ingole A. Knowledge of Anganwadi worker with respect to early childhood development. J Datta Meghe Inst Med Sci Univ 2018;13:168-70

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/278772393\\_A\\_Study\\_to\\_Assess\\_the\\_Knowledge\\_Practices\\_of\\_Anganwadi\\_Workers\\_Availability\\_of\\_Infrastructure\\_in\\_ICDS\\_Program\\_at\\_District\\_Mandi\\_of\\_Himachal\\_Pradesh](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/278772393_A_Study_to_Assess_the_Knowledge_Practices_of_Anganwadi_Workers_Availability_of_Infrastructure_in_ICDS_Program_at_District_Mandi_of_Himachal_Pradesh)

Three Decades Of ICDS -An Appraisal; by National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, New Delhi, 2006

Human Development Report of the State of Uttarakhand; by Institute for Human Development, Patparganj, Delhi; 31 December 2018

Rochwani R, Singh AD. Perception and Practices regarding Complimentary Feeding among Anganwadi Workers in Punjab, India. Int J Community Med Public Health 2018; 5:5205-11

World Health Organization; Geneva; [https://www.who.int/maternal\\_child\\_adolescent/child/en/](https://www.who.int/maternal_child_adolescent/child/en/)

-Links to Media Reports on Project BACHPAN:

---

**Swati S. Bhadauria**

*The author is an IAS officer of 2012 Batch, Chhattisgarh Cadre. She is currently posted as the Managing Director of Garhwal Mandal Vikas Nigam and Additional Secretary in the Civil Aviation Department, Uttarakhand.*



# LIFE AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL!

Manasi Sahay Thakur

## Abstract

*The following article is an attempt at documenting the nine-day-long rescue operation led by a young lady Deputy Commissioner in Bilaspur district of Himachal Pradesh. It was undertaken in the year 2015 when an under construction tunnel on the Kiratpur-Nerchowk expressway caved in trapping three labourers.*

*This has been one of the rare rescue operations in the country that was spearheaded by a district administration and is also rare in terms of the time and cost involved due to geographical and weather constraints at the time of its execution.*

*The nine day long rescue operation resulted in saving two precious lives and was distinguished by its humane angle and the strong message sent by it that- EVERY LIFE MATTERS!!!*

*The article is an attempt to present the various challenges faced by young administrators in crisis situations and discusses issues related to leadership, planning, team management, decision making and people management.*

## The Realization

The enormity of what she was faced with had dawned on her. The young DC had witnessed the friction between the engineers of the construction company and Border Roads Organization (BRO) experts present and the ensuing chaos and confusion on the site. It was palpable in the divergence of opinions they had on how to start the rescue operation. To add to the pressure, standing at the top of the hill, she saw the steady stream of visitors of all kinds coming to 'see' what was happening. This was becoming a sort of entertainment spot which was extremely discomfoting. This was not going to be a vanilla accident related disaster operation. She realised, looking at the crowd which included officials, media, relatives of the workers, ordinary villagers amongst others that this would be a long operation and the stakeholders would only increase as the operation distended itself into time. Above all, the faith of the people in the administration had to be maintained to ensure that rescue work progresses seamlessly.

## Background

A couple of days earlier on 12/09/2015, one of the tunnels on the under construction Kiratpur-Nerchowk expressway in Bilaspur, HP caved in

trapping three labourers. There was no idea whether they were dead or alive. Some workers had claimed that they had seen the debris falling over one of the labourers. The DC had a series of quick on the spot consultations with her district team and also the engineers and geologists. The Army and NDRF had been consulted- both had said they could contribute in the evacuation once the location and path to reaching the trapped labourers was established. No precedents existed in the country for such kind of a disaster situation, resulting in no agency wanting to shoulder responsibility for the same. There was no option but to lead the campaign herself. High amount of engineering input was required but along with that management of diverse stakeholders was more important. In a charged environment like this she would have to watch over things very carefully. She decided that she would only leave the site when the operation was formally completed when the trapped labourers are found. Hopefully, alive!

#### The Key Decisions

How were the trapped labourers to be reached? Some engineers suggested drilling horizontally along the established path of the tunnel. Others felt that was not technologically possible and suggested the vertical route carefully negotiating a heavy drill through the lattices and concrete of the proposed tunnel ceiling. With no further time to lose and mounting pressure, the final approach was left to the DC. It was decided by her to start simultaneous operations, vertically and horizontally.

It was further decided that immediate channels of communication would first be made by drilling around 4 inch diameter shafts, simultaneously machinery for making the 1m diameter shafts will be moved to the site for evacuation purposes.

The next challenge was that of moving the machinery. Drilling through hard rocky strata required heavy drilling equipment. The already existing machinery also had to be taken to the top of mountain. Along human chain was created for the lighter equipment. Some additional heavy machinery had to be got from other districts within HP and from other States. Extensive liasioning was carried out to ensure the fastest movement of this machinery.

The second challenge of actually making a transportation path to top of the mountain involved extensive liasioning with the forest department. Using heavy JCBs, the required path was created. The heavy machinery would reach only on the fifth day. In the mean while the vertical drilling with existing equipment, to create a 4 inch diameter shaft started making slow but steady progress.

### The Breakthrough

By the end of the fourth day, the drill broke through into its target. The DC suggested the use of a two way communication device. Using the expertise of a local entrepreneur, a two way communication device was lowered down the drilled 4 inch wide hole to discover two alive human beings trapped in the tunnel. Standing non-stop at the disaster site for nearly 100 hours, the DC was personally overjoyed. Her approach had paid off. She personally spoke to the two trapped labourers and asked them not to lose hope and strength. It was obvious they were in complete shock. It also made the DC plan the deployment of doctors on the site for regular monitoring and for administration of food, along with a psychologist. The two workers confirmed that the third labourer had been buried by the debris, whether he was dead or alive was to be found out. As much as she knew that establishing contact was a big achievement, she also realised that a huge effort would be required for their evacuation. The media's interest and the local pressures were bound to increase with this news. Adherence to time lines was most important. It could determine life and death.

### The New Challenges

The challenge now was to drill a hole with a one meter diameter so as to create a path through which the trapped workers could be lifted out. The news of this live evacuation mission spear headed by a young lady IAS officer had started spreading. The hungry media needed constant updates for which a mechanism of regular media update was set up by the District Administration. At the same time, the villagers and families of the three workers started coming in truckloads and camping at the site. Instead of asking them to return, the DC took a decision to provide food and water to them. In some cases accommodation in nearby places was also provided. These were essential not only from a humanitarian angle but also strategically. First, it allowed them to view the administration as their ally. Second, the DC was clear that she wanted no additional work in form of a law and order problem as it would take their mind away from the task at hand. Any delay could have had a serious implication in form of death. A flash point was averted when CITU workers tried to give a class colouring to the entire disaster and started sloganeering against the government and company officials. The DC and her team were quick to respond by telling CITU leaders to join the rescue operation by helping them in the muck removal process inside the tunnel. She also volunteered personally to take them to the site inside. This approach of leading and communicating from the front disarmed many and neutralised the initial hostility which is characteristic of such a situation.

## Emotional Challenges

While all this was going on, keeping the body in good health and mind in good spirit of the two workers had to be done very minutely. Food packets and artificial lights were lowered down to them. They were constantly spoken to and counselled by the DC herself. By the 8th day (3 days after being discovered), their spirits were very low. At times when it would rain, water would start accumulating down inside causing much concern for everybody. Such was the attention to detail in this area, that a mobile phone was lowered down with the workers favourite songs so as to keep them optimistic and hopeful. By now, the DC was emotionally invested in the project. She had been sleeping less than four hours a day for close to 8 days. Her little two year old child was left with the household help, day and night. As a lady in a leadership role in such unforeseen circumstances, she had to, the larger public good.

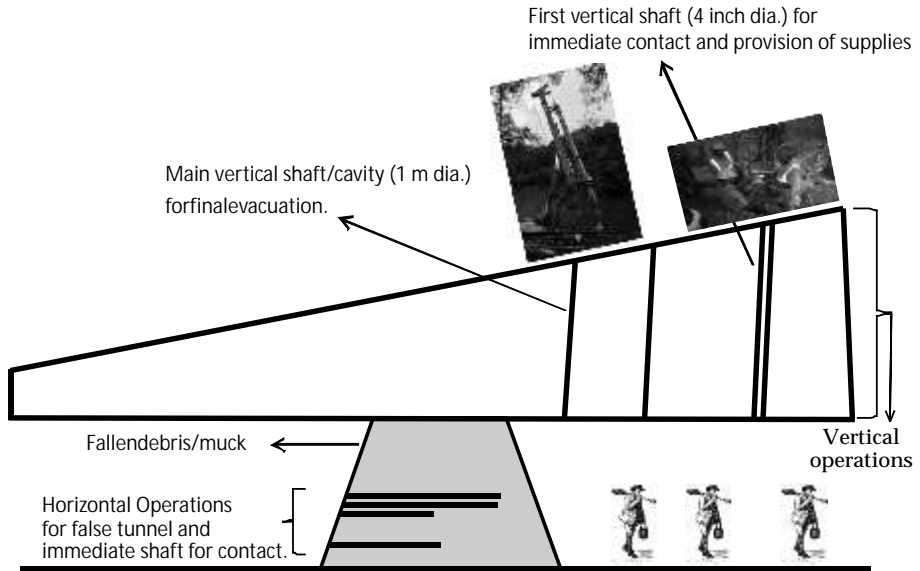
## Closure

On the 7<sup>th</sup> day, the NDRF had joined the operation. With media glare increasing, the tendency of various organisations to claim ever greater 'credit' started showing. The DC was unperturbed.

Forget anything else, her thoughts went out to the family of the third labourer who she felt could still be alive. Other two families still had hope to bank on. Respecting the public sentiments, she sneaked out for half an hour on the 8<sup>th</sup> day to pray to the local deity.

The drill had snapped when it was barely 4 meters from the cavity on the 7<sup>th</sup> night. After much effort and deliberation the drill was changed. By morning of the 9<sup>th</sup> day, the vertical shaft finally breached a cavity thus making the entry path ready. NDRF was now supposed to step in and evacuate. A caged structure was ready to be lowered down as a backup plan. The two workers were counselled and given a briefing through the lowered communication device. Sunglasses as protective eyewear were given to them since they had been in complete darkness for a long period. The media and relatives were also counselled not to ask them too many details since this was a post trauma scenario. Doctors were in position and so were the ambulances. By late afternoon of the 9<sup>th</sup> day, i.e. 21<sup>st</sup> September 2015, the first worker Maniram emerged flashing the victory sign. Satish came out soon thereafter. It was indeed an emotional scene. The doctors checked their vital signs which were perfectly normal thus indicating how well they had been monitored by the rescue team.

The young DC briefed the media and got public accolades for the same. However, she still kept on stressing the need to find the third missing person dead or alive. The operation continued for another 10 days after which sudden dangerous conditions inside the tunnel forced them to seal it and halt the operations. On being asked how he felt Maniram replied, "I have not travelled much in my life, but I can claim to have gone to Lord Yamraj and back".



General Outlay of the Tihra Tunnel Rescue Operation

Manasi Sahay Thakur

The author is an IAS officer of 2009 batch, Himachal Pradesh Cadre. She is currently posted as the Managing Director, General Industries Corporation, Shimla.



# Smart Cities Responses to COVID-19

Durga Shanker Mishra

## Abstract

*Anil Kumar Buna, a citizen of JP Nagar, Bengaluru was detected COVID positive in the month of July 2020. Although he and his family were stressed, they were fully aware of procedures to follow, thanks to the active citizen awareness campaign of the city. He called on the city COVID Helpline and in the next few minutes, an ambulance arrived to pick him up. He was taken to a nearby COVID Care Centre at the East Medical College and a bed was allocated to him in the next 5 minutes. The Centre was clean and hygienic. On admission, he noticed doctors, nurses as well as housekeeping staff working diligently taking care of patients at the Centre. Soon, a doctor came and spoke to him for close to 30 minutes. His nerves started to ease.*

*Meanwhile, using the information gathered from him, BBMP (Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike) swiftly mapped all places where he had visited in the last 7 days and traced all his possible human contacts. Anil's case was updated on the city's GIS-based real-time dashboard for crisis management. Each of these contacts received a call from the BBMP war room and were advised to self-quarantine themselves and watch their symptoms. BBMP health staff checked upon them daily for their well-being. The city had put in place an elaborate system to check violations of quarantine orders. Frequent violations of quarantine orders attracted a FIR under the Disaster Management Act. Anil's family was continuously monitored for their symptoms and were kept duly informed of his health status, thereby reducing anxiety. All cases in his vicinity were already mapped on the BBMP war room, established by Bengaluru Smart City and this data, aggregated in real-time was being used by the city for crisis management.*

*Anil recovered in due course of time and was thankful to BBMP and the Smart City of Bengaluru.*

COVID-19, like other disasters, has unravelled the inherent vulnerabilities in our urban ecosystems. If natural calamities like floods reveal the inadequacies in water management and development regulations, the pandemic has exposed fault lines in our health and sanitation infrastructure. It has tested the adaptive leadership capabilities of civic administrations. Maintaining the delicate balance between jaan (life) and jahaan (economic well-being), administrators have had to strategize and innovate along the way with little to

no time for reflection, analysis or consultation. This has meant taking calculated risks with new ideas and tools, but with minimal margins for errors. Although problems faced by individual cities look similar at the macro level, there have been crucial differences in how the crisis presented itself in each context.

India's 100 Smart Cities have been at the forefront of this fight from testing, isolation, treatment, enforcing the lockdown to using technological innovations for information collection, crisis management, effective communication, and predictive modelling.

The Butterfly Effect

*“Urbanization should be viewed as an opportunity & urban centers should be viewed as growth engines.” (Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi)*

Nearly 45 years ago, during the 139<sup>th</sup> meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Edward Lorenz, mathematician and meteorologist, posed a question: *“Does the flap of a butterfly's wings in Brazil set off a tornado in Texas?”* Not meant to be taken literally, the metaphor of the “Butterfly Effect” is simply meant to convey that seemingly insignificant events, at the right time and place, can trigger a series of events that ultimately culminate into something significant.

On June 25, 2015, Hon'ble Prime Minister launched the Smart Cities Mission with the vision that these would become cradles for innovation, setting waves of transformation across the 4,000+ urban areas across India. With rich diversity in their socio-cultural, economic, morphological and governance contexts, each of the 100 Smart Cities is a unique laboratory for translating peoples' aspirations to reality.

The Mission bases its work on four principles to achieve triple goals of livability, economic ability, and sustainability. These are: (i) citizen at the core: keeping citizens and communities at the center of development; (ii) more from less: being conscious of resource constraints to generate high impact; (iii) cooperative and competitive federalism: providing platform for collaboration as well as creating competition to promote excellence; and (iv) technology as means, not goal: leveraging context relevant technologies for value addition.

Smart Cities' COVID19 Responses

The pandemic has been a true test of the belief India has reposed in its Smart Cities. The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic and national response can be subdivided into three stages. Stage 1 was the appearance of the disease through people with a travel history and 100% screening of foreign travellers in response. Stage 2 was local transmission, when those who were infected and



had a travel history spread the virus to acquaintances or family. National lockdown with efforts in contact tracing, community surveillance and simultaneous built up of health infrastructure helped in controlling cases. Stage 3 is extended transmission, with infections spreading to larger public and the source of the virus cannot be traced. At this stage, fully functional crisis management systems were put in place through simultaneous action on multiple fronts.

Smart Cities have contributed in building effective response mechanisms to prevent, contain and address the crisis confronting the nation. It was imperative to leverage data and technology in combination local intelligence, community collaboration and agile governance mechanisms. To do this effectively, the 49 Integrated Command and Control Centres (ICCCs) in smart cities were converted into 'War Rooms' that became essential nodes for collecting information, conducting predictive modelling, coordinating response and communicating with citizens. As of March 2021, 54 cities have Integrated Command and Control Centres (ICCCs) and another 29 cities are in advance stages of developing these brain and nervous systems of the cities to manage operations beyond disaster management.

Smart Cities' responses to COVID-19 may be categorised into the following:

(i) INFORMATION- Collection, Management and Dissemination

Smart Cities' war rooms use web and mobile based methods to collect spatial and non-spatial data regarding cases, hotspots, medical infrastructure, movement of goods and services, etc. Here, self-reported citizen data from mobile applications as well as information from health departments and medical laboratories gets integrated on a central city dashboard. Based on this information, respective departments/response teams are notified for action.

In Agra, the Citizen COVID-19 Self Registry Platform allowed citizens to self-assess their own health; and any at-risk, positive, or recovered cases got reflected on the Agra COVID-19 Tracker- the GIS enabled Dashboard. Followup for these cases was done from the war room and testing was then deployed, as needed. Surat undertook active surveillance through a network of midwives, ASHA workers and other primary health workers. These teams carried out house-to-house visits to identify individuals with Acute Respiratory Infection (ARI) and reported cases into the SMC Employee Connect App which in turn fed into the web-based Dashboard. Door-to-door surveys were also conducted across slums with a focus on high risk patients and those with co-morbidities. The health workers disseminated information about hand hygiene, wearing of masks, social distancing, and ways to increase immunity.

The COVID-19 Safe Kashi Mobile App linked to Varanasi's COVID-19 Dashboard, includes features like health advisories, a case tracker, incident reporting, details for home delivery of essentials, e-pass for movement, facility for medical consultations and options to volunteer. Among the various analytics, the Dashboard was used to analyse areas not covered by medical delivery systems during the lockdown. This information was then conveyed to the respective zonal officers to take corrective action. Similarly, based on requests received from the war room, cooked food was distributed among the needy, destitute, and migrant workers by a team of Varanasi Nagar Nigam officials and NGOs.



Figure 2: GIS enabled COVID-19 Dashboards in Smart City COVID-19 War Rooms

## (ii) MANAGEMENT- Delivery of Essential Services, Health and Sanitization Infrastructure Management

Smart cities developed mechanisms to identify those who were in need of food/shelter/medicines along with their location and collaborated with different citizen groups and donors to ensure delivery of necessary items. Telemedicine, helplines, free tele-counselling, mobile clinics, and door to door surveys were some of the ways in which cities ensured that early stage diagnostics reach citizens. Cities conducted regular sanitization drives including sanitizing vehicles for public use through centralized monitoring.

Udaipur set up a Food Control Room with provisions for cooked food for distribution. The administration also implemented a tracking system for ration supply to the city's poor and destitute by mapping daily high intensity requirement areas and assigning these high demand areas to different donors. In Shivamogga, door-to-door collaboration with street vendors through the Agricultural Produce Market Committee (APMC) ensured citizens received quality vegetables and fruits during the lockdown. A special centre was set up in the city to conduct regular health check-ups and counselling by mental health experts in addition to free meals.

Thane set up fever outpatient departments (OPD) and drive-through testing booths across the city. In Ujjain, 14 Rapid Response Teams (RRTs) and Mobile Medical Units (MMUs) were established with ICCC assets and personnel.

Data entry and collation were done at the ICCC so that the doctors could focus on diagnosis and medical care. Administrative units were formed to support the RRTs. The city also set up three dedicated call centres using the ICCC infrastructure, to monitor the health and nutrition/food status of citizens.

Chandigarh carried out sanitation of dense areas such as slums and markets using drones. The Thanjavur Corporation officials designed and set-up low cost hand wash units in various government offices and other public access facilities. The Corporation received funds from sponsors to expand the reach of these stations. In Shimla, Local Area Committees, led by the respective Councillors, engaged in the monitoring of sanitization and cleanliness activities. In Agartala, about 183 women SHG groups, under the Deendayal Antyodaya Yojana- National Urban Livelihoods Mission (DAY-NULM), were involved in mask production for frontline workers and some earmarked for sale to citizens.

(iii) COMMUNICATION- Two-way Communication between City Authorities and Citizens:

Smart Cities leveraged conventional and non-conventional mediums to raise awareness among citizens and redress grievances. Some of these include messaging on mass media (TV, Radio), bulk SMSs, alerts on city-based COVID-19 Apps, Social Media Campaigns, Banners, Public Address System (PAS) and Variable Sign Boards (VSBs), door-to-door information dissemination by health workers, 24x7 Helplines with Call Centres, and periodic briefings by city authorities.

In Patna, community trainers of United Nations Population Fund and Patna Municipal Corporation visited slums to generate awareness on COVID-19 symptoms and prevention with a focus on precautionary measures. COVID-19 symptoms and safety measures were broad casted in English and Odia at various strategic locations across Rourkela. ASHA workers and the local Mahila Arogya Samiti (MAS) conducted sanitation and hygiene awareness programs across slums along with distribution of masks, soaps and other essentials.

In Prayagraj, a 24X7 Citizen Helpline (1920) monitored from the ICCC, addressed citizen grievances during the lockdown. The Helpline addressed all queries and complaints ranging from utility-led, and food/ration supply related to disinfection requests and medical help. All requests were routed to the appropriate team for quick resolution- for example, to emergency vehicles on standby for transportation needs or food packets from PDS ration. Hubballi-Dharwad created a Domestic Violence Helpline to report abuses that stemmed either from the pandemic situation or during the lockdown.

(iv) PREPAREDNESS- for Future Exigencies using Predictive Analysis:

With cases spreading at different speeds across states/cities and cities attempting to open up the economy, preparedness is key. Data from police, hospitals, and the health department, among others is being deployed to create risk profiles of neighbourhoods and monitor economic activities and movements.

In Bengaluru, partnering with Indian Institute of Sciences and the IT Industry helped develop predictive analysis of positive cases and accordingly prepare for the quarantine centres, hospital beds, medical infrastructure etc. The medical staff needed trainings for the new challenges. Smart cities infrastructure helped the cities arrange trainings, as new guidelines/treatments/protocols kept flowing in. Movement in Containment Zones and home quarantine is tracked through mobility data from phones, GPS and Social Media while Data Science Consortium, a non-profit, was involved in developing “predictive models,” to determine how to open the city’s economy post lockdown.

In Pune, positive cases are mapped to a GIS enabled Dashboard which keeps track of patients’ health, quarantine cases, contact tracing and helps plan out resources such as quarantine facilities, isolation beds and staffing. Using heat-mapping technologies and predictive analytics, the city administration develops containment plans for containment zones.

Gwalior developed a strong online Border Management System that tracks all check-post data along with ensuring health screening to be conducted by doctors at every entry point. It helps monitor the number of people coming in, which areas they are coming in from and the probability of them being carriers, on the basis of their travel. Predictive analysis helps the administration in containing the spread and guides decision-making.

Revelations from COVID-19 Crisis about our City-Systems

*Pandemics as catalysts for urban reforms:*

History reveals that pandemics such as the yellow fever, cholera, plague and SARS have reshaped the planning, management, and sanitation systems of cities. During the yellow fever of the late 1700s, then capital of US, Philadelphia, took on the problem of poor waste management and spawned the creation of sanitation departments across the country over the next 50 years. Similarly, when contaminated water brought waves of cholera through the U.S. and Europe in the 1850s, cities birthed the twin agencies of public health and urban planning making way for wide boulevards and public parks such as the Central Parks of New York City. Since the plague of 1990s in Surat,

drains were covered, pay-and-use toilets were introduced in slums and markets, and fines were levied for littering. The city also strengthened its disease surveillance and response programmes. The SARS outbreak in 2003, which hit cities such as Hong Kong and Singapore, led Singapore to upgrade its medical infrastructure and create systems to map the disease. Similarly, COVID-19 presents an opportunity to reflect on the fault lines in the urban ecosystem and make commitments towards making them resilient.

*Inequity, not density is the real problem:*

Though the pandemic may have tainted city life, some of the most densely populated cities in the world, including Hong Kong, Seoul, Singapore, and Taipei, were largely able to suppress the corona virus within their respective populations. This reveals that while major dense cities are more likely entry points for diseases due to their global connectivity, a robust and accessible care infrastructure, responsive governance and strong civil society networks in urban areas enable them to have better response. Post-crisis economic recovery is also faster in dense urban centres due to benefits of economic agglomeration. Thus, what necessitates our attention is not density of people, but the adequacy, accessibility and affordability of essential services and resources, especially for the most vulnerable groups. This entails ensuring cities meet the minimum benchmarks for per capita doctors, beds, ICUs, toilets, open spaces, and other quality of life indicators.

*We live in deeply networked urban ecosystems:*

COVID-19 revealed how deeply interconnected the globe is and how goods, services and people circulate between urban and rural areas. This was evident in the virus transmission from Wuhan to northern Italy through a flourishing garment industry or to Kerala through medical services sector. The early days of lock-down in India brought out in limelight the large share of temporary migrant workers in urban areas who rotate within a single year, between farm work in villages and waged labour in sectors like construction, transportation, hospitality and others in cities. They not only facilitate economic development in cities they work in, but also in their villages through remittances. Despite this, migrants, especially the interstate workers, face barriers in accessing basic needs alluding to impending work in universalization of safety nets and basic services in the country.

*Digital infrastructure is the sanitation of our time:*

Despite the global lockdowns, the digital revolution brought the world together, making this pandemic different from previous ones. The advancements in urban data have allowed tracking of the virus seamlessly and could inform more data-driven governance and urban planning in the coming

years. Tele-medicine and e-class rooms have ensured health and education delivery can adapt to crisis and perhaps allow greater penetration of these services. The decentralized gig economy of e-commerce, food-tech and freelance work proved most resilient in these times. Working remotely has proved advantages like cost reduction, productivity spikes and talent diversification. COVID-19 has thus created a greater demand for digital infrastructure and while we will see unprecedented investment in these, it will be pertinent to close the digital divide to ensure that no community is left behind.

Conclusion: Quick Wins to Systemic Transformations Ahead!

Revelations and experiences from COVID-19 present an opportunity to rebuild inter-generational equity and promote healthier ways of living and working. The corona virus has already produced some tangible changes. World over, cities are being retrofitted with bicycle lanes, widened sidewalks, and plazas. Restaurants and retail spaces are also being converted so that they can serve their customers more safely. In the same spirit, the Ministry has launched a *Cycles4 Change and Streets4 People Challenges* to inspire and support 100 Smart Cities to expand their cycling networks by beginning with low-cost interventions like pop-up cycle lanes, non-motorized zones, community-led cycle rental schemes, among many others.

While some quick wins are being tapped, Ministry is committed to making systemic shifts in the way cities are planned, assessed and governed. Launched in 2019, the *Data Smart Cities Initiative's* objective is to foster data-driven decision making in urban India by harnessing the combinatorial powers of data and technology. Under this, digital public goods are being created for data collection, analysis, sharing and solution-ing. Some of these include Open Data Portal, India Urban Observatory, Indian Urban data Exchange (IUDX) and City Innovation Exchange. In response to the housing inadequacies among migrant workers that surfaced during the pandemic, an Affordable Rental Housing Complexes (ARHCs) scheme has been created under the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojna- Urban (PMAY-U). The scheme will create a conducive environment for new investment opportunities and promote entrepreneurship in affordable rental housing segment. While Memorandum of Association (MoA) have been signed with 31 States/UTs a few cities like Chandigarh and Surat have taken lead.

The *PM SVA Nidhi* scheme has been launched to provide affordable working capital loans to street vendors to resume their livelihoods since the COVID-19 lockdown. As of 19 March 2021, 40+ lakh applications were received; of which

---

23+ lakh have already been sanctioned and 19+ lakh disbursed. Another big step towards Aatma Nirbhar Bharat has been to engage the youth of the nation and connect them to meaningful internships in local governments across India. With this intention, *The Urban Learning Internship Program (TULIP)* was launched by the Ministry in collaboration with Ministry of Human Resources Development in June, 2020. Over the past nine months, more than 2.66 lakh students have registered on the platform, over 15,000 internship positions in cities are posted, 900 internships are on-going and 267 have been completed.

Although some of these initiatives are initially rolled out in the 100 Smart Cities, our faith in the mission has emboldened since the pandemic and we believe that it will create a virtuous cycle of improvement, with transformational impacts on all 4,000+ Urban Local Bodies in India. It is our hope that the Smart Cities will have the 'Butterfly Effect' in transforming new urban India to be more resilient, healthy and productive!

---

**Durga Shanker Mishra**

*The author is an IAS officer of 1984 batch, Uttar Pradesh cadre. He is the current Housing and Urban Affairs Secretary of India. He is also the Chairman of the Delhi Metro Rail Corporation.*



# The Applicability of Duverger's Law on Political parties vis a vis Party System in India

Monika Dhama

## Abstract

*This paper examines whether India with its multi-party system despite first past the post is an outlier to Duverger's law with respect to electoral data gathered from all the parliamentary electoral constituencies for the 2009 and 2014 elections. Duverger had put forward forth the idea that countries having single member constituencies with first past the post/plurality rule tend to gravitate towards a two party system. India has been anything but a bi-party system. Does Indian party system belie the Duverger's law or do we see it's working at the district level is what this essay looks into with respect to two national elections.*

India's democratic experience has been an object of fascination and study for it has been an oddity in more than one respect. It is the only third world developing country (now emerging economy) to have a rather continuous embrace of democracy since its inception with the largest voting population (a staggering 834.1 million in the last 2014 general election) that happens to be the most diverse and heterogeneous among all existing democracies. An impressive voter turnout of 66.4% (553 million) in 2014, India is perhaps the only large democracy where turnout of the deprived, rural based and lower orders exceeds that of the rich, urbane and the advantaged (Diwakar, 2008). To add to its basket of anomalies is the near consensus among political scientists that it is an egregious exception to Duverger's law (Riker, 1982).

India's multi party system at the national and state level is a conundrum for scholars of Duverger who have put forth explanations for this exceptionality (Riker 1976, Rae 1971, Diwakar 2007). Duverger's Law and its applicability at the district level is the object of focus in this essay but only with respect to the recent national elections held in 2009 and 2014. To estimate whether the contest in each constituency was bi polar or multi polar, this paper does not rely on Laakso and Taagepera's (1979) calculation of Effective Number of Political parties as has been the established practice in comparative politics literature. There are numerous studies that have relied on this measure for the Indian scenario. However this paper makes a departure and chooses a different route that relies on India's Election Commission's definition of



electoral deposit. There are 543 parliamentary constituencies or SMD (Single member districts) where elections are held to select 543 representatives for the Lok Sabha or the lower house, the main legislative body akin to British House of Commons. These are spread over 28 states and 7 Union Territories (Telangana, now a separate state but counted under Andhra Pradesh here). The winner in each of these constituencies is the one who gets the maximum votes. Each candidate has to submit an electoral deposit to contest which is forfeited if he/she fails to solicit 1/6th of the total valid votes polled by all the candidates in that constituency. For our purpose, it implies that if fifteen candidates' contested and 13 candidates had their deposits forfeited, then the contest was essentially bipolar. Additionally we calculate when there are three parties securing more than 1/6th of the votes, whether the vote share of the third party was larger than the difference in the vote shares of the first and the second-placed parties, that is, it was in a position to influence the result or outcome of the election. This is a more robust measure of indicating whether district level contests are actually Bi polar or not. The electoral deposit may appear as a arbitrary figure but infact is widely accepted in India as a common voter's perception/measure of judging how fierce/close was the competition in his/her constituency. Constituency level data has been sourced from the website of Election Commission of India and then coalesced together for this paper.

Duverger put forth what he himself called a sociological law. Countries having single member constituencies with First past the post/plurality rule (the one who receives the highest no. of votes wins) would tend to gravitate towards a two party system (Duverger 1964). For him, the electoral rule/regime had a deterministic impact on the party system. His reasons for this are twofold and presumably derive from a view of politicians and voters as rational that is utility maximizers (Riker 1982). The mechanical effect whereby the electoral law converts votes into seats. Any party coming third is unlikely to get any seats in the national legislature and therefore unlikely to contest or field candidates. Secondly the psychological effect whereby voters and elites alike are not likely to waste their vote and finance on third or smaller parties but only the one most likely to win the contest (Kenneth Benoit 2006). We see here an explanation for strategic voting i.e voters choosing the least disliked among two major parties contesting the seat.

India's democratic experiment with plurality rule began way back in 1952, roughly the same time Duverger formulated his law. Though there have been 16 parliamentary elections since then, India has never approached something close to a two party system. The fragmentation of the party system is reflected

in the Effective number of National parties Index (Laakso and Taagapera 1979 vote share of parties calculation) that is presented in the Table below (Sridharan 2013).

General election	Year held	ENP/Votes	ENP/Seats
1	1952	4.53	1.80
2	1957	3.98	1.76
3	1962	4.40	1.85
4	1967	5.19	3.16
5	1971	4.63	2.12
6	1977	3.40	2.63
7	1980	4.25	2.28
8	1984	3.99	1.69
9	1989	4.80	4.35
10	1991	5.10	3.70
11	1996	7.11	5.83
12	1998	6.91	5.28
13	1999	6.74	5.87
14	2004	7.60	6.50
15	2009	7.98	5.01
16	2014	6.90	3.50

All through from 1952 to 2014, India's party scene at the national level has prima facie defied Duverger's law. However the position has not been static and enormous changes have characterized the extremely dynamic Indian party system. Indian electoral scene has been broadly categorized into four phases (Yadav 1999). The first phase, accepted by all political scholars as lasting first two decades since independence was characterized by the dominance of the Congress party. Representing the central part of the spectrum and appealing to the median voter, the Congress for Riker was undeniably the Condorcet winner. It took twenty years for those on the left and right extremities coupled with the regional parties to achieve a breakthrough in the Congress bastion.

The second phase beginning from 1967 marked the disintegration of the Congress monolith as Ramachandra Guha (2013) puts it. Congress – opposition system marked the second phase of party system as Bi polar consolidation took place at the state level but it lead to fragmentation at the national level as it was characterized by multiple bipolarities (Congress being the common pole in most states and different opposition parties occupying the other end of the pole). This description by Sridharan (2013) contends that Duvergian Dynamics still informed these multipolar bipolarities.

The 1990's or the third phase referred to as the Post-Congress polity (Yadav 1999) was the harbinger of intense fragmentation in the party system which saw mushrooming of state and regional parties besides an assertion of identity politics. From 1989 an era of coalition politics descended with eight governments amidst five parliamentary elections in a short span of ten years. India was nowhere close to Duverger's law in this phase that saw the relative decline of the Congress and rise of the Hindu Nationalist Party BJP along with many regional parties. Those from the sociological school see this fragmentation as a natural byproduct of class, ethnicity, caste, religious and linguistic interests. But what we see at the National level after a decade of coalitional politics is the emergence of two Blocs led by BJP and the Congress who have held power between them (Sridharan 2013). This fourth phase from 1999 seems to resemble a scenario of Duvergian clustering despite party fragmentation because most state parties except for the Communists have usually aligned themselves with one of the governing coalitions. The 2014 Election marked the triumph of a single national party in government formation for the first time in 30 years putting coalition politics on the back burner and seems to mark a new phase in post-Congress polity. However as Tillin (2015) and Heath (2015) demonstrate, it does not mark a significant departure but rather the performance of regional parties has remained resilient. The balance between seats held by regional and national parties in the parliament has remained constant in 2009 and 2014 with the former registering a marginal increase in vote share and seats. The principal shift has been at the National Level with BJP edging out the Congress and communists, a repeat of what Congress did in 2009 (Yadav, Suri & Palshikar 2015). Despite the balance between regional and national parties, another significant trend in 2009 and 2014 has been the reduced dependence of nationalist parties on regional parties to form workable majorities in Parliament (Tilin 2015).

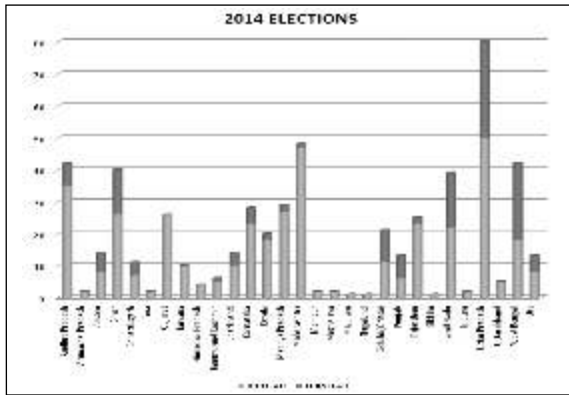
Coming to the constituency level, Chibber and Kollman (1998) have examined electoral contest at the district level in India to show that ENP has remained stable over the years (2.5 or less) which corroborates Duverger's law. But this does not aggregate to a two party system at national level and this according to Chibber explains why India has always been considered a statistical outlier to Duverger's Law. However they question the effect of electoral system and strategic voting and highlight other factors to explain fragmentation of party system in India. This has been strongly echoed by Diwakar (2006, 2007, 2008). Overall, we see that Scholars have divergent views on whether India has resembled Duvergian arithmetic at the national and district level, there being near consensus on its absence at national level and only diluted support for its presence at the district level.

An examination of electoral data for each of the 543 constituencies in 2009 and 2014 elections based on forfeiture of electoral deposit to see the operationalisation of Duverger's Law at the district level provides us interesting results. For the 2009 elections, there were total 8070 candidates and 364 political parties in the fray and 2014 had 8251 candidates distributed across 464 political parties. In 2009, around 6829 candidates forfeited their deposit and if one takes out two candidates (winner and runners up) for each of the 543 constituencies, only 155 candidates remain who managed to save their electoral deposit. For 2014, the picture is very similar. 8251 candidates participated and 7000 deposits were forfeited and other than winner and runners up, only 165 candidates remain who managed to save their electoral deposit. These were primarily parties finishing third as fourth and further lower parties received insignificant support. Only four constituencies in 2009 and 2014 had a four cornered contest. In terms of constituencies, only 151 out of 543 in 2009 and 161 out of 543 in 2014 had three candidates who secured substantial votes i.e above  $1/6^{\text{th}}$  (16.6%) to save their deposit. If we further count third party cases which were above the deposit line and also their vote share was more than that of the second and first party, it reduces itself to 141 districts in 2009 and 2014. Coincidentally, there is no change in 2009 and 2014 in no of districts (141) where the second party had a reasonable chance of winning if the third party votes were in its favour as has been shown in the next table. In this paper, this scenario has been referred to as Tripolar, not in a substantive way but just to distinguish them from bipolar districts where only two parties had more than  $1/6^{\text{th}}$  of the vote. There have been more districts where third parties have acted as no more than spoilers but for this paper we have not included them as their vote percentage has been below the electoral deposit threshold.

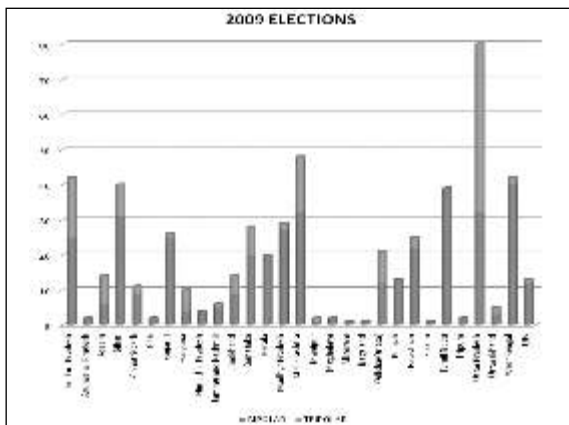
No of constituencies	Total SMD	Bi polar (only 2 parties above $1/6^{\text{th}}$ )	3 <sup>rd</sup> party more than $1/6^{\text{th}}$	3 <sup>rd</sup> party above $1/6^{\text{th}}$ < (winner -2 <sup>nd</sup> party)	3 <sup>rd</sup> party above $1/6^{\text{th}}$ > (winner-2 <sup>nd</sup> party)	Bipolar districts	% of districts bipolar
2009	543	392	151	10	141	402	74.03
2014	543	382	161	20	141	402	74.03

One can therefore reasonably conclude that contest at the district level is largely bi polar (74.03% of constituencies) in 2009 and 2014 despite the existence of many parties. Infact it a tribute to Duverger that despite so many

parties, the contest is largely bi-polar which shows the working of plurality rule and all its attendant ramifications. And third parties are at best spoiler parties, they are not in a position to win themselves. Moreover votes polled by top three parties account for 85% and more of the valid votes polled in almost 95% of the districts. This holds true for 2009 as well as 2014. However it is conceded that a narrow, deterministic interpretation of Duverger’s Law to mean the third parties reduce to zero will make India a notorious exception. As Singer (2013) puts it, “two parties do seem to dominate under plurality rule, that domination is not complete”. State wise distribution of polarity for 2009 and 2014 elections has also been presented in the graphs/diagram on next page.



The X axis represents 28 states and 7 Union Territories (clubbed together) of the Indian Union . The Y axis represents the no. of seats/constituencies in each state and the UT's and together these total up to 543.



The X axis represents 28 states and 7 Union Territories (clubbed together) of the Indian Union . The Y axis represents the no. of seats/constituencies in each state and the UT's and together these total up to 543.

It is contended by Mayer (2013) that a large number of candidates (85%) forfeiting their electoral deposit in India is a pointer to failure of Duverger's Law which was applicable for ethnically homogenous societies. However, the reverse is rather true. Duverger's Law works to manifest in a huge percentage of forfeiture of electoral deposits as voters realize the futility of wasting their votes on 'irrelevant candidates'. Given India's multiple disparities and diversities, an extreme scenario of complete absence of all but two parties is implausible and a certain amount of inconsequential parties or independents would always be on the fringe. Rather but for plurality rule, the number of parties would have been explosive given India's fractured diversities. It adds to the evidence which demonstrates that restrictive electoral system helps mute ethnic and social cleavages. What we have to take cognizance is of how Duverger's Law works differently in the most populous multi ethnic-linguistic and multi religious federal polity like India. Once we track district outcomes, we realize that images of party fragmentation are more illusory than substantive. Competition in most seats at the district level tends to be largely Bi-polar. Since the emergence of two blocs nationally since 2004, one of the bloc partners agrees not to contest local seats where other member of the bloc has a reasonable chance of winning and this phenomenon is akin to mechanical effect of Duverger's Law. Parties may not be exiting the system or disintegrating but there is sufficient quid pro quo (even if opportunistic and not ideological) in most constituencies among them to ensure votes are not wasted and broadly there is a convergence around two poles. Additionally, the fact that third parties were not in a position to win themselves or influence outcomes points to the psychological part of Duverger's law in operation. It is also an affirmation of Downsian theory that parties as self interested rational creatures primarily care about winning elections and there has been a broad convergence on policy matters too (Yadav et al 2015).

There is much to be said about India that can be inferred from electoral data once we narrow down our focus to each state that is why some states are strongly bi polar vis a vis those where third parties have had some say but constraints of space are a limiting factor. Nevertheless the application of Duverger's theory at the district level for 2009 and 2014 elections and its preponderance in India long considered an outlier is an indicator that with time, as democracies mature, strategic behavior by elites and voters approximates to two large parties/blocs. Of course, there would always be some exceptional trend or moment in social sciences but the idea is to look behind the apparent, observe broad generalizations and make sense of them, not to exaggerate the surface differences or the deviant.

## References

- Benoit, K. (2006). Duverger's Law and the Study of Electoral Systems. *French Politics*, 4(1), pp.69-83.
- Chhibber, P. and Kollman, K. (1998). Party Aggregation and the Number of Parties in India and the United States. *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 92, No. 2 (June), pp. 329-342.
- Diwakar, R. (2008). Voter Turnout in the Indian States: An Empirical Analysis. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*, 18(1), pp.75-100.
- Diwakar, R. (2015). The 16th general election in India, April–May 2014. *Electoral Studies*, 37, pp.120-125.
- Dunleavy, P. and Diwakar, R. (2011). Analysing multiparty competition in plurality rule elections. *Party Politics*, 19(6), pp.855-886.
- Dunleavy, P., Diwakar, R. and Dunleavy, C. (2008). Is Duverger's Law based on a mistake? [online] Available at: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/4273/>
- Dunleavy, P., Diwakar, R. and Dunleavy, C. (n.d.). The Effective Space of Party Competition. *SSRN Electronic Journal*.
- Duverger, M.,(1964) *Political Parties, their organization and activity in the modern state*, London, Methuen.
- Guha, R. (2013). The Past and Future of Indian Elections. *Outlook Magazine*.
- Heath, O. (2015). The BJP's return to power: mobilization, conversion and vote swing in the 2014 Indian elections. *Contemporary South Asia*, 23(2), pp.123-135.
- Humes, B. (1990). Multi-party competition with exit: A comment on Duverger's Law. *Public Choice*, 64(3), pp.229-238.
- Mayer, P. (2013). Gross Violations of Duverger's Law in India. *Studies in Indian Politics*, 1(2), pp.179-201.
- Palshikar, S., Suri, K. and Yadav, Y. (n.d.). *Party competition in Indian states*.
- Rae, Douglas (1971) ed, *the political consequences of Electoral Laws*.
- Rekha, D. (2007). Duverger's Law and the size of the Indian Party System, *Party Politics*, Vol 13.(5), pp.539–561.
- Rekha, D. (2010). Party aggregation in India, *Party Politics*, VOL 16.(4), pp.477-496.
- Riker, W. (1976). The Number of Political Parties: A Reexamination of Duverger's Law. *Comparative Politics*, 9(1), pp.93-106.
- Riker, W. (1982). The Two-Party System and Duverger's Law: An Essay on the History of Political Science. *The American Political Science Review*, 76(4), pp.753-766.
- Singer, M. (2013). Was Duverger Correct? Single-Member District Election Outcomes in Fifty-three Countries. *British Journal of Political Science*, 43(January 1), pp.201-220.

- Sridharan, E. (2013). Why are multi-party minority governments viable in India? Theory and comparison. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 50(3), pp.314-343.
- Sridharan, K. (2002). Indian politics in the 1990s: Trends and transformations, *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 10(1), pp.55-76.
- Tillin, L. (2015). Indian elections 2014: explaining the landslide. *Contemporary South Asia*, 23(2), pp.117-122.
- Tillin, L. (2015). Regional resilience and national party system change: India's 2014 general elections in context. *Contemporary South Asia*, 23(2), pp.181-197.
- Wildavsky, A. (1959). A Methodological critique of Duverger's political Parties *Journal of Politics*, 21(2)pp.302-318. [Online] Available at: <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/t>.
- Yadav, Y. (1996). India votes. *Journal of Asian studies*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (May, 1996)(2), pp.501-502.
- Yadav, Y.(2009) Between Fortuna and Virtue: Explaining the Congress' Ambiguous Victory in 2009. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 39 (Sep 26-Oct 2, 2009)(39), pp.33-46.
- Yadav, Y. (1999). Electoral Politics in the Time of Change: India's Third Electoral System, 1989-99. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34, (Aug. 21 - Sep. 3, 1999), pp. 2393-2399.
- Website of Election Commission of India for all electoral data pertaining to 2009 and 2014 General elections.

---

Monika Dhami

*The author is a Revenue Officer of 2001 Batch. She was the Additional Private Secretary in the Prime Minister's office and is currently posted as Deputy Director Senior, LBSNAA, Mussoorie.*





# Self-reliance and Innovation through Affordable Rental Housing

Amrit Abhijat

## Abstract

*The world is facing the pandemic (COVID-19) and India has been at the forefront of the strategic response in the fight against it. A major impact of this crisis was the lockdown of industrial, manufacturing and construction sectors in the country. This naturally resulted in large scale reverse migration of urban migrants and the poor swarmed back to the rural areas in the security of their homes. The Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs (MoHUA) rose to the occasion by initiating Affordable Rental Housing Complexes (ARHCs) scheme to address the issue of housing for the workforce through a comprehensive policy push to enable both the Public and Private entities for their proactive participation in the scheme. The scheme is designed on the lines of achieving the avowed goals of an Aatma Nirbhar (Self-Reliant) Bharat. The paper discusses the background and features of the scheme and thereafter discusses the way ARHC projects offer viable and promising investment opportunity with manifold benefits for the Entities, as well as the society. Furthermore, recognising the housing needs of the migrants/poor who form a significant work force in the informal sectors and support the growth of cities, the scheme of ARHCs is a forward-looking step of the Government. It looks at inclusive growth from that prism and is a precursor to achieving the vision of 'Aatma Nirbhar Bharat'. With the States/UTs taking interest, ARHCs promises to promote ethos of cooperative federalism and partnership of Private entities and Public sector together for a genuine sustainable social good.*

## Introduction

The world is facing the pandemic of COVID-19 and India has been at the fore front of the strategic response in the fight against it. A major impact of this crisis was the lockdown of industrial, manufacturing and construction sectors in the country. This naturally resulted in large scale reverse migration of urban migrants and the poor swarmed back to the rural areas in the security of their homes. The Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs (MoHUA) rose to the occasion by initiating Affordable Rental Housing Complexes (ARHCs) scheme to address the issue of housing for the workforce through a comprehensive policy push to enable both the Public and Private entities for their proactive participation in the scheme. The Union Cabinet approved Affordable Rental Housing Complexes (ARHCs) as a sub-scheme of the

ongoing Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana- Urban (PMAY-U). The scheme is designed on the lines of achieving the avowed goals of an Aatma Nirbhar (Self-Reliant) Bharat. It also encourages the entrepreneurial initiatives in this sector and promotes organised rental business in the country. I shall discuss the background and features of the scheme and thereafter discuss the way ARHC projects offer viable and promising investment opportunity with manifold benefits for the Entities, as well as the society.

Contextually speaking, in a typical urban setting the urban Migrants/Poor are the bulwark of the work force and critical to the construction sector and economic activities of the cities.

Paradoxically the semi grants stay in poor quality accommodations, slums, informal and peripheral settlements to cut down on their living costs. In the event of COVID-19 and the consequent lockdown, the economic vulnerability of urban migrants came to the fore. It is noteworthy that such persons and families who had the security of a home, did not have to face this situation and they could pursue their vocation after lockdown.

It is very rightly said that “every dark cloud has a silver lining”. Against the COVID-19 backdrop, the Ministry worked out a pragmatic and sustainable paradigm for promoting housing projects for urban migrants/poor. The innovative design for rental homes through multiple approaches including the role of Public/Private entities is a first such pro-poor initiative in the country involving private and public entities which underlines the commitment and a clear vision of the Government.

## 1. The Scheme

For clearer understanding, first, let us look at ARHCs through the prism of 5W&H model.

i. What: ARHC is a sub-scheme under PMAY(U) which seeks to provide dignified living with necessary civic amenities to urban migrants/poor, close to their work place at affordable rate.

ii. Why: There has been a large-scale reverse migration of urban migrants/poor due to COVID-19. Non availability of affordable housing close to work place adversely impacts productivity. There is a requirement of affordable rental housing rather than ownership. Importantly, ARHCs addresses the requirements of this vital economic productive force by providing a pragmatic option of “renting a house” rather than forcing an ownership-based solution despite constraints or requirements. This marks a decisive and strategic shift from ownership based intervention to rental based social housing scheme corrects historical negligence towards urban migrants and poor. ARHCs offers

a clear choice to take up a rental unit as per their requirements closest to their working area.

iii. Who: The beneficiaries of ARHCs will be varied groups of urban migrants/poor from EWS/LIG categories including industrial and construction workers, migrants working with market/trade associations, educational/health institutions, hospitality sector, long-term tourists/visitors, students or any other category as deemed fit by the States/UTs. The scheme initially stands to bring immediate relief to nearly three lakh beneficiaries comprising of the urban workforce. A wide segment of the population has been included in the illustrative list and the states can decide on the eligible categories depending on local conditions. This intervention as such is not an omnibus solution for all rental issues and is focussed to address migrant's requirements.

iv. Where: ARHCs will be implemented in all Statutory Towns, Notified Planning Areas, Development Authorities, Special Area Development Authorities, Industrial Development Authorities and any other area as notified by State/UT Govts. The States/UTs can also notify such areas as they deem fit for expanding the reach of ARHCs.

v. When (approval period): ARHCs will be considered for approval till PMAY(U) Mission period, that is, up to March 2022. However, projects approved until March 2022 shall have continued support until completion.

vi. How: The Scheme will be implemented through two models. In Model 1, existing Government funded (Central & State) vacant houses will be utilized by converting them into ARHCs through Public Private Partnership or by Public Agencies; and operating them for a concession period of 25 years. In Model 2, Public/Private Entities will construct, operate and maintain ARHCs on their own available vacant land for a period of 25 years. In order to secure the interest of intended beneficiaries, ARHCs projects will have a mix of single bedroom houses with living area, kitchen, toilet and bathroom (up to 30 sqm of carpet area) and dormitories (up to 10 sqm of carpet area). Thus, higher percentage of single unit and dormitory is encouraged under ARHCs. However, the scheme also provides for construction of a maximum of one third of dwelling units (33%) of double bedroom with living area, kitchen, toilet and bathroom (up to 60 sqm carpet area) in a given project to address the familial requirements.

## 2. Impetus to Business Innovation

ARHCs will induce investment and promote entrepreneurship in rental housing sector, thus, creating a new business ecosystem in urban areas. The policy initiative has come up after a series of consultations with stake holders

like State Governments, NAREDCO/CREDAI, financial Institutions, planners, architects amongst others.

Here' show:

The ways in which it has come into effect are as follows:

Capital Inflow at lower interest rate

Creation of ARHCs will promote attractive investments. Government of India has extended the benefit of project finance credit facility at lower interest rate through concessional window inclusion of ARHC under Harmonized Master List (HML) of infrastructure sub-sectors. Coupled with RBI permitting issue of long term bonds by banks for financing of infrastructure and affordable housing will facilitate long term project loan requirements for affordable housing in India at lower interest rate. Further, entities can avail loans at lower rates from banks under Priority Sector Lending (PSL) Window or from Housing Finance Companies (HFCs) under Affordable housing fund (AHF) at a lower interest rate. Refinance under AHF will be available to eligible institutions from National Housing Bank.

As a result of this capital infusion, the Internal Rate of Returns (IRR) projected at about 12-14% will become lucrative business opportunity for Private as well as Public Entities

Utilization of Vacant Land as a Resource

Finding suitable land in the city near the centers where migrants work/study is a big challenge. Availability of land in the public sector (Central/State PSUs etc.) is of ten fraught with problems and competing priorities. Also, a large portion of vacant land is available unutilized with the private sector. This has not been utilized it judiciously because of restrictions posed under local planning norms and regulations.

There is a need to unlock available land with public agencies as well as private bodies. Policy push through ARHCs allows flexibility in Land Use by Entities where part of it can be used for rental purpose and rest for commercial use. Thus, ARHCs will lead to value capture on the land asset and the rate of return derived will make business profitable and secured.

Policy Incentives

As part of the policy push for business innovation in rental housing, incentives and benefits are being extended to the entities such as concessional project finance to entities through concessional window under AHF; exemption in Income Tax & GST on any profits and gains derived from operation of ARHCs; provision of Use Permission changes for houses on vacant land and free 50% additional FAR/FSI through necessary changes in local planning and

Development Control Regulations; trunk infrastructure up to the project site by States/UTs; municipal charges at par with residential property and Single window and time bound (within 30 days) approval of all ARHC projects.

Further, in order to promote business innovation through use of innovative and alternate construction technologies, a Technology Innovation Grant (TIG) of Rs 600 crore has been provisioned under the Scheme.

#### Entrepreneurship and Investment in Rental Housing

Through this initiative, Government has created an entrepreneurial opportunity in a largely unregulated, disorganized sector. This will propel further investment in the housing sector. The scheme has been designed to provide flexibility for entrepreneurs or Entities to opt from two available models of implementation which will ensure the continuity of business and assurance of sustained supply of productive capital at work site for eventual economic gain.

The Government is aware of the limitations of ownership model of housing, as not everybody needs or desires to own a house in their city of work. This holds especially true for those who have migrated as they may already have a house or land in their respective place of domicile. The new initiative of ARHCs, besides addressing the issues of health, hygiene and productivity of migrants and their families, will also prevent unorganized spatial proliferation of slums.

#### How the Financial Viability Works in Model2

Model-02 of ARHCs is to be constructed by entities on their own available vacant land and to be operated for a period of 25 years. While estimating the financial viability of Model-02 the following assumptions are used *viz.* (i) Land areas 1 Hectare; (ii) Construction periods-18 Months; (iii) Construction cost @ ₹6 lakh/1BHK, ₹ 2.25 lakh/dormitory bed and ₹ 21,520/sqm. for commercial areas; (iv) TIG of ₹20,000/dormitory bed and ₹60,000/1BHK; (v) Rate of Interest- 8%; (vi) Loan repayment periods-20years; (vii) Additional 50% FAR/FSI; (viii) 10% Commercial areas; (ix) Occupancy rate @90%; (x) Rent @ ₹6,000/month/DU, ₹3,000/month/dormitory bed and ₹1,300/Sqm for commercial area; (xi) Rent increase for DU and dormitory @8% & Commercial @10% every 2 years; (xii) Major repairs and maintenance cost @ 4% of construction cost; (xiii) Risk fund @ 2% of rental income and (xiv) Administration, management and insurance expenses at 2% of rental income of project period.

While estimating financial viability of Model-02 of ARHCs as per the above assumptions, the average Debt Service Coverage Ratio (DSCR) comes out to be 2.47 (During the loan repayment tenure) and Internal Rate of Return (IRR) of

14.47%, which includes residual building value at 60% of the construction cost and land value after 25 years.

#### Expected Benefits

ARHCs model will provide an ambient ecosystem for technology led innovation, growth and a sustainable rental market in the country. Amidst sentiments of a global economics low down and some legacy failures of real estate sector, an estimated 12-14 percent projected IRR will indeed make the ARHCs financially viable. This is possible because of the jacketing of clear and easy financing availability out of the PSL and the TIG. These will also reduce the project time lines which eventually translates into better economic model for the entrepreneur and investor and the beneficiary.

It will promote responsible entrepreneurship and fulfilment of ethical duty towards the 'less privileged' and also give them increased purchasing power. By providing rental housing solution for people who work for national growth and productivity, ARHCs will provide a great opportunity for entities to act for the 'greater common good' and be involved in 'National Duty'.

ARHC with innovative technologies will promote, green, cost efficient technologies and address climate resilience construction. It will also promotes killing in innovative technologies.

For our cities to prosper, it is imperative that housing for different strata of society are looked at holistically and benefits of planning and development are horizontally spread. Recognising the housing needs of the migrants/poor who form a significant work force in the informal sectors and support the growth of cities, the scheme of ARHCs is a forward-looking step of the Government. It looks at inclusive growth from that prism and is a precursor to achieving the vision of 'Aatma Nirbhar Bharat'. With the States/UTs taking interest, ARHCs promises to promote ethos of cooperative federalism and partnership of Private entities and Public sector together for a genuine sustainable social good.

---

Amrit Abhijat

*The author is an IAS officer of 1995 batch, Uttar Pradesh Cadre. He is currently posted as Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs in New Delhi.*

## Subscriptions

The Administrator is published half yearly: i.e January and July.

Subscription orders can be placed with Training Research & Publication Cell (TRPC) as per the contact details below:

*E mail:* [administrator@lbsnaa.gov.in](mailto:administrator@lbsnaa.gov.in)      *Phone:* 0135-222-2324

The subscription rates for single copy purchase are as follows:

- (i) Individual (1 issue) : ₹ 150.00 per copy
- (ii) Institutional (1 issue) : ₹ 300.00 per copy

Annual Subscription Rates:

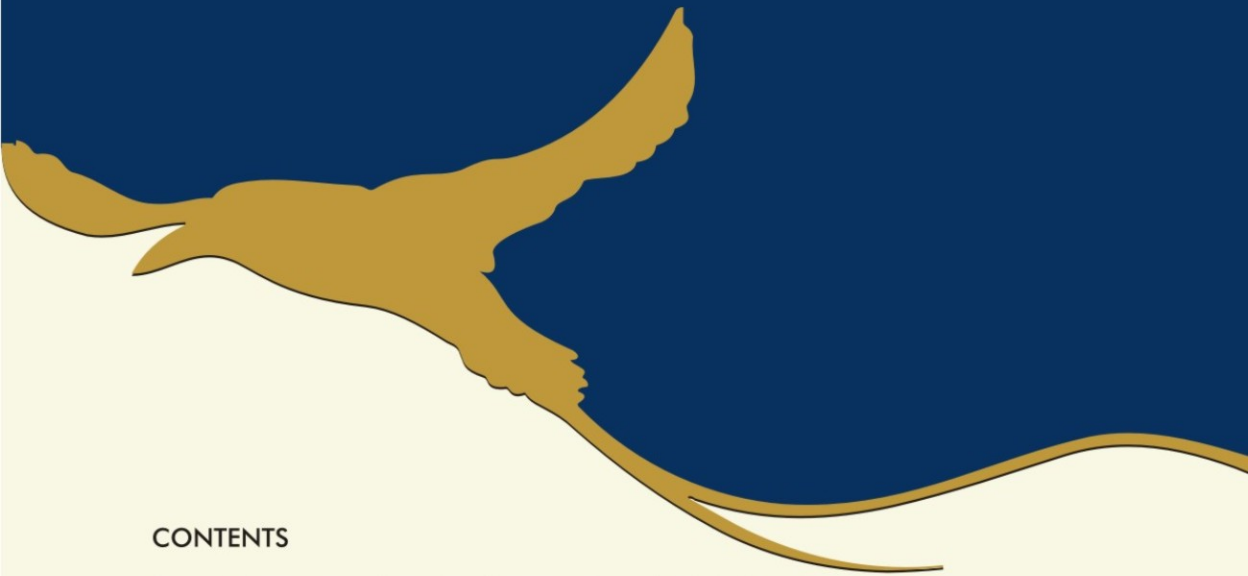
- (i) Individual (2 issue) : ₹ 250.00
- (ii) Institutional (2 issue) : ₹ 500.00

## Contributions

The Administrator provides a forum for civil servants and academicians who have applied themselves to issues pertaining to areas of public administration, public policy, etc.

Contribution in the form of articles/ paper/ book reviews can be sent to **Email:** [administrator@lbsnaa.gov.in](mailto:administrator@lbsnaa.gov.in) contributors to follow the font, spacing, citation, reference, etc. as per the style sheet.

Detailed guidelines and style sheet for submission of Article/ Papers/ Book Review for publishing in Administrator can be accessed at LBSNAA website <http://www.lbsnaa.gov.in/pages/display/559-subscription-contribution-for-administrator>.



## CONTENTS

Sustainable Development Goals: Road Map for Implementing and Achieving in North Eastern States of India : Inder Jit Singh	01
Farmers and Agricultural Marketing Opportunities through Electronic Trading Platforms: Issues and Challenges : Abhilaksh Likhi	15
Recent Circular on Bhoodan Land in Bihar: A Correction : Dr. Vidyarthi Vikas	21
Monitoring the Court Cases Better : Dr. Saumitra Mohan	41
Redevelopment of Shahjahanabad - A Walled City of Delhi : Renu Sharma	47
Reducing Transaction costs in International Trade - Moving Vigorously Towards the T Organisation : Sumeet Jerath	65
The Seshan Effect : Bhamathi Balasubrahmanyam	74
River Kosi Rejuvenation Project: A Geographical - Information System (GIS) based approach to rejuvenate a Himalayan river in India : Nitin Singh Bhadauria	79
A Report on Foreign Study Tour : Radhika Jha	88
Towards Universal Health Coverage through financing and information systems in primary health care : Aditya Dahiya	94
15 Years of Gender Budgeting in India : Dr. R.K. Choubisa	103
Rethinking global anti-corruption campaign : Kannan Perumal	117
Impact of Covid-19 on Training Scenario : Shrinivas Madhav	138
Transforming Pre-primary Education in India: BACHPAN Project - A Perspective from the Himalayan District of Chamoli : Swati S. Bhadauria	141
Life at The End of The Tunnel! : Manasi Sahay Thakur	148
Smart Cities Responses to COVID-19 : Durga Shanker Mishra	153
The Applicability of Durverger's law on Political Parties vis-à-vis Party System in India : Monika Dhani	162
Self-reliance and Innovation through Affordable Rental Housing : Amrit Abhijat	171