

EQUITY UNADDRESSED

A Civil Society Response to the Draft Approach Paper
12th Five Year Plan



A WNTA publication, with support from UNDP.



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Resilient nations.*

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, India)



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Constituency Groups

1. Women – Women Power Connect, JAGORI, UN Women
2. Youth – JOSH
3. Children – IACR, Plan4Children Collective, National Policy Process Members
4. Muslims – Mashkoo Alam (TPMS), Naaz Khair (Researcher)
5. Migrants – International Organization for Migration
6. Dalits – NCDHR, NACDOR, NDF, NFDW
7. North East – Monisha Behal
8. Adolescents – Swaasthya
9. People with Disability –VSO, NAAJMI
10. Urban Poor – Hazards Centre

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2. Aditi Kapoor (Alternative Futures)
3. Anjela Taneja (Oxfam India)
4. Pravah and Other Partners
5. Water Aid

Independent Experts

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2. Mohan Rao (JNU)
3. Indranil Mukhopadhyay (Save the Children)
4. K. S Gopal, Scholar at Residence, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai
5. Ashish Kothari (Kalpavriksh – Environmental Action Group)
6. Mr. M. N Buch (NCHSE)
7. Shivani Chaudhry (Housing And Land Rights Network, Delhi)
8. NC Saxena (NAC)
9. P. S. Krishnan (IAS Retd.)
10. Kuldeep Mathur (Former Prof, JNU)
11. Subrat Das (Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability)
12. Azim Premji Foundation
13. Amitabha Pande IAS (Retd)

Response to Queries raised on UN Solution Exchange

1. MCH Community
2. Work and Employment Community
3. Decentralization Community

We are very grateful to UNDP for supporting these consultations.

Foreword

Civil society organisations (CSOs) from across the country, representing various constituencies and theoretical approaches, collectively welcomed the Planning Commission of India opening up the planning process for the Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan. CSOs felt this would help shift the planning process to a people-led one, make the 12th Plan inclusive, and create spaces for the most marginalised and have strived, particularly, to include groups that are most often marginalised and under-represented in the planning process. Among these groups are the poor, women, children, youth, elderly, Dalits, Adivasis, people living with HIV, people with disability, transgenders, and religious minorities.

There was also a need to institutionalise this process into a formal, systemic one. The other – equally important – objective was to ensure that all groups retained their autonomy.

WNTA has been involved in facilitating a sustained engagement of civil society with the planning process in this direction. We organised and facilitated wide-ranging consultations with approximately 850 CSOs from across the country for providing inputs into the Approach Paper. Key Planning Commission representatives were present at each of these consultations at the CSOs' request. We compiled the inputs into a book *Approaching Equity: Civil Society Inputs for the Approach Paper – 12th Five Year Plan* and submitted it to the Planning Commission.

Approaching Equity addressed key human rights considerations for livelihood generation possibilities, health, education, skill development, training, and infrastructure building. All the CSO groups rejected GDP growth alone as a goal of planning. Instead, they suggested

- creating a comprehensive real-time database on the marginalisation of and violence against the poor and vulnerable to enable more realistic and just planning;

- provision of access to essential entitlements and development opportunities to the marginalised by increasing investment in public services;
- ensuring transparency and accountability mechanisms for people's participation in monitoring public services;
- upholding laws against exploitation, such as labour laws and protection laws for vulnerable groups, especially in situations of conflict;
- defending justice for those affected by displacement and environmental damage;
- supporting migrants' rights and entitlements, both internally and internationally;
- developing sustainable agriculture policy to address agricultural distress along with appropriate plans for post-production and marketing;
- enabling truly inclusive local governance; and
- promoting renewable non-conventional energy solutions.

There is little resonance of these recommendations in the Draft Approach Paper.

With the Planning Commission's release of the Draft Approach Paper and their request for feedback, the planning process for the 12th Plan is at a critical juncture. We recognise this as the last, small window of opportunity for civil society to voice and support the diverse needs of the many groups we collectively represent in the 12th Plan, which will shape the course of our country's development over the next five years. We are committed to inclusion and social and distributive justice, and have formulated a cohesive and holistic response to the Draft Approach Paper through the process of gathering critical inputs from several of the constituency groups (who are key partners in the engagement process) and also from a range of CSOs, thematic and independent experts.

The responses in this publication, like the inputs, are framed by principles of human rights and social justice that reflect our understanding of growth outside the narrow economic framework. The 12th Plan must emerge from a framework that is livelihood-based, people-centric, pro-poor, and owned by the people themselves, as these are the foundations of truly inclusive and sustainable development. This engagement with the 12th Plan, which began with the inputs for the Approach Paper, forms part of our larger commitment to the planning process in India. We shall continue to proactively engage with policy makers and CSOs through different processes such as consultations, workshops and micro-level planning at all points from the national and state to district and community levels during the development and implementation of the 12th Plan and even beyond.

WNTA believes that a *true* People's Plan can emerge only through the adoption and institutionalisation of a multi-dimensional approach that creates the necessary spaces for articulation, inclusion and mechanisms of participation with everyone's needs in mind.

Wada Na Todo Abhiyan

CONSTITUENCY GROUPS

Women in the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan

1

Women Power Connect, JAGORI, UN Women

The overall critique

The Draft Approach Paper of the 12th Five Year Plan has identified inclusiveness issues as an integral part to achieving faster but sustainable growth in the face of wobbly world economic situation. However, whether it is inclusive in real terms and whether it follows a pro-poor and pro-women approach needs to be detailed. The focus is on the following four key aspects of the 12th Five-Year Plan.

1. Health
2. Education
3. Urbanisation
4. Governance

An overview

- While there is mention of the growth figures and decline of poverty line from the 11th Five Year Plan, it would be good to have sex-disaggregated data.
- Under 1.12, it would be useful to know the sex-disaggregated data of landless workers and farm workers.
- Nowhere is there a recognition of violence against women as barriers to women's empowerment across sectors; not a recognition of gender sensitivity of institutional development and policies.
- While it is good that there is an entire chapter on 'Social and Regional Equity' (Chapter 11), it does not even mention women/gender once. In fact the second paragraph of that

chapter (para 11.2) lists out the disadvantaged groups in great details but does not even mention women. Further, the chapter talks about the priority actions that will be taken for these marginalized groups (such as better implementation of Special Component Plans for SCs and STs and various other measures) and again, there is no priority action mentioned for women.

- Other chapters are hardly informed by a gender analysis. At some places, one finds the mention of the word "women" but it mostly used in the sense of "men and women" but the chapters are not informed by a gender analysis—with the exception of the health chapter and the one on rural transformation. The overview chapter has an entire section on demographics, but does not even mention the burning issue of declining child sex ratio. Though, the health chapter talks about it. The sections on employment and agriculture in the overview chapter are also not informed by a gender analysis.
- The entire chapters on science and technology (Chapter 13), challenges of urbanization (Chapter 12), macro economic framework (Chapter 2), energy (Chapter 3), transport (Chapter 4) again do not even mention the word women/gender even once. Even the usual suspects – the chapters on sustainable management of natural resources (Chapter 5), farm sector (Chapter 7), manufacturing sector (Chapter 8) – do not mention the word women/gender, let alone being informed by a gender analysis, although they have a section on SME.

- Interestingly, issues like PPP have come into several chapters with a clear mandate that PPPs will be extended from infrastructure to sectors like health and education too. If this results in further privatisation of health facilities, it will adversely affect women and the poor.

Theme/ Chapter/Constituency Specific Critique

Health

This Draft Approach Paper certainly addresses health and there is need to ensure that 2.5 percent of the GDP gets allocated.

- Health is considered to be the “focus area” in the Draft Approach Paper. However, equity issues remain a challenge in terms of providing affordable quality health care to all, but particularly to women who remain neglected and lack the resources (financial, agency, and other) to access health care.
- Reproductive healthcare remains a significant challenge that needs attention. Maternal mortality is a grave issue that acts as an impediment to move forward and address the qualitative nuances of the problem. Infrastructure should be strengthened for services like Basic Emergency Obstetric Care Centre (BEmOC) and Comprehensive and Basic Emergency Obstetric Care Services (CEmOC) that largely affect maternal mortality and morbidity.
- Also, there should be strict implementation of schemes like Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY). Currently, the focus is on the number of women who have received JSY benefits, or the number who have attended institutions during childbirth. Attention must be paid to examining maternal health outcomes (such as the number of maternal deaths within 42 days, number of deliveries that had safe outcomes for both mother and baby, records of postpartum complications, or any other adverse outcomes).
- The approach paper states the need of positioning at least one Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA) in each AWC; and making available at least one Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) / Health Worker (Female) for a cluster of AWCs within every Panchayat. However, the constraints faced by ASHAs should also be taken into account. They should be provided better incentives.
- Interlinkages can be developed with other schemes to promote convergent services. For instance, schemes like the Public Distribution System (PDS), Mid Day

Meal and other food subsidy programmes aimed at vulnerable groups of women (Antodyaya Scheme) can be interconnected to strengthen the food security at the household level; make PRIs an essential player in ensuring the efficacy of these schemes. The PDS can be made effective (e.g. low cost sanitary pads made available to women through the PDS).

Education

- Education is also one of the areas that are emphasised in the Draft Approach Paper. However, there are still some gaps when viewed from a gender angle.
- There are multiple factors that hinder women and girls from developing their full potentials – lack of income, unsafe environment in the schools, curriculum not attuned to women’s needs, etc.
- There should be a safe and enabling environment (including quality of teachers) facilitating the education system. Rules and processes should be developed for improving class room environment from a gender and diversity lens.
- A gender parity index should be evolved for education outcomes and not just for enrolment.
- Gender studies should be incorporated into the curriculum and it should also be ensured that adolescent groups are introduced to sexuality education.
- Committees against sexual harassment should be formed in schools and workplaces.

Urbanisation

- The Draft Approach Paper has not critically viewed urbanisation from a gender lens. Women face enhanced vulnerabilities in the context of urbanisation, especially where it is rapid, unplanned and where amenities are not provided.
- The whole process of planning should be gender-sensitive. Urban plans should be designed with special provision of women centric plans for livelihood generation; these should encourage forward market linkages for women entrepreneurs in urban setting.
- Urbanisation, while improving the conditions of the people by providing them with amenities lacking in the rural set up, is causing challenges to women, especially with the increase of slums and backward areas. For instance, it is causing an increase in crimes against women. Thus, safety and security of women are particular concerns.

- Also, availability and quality of public amenities and services should be improved considering women as a priority. Construction of public toilets for women as mentioned in the paper is a welcome step. In addition, awareness should be spread among slum dwellers (women) about reproductive health, sanitation, hygiene, etc. The available services should be expanded to address specific urban vulnerabilities for women. There should be provision of counseling care centres for women, day care services for working mothers; old age home for single women, crèches for children are also required besides meeting the residential needs for single women, short stay home for exigencies, temporary shelters for women engaged in construction sites etc.
- There should be inclusion of women representatives in urban local bodies. However, it should also be kept in mind that managing urbanisation is not just about including women in urban local bodies; it is also about problems that urban women face either as residents or as daily commuters in urban areas and how those are addressed and managed. Areas for intervention arise from the very character of urbanisation vis-a-vis changing character of women needs.

Governance

- Mere reservation in local self governance is not a sufficient indicator of gender equity. While steps have already been taken for grassroots democracy by reserving seats, the de facto impact on women's decision-making must be evaluated.
- Lack of training, lack of empowerment, and lack of an enabling environment hinders women from taking full advantage of reservations. The information given to rural women is filtered or there is no information at all.
- Women need to be involved in all planning processes including financial planning and capacity needs to be built for the same. All women representatives must be treated as equal to their counterparts by the local administration.
- An enabling environment needs to be created to facilitate training for women to participate in local governance and administration without fear and encumbrance. Women also need to be trained to be able to monitor public services and demand better public services wherever needed.

Concluding comments

- A critical aspect missing in the Draft Approach Paper is that it does not address underlying issues of discrimination rooted in prevailing myths and stereotypes. Such perceptions and attitudes mirror hidden biases that continue to colour larger community perceptions about gender equality issues. It is critical to ensure that changing attitudes is made either a driving force or a necessary outcome for improved gender relations, equality and women's empowerment within the challenges defined.
- Gender planning and gender budgeting must be prioritised in the allocation of funds. The priorities and issues of women and men differ in the process of planning.
- Special steps need to be taken to make cheaper credit and other financial services available to the poor, who are at present largely unbanked, and calls for more transparency, accountability, and monitoring with establishment of mechanisms for people's participation.
- Effective implementation with clear guidelines, of especially labour laws and protection laws for children, Dalits, Adivasis and other underprivileged classes and women friendly laws/Acts such as Domestic Violence Act, Pre Conception and Pre Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Prohibition of Sex Selection), the PCPNDT Act, Prevention of Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace, etc.
- It is noted that in terms of focusing on women's rights, women are often seen as a homogenous category. Prominence should be given especially to the rights of single women, women with disabilities, the adolescent age group, and the aged.
- Important elements to address in all the components are women access to and ownership of assets and property and decision making role; otherwise concern for gender equity will be only tokenism.
- Justice should be ensured through proper rehabilitation and resettlement process for those voluntarily displaced, along with ensuring proper registration and enumeration of migrants, portability of their entitlements and security of their rights.
- Gender advocacy, gender training, and gender sensitisation of men as well as implementers (both men and women) of project/programmes at various levels.

Youth Constituency: Aspects from the Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan

2

Josh

The Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan clearly recognises the growing population of youth in India. The Paper predicts the growth of the young population by about 32 percent in the next 20 years and clearly establishes its understanding of youth as a labour force for the country as a central argument that it follows.

The Paper positions youth as a homogenous entity geared to join the productive forces of the economy and thereby shows a lack of imagination. It mainly discusses youth in terms of capacity building, skill development, higher education and education and increasing scope for higher employability.

The argument that civil society groups and individuals brought out was that of the plurality of the entity of youth. It is intersected with lines of caste, class, gender, religion, region etc. and therefore needs a more nuanced approach to the inclusion of youth in the mainstream discourse. The mention of inclusion of youth at different levels of governance, starting from the planning stage to implementation, are inputs indicating a more holistic understanding of this age group of youth and their specific concerns rather than the restricted view as a labour force.

Though the Paper in its governance section does see a role of youth in social mobilisation for effective implementation of different schemes, it fails to make the provision to encourage and include youth in local governance structures.

Therefore, the recommendation of formulation of a comprehensive youth policy to examine the different concerns of youth through its different intersecting identities of class, caste, gender, religion, region etc. is crucial. There is a need to look beyond youth as just an enabling 'force' for the socio-economic development. The youth policy should examine the needs and focus areas of youth, keeping the plurality of its identity in the context, and formulate schemes and programmes for larger inclusion and development of youth,

There is also a need for formation of a National Youth Commission to examine and redress specific problems and concerns of the youth. The formation of the Commission, apart from redressal, will also help in giving the problems and concerns of the youth an institutional recognition and voice and thereby help in establishing the distinct identity of this constituency. This will pave the way for the paradigm shift in the manner in which youth are viewed in the larger developmental discourse.

Approaching the 12th Five Year Plan: Without Children?

IACR, Plan4Children Collective, National Policy Process Members

The Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan seems uncaring of the human condition. This is disastrous for the child.

The Case for Building a “Caring Community” for Children

It is realistic to note that both government service systems and the processes operating in society and community can become impersonal, and seemingly or actually indifferent to both objective and subjective aspects of children’s lives. The caring community concept rests on consciously and willingly taking ownership of the cause of children’s rights, and expressing it through collective effort grounded in commitment to children’s best interests. The use of the term ‘community’ is not literal; it invokes the potential of institutions, service and governance systems and the units of society alike to make common cause in ensuring all rights to all children.

Article 27 of the UNCRC calls for attention and action to secure for every child a ‘standard of living adequate for the child’s physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development.’ Other CRC provisions call for safeguards and

respect for diversity of identities, beliefs and cultures. This challenges both the State and society to give genuine substance and expression to the catchphrase of being ‘child friendly.’

If the people’s right to social and economic development and civil respect is conceded, then the provision of service, support and security to people – children included – is not a development option but an ethical obligation. If it is being treated as an option, there is need for a ‘climate change’ in governance and social action in favour of children.

A caring community for children is manifested when:

- all planners, providers, influencers and actors in any setting – household, neighbourhood, village or town, district, state, country – and all institutions – economic, administrative, political, social, cultural, native or non-native – unify in common understanding and commitment to affirm in thought and action:
 - that all the children in that setting, or entering it, are their shared responsibility and special charge, and worthy of the best attention;
 - that the objective and duty of securing the survival, well-being, safety and happiness of each of these

children is consciously adopted, and comes before any other objective;

- that every child in the local setting – whether native or wayfarer – gets first call on the resources locally available or otherwise obtainable, and that no child is left unrecognised or unsupported.
- That every child is made aware, and given the confidence, that he or she is known and valued;
- that all institutions, infrastructures and service points of the State – at all levels from national to local – and all their functionaries, are themselves a caring community for children, in spirit and substantive action, performing their tasks as part of a common mission to create and sustain a loving and protective environment for children;
- that the structures, convergent character and caring spirit of the service and the setting combine in constructive responsibility to help and counsel the erring or deviant child to remain in the circle of contact and care and to reintegrate in normal life and relationships;
- that the inclusive character of this approach also offers children the right to be heard, and to be consulted, and to take part in decisions and processes affecting their lives or their surroundings;
- that this unified effort encourages parents and families to look after their own children, and gives them due assistance for this; and
- that it takes special care to ensure that any alternative system or service for the child lacking a family or family support child also offers the caring and nurturing climate to every such child, fostering a sense of belonging.

The practical adoption of a caring community approach must be led and operationalised by both governmental and civil effort, from the national to the local level. Both government representatives and community leaders need to make common cause to ensure that children's rights and well-being get first call on material and societal resources.

Surviving Childhood in India

Plan4Children Coalition/IACR

It is time for the Government to recognise that “all children” really means all children. In the matter of survival, it is

critically important. The most telling indicators of rights in development are child survival and the quality of that survival.

The National Policy for Children 1974 declared that the State must accept its responsibility to provide for children “before and after birth, and through the period of growth.” In 1974, this meant up to the age of 14 years. Now it means up to 18 years.

But across policy and programme information and reporting, the older child is curiously absent from official data and listed programming measures and impacts after the age of 5 or 6 years. Does this mean that older children are somehow not covered? They are only partly recognised by the Draft Approach Paper.

The 2001 Census showed 98.3 million as the migrant population. Of this number – which may well have been a lower-than-actual count – a staggering 32.3 per cent were aged below 20 years. The 0–9 age group among them was 15.4 per cent of the total migrants counted. So, more than half are older children. What does the 2011 Census count show? One thing it is sure to show is a continuing presence of older children among the deprived. What it is most unlikely to show is their true status and condition.

There is also little stated recognition of the survival risks and deficits confronting boy children. Is it assumed that ‘son preference’ keeps all boys – little and big – safe and healthy?

A scan of the causes of death listed in the 2009 Report of the Registrar-General of India reveals continuing survival risks and survival deficits beyond the 5-year age group and to the 18th year. The children who struggled – and succumbed – faced many hazards, and many service deficiencies all through childhood. Why are these not addressed? They are not all at school. MWCD and DYAS proposals are inadequate. The Draft Approach Paper sees them as cogs in a labour force wheel.

The August 2009 report of NFHS-3 on ‘Nutrition in India’ presents worrying figures of nutrition gaps afflicting the 0–5 year age group in 2006. What is more worrying is that it presents nothing specific on anyone aged from 5–18 years. Are none of them malnourished to any degree?

This report does have a graphic showing nutritional status for the population of the 15–49 age group. How can anyone find out what the status of the 15–18 group might be within this enormous category?

The specific identity of the children at risk was and continues to be a factor in survival and the quality of survival. Children of certain groups are more marginalised, less likely or able to access care or assistance, often less likely to demand or even expect protective or helpful attention. Is this acceptable? Has the negative influence of identity factors increased or decreased? A stark example is the situation of migrant and displaced groups, and children within them.

Children should not have to worry about where their next meal is coming from, much less whether it is coming at all.

In the 1970s, a researcher at the National Institute of Nutrition reported that India had many ‘paperback’ children who had suffered such subsistence in early childhood that they had survived with only the basics of health, strength and resilience – unlike the few ‘hardcover’ children who had received good care and nutrition. The paperback children were not only smaller than their peers, but also slower learners. The bad news is that their successors are still with us, as deprived and as cheated of the health and capability that are their birthright. Hungry, undersized, underenabled children are a telling indicator of the state of national development.

The examination of food and nutrition in India cannot escape asking both quantity and quality questions. Food security is associated with getting enough to eat. Food safety is getting increasingly entangled in what that food is, and how life-saving or life-compromising it is to consume it. Children should not have to worry that even if they receive food to eat, it may be harmful to their health because of what has been loaded into it to modify it in the name of better food value.

Children of either the age groups or categories outside the present scheme designs are left unsupported by any food provision. Their numbers are in the millions. Is this the answer to the national shame of malnutrition?

Food marketing meanwhile flourishes, promoting attractive products and lifestyles. The State is considering cash transfers instead of food distribution. The word from the field is that people would prefer subsidised food supply rather than coins and coupons.

But other changes are taking place in the settings of the poor. With market influences bearing down on customary land use, many farmers are no longer cultivating local food crops on some corner of their little land-holdings as insurance against times when harvests go un-“procured” and cash runs out.

The old staple pulses have become luxuries, or have been declared un-modern despite their higher nutritive value.

Children are the least able in any setting to find a way out of such scarcity situations. The food security initiatives may continue to be forgetful of their specific needs. Milk is not on the government supply list.

The following questions emerged during the present process.

- Does the nutrition of the infant for the first month and first six months get addressed? How? What is the food supply source? What is the reported magnitude or coverage, and what is the gap? (The ICDS scanner seems to miss reporting on this phase; its data record begins at 6 months).
- Does the primary healthcare system enquire into nutrition in the household? Whose nutrition needs can it address? Does it do so? Does it enquire about the 0-6 month group and the plus-6 years group?
- Does anyone know what kind of nutrition security children in institutions have?
- Is anyone paying attention to the age at which the girl child and the boy child experience their second growth spurt? Is there any attention to special nutrition needs at this point for either sex (girls: 9-11 yrs, boys 11-13 yrs)?
- What is the distinction made between bulk and substance in providing any kind of supplementary feeding – reflecting a conscious distinction between quelling hunger and providing nutrition?
- If the NFHS is looking at Body Mass Index figures for the 15-49 age group,¹ is anyone looking at BMI for the below-15 age groups? What about the disaggregation of the 15-49 cohort to track what the BMI trends are in the 15-18/19 age group? What support services or interventions are available for these childhood groups?
- If the NFHS is tracking anaemia in the 0-3 and 15-49 groups, and in pregnant women and ever-married men and women (15-49), what does this tell us about the situation and needs of the pregnant or ever-married girl below 19 years, and any child aged between 3 and 15 years?
- Is there any information on the not-in-ICDS, not-in-school children? Is there any programme or scheme or any budding idea of an intervention that could reach these left-out groups?

1 NFHS Surveys tell us that the body mass index of a third of all men and women of the ‘reproductive age group’ (15-49 years) is below normal. [NFHS 3].

Muslim Expectations from Twelfth Five Year Plan

4

Md. Mashkoo Alam from Tehreek-E-Pasmanda Muslim Samaj (TPMS) and Naaz Khair, Researcher

The Mid-Term Review of the Eleventh Five Year Plan has rightly pointed out that discrimination in India is not confined to any single community or group. However, certain minorities, especially Muslims, have felt deprived of developmental benefits. Therefore, it is necessary to do all that is possible to mitigate their problems. For this, there is a pressing need to bridge economic and social gaps that affect the minorities and ensure their protection through minority policies and programmes.

There is doubt that the Draft Approach Paper for the Twelfth Five Year Plan attempts to focus on the issues of Muslims' development. Muslims are at the bottom of all social development parameters but did not get dedicated attention in the Paper. The Planning Commission has claimed that it has consulted over 950 civil society organisations across the country but they didn't take up inputs provided by various constituencies, especially the Muslim constituency, for the Draft Approach Paper. Although some necessities have been looked into, taking in view the vulnerability of Muslims, this approach seems to be inadequate. The Draft Approach Paper says that particular attention needs to be paid to the needs of minorities (p 4).

It is welcome that the Multi-Sectoral Development Programme (MSDP) in 90 minority concentration districts was launched over the last Plan period. Its effective implementation over the 12th Five Year Plan is essential for ensuring minorities' development (11.7, p 137). But it ignored a regular demand from Muslim constituencies, especially from civil society, to include more Muslim populated areas under Minority Concentrated

Districts. The Mid-Term Review of the Eleventh Five Year Plan has also mentioned the recommendation of the Inter-ministerial Task Force on Implications of the Geographical Distribution of Minorities in its report, which identified 338 towns with substantial minority populations, which lack basic amenities and are backward in specified socio-economic parameters. It was expected that the Draft Approach Paper to the Twelfth Five Year Plan would include these towns to implement the MSDP.

Muslim-concentrated districts must be identified based on the Muslim population in terms of absolute numbers and not the Muslim population as a percentage of total population. Several more deserving Muslim concentrated districts get left out when the criterion of Muslim population as a percentage of total population is applied to identify Muslim-concentrated districts. For example, the north-west district of Delhi is more concentrated with Muslim population in terms of absolute numbers than the east district or the New Delhi district where, nonetheless, the Muslim population as a percentage of total population is higher compared to the north-west district.

The Draft Approach Paper has given attention to the artisans. It says that rural India has a large population of artisan families, many of whom are from the minority and tribal communities. Most of these artisan farmers do not own any land and many find themselves in a difficult condition with poor access to market linkages and to remunerative livelihoods. Thought must be given as to how the MGNREGA in conjunction with the NRLM programme can help these artisan communities

to obtain a decent living while at the same time conserving the base of craftsmanship, which is India's cultural heritage (6.14, p 80-81). Here, the Paper didn't clarify whether MGNREGA will include artistic work also apart from what it already states. Though it has mentioned that it is important that the selection of works in MGNREGA reflects the needs, aspirations and priorities of the local people, without which the community will not necessarily have a sense of ownership of the project.

The Paper acknowledges that bridging the social and gender gaps in enrolment with regard to minority girls under SSA is important (p 125). It also says that scholarship schemes for minorities have enabled many students from the community to continue their education. But greater effort is needed, however, to improve enrolment ratios and to reduce drop rates especially for girl children among minorities. The Paper further talks about promoting adult literacy with Sakshar Mission to improve the quality of elementary education with focus on women, SC/ST and minorities covering all Educationally Backward Blocks (EBBS). This initiative will be very useful if 338 towns with substantial minority populations are brought under the scope of Sakshar Mission.

The Paper has kept away from the suggestions made by the Mid-Term Review of the Eleventh Five Year Plan, which had emphasised awareness generation and information dissemination on all minority-specific and minority-related programmes.

One of the important demands the Muslim community and civil society has been raising is that there should be a Minority Component Plan on the line of the Schedule Caste Component Plan and Tribal Sub Plan, which should be mandatory for all ministries. The Minority Component Plan must be devised for the Twelfth Plan for the development of minorities, especially Muslims. The Draft Approach Paper ignores this demand.

The Paper also fails to mention proper implementation of the Prime Minister's 15 Point Programme. In Chapter 1, it mentions a dramatic rise in expenditure on programmes of social inclusion in the last five years but this is accompanied by growing complaints about implementation.

Many educationally backward communities do not have Hindi or the particular state language as their mother tongue. The students from these communities, mainly tribal and Urdu-speaking Muslim communities, are forced to learn in Hindi

and resort to rote learning. Even if (older) tribal children over time begin to understand the lessons explained to them if taught in simple Hindi at the school, when it comes to writing it in their own words, they cannot do it. Their Hindi vocabulary is weak and they do not understand the meanings of Hindi words in the textbooks. They are forced to memorise answers. Similarly, there is a demand for more government-run Urdu medium schools among Muslims with the medium changing to Hindi/English at the high school level through a process.

Therefore, we need to implement the RTE provision emphasising the need for an educational approach where teaching-learning process is in the mother tongue in the early years, before students can shift to Hindi or English at later stages. This will particularly impact upon learning outcomes of tribal and Urdu-speaking Muslim students.

A review of the implementation of the government's policy/law relating to the three-language formula in schools is needed. Very few government schools in the tribal areas have teachers to teach the tribal language. In most government schools that do not have teachers for teaching the tribal language, students are forced to opt for Sanskrit, which they are not able to cope with. Similarly, majority of the government schools do not have Urdu teachers and Muslim students are forced to opt for Sanskrit as their third language paper, which they find extremely difficult to study.

There is a need to undertake intensive studies, training etc, that seek to identify social category-based (SC/ST/Minorities/Regional) discriminatory practices at school and systemic levels with a view to sensitising officials and teachers and facilitating attitudinal changes among them for systemic change. A similar exercise is needed to be undertaken at the community level also. These measures are needed to translate government policies that emphasise socially inclusive education in practice.

It is clear from many reports that Muslims are deprived of developmental benefits. The widespread perception of discrimination among the Muslim community needs to be addressed. Denying the existence of discrimination and prejudice against the community and their present social and economic exclusion will not only worsen the condition of the community, but will also threaten the emergence of a composite and cohesive Indian society with all its natural diversity.

International Organization for Migration

The strategy for closer and all-encompassing grassroots level needs/prerequisites assessment conducted through wide range of consultative meetings held with various stakeholders and drafting the outline of this Draft Approach Paper is very challenging. This motivating action has generated huge involvement and accountability in its true sense of democracy. Though the task/recommendations in this draft are feasible, the progress would be time-consuming and would depend on the execution of the task as planned. But the remarkable aspect is of receiving the inputs from all the stakeholders and the collective spirit of citizens with political will in action; it shall certainly help to achieve the swift response at the execution level and reach the target of growth and development.

Concerns and Recommendations

- To raise Indian workers in the value and wage chain and to make them more competitive in the international labour market, a pan-India skill training and third party certification framework along with a mechanism for direct employer connectivity shall be developed. This will need structural capacity building through a public private partnership.
- State wise mapping of high intensity areas for women and irregular migration and then capacity building of the authorities in the identified areas to prevent exploitation and irregular migration.
- Pre-departure orientation training for the low and medium skill overseas migrants. This will need development of modules for PDOT and also a delivery mechanism with the inclusion and capacity building of Panchayats.
- Better understanding of migrants' health issues and access to healthcare in the countries of destination through field level research. This will provide the true picture of the requirements and help the government to take necessary steps to provide adequate health coverage and health care facility.
- Information campaign at the grassroots to better inform potential overseas migrants.
- Identity/documentation/access to governments schemes and livelihood- interstate and intrastate migration of the rural population movement depend on the aspect of sustained growth of agriculture – sufficient work and wages received. The rural transformation should concentrate on innovations and technology with better utilisation of resources available and accessibility to different schemes of government. This should be addressed to improve rural economy and in turn facilitate circular migration in lean periods.
- Conduct research in the areas of education curriculum for mobile population and examination facilities/services as in case of distant education should be made available while family units are temporarily migrating within India. So that the children and youth do not lack the education and are aware of their rights, upgradation of skills in line with labour market forces.
- Conduct research study on internal migration and health services accessibilities with existing health facilities/services in India.
- Develop social security mechanisms for internal migrants.

Critique of 12th FYP Draft Approach Paper from Dalit Perspective and Exclusion

NCDHR, NACDOR, NDF, NFDW*

The Draft Approach Paper of the 12th Plan falls seriously short in integrating the needs of the marginalised and addressing their concerns and in providing direction or strategies. Distressingly, it has no fresh or innovative thoughts for promoting the participation and benefit sharing of the marginalised.

The Draft Approach Paper assesses the 11th Plan to have succeeded on providing ‘faster and inclusive growth’ but states that ‘progress towards inclusion is more difficult to assess’. It is presumed that the data that will emerge from the latter years of the 12th Plan period would report better inclusion results. The analysis that the ‘weaknesses and challenges are the consequence of the economy’s transition to a higher and more inclusive growth path, the structural changes that come with it, and the expectations it generates’ (para 1.1) suggests that the poor and marginalised can expect no better from growth and development. This is in sharp contrast to and denial of the social and institutional structural barriers that the marginalised face in participating in and benefitting from the growth and development process. Even today, untouchability, violence and discrimination are rampant, in addition to corruption that denies these social groups their share in development.

* National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights, National Confederation on Dalit Organisations, National Dalit Forum, National Federation of Dalit Women and several other Dalit Organisations and networks and those in solidarity with Dalit cause

There is a sense of complacency in addressing exclusion-inclusion found in various sections; growth is better spread even to weaker states (despite inequalities concentrated in districts even within well-performing states), poverty has been reduced at a faster rate (from 0.8 percent per annum to 1 percent per annum; the target was 2 percent per annum).

India is well poised to reduce poverty by 50 percent as promised under the UN MDGs, even though the slow pace may be temporary due to drought and may have improved in the last two years of the 11th Plan. There is no data to show this trend at present. Real farm wage rates have increased by 16 percent, which may be a proxy indicator for poverty reduction. Misuse or leakage of funds from Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSS) does not necessarily imply that the overall impact of the programme is not positive; perhaps this is a way of saying corruption and misuse is permissible. This perception leads to a lower focus on high and growing inequalities, addressing which is critical for promoting inclusion.

The approach is diligently focused on ‘faster growth’; it has little on promoting inclusion or sustainability. The ‘Aam Aadmi’ and environment have been put at the service of faster growth and not the other way around. Thus, the Draft Approach Paper talks about human development primarily in terms of skill training contributing to faster growth, but not how skill development and employment are integral to decent

work and better labour standards or about better allocations. Despite the title of sustainability, the approach is towards 'exploitation of natural resources (para 2.10), difficulties in exploring alternate sources of energy due to the greater costs in their production (para 3.47), and relief and rehabilitation of the displaced people vs. their benefit from the developments in their native places.

The Approach Paper to the 11th Plan recognised inequalities and divides that needed to be addressed, and discussed a number of issues and strategies, such as bridging divides; including the excluded; growth and poverty linkages; employment generation; bringing on par SCs, STs, minorities and others left behind; gender balance; balancing private and public sector strategy; private sector growth, particularly in labour-intensive areas; promoting village and small enterprises, which account for 32 percent of the workforce, etc. None of this is mentioned in the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Plan. It seems almost as if these have been achieved in the 11th Plan period and hence the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Plan need not focus on them.

The Draft Approach Paper promotes private sector growth as the means of raising scarce funds and greater quality. One suspects that the regulatory role of the state is not strongly planned for. On promoting private participation in higher education, Chapter 10 of the Paper says 'not all private educational institutions are of good quality, some are quite inferior, minimum standards will have to be ensured. But free entry will, in the end automatically weed out the poor quality institutions. Private initiatives in higher education, including viable and innovative PPP models, will therefore be actively promoted'.

Equity issues are discussed loosely, as afterthoughts. For instance, the document states that "the 'not for profit' prescription in the education sector would be re-examined pragmatically to ensure quality, but without losing focus on equity". Similarly, it states that "with appropriate regulation or concern for equity, PPP can also be encouraged in social sectors such as health and education". Further, in the policy for pricing essential services, the suggested 'strict subsidy regime for the poorest and needy' is very paternalistic and contrary to the rights-based development approach. Under such a regime, corruption is likely to continue.

The Draft Approach Paper hesitates in acknowledging that the growth and achievements have not improved people's lives and opportunities. We need to identify the diverse

spheres where these numbers do not measure up in quality, some of which are enrolment in education, health insurance, and MGNREGS. Some simple indicators to show that people's lives are not improving along with increased growth and improved development are dropouts, anaemia, infant mortality rate, maternal mortality rate, etc.

Achieving "the third largest GDP in the world in two decades" (para 1.54) is a welcome aim; focussing on equity and inclusion is all the more important.

Inching Forward

The Draft Approach Paper has specified areas and raised issues that need to be carried through and expanded to promote equity and inclusion.

- It recognises that SCPs and TSPs have many deficiencies in implementation at the states and the Centre. For this SCP, TSP needs to be legislated and firm mechanisms need to be put in place. Innovative schemes are needed to promote Dalit and tribal ownership and stakeholding in all development sectors through this fund. The unit of planning and monitoring needs to be the district level so that schemes may be implemented with better participation and transparency.
- It recognises the increased interest and conviction among the marginalised that education holds the key for socio-economic mobility. The doubling of the enrolment of working-age young people (15–24 years) from 30 million to 60 million in 2009–2010 in educational institutions reflects this trend. The expansion of the Right to Education to secondary education is welcome. It is hoped that this can be extended until standard 12. It is important to ensure schools become non discriminatory and inclusive spaces for all children. The focus on research is also welcome. To promote inclusion at school and in higher education, research should be undertaken to address special equity and inclusion issues.
- Strategies for equity and inclusion in all sectors are required in keeping with the Draft Approach Paper's assessment that "inclusiveness is multi-dimensional, and difficult to assess [It] needs institutional and attitudinal changes, which take time." The State should conduct a massive campaign on public education towards equality to address the mindset of caste and other discrimination as part of all community mobilisation strategies. Accountability should also be built up through social audits, public hearings, wall writing, notice boards

and transparent service norms. The state needs to promote massive public education against discrimination and towards equity-inclusion, build greater transparency through social audits and public hearings, promote better engagement with educated young people and their civil society organisations from marginalised communities in development design and monitoring.

- It raises the issue of eliminating the practice of manual scavenging. This should be achieved within the first two years of the 12th Plan by providing sustainable rehabilitation packages.
- The focus on long-term urban planning is welcome. It needs to incorporate policy guidelines and housing, education, employment/entrepreneurship and other development options for the urban poor, long-term and temporary migrants, workers in the unorganised sector, safety for women, etc. as equity-inclusion-sustainable measures.
- Dalit, adivasi and minority intellectuals and entrepreneurs should be invited to evolve strategies for inclusion in high-priority sectors such as energy, infrastructure building, etc. through new schemes.
- Special attention to non-discrimination, equity, inclusion and quality should be paid in the *provision of basic facilities and services* in terms of water, sanitation, housing, transport, quality education, primary health care to the marginalised within the overall development design and outlays. SCPs and TSPs are particularly relevant to fill these gaps.
- Marginalised community leaders may be made part of all vigilance and monitoring committees at all levels as part of the governance mechanism. Additional effort and support should be included to provide spaces for their peer learning. Local civil society organisations from these communities can be engaged to provide handholding support to them to break the vicious cycles of power and privileges by the dominant.
- Given that the President of India has declared 2011–2020 the ‘Decade of Innovation’, with a focus on inclusion, it is recommended that funds are set aside for inclusion in innovation and for encouragement in innovation in both technical and social sectors from marginalised youth.

Comments on the Draft Approach Paper of the Twelfth Five Year Plan

7

Monisha Behal, North East Network

There is a section on the North East in the chapter on *social and regional equity* (pg 136) in the Approach Paper of the Twelfth Plan which emphasises growth strategy, keeping in view the ‘special challenges’ of the region. Thus this section focuses on issues of infrastructure and economic development such as hydro electric power generation, a ‘look east’ policy and business opportunities. With the exception of hydro projects, which has become a subject of severe consternation amongst people, there seems to be an essence of remoteness in the other two aspects which are not discussed at length nor familiar among people of the region. There seems to be an inadequate depiction of the North East and thus a few points should certainly represent more of the challenges and possible plans for solutions, perhaps through programmes and projects.

Suggestions

1. The need for participatory consultative processes between civil society and the government of the region was reiterated several times during the Regional Consultation on the Approach Paper at Shillong in December 2010. This was in the context of proposals for plans, programmes and projects. This should be internalised deeply within the Approach Paper, considering the peculiarities of the region as well as its troubled citizens. The internalisation process must be adopted more so because the Approach

Paper itself has articulated the issue of planning programmes for ‘inclusiveness’.

2. The Draft Plan *has* to consider the magnitude of conflict that has occurred and continues to perpetuate issues of social imbalances, educational disparities and economic deprivation. We are talking about seven states of the country (with the exception of Sikkim). We cannot see much of a solution till an all inclusive engagement with civil society is considered in the *implementation* of development process. Manipur is a case in point.
3. The levels of articulation against governance over programmes and project are sharp amongst the people and it would be encouraging for the Approach Paper to mention about the ‘inclusive’ *people based* programmes, particularly for the North East Region. From our field experience, these issues are likely to continue what with the recent events of ethno based uprisings, youth movements, and the direct fall-out of the larger campaigns against corruption.
4. Clearly, centrally sponsored schemes at the state levels have to be accompanied by strong directives to the states regarding proactive disclosure and maintaining a consultative approach with civil society. In this context, we would like to highlight the North Eastern Council (NEC) based in Shillong, Meghalaya, functioning through the Ministry for the Development of the North East Region (MDoNER) based in New Delhi.

5. Working as the conduit for the MDoNER, the NEC is run by former advisors and bureaucrats (of repute), and receives development funds for the entire region for both infrastructure as well as social projects, the latter being minimal. There *has* to be a mention of NEC in the NE section of the chapter on social and regional equity, in which we would like the drafting committee consider NEC to go through a role change where a body of *relatively younger*, positive thinking people should take over the delivery of the programmes and schemes. The idea of 'suitable programmes for the Himalayan region' must be a fitting one and substantiated/justified with appropriate institutional delivery mechanisms through the NEC.

No development is possible without taking into account the articulated concern of the people. This is important for the NER and there should be adequate commitment and mention in the draft towards human and social development of the region.

Comments on the Draft Approach Paper of the Twelfth Five Year Plan

8

Swaasthya

One major aim of the 12th Five Year Plan is to achieve faster growth by ensuring inclusiveness and sustainability. The Planning Commission also takes the credit for engaging more than 900 civil society organisations as a step towards inclusive planning. However, the Commission has failed its broad goal of achieving inclusive growth and development by excluding the voice of several marginalised groups, including that of adolescents. Even in the 11th Five Year Plan, adolescents were not given a dedicated section or chapter but subsumed in departments such as youth or children.

Adolescence – ages between 10 and 19, according to the World Health Organization – is the most crucial stage in an individual's life. This constituency has needs and demands that are distinct from those of youth and children. Personality development is completed during this period. It is the time to decide one's profession and withstand pressure from parents, teachers, one's peer group and society, and therefore adolescents need special guidance.

Normal adolescence is viewed as a period of turmoil and stress. About 10–20 percent of normal adolescents experience severe emotional reactivity and disruption in family relationships. Adolescence represents a high-risk period in the human life cycle and hence requires special attention by everyone involved in health care. Early and scientific management of stress in adolescents is necessary to improve the quality of life.

In engaging with the Planning Commission, Swaasthya organised a national consultation along with Smile Foundation and CHETNA on 30 November 2010 in New Delhi. Based on the consultation, it drafted and submitted an approach paper on adolescents that focussed on some vital concerns and proffered solutions. It was believed that the Planning Commission would incorporate those concerns and solutions in its Approach Paper.

But the Approach Paper has hardly taken any concern or solutions pertaining to adolescents. It has addressed their concerns narrowly under the 'Health and Nutrition' section. It advocates "widespread testing and provision of nutritional supplements for vulnerable sections, particularly adolescent girls, young mothers and children" (p 84). It further states that the Twelfth Plan must "break the vicious cycle of multiple deprivations faced by girls and women because of gender discrimination and undernutrition ... and anaemia in adolescent girls, providing maternity support. The health policy must focus on the special requirements of different groups, e.g., integrated geriatric health care and other needs specific to the elderly, 'adolescent friendly' health support services" (pp 116–117).

This completely neglects the concerns and solutions recommended by the civil society organisations led by Swaasthya, Smile Foundation and CHETNA.

- There is a lack of institutions offering vocational training for adolescents at community level. The rural sector has not received priority in skill development programme; it requires more attention because the need is more in rural areas.
- There is a lack of initiatives to promote environmental management among adolescents, and a lack of sensitisation programmes relating to the environment.
- There are wide gaps between schemes and programmes for adolescents and their implementation. Schemes for adolescents are not backed by adequate financial allocation. Adolescents and their parents are not aware of the different schemes launched and available.
- Adolescents lack spaces to express and share innovative ideas.
- Most innovations are city-centric. As far as urban planning is concerned, there is lack of inclusion of adolescent in planning slum improvement agenda.
- There is a wide disparity between government and private schools in terms of infrastructure and quality of education. Teachers are poorly paid; therefore, they are more interested in private tuitions than in regular teaching in school.
- Lack of education and information regarding life skills and vocational skills is a further de-motivating factor. High schools are situated at places far from villages. Tribals and Dalits have very poor access to education. The drop-out rate is significant after the 5th standard and is higher amongst girls. HIV-positive students face stigma and discrimination in schools.
- The school curriculum lacks sexuality education. There is lack of support and sensitivity in situations of sexual abuse.
- Substance abuse is on the rise among adolescents; yet, plans for services for adolescents do not mention this. Many girls under 18 are sexually abused; this has a huge impact on their mental and emotional state and development.
- Certain health issues need more attention. A significant proportion of mental illnesses start during adolescence but mental health does not receive adequate attention under adolescent health.
- Medical service delivery is plagued by poor infrastructure, inadequate supplies and the negligence of service providers. There is a lack of effort in promoting health-seeking behavior among adolescents. Adolescents' access

to reproductive and sexual health information, services and commodities is compromised, especially in the case of single, out-of-school adolescents.

The Planning Commission has not addressed these concerns of adolescents that civil society organisations have described and prescribed solutions for.

People with Disability

9

VSO, NAAJMI

The Draft Approach Paper does not recognise disability in various sections, as suggested in the equity paper. There were concrete suggestions vis-a-vis inclusion in various fields including markets, infrastructure, livelihoods, education and health. A recent World Bank study puts the world population at 15 percent, which means there are one billion people with disability. There are 70 million people with disability in India (7 percent of the population), whom the Planning Commission needs to recognise in the first instance, as the first step.

Secondly, the Approach Paper uses the very derogatory expression 'differently abled' instead of 'persons with disabilities', as per the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which India has signed and ratified.

Thirdly, persons with disabilities among tribals, the scheduled castes and minorities need to be recognised. There needs to be an inclusive framework across the board and institutional and attitudinal change in the programmes and approach of working. There needs to be an emphasis on inclusivity rather than a compartmentalised approach to disability.

Key Points

Health – health policy

- The primary health care programme should have a component on identification and care for persons with disabilities. They should have the appropriate outreach services to cater to the needs of people and children with disabilities who have high support needs.

- Certification and aid service should be provided at the primary health care level and the role of Panchayats should be mentioned.
- Capacity enhancement of existing structures and personnel on issues of disability in the entire health sector. (For example, the NRHM does not recognise disability as one of the key areas of health.)

Education

- Disability is mentioned in the introductory part and in the secondary education part. Similarly, it should be mentioned in other parts like preschool education, higher education, skill/ vocational training, teacher training, curriculum development.
- There is greater emphasis on enrolment and access to schools. However, there needs to be more focus on the retention of children with disabilities, quality of education and also support services when we look at inclusive education.
- Convergence of various services at the grassroots level should emphasise on building capacity of existing structures/systems on inclusive education. Training and sensitisation of existing personnel.

Social and Regional Equity

- PWDs are mentioned, but the reference is limited to PWD Act 1995. There is no mention of the National Trust Act 1999 which automatically excludes persons with multiple disabilities, cerebral palsy and autism.

- There needs to be more clarity on disability as a specific group and also the vulnerability factor amongst all other groups. There are persons with disabilities amongst SC, ST, minorities, elderly and women. The gender discourse has totally alienated women with disabilities. They need mention in the text across the document.

Transport

- Universal design of transport and communication services
- Accessible transport service including ramps, freeways, barrier free walkways, use of Braille signage at intersections and signals, lifts, building bylaws to conform to UNCRPD universal design.

Communication

Recognition of Indian sign language, use of Braille, e-text and audio formats.

Sustainable Management of Natural Resources, Rural Transformation, Farm Sector, Manufacturing Sector

- Special incentives to persons with disabilities
- Mention of rights of persons with disabilities to access all services on equity with non-disabled population.
- On farm and off farm subsidies for farmers with disabilities.
- Expansion of the National Finance for Disabled People Cooperation (NFDC) funds for appropriate livelihood and rural transformation activities which benefit persons with disabilities.

Challenge of Urbanisation

- Services for persons with disabilities in urban setting
- Housing support.
- Accessible environment.

Science and Technology

- R&D in the area of technology to make it more accessible, available and cost effective for millions of disabled population to make life easier.
- R&D in the area of aids and appliances used by persons with disabilities to enable them to have low cost models

Services: Tourism, Hospitality & Construction, Governance, Innovation

- Needs mention of disability specifically in all sections to make it inclusive (currently it excludes PWDs).
- PWDS need to participate in all development processes and there should be scope for consultations, need to be elected representatives (reservations for persons with disabilities)
- Represent various forums which is entrusted the task of implementation, monitoring, evaluation of programmes.
- Capacity building of persons with disabilities in various fields including technical areas and skills.

Mentally Disabled

We are totally shocked and aghast at the allocations and plans made for people with 'severe', 'multiple' and 'mental' disabilities and illnesses.

It seems that the MOSJE and the MOHFW are competing with each other to make life the worst possible for these supposedly 'most vulnerable' groups. It is important that organisations that have unconditionally stood for all rights for all persons with disabilities must object to the plans made for us in the strongest of terms possible.

1. No more creation of mental asylums (in the name of 'rehab centres' for 'treated mentally ill'). If they are 'treated', why do they need to be in residential rehab centers? They should be outside, in the community, living life. Why should anybody be inside asylums or lock ups? The MOHFW has already created over 300 asylums in this country, without setting up any controls on these closed door institutions. Now the MOSJE is starting to do this same thing, without learning anything from the MOHFW experience, how dismal that has been. It is more hazardous if the MOSJE starts doing this, because it will be left to chance and God who will be determined to be 'severe', 'co morbid', 'multiple', etc. These sections must be completely deleted. If this is all the esteemed MOSJE WG can come up, it is better they leave us out of the picture altogether.
2. Instead, in compliance with UNCRPD Articles 12, 14, etc. the plan must talk about creating non-discriminatory pathways of multi level care from the institutions into the community. The MOSJE must facilitate the closure of the highly oppressive asylums and homes where people

are in the lock-up, creating cadres of skilled people in mainstreaming these people. Legal aid must be provided for people inside. People in the lock-up must be slowly rehabilitated in community settings, given jobs, social security, and professional skills and legal systems developed for this. The social security part of the Plan must address this requirement.

3. The Draft Approach Paper says nothing about treatment in the community, and integration of people with high support needs into existing CBR and other community based programmes; and the creation of cadres for doing so. It is clear that the government has the budget to pour into vulnerable groups' well being, but pushing everyone into asylums, residential facilities, etc. is not a sustainable economic or legal solution.
4. The WG / MOSJE *must* refer to the Living Independently sections of the recently launched World Disability Report 2011 by the World Health Organisation and the World Bank. Excellent country examples are provided therein about what all can be done in the community for fostering independent living. These ideas can be adopted for the development of proactive programs at the community level, without pushing people into institutions.

We request DRG and other human rights organisations involved in negotiating with the government not to allow the creation of institutions for PLMI and people seen as 'severe'. The language is very anti-UNCRPD. If we don't oppose this together, we will maximise the discrimination against people with all mental and intellectual disabilities.

The Urban Poor Constituency's Comments on the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan

Hazards Centre

As one of the anchor groups for the consultations with the urban poor (and in continuation of our work in urban governance that we have been engaged with for the last dozen years) the *expectations* of the Hazards Centre from the discussions on the Twelfth Plan Draft Approach Paper were two-fold:

1. that these discussions would present an opportunity for a large number of groups and organisations to come to some common understanding and agreement on the need for an *alternative* planning process; and
2. that this emerging consensus may build some energy for bringing about some *marginal* changes in the Approach Paper itself – which could pave the way for further public debate on the issue of alternatives in the coming years, particularly for the next Plan.

However, our expectations have been negated by the whole process that the Planning Commission has adopted and which the WNTA appears to have uncritically accepted.

Firstly, the Planning Commission refused to work beyond the *15 themes* decided by it and thus declined to hear the voices of the people beyond these themes.

Secondly, except for the first round where a large number of groups were involved in regional and local meetings, the *national debate* is now reduced to having one central consultation.

And *thirdly*, our plea that this process of consultation was triggered by the *failure of the planning process* – as evident from the Mid-Term Appraisal of the Eleventh Plan – and, therefore opened a window for us to look at alternative planning, has been largely ignored in the WNTA discussions.

In the process, the Planning Commission has successfully created more divisions among the many groups and organisations engaged in the exercise: those who could get a small sectoral benefit are happy and the others are not. This is hardly likely to contribute to a more inclusive approach to

alternative planning itself. In fact, the proposed Preamble by the group set up by WNTA already reflects an attempt to merely make out a consensual wish-list without examining the critical differences on issues like PPPs, targeting, the nature of “subsidies”, and the overall direction of L-P-G (liberalization, privatisation, globalisation) in which the economy is being forced. Even the offer by WNTA to “formulate a response from the view of the role of the voluntary sector in development, as a *partner with the Government*” papers over the discomfort that many organisations have with these kind of “partnerships”.

As part of the “urban poor” discussions, the Hazards Centre found an opportunity for groups and organizations from over 40 cities and towns at four regional meetings to come to some common understanding and agreement on the need for an *alternative* planning process. These groups have clearly rejected the GDP-centred economic growth model with an emphasis on markets as mechanisms for inclusion and efficiency. They have *demand*ed alternative decentralised planning focused on livelihoods, with full protection of labour rights, affordable shelter, and universalisation of state welfare services.

The concept of alternative livelihood-centred planning is actually fairly simple, and the Centre has already begun some work on it. The current model of planning is one that promotes growth in GDP. GDP itself consists of four components: consumer purchases, investments in production, government spending, and net exports (i.e. surplus of exports over imports). The Planning Commission’s mantra is to increase consumption (obviously of those who have the money to consume), encourage investment (largely private and foreign), and hike up exports (basically by selling off the country’s resources), while cutting down on government expenditure.

The belief behind this mantra is that, as GDP rises (consumption, investment, and exports), the benefits will eventually “filter down” to the masses through the market. However, this imaginary benevolence of the market has not manifested itself in the last 50 years of planning, particularly the model which has been adopted since 1990. That is why the State has had to step in to ensure that at least some morsels reach the bottom – what are euphemistically called subsidies. However, here are some figures which should partially reveal the truth.

Almost half of GDP comes from the “unorganised sector”, which employs 86 percent of the working people – which should indicate the extent of exploitation across the nation.

Central Government revenue receipts have barely been 10 percent of GDP – which gives an idea of the extent to which the State has failed to capitalise on its own mantra of GDP growth.

Central subsidies have *never* been more than 5 percent of GDP, and have even decreased to as low 3.5 percent (in 1996–97) – which shows how hollow the claim is of the Planning Commission that they constitute a massive burden on the exchequer.

It should also be noted that there are *two* kinds of central subsidies: economic (agriculture, industry, minerals, energy, services, transport) and social (food, health, education); and economic sector subsidies are nearly *five and half times as large* as those for the social sector.

Based on the above figures, the alternative planning concept is to reverse the logic of “trickle down”. Instead, if government spending (as an increased part of GDP) were to focus on the creation and protection of local livelihoods and to ensure that working people obtained a “living wage”, then that would ensure that consumption (and, therefore, the demand for goods and investment) would also go up. GDP would rise too, although perhaps not as much as the fabled 10% which is eventually supposed to (but does not) trickle down to the people. More importantly, it would pave the way for an entrepreneurial, healthier, and stronger “people”.

Shouldn’t this be the purpose of national planning?

Researchers at Hazards Centre have begun collecting national level data to give substance to this model of alternative planning. At the same time, we renew our plea that this should form part of a much larger collective effort. If all (or many) of the groups engaged with the planning process were to begin doing this kind of documentation and research within their own sectors, then there would be much more synergy building up and we could eventually put it all together into an alternative planning process that could be adopted at the local level.

But this cannot be done through preambles, meeting chief ministers, planning commissions, and parliamentarians, and conducting one-off national consultations. It requires a much longer time line and a perspective of being able to conduct smaller and more concentrated meetings all over the country so that *people* can begin to engage with *planning* itself.

THEMATIC EXPERTS

Education in the Draft Approach Paper for the 12th Five Year Plan

1

Anjela Taneja, Oxfam India, RTE Forum¹

The Draft Approach Paper is expected to provide a vision for the implementation of education in the 12th Five Year Plan. The Right to Education Act, which was passed in the 11th Plan period, has a host of deadlines that would come to fruition only in the next Five Year Plan period. A lot of hope, therefore, for an increased investment on education is held out from the coming Plan to make the RTE a reality. At this critical juncture, the Plan needs to further the ultimate vision of ensuring equitable, quality education for all of India's citizens. It also offers a chance to push the boundaries for the excluded groups and improve standards. This includes the extension of a right to education up to Class 10. This would necessitate a fundamental rethink in the secondary education sector. It would also necessitate with a recognition of the importance of children's education in their early years (until age six) which lays a solid foundation for children – all children, especially the most disadvantaged who have a right to and will benefit enormously from this foundational investment. With the Plan laying down the contours of planning and financing till 2017, we hope that there will be an upward revision of the RTE norms, so that equitable quality education for all of India's citizens will be ensured.

Some Positives of the Approach Paper

- Considerable emphasis given to teacher education, especially because there is a paucity of teacher educators in elementary education. This is a badly needed area of work. The mention of the National Mission for Teacher Education is also extremely welcome.
- Intent to work towards universalisation of secondary education by 2017 is a welcome measure.
- Addition of physical education, games and sports in schools backed by adequate infrastructure in elementary education should ensure a more congenial environment in schools.
- Intent to strengthen the monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, whereby social audit for SSA and MDMs with web-based monitoring for transparency and periodic and sustained third-party evaluations can be a critical positive feature in the coming five year plan if implemented properly.
- Convergence with MNREGS would be a positive development.
- Intent to enhance allocation on education is welcome. While the emphasis is clearly on funding for higher education, there is mention of an increase across the board. Whether the same would be adequate for the

1. Recommendations on school education partly derived from consultation held by RTE Forum on 19 September 2011. Inputs were received from Annie Namala (CSEI), Ambarish Rai (PCCSS, RTE Forum) and Shireen Vakil Miller (Save the Children) on the recommendations from the consultation.

actual requirement and to ensure equitable quality education for every child up to the age of 18 years remains to be seen.

- Emphasis on increasing investment in and emphasis on higher education.

Some Principal Issues

- Given the fact that the State is constitutionally bound to ensure provision of Right to Education to every child up to the age of 14 years, it is likewise bound to find the resources for the same and not look for alternative funding. The implicit assumption that resource gaps would continue (10.3) goes against this spirit. Allocation of a minimum 6 percent GDP allocation for education is a long standing commitment that should to be fulfilled at least in the present plan.
- The apparent stress on promotion of private sector and entry into PPP is unfortunate. Worldwide, history shows that only a public system of education can provide universalisation of education. There is no reason to believe that partnerships with for-profit bodies would actually save costs for the state or significantly enhance quality. There are several shining examples of successful government interventions in education that need to be learned from and replicated instead of looking to PPPs. Engagement with the private sector is unlikely to ensure equitable, quality education for the 70 percent of India living at under Rs 20 a day. This emphasis, furthermore, runs counter to the spirit of RTE, which holds the state accountable for ensuring education. Indeed, it is our hope that a rational, fair and transparent mechanism of regulation of private providers of education is introduced to ensure inclusion of children from marginalised communities in schools and to minimise malpractice. For existing PPPs too, accountability systems require review, stronger regulation must be introduced and transparency of agreements brought about.
- Overall, there is an inadequate stress on inclusion and overcoming inequalities in the educational system. Universalisation of quality cannot be ensured without ensuring equity, given the fact that the most significant resource gaps are in areas with marginalised populations. At a macro level, equitable quality education cannot be met unless there is a move away from the multi-track system of education.
- A related issue is the statement that “the absolute numbers of children who are out of school remains large. While this needs to be reduced, it is not unreasonable to state that access is now more or less universalised” (10.29). It may be rather premature to reach the conclusion of universalised access given lack of adequate mapping of school availability. Furthermore, there is no consistency of definition of “enrollment” and with extremely irregular students being retained on the rolls. Thus, the current reasonably high enrollment figures do not really reflect children in school. Specific groups – especially children with disability – have low levels of access. Social access for children from Dalit, adivasi and Muslim communities is problematic. In addition, there are still many child labourers (12.6 million) and the percentage of enrollment in upper primary schools falls far short of primary. This verdict is also in conflict with the subsequent statement in the chapter on disparities in the Draft Approach Paper which mentions the need for enhancing enrollment in the previously mentioned social groups.
- The present document approaches education as something targeted at *fulfilling market needs* (10.1: “A well educated population, adequately equipped with knowledge and skill is not only essential to support economic growth but is also a precondition for growth to be inclusive.”) This is a rather mechanistic and instrumentalist view of education; education needs to be seen as a means of self discovery, questioning and social transformation. This echoes the intent to ensure an education intended to ensure that a “minimum (sic) set of cognitive skills” (10.4) with subsequent planning done to meet the same.
- There is a need for an autonomous statutory body for grievance redressal and a last point of appeal for school education. The NCPCR capacity needs to be enhanced drastically to play role expected.
- Early Childhood Education needs a systematic rethink if it is to be universalised with its responsibility moved to MoHRD as a critical aspect of education.
- A new development with worrying implications is the statement that “Implementation of the RTE would have to be monitored in terms of learning outcomes” (pg 127. 10.6) and the concurrent emphasis on a “minimum set of cognitive skills” (10.4). While understanding whether children are learning is imperative as part of a larger package of evaluation, mechanisms of assessment through learning outcomes based on a few behaviourist indicators of competence in literacy and numeracy skills has consistently been proven to be an extremely poor mechanism for ensuring accountability. The recent experience of the US that had pioneered tracking of

the public education system through learning outcomes under the No Child Left Behind Act is a case in point. Some of the consequences of its introduction have been increased segregation in its schooling, changing the nature of instruction to fit the test with liberal arts suffering in the process and instances of cheating. Ironically, the original goal of the legislation – ensuring that learning levels reach prescribed standards – has not been achieved, with the administration being forced to extend waivers to several states. Fundamentally, a behaviourist perspective of testing on specific narrow numeric and language competencies is counter to the National Curriculum Framework’s constructivist paradigm. This assumes special importance in view of the NCF being recognised as the curriculum framework under the RTE Act.

- Almost half the chapter on education looks at *higher education*. It is interesting to see the enhanced focus. However, it is unfortunate that the intent under the present strategy is to further extend privatisation and deregulation in an excessively privatised and corruption prone sector. Reliance on for-profit, fee-charging institutions is likely to continue to exclude representatives from marginalised groups – Dalits, Adivasis, Muslims and the urban poor. The chapter speaks of the need to reconsider the “not for profit tag” in higher education. If one looks at the best colleges across the country, these function in a not-for-profit mode. There is no reason to assume that the situation would be drastically different in India. Secondly, the strategy speaks about the closure of higher educational institutions as a planned strategy for the coming strategy period. It sounds downright scary to see the closure of institutions leaving students’ education at risk as a means of regulation. Furthermore, the overall emphasis of the approach appears to be on enhancing the scale of higher education coverage at the expense of a realistically thought through strategy which would ensure quality. Recent developments like the intent to enhance the number of PhDs from IITs to 40,000 p year in the coming few years. Again, it is unclear what plans have been put in place for ensuring quality standards are maintained.
- Intent to invest in *skill development* is also welcome. However, the social factors whereby these have not picked up need a clear strategy whereas there is an intent to double the intake in vocational education in the coming half a decade. Furthermore, give current poor status of ITIs, turning them into centres of excellence appears to be unrealistic.

Critique

Quality and Teachers

- Ensuring teacher performance is not just matter of undertaking teacher training and then applying pressure on them to ensure learning outcomes. A conducive environment needs to be created for teacher performance including a clear career path, scope for continuous learning and a de-bureaucratized inspection system backed up with onsite support.
- The emphasis on teacher training is welcome. A note of caution is that the use of ICT as means of training (10.5) should not replace full fledged teacher training.
- Article 10.4 makes provision for decentralized recruitment of qualified teachers to ensure their accountability to local authorities. While decentralized governance is welcome, a critical concern would be whether the minimum working conditions and career path of the professional cadre of teachers under the RTE Act would be ensured under this system of management. Current track record of decentralized recruitment has been that the local cadres are recruited at a drastically lower pay and with limited or even non-existent scope for professional growth.
- No mention has been made about reducing non-teaching, but school related work of teachers (eg. record keeping etc). Part time help can be recruited at cluster level to devote time to individual schools to ensure completion of records to free teachers to comply with the teaching hours under the RTE Act.
- The approach paper does not give enough space to the process of strengthening of academic support systems. This includes provision of adequate human resources, teaching learning resources and technology based solutions to DIETS/BRC/CRC and ensuring school leadership through ensuring availability of head teachers of quality who will be able to manage schools

Equity

- Issues of equity have not been addressed in the approach paper. Issues of children from marginalised backgrounds—including, but not limited to, Dalits, adivasis, muslims, child labourers, children in institutions, street children, children in areas affected by civil unrest, need to be incorporated as part of delivery system and closely monitored. Migrant populations exist that do not have adequate provisions, or indeed even mention in the approach paper. The Child Labour Act must be

made congruent with RTE Act for which integrated and convergent approach where in all ministries / departments participate and educational institutions run by these ministries also meet common standards is required. Gender has also been ignored in the approach paper. Lastly, it is essential to recognize that a lot of the quality issues are also equity concerns.

- It is premature to announce that access has been “more or less universalised”. There are questions about quality of data currently available. The concern is principally about the need to provide bridging for hitherto out of school children and after school support for those newly re-enrolled.
- Need to orient teachers on issues of human rights and dignity to ensure participation and learning in schools, especially for children from marginalised communities.

Financing and Governance

- As stated earlier, there is an implicit assumption that shortage of resources would remain even for elementary education in the 12th Five Year period which would require “innovative means” to meet the gap. This does not bode well for implementation of an equitable quality education system for all of Bharat’s young citizens, let alone being conducive for enhanced revision of norms.
- Grievance redressal and accountability systems need to be put in place. The current capacity of the NCPCR needs to be enhanced and it must be made autonomous. This is a burning issue that has not received mention in the approach paper.
- At the same time, there is a need for a system of monitoring of not just schools, but also higher rungs of the education system. SMC and PRI capacity building needs to be strengthened, backed by increased budgetary allotments. States to set up information portals disseminating information about status of schools (using example of the MP State Education Portal) with space for citizens to use this for verification of status of their own schools.
- It was hoped that the coming Plan period would see an effort to strengthen financial capacities of the states on the issue of education. A clear strategy to address core issues of under-spending is not apparent. Furthermore, greater budgetary transparency and a mechanism whereby funds actually flow based on bottom up plans are needed.
- The Draft Approach Paper only talks about convergence with MNREGA and what is proposed there is good. However, a clear roadmap for convergence with health,

labour, tribal department, women and child development and social welfare ministries is also needed that does not find reflection in the plan.

Early Childhood Education

- The Draft Approach Paper falls short of committing to inclusion of Early Childhood Education as a right in the 12th Plan, something that has been in discussion in the NAC and other fora.
- Commitments made during the 11th Five Year Plan including the appointment of a second anganwadi worker and the provision of one year of preschool education for children entering elementary education should be fulfilled in the coming Plan period.
- The women and child development ministry is currently the nodal ministry for early childhood and preschool issues. However, there is no mention of it in the plan for the ICDS, presumably as being reflective of its low priority. Consequently, issue of early childhood education should be handled by MHRD in order for quality to be ensured.
- Need to reconsider the norms and standards for ECCE. Overall standards of infrastructure, curriculum and teacher qualification need to be laid down and enforced, including for ICDS Centres. This would also entail an overhaul of teacher training to ensure adequate teacher availability.

Secondary Level

- Intent to universalize education to secondary by 2017 is welcome. A framework for implementation and convergence between SSA and RMSA is required to ensure transition and completion, with an expansion of the school net to ensure supply commensurate with emerging demand- not at rate of one school per district or even block. No such strategy is discernable. There is a need to prioritise opening of secondary government schools in remote and rural areas and localities serving urban poor communities.
- Admittedly, a large share of schools at secondary level is private. While the percentage of schools is approximately 60%, actual enrollment is considerably lower. Another way of looking at this figure is to juxtapose it against the fact that majority of children from marginalized communities fail to proceed beyond elementary education at present in the absence of free, accessible public schools in their areas. Indeed, India is already among the most privatized

systems of secondary education and it is unclear why the government wants to accelerate this trend, especially at a time when it is considering converting the Right to Secondary Education into a law. Furthermore, why PPP needs to be “vigorously explored” has not been argued anywhere since it is the same private sector that has failed to ensure enrollment and retention of marginalized groups in its schools until now. Indeed, the framework for PPP floated for initiation of the Model Schools & which has not seen agreement is being initiated again.

- Largest gaps of teachers are in secondary education. There has not been a discussion on this in the chapter on secondary education, with these issues only flagged under elementary education.
- Prevocational stream in Classes IX and X to be maintained. This carries a risk of deepening the multi-track education system where children from particular communities are tracked at Class IX and continue on this track subsequently. The document itself recognises that vocational education has until now “not picked up” probably because parents and students prefer to enter into the mainstream of education, rather than being relegated into the “vocational stream”.
- More systematic approach for continuous education for out of school adolescents, especially girls, needed to bring them to age appropriate levels. Lifelong learning and adult education issues have been neglected in the Draft Approach paper. The section on skill development focuses on market skills, not those needed for individual or group empowerment and citizen participation.

Role of Private Sector

- As stated earlier, the stress given to PPP is regrettable. There is a need to build on existing state capacity to create universal system of public education which is the only viable way forward for children of *Bharat*.
- A rational and transparent mechanism for regulation of private schools is needed. There is a need for a central law for regulation of private schools along lines of TN law.
- For existing PPPs there is a need for review of accountability systems, stronger regulation & transparency of agreements.
- Section 10.7 talks about encouraging private participation in the Midday Meal. It is unclear what role for the private sector in is envisaged, given that the scheme is intended to provide locally cooked meals- preferably also involving dalit cooks to fight caste based discrimination. MDM should be handed by PRIs and SHGs instead of being

outsourced to private companies. Central kitchens have been proven to have several problems in rural areas.

Adult and Young People's Education: A Response to the Draft Approach Paper of the Twelfth Plan

2

Nirantar

Adult education has always lived on the sidelines of education for all. However, it did receive marginal attention in some or other form in most of the five year plans, including the latest (the Eleventh Plan). But the low status the Twelfth Plan accords to adult education is unprecedented.

The Twelfth Plan Approach Paper mentions Saakshar Bharat as a strategy to improve Elementary Education. Saakshar Bharat is the scheme launched by the MoHRD in 2009 to promote and strengthen adult education, especially women's education. The Approach Paper seems to assume that the goals of adult education have been achieved; however, this is far from true. After two years, Saakshar Bharat is at a very initial stage of implementation in most states. At the end of the Eleventh Plan period, the scheme would not have met its objective of making 259 million adults literate.

The Approach Paper should recommend a review of the Saakshar Bharat scheme, its extension into the Twelfth Plan period, and its strengthening in the next phase, based on the learnings from the current phase.

The approach to development that sees economic growth as

its indicator has failed to consider people's empowerment as an important outcome of the planning process. No surprises, therefore, that adult and continuing education (like capacity building components which empower communities, especially women) are completely missing from the document. According to the Census 2011, there were more women (approximately 11 crore) who became literate as compared to men (approximately 10.76 crore) and the gender gap reduced substantially over the past 4-5 years. However, there are no programmes or interventions suggested in the Approach Paper to reinforce the literacy and education inputs to continue the efforts.

While on the one hand the government is designing and implementing programmes where citizens and communities are given larger roles in monitoring and governance of programmes like MNREGA, RTE, Panchayat etc, it seems to have no intention, on the other, to build capacities of adult men and women to engage and participate meaningfully in these processes and mechanisms. If we want communities to take ownership of programmes and play the kind of roles envisaged in school management committee (SMCs) or

social audit mechanism in MNREGA, the government has to invest in building people's capacities. The kind of literate and formal world that is opened to the rural communities, especially women, makes it impossible for them to engage with it in absence of empowering processes, which can be done with the help of adult and continuing education efforts. With sufficient exposure and information, the adult population can become an important and integral arm in the implementation and monitoring mechanism of government programmes.

In a country like India, where according to the Census 2011, 27 crore men and women still cannot read and write, and a few more crores are struggling to sustain their meager literacy, talk about growth and development is rhetoric. On one hand, the Draft Approach Paper talks about the transparency and accountability of the system and, on the other hand, does not provide for any capacity building opportunities to make people demand the same. This is truer for women, especially those from poor and marginalised communities, who are not only coming to MNREGA and SMCs in large numbers but also engaging with other institutions like banks and post offices etc. These women are obviously bearing the double burden of social as well as educational disadvantages. For women to become empowered and claim their entitlements, it is imperative that they are given opportunities to enhance their educational and vocational skills along with leadership development. This can happen in a policy framework that looks at development from an empowerment lens instead of economic growth.

Women from SC/ST and Muslim communities form the major chunk of the population who are non-literate and are struggling to create space in a social structure dominated mostly by upper caste and affluent men. This struggle can be supported by creating more learning and capacity building opportunities for women from these communities. Special interventions can be planned to sustain their engagement with educational processes both formally and non-formally.

The young populations not covered under RTE and who have dropped out from schools prematurely have been marginalised further. There seems to be no alternative strategies with policy makers to bring them into the ambit of educational interventions. It is common knowledge that many children who have dropped out of school and are now over 14 are neither engaged in skill development in a formal or sustained manner nor do they have any opportunity to return to school to complete their education. The spaces

for non-formal learning, including skill training, are hardly recognised to address the large chunk of the population of youth which will enter the labour market sooner or later. According to the RECOUP-CORD study done in Rajasthan and MP of the rural and urban poor, only 16 percent of young people from poor communities get an opportunity to learn skills which help them in securing employment in the future. The source of acquiring skills for these 16 percent is also informal apprenticeship within their communities and not formal training institutes like it is, where mostly general category and affluent youth get an opportunity. This raises an important question not only about inclusion and equity but also about the government's seriousness to address the issue of unemployment among young and adult populations.

This can be done by developing differentiated strategies for the young dropout population, barely literate adults and educated youth in terms of vocational education. All these categories need to be separately looked at and addressed to cater to their specific problems and needs both in terms of education and skill building. At the same time, the Ministry of Labour and MHRD have to jointly take initiatives to reach out to these young populations and keep a keen eye on the opportunities and learning/working environment. The convergence of these two ministries, done with the purpose of reaching out to poor and marginalised communities, will go a long way in ensuring the equity-based inclusive growth that the Draft Approach Paper mentions rhetorically.

Youth Development: Looking Beyond the Economistic Lens

3

Pravah (along with partner organisations)

The focus of the Draft Approach Paper is predominantly on economic growth. This perspective also colours the approach to youth development. Young people are viewed primarily as a workforce that will spur economic growth and enable India to capitalise on the demographic dividend. Consequently, all sections that mention young people in this paper relate to education, skill development and vocational training. The section on education and skill development, for example, starts with the following:

A well educated population, adequately equipped with knowledge and skills, is not only essential to support economic growth but also a precondition for growth to be inclusive since it is only educated and skilled people who can benefit from employment opportunities that growth will provide. (10.1)

Further, higher education is seen as *essential to build a workforce, capable of underpinning a modern, competitive economy. (10.18)*

While skill development and employment are very important for young people and national development, they are not the magic bullet they are touted to be. While they may spur economic growth, growth does not necessarily lead to inclusive development. As witnessed in recent years, economic growth has come at a price: displacement, widespread malnutrition, farmer suicides, a declining sex ratio and violent movements seeking justice.

Skill building is not just about technical skills. The future lies

in young people becoming socially responsible, active citizens who can address social conflicts, find creative solutions and influence their communities and the world. To this end, we need to invest in their personal development and build leadership skills rather than using young people as instruments for economic growth.

It is encouraging that the Draft Approach Paper recognises the importance of liberal arts and describes this discipline as *essential for the development of intelligent and able minded citizens*. It also mentions the need to focus on the 4 Cs – critical thinking, communications, collaboration and creativity. (10.24) However, once again, this appears under the section on *enhancing employability* instead of seeing the 4 Cs as critical life skills essential for becoming a good human being, an active citizen and a change maker.

It is instructive to analyse the different lenses people use to view young people. Youth are regarded as the future of the nation and the means to realise national and development goals: as the workforce or consumers that drive economic growth, as vote banks for politicians, as volunteers and peer educators for development agencies, as the buffer against counter terrorism. Young people today are called upon to serve their nation and change the world. Yet, not enough is invested in young people as leaders who can develop the skills required to understand the varied dimensions of a social conflict, make their own choices, work in collaboration with others and become agents of change.

The Draft Approach Paper needs to adorn a youth-centric lens and focus on youth participation and leadership (not just skill development for employability and economic growth). If young people become good leaders and responsible human beings, then their skills, attitudes and behaviours will impact all other spheres of their lives – health, education, livelihoods, lifestyle, friends and family.

The Draft Approach Paper does not spell out any learning outcomes of education and skill development – other than employability. We believe that interventions with young people should facilitate them on a journey from self to society and back – a journey that would result in the following competencies.

- **Understanding the self:** self-awareness, self-esteem, the ability to learn, and make conscious lifestyle choices.
- **Interpersonal relationships:** empathy, appreciating diversity, group membership, building consensus and collaboration.
- **Impacting society:** the ability to a) recognise elements of a system, b) design a viable solution, and c) implement the intervention and take others along.

There are few spaces today where young people can build these competencies. Mainstream education institutions today prepare young people for careers rather than for life. Families, teachers and employers reinforce social pressures on young people to compete and outperform their peers. How then do young people develop their own identities so that they can withstand these pressures? Where are the spaces where they can reflect on their own values, listen to other perspectives and make informed choices? How do they understand the dimensions of a social conflict and proactively intervene to make a difference? We believe that young people have a right to a space where they can participate in transformational experiences and impact the world through a process of action and reflection. This space is missing today.

The Draft Approach Paper also recognises this need. It states: *Higher education has isolated itself from society resulting in a breakdown of this vital social contract. It discusses the need to “strengthen higher education’s close linkages with society through a well coordinated approach going well beyond the NSS. Universities and colleges should be encouraged to engage more intensively than before with wider society and contribute to local and regional development (10.28).* However, once again, this is not seen as a primary goal of education (which is still seen as employment and economic growth) and is relegated to a section called

“Other Initiatives”. Is it then surprising that this isolation and breakdown has happened? We feel the section on education in the approach paper needs to emphasise this point by mentioning it at the outset instead of leaving it to the very end.

The Draft Approach Paper does not mention youth participation in governance. Young people need to be represented in organs of government, such as the *panchayats* and *nagarpalikas*. India today is the youngest country and ruled by the oldest cabinet. Young people (between the ages of 25 and 40) formed only 6.3 percent of the 2009 Lok Sabha and the average age of the cabinet is 62.7 years. We need more young people to join politics and get elected to these institutions. To do this we need to invest in training young people as active citizens and leaders. There is little data on the number of young people in these bodies and whether there is a budget for training young members.

Another critical gap in the Draft Approach Paper is the safety of young people. Young people have a right to safe cities, schools, communities and homes. Safety measures need to address corporal punishment in schools, sexual harassment and exploitation at the work place and honour killings in the community. Young girls in particular are vulnerable to domestic violence and trafficking. In the case of conflict zones, while unemployment is a primary concern, creation of employment opportunities will not address the psychological impact of terrorism or the alienation resulting from state-inflicted violence. Mental health interventions are required to address the trauma that young people in conflict zones have undergone. We also need to create opportunities for conflicting social groups to dialogue and to understand different perspectives.

It is therefore necessary for the Draft Approach Paper to look beyond the economic lens and see young people as individuals with unique identities and a desire to explore, learn and understand their potential as change agents. It is only then that education will become truly relevant to the lives of young people.

Water and Sanitation

4

WaterAid

These are our recommendations based on our reading of the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan.

1. Water and sanitation should be considered legally enforceable rights and reflected in legislation.
2. Women should be members of Water User Associations, regardless of lack of land ownership.
3. Water and sanitation facilities for migrants, and for labourers at work site.
4. Convergence of water and sanitation programme with health and education at all levels, with strict monitoring for implementation.
5. Inclusion of awareness programmes on menstrual hygiene as part of the Total Sanitation Campaign.
6. Mechanisms to develop the capacity of PRIs to take the responsibility of planning, implementing, managing and monitoring water and sanitation programmes.
7. Social audit by Gram Sabha with the involvement of Village Water and Sanitation Committee (VWSC) members and of CSOs. Special focus on access by the excluded and marginalised.
8. Making VWSC a standing committee of the PRI system.
9. Alternative dignified employment opportunities for manual scavengers.
10. Industrial demands on water that severely impact drinking water availability. This is to develop the mechanisms to meet the water demand for industrial purpose which is not at the cost of drinking water source
11. Engagement with CSOs/NGOs in monitoring of plans and programmes.
12. All existing laws enacted by government/state government, autonomous bodies/traditional institutions for the protection of land, forest and water resources should be monitored for implementation.

Inclusion of excluded and marginalised communities

1. Focus on excluded and marginalized group especially adivasis, Dalits, minorities, persons with disability and persons with HIV/AIDS. These communities need to be involved in decision making, implementation and monitoring of programmes.
2. Although the present online data of Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation captures information on SC/ST allocations and physical progress of ST up to district level under TSC; there is need to establish monitoring mechanisms up to panchayat/habitation level so as to ensure access to water and sanitations by excluded and marginalized communities.
3. Present TSC guidelines state that the toilet facility should be user friendly for differently-abled children. Thus there should be a special provision (both financial and technological) for these children in schools so that they can access water and sanitation facilities in schools.

Technology

1. Rainwater harvesting structure should be made mandatory in rural and urban drinking water programmes with incentive support. Extending financial and technical

support for conservation and rejuvenation of traditional water harvesting systems in adivasi areas.

2. Need for convergence between programmes of the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation (National Rural Drinking Water Programme) with MNREGA with the Integrated Watershed Management Programmes.
3. Research to identify technologies which require less use of water while accessing sanitation facilities in water scarce areas.
4. Adopting water and sanitation technologies which are effective such as in disaster prone and flood affected areas.

Health

1. While developing and strengthening health infrastructure facilities that includes PHC, CHC and sub-centers ensuring the provision of safe drinking water and sanitation facilities in all health facilities.

Education

1. All curricula beginning from the primary to higher education level must include environmental education related to the conservation of water.
2. Involvement of School Management Committee (SMC) in assuring the provision of adequate number of toilet and urinal facilities and separate toilet for girls with availability of menstrual napkins and disposal system in school.
3. Linking up hygiene education (sanitation and hygiene), especially hand washing practice, with Mid-Day Meal Scheme.

Climate Change

5

Aditi Kapoor, Alternative Futures

The Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Plan emphasises economic growth without an adequate focus on social development or environmental protection. However, welcome emphasis has been laid on

- soil nutrients and soil fertility management (Sections 7.18 and 7.20);
- some of the analysis of new technologies for the farm sector (although it misses some research on essential crops/crop groups like pulses and oilseeds); and
- promoting agro-climatic zone-friendly millets.

The Draft Approach Paper's overall approach is techno-managerial; while its emphasis on the supply side is required, it lacks the equally critical emphasis on ensuring processes that will lead to empowerment of all sections of society, including women. It is unlikely that the Human Development Index will improve much after the 12th Plan, especially that of some groups within society, given the deep social stratification that still needs to be addressed. The Draft Approach Paper is, unfortunately, not informed either by the imperatives of climate change adaptation on economic growth or the need to address the deep gender bias, which again acts as a barrier to economic growth. References to climate change adaptation are largely ad hoc and 'add-ons'.

The Draft Approach Paper takes the business-as-usual (BAU) approach to climate change in dealing with climate-sensitive subjects like the farm sector, rural development and even health and education. The chapter on the farm sector recognises the threat from climate change, especially to rainfed agriculture in arid zones, but does not dwell on

it. Also, it does not talk about adaptation as an additional intervention with additional resources.

The 'Overview' section does not mention the fact that India had the weakest monsoon in three decades in 2009, or that it led to an economic slowdown. In the same chapter, the sub-section on agriculture does not mention adaptation to climate change. In the 'Farm Sector' chapter, the 'clear evidence of adverse climate change' is mentioned and several interventions are adaptive in nature (such as soil nutrient management, Sub-section 7.18 and efficiency in use of chemical fertilisers, Sub-section 7.20). However, the BAU is apparent – these interventions are anyhow needed given the pressure of population, rate of environment degradation and India's natural susceptibility to natural disasters like droughts, floods, landslides and cyclones.

These sections do not mention climate vagaries, the unpredictability of rainfall, temperature and wind patterns associated with climate change and the probability of more frequent, intense and unpredictable disasters. Also not addressed is the need for 'additional' resources to adapt to climate vagaries or resources in the form of finance, across-the-board capacity building, building appropriately on traditional knowledge about local, resilient crop varieties, seeds, cropping patterns and livestock species.

In the 'Sustainable Management of Natural Resources' chapter, the sub-section on land recognises that tribals and Dalits own a lot of the productive/forest land but, ironically, prescribes 'a fair land acquisition law' as the 'way forward'. There is no mention of rightful ownership over land or forests

or of how the land acquisition law will be 'fair' to all. The management of this natural resource is about managing to take it away from the rightful owners for 'public purpose' which includes infrastructure and industry. In reality, this can mean shopping malls and hotels, maybe to generate non-farm jobs! The subsequent sub-section on food security also seeks to ensure a no-barriers approach to land acquisition even in districts where the net sown area is less than half the total geographical area (the national average).

Climate proofing is required in education: school buildings need to withstand floods and cyclones, and the school year needs to take into account multiple reasons for which children miss school, such as crop failure, more hands required during harvesting periods and climate-induced seasonal migration. Climate change has increased vector-borne diseases and therefore affected public health. The chapters on education and health lack discussion on all these.

There is a complete lack of gender analysis and provision for gender equality and for the role women play, and can play, as bearers of change, as they have more traditional knowledge than men in dairy farming, horticulture, fisheries, and collection of, and trade in, forest products, and about traditional crop and livestock varieties, seed storage and exchange, multi-cropping and resilient, local livestock species. The following points are of special importance.

- Gender disparity should be included in Sub-section 1.6-1.7 on inclusiveness and in Sub-section 1.10-1.12 on progress in reducing poverty. This should include gender-disaggregated data for the target of 50 percent reduction of poverty between 1990 and 2015 under the UN Millennium Development Goals and for the 'increase by 16 percent' of average real wage rates between calendar years 2007-2010.
- The 'Plan Programs for Inclusiveness' (sub-section 1.13 onwards) cite only the traditional 'gender-neutral' flagship development programmes like Indira Awas Yojana and Integrated Child Development Scheme. These are clearly inadequate for gender equality. While Sub-section 6.18 of the Approach Paper mentions making IAY houses 'disaster resistant,' there is no mention that this will require additional resources.
- Surprisingly, though Census 2011 provisional demography figures have been announced, there is no mention of India's consistently adverse sex ratio in the sub-section on demographics (1.17-1.18), especially given the declining child sex ratio.

- The sub-sections on employment and livelihoods (1.19-1.22) are silent on women's workloads and the need to collect correct data. Instead, they state that between 2004-05 and 2009-10, the overall labour force expanded by only 11.7 million 'because of ... lower labour force participation among working-age women'. This is despite an increasing feminisation of agriculture, reported by the 11th Plan and also echoed in passing by the Draft Approach Paper.
- There are several reports of rural women taking up more intermittent, wage labour because of increased climate-induced seasonal male migration from different parts of the country. The whole approach to gender empowerment, if any, is an across-the-board reliance on SHGs, not on strengthening gender empowerment within the Panchayati Raj Institutions, which is where the functional, administrative and financial power lies.

INDEPENDENT EXPERTS

“Inclusion in Practice” – Field Understanding of Draft Approach Paper to 12th Five Year Plan

1

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The inclusion of “inclusion” in the first chapter enticed me to read the Draft Approach Paper to the Twelfth Plan. Disillusionment set in quick. “Inclusion” is better targeting, and improving extension services coupled with demonstrating commitment through increased financial outlays. Next, “inclusion” in the title is followed by “growth”, suggesting thereby *growth is basic to inclusion; faster and unhindered the growth higher the scope, opportunity and scale of inclusion.*¹

Experience the world over, especially of recent times, show that “inclusive” and broad basing is a necessary condition to the quality of economic growth and is basic to a healthy society and sustainable development. So, for high outcome value that will harness people to harvest India’s unique historical development and growth opportunity, strategic depth is required for “inclusion” and being central to the economic engine.

The first chapter is headed with the financial allotment to the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act – a flagship government scheme. So, I will embed my views, ideas and illustrations from MGNREGS to explain

what inclusion entails, is expected to be and must deliver on.

Water is crucial to successful farming. Water harvesting and its conservation have the highest priority in MGNREGS. Publications and pictures of Ministry of Rural Development list increasing ground water availability and success in promoting water bodies as achievements. No doubt it is impressive and useful. But this is what we planned as outcomes of watershed projects pursued for the several decades. With money from MGNREGS, the projects are taken up widely and without the stipulations that guide watershed projects in India. But what must it be if the “inclusion” lens is placed on this scheme?

First, look at the beneficiaries – downstream farmers needing irrigation get more water and grow more water intensive multiple crops. If “inclusion” is to be real, this new/ additionally harvested and stored water must be provided to the excluded or those who depend on monsoons even for a single crop. This is because the lands of the poor, who must be included, lie usually in the ridge portion whereas we harvest water from there to store and provide copious water to the select few who already have good quality land endowments with top soil accrued over time.

1 The views expressed here are personal and do not necessarily reflect those of the institution.

What we have in this flagship effort with high investment is exclusion of the poor in asset development and ownership of common resources. Inclusion here provides livelihood improvement opportunity while the mandarins in the MoHRD claim “inclusive” by providing labour employment – what they are already capable of! Such calibrated delivery of “inclusion” does not threaten the existing structure of resource sharing and perpetuates exploitation. And for this reason the Planning Commission takes refuge behind identification, targeting and financial provisioning. Inclusion demands equality and opportunity in all wealth-generating opportunities, not transferring some money under the government’s aegis from its revenue accrual to perpetuate the mai-baap syndrome. So, go back to what Gandhi told J C Kumarappa when he sought advice on what must be the yardstick in planning – does it address the last man?

If that were the approach, the focus would have been to provide water to those who grow a single crop, face high yield risk and have low productivity. To them it is crucial to have a reliable and good harvest at least in some years. As the kharif season is the largest crop in India planted by most small and poor farmers, entitle them with some quantity of water just to ensure that their crops do not wither, have healthy growth and respond well to fertilizer application, all leading to good yield. What this entails in MGNREGS is simple – dig and lay water pipes with facilities to lift water to such places. Provide everyone with dependable critical irrigation of support say three or four times in the crop season and let the rest of the water given to those having land with multiple crop potential. This way once the ridge portions have good crop and vegetation cover, watershed gains a new natural resource definition in sync with “inclusion” aspirations.

While mainstreaming “inclusion” this single step will lead to a dramatic rise in production, farmer confidence and incomes accruing from crop and the allied sector etc. It affects water use planning and cropping pattern, transforms agriculture to be broad based and sustainable and ushering healthy competitive regime for optimum and efficient water management regime. If not, this is what we have seen over decades of watershed development – sharp groundwater table decline, drying up of wells and intrusion of salt water leading to farmers being impoverished in quest for water.

Next, we are bombarded with success stories and statistics on how millions of poor farmers are served in the MGNREGS. Although most of their recipes are worthless for the lands of the poor, yet they are compelled to accept them. Let me give

an example to explain this and from a state considered the pioneer in “best practices” in asset creation. Here, cultivation of graft mango is promoted widely and in convergence with national horticulture mission. The Mission provides the farmers with drip systems while MGNREGS meets costs to dig wells or drill bore wells, energise water drawing, dig pits, quality sampling, planting, basal dose of fertilizers etc.

What happens to farmers who do not have private water sources? They too can have mango plantations. All the earlier listed provisions – excepting water source, energy device for pumping and the drip system – are provided to these farmers. In lieu of watering, each acre receives thirty six watering opportunities annually, for three years and during the dry six months period. Each acre has 72 mango plants and water is fetched from long distances. As there is no drip system, they practise flood to water. What needs eight litres per plant in a drip system ends up needing four and half times more water – 35 litres, which is carried as head loads by women or carted by bullock carts.

Wage support for watering is for three years as the graft varieties are of short duration yield capabilities. But this calls for adopting a set of recommended practices centred on water, which most of them cannot adopt because soils are poor and thirsty and water is inadequate and untimely, with much of it evaporating.

Assuming all this were not to happen, how much yield can the poor farmer expect? Very poor if not zero. This is because mango plants yield only if copiously watered during the fruiting season. So while the farmer with a drip has a good mango yield, the one who carted water on her head to tend mango plants will hardly have any fruit yield. Yet poor farmers want it – plantation on barren lands raises its asset value.

If inclusion were to matter, then watering support would have been extended to and practised in all the dry land horticulture plantations. Being dry-land fruit-bearing and unlike mango, once well grown their yield is not dependent only on water, although water is valuable to get high yields. It provides assured and occasionally good income coming from low-value well-yielding plant rather than from high value crop of doubtful and low yield. That is the way to inclusion – the poor have modest expectations. They just want to be certain of it. So, when provided with water for the first few years, the plants will have healthy and fast growth leading to early and good crop harvest. Otherwise mortality will be high while annual plantation statistics will be impressive. But watering

such plants is allowed because these plants are hardy, drought resistant and grow without water. It is similar thinking that does not allow, say, the drip system suiting such beneficiaries and thus reduce precious water wastage or of the number of trips made by women carrying head loads of water by using a simple wheel barrow to shift water.

Financial allocations, targeting and category wise utilization are traditional and is insufficient for a broadbased development with high growth. We must recognize that “inclusion” offers new capacity to trigger a fast, healthy, efficient and sustainable economic growth at a time when the market opportunity is at our doorstep. The remedy of financial resources to the left-out from the leftovers is no way forward. In planning the future the Commission must understand the needs of the excluded and their premise. Inclusion must be mainstreamed into the core as illustrated in the two instances. Such a plan, investment, policy and approach would trigger untapped human capacities and potential to drive our development and growth ambition.

Public Private Partnerships as Problem Solving Mechanisms: The Social Sector

2

Kuldeep Mathur, former Professor, JNU

While pointing out that there are many cases in the area of health where the promised provision of services for the poor has not been realised, the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan still emphasises the significance of public-private partnerships (PPPs) in delivering services in the social sector. PPPs are being seen as a solution to all the challenges faced in the delivery of public services. The government sees PPP as the solution wherever it has performed poorly. Is this the case with the education and health sectors too?

PPPs have to be seen as problem resolving mechanisms and can be successful only if the problems are identified and how PPP can be an appropriate solution is shown.

The Draft Approach Paper does not distinguish between the organisational and managerial issues in physical and social infrastructure. It is difficult to understand that the problems in expanding the roads network or upgrading the quality of airports is the same as that of universalising education and that of equitable access to healthcare. One requires high levels of technological inputs and financial outlay. The other demands intense social sensitivity and human relations skills

together with professional skills among all other attributes.

The government has social responsibility of inclusiveness and is accountable for that. The corporate sector chooses, by its very nature, ventures that provide returns on its investment. Thus, it is easier for it to partner the government where returns are involved. In the field of primary education and primary health care, there is little assurance of returns.

Even in the case of hospitals, companies hesitate to enter partnerships if the returns are not assured. It is pertinent to mention that four years after the Delhi health department conceptualised PPPs to better health services in the capital, none of the eight companies shortlisted came for the final bidding for an already constructed hospital. It is reported that the government has been forced to run it on its own. This failure to attract partners comes after the Delhi government climbed down on its many demands. The Draft Approach Paper sees such a problem in legal and operational terms without taking into account the basic assumptions on which the private sector functions.

The Draft Approach Paper stresses improved governance and accountability. The most challenging question is how to make PPP institutions accountable.

Within the hierarchical system, both the government agency and company partners are accountable in various ways. But the issue is that of institutional responsibility. If the school mandated to provide access to the disadvantaged groups does not do so, who is accountable – the private managers or the government? It is in this regard that these institutions are publicly audited for their performance and provisions of RTI be applied to them.

There need to be clear directions in the Draft Approach Paper on the following issues.

1. PPP is not a mantra, not a solution to all the problems facing delivery of public services. It should be used selectively and carefully chosen in providing universal access to education and health care. It should not be seen as an abdication of government responsibilities.
2. Within the social sector also problems faced at primary levels and higher levels are different. Private companies will be attracted at higher level for reasons of financial returns. This may not be so at the primary levels.
3. The Draft Approach paper has stressed on transparency and increased information about operations of the PPP institution should be in the public domain.
4. Elaboration of the accountability mechanism is needed. Clear stand needs to be taken on the application of the provisions of RTI and public audit.

Governance As if People (aam aadmi and aurat) Matter — A Critique of Governance in the Draft Approach Paper of 12th Five Year Plan

3

Rajesh Tandon, President, PRIA

Once again, the Planning Commission has produced a Draft Approach Paper for a five year plan (the 12th Five Year Plan beginning in April 2012). Once again, there is a section on governance. Let me comment on it from the perspective of the present government's earlier commitments made in the 11th Five Year Plan (2007–12).

1. Local Governance

The section on governance in 11th Five Year Plan had a substantial focus on 'decentralisation and strengthening of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs)'. It also included a bold new thrust on decentralised planning, empowering District Planning Committees (DPCs) and ensuring that all Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSS) are implemented through PRIs.

The momentum towards strengthening PRIs had some thrust from the national government during the tenure of UPA1

when a separate Ministry of Panchayati Raj was set up for the first time. However, the national political leadership, including the Prime Minister, showed no interest in this during UPA2 as this ministry was first clubbed with Ministry of Rural Development, and subsequently with Ministry of Tribal Development. Hence, most national ministries (like education, health, water, sanitation, etc) do not bother about PRIs because panchayats are seen as either an adjunct to rural development or to tribal development.

As a result, capacity development of PRIs, devolution of functions, funds and functionaries and practical empowerment of DPCs has not been happening during the past three years. Not only that – states like UP, Punjab, Haryana, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh etc have not made much progress in these regards, and there has been further slippage in states like Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and West Bengal during the past three years.

Unfortunately, the 12th Plan Draft Approach Paper is silent in terms of the need to strengthen PRIs, further the devolution of functions, funds and functionaries, and deepen district planning.

In addition, like its predecessor, the Draft Approach Paper has once again ignored the critical and urgent requirement of decentralisation and institutional capacity development of urban local bodies and municipalities. No Central Ministry pays any attention to strengthening local governance in urban areas in pursuit of the recommendations of several Finance Commissions and the second Administrative Reforms Commission. No programme of addressing urban poverty, urban service delivery or urban infrastructure can be sustainable without urgent and sustained investment in improving the governance and administration of municipalities around the country.

2. Roles of Civil Society

The second arena where the governance section of 11th Plan had focused its attention was voluntary organisations and community-based organisations. It had taken credit for the promulgation of the National Policy on Voluntary Sector in July 2007, and also emphasised the significance of capacity development of CBOs so that they can work in tandem with PRIs and Gram Sabhas.

What has been the experience of the past four years in this arena? The national government failed to set up any mechanism to follow-up the implementation of this policy; even the capacity of focal points in the Planning Commission was diluted in this period. Other than a letter from the Deputy Chairman to state chief ministers, no further initiative for implementation of this policy was taken, despite suggestions and pressures from VANI and other civil society actors. In fact, most ministers of the Central government are unaware of these policies.

On the contrary, serious amendments to FCRA have been passed through Parliament where the members didn't even know of the National Policy on Voluntary Sector promulgated by this government. And, now, significant changes in the tax regime, as proposed in the forthcoming DTC, are likely to further erode the autonomous character of civil society in the country. In essence, most legislative actions at the Centre and states have been quite contrary to the principles enshrined in the 11th Five Year Plan.

Now, the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Plan has a small section on partnerships with civil society, which re-emphasises the importance of partnerships in strengthening local institutions and bringing innovations to government. How will such partnerships be forged? What are the present constraints in partnerships? The blind requirement of commercial tendering for such partnerships is now ensuring that all kinds of actors – from fly-by-night operators to management consulting firms – compete for assignments; corruption, kickbacks and delayed payments are preventing the genuine, serious voluntary organisations from participating in such a process.

Reforms in the system of funding voluntary organisations have been discussed since 1988 by various government committees and agencies. But things have gone worse. Most grants-in-aid schemes cause 'grantees AIDS' in the process.

3. Capacity Building

It is very interesting that the Draft Approach Paper acknowledges serious lacunae in this significant area. Both institutional and human capacities have been included; there is an acknowledgement that various local institutions – various local committees on forest, water, sanitation, education, health under CSS programmes – set up over the past two decades lack capacity to perform their tasks. This has been known to civil society organisations, who have contributed immensely towards enhancing the capacities of such local institutions. In fact, most members of such committees do not even know that they are members. All programme managers have known this lacuna all along, but there has been no meaningful effort to improve the situation from national or state governments.

In fact, during the 11th Five Year Plan, many CSS programmes had a built-in component of awareness generation and social mobilization; it was almost of the tune of 5 percent of the programme outlay, in addition to some specific capacity development funds like BRGF. What has been the status of utilisation of such funds? On the whole, less than a fifth of these funds for capacity development of local institutions have even been spent. Why is it so?

The Draft Approach Paper acknowledges that government institutions mandated for capacity development have failed to do so. This acknowledgement is 20 years too late. It has been common knowledge that training institutions in the government are sites for 'punishment posting' of officers, that most such institutions have only administrative staff and

no programme/professional faculty. Several of them are now running as commercial hotels and convention centres.

More than a decade ago, in the meetings with the Planning Commission, several of us had recommended that reform of the social sector was urgently needed, and that private institutions – both non-profit and for-profit – should be invited to provide their professional contributions to such important national development programmes, especially in the software aspects of capacity development. India can boast of some world-renowned capacity development NGOs and academics. Yet, their expertise, and commitment to learning and education, is not harvested. In fact, the National Policy on Voluntary Sector has talked about such ‘twinning’ arrangements between selected NGOs and various training institutes in the country.

How will this happen now? What commitments and roadmaps are needed from the national and state governments?

4. Reforming Administration

That India’s visionary Constitution and progressive policies do not make much impacts on the ground due to an archaic and outdated system of administration is well known to all for more than two decades. The present government itself had set up the Second Administrative Reforms Commission, whose recommendations have covered these issues at great length. Serious and urgent reforms are needed in recruitment, training, deployment and performance of human resources in the government at all tiers and agencies. Is there a roadmap of commitment? Will there be a clear and transparent mechanism to assess performance and link rewards and punishments to all employees?

The Draft Approach Paper talks about separation of policy-making from the implementation of programmes. Great, time-tested idea! How will it be implemented? Will Cabinet colleagues of the Prime Minister start with this approach themselves? If it has not happened in case of Central and state public sector enterprises, how will it happen in education, health, water and roads?

Mere polemics will not do; on the issue of administrative reforms – including the procedures and rules of doing business – urgent and major ‘surgery’ is needed. Who has the stomach for it?

5. Good Governance in General

Interestingly enough, it is in this section that issues of corruption, rule of law and regulatory reforms are mentioned. These were also mentioned in the 11th Plan. So, what progress has been made?

No progress has been made in electoral reforms, political party accountability, police reforms and judiciary reforms. Many sets of generally acceptable recommendations have been gathering dust for years, especially during the tenure of the present government itself. But there has been no action whatsoever. Civil society and media has raised these issues many, many times but no movement is visible from the government. So, what is the possibility of making such reforms during the 12th Plan?

In addition, regulatory agencies and various statutory and official commissions continue to function as appendages to the political and official regime. They have no autonomy; there is no system of open recruitment for the same; and retired bureaucrats and tired politicians automatically get appointed. Why is it that national and state commissions on human rights, SC/ST, minorities, women, finance, election, information etc continue to lack competence, integrity and accountability? This aspect of governance reform is not even adequately mentioned in the Draft Approach Paper.

There is a large discussion on corruption in the Paper. This is not surprising in light of the recent Anna Hazare movement. But what is surprising is that the 11th Plan contained a number of recommendations to deal with corruption, including strengthening of the CAG’s autonomy and administrative and electoral reforms. It is unfortunate that such good intentions of the 11th Plan remained on paper and it became the most corruption-prone Plan period in the history of independent India. On the contrary, institutions like the CAG have come under attack from the government, including the Prime Minister, when its reports have shown corruption at high places. What is the point of repeating ‘glorious’ intentions in eradicating corruption once again?

Governance reforms are at the centre of future inclusive growth and development in India; if we fail to make such governance reforms in the 12th Plan period, the country will hasten towards greater inequities, conflicts and chaos. But intentions alone are not enough. Practical and concrete actions are necessary to show movements in this direction.

Some Comments on the Draft Approach Paper for the Twelfth Five-Year Plan of the Planning Commission of India

Shivani Chaudhry, Associate Director, Housing and Land Rights Network, Delhi

- 1) The Planning Commission needs to review targets under the Eleventh Plan and the status of realisation and major gaps, and reasons for those gaps/lack of implementation.
- 2) The word 'faster' in the title of the Draft Approach Paper is problematic and is, in fact, a clear sign of what has gone wrong in India's planning and development paradigm. It should be deleted. The focus on 'fast-paced' growth is what has resulted in the exclusion and violation of the rights of the majority of the population. The title should instead reveal the GoI's commitment to protecting the rights of the people and achieving growth *through* social justice, not merely with social justice.
- 3) There is an overwhelming need for the adoption of a *strong human rights approach* in the paper and future work of the Planning Commission. Unless human rights are given priority, and unless laws, policies, programmes and schemes are streamlined with India's Constitutional national, international and legal human rights obligations, India is not going to achieve 'inclusive growth' or reduce poverty and improve the standard of living for the masses.
- 4) The Planning Commission's proposed definition of poverty – that only people living on less than Rs. 20 will be considered 'poor' – is against human rights and the Indian Constitution. A holistic approach targeting the most needy and vulnerable needs to be adopted, not one determined by 'below and above poverty line', which excludes a large number of the very poor.
- 5) Planning needs to be integrated and holistic and different issues have to be viewed together. This calls for the adoption of an 'indivisibility of human rights' approach in the Draft Approach Paper and Plans. While talking about livelihoods, it is important to recognise and acknowledge that housing needs to be located near places of work. It also needs to be close to educational and healthcare facilities.
- 6) While talking about the need for improved schemes for health, education and housing, there also needs to be a mention of state acts of commission that directly violate

- these rights and set back any achievements made through positive legal and policy interventions. For example, the need to increase resource allocations for education needs to be supplemented by a call for the state to stop demolishing schools for the poor. Similarly, the need for increased budgetary allocations for housing for the poor needs the state to stop demolishing slums/ informal settlements.
- 7) The mention of the rural landless poor in the Draft Approach Paper is a positive step. But this is not sufficient. The government needs to develop concerted plans/policies aimed at redistribution of land/ land reform and agrarian reform in order to deal with the acute agrarian crisis in the country. Land rights of farmers/peasants/cultivators/ and other natural resource dependent populations need to be legally recognised. This includes the need for legal recognition of collective/ community-based land and property rights (on the lines of the Forest Rights Act). Equal rights need to be given to women. Titling over housing and land should be joint (for married women) and individual (for single women).
 - 8) Planning to meet the water needs of the country also needs to review and analyse how India has worked to protect the human right to safe and clean drinking water and sanitation. This includes the need to prevent privatisation of water.
 - 9) Sustainable natural resource management is not possible without recognising the rights of natural resource dependent communities to their land, water, minerals, and other resources. The draft Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill 2011 grossly fails to protect human rights and to minimise displacement; instead, it enables easier land acquisition with the dilution of the definition of 'public interest.' Acquisition of land for private companies cannot be included under the purview of 'public interest'. While talking about natural resource management, the paper needs to talk about ownership and rights of local communities, including their right to prior informed consent, participation, consultation, just resettlement and rehabilitation, return, restitution, and compensation.
 - 10) The section on 'land use' needs to include a call for *regulation and checks on the real estate sector*, and the need for a focus on inclusive and mixed land use paradigms of development.
 - 11) The section on 'climate change' also needs to include measures to protect the rights of those displaced due to climate change, including the need for human rights-based resettlement. The most vulnerable – including coastal communities and those living in low lying areas and drought-prone areas – need to be identified and policies developed to address their concerns.
 - 12) The Indira Awas Yojana needs to be reviewed and the human right to adequate housing approach needs to be incorporated into it.
 - 13) The Paper needs a stronger 'gender' focus. The specific impacts on women and their particular concerns and needs must be factored into the development of the Plan with adequate budgetary allocations. This is only evident in the chapter on health.
 - 14) Under 'Women and the Rural Economy' and under the chapter on the farm sector, a first step could be to recognise women as farmers, which would enable them to access rural credit. This is even more critical given the growing 'feminisation' of agriculture.
 - 15) Positive proactive measures to address the alarming trend of increasing farmer suicides need to be included in the chapter on the farm sector.
 - 16) Challenges to food security need to also address the growing takeover of agricultural farmland for industry and housing and the increasing trend of land grabbing, which will have long-term impacts on food security and the right to food.
 - 17) The section on commons should also include the need for legal recognition of community rights over these resources, including for women.
 - 18) The section on health needs to include strong protections to ensure affordable access to medicines and healthcare, and checks on privatization and trade in medical supplies.
 - 19) The definition of disability in Indian law and policy needs to be revised in order to bring it in conformity with the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.
 - 20) The following comments relate to the 'Challenges of Urbanisation' chapter.
 - a. There is a need to recognise the acute urban housing shortage – 26.53 million during the Eleventh Plan, and need to develop policy to urgently address this shortage. This includes the provision of adequate and affordable housing.
 - b. There is a need to focus on in situ slum upgrading and not on slum demolitions and evictions to create 'slum free cities.'

- c. There is a need to ensure that Rajiv Awas Yojana is strongly grounded in the human rights approach and provides legal security of tenure while improving housing for the urban poor.
 - d. There is a need to ensure that relocation is only carried out in exceptional circumstances for the improved health and well being of residents.
 - e. There is a need to abolish the concept of ‘cut off’ date to determine ‘eligibility’ of slum dwellers for housing and basic services.
 - f. There is a need to adopt and implement the ‘right to the city’ which guarantees all urban residents the equal right to participate in planning and decision-making and to access the benefits and services of a city.
 - g. There needs to be mention of the most marginalised among the urban poor – the homeless, Dalits, adivasis, mentally ill, older persons, persons with disability, domestic workers, migrants and displaced persons. The only mention in the Paper is of street children. Specific schemes need to be introduced for each group. The ICDS should also be applicable to street children.
 - h. Adequate 24-hour, permanent, year-round shelters for the homeless need to be set up in all cities, as per the orders of the Hon’ble Supreme Court of India.
 - i. The government needs to develop a continuum of housing options for the urban poor, with shelters for the homeless at one end and the provision of affordable/low cost adequate housing at the other end.
 - j. The critical link between housing and livelihoods needs to be incorporated in urban planning processes.
 - k. The Paper needs to call for a moratorium on forced evictions while talking about urban housing.
 - l. PPP models will not solve the problem of urban housing.
 - m. The need for regulation and monitoring of land use and speculation of housing and real estate is critical in order to address the affordability crisis in housing.
 - n. Laws like the Urban Land Ceiling Regulation Act could be reintroduced.
 - o. Anti-poor laws such as the Bombay Prevention of Beggary Act, which effectively criminalise the poor and homeless, need to be urgently repealed.
 - p. Urban planning needs to focus on greater participatory processes, mixed land use and creation of mixed neighbourhoods, and creation of cities that provide safety and security and enable residents to live with dignity.¹
- 21) There needs to be greater focus on participatory planning and the inclusion of marginalised and discriminated constituencies in planning processes.
 - 22) The continued exclusion of certain sectors of the Indian population, constituting a majority of the population, from the rhetoric of ‘inclusive growth’ needs to be highlighted strongly. These include, inter alia, informal sector workers, agricultural labour/farmers/peasants, fishing communities, Dalits, adivasis, Muslims, forest dwellers, the homeless, migrants, internally displaced persons, persons with disabilities, older persons. Among these groups, women and children face the most exclusion.
 - 23) The Draft Approach Paper also needs to adopt a cross-sectoral approach and include the special needs and concerns of marginalised groups under each chapter, especially of Scheduled Castes, women, children, and adivasis.
 - 24) The Draft Approach Paper does not speak about trade and investment agreements that threaten to erode human rights in India while giving supremacy to private investors and companies. Strong safeguards need to be built in and adopted and the government needs to ensure that human rights are not compromised while meeting the terms of trade and investment agreements.
 - 25) The issue of contradictory provisions in different laws also needs to be mentioned and addressed. Laws which pit rights of one group against another also need to be revised. All laws and policies at the national, state and local level must be harmonised with the Constitution of India and international human rights and environmental law.
 - 26) The strong focus on ‘public private partnerships’ in the Paper is alarming and cannot solve the problems of the urban and rural poor. Private sector involvement in basic services and essentials such as housing, water, electricity, sanitation, needs to be controlled and restricted.
 - 27) India’s international commitments also need to be reviewed and reflected in the Paper, including under the Universal Periodic Review of the United Nations

¹ The NAC Working Group on Urban Poverty is submitting a separate paper on the theme of urban poverty, which discusses some of these issues in greater detail.

Human Rights Council, India's pledge to the Human Rights Council, and recommendations of treaty bodies regarding India's performance on various human rights. These include economic, social and cultural rights (Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights), civil and political rights (Human Rights Committee), women's rights (CEDAW Committee), child rights (CRC Committee) and Dalit rights (CERD Committee). There needs to be conformity with the Government of India's actions within the country and its rhetoric and reporting at the international level.

The Twelfth Plan Draft Approach Paper on Health: A Note

5

Mohan Rao¹ and Indranil Mukhopadhyay²

The Draft Approach Paper should be lauded for acknowledging the problems with India's public health system. It recognises the need to provide comprehensive healthcare with greater emphasis on communicable diseases and preventive health care. It also recognises the need for upgradation of rural healthcare services to IPHS standards with districts as the units for planning, training and service provisioning. It has also acknowledged the need for capital investment and bridging crucial and severe human resource gaps. However, these proposals are not backed by requisite commitments on investment.

In this context, it should be pointed out that the 11th Plan target of increasing health spending to 2-3 per cent of GDP has not been met. Even though the Draft Approach Paper claims that as per the 2011-12 Budget Estimate spending would go up to 1.4 per cent of GDP, this looks highly unlikely given the trends in spending by the Centre and the states during the past few years. Increasing the total health budget is not within the purview of the Planning Commission alone, because more than half (55-60 percent) of total public spending on health is of the nature of non-Plan expenses. However, the Planning Commission should make concrete commitments with regard to creation of new facilities and systems, a large proportion of which comes from the Plans. It

should also indicate what kind of non-Plan resources would be required to backup enhanced Plan spending.

Although the Draft Approach Paper acknowledges the lack of primary health care in urban areas, there are legitimate fears that curative health care responsibilities would be left to the private sector while preventive and low quality care would be provided through the public system. Since there is no data on government primary health care infrastructure in urban areas, a comprehensive survey should be undertaken to understand the gaps. The findings from the study can form the basis for planning and strengthening primary health care in urban areas.

The Draft Approach Paper draws attention to the serious problems with human resources and the need to address these urgently, including the establishment of more medical colleges. This is welcome indeed. However, what the Paper is silent about is whether these are to be in the private sector or the public. It is extremely important that all new medical colleges must be in the public sector and located in the districts of backward states and regions. One primary reason is that doctors passing out of private medical colleges are extremely unlikely to take up public sector posts. For example, data reveals that Maharashtra, which has the highest number of medical colleges in the private sector, has more vacant posts in the public health system than West Bengal, which has fewer medical colleges and the majority in the public sector.¹ In addition to doctors, attention must also be placed

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to the training, in particular of ANMs and PHNs, whose training schools were virtually shut under the early years of the structural adjustment programme.

The Draft Approach Paper proposes that a publicly financed health system is put in place where provisioning is done largely through private sector. Though the details of the proposal have been left to the High Level Expert Group on Health, there is a clear indication that an insurance based system would be rolled out. International evidence suggests that an insurance based system can be effective if – and only if – there is an extremely muscular role of the government in regulating *as well as provisioning*. Countries like Thailand and Costa Rica which have strong public systems have been more successful in ensuring universal coverage of government health insurance at reasonable cost.ⁱⁱ In India, government provisioning is weak. In order to have a successful insurance model we need to build a public health system that provides good quality care first.

In India although the private sector dominates service provisioning, it is extremely heterogeneous, largely under-developed and completely unregulated. We do not even have basic statistics about the private sector, its spread and distribution, the quality of care or indeed its “efficiencies”. Given the nature of the private sector, market failures would be rampant and moral hazard problems are likely to prevail, as the anecdotal evidence from Kerala suggests. This would further drive up costs and lead to use of unnecessary and unregulated technologies. Global experience suggests that the cost of administration and regulation, in private sector dominated insurance systems, is around a third of the total insurance cost. If that be the case, administrative costs alone would be more than what is being spent by the government currently on health.ⁱⁱⁱ We clearly cannot adopt such expensive models. Furthermore, the likelihood of an insurance based model being successful in India is rather low given extremely high levels of income poverty, a huge proportion of the population in the informal sector with varying daily levels of wages and high levels of under and un-employment.^{iv}

Though there has been a Bill to regulate the private sector, this only refers to enumeration and basic quality of service, leaving out costs and technological considerations. One major reason for crippling out-of-pocket (OOP) expenditure – that the Draft Approach Paper recognises must be dealt with – is the costs in the private sector and the unregulated use of technologies. The dismal Child Sex Ratio is a startling reminder of the latter. Again anecdotal evidence suggests

large scale use of unnecessary high-end technologies and the widespread practice of “cuts” to referring doctors, driving up costs. New Delhi has three to four times the number of full-body scanning centers that London does, all doing good and brisk business. The government will have to have strong political will to be able to negotiate for lower costs and to regulate technologies. The 12th Plan provides an opportunity to think of institutional means to do so. The UK has such an institutional arrangement that has worked, although partially, given the overall trend towards privatisation there. Without having a proper regulatory system in place, India should not jump into an insurance model.

Another glaring lacuna of the insurance-based model is that it does not generally cover out-patient illness.^v A substantive section of out-of-pocket (OOP) expenses are for out-patient illnesses and a majority of the expenses are in the form of drugs, tests and doctor consultations. In government facilities, drugs and investigations are major sources of OOP expenses. The Draft Approach Paper proposes to follow the Tamil Nadu Medical Services Corporation (TNMSC) in providing direction to ensure universal access to free medicines and tests. Robust drug supply and storage systems are extremely crucial; however, sufficient budgetary allocation on drug supply is also crucial. Most states allocate insufficient budgets for supply of drugs and, as a result, supply often falls short of requirements of medicines. User fees and contracting out of diagnostic tests also drive up costs. Many African countries are now rolling back user fees and India should take concrete steps in this direction.^{vi}

Without drastic improvement in public sector health facilities, poor people are forced to “vote with their feet” against the public sector. This is then used as an argument for more privatisation and more state subsidies to the private sector. One of the problems with the RSBY is that it may well be seen as a subsidy to the private sector in medical care, creating “effective demand” in a section of the population that would not otherwise access private medical care. Official data shows that the list of empanelled hospitals is predominantly in the private sector.

There is another strong case to be made for public provisioning, and that is the issue of social equity. Although there is no data – and we need this data – private medical colleges, hospitals, nursing homes etc are largely upper caste institutions. They are not only economically intimidating for the poor and for SCs, STs and Muslims – they are also therefore socially exclusive. We therefore need good quality public provisioning

all down the line, from the tertiary to primary, from preventive to curative. We also need good epidemiological data and surveillance systems, public health laboratories etc. The Draft Approach Paper should not miss an opportunity to highlight these issues that only public services can provide.

Notes and References

- i. Mohan Rao, Krishna D.Rao, A.K.Shiva Kumar, Mirai Chatterjee and Sundararaman T. (2011), "Human Resources for Health in India", *Lancet*, Vol.377, No.9767, February.
- ii. Indranil (2011): "Universal Health Coverage: Maximising Corporate Profit to Minimize People's Pain?"; Budget Track; vol 8, track 2; Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability, New Delhi;
- iii. Generally the experience has been that universal insurance based systems can be ensured at 3.5-5 per cent of GDP. If we assume that India would be able to mobilize these resources, and if a third of it goes towards regulation, as is the case in the USA, we would end up spending more than 1 per cent of GDP on regulating the private sector (Pollock, Allyson M (2004) *NHS plc: The Privatisation of our Health Care*, Verso, London.) Instead, this could be used to strengthen public systems of provisioning, drawing back people who have fled due to poor quality of services, among other reasons.
- iv. Shiva Kumar A.K., Lincoln C. Chen, Mita Chaudhary et al (2011), "Financing Health Care for All: Challenges and Opportunities", *Lancet*, Vol.377, No.9767, February.
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Is Sustainability Truly Built into the 12th Plan?

6

Ashish Kothari, Kalpavriksh — Environmental Action Group

The Draft Approach Paper for the 12th Plan is titled “Faster, Sustainable, and More Inclusive Growth”. But are sustainability, and related aspects of equity and inclusiveness, adequately built in?¹

At the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio, India along with other nations committed to a path of sustainable development. In 2002, at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, this was reiterated through a Political Declaration. Just before that, at the turn of the millennium, countries had framed the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), one of which was to ‘ensure environmental sustainability’. Has India moved forward in achieving these promises? Does the Draft Approach Paper for the 12th Plan help us move in this direction?

The Plus Side

The Draft Approach Paper (henceforth, the Paper) gives the environment and related livelihood issues a greater focus than any of the previous Plan papers. This includes the following.

¹ I am leaving aside for the moment deeper questions on whether ‘sustainable growth’ itself is an oxymoron, for in a world with finite resources, infinitely expanding growth is simply not sustainable. Nor am I here going into some of the fundamental faults of the ‘neo-liberal’, globalised economy which is, to my mind, inherently unsustainable and inequitable. This note also does not comment on the climate change section of the Paper, since it essentially reiterates the National Action Plan on Climate Change and its various missions, of which several critiques are already available.

1. Recognition of a number of serious environmental problems facing India, such as water scarcity and pollution, and soil degradation due to overuse of chemical fertilisers. There is recognition also of environmental governance issues such as non-enforcement of conditions under which environmental clearances are given to development projects, misuse of the state’s ‘eminent domain’ status to dispossess tribal communities, and poor empowerment of local community institutions.
2. Intent to provide a progressive orientation to some sectors, such as ‘green manufacturing’, urban sustainability, and eco-friendly tourism.
3. Specific steps to address environmental problems, such as rainwater harvesting and groundwater recharge, assistance to rainfed farming, reduction of freshwater use in cities by enhancing recycling and reviving traditional water bodies, more sustainable methods in agriculture including ecological fertilisation and non-pesticide management, encouragement to community seed banks and to millets including their use in ICDS and Mid-day Meal schemes, environment-friendly and culturally relevant housing under the Indira Awaas Yojana, and others.
4. Recommendations for some important governance or institutional steps, such as a ‘commons policy’ with secure tenure and management rights to communities using them, creation of water user associations to involve communities, mechanisms of conflict resolution relating to land and water, a national water commission

to monitor compliance of environmental and other conditions, cumulative environmental impact assessments in vulnerable regions, forest produce gatherers' collectives to optimize returns, speedy implementation of PESA and Forest Rights Act (FRA) in specially disadvantaged areas, and convergence of government schemes and departments.

Shortcomings and recommendations

Notwithstanding the above, the Paper suffers from a number of the fundamental shortcomings that its predecessors have. This is not surprising, for the fixation on percentage of growth overrides everything else.² But leaving aside the inherent impossibility of reconciling ever-increasing growth with ecological sustainability and social equity, the Paper has the following key shortcomings, overcoming which may require a number of further actions given below.

1. At Johannesburg in 2002, India committed to a “10-year framework of programmes to accelerate the shift towards sustainable consumption and production.” The MDGs require us to “integrate principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes.” The concrete targets set for all countries in the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation, or the specific elements of the MDGs relating to sustainability, do not figure in the Paper. *It is time the Planning Commission developed, in consultation with civil society, a set of indicators to measure whether we are approaching the sustainability and equity goals we have committed to domestically or internationally.* These would include per capita availability (including availability to disadvantaged sections) of environmental services such as clean air and water, sanitation, forests and other natural ecosystems, reduction in the rates of biodiversity loss, clean and sustainable energy production and consumption, health standards linked to a clean environment, and so on. Several countries and institutions have developed such indicators, which we could assess for suitability in Indian conditions.
2. While recognising the abuse of the state's ‘eminent domain’ status for forcible land acquisition and displacement of communities, the Paper does not go

² The magic figures of 9–10 percent growth have become so much of a holy cow that the Commission no longer even attempts to show any linkage between these and human welfare. Growth figures as indicators of human welfare are increasingly discredited, not only because growth per se does not necessarily lead to people being happier, more well-fed, and more satisfied, but because in certain conditions it may actually worsen crucial aspects of human life, such as a healthy environment, or equity in the opportunities (including of future generations) to lead a dignified, secure existence.

into the flawed decision-making process regarding what development projects are necessary in the first place. Such a process would incorporate environmental and social impacts, and would centrally involve affected populations in decision-making, therefore possibly avoiding many displacements in the first place. It is not adequate to say that people affected by land acquisition for ‘public purpose’ projects should be benefited and adequately compensated, it is important that they are involved in taking an informed decision on whether such projects should happen there in the first place or not. *In other words, there is a need for citizens’ right to participate in decision-making, in this case relating to development planning and projects.*

3. Linked to the above is also the failure of the government to make land use planning more systematic, using ecological and social criteria. The Commission has mentioned the need for a land use plan in perhaps every Plan Approach Paper (including this draft), yet we still don’t have one. *It is about time the Commission directed and coordinated the preparation of a national land-use plan, with full community involvement and building on grassroots planning.* In the Final Technical Report of the National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan process that the Ministry of Environment and Forests had facilitated in 2000–2004 (<http://www.kalpavriksh.org/biodiversity/nbsap->), ecological and socio-economic principles for this had been laid out. For instance, identifying areas most crucial for ecological and food security and not allowing destructive ‘development’ projects in these was recommended. Contrary to this, the Paper actually rejects even the weaker notion of ‘no-go’ areas for coal mining. Assuming the Commission is serious about securing the ‘commons’ and people’s rights to use, manage and conserve these, it needs to challenge the currently haphazard use of lands and resources through such a long-term vision.
4. The Paper continues to ignore environment as a macro-economic factor. Even though the Commission itself started talking about green accounting many years back, none of the Plan Approach Papers have yet reflected how or how much the natural environment contributes to the economy, and how its destruction is a drag on development and growth. This is also what leads to obvious contradictions, e.g. stressing the importance of conserving forests, but at the same time stating that environmental clearance for dams in north-east India (which will seriously impact some of India’s most biologically diverse forests) should be ‘expedited’. *The Commission must integrate green budgeting and accounting, in*

which the true value of benefits provided by intact ecosystems and biodiversity, including water and food security, are factored into the macro-economic scenario; and in which the true social and economic cost of destroying the environment is centrally integrated. Of course, care has to be taken that this does not reduce the environment only to rupee values, since it is intangible and non-monetary values remain as crucial.

5. While giving some attention to renewable sources of energy, the Paper continues to give priority to coal in India's energy mix. This will strongly undermine any commitment to ecological sustainability, continuing the horrifying impacts of pollution, mining, and displacement in coal-bearing and thermal power producing areas. Additionally, the Paper fails to mention that even renewables, when centralised and large-scale, will have serious environmental impacts and may not serve the needs of the poor in villages, at least not with the urgency required. *The Commission needs to set out an overall target of renewable energy for this Plan, and a long-term direction that replaces most or all fossil fuels, as also a stress on decentralised sources that can quickly and efficiently meet rural energy needs and be managed by local communities.*
6. Making development sustainable requires that each economic sector centrally integrates ecological factors into its planning and governance. A few environmental measures will not be adequate. For instance, a few projects on NPM or ecological fertilisation will not reverse the fundamental unsustainability of current agricultural models or some schemes for 'green manufacturing' will not address the enormous footprint of the industrial sector. *The Commission needs to recommend steps for environment impact assessments not only of individual projects but of entire sectors and departments.* Further, it needs to carry out such an assessment when, for instance, the power ministry drafts its plans and policies, incorporating available methods such as an 'ecological footprint' analysis.
7. The investments needed to correct and reverse a few decades of ecological degradation (of our water, air, land and biological resources) are enormous. Yet the central budgets of the environmental sector have remained below 1 percent of the overall budget outlay in each of the past 20 years. Convergence of related schemes such as watershed development (stressed in the Paper) will of course supplement direct environmental investments. However, there is inadequate attention to how all such investments in rural development, tribal welfare, agriculture, urban development, and other related sectors would converge with the more explicitly stated environment budgets. *The*

Commission needs to come up with a much clearer direction on how all investments and budgets can be environmentally oriented, as also the enormous employment potential of putting these into the regeneration of degraded lands, water, and ecosystems.

8. A number of concepts that have become unquestioned 'truths' simply because they've been used for decades need to be questioned. For instance,
 - the notion of 'poverty' that ignores the richness of having secure access to natural resources (or conversely, the poverty created by their dispossession, so widespread as a result of inappropriate 'development' projects in India);
 - the notion of 'backwardness' which classifies some of the most ecologically and culturally sensitive districts and targets them for completely inappropriate 'development'; or
 - the notion of 'productivity' by which or livestock development is measured by single-product indicators, ignoring the ecological productivity of more integrated systems.

The Commission needs to start re-assessing the concepts underlying development priorities, from an ecological and social perspective, and suggesting redefinitions and new concepts to guide this and future Plans.

9. While the Paper does mention the need to assess water demand in cities, and supports the interim report of the Expert Group on Low Carbon Strategies for Inclusive Growth which advocates review of energy demand, there is no systematic focus on the rapidly growing luxury use of natural resources by a minority of India's population. Consumerism by the country's rich is patently unsustainable, aside from cornering the ecological space that the poor should have access to; the same issues we blame the West for in the climate debate bedevil the internal dynamics of resource use in India. *The Commission needs to squarely address this issue by recommending steps to measure the ecological footprint of the rich in India and actions to drastically reduce this with a range of incentives and disincentives.*
10. A number of other related contradictions in the Paper need to be addressed. For instance, it progressively talks of the potential and need of decentralised rainwater harvesting, groundwater recharge and so on, but also advocates speedy completion of mega-river valley projects such as those in north-east India, despite the overwhelming experience that such projects undermine

the ecological flows and institutional mechanisms that traditional decentralised water systems are based on.

11. On most of the above, there are already grassroots or policy initiatives in India (and other countries) that we can learn from. The Paper does in fact recommend the need to identify and propagate 'success stories' along with failures to learn lessons from both. *The Commission should initiate an ongoing process to document, support, and learn from a range of alternatives to the currently unsustainable paths of development and governance.* This could be part of or parallel to the Independent Evaluation Process it proposes for assessing the impact of programmes funded through the Five Year Plans, or as part of its focus on innovations. However, these need to shift focus from technology to a range of governance, management, and practical alternatives, including those based on traditional or local knowledge.

Comments on the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Plan

7

MN Buch, Chairman, National Centre for Human Settlements and Environment

There can be no quarrel with the concept of inclusive development in which there is social and distributed justice. There is nothing new in this because neither the Constitution nor democratic ideals permit us to practise exclusiveness as part of state policy. I am saying this because there is a feeling that Muslims are deliberately left out of participation in governance and in development as a part of state policy. The Sachar Committee report is quoted in support of this view.

What is not mentioned, however, is that the education level of Muslims, especially girls, tends to be lower than that of other communities not because of denial of admission to Muslim students in education institutions but many Muslim families are reluctant to send their children, especially girls, to schools because of social and other factors. A concerted effort must be made to educate Muslim children in this regard. Representation in services will increase as more Muslim children become eligible and competitive through education. On the political front, however, the record of political parties in nominating Muslim candidates for election is poor; this has to be corrected as a part of the political process.

The concept of livelihood development as a part of the development process is most welcome. Much of our livelihood programme is devoted to creating low level, largely manual employment, with the NREGS approximating to the old scarcity relief programmes. Unless there is a massive effort to develop skills and to vocationalise education, our work force

will only be fit for manual jobs and our livelihood programmes will also continue to be akin to scarcity relief programmes.

The NREGS in its present form should be scrapped. No muster-based programme can be run honestly anywhere in the world; in India, it is an open invitation to corruption. The watershed management programme has largely been a success because it was aimed at creating permanent assets that directly benefited the villagers and, therefore, where the Project Implementation Agency was efficient and effective. Because of people's participation there has been a very positive impact on water, fodder and fuel availability in the project area. The NREGS should be converted into a programme for rural asset creation – permanent assets should be built in every village that benefit it substantially. This would also be a major employment programme because asset creation would generate jobs locally in construction and maintenance.

Chapter 11 talks of improving access to quality education. The entire chapter is a wish list, but it avoids looking at the details of how quality education can be provided. The Right to Education Act does not impose upon the state an equivalent duty to educate. Unless the state realises that school education is entirely its responsibility, we can expect no improvement. Even in the US, about 94 percent of all school education is funded by federal, state and local government. Unless we upgrade all village schools up to the level of the Navodaya schools, we cannot create a base for education.

Our entire thrust is towards literacy but there is absolutely no effort being made to actually educate people. I had been able to persuade the Prime Minister to at least create 6,000 model schools of the Navodaya School type. Only 3,500 schools have been sanctioned in the public sector and 2,500 schools are reserved for private participation. The HRD Ministry and the Planning Commission wanted all 6,000 schools with private participation. The Draft Approach Paper must emphasise that every child in India should have access to a Navodaya or model school or its equivalent so that the base of education is enlarged and we produce actually educated children. The entire edifice of higher education, including the IITs, IIMs and IIITs has to be built on the foundation of a sound school system. Unless this becomes basic to our approach to planning I feel the entire planning effort will be wasted.

I am increasingly dismayed by the constant attack on the State's provision for basic facilities, including healthcare. The US may be a free market economy, but even in that country there is an insurance system which, with State help, uses medical cover to take care of even the poor. In Britain it is the National Health Service and or its equivalent in Europe. In India we have driven our public health care system into the ground by neglect, under funding and encouragement of profit making hospitals in the private sector. It is wrong for the State to run hotels and other such enterprises promoting luxury. We can abandon this, but education, health and nutrition have to be recognised as the fundamental duty of the State, which it must perform. What we need to do is look at our management systems so that there is decentralisation which puts management of these facilities into the hands of local people, with the State funding, monitoring and advising.

All local government in India is a farce because we have tried to decentralise but never devolved power. We must devolve power on to local government institutions, we must transfer and devolve financial resources so that they become autonomous and we must provide a skilled bureaucratic apparatus so that local government can function efficiently. Of what use is a three tier Panchayat Raj, where the gram panchayat alone has the power of taxation but does not use it because local political institutions consider taxation unpopular, whereas the Block and District level panchayats have no power of taxation at all except to a limited extent in one or two States such as Gujarat? The Block and District Panchayats are entirely dependent on money provided by the State. If this is how we are to run local government we might just as well abolish Panchayat Raj and go back to a system in which the BDO runs the Block. At least the Collector can

call him to account. Today at all levels of government we are emulating the Centre, where he who has accountability has no power and she who has power has no accountability. Such a system cannot work.

Land Issues in the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan

8

N C Saxena, Member, NAC and former IAS officer

Despite fast economic growth, more than 60 per cent of the population in India is still dependent on land. The 12th Plan Draft Approach Paper however looks upon land not a source of livelihoods for the poor, but as raw material for mining and industrialisation.

Para 5.24 of the Paper reads, ‘Rapid growth is only possible if some land which is currently used for agricultural purposes, or if preferably degraded forest land can be made available for building much needed infrastructure, establishing new industrial units, undertaking mining and accommodating the inevitable expansion of urban settlements. The questions that arise are how is the land that is needed for these activities to be obtained’.

Further, the Paper would like to deprive the marginal farmers of their land, facilitate its transfer to farmers owning large holdings and reduce the marginal landowners to the status of agricultural labour. It advocates legislation to ‘permit leasing of land where small farmers, who would otherwise be unviable, are able to lease out their lands to others able to bring in the other inputs needed. The small or marginal land owner may even be employed on the land by the new tenant farmer’ (para 7.35). Lastly, the Paper is silent on gross violation of the Forest Rights Act (FRA) by the state governments who have totally ignored recognising community rights of the forest dwellers over forests, as mandated by the FRA.

As regards the proposed Land Acquisition & RR Bill (which was already in public domain when the Draft Approach Paper was being finalised), one would have expected the Planning Commission to strongly support the main clauses of the Bill – informed consent of 80 percent of the farmers, a minimum compensation of four times the registered price, and 20 percent share in future escalation in land prices – but unfortunately all it says is ‘the method of fixing the price at which land will be acquired needs to be carefully studied to ensure that it is fair to those whose land is acquired while also not being unrealistically high’ (para 5.30). The Paper would also like the requirement of land for industry and private companies to be specifically included in the definition of public purpose (para 5.31). Whose interests are being advocated here by the Planning Commission is thus clear.

The Planning Commission’s aversion of the small and marginal farmer and its efforts to reduce them to the status of landless labourers by increasing inequality in the area of operational holdings should be examined seriously, as this recommendation is not only anti-poor but also anti-productivity. Research done on the size-productivity relationship since the 1960s has made it clear that in agriculture, given the same resource facilities, soil content and climate, a small farmer produces more per acre than a large farmer. In a recent article (Economic & Political Weekly, June 25, 2011) agricultural economists on the basis of recent

National Sample Survey data have held that small holdings in Indian agriculture still exhibit a higher productivity than large holdings. The industry operates under conditions of increasing returns to scale whereas agriculture has so far operated under diminishing returns to scale. Thus, both output and employment per unit of capital invested increase in agriculture with the decline in the size of its operation. Various theories about disappearing advantages of marginal and small farmers and efficiency gains of large sized farmers with economic development are not found to be operating in India.

Small farmers have better access to labour as they exploit their own family labour, whereas large farmers have better access to capital and have to hire labour from the market. These differences result in small farmers' committing more labour to production than large farmers, and large farmers' substituting machines and capital for labour. Thus, a small farmer may get an extra unit of output by using home-produced mulch and organic manure and the large farmer may depend on chemical fertiliser bought from the markets. In fact capital intensity is increasing for all categories of farmers, but at a faster pace in Green Revolution areas and for large farmers.

Both market and technological forces act in favour of concentration of land in a fewer hands. Unless the government comes out with a programme to halt this trend, growth with the existing levels of asset inequalities will lead to further impoverishment of the rural poor. This phenomenon of reverse tenancy has gathered strength in recent years and has undoubtedly contributed to the steady increase in the concentration of operational holdings. Rather than express concern at this trend and provide credit, inputs, and markets to the small farmer, and supplement their incomes with off-farm employment opportunities within the countryside, the Planning Commission wishes to act in favour of big operational holdings and make them even bigger!

Another glaring omission in the Draft Approach Paper is the total neglect of the problems of women farmers. Despite their increasing contribution to agriculture due to male migration, they lack control over productive assets (land, livestock, fisheries, technologies, credit, finance, markets etc.), face biases due to socio-cultural practices, and experience gender differentials in agricultural wages.

Some of these problems would get sorted out if their rights over land are recognised in the revenue records as per the 2005 Hindu Succession Act. The Act brings all agricultural

land on par with other property and makes Hindu women's inheritance rights in land legally equal to men's across states, overriding any inconsistent State laws. Unfortunately, the implementation of this Act has been totally ignored by the state governments. Endowing women with land would empower them economically as well as strengthen their ability to challenge social and political gender inequities. The Planning Commission should prevail upon the administrative ministry to launch a campaign to correct revenue records and ensure that women's land ownership rights are properly recorded by the states. Concurrent evaluation by the Planning Commission will help this process.

Para 11.16 of the Draft Approach Paper has certainly called for speedy implementation of FRA but has not analysed why, despite four years since enactment, the Act has failed to satisfy forest dwellers' aspirations and provide them community rights as well as security of tenure over individual plots. A recent government committee chaired by the author found many lapses that explain tribal frustration with implementation. For instance, the area settled with the tribals was much less than their occupation and the boundaries of the settled area were not demarcated. In almost no instance have the district officials proactively provided maps, documents, and evidence to village committees, though this is required by the FRA. Only a few states have been able to use application of the spatial and remote sensing technology for demarcating the boundary and measuring area of plots for individual forest rights because of lack of capacity building in the application of this technology. The biggest problem is with the many cases of faulty rejections. In an overwhelming number of cases, the rejections are not being communicated to the claimants and their right to appeal is not being explained to them and its exercise facilitated.

There were process failures too. Meetings of the gram sabha are being called at the panchayat level and not at the village level, as prescribed in the Act. All state governments should recognise the Gram Sabha at the individual settlement (hamlet or revenue village) level, or PESA Gram Sabha where applicable, to enable much more effective processing of the FRA. Then, rights of the other traditional forest dwellers were being ignored in most states. In eleven states, the implementation process has not yet started. This includes most of the north-eastern states (except Assam & Tripura), Bihar, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh and Goa. In Tamil Nadu, because of restrictive orders by the High Court on a petition filed, the progress has been slow. Some states (such as Jharkhand) have lagged behind in terms of both getting

a plausible number of claims and in processing the received claims.

The progress of implementation of community forest rights (CFR) under FRA is abysmally low. In all states, the CFR process has not even got off the ground, due to lack of awareness amongst communities, civil society organisations, or relevant officials. The main reason is the hostility of the forest officials who see a dilution of their empire if community rights are granted to forest dwellers. Moreover, the state governments have not adequately publicised the CFR provisions or even internalized their importance themselves. Given the serious inadequacies in implementation of CFR at all levels, there is a need for a second phase implementation of FRA in all states with primary focus on CFR.

What is most intriguing is the suggestion in para 5.51 of the Draft Approach Paper that forest gatherers should not be given benefit of the minimum support price, which is so far available only in agriculture to certain surplus states, and not even to the paddy farmers of eastern states like Bihar and UP. While acknowledging that 'the primary tribal collectors of NTFPs get today is a very small fraction of the potential value embedded in NTFPs', the Commission thinks that providing a high price for forest produce will not be in the interest of legal traders who would be forced to pay a higher price to the gatherers!

The Draft Approach Paper has advocated in several sections of its report more training of government personnel so as to improve their accountability. It appears members and other senior staff of the Commission also need to attend a few sensitisation courses on what kind of policies the poor need and how to ensure their delivery.

Dalits and the Draft Approach Paper to the Twelfth Plan

P. S. Krishnan, Former Secretary, Government of India

The Planning Commission's Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan deals with Scheduled Castes (SCs) briefly in a portion of Chapter 11 titled "Social and Regional Equity". It, however, significantly mentions the need to devise a new system which can overcome the difficulties experienced in the past with regard to the implementation of the Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes (SCP) and the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP). But it does not specify the proposed new system.

An effective and purposeful new system can be devised only by clearly understanding the objective of the SCP and TSP and why until now it has not been substantively achieved.

The SCP and TSP are based on the Constitutional mandate on the State commanding it to create a regime of equality, including social equality, through comprehensive measures of social justice. Social equality means ensuring equality between SCs and STs and also Socially and Educationally Backward Classes (SEdBC)/ Other Backward Classes (OBCs)/Backward Classes (BCs). These include the bulk of the religious minorities, who are in fact converts from "untouchable" and other "low" castes on the one hand and the Socially Advanced Castes (SACs, i.e., non-SC, non-ST, non-BC) on the other, in all parameters of life – economic, occupational, educational at all levels, residential facilities-related, health and nutritional, etc.

In line with this Constitutional mandate, the Prime Minister-cum-Planning Commission Chairman in his address on 27 June 2005 to the 51st Meeting of the National Development Council, which accords national approval to Plans and Approaches to Plans, directed that the gap in the socio-economic development of SCs and STs should be bridged within 10 years. This obviously means that the SCs and STs should reach the levels of the SACs in each and every parameter. For this, the SCP ought to be formulated and implemented by the Centre and States in such a manner that the socio-economic gaps in every parameter between SCs compared to the SACs are eliminated by comprehensive, integrated, objective-oriented radical planning based on the needs and rights of SCs. This must keep in view the overarching goals of their economic liberation from agricultural and other servitude, educational parity at all levels, equality with SACs in every parameter and protection of their social dignity and security. The same holds for STs, mutatis mutandis.

In the existing procedure, Central and State Plan outlays are first allocated among different sectors and Ministries / Departments. Their programmes and schemes are based on priorities which do not take into account the priorities and needs of the SCs and STs. Thereafter, the Ministries in charge of SCs and STs along with the Planning Commission and their State counterparts seek from each Ministry / Department their contributions to the SCP and TSP. Their contributions, which are either not made at all or

made unwillingly / casually consist of notional amounts or amounts which are of no / marginal relevance to SCs and STs. No wonder after 11 Plans and about three-and-a-half decades of the SCP, most SCs continue to be rural-resident agricultural labourers, have limited access to education, especially higher and professional education and continue to be subjected to rampant “untouchability”, atrocities and bonded labour. In urban areas, they are mostly engaged in precarious unorganised casual labour and sections of them are still subjected to scavenging and other *safai* labour. Their habitations continue to be most uninhabitable.

I had the privilege of conceptualising and initiating the SCP in 1978 and pursuing it until 1982 in the 6th Plan as Joint Secretary in charge of SCs in the Home Ministry. After this initial step, in accordance with my Constitution-based long-term vision, I have been pressing from 1983-84 when preparations for the 7th Plan began and, thereafter, at every stage and before the formulation of every Plan in my various capacities – including Secretary, Ministry of Welfare, Government of India in 1990, Chairman / Member of successive Planning Commission Working Groups and Steering Committees – that *the starting point of the SCP should be to set apart for the SCs the population-equivalent share of the total Five Year and Annual Plan outlay of the Centre and each State before the Plan outlay is distributed among sectors/Ministries/Departments.*

Within this SCP corpus, Plans for SCs should be formulated based solely on their needs and priorities in order to achieve the aforementioned overarching goals. This should be done by national and State-level expert bodies duly constituted which will, on the basis of such Plans, sanction projects of different sectoral Ministries / Departments, who will then be accountable and answerable to these bodies; monitor implementation and secure fulfilment of the project objectives and over-arching goals. I have also put this in the public domain since 1996.

The Plans for SCs thus prepared and approved should provide, inter alia, for the following programmes and schemes.

1. Endowing every rural SC family with a viable extent of land for transforming them from a class of agricultural labourers to a class of independent peasants fulfilling the unfulfilled pre-Independence slogan of the national movement – “Land to the Tiller” – and an unfulfilled commitment of the UPA’s CMP 2004 and the President of India’s Address to the joint session of Parliament in 2004. The Central and State Ministries/Departments in

charge of land reforms should be required to present a project to complete this process of land distribution to all SCs on village-to-village basis like a blitzkrieg through Special Task Forces (STFs) set up in every Taluk/Tehsil/Mandal (TSTFs) and every District (DSTFs) to identify government-owned lands, *bhoodan* lands, undistributed ceiling-surplus lands, reclaimable *usar/choudu/uppu/alkaline/saline* and other waste lands and distribute to all rural SC families, and along with them to other landless poor agricultural labour (who are mostly BCs or STs) families, evicting ineligible encroachers. A State-level Special Task Force (SSTF) should be part of this set-up to take stock of unimplemented Supreme Court judgements and pending litigations and take all steps to maximize surplus lands and ensure that the TSTFs and DSTFs complete the task in a year or at the most two.

Where the above categories of lands are not enough to provide for all rural SCs, the project should include acquisition or purchase of private lands and a massive programme of reclamation of the lakhs of acres of reclaimable waste lands and their distribution.

2. Undertaking a comprehensive national programme of minor irrigation for all SC lands that they already have and which will now be made available to them, and all lands of STs, through community bore-wells, tube-wells, check-dams, lifts etc., facilitating income-augmenting multi-cropping, would meet another unfulfilled and unbudgeted commitment of the CMP and the President’s Address of 2004.

These twin measures will, on the one hand, improve the dismal figures, worse than sub-Saharan African figures, of SC and ST infant and child mortality, women’s and children’s malnutrition and anaemia; enable SCs to resist “untouchability”; free their children from compulsion of labour to supplement their meagre family income and enable them to go to and stay at school; and, on the other hand, will significantly add to foodgrain and other agricultural production, secure India’s food security, check inflation and push up all-India human resource indicators, which are among the world’s lowest, to respectable levels and enable optimal growth of Indian economy. This should have been the most important component of the Prime Minister’s call on the 83rd Foundation Day of ICAR on 16 July 2011 for a Second Green Revolution that is more broad-based, inclusive and sustainable.

3. Establishing a network of high-quality residential schools throughout the country to accommodate all SC children

up to Class XII fulfilling an unfulfilled recommendation of Group of Ministers on Dalit Affairs set up in 2005 in its report of 2008.

4. Securing full quota of reservation in higher education, supported by overdue legislation for reservation for SCs along with STs and BCs in private educational institutions, which are closed to them, to fulfil the purpose of the 93rd Constitution Amendment 2005 that inserted the new clause (5) in Article 15.
5. Fulfilling the aspirations of the educated section among SCs which, though yet small, is of highly catalytic value, through
 - (a) measures of effective special coaching and training, aided by an overdue unfulfilled commitment of the CMP and the President's address of 2004 to enact legislation, free from exclusions, exceptions and exemptions, for reservation in the services and
 - (b) pro-active promotion of entrepreneurship among them through centrally funded incubation and mentoring centres in universities and other prestigious institutions and provision of all facilities and support through a single window.
6. Firmly checking and severely punishing "untouchability" and atrocities, aided by enactment of comprehensive amendments to the SCs/STs (Prevention of Atrocities) Act to strengthen that Act and its implementation formulated by a National Coalition of 70 Dalit and Human Rights organisations with me as its Chief Advisor and communicated to the Government in January 2010.
7. Instituting special schemes and programmes to meet extra disadvantages of most vulnerable groups among SCs, like manual scavengers and other sanitation workers, aided by a comprehensive legislation which I drafted and was approved by a Working Group of the Labour Ministry in July 2011; bonded labourers; Nomadic, Semi-Nomadic and Vimukta Jathis tribes of SCs; Devadasis, Jogins etc., mostly SCs subjected to "sacral harlotry" and Bacchras etc. subjected to "secular harlotry"; SC women and children; without any reduction in the attention that other SCs need as they continue to be vulnerable, being also landless and victims of "untouchability" and atrocities and all-round gross inequality.

The 12th Plan Approach document takes note of the unfulfilled commitment to eradicate manual scavenging by 11th Plan-end and promises to fulfil it on priority in the 12th Five Year Plan. Similar commitments have been made many times in the past. This is also true of bonded

labour. The new system is necessary to make this a reality at long last.

8. Making SC rural bastis and urban slums habitable by humanly acceptable standards with all facilities and connections.
9. Providing marketable skill-development for SC agricultural labourers who cannot be provided land despite all efforts and SC urban unorganised casual labourers and also provide them means of acquiring ownership of their means of labour like making the pullers of hired rickshaws owners of solar-powered rickshaws.

The new system can and must achieve all this and not merely stop with sanctioning projects to be executed by the relevant ministries and other agencies, but also continuously follow them up with the help of district bodies, monitor and secure feedbacks, take timely corrective actions instead of resorting to post-mortems. This new system has recently been detailed in the Report of the Sub Group 1 (on Perspective Planning and Strategies) under my Chairmanship, of the Working Group on Empowerment of SCs in the 12th Plan, and has received unanimous support in the Working Group.

This is how a meaningful SCP for SCs should be formulated. The SCs deserved a whole Chapter of the "Approach" detailing the above. The Sectoral Chapters also ought to have dealt with their meaningful contributions to SCs and STs.

What has been outlined for SCs also applies to STs and TSP, in accordance with well-known specificities of STs. Regarding BCs, the Draft Approach Paper has the misapprehension that BCs have no Constitutional status. In fact, BCs also are covered by specific Articles of the Constitution. The Working Group for Empowerment of BCs in the 10th Plan, of which I was the Chairman, has worked out the appropriate methodology for BC development, reiterated by the next Working Group in the 11th Plan. The Approach document says nothing about the development of BCs including those of religious minorities. This grave lacuna can be made good by implementing the methodological recommendations of these two Working Groups.

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Approach Paper to 12th Five Year Plan: Inputs on Education

10

Azim Premji Foundation

Executive Summary

Given the vast and diverse Indian elementary education system, significant progress has been made towards the achievement of the goals laid out in the Constitution and in the National Policy on Education. These include significantly higher levels of funding, access, enrollment, infrastructure and the recently legislated Right to Education Act (RTE). Despite these developments, critical challenges remain in retention, quality and equitable opportunities for all.

The consultation facilitated by the Planning Commission is likely to yield multiple, diverse recommendations. To ensure that the resulting plan is meaningful and manageable, we must:

- **Focus on Execution, not Policy:** Education policies are largely appropriate and do not suffer from any major lacunae. The critical gaps lie in implementation and execution of policy.
- **Recognise Limitations of Private Partnerships:** The role of private partners and private capital in education has been given much importance in recent times. This is a fundamental flaw. Given the scale, diversity and deep inequities in India, private entities can only have a minor role to play in providing education (primary or higher).

It is the government that must spearhead the effort to provide good education at all levels – private partners can only play a limited supplementary role in specific and specialised areas of expertise.

- **Focus on the Vital Few:** While many proposed interventions may be valid and well-intentioned, concentrating energy and resources on a few critical ones will yield better results than attempting too many things simultaneously.

Four vital interventions can lead to systemic and sustainable improvements.

1. **Radical Overhaul of Teacher Education:** The pre-service and in-service teacher education systems in India are in disarray. An estimated 80 percent of existing BEd colleges is defunct, with uncontrolled mushrooming of low-quality teacher training institutes. The curriculum, pedagogy, leadership and regulation of teacher education must be revamped and revitalised urgently.
2. **Focus on Education Leadership and Management:** About 5–7 percent of government schools provide high quality education to their students – largely because of the leadership, motivation and competence of the teachers and head teachers involved. However, there is currently no system that provides systematic leadership

skills training to head teachers to equip them to lead their school to quality performance. This needs to be urgently addressed.

3. **Rejuvenation of Institutional Structures for Academic Support:** The institutional structures for teacher development and academic support are in shambles. Educational structures like the State Council Educational Research and Training (SCERT), SIEMAT, and District Institutes of Education and Training (DIET s) etc must be revitalised without delay. Improved leadership quality, higher competencies of academic staff, superior people development and greater autonomy are essential. This will greatly contribute to the development of better teachers, curricula and learning processes in the classroom.
4. **Focus on Early Childhood Education (ECE):** Children aged between 3 and 6 need to be exposed to a child-friendly learning environment. This will lay the foundation for school education. Therefore, the conceptual, legislative and operational integration of ECE and school education is of critical importance.

Teacher Education and Development

About 5–7 percent of government schools provide high quality education to students, largely because of the teachers’ and head teachers’ pivotal leadership, motivation and competence. The following issues are key to improving the quality of teachers in all schools.

- **Holistic Teacher Development:** There must be profound improvement in a range of related domains in teacher education and professional development and not just more ritualistic ‘training’ programmes. The scope of such reform needs to be much wider and should include pre-service education teacher selection, teacher preparation, continual professional development, continual academic support and teacher motivation.
- **Radical Overhaul of Pre-Service Teacher Education:** Most BEd colleges have archaic curricula, poor leadership and inadequate faculty despite the National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE), set up to assist teachers and their training institutions in upgrading quality and professionalism. In its 18 years of existence, the NCTE has not managed to control the mushrooming of low-quality teacher training institutes. Thus, there is concurrently an urgent need to revitalise the NCTE.
- **Teacher Recruitment:** The state education departments and the Ministry of Human Resource Development

(MoHRD) should ensure that existing Teacher Eligibility Tests (TET) are based on teaching competencies and not on information recall. The government needs to make required changes in TET in consultation with academic bodies like NCERT, NUEPA and other academic institutions. The TET should change from being a test of information and knowledge to being a test of teaching competencies.

- **Teacher Career Development:** The MoHRD should establish policies and procedures for setting academic goals for teachers and providing formative feedback and summative performance appraisal. The state education departments should implement such policies while tailoring it to the local context.
- **Involvement of Teacher Educators:** It is vital to include teacher educators sufficiently in the process of reform and change. This inclusion needs the creation of a framework for autonomy and competence at all levels of teacher education –SCERT, DIETs, BRCs, CRCs and teachers.
- **Development of Academic Resources:** Develop appropriate material for teachers/teacher educators in a variety of languages (the changed curriculum needs to be supported with the right material/academic resources in various languages).

Education Leadership and Management

School leadership is only second to teaching competency in its impact on student learning. In our nearly 1.3 million schools, especially the lower primary schools, there is currently no system that provides systematic leadership skills training to head teachers to equip them to lead their school to quality performance.

- **Systemic Approach to Leadership Development:** The MoHRD and state education departments should establish a system whereby ongoing management and leadership skills training are provided to school head teachers. Funds should be made available under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) for such training programmes.
- **Leveraging Professional Expertise:** Professional expertise in management and leadership training is required to provide school head teachers the necessary skills for providing academic leadership. There are several organisations that specialise in providing such training programmes; these can be contracted to provide head teacher leadership training.

Rejuvenation of Institutional Structures for Academic Support

Teacher competence depends greatly on the continual academic support provided to in-service teachers. Institutions established for this purpose, such as the NCERT and SIEMAT and the SCERTs and DIETs, have become almost dysfunctional. Now, an assignment in a DIET is seen as a 'punishment posting'.

These institutions suffer from a lack of vision, absence of a sense of purpose, poor quality of leadership and low staff morale. The following key steps are required for their rejuvenation.

- **Develop Vision and Clarity of Purpose:** In many instances, 'Academic Lead Institutions' have become irrelevant, enervated and subservient to administrative bodies. They have deviated from their primary vision of providing academic leadership – they need to rediscover their sense of purpose, focus on core academic functions and not slide into becoming mere 'administrators of academic work'.
- **Strengthen Core Processes and Practices:** Academic processes need to be strengthened through greater decentralisation and higher autonomy which encourages institutions to be more flexible, responsive and innovative.
- **Create Separate Academic Cadre:** The state governments should establish a separate cadre for education functionaries in DIETS and other academic institutions like SCERTs, NCERT, Block Resource Centre (BRC), and Cluster Resource Centre (CRC). The cadres should have a clear and attractive career path and professional development opportunities to keep employees motivated.
- **Encourage Academic Leadership and Integration:** The state governments should constitute district education councils comprising of DIETS, SSA and Zila Parishad heads. The DIETS should assume a leadership role in these councils in the planning, execution and support of academic activities in the district. The SCERTs need to play a similar leadership role at the state level and the NCERT at the national level.
- **Encourage On Going Quality Assessment:** The MoHRD should create a framework of quality and encourage independent assessment of the institutions against the framework. The MoHRD should monitor quality on a regular basis.

Early Childhood Education (ECE)

Several studies on early childhood have shown that 3–6 years is when children need to be exposed to a child-friendly learning environment to enhance their all-round development and lay the foundation for school education. Children who experience schooling for the first time at age 6 are clearly at a disadvantage to those with a good pre-school experience.

In the current scheme of things, the Government of India has evolved the Integrated Child Development Services Scheme (ICDS) which is the single largest provider of Early Childhood Education (ECE). In this context the following issues surrounding ECE should be considered:

- **Policy and Legislative Imperatives:** The RTE applies to only children between 6 and 14 and the critical years of 3–6 have been excluded. The Early Childhood Education (ECE) directive under Article 45 of the Indian Constitution should be included as a Fundamental Right to Education. The legislation should be duly backed by adequate resources from the state.
- **Convergence with Primary Education:** There is a need to develop close tie-ups between primary schooling and ECE initiatives, thus allowing an easy transition for the child from pre-school to mainstream education, arresting dropouts, enabling elder girl children to attend primary schools by relieving them of child-care duties etc. The MoHRD and the Department of Women and Child Welfare (WCD) should work closely together to ensure harmonious and synchronised functioning of pre-school and primary education systems.
- **Establishment of Minimum Standards:** In the absence of any minimum specifications concerning ECE centres, the current approach in ECE is minimalistic. For example, nearly three-quarters of teachers engaged in ECE have not received any type of pedagogical training. The MoHRD should ensure that the in-service and pre-service training, curriculum and content of the ECE workers is of a good quality and invite bodies like NCERT, NIEPA and NIPCCD and competent private organisations to evolve minimum specifications.
- **Increased Access and Coverage:** According to the 2001 Census, India had approximately 60 million children aged 3–6, but only 34 million children were covered by ICDS and other private initiatives. The State should establish one ECE centre for a group of 25 children within accessible distance of their homes and support

various forms of mobile services/crèches to cater to remote habitations.

- **Improved Working Conditions of Existing Anganwadi Workers (AWW):** Over 800,000 AWWs and an equal number of helpers have been engaged in imparting ECE under ICDS. However, they have poor working/service conditions due to the honorary status of their work and compensation ranging between Rs 800-1300 per month. The State should substantially revise the honorarium for AWWs and allocate sufficient funds for this purpose.

Sameness in Substance and Style

11

Amitabha Pande (IAS, Retd.)

The Draft Approach Paper is reluctant to subject past Plans and Plan performance to an adversarial critique and is shy of raising hard questions. Questions about structural inequities, social and political conflicts and distortions, systemic weaknesses and failures in governance, for example, are neither asked nor addressed. The approach remains heavily statist and unitarist – the reliance being on lumpy, leaky, poorly designed, flagship schemes which absorb the bulk of the allocatable resources.

Specifically, the Draft Approach Paper does little justice to the following interconnected challenges.

- The challenge of decentralised planning. After years of hoopla about planning from below, grassroots planning and so on, now even the pretence has been dropped. Devolution of powers to Panchayats is treated as a concern of the states and their relationship to the Plan formulation process is not even acknowledged. A five year plan is something which the Planning Commission produces (albeit after consultations) for the consumption of the people; it is not a means of democratic empowerment. There is no reference to building on the experience of initiatives like the National Natural Resources Management Systems programme executed by the Department of Space or the Natural Resources Data Management Systems programme of the Department of Science and Technology for using space and IC technologies as a means of capacity development at local levels, especially for area specific planning. 'Inclusion' is therefore something people at the top do for people at

the bottom, not something the latter do for themselves enabled by the new knowledge technology tools.

- The federal challenge. There is no recognition that the substantially increased federalisation and regionalisation of the polity needs a radical redesigning of the approach to planning – formulation, design, allocations, implementation framework, design and methodology and monitoring – which goes beyond an annual NDC mela consultation to the active participation of states and other sub-national units in all phases and from scratch. Major deficiencies in fiscal federalism remain, with a substantial chunk of resources getting pre-empted by the flagship Central Schemes and Plan resources being kept out of the Finance Commission ambit. The potential mismatch between priorities as perceived at the state/ sub-state levels and at the national level create conditions of political friction and thereby impact on programme implementation. It also means that state level initiatives, which could be closer in their priorities to regional/local requirements, suffer for adequacy of resources in comparison to the mega Central schemes and thereby curb the capacity for state/local initiatives. The possibility of leaving central planning to a broad determination of priorities and allocating resources to these priorities without tying them to the rigidities of centrally conceived 'schemes' has not been considered. Increasingly, planning and policy making has to be far more sensitive to the federal dimension and this requires a change of mind set at the central level. It also requires a new synergy between three institutional mechanisms

which can facilitate giving a strong federal dimension to the planning and socio-economic policy making process, i.e, the Finance Commission, the Inter State Council and the Planning Commission.

- The governance challenge. While the issue of “governance” has been given a separate chapter as a first of some kind and an attempt made to confront the issue of “corruption” and its relationship with Plan implementation and delivery and the economy, the understanding of the issues involved is still analytically superficial. The specific political economy of the Indian state, its “overdeveloped” status (Hamza Alavi’s thesis of the post colonial state being overdeveloped in relation to the “classes” of civil society) and its inherent rent-seeking proclivities seems to be little understood. The fact is that in this context the “big” interventionist, “development” oriented state only goes to expand rent-seeking opportunities, leading to the emergence of a perverse rent economy which revolves around the “Neta, Babu, Contractor” nexus and which has a close relationship with crime, on the one hand, and left-wing extremist militancy on the other. This new class of predatory rentiers appropriates most of the illegal wealth which they themselves help to generate (land-related transactions, mining and grant of mining concessions, trading in alcohol and alcohol related products, retailing of petroleum products, trading in essential commodities, procurement and sale of foodgrains, sale of stamp paper and other judicial papers, infrastructure construction contracts, natural calamity relief operations, poverty alleviation programmes, to name just a few) and each area of state intervention only goes to increase rent extraction possibilities. More than subsidies, development schemes completely distort the economy and pervert the process of wealth creation. Thus, the more centrist the approach (through flagship Central schemes, for example), the more interventionist, and grander the scale of intervention, greater the extent of this distortion. A decentralised and fully devolved architecture of governance, based on the principle of subsidiarity is, therefore, a critical prerequisite to governance reforms and if planning is to go beyond being a wish list of desirable socio-economic objectives, it has to be used as an instrument of decentralisation and devolution.
- The poverty challenge. More than six decades of planning and gigantic investments in poverty alleviation, reduction and elimination have made little difference to the persistence of mass poverty. This persistence has no real explanation. Planners seem to spend more time in defining the poverty line than in analysing reasons for

its continuation and the structural deficiencies which prevent the poor from getting out of their poverty. The possibility that there could be a perverse relationship between poverty alleviation programmes themselves and the relationship of dependence and subordination to the ‘Neta / Babu/Contractor’ nexus which such programmes perpetuate so that the rent economy flourishes has never been considered. In other words, the compulsions of a rent economy demand that poverty should persist. Therefore, breaking this nexus has to be the focus and this means

- a) reducing the state,
- b) moving towards large scale direct and conditional income transfers to the most vulnerable, such as the girl child, elderly housewives (particularly the Dalit segments), and
- c) creating conditions in which pursuit of independent livelihood and small entrepreneurship possibilities in the “informal sector” is the most important part of “development” planning rather than condemning the poor to perpetual wage slavery.

In a country so rich in artisanal and hand skills, it is a pity that the informal sector is still seen from the prism of nineteenth century industrialism and not made central to enable the poor to find their own way out of poverty. Cutting edge technologies (including but not limited to ICT) and the increasing primacy of environmental considerations provide a massive window of opportunity to making the hand sector, the creative industries sector and the informal services sector a means of redefining the whole notion of development and making the poor the principal architects (using self build tools) of wealth creation. This requires a complete strategy rethink.

- The ecology and the environment challenge. Climate change, global warming/change, large scale ecological and environmental degradation and the unprecedented and rapid depletion of natural resources are still seen as separate areas of attention rather than as factors which impact on all spheres of human activity that can completely derail the planned development process and therefore have to be factored in (both as a constraint and as an opportunity) and embedded in all sectoral plans. It is not enough to have a National Action Plan for Climate Change which satisfies the dictates of global protocols and treaties. It is important to build capacities (particularly S&T capacities) from the grassroots upwards to substantially increase the pixel size of impact assessment and vulnerability analysis to, say, a 10 sq kilometre range,

and to do this in a way in which local communities can themselves begin to fully comprehend the nature, depth and intensity of the challenges they face and then work out their own adaptation and even mitigation strategies. Again, it requires a radical reorientation of the ways in which planning is done.

The five interconnected challenges discussed above lead to one simple overwhelming conclusion – decentralise and devolve and deepen democracy and make planning a powerful tool to do so.

Key Concerns in the Draft Approach Paper: 12th Five Year Plan

12

Subrat Das, Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability

The title of the Draft Approach Paper (DAP) to the 12th Plan focuses on “Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth” but in terms of policy action, it has failed to address the major concern of the marginalized sections (SCs, STs, Muslims, women and children) of society as well as the persistent problems in major sectors like health, education, rural development and decentralization, and water and sanitation. A critical aspect worth highlighting is the progression towards greater participation of the private sector in its various forms and avatars in not only implementing the various programmes and schemes but also in designing and developing initiatives in critical sectors that impact human development indicators. The present document outlines the major concerns in terms of provisions made for the marginalised sections of population and certain selected sectors.

1) SCs and STs

The Paper has recognised many deficiencies in the development of SCs and STs and also raised its concerns on the weaknesses in the process of implementation of policies and programmes meant for these communities. It talks about devising the new system in the 12th Plan to overcome the difficulties experienced in SCP and TSP in the past. The Paper has not given any specific suggestion to overcome those problems that have been existing in the sub-plan over 30 years.

2) Muslims

The DAP has not recognized and accepted the deficiencies in development of Muslims even after the recommendations of Sachar Committee in 2006. It talks of reducing the drop out rates especially for girl children among minorities. Also, it recommends continuation and effective implementation of Multi Sectoral Development Programme in 90 Minority Concentrated Districts in 12th Plan. The DAP does not talk about having a separate sub plan for minorities in the 12th Plan although it was recommended in the 11th Plan by the Steering Group on Minorities. Overall, the DAP lacks a holistic approach towards development of minorities and particularly the Muslims (Muslims in the country constitute 73 percent of the minority population as per Census 2001).

3) Children

For proper policy formulation, adequate disaggregated level data on various child development indicators are necessary and special allocation of funds should be made for creating a strong database on all aspects of child development and for fostering research on child specific issues. The Draft Approach Paper has overlooked this aspect.

At present, there is a huge number of children living with disability; the Paper does not emphasise on these disabled children.

4) Gender

Women have been recognised as one of the excluded groups and that special measures need to be taken to ensure their inclusion. Important issues related to women's health have also been acknowledged. However, the Draft Approach Paper has not been informed by a gender perspective. Women's issues do not find a mention in critical sectors such as employment, agriculture, and even basic services such as water supply and sanitation. Further, the Paper does not propose any measure that would be taken to address the prevailing gender inequities.

5) Water and Sanitation

Water quality and sustainability of supply should be given prime focus. Convergence of water and sanitation with departments such as health and education should be done.

6) Education

There is a need to step up government spending on education. A long-overdue promise of spending 6 per cent of the GDP on education is yet to be fulfilled. At present, the country is spending about 3.23 percent of the GDP on education, which is way below the benchmark fixed more than 40 years ago.

A critical shortcoming pertaining to elementary education that has been ignored by the Paper is that it seems to have decided that access and enrolment no longer are issues of import, now that the Right to Education (RTE) Act is in place and the only challenge that seems to have been identified by the DAP is that of quality.

While there remain key concerns pertaining to elementary education since the RTE Act has continued to remain ambivalent in its coverage and design, the Paper seems to find secondary and technical education as the key sub-sectors that need to be focused now. In this regard, their preponderance on public private partnership (PPP) and increased role for the private sector is a matter of huge concern. Further, in the light of the fiscal crunch faced by most of the States, it is necessary that the Central government increases its share in financing education rather than shifting the onus to the States.

7) Health

There is a need to make a shift in the paradigm to viewing health as a basic right of every person and a necessary corollary to this is the enactment of an effective and sound legislation on the Right to Health. It needs regular supply of essential medicines through the public health system which is a critical factor in ensuring that health services are available to all. All essential drugs need to be brought under price control. In an attempt to reduce maternal and infant mortality, the implementation of Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY) and Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojana (IGMSY) must be made more effective. Careful monitoring of both JSY and IGMSY would also ensure effective implementation.

8) PRIs and Rural Development

The Draft Approach Paper recognises that rural local self-governance is critical to rural transformation. It mentions the partial development in the process of power devolution/district planning in states, though it differs widely among the States. The implementation of PESA is far from satisfactory. Most of the States have not framed rules for implementation of PESA so far. However, it has recognised so many problems in the process of making PRIs as rural local self-governance and persistent problems in the process of implementation of rural development programmes and policies but does not give any concrete suggestions for the improvement.

9) Restructuring of the Centrally Sponsored/Central Sector Schemes

The Union Government runs thousands of Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSSs) and Central Sector (CS) Schemes. These are implemented by State Government agencies but which are largely funded by the Central Government with a defined state government share. There was demand from States and CSOs to restructure the CSS/CS since a long time. In 2006, Planning Commission's Expert Group to Develop Concrete Proposals for Restructuring the CSS led by Arvind Verma recommended reducing the size of CSSs, flexibility in the guidelines, routing the fund through State budgets, computerization (MIS), strong monitoring and evaluation, active involvement of PRIs and detailed social and formal audit should be done at all level for the CSS. The Draft Approach Paper of both the 11th and 12th Plan has totally ignored the recommendations of this Committee.

RESPONSE TO QUERIES RAISED ON UN SOLUTION EXCHANGE

Maternal and Child Health Community

1

Solution Exchange for the Maternal and Child Health Community

Compilation of Responses

FOR COMMENTS – Draft Approach Paper to the Twelfth Five Year Plan

Compiled by Meenakshi Aggarwal on behalf of Solution Exchange MCH Community

The Consolidated Reply (CR) to this consultation with summary will soon be issued and made available at <ftp://ftp.solutionexchange.net.in/public/mch/cr/cr-se-mch-19091101.pdf>

From Pavitra Mohan, UNICEF, New Delhi and Amitabh Behar and Radha Khan, Wada Na Todo Abhiyan, New Delhi

Posted 19 September 2011

The Planning Commission, Government of India, has recently released the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan. The Paper recognises that a larger allocation of resources for health is needed in the 12th Plan and suggests increasing the total health expenditure as percentage of GDP to 2.5 percent by the end of the Twelfth Plan. It focuses on universal health coverage and proposes that the healthcare delivery must be made more consultative and inclusive through strengthening PRIs, increasing user participation and conducting bi-annual

evaluations of the processes. It further acknowledges the gross shortage of health professionals as a serious impediment to achieve an expansion in the public provision of health services.

Wada Na Todo Abhiyan had actively participated in providing civil society inputs to the Draft Approach Paper in the stages when it was being developed. The resultant document entitled “Approaching Equity” was published and presented to the Planning Commission. Continuing in the same vein, Wada Na Todo Abhiyan along with UNICEF would like to consult with various stakeholders on the contents of the Approach Paper.

The Draft Approach Paper to the Twelfth Five Year Plan is available at http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/12appdrft/approach_12plan.pdf (PDF, 2.5 MB). The section on health (Chapter 9) has the following components:

- Towards Comprehensive Health Care
- Health Infrastructure

- Human Resources for Health
- Publicly Financed Healthcare
- Child Nutrition and Re-structuring ICDS

We believe that the final Plan will benefit from a wider critique of the approach paper. Please download the paper from the link above, review it critically and send in your comments. Since the final Plan is in the process of being formulated, it would be useful for civil society in India to review the approach paper and give in your comments. Your inputs will help us prepare a set of suggestions for the government based on an assessment of the issues that have not been adequately addressed in the Draft Approach Paper.

Responses were received, with thanks, from

1. Archana Mishra, Directorate of Health Services, Madhya Pradesh
2. Archana Joshi, Deepak Foundation, Vadodara
3. Vikas K Desai, Public Health and Nutrition Consultant, Gujarat
4. Rajesh Kumar, PGIMER, Chandigarh
5. N B Mathur, Maulana Azad Medical College, New Delhi
6. Rajesh Garg, VCSG Government Medical College, Uttarakhand
7. K Narayanan Unni, Ahmedabad
8. Madhulekha Bhattacharya, National Institute of Health and Family Welfare, New Delhi
9. Sharmishtha Nanda, Health Care Intelligence Forum
10. Col Surajit Rath, Ex Head of CSR of a Corporate House, New Delhi
11. Renu Khanna, Sahaj, Vadodara and COMMONHEALTH -Coalition for Maternal Neonatal Health and Safe Abortion
12. A K Debdas, Rajkumari Foundation, Jamshedpur
13. Shiv Chandra Mathur, Independent Public Health Consultant, Jaipur
14. A Dyalchand, Institute of Health Management, Pachod (IHMP), Pune
15. R K Baxi, Government Medical College, Baroda
16. Rajeev Bijalwan, Rural Development Institute - HIHT, Dehradun
17. Vijay Sharma, Vestergaard Frandsen (India) Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi

18. Daya Krishan Mangal, UNFPA, Maharashtra

19. K. Suresh, Public (Child) Health Consultant, New Delhi

20. Manoj K. Naresh, Independent Consultant, Jaipur

21. Kumkum Srivastava, Consultant- Public Health, Jaipur

Responses in Full

Archana Mishra, Directorate of Health Services, Madhya Pradesh

Comprehensive health approach is good for the states who have nearly achieved the goals laid under NRHM. But for the states like MP we will have to prioritise areas in which we need to focus more, with MMR of 310 per one lakh live births and neonatal mortality rate of 44 per thousand live births and 3.3 TFR. We will have to work hard on increasing accessibility of EmONC services.

Non-communicable diseases (NCD) is also our agenda but don't we need to focus equally on maternal and mental health? Untimely death of young women during process of childbirth which could have been prevented is a shame for the state and the nation.

For delivering these services, a concrete HR policy should be in place – merely increasing the number of medical colleges and nursing schools will not solve the issue. We need to have attractive packages for health providers, especially anaesthetists and obstetricians working with the government sector, as lucrative packages are motivating them either to go abroad or join the private sector that is dominant in large cities.

Now, looking at this hostile environment for doctors, the present generation is not opting for biology stream. There is a mass deviation towards management and engineering courses, as with less duration and expenses on studies one gets a good package of a minimum of Rs 4-6 lakhs – that too working in better cities whereas an MBBS still struggles for a monthly salary of Rs 30000.

Also, instead of reviving TBA, creating midwifery cadre will help in deliveries by SBA.

Maternal anaemia is also a challenge for the nation; we still find maternal deaths because of severe anemia. We have had the policy of distributing IFA tablets for a decade but still anaemia prevails in the community. Thus, prevention and treatment of anaemia should be done on priority. A woman is

not able to fulfill her basic calorie requirements; distribution of Take Home Ration does not seem to have much impact on nutrition of women and somatic growth of the foetus.

For reaching out to the unreached in rural and remote areas we should give a serious thought to it and interventions to address these issues should be included.

Hope we will be able to come out with a need based Twelfth Five Year Plan.

Archana Joshi, Deepak Foundation, Vadodara

The question that needs to be raised further is how are these plans to be translated into action? Will the Planning Commission leave the plans to the State with the comment that “Health is a State Subject” and leave it to them to decide? Or is there any transparent mechanism to have periodic (quarterly, bi-annually) review of how the states and union territories adapt the plan into action? These reviews could then feed into gaps for mid-course corrections.

Similarly, is there any mechanism to review how does decentralized plans (VHSCs, RKS, district PIPs formed as per NRHM guidelines) get dovetailed with the top-driven plan and agenda resulting in budget outlays on activities which are not in the priority list of the decentralized plan?

The Draft Approach Paper is like a jigsaw puzzle with many missing pieces and gaps that remains to get addressed.

Vikas K. Desai, Public Health and Nutrition Consultant, Gujarat

- As primary health care is basic need and responsibility of the Government as per constitution, the plan need to focus on increasing spread, expansion of services and integration of services.
- The NRHM mentions inter-sectoral convergence for health which needs to be one of the target in addition to targets mentioned in 9.2 (i) Infant Mortality Rate (IMR), (ii) Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR), (iii) Total Fertility Rate (TFR), (iv) under nutrition among children, (v) anaemia among women and girls, (vi) provision of clean drinking water for all (vii) raising child sex ratio for age group 0–6 years. Unless this is emphasized, it remains a weak approach and will lead to a weak outcome.
- The Plan needs to now project that nutrition is also a part of health and, as mentioned in 9.3 “These data suggest

that while there has been progress, it is less than what was targeted. Public health expenditure is likely to reach 1.4 per cent of GDP (and including drinking water and sanitation 1.8 per cent of GDP) by the end of Eleventh Plan”. Here there is a need to mention expenditure for Nutrition.

- As per 9.5, “The Twelfth Plan will prioritise convergence among all the existing National Health Programs under the NRHM umbrella, namely those for Mental Health, AIDS control, Deafness control, Care of the Elderly, Information, Education and Communication, Cancer Control, Tobacco Control, Cardio Vascular Diseases, Oral health, Fluorosis, Human Rabies control, Leptospirosis”. This needs inclusion of vector-borne diseases also for convergence.
- Decentralised planning for health is also a strategy under NRHM. One of the limitations of convergence of health and ICDS is that in spite of common beneficiary and common health and nutrition-related targets there is no clarity of roles and responsibility or contribution through the programme. This can only happen if the district level and downwards PIPs is of Health and ICDS both.
- As per 9.6, “The Tamil Nadu intervention of creating a separate public health cadre and maternal death audit will be promoted. Programmes/schemes will be evaluated on the basis of outcomes rather than outlays.” This point needs additions of at least neonatal death, preferably Infant Death Audit.
- 9.7 mentions an accountability matrix will be devised in order to improve the seven health related goals articulated in the current Plan. Here also, nutrition-related goals should be mentioned.
- 9.10 says, “The Twelfth Plan must break the vicious cycle of multiple deprivations faced by girls and women because of gender discrimination and under nutrition.” Here there is a scope for convergence of SABLA under ICDS and ARSH under health and expanding role of Matru Mandal and SHGs.
- 9.11 mentions the Twelfth Plan must make children an urgent priority. Maternal health also need to be included as “Maternal and child health as an urgent priority”. This will involve *convergence* of health and maternal and child care services. The lifecycle approach concept evolved under RCH II needs to be sustained.
- In 9.12, while there is a case for expanding the network of AWCs to all habitations, even more urgent is the need to create a direct reporting relationship between AWCs and

sub centres so that interventions are better synergized, resources are optimised, while women and children attending AWCs continue to get health and nutritional services under one roof. This is a very welcome point. An exercise for common jurisdiction for health and ICDS services shall facilitate this. Anganwadi centres are to be recognised as the integrated service centre of a village for health and nutrition services for beneficiaries (ANC, PNC, adolescents, under five children), center of AWW and ASHA for better convergence at periphery.

- In point 9.13, the roles and responsibilities of the Panchayat in health programmes needs to be projected and defined.
- In point 9.14, regional disparities must be addressed especially with respect to maternal health and child under nutrition (this need to be maternal and child health and nutrition) in the 264 high focus districts of the NRHM.
- In 9.15, in the entire service process MHW are missing. I believe there is an attempt to rebuild this cadre in states, which is very much required. But there is a need to define work distribution of ANM and MHW in context of current programmes including family visit and contact mode of MHWs. Then, ANMs shall be able to focus on her priority role of Maternal, child and adolescent health.
- In 9.16, the Paper says, “Other infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria, also need focussed attention and a continued commitment to prevention and control of” This needs inclusion of all prevalent VBD instead of only malaria. The initiation of programme of regular community based preventive screening for common cancers as a cancer prevention strategy needs a special mention in plan.
- In 9.19, the Paper says, “New medical and nursing colleges should preferably be linked to district hospitals in underserved states and districts, ensuring that districts with a population of 25 lakhs and above are prioritized for establishment of such colleges if they presently lack them.” In view of majority private medical colleges in the nation and difficulty in introducing regulations how can this happen?
- The family physicians’ cadre is fast approaching extinction with increasing dependence and preference for consultants (specialists) in urban areas. Family physicians can be the backbone of advanced primary health care, maybe as a special cadre of family physicians with a post-MBBS diploma. This can be the internship training programme for all and a prerequisite with weightage for

further specialisation and training admission. This shall reduce the burden of tertiary care on the public and private systems and shall facilitate better quality care.

- The priority for a well-trained cadre of various paramedics for peripheral health services need to be projected stronger than the necessity for doctors due to their crucial role in primary health care. To bring uniformity in training of these crucial cadres and increase their number as well as skill-based quality and award a respectable degree as a motivation, there is a need to develop *community health and nutrition university* at the state level exclusively focusing on the need-based skill development of paramedics. Such a university can include training of ANMs, MPHWs, CDPOs, health and ICDS supervisors, ophthalmic technicians, health/ HIV/ adolescent health/ mental health/ school health counsellors and all in service trainings. This need to bring all ANM training centers, SI/MPHW training centers, MLTCs of ICDS, SIHFW, DTT, DTC under its purview.
- In 9.21, the Paper says, “Twelfth Plan is to ensure that all urban slums and settlements are covered with sub centres and ICDS centres (co-located where possible) and PHCs, through NUHM. This infrastructure cannot be based on mechanical application of population based norms since many people in urban areas have access to private medical care.” There is a need to build up the urban healthcare system; only service centres shall not ensure improvement in coverage and targets. Simultaneously, there is a need to develop norms for urban health management structure, like a district health management structure, to ensure implementation of programmes.
- In 9.23, the Paper says safe drug components need a specific mention for the planning and management of prophylactic drugs like IFA and SC level kits for non interrupted well planned logistics.
- In 9.25, the Paper says there is an urgent need to review the wishlist of the consultants’ cadre recommended at the CHC level. Majority states fail to get such specialists. As an alternative approach can be a team of one of the consultant and multi task trained medical officers can be proposed as a compromise like Bachelor of Rural Healthcare cadre.
- Active involvement of MCI representatives in national programme planning and implementation is a need of the time and must be placed in the 12th Plan. This is supposed to structure and revise medical education as per the larger need of the national health programmes (a priority of the nation).

- Inclusion of district-level nutrition assessment is very timely and health and ICDS can jointly design the same, and pilots can be done in selected states as a learning process for evidence based planning.
- It's a high time to redraft roles and activities of PHCs in view of fast changing needs and programs.
- The 12th Plan now needs to project a need for a process towards long term (at least coming 20 years) human resource planning including existing cadres (numbers required); new cadres to be introduced like district health managers, hospital managers, community nutritionists at district level.

Health in other sectors in the Planning Commission Document

As is well known, health cannot be achieved in isolation by the efforts of only the health department; it is determined by multiple factors under other sectors like ICDS, water supply and sanitation, education, agriculture, civil supply, etc.

- 1) Education – School health check-up and MDM and health and nutrition interventions for school-age groups. School health check-ups are feasible at the most once a year, but is not sufficient. Alternatively, orientation of teachers about healthy schools and school children during pre service training as a part of their curriculum can bring the capacity and participation of teachers. This shall even reduce the need for annual health check-ups and bring it back to the earlier approach of the 1st, 4th, 8th, 11th standard health check up. The same shall be more cost beneficial as well as cost effective.
- 2) Farm sector:
 - Infections like leptospirosis are related to agriculture and animal care sector (Gujarat). Infection source and transmission is in this zone, outcome as human health is with health zone. Unless both the zones undertake research and plan evidence based interventions high human toll (mainly farm labourers, farmers, cattle care person) every year cannot be prevented. Such convergent concern, approach and responsibility need to be reflected in this sector. The same has relevance with water management as well as change in irrigation and agricultural practices.
 - **Agriculture policy:** Promotion policy for the crops like traditional cereals (like ragi, bajara, nagli, oats) which are traditional food for some regions, now

scarce but their significant role in health and nutrition is lately understood and projected.

Rajesh Kumar, PGIMER, Chandigarh

The health chapter of the 12th Plan Draft Approach Paper sets out a vision/goal and some broad directions to achieve these goals. However, it does not spell out adequately how this vision/goal would be achieved.

I think the most important direction set out in this document is achievement of universal health care. A basic package of health care to all citizens (right to health care) will require enhancement of public financing in my view up to 3–5 percent of GDP. A mechanism to set up a district health fund needs to be worked out. Equally important is that the district health fund manager plans a mechanism of funding public/private health institutions (on a competitive basis) for delivery of basic package of health care. This will also need strengthening of the health information system with bi-annual audit by stakeholders (open access). One solution may not fit all states/districts, hence, the example provided in the documents – social health insurance such as Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojna – need to be looked at more carefully before adoption.

Another important direction mentioned in the document is that each state should have a Public Health Act. It is important to have a Public Health Act which has provisions for safeguarding or protecting health of individuals and communities. This act must specify healthy living and working conditions which state must ensure for its citizens to make right to health a reality (safe water, sanitation, food safety, air quality, hazard free housing or working places etc). The document does not mention that to promote public health a health-in-all-policies approach is needed; hence, a mechanism needs to be set up, for example, an inter-ministerial group to conduct a health impact assessment of all public policies.

A public health cadre on the lines of Tamil Nadu has also been stated in the document but the key issue is how to encourage the states to have such a cadre. One way to promote a public health cadre is to make this conditional for release of central grants to states, especially those meant for supporting human resources. A public health council could have been proposed to set up standards for various types of health workers, and standards for health institutions of various types in the country.

The coordination of ICDS and health at the grass root level under the PRI is a welcome step but, again, how it will be operationalised remains to be seen.

Overall, the document sets out good intentions but does not spell out how the goals will be achieved.

N B Mathur, Maulana Azad Medical College, New Delhi

My comments are confined to human resource (HR) in public health in view of i) expansion envisaged in infrastructure and ii) achieving reduction in neonatal mortality and maternal mortality, the key outcomes in current context. It is crucial to plan specific processes to address the alarming shortage in human resources in public health. It is important to realise that coercion and compulsion would not solve the problem which requires tackling the root cause. It is obvious that different strategies may be adopted for different situations/severity of (HR) deficit. In my view, a concrete HR policy should be in place with emphasis on the following.

1. **Attract talent** – Good governance, good compensation package, status, allowances, perks and facilities, substantial incentives for difficult postings are some of the key motivators.
2. **Working in areas with HR deficit/vacancies** – Financial incentives should be given to doctors working in areas where shortage of staff exists. The salaries saved due to vacant posts to be distributed to those working in areas of personnel deficit.
3. **Administrative accountability for unfilled vacancies** – State administration/district administration should monitor, be accountable and responsible for unfilled vacancies.
4. **Recruitment** – Special recruitment drives/ recruitment campaigns/walk in interviews/ campus selection and decentralising recruitment. Local persons can be recruited for local vacancies allowing the option of applying for a specific place with no transfers.
5. **Removal of corruption/increasing transparency related to place of posting/transfers** – Give choice for place of posting. Alternatively, transparent matching for the place of posting can be done based on rank (something similar to matching of institutions for foreign graduates in the US).
6. **Revise service rules** related to transfers and postings to remove the scope of corruption. Transfers should not be arbitrary in the garb of administrative necessity.

7. **Creation of posts for doctors to share workload** – Relieving doctors from the responsibilities of sanitation, data compilation and other activities for which responsibility can be taken up by independently accountable officers in the field of management, security, sanitation, social work, counseling and public relations. Doctors should not be held responsible for anything going wrong in the hospital.

I have been actively involved in advocating, planning and establishing newborn care units, subsequently training the doctors for these units at district hospitals and later evaluating these units in a large number of districts in EAG states. The above views are largely based on this experience and interaction with the doctors on HR issues.

Rajesh Garg, VCSG Government Medical College, Uttarakhand

In response to the Draft Approach Paper for the 12th Five Year Plan, the following are my suggestions.

1. There is an urgent need to understand that the people from public health/ community medicine/ PSM should be given administrative responsibilities. What happens in reality is that a public health expert has to run out-patient departments, do post-mortems, conduct deliveries and handle emergencies and a surgeon or obstetrician is given the responsibility of doing administrative and managerial services! The bureaucrats have to understand that all doctors are not the same! Indeed they are doctors but specialist in their own way. When will public health experts be given the chance to run the show they are meant to run?
2. There are no concrete suggestions regarding 'community participation' in the present draft. The Panchayats should be involved for promotion of MCH services. All the Panchayats all over India should organize "Saas Sammaan Sammelan" (mother-in-law felicitation event) to give rewards to those women who have helped in availing the ANC, institution delivery and PNC services for their daughter-in-law. The amount could be shared by the Ministry of Panchayat at the Central level. This step would definitely start a competition among women to get recognised and thus promote MCH services at ground level. This will also ensure "Real Community Participation".
3. The Draft Approach Paper says that only 193 districts of a total of 640 have a medical college. Every year many new

medical colleges come up in India but, most of the time, these are established in districts/cities which already have one or more medical colleges. This leads to centralisation of healthcare in a few cities. Why not open new medical colleges in the districts which do not have one? Permission to open up new medical colleges should be restricted to small/ backward/ remote districts so as to bring health facilities and economic growth in these areas.

4. There is no importance given to monitoring aspect in the document. How could accountability be ensured without monitoring? Internal as well as external monitoring (along with monitoring of monitors) and evaluation should be performed regularly.
5. Citizen's charter and implementation of IPHS without any delay.

K Narayanan Unni, Ahmedabad

One of the issues that has been touched upon by Dr. Archana Mishra is relating to HR policy.

Apart from the reasons advanced by her, there is a more disturbing trend that would have an adverse impact on the availability of healthcare professionals for Government hospitals. In almost all states in India more and more educational colleges are being opened up in the "self financing mode". Education in health sector is costlier than in other sectors. Many medical colleges are charging fees upwards of Rs. 2 million for the course. The case with private nursing colleges is similar. No one can expect that the professionals coming out of such institutions would work in government institutions at the type of salary being offered.

Though the impact of this is yet to become noticeable, it would be adverse. So there is no point in merely saying that new medical colleges would be opened to take care of the shortages. There has to be a clear policy on financing these medical colleges so that medical education is affordable. Otherwise, the new institutions opened in districts without medical colleges will end up admitting students from other areas who can afford the fees, but could be less qualified to get admission.

Madhulekha Bhattacharya, National Institute of Health and Family Welfare, New Delhi

The strategies being proposed miss the reality that just by improving the provider side the community participation will not increase. The northern states like UP are an example that

in spite of the NRHM the field conditions have not improved much for women and children.

There is a need to build human resources from the rural areas and train young men and women in vocational courses like neonatal care, post natal care, nutritional advice, counselling for adolescents (separate for boys and girls). Based on selection criteria, young women could be selected for midwifery services. The knowledge and skill building of this workforce should be done using the latest teaching techniques incorporating the latest information and knowhow. This workforce may be restricted to the rural areas.

Sharmishtha Nanda, Health Care Intelligence Forum

It is heartening to see this discussion happening. I would like to make a couple of small points here:

- How are the people's voices being taken into consideration for the planning, apart from informal consultations and discussions being held? As pointed out in the comment by Ms. Archana Joshi of Deepak Foundation, we must have proper, spelled out mechanisms to monitor and ensure "decentralization". As it is, even in the planning stage a very flimsy process is adopted to take in the voice of the "civil society", if at all it constitutes a fair representation of the society at large.
- In the light of the high out-of-pocket expenditure on healthcare in India, and the rapidly growing share of private sector in providing health care services, a phased and planned approach to universalise public funded health care is essential at this point.

Col Surajit Rath, Ex Head of CSR of a Corporate House, New Delhi

Thanks for putting up this interesting consultation. Since more or less the entire budget for NRHM is provided by the Centre, it is the Centre who is supposed to monitor the project with special focus on proper utilisation of funds at periodic intervals. I propose this periodicity should be increased to at least twice a year. In case there is any misappropriation of fund, the fund flow should stop. The Central Government is failing in its responsibility of monitoring. Hence, the monitoring and evaluation should be given to an independent agency with experts to monitor and guide such an important programme and require reports to be submitted periodically.

Renu Khanna, Sahaj, Vadodara and COMMONHEALTH –Coalition for Maternal Neonatal Health and Safe Abortion

In my opinion the chapter on health in the 12th Plan Draft Approach Paper is largely progressive and politically correct, it even mentions better access to services for the hitherto invisible LGBT community. However, a huge problem is that there is nothing on governance and accountability in the health sector in this chapter. There is no articulation of solutions to existing problems of corruption, lack of accountability and lack of grievance redress mechanisms.

Additional points:

1. **9.5:** Emphasis is required on determinants of maternal health – anaemia, undernutrition, early age of childbearing, gender issues, social exclusion and not only prenatal and intra-natal care.
2. In 9.5 there is no mention of urban health.
3. **9.9:** this section mentions that community monitoring should be expanded to other areas in the country. This is good. But what about ensuring that what was started in the pilot states is built upon and strengthened first? Expanding to other parts of the country without consolidating on the fledgling pilot initiative will have disastrous consequences.
4. **9.10:** Incentives required for higher education of girls to delay marriage and child bearing age. Investment is also required for adolescent girls and boys for sexuality education and age-appropriate information.
5. **9.15:** mentions ‘high rate of growth of population to be addressed’. But how? And what should be done where the population growth rate has stabilised? What about addressing quality issues in contraceptive services? Investment is required in this. What about access to contraceptives for other than ‘eligible couples’?
6. **9.16:** talks about focus on and continuing commitment to TB and malaria. The operational strategies need to ensure that malaria and TB programmes also address these conditions in women – especially in pregnancy.
7. **9.16:** The reasons for enacting state Public Health Acts (to avert emergencies before they occur) seem very inadequate. What about the objectives of making healthcare a justifiable right for all in this country? And why no mention of a National Public Health Act which can be a framework law on which state acts can be modelled?

8. **9.17 and 9.18:** There has been an increase in new infrastructure in the 11th Plan period but the quality of the new DHs, CHCs etc are still very poor. How does the 12th Plan propose to prevent leakages and ensure good quality of construction?
9. **9.22:** The health information system needs to integrate the rural and urban through district health societies. Two parallel structures for rural and urban cannot be viable.
10. **9.23:** What about assuring access to free medicines for all through the public health system?
11. **9.32:** In its approach to human resource management, the 12th Plan needs to spell out how autonomy, freedom from corruption in the matter of appointments and transfers, gender issues in human resource management (eg life stage needs of the women health work force, career advancement possibilities without penalising women for their reproductive responsibilities etc.) will be done.

So, all in all, there is need for greater detailing of operational strategies and how will this approach in the health sector be evaluated.

A K Debdas, Rajkumari Foundation, Jamshedpur

As is well known, skill scarcity – especially at the health centre level and also at the sub-divisional level – contributes heavily towards maternal mortality and also neonatal mortality and morbidity. This scarcity is particularly that of

- a) skilled obstetricians, who can perform manual removal of placenta, and caesarean section (of course, any doctor can treat eclampsia and sepsis)
- b) basic anaesthesiologists, who can do spinal anaesthesia and intravenous anaesthesia; and
- c) basic neonatologists, who can do resuscitation of newborn.

The practical problem is in making these very important skilled doctors available. Fully fledged specialists are, quite logically, unlikely to come and work in these places for the poor pay, sub-optimal living conditions specially after undergoing three years of hard, sleepless training and after spending lot of money.

The two easily implementable suggestions are as follows for consideration for inclusion in the 12th five year plan and aim to solve the above practical problem –

I Medical Council of India to be instructed to create the following courses

A Multi Skilling PG Diploma (not degree) and Certificate courses:

1. Diploma in Maternity and Neonatology (not the full Child Health) – DMN
2. Diploma in Maternity and Anaesthesia (Basic Anaesthesia) – DMA

Of course, these diploma holders must be adequately paid for doing these critical ‘double jobs’ – may be ‘double’ that of general duty medical officers, if not more.

B. Certificate Course in Emergency Cross Matching – CC–ECM

Such a certificate course is required because lack of timely blood transfusion is the number one cause of maternal mortality in PPH, which is again the number one cause of maternal mortality. It is a very simple, low-skill, highly effective intervention to save life. This short course is to include only the technique of blood drawing and cross matching for emergency situations (not blood storing). It should include training for doing some simple pre-tests of the donor, like Hb, HIV, VDRL, Hbsag and malaria, which are easily learned. The personnel who may be trained for this course could be MBBS doctors, nurses and lab technicians. Obviously, this would solve the lack of blood bank facility in remote places and consequent death. Additionally, reasonable compensation must be given to these certificate holders.

II Information and Broadcast Ministry to be instructed to start the following “routine” of vital information dissemination to awaken the population

1. Advise the ‘printed media’ to run a standard column in national dailies every Sunday on maternal deaths that occurred in the past week state-wise with some analysis and comments just like the news of the Sensex and share prices.
2. Doordarshan to be advised
 - to conduct some ‘spot interviews’ of all concerned (doctors and specially non-doctors) in some sample maternal deaths;

- do causative factor analysis that led to these deaths for medical factors – ignorance / negligence / lack of skill / poor record keeping / communication gap and non-medical factors like lack of reasonable roads and transport facility, administrative lacunae, response time, supply irregularity, economic status of the family etc; and
- do responsibility focusing exercise of all concerned at all levels, starting from the topmost level and not from the bottom level, because “everything flows from the top” and not the reverse.

Shiv Chandra Mathur, Independent Public Health Consultant, Jaipur

The Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Plan seems to have repeated the interventions on health in vogue. It aims to raise by the end of the 12th Plan period the total health expenditure to 2.5 percent of GDP, albeit after including drinking water and sanitation!

While talking about comprehensive healthcare, it has underscored the priority to converge the existing national health programmes. Is it that the Paper is admitting that the NRHM could not achieve what was expected from it, when it was designated as “umbrella for all health interventions”? We wish that like merging family welfare in health, AIDS interventions (NACO) is merged in health in the next Plan. Activities like “health systems development projects” in most of the states also work in separate compartment! While on one hand clinical establishment acts have to be brought and used as monitoring tools to regulate private sector, on the other hand the community monitoring strategy used so far in NRHM needs a critical appraisal.

HRH observations so far have revealed that privatisation of medical/nursing/medical technology has not contributed in filling up the void in the health workforce in the public sector. Starting health universities in most of the states have created a new challenge to uphold the standards of quality, and regulating the private institutions that have entered as new players within last decade.

Last but not the least is the need to overcome the ambiguities under the sub-head of “Child Nutrition and Restructuring ICDS”. This approach paper must take in cognisance the output/outcome of several interventions implemented by the ‘women and child development’ sector that were expected to

yield a positive/catalytic influence on health status of women in particular.

I wish the experts finalising the approach on health may consider the above raised points.

A Dyalchand, Institute of Health Management, Pachod (IHMP), Pune

I would like to share three comments on the health chapter of the Draft Approach Paper to the Twelfth Five Year Plan which are as follows.

A. In the context of NRHM, three innovations could be a game changer in achieving universal health especially in the context of maternal, neonatal and child health. The three innovations are as follows.

1. Monthly Surveillance for Identification of Health Needs and Micro-Planning

- Under NRHM, one ASHA is appointed for every 1000 population or 200 households. The ASHA will visit 10 households a day, covering 200 households over 20 days to identify the health and information needs of eligible couples, on a monthly basis. Data collected by the ASHAs on the specific health and information needs of each eligible couple forms the basis of micro-planning. Every month, ASHAs will prepare a list of young married women with their reproductive health needs, which they hand over to the ANMs. ASHA will counsel and motivate young married eligible couples, in need of services, to attend the Village Health and Nutrition Day conducted by PHC ANMs, at the village level. Subsequent to the monthly micro-planning by ASHA the ANM will use these micro-plans for provision of services when she visits the village for the Village Health and Nutrition Day (VHND) session. This will enable the ANM to optimally utilize her time in providing services.

2. Behaviour Change Communication (A New Paradigm)

- In order to bring about the necessary behaviour change in the target groups the project shall implement behaviour change communication through two distinct communication strategies.
- Provision of need-specific BCC by ASHA during home visits – inter personal communication (married couples and their parents) during house visits.

- BCC through a ‘social norms’ approach: IHMP has developed a social norms BCC model. IHMP will share this model with the network of PHCs.

3. Monthly Monitoring of Health Needs and Service Delivery by VHSNCs

The monthly monitoring by the VHSNCs is an important element of this programme as it fulfills the following important requirements –

- An innovative system of community based monitoring is visualised wherein every month the ASHA reports individuals in need of services and the ANM reports the number of individuals whose needs were addressed.
- Information collected by ASHA used as key source of information for monitoring by VHSNCs.

B. Half the girls in this country marry and conceive before 18. The maternal and neonatal mortality in this target population is much higher as compared to women over 20 years. A focused intervention for married adolescents could address two MDG goals very efficaciously.

C. NUHM has not received the kind of attention it deserves. There is an urgent need for primary level care in urban slums as much as in rural areas.

R K Baxi, Government Medical College, Baroda

Thanks for sharing the Draft Approach Paper. The Paper tries to address the current scenario. However, we need a well-defined HRH policy, which does not appear to be in place. Contractual and ad hoc appointees at less than minimum wage cannot deliver quality and cannot be expected to have loyalty to programme performance. This flexibility has proved to be too costly. Tight monitoring and watch on performance indicators with some seriousness about accountability will do the trick. PPP models which have worked should be scaled up/replicated.

Mismatch of training and other logistic support to the trained staff needs to be addressed in right earnest. Rural postings of doctors should be made compulsory for everyone without favours/fears before their post graduation starts. Bonds/raising bond amounts punishes the parents and has so far not served the intended purpose. Medical education is costly; hence we should desist from making it of poor quality. As I see, there is a scope of raising the educational fee, tuition fee

etc by at least 200 percent. Those who come from modest economic or socio-cultural background should be given scholarship with a higher bond or longer commitment to the benefactor. Why not be realistic in that? This will help equip our public health care systems better and will help generate confidence among users by providing quality health care. Similarly, a fraction of “cost to client” must be recovered from clients who are not BPL. All issues in the draft have been identified well with some reference to general direction to take (9.3 of Draft Approach Paper and onwards).

Rajeev Bijalwan, Rural Development Institute – HIHT, Dehradun

In response to the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan, my concerns centre on the following points.

1. The new infrastructure should be built friendly for persons with disability especially in rural and urban health centres. Even today at many places, people with disability are unable to get health services.
2. We have to develop separate cadre for rural health providers for whom the salary structure and other benefits can be revised.
3. Nation wise we are implementing Adolescent Friendly Health Services but we do not have any provision of counsellor at sub center, PHC and CHC levels.
4. We have to create provisions for family hostel services for those health providers who are ready to provide health services in rural areas.

Vijay Sharma, Vestergaard Frandsen (India) Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi

Suggestions on the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan – Health Chapter

Pneumonia, diarrhea and vector borne diseases are major causes of child deaths in India. Introduction of WHO recommended point-of-use HWTS (household water treatment systems), RDT kits, LLINs and ARTs can substantially help improve the preventive healthcare paradigm.

- Section 9.10 - Water is one of the key components of nutrition which is overlooked for many years. It's a key component of nutrition programs and hence it must be incorporated as point-of-use HWTS. Regarding water facility in schools, they should have the provision of point-of-use HWTS as recommended in WHO guidelines. http://www.who.int/water_sanitation_

[health/publications/2011/household_water/en/index.html](http://www.who.int/publications/2011/household_water/en/index.html)

- Sections 9.11, 9.12, 9.13, 9.38 and 9.39 - The most vulnerable age group in diarrhoeal deaths is 0-6 yrs. These children do not go to schools and hence the provision of safe drinking water at schools does not reach this target group. The Anganwadi Centre is an ideal place where this group can be targeted by providing clean drinking water along with mid-day meals under the ICDS. This draft is looking at AWC in every habitation for delivering pre-school, healthcare and nutrition facilities to children in the age group of 0-6 years. Water is a critical component of nutrition and hence use of point-of-use HWTS should be introduced in AWCs.
- Section 9.16 - Prevention of vector-borne diseases has had very little focus in the past. Therefore introduction of RDTs, LLINs, and ARTs could bring down the cases of malaria, dengue, lymphatic filariasis and other infectious diseases.
- Section 9.21 - Urban slums are also a mirror image of rural settings in metro cities or urban cities. All healthcare facilities like preventive care for infectious diseases, point-of-use HWTS for safe drinking water should be given utmost importance.
 - a) Migratory population from endemic areas which caters for large number of construction workers, household helps come from highly malaria/JE endemic areas. They are reservoirs of dangerous parasites; hence urban slums should cater for early detection, preventive care and treatment for vector borne diseases.
 - b) Urban slums do not have an access to clean drinking water and hence providing point-of-use HWTS or piped water should be a priority to control the number of cases of water borne diseases like diarrhoea, cholera, hepatitis etc.

I would also like to make some points on medical devices manufacturing, regulatory and marketing in India.

- The medical devices industry in India is growing. But it is not regulated like in China, Korea and Singapore. Except a few, none of the devices need any approval (regulatory or clinical) to be used by patients in India.
- Mostly all medical device manufacturers have their manufacturing plants in China, but they are not selling them in China, as it is a highly regulated market and only allows the marketing after extensive trials. Therefore,

most of the products which are made in China by these MNCs are sold in markets like India and Bangladesh. This generates job opportunities in China and also the growth contributor in China's growing economy but at the same time impacts India at both levels.

- The Planning Commission needs to check the import licenses of the multinational as well as the local importers of the medical device companies. Most of the companies are importing devices under the import license of one or two medical devices. This is largely impacting the Indian medical device manufacturers and overall growth in this segment.
- Manufacturing is the key growth lever for India and should be seen seriously as it generates jobs and grows economy.

Daya Krishan Mangal, UNFPA, Maharashtra

I followed the discussion on the Draft Approach Paper for the 12th Five Year Plan with keen interest. Some of my concerns are as follows.

The chapter on health in the Paper appears a progressive and forward-looking statement of intent. It delves into critical areas hitherto inadequately addressed or neglected. It refers to the imbalance in the health sector and efforts made to address it in the 11th Five Year Plan through a commitment to increase public sector health expenditure from the current levels of about 1 percent to 2.5–3.0 percent overtime and seven measurable targets set under NRHM. It has noted that though there was slow progress on these targets and it remained less than planned. The health expenditure will also be only 1.4 percent of GDP by the end of the 11th Five Year Plan period.

On health, the Paper refers to the development of a comprehensive health strategy for the next 10 years for the country to achieve faster progress. It also refers to make the NRHM vision more comprehensive to include both preventive and curative healthcare and integration of all national health programmes and bring them under the umbrella of NRHM. It also mentions comprehensive management reforms to enhance efficiency, effectiveness and accountability. All these statements sound like rhetoric without the detailed strategy to achieve these intents.

It is good that the Planning Commission is talking about comprehensive primary healthcare which is efficient, effective and accountable. This will require structural changes in

the way primary healthcare is organised in the country and redefine role of primary health care institutions from sub-centre to district hospital in rural areas and proposed primary health care institutions in urban areas; design and equip these institutions appropriately for delivering comprehensive health care following life cycle approach. It entails re-skilling all health professionals including paramedics, doctors, and specialists accordingly and examining staffing patterns (an Auxiliary Nurse Midwife is neither trained nor skilled to provide comprehensive primary healthcare). Effective supportive supervision is key for any functional primary health care model; hence efforts will be required to put in place a functional supervision system (which has become dysfunctional at most places over time). As a matter of fact, the entire organisation of the primary health care management structure in the district will have to be revamped.

The document refers to improving health infrastructure and suggests fulfilling the gaps in number of health institutions as identified in RHS 2010 during the 12th Plan. These gaps are based on the 2001 population. Ideally, the number of health institutions required should be estimated based on the projected population of 2017/2021. The rational of population based norms for deciding number of health institutions also requires careful reconsiderations. Population-based norms are not useful in areas with low population densities, difficult terrain and disadvantaged social groups. Ensuring that all health institutions conform to IPHS standards in terms of infrastructure, equipment, drugs and human resources should be a short term goal. While based on utilisation patterns, some health institutions may need additional resources.

Urban areas lack defined primary health care infrastructure. The National Urban Health Mission is expected to fulfill this gap. The NUHM should be launched to ensure access to quality comprehensive health care to urban population especially in slums.

The idea of developing district hospitals as knowledge centres is an innovative one. Transition from current approach of primary health care to comprehensive health care will require much training and re-training of in-service providers and district knowledge centres could play an important role. However, we need to take a lesson from our past experience of dealing with the training system and not repeat the same mistakes. To revamp the in-service training system and also nursing training institutions, it is important to create a fulltime trainers cadre and improve the infrastructure of training institutions in the country. Also, the onus of acquiring necessary skills

should be of service provider/staff member and health system should only provide opportunities to acquire these skills.

Similarly, other important functions like management of drugs, diagnostics, hospital waste management, infection prevention, record keeping, community participation, HIMS and information and communication will require standardisation, proper infrastructure and professionally trained human resource. It is needless to mention that these important functions have not received adequate attention from policy planners in past.

The 12th Five Year Plan must recognize that time has come to *move from ad hoc management practices to professional management* in areas of public health and hospital management. The entire district health management structure at block, district and state levels should be remodeled to ensure that professionally qualified officers are managing different national health programmes and public health experts are managing comprehensive primary health care. All hospitals with more than 50 beds have qualified hospital managers. On similar lines the structure of regional and state level directorate has to be made professional organisations. Similarly, the DGHS/MoHFW at the national level should have professionally qualified personnel drawn from all states, not from the CGHS cadre only.

Drug management deserves separate mention. India is the largest exporter of generic drugs, but we are not following the essential drug policy/rational use of antibiotic/rational use of blood and use of generic drugs in our public health system. Drug management, including logistics, is an important neglected area that deserves correction in 12th plan. Ideally all drugs should be dispensed from the health facility of Jan Aushadhi stores.

Public health has been neglected in the country, although all documents talk about it. The Draft Approach Paper has mentioned the creation of a public health cadre and establishing schools for public health training. Without due attention to public health and epidemiology, no health system can focus on prevention of diseases and promotion of health, but unfortunately this is what is happening in most states. All hospitals, both in the public and private sector, must have the position of clinical epidemiologist to ensure that these hospitals complement clinical care with preventive and promotive care especially in case of non-communicable diseases.

Human resources for health is another area which deserves careful consideration. Not only current vacancies should be filled on an urgent basis, such HR policy should be pronounced, so that suitable human resource is attracted, retained and nurtured to deliver comprehensive primary healthcare even in health institutions located in difficult areas. It is important to make recruitment, posting, transfer, promotion and career planning a transparent process free from all sorts of corruption. Another related area is private practice by the doctors working in public health sector. This is a high time to discuss rationale of private practice by the doctors and work out a different incentive, if required to retain doctors in public sector. Decision on prohibition of all sorts of private practice is an important step in ensuring that there is no discordance and conflict between an individual's objective and the organisation's objective.

Health systems research capabilities are low and need strengthening. This is evident from the fact that very little robust research data are available to assist programme managers in evidence based programming. The issues are lack of appreciation for research and lack of research capabilities. Health universities, medical colleges, national institutions, management schools and large district hospitals both in public and private sector must have research capabilities. It is a matter of concern that reliable data on vital events, morbidity and mortality is not available and we depend on indirect estimates in most instances. The country must improve capabilities to collect, compile and publish data related to vital events, mortality and morbidity at district level.

Private sector plays very important role in providing clinical care both ambulatory and inpatient in India. People access clinical care from private providers by paying for services out of pocket. The quality and costing of private sector care are important concerns. Currently, the private health sector is un-regulated and as a result very little information is available on morbidity profiles and case fatality rates. It is desirable to regulate private health care sector to ensure that it conforms to standard treatment protocols, provides ethical care and participates in national health programmes.

Lastly, I would like to comment on basic medical education including nursing and paramedical education in the country. Medical education institutions have flourished in the country over last few decades particularly in private sector. However, the country continues to face shortage of skilled human resource for health. There are many issues such as lack of qualified teachers and facilities for skill based training which results

in to poor quality of human resource. Medical education requires a critical review of curricula and obligatory adherence to quality standards. Perspective planning for human resource for the health sector which is based on current and future health needs of country is an important but neglected area. Planning for human resource should be given due attention in 12th Plan. This will enable planning for new courses and training programmes well in time.

Health financing is another important area. Basic health care and care related to public good must be provided to all without any exclusion. Health care related to pregnancy, child birth, accidents and emergency and during disaster should be ensured to all. Risk pooling may be promoted to cover individual clinical care.

K Suresh, Public (Child) Health Consultant, New Delhi

My inputs on the health chapter in the Draft Approach Paper for the 12th Five Year Plan is as follows.

I appreciate that the Draft Approach Paper recognises that

- The 11th Plan fell short of the expected target
- Focus only on child and maternal health not adequate
- Measurable targets laid only for IMR, MMR, TFR, undernutrition among under 5 children, anaemia in girls and women, provision of clean drinking water and raising child sex ratio
- Lack of capital investments for prolonged period
- Contractual positions account for nearly 50 percent of doctors, more than half of whom complete their tenure
- Weak / non existing first line supervisors in the health system
- Lack multi-disciplinary health system, problem solving professionals
- Minimal involvement (apart from curative services) of hospitals in National Health System
- Lack of accountability at all levels
- Public health expenditure only 1.4% of GDP
- Data of progress of 2008 only used for want of updated reliable data

Twelfth Five Year Plan lays emphasis on

- Defining health strategy more broadly

- Increase public health expenditure to 2.5 percent of GDP
- Improve efficiency, effectiveness and accountability
- Creation of public health cadre
- Promoting essential and generic drugs in public health system
- Programs to be assessed by outcomes rather than outlays
- Matrix to define the role and accountability of health, ICDS and water and sanitation departments
- Real time data collection, community based validation and medical audits measure quality, cost effectiveness and promptness of health care.
- Health care delivery to be made consultative and inclusive through i) strengthening PRIs and urban local bodies, ii) increase user participation through audits for all availability, and iii) bi-annual evaluation of processes by civil societies
- Break vicious cycle of multiple deprivations faced by women and girls, sex ratio and increasing gender discrimination and domestic violence.
- Convergence of health, ICDS and water and sanitation under Zilla Panchayat system
- Policy focus on requirements of old aged, adolescents, differently-abled and mental health
- Focus on infectious diseases like malaria, TB, HIV/AIDS
- Detection and treatment of non-communicable diseases like cardiovascular diseases, cancers, chronic respiratory diseases, tobacco control, hypertension and diabetes
- Dedicated funding for family planning in high fertility states bundled with RCH services

To me, the Draft Approach Paper appears more of a highly ambitious strategic intellectual exercise of generating all possible ideas without considering the feasibility of their success in the past or possibility in the near future of next five years. It ought to come out with clear cut execution strategy of all the wonderful ideas. I would have loved to see very specific (outcome indicators) strategic result areas. I know it may be early at this stage. But the paper should have spelled out the strategy for bottleneck analysis of the results not achieved and the way forward with budgeting for bottlenecks. The silence over the minimal involvement of hospitals in generating the surveillance data, ICD X classifications of conditions seen in the public sector hospitals and other major private sector institutions indicate the limitation of draft paper. A recent series of workshop in IDSP has indicated that we are missing crucial disease information in the range of 20-50 million new

out-patients in nine major states reaching the government facilities from the sub-district hospital onwards. It also brings the notional approach of our health system in procuring essential drugs.

On reviewing the sections, I have the following inputs to offer.

Health Infrastructure

- Consider establishing a health and nutrition volunteer in each habitation (hamlet).
- Each village (750 – 1000 population) to have 1 Anganwadi center for child development and young child care and feeding assistants to be paid from NREGA funds.
- Each health sub centre must run curative services clinics in its headquarter village daily and offer individual care services in their villages at least once every week.
- The PHC doctor to run outreach session in each of his sub centers once every week to build skills among the workers for sustained medical care and IMNCI for children. Conducting institutional deliveries must be facilitated through skill building and equipping the facility. Create position of new graduate health inspectors and lady health visitors (lateral entry) in each PHC to improve supervision and on job skill building among para-medicals.
- Similarly the CHC / taluka health system to run specialists clinic once a week in each of their PHCs for strengthening the referral mechanisms.
- Each CHC be provided a qualified epidemiologist (MPH) for data analysis and appropriate public health action.
- The district health and FW office should also have a qualified (MPH + experience) epidemiologist.
- Each CHC should be upgraded to provide all basic specialist services and training capacity of all sub-CHC paramedical workers.
- Computerise the data collation, analysis and use of relevant data collection, collation fixing the responsibility of surveillance and drugs accounting in all facilities on pharmacists and data entry operators equipping internet connection, data analysis software's and linking to district/state and national monitoring units.
- Build capacity in each district for data validation and use of data for annual work plans. Regional health and FW training centres and medical colleges if any can be equipped for this exercise.

- Urban health infrastructure must be created in all municipal towns with appropriate staff for passive services and outreach services for urban poor/slum population.
- Emphasis on essential drug and generic drug use must be made mandatory with immediate effect that saves lot of corruption in the health system.
- Take up the construction of PHC, SC buildings with staff quarters giving priority to the remote areas in next five years. Similarly, the hospital buildings need a re-look and start investing in them. I understand it may take five five year plans to reach some respectable position in these.

Human Resources

- I appeal for creation of strong first line supervisory cadre with lateral entry of newly trained graduate supervisors (male health inspectors of sanitation and CMDs and female for MCH, birth spacing etc).
- Similarly, I appeal for the creation of epidemiologists' posts at all block PHC/ CHC/ taluka with MPH qualifications and adequate number of specialists and nursing staff (obstetricians, gynaecologists, paediatricians, anaesthetists, physicians and surgeons) and for making 24 X 7 services feasible.
- District hospitals should cater to all specialties (including ENT, OPH skin/STD etc) and some super specialties (cardiology, endocrinology, cancers and neurology and mental health)
- All contractual people should be regularised with appropriate salary and promotional opportunities.
- MPH institutions and opening of graduate health inspectors and health visitors be given serious consideration as no doctor would do the supportive supervision.
- The rural doctors' graduation course scheme appears to be a fait accompli as it has a political face. Consider departmental candidates for the same (given they have minimum educational qualification).
- I wish all the politicians (made to give written commitment before seeking election) and government officials commit to utilise their services only in their constituencies.
- Can the word "coordination" be banned from use? It has failed to do any good job. The ICDS, health, water and sanitation departments are brought under the Zilla Panchayat, made to work as a team and are made accountable for results?

Towards Comprehensive Healthcare

- We do not have any comprehensive health implementation plan. Many stakeholders are promoting and confusing the district people with multiple plans.
- The planning group should entrust the responsibility of preparing a model district plan for comprehensive health program implementation to groups of development partners who are promoting too many individual project plans.
- Once one or a few draft plans are made they can be adapted by state groups.
- This should happen in the next six months.

Publicly Financed Healthcare Let the recently started let us insurance get its full trial in the 12th Plan and learn from that.

Child Nutrition and Re-structuring ICDS

- This is a good idea; we should consider getting child care and feeding assistants in each Anganwadi (@ 1 for 5 children aged 6–23 months) paid from NREGA
- Plan to handle the ready-to-eat food industry invasion in rural areas
- Adopt aggressive social marketing for local snacks

Last but most important, the Paper should recommend the set-up of a state/district specific strategic analysis of implementation bottlenecks, setting their own frontiers to be achieved by end of 2017, and that states prepare annual plans, execute them and show results in key areas every year. The accountability should be given to local teams and they should be held responsible, with specific disciplinary action for missing the results. I hope we will not be in the same situation in 2015 while preparing the plans for 2107–2022.

If the national planning expert group includes the people who have soiled their hands in the health system, the strategic plan can be more operationally meaningful.

Manoj K. Naresh, Independent Consultant, Jaipur

The Draft Approach Paper is quite comprehensive but I am giving few suggestions which the planner might find worth considering.

The AYUSH has been operationalised under the NRHM;

however, a number of measures need to be taken to make it more meaningful to have an improved impact at the community level. There is a need to strongly promote AYUSH system of medicine at the community level, especially in the rural areas. Regular monitoring and evaluation need to be introduced for the AYUSH to ensure the funds set aside for the system are being used efficiently.

With diseases like diabetes and the obesity epidemic on the rise, there is an urgent need to arrest the current trend. Steps should be initiated to popularise yoga among school children and also to educate parents and children on the disadvantages of the fast food culture plaguing the urban middle class. A study that looked at the burden of overweight citizens in six countries including Brazil, China, India, Mexico, Russia and South Africa found that between 1998 and 2005, India's overweight rates increased by 20 percent. Currently, almost 1 in 5 men and over 1 in 6 women are overweight. In some urban areas, the rates are as high as 40 percent. Hence, there is a strong need to address this challenge.

The usage of carbide chemical towards ripening of the fruits is a challenge that is yet to catch the attention of the health planners. The current practice of using carbide chemicals for the ripening of fruits need to be addressed, as evidence points to the presence of arsenic and phosphorus traces in the carbide chemical. There is a lot of evidence available on the use of the pesticides and the threat it poses on the environment and public health. To counter it effectively, some awareness on the optimal use of the pesticides be undertaken by the health department, which is feasible only with the support of the Department of Agriculture.

There is a mention of an increased focus on the urban segment through innovative local low cost treatment centers. However, it's not very clear if there will be an improved allocation for the water and sanitation for the urban slums, or it's being addressed through other sector.

There is a need to target the migrant populations, which remain largely untargeted by the health system and is never on the priority list.

With ASHAs in place to support the health system, the challenge for the AWWs is even greater today. Under a new format, the incentive based system could be used for the AWW too, to make their contribution more meaningful at the community level. It could be in the form of targeting the urban/ rural underserved pockets where the unmet

needs related to the family spacing and limiting still exists. There is also mention of an innovative health and nutrition monitoring and surveillance system to be put in place. The operationalising of such a system will be a big challenge, but involving the ICDS supervisors meaningfully could go a long way to make it feasible.

Kumkum Srivastava, Consultant– Public Health, Jaipur

I was reading the Draft Approach Paper and noticed that the Allied Health Personnel have been totally left out except for the Laboratory Technicians. This cadre forms a large chunk of the workforce and their contribution is unrecognised.

Increasing the numbers of Allied Health Personnel, developing their skills and regulating the professions will go a long way in fulfilling the shortage of doctors and nurses.

Work and Employment Community

2

Solution Exchange for the Work and Employment Community

Consolidated Reply

For Comments: Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan

Compiled by Warisha Yunus Issue Date: 5 October 2011

The Consolidated Reply (CR) to this consultation with summary will soon be issued and made available at <ftp://ftp.solutionexchange.net.in/public/emp/cr/cr-se-emp-20091101.pdf>

From Amitabh Behar and Radha Khan, Wada Na Todo Abhiyan, New Delhi

Posted 20 September 2011

Dear Members,

The Planning Commission, Government of India (GoI), has recently released the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan. Wada Na Todo Abhiyan had actively participated in providing civil society inputs to the Approach Paper in the stages when it was being developed. The resultant document entitled “Approaching Equity” was published and presented to the Planning Commission. Now, we from the Wada Na Todo Abhiyan would like to consult with various stakeholders on the contents of the Approach Paper.

The Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan is available at http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/12appdrft/approach_12plan.pdf). There are a few chapters specifically relevant for the members of the Work and Employment Community. We would specifically like members of the Community to give suggestions on the following chapters:

- Chapter 5 – Sustainable Management of Natural Resources
- Chapter 7 – Farm Sector
- Chapter 8 – Manufacturing Sector
- Chapter 9 – Education and Skill Development

A good critique of the Approach Paper would help in the formulation of a good plan. We look forward to receiving your comments and suggestions on the aforementioned chapters – the **critical issues to be included and modifications** to be made to address the theme of the Paper – faster, sustainable and more inclusive growth – in the best possible manner.

Your inputs will help us **prepare a set of suggestions for the GoI** based on an assessment of the issues that have not been adequately addressed in the Approach Paper. Suggestions from the Work and Employment Community would be duly acknowledged.

Responses were received, with thanks, from

1. **Hemantha Kumar Pamarthy**, Hand in Hand Micro Finance Limited, Chennai
2. **Mala Kapur Shankardass**, Maitreyi College, Delhi University, New Delhi
3. **Avant Kumar Sacheti**, Rajasthan Mission on Skill and Livelihoods (RMoL), Jaipur
4. **Anita Sharma**, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), New Delhi
5. **Kumar Ujjwal**, IDS-University of Sussex, United Kingdom
6. **Anima Sharma**, Independent Consultant, New Delhi
7. **V Prameela**, Sampark, Bangalore
8. **Shivani Bhardwaj**, Sathi All For Partnerships (SAFP), New Delhi
9. **Ashok Kumar Sinha**, Karma Consultants, New Delhi
10. **Subhendu Pratihari**, L & T Finance Limited - Rural Enterprise Finance Division, Mumbai

Responses in Full

Hemantha Kumar Pamarthy, Hand in Hand Micro Finance Limited, Chennai

While I agree on all that has been presented in the Draft Approach Paper, I would like to see the following additions.

Chapter 5 – Sustainable Management of Natural Resources

- Treating the citizens as stakeholders and thus as partners in the conservation of natural resources especially water. This would require a mammoth capacity building through all possible means that can include media in every form
- Promulgating strict rules against abuse of water resources
- Strict implementation of the rules

- Ensuring that NO government agency, be it federal or state, acts in contravention to the rules, especially in allotting lands for Export Processing Zones (EPZs), Special Economic Zones (SEZs) and so on
- Maybe start following a rationale for water rationing for all uses (we will anyway have to resort to the same sooner or later)
- Penalising strictly for exceeding limits
- Nationalising all natural resources
- Strictly following all possible technology in conserving water like water harvesting, using solar/wind/ “bio waste” energy or any other alternative sources
- Encouraging recycling in all forms
- Very urgently ensure all drains, across the country, are useful so that water let off into the sea can be controlled and to plunge into massive de-silting of water-bodies

On Chapter 7 – Farm Sector

I wish to quote an old Telugu adage “*Kula Vruttiki Saati Ledu...*” (Loosely translated it means that “there is no parallel to your traditional profession”). Very sadly, with the mushrooming education institutions across the country (all not necessarily of good quality), many younger generation farmers take a fancy to leave their traditional agricultural skills and learn other skills in which they may or may not excel or find an alternative source of income. Meanwhile, their farms become barren.

This is not the only reason: low soil fertility, inferior quality seeds, fertilisers, lack of natural resources such as water, paucity of electricity, low voltage, incompetent procurement pricing, the lure of huge money through real estate business, encroachments, government acquisition to give away to industries, all add to the dismay of the farmer leading to migration and in extreme cases driving them to commit suicide. No wonder the agricultural GDP was only 1.9 percent during 1997-98 to 2004-05. As it is the prices of food grains started shooting up and the irony is that neither the farmer has been benefitted nor the consumer.

Recently, many farmers in all parts of Andhra Pradesh went for “*Panta Viraamam*” (loosely translated it means ‘Pause in Farming’) and laid waste thousands of hectares of land beginning from delta alluvial areas to semi arid tropics to near desert areas of the state. This happened because farmers felt that they are debt ridden, their hard work doesn’t pay back and there is no benefit in farming. The farmers do not get

farm workers on time as they migrate to work as construction workers on daily wages.

If this trend continues, it would lead to corporate farming (not a bad idea per se) that could lead to monopoly and cartelisation in pricing (which has eluded farmers hitherto). It is heartening to note some actions are being taken as remedial measures. But would all these suffice? We wish to take remedial measures to reverse the trend and ensure food security. But what is the condition of our storage systems? How much is being lost to pilferage, to rodents and finally to decay?

Why can't we think of overhauling the system and ensure that fresh grain should regularly replace grain which is older by a year or till the shelf life exists as scientists' advice? (I totally agree with paragraph 7.20.)

Why don't we think of some real recognition to the performing farmers, to the innovative farmers, to consistent farmers? Will lip sympathy be enough? Why can't we think of state-wise *Krishak Ratnas* with very lucrative prize money that would create a sense of competition among the producers? The incentivisation should start from the school level so that no farmer ever abhors his work but takes pride in his work. Those responsible for ignoring the farm sector and the farmers have to very clearly remember that

Only after the last tree has been cut down

Only after the last river has been poisoned

Only after the last fish has been caught

Only then will we find that money cannot be eaten (be it gold or currency).

On Chapter 8 – Manufacturing Sector

We have been consistently misbalancing our sectors – giving more importance to some and less to some and so on – resulting in a ballooning effect in some sectors and near deprivation in others. In the past decade, so much more importance has been thrust on services than on manufacturing that the latter has taken a slight back seat, excepting perhaps vehicle manufacturing, which though contributing to job creation also poses infrastructural challenges.

Maybe the time has come for the economists to beat out a more pragmatic path than what is happening presently. Apparently, our quality of products has improved. But can we say the same as comfortably for back-up services?

When we talk of skilled resources, we have personnel who are qualified by degrees but the degree of their employability remains to be hovering around 50 percent calling for an immediate introspection and capacity building to ensure quality employees are made available for a wide range of product manufacturing and servicing.

We also need to simplify the methods of exports and imports. Sure, a lot many changes have been brought in but a lot many may be needed to keep in pace with the times. However, one cannot totally grudge the government's care in ensuring fair play. But it should not be a case of "missing the woods for the trees". (I agree with paragraph 8.14).

On Chapter 10 — Education and Skill Development

Education should be real education. All students across the country should be in a position to learn similar systems, methodologies and skills with very little regional variation.

Skills should include soft skills, communication and articulating ability in addition to the skills chosen by the students for their livelihood.

Most importantly, the students should be inculcated with civic sense (which now is woefully missing), moral aptitude and sense of patriotism to ensure that there would be "*Swami Kaaryam*" (work for the government / nation) and "*Swa Kaaryam*" (work for self).

Mala Kapur Shankardass, Maitreyi College, Delhi University, New Delhi

I have the following comments on the specific chapters.

Chapter 5 – Sustainable Management of Natural Resources

A greater emphasis is needed on citizens as partners, as no sustainable management of natural resources can be achieved without involving the main stakeholders. This should involve programmes to educate the public about misuse and regulation of water resources and strict action against the violators. There should be awareness on use of suitable indigenous and modern technology for conserving natural resources and citizens encouraged to adopt practices such as recycling, water harvesting and wind, solar and other forms of energy.

Chapter 7 – Farm Sector

There is a need to have a strategy for developing talent in the agricultural sector. Special study courses should be made available to those desirous of seeking high quality education in farming so that the status of agriculture knowledge is at par with other higher education programmes. Farming must be made attractive to youngsters. This would also require that other products, goods and services which impact on agriculture be made more efficient, quality requirements be made mandatory and facilities improved. Greater attention needs to be given on issues of poor and low fertility soil, scarcity of water and electricity, appropriate fertilisers, quality seeds, correct pricing, storage of grains and other food items with taking care of concerns related to shelf life, safeguard of land holdings, adequate wages and social security to agricultural workers, in other words make the agriculture and farm sector lucrative by bringing in incentives, recognition of the labor of the farmers, their families and those associated with this sector.

Chapter 8 – Manufacturing Sector

Manufacturing industry needs a professional status with funds available for special courses, up gradation of knowledge and building infrastructure. Challenges of regulation, monitoring, availability of resources at nominal costs, developing a service orientation and developing suitable employable opportunities need to be addressed urgently.

Chapter 10 – Education and Skill Development

Universal education with emphasis on theoretical and practical approach needs to be developed cutting across regional diversities. There must be opportunities for students to develop skills in their desired fields, which mean recognising the need for skills variety and providing facilities at different ages for learning, seeking knowledge and encouraging its applicability and removing negative conceptions about work and its undervaluation.

Avant Kumar Sacheti, Rajasthan Mission on Skill and Livelihoods, Jaipur

I have gone through the relevant paragraphs on skill development given in the Draft Approach Paper. As per the paper, the contribution of the 11th FYP could be a Policy on Skill Development and three tier structure as part of National Skill Development Mission for monitoring, etc. Some observations, comments and suggestions on the Paper

are given below.

- State Skill Development Missions have been constituted but there is *no provision for manpower and funding from the Central government*. In absence of these, it is likely that State Missions may not be able to contribute much to overall skill development target.
- The National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) is talking of *organisation of demand driven skill development programmes* only and all together forgetting need for *development driven skill development programmes*. This issue came for discussion at Seoul UNESCO sponsored International Conference in 1999, where more than 100 countries were present. After detailed discussion on the issue, it was resolved that developing countries need both for several more years. Moreover, in justification for demand driven programmes, I do not see vacancies advertised by the industries in the news papers, except for security personnel, drivers, sales person, welders and few more.
- Establishment of skill development centres in educational institutions for expanding skill development is good idea. But, at present, Ministry of Human Resource Development (MoHRD) has *no worthwhile scheme to introduce or to expand vocational education at the class XI–XII level*. Similarly, for introduction of vocational education from class X, as proposed in Approach Paper, would require another scheme, which may take few years, before it is implemented on the ground.
- The Ministry of Labour and Employment (MoLE) has started short duration MES modules under SDI scheme, but their offering is not seen on the ground in majority of the states. *Assessment and certification under the scheme requires lot of improvement* in terms of credibility and outcome. In my view, National Vocational Qualification Framework (NVQF) being developed by the Ministry should be developed around MES modules, ITI certificates, Polytechnic diploma and engineering degrees to provide vertical mobility in same sector leading to career mobility and opportunity for life-long education and training.
- The *NVQF of MoLE and National Vocational Education Qualification (NVQE) Framework of MoHRD is already creating confusion* in the minds of training providers and state governments and concerned Departments. This needs immediate attention at the appropriate level. Two NVQ frameworks and NSDC's Sector Skill Councils standards will create further confusion and recognition problems for the unemployed youth.

- NSDC has been functioning for quite some time and has sanctioned training for few millions to selected companies, *but trained less than 30,000 youth, so far, at a very high administrative cost.* This needs to be examined at early stage.
- The Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD) has funds for skill development under SGSY and SGSY (special Projects) but no institutional infrastructure, no courses, no trainers, no monitoring personnel, no assessment and no mechanism for certification. Why not transfer the MoRD budget to MoLE/MoHRD/State Skill Development Missions?
- *The National Skill Development Coordination Board (NSDCB) is coordinating skill development work in the country, but the states have not received any communication in terms of youth trained by various ministries.* Contribution of other 14 Ministries in terms of unemployed youth trained is not very significant. Many of them are upgrading the skills of persons through less than one week programmes. These programmes do not lead to employment. Hence, their coordination does not give new picture every quarter.
- Training providers of the two large ministries (MoLE and MoHRD) and with the Companies will have *great confusion with respect to selection of courses and their recognition* for employment as few courses are offered by state boards, NCVT and sector skill councils.
- In order to develop a national system of vocational education training and to resolve several issues of overlapping, duplication, quality assurance and development and implementation of NVQF, the Draft Approach Paper should have come out with some solution. In my opinion, one of the solutions could be establishment of one Nodal Ministry for Skill Development. This Ministry can be carved out by taking out Directorate General of Employment and Training (DGET) from MoLE, Technical / Vocational Bureau of MoHRD, funds available under SGSY, NSDC and its functioning. It should also have state level counterpart Ministries/departments. In absence of this, wastage of funds, duplication of efforts, time and money will go on and desire to have 500 million credible workforce may become a dream. Vertical and horizontal mobility visualized in two NVQ frameworks will also remain a dream.

Anita Sharma, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), New Delhi

I would like to highlight couple of issues with reference to Chapter 10 (Education and Skills Development), which are:

- It has been brought forward by many reports that youth, despite having undergone graduation courses, *lack the basic skills of being employable.* And these normally include very basic skills like communication skills, basic management skills, personal grooming, leadership, etc. *These skills should be included as part of middle school curricula* so that all those qualifying class VIII are ready for being 'employed' in service sector without any further training.
- Quality has so far taken back seat as far as both education and skills training is considered. The focus had been only quantity and quantity. It is high time that *focus shifts to quality* along with quantity. Quality has to consider all aspects – the appropriate curricula, well trained trainers and teachers, quality assessment system, etc.
- *Opportunities for further training and upgrading skills* need to be created. So far the focus has been only on pre employment training. There is no provision for skilled person to come back for further skilling or multiskilling training if they desire to do so.
- The government statistics had only been counting those youth as skilled who have participated in government programs or government supported programs. There are several NGOs *which offer quality training*, and have been doing so since many years. The training output of these institutions is not considered as 'trained/skilled' persons. This situation needs to improve to bring realistic picture on boards.
- To bring more acceptability to vocational training, *all schools should compulsorily offer at least one vocational trade in middle school level*, as was the case about two decades ago, as Some Useful and Productive Work (SUPW). *Inter school competitions should be organized* to award mastery of the skills.
- Independent evaluation and review of schemes introduced should be taken up to analyse what worked well and what should be changed. *Conferences and seminars at the national level should be organised to award those institutions which have performed exceptionally well*, success stories in the education and skill development sectors should be shared with all relevant stakeholders, trainees who have achieved heights in their career after walking the path of skills training should be given due recognition. Such

acts would make skills training an event and not just a failure's track.

Kumar Ujjwal, IDS–University of Sussex, United Kingdom

I am sharing some of the points based on my experience skill development (related to chapter 9).

Employability Skills for Livelihoods Enhancement

Quality of Training and Certification: Firstly, it is required to ensure the quality of training to improve the employability skills of individuals. Upgradation of existing Vocational Training Centres (VTCs) including Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs) may be required to improve the quality of training. Furthermore, a range of additional support such as career guidance, soft skills/life skills and personality development training is required through professional tie-ups with institutions to enhance the employability. Secondly, an assessment of labour market requirements would be required to understand the needs of human resource and identify the training needs for the individuals to match the market requirements. Training should be based on market demand.

Facilities for women: Separate centres are required to be set up in remote locations to create an opportunity, enhance the skills and ensure the participation of women in expanding workforce.

Skill Enhancement Programmes for Migrant Workers: Important to note is that a large number of the migrants (rural-to-urban) are un-skilled or semi-skilled so they struggle in the local markets due to inadequate skills and information. Largely they work in the informal sector. Therefore, it is required to understand the skill gaps/requirements and provide training to bridge this gap to make them common to employable or enhance their income level and career prospects.

Projection of the Requirement of Workforce and Emerging Trends: There has been massive growth in the labour market in the recent past due to the modernisation of trade and commerce, technological advancements and the ICT revolution. Due to the improvement and positive changes in the labour market, new opportunities and demand have emerged. To meet these demands, it is essential to expand vocational education and training and ensure that the skills

imparted by the institutes are in line with the skills required by industry and the expanding workforce. Higher employability skills would lead to better employment opportunities for individuals; therefore, the training system should be in line with the rapid changes in the market. Mainly, there should be focus on labour market assessment to minimise the imbalance of supply-demand ratio of labour force. Sector wise analysis of demand of workforce (formal and informal sector/organized and unorganised sector) must be done. Presently, the job sector is varied and demands a range of skills to match the employment opportunities. It is required to understand the labour market situation in the organised and unorganised sectors to determine the training course curriculum. Although training institutes (including ITIs) create a workforce largely for the organised sector, about 90 percent of the labour force is absorbed by the unorganised and informal sector, which results in a low placement rate.

Financial Assistance for Weaker Sections: Many individuals do not have resources to go for technical education or vocational training. There should be some mechanism to provide loan or grant/fellowships to the individuals from weaker section that may create opportunities for them. It would always be better to understand the interest of target audience before offering the training courses. For instance, there are different communities at different places in India and they have their own traditional knowledge or endowments; therefore, it would always be better to understand the interest of target group before the designing of the training programme.

Rural Employment Exchange – Linkage for Placement/ Placement Support: Post training support and job placement is required for the individuals. The purpose of this employment exchange would be to bridge the gaps between job seekers and recruiters. The interface with the industry would be an integral part of the training as the courses should be linked to apprenticeship/on-job training and placements after the completion of the courses. As many employment exchanges are operational however, there should be a system for regular career and employment information for all the candidates by using ICT and other tools. It would be helpful to bridge the knowledge gaps and find gainful employment or establish self-employment ventures to enhance the economic opportunities.

Monitoring and Support to Ensure Retention: Regular monitoring is required after the placement to understand the retention level and take corrective measures if required.

Anima Sharma, Independent Consultant, New Delhi

I am giving my inputs on Chapters 5, 7, 8 and 9 based on my knowledge and experience, without falling into any intellectual debate.

Chapter 5 — Sustainable Management of Natural Resources

We all know that natural resources are central to most of our needs; still, we use and misuse them indiscriminately. As a result, most of the natural stock of many of these resources is rapidly depleting. It is a matter of concern because all of these resources are not renewable. These diminishing resources pose two problems: (1) our needs will remain unfulfilled and (2) it also creates a disbalance in the pattern of energy consumption and energy flow. Here, I would like to make particular mention of the indigenous populations who have been living close to nature since time immemorial. Although they have been accused of certain practices, they have never posed an environmental threat. The main problem arose after the commercialisation of these resources. The profit-making corporate sector kept on exploiting the natural resources without thinking of ways to rejuvenate those. There have been instances where indigenous people have chased away employees of pharmaceutical firms when the latter kept on 'ruining' the medicinal plants by uprooting those entirely and without planting new plants. Now, the damage has already been done. But still we can take care of the existing resources by thinking of ways to rejuvenate those or by preparing synthetic alternative components or by changing the pattern of our needs, if we can.

Chapter 7 — Farm Sector

More than 70 percent of the Indian population lives in rural areas; among them, more than 80 percent are directly or indirectly employed in agro-based industries, thus making farming the main source of livelihood. In the past few years and decades, several changes have come up and innovative schemes introduced in the farming sector. Still, we find that these are uniformly accepted and launched in all the areas. The rural areas near the metropolitan cities and urban areas get the benefit of those schemes earlier than the remote areas. Sometimes, most of these do not even reach there. In rural areas near the cities, the youths are lured by the city life and are rapidly becoming dispassionate about their traditional ways of life. The job mobility and changing the mode of earning is not something new or unadvisable but in the case of these

youths the main problem is insufficient formal education. After studying up to a certain level in schools, most of them drop out from schools as well as from their traditions. This creates problems at multiple levels. Hence, I think that if we directly involve these youths in the modern farming then on the one hand we will be able to address the issue of the rural unemployment to a certain extent and it will benefit the productivity too.

Chapter 8 — Manufacturing Sector

In India, we have abundance of raw material, high number of unemployed people in the employable category, local talent and manufacturing unit at three levels – cottage/ village, small scale and large scale/corporate houses. What we lack is the proper link among them and their linkages with the market. As a result our manufacturing sector seems very haphazardly managed. To address this issue, I would suggest the promotion of rural market, enhancing rural economy, utilising the local resources (raw and human) and using local knowledge/wisdom in a systematic way within the framework of demand and supply and supply chain management. In the absence of this, I view progress in the manufacturing unit as the seven blind men exploring the elephant. A unified planning and consolidated effort involving all the levels in a proper way is an absolute essential.

Chapter 9 — Education and Skill Development

Education is for knowledge gain, but it is also deeply correlated with skill development. Everybody going to school does not complete school education; even after completing the school education there is no guarantee that they will go for higher education. Most students opt for professional studies after completing their education. But figures show that the rate of unemployment is not less among the uneducated and insufficiently educated youths. Not only unemployed people but people who are already in employment need to hone their skills to remain in the market and to produce better results. Therefore, skill development (including vocational training) and personality development combined with IT are increasingly becoming popular among urban as well as rural youth. At this stage, we need to promote these courses in the rural areas and develop courses in the simpler form and if possible in the local languages, to increase their acceptability in the rural areas by doing area and skill specific need assessment. If developing the courses in the local language is not possible, we should choose the local instructor who can impart the instruction in the locally accepted way.

Let us hope our next Plan is a success.

V Prameela, Sampark, Bangalore

I share Sampark's experience of skill training for youth.

We should not identify the skill training area and design courses accordingly; instead, we should facilitate the process and help youth to identify the skill training areas which would help them to increase their income. As youth themselves identify the area dropout rate will be less and also show interest to use skills after training.

The quality of training is important. Along with quality, certification of these courses are important because the employer expects the candidate to have a certificate through which it measures the quality of training potential employees possess. So certification from the well known institution is important for job placement.

At Sampark, the youth attending the technical skill training classes are also given inputs on enterprise development, such as how to start a business, make simple business plans, costing and pricing etc which would help them to start business after completion of training. Our experience has been that the youth initially want to take salaried employment as soon as they complete training but want to start their businesses after one year of working at the job. For example, a few youth who received driving training now own a few three-wheelers and run them as a business; a few have started mobile service centres. This would reduce the dependence on jobs.

Shivani Bhardwaj, Sathi All For Partnerships, New Delhi

There is no explicit mention of gender equality in the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Plan. Perhaps it is assumed that each sector will mainstream gender equality to be monitored by either a social audit or through a mission like the National Women Empowerment Mission or Climate Change Missions.

If the attainment of gender equality is assumed to be implicit in the mention of inclusion, it has the possibility of being ignored, unless mentioned specifically in indicators and monitoring. This gender equality must be at least planned for the workforce in India as they get resources to the household.

The Draft Approach Paper mentions that women and children make up 70 percent of the population of India. Therefore, it

should specify how the NPC will have a system of allocating 70 percent of resources for them. The mention of children and youth has been done across relevant sectors which is very encouraging. I would like you to refer to the experience of TAAL (<http://sathiallforpartnerships.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/Taal-report-sept-30.pdf>) that has developed a system of monitoring the reach of entitlements with a focus of child rights in convergence.

The document is gender-neutral and needs to include gender equality language and give sex-disaggregated data. Planned allocation to facilitate collection of sex disaggregated data at sectoral and spatial planning in baseline studies need to be set aside for the work of institutionalising gender in the entire 12th Plan.

The SAFP suggests the inclusion of gender resource gap as a factor to plan greater inclusive growth. The SAFP study is supported by the National Commission for Women (NCW) that suggests that gender resource gap at household level is 16%. This is further collaborated by the KHAS study done by IIM Bangalore. These reports suggest a method to calculate this gap to fulfill constitutional requirements to provide women and men equal opportunities to contribute to self and national capabilities.

This gender resource gap will not be uniform for different classes, regions, SC/STs, minorities or the disabled/vulnerable. Specific monitoring mechanisms are needed to ensure that each sub plan works to give women equal share in all categories. The SAFP study on Dalit women's resources will provide more information on how this can be done for the Special Component Plan for SC and for its application for area development plan that needs to be linked to the gender plan of each district.

Ashok Kumar Sinha, Karma Consultants, New Delhi

Here I would like to share my reflection and inputs. My inputs are related to my own understanding as well as my association / contribution to different groups / institutions on policy advocacy agenda.

Chapter 5 – Sustainable Management of Natural Resources

Water Resource Management: Water Resource Management includes optimizing the benefits of drinking water among competing uses while ensuring that human needs are met and

environmental resources are protected, as well as supporting efforts to manage and / or adapt to hydrological variability and the risks of floods and droughts – disaster prediction, preparedness and responsive via early warning systems, hydro-meteorological monitoring, modeling, forecasting. Effective guide should be provided for the effective and sustainable use of limited water resources.

Food Security: There should be space for food security in the context of Drought and Flood like disaster situations. Generally, vulnerable communities groups face problems of food security during the distress month period. Drought/ Flood relief and rehabilitation packages are not of much benefit to the vulnerable groups

Land: Through this reflection here I would like to share the recommendation on proposed Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation & Resettlement Bill, 2011. This recommendation is generated by FIAN India and here I am sharing this recommendation as member of NEC, FIAN India.

- The corporate, industries and private parties should buy land directly from farmers and land owners at present market rate. The state or union governments should not forcefully acquire the land for them.
- The land acquired by governments or private companies should not be treated as commodity for profit or retransferred or resold to other private companies at higher price.
- If acquired land is not used till five years for the purpose of the said project, the land should be returned to the original farmers without any charges.
- Minimum Rehabilitation and Resettlement amount (Page 10 under minimum R& R entitlements) – For land owner, Point 1. – Subsistence allowance should be increased @ Rs. 10,000 per family for three years.
- Point No. 4 – Three acres of land should be given to each family in all kinds of projects. In case of irrigation project, three acres of land in the command area.
- Point 8 – Mandatory permanent employment for one member of the family. (Priority to women) or an amount equivalent to the 20 year salary of the 4th class employee of the Central Government.
- Schedule II – Minimum R & R entitlements to livelihood losers – Mandatory permanent employment for one member of the family. (Priority to women) or an amount equivalent to the 20 year salary of the 4th class employee

of the Central Government.

- Schedule II – Minimum Rehabilitation & Resettlement entitlements to livelihood losers and other most vulnerable communities such as urban poor, homeless, orphans, physically challenged and community displaced due to flood, river erosion.
- All displaced communities should get Below Poverty Line (BPL) status.
- All the entitlement schemes like Mid Day Meal, Old Age Pension; ICDS etc should be immediately implemented in the rehabilitated areas.
- Schedule II – Special provisions for Scheduled Tribe families: – under this provision Scheduled Caste (Dalits) should also be included.
- Point.3 Special Provisions for ST – Onetime payment of Rs. two lakhs instead of Rs. 50,000/-
- Point No. 3 Special Provisions for ST – The number of the displaced families should be 50 instead of 100.
- Environmental degradation cost should be included in the project.
- Social Impact Assessment (SIA) committee should comprise with 2 members from the bureaucracy, 2 from judiciary, one local M.P. and one MLA, 2 members of academia (sociology, political science and environmental science), and head of village panchayat (from affected community). There should be proper representation on the basis of gender and other social groups.
- SIA should be mandatory even if the 50 families are displaced.
- There should be compulsory consent of the Gram Sabha instead of just consent of Gram Sabha.
- In case of the false information by the companies the project should be cancelled.
- In case the project has started 5 or ten years back but the rehabilitation and resettlement has not yet taken place, the provisions of this Act will apply.

Housing schemes for the rehabilitation of the economically weaker sections should be part of the city development plan.

Chapter 7 — Farm Sector

Many places agriculture is done by the sharecropper but they are not entitled for any kind of benefits from the government schemes / programme. Like in case of drought rehabilitation,

benefits always goes to land owner. As it has been already mentioned in draft paper that plan will explore the feasibility of synergizing activities of MNREGA with agriculture operation. In similar ways *space should be also created for sharecropper in the farm sector so that they get properly engaged in agriculture.*

Common Pool Resources: Provisions should be made for creation or maintenance of common pool resources for landless wage labourer community groups also else its maximum benefits are limited to land holder community groups.

Chapter 10 — Education & Skill Development

Education: Many girl children of socially excluded groups like Kols and Musahars are not moving ahead for class Xth or higher education. Special provisions should be made for such interested girls' children for ensuring their higher education.

Skill Development: Pro-migration based skilled development are being implemented at present, which has not brought much progressive results and impact in favor of the BPL youth and women – drop out cases are higher in such kind of model like present SEAM training model – wages are also not very attractive for the rural youth and living conditions was also not very friendly & respectable. So focus should be given on promotion of such trades, which could be easily absorbed by the business groups / company at district or state level particularly in the state of Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh.

In the skill development programme, *space should be created for respectable job placement of the trained BPL candidates and sensitization programme should be planned for the placement company for providing conducive working environment for newly joined (trained under vocational skill training programme) candidates.*

In Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) model, roles of each stakeholder are important but somewhere we have to be more specific in assessing the profit of the PPP model i.e. are corporate and company gaining more benefit in grant mode from the government schemes / benefits or it is largely benefiting the target groups in getting employment with respectable salary. Just ensuring minimum wages to trained candidates should not be a criterion for placement link, there should be some competition as per the results and performance of the candidates during training programme.

Subhendu Pratihari, L & T Finance Limited – Rural Enterprise Finance Division, Mumbai

Before I provide my comments on the query to the suggested points in the Draft Approach Paper 12th Five Year Plan, I would like to share certain critical feedback on the recent socio-economic environment prevailing in India.

In recent times there have been severe upheavals in the country due to growing corruption, social unrest, increased suffering for poorest section of population due to economic disruption. There is a visible and widespread division between poor and rich. The present economy and the system provide better opportunity for people with capacity to grow. Some of the powerful development initiatives worth mentioning are: devolution of power to Gram panchayat/ urban local bodies (73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Act), Right to Information (RTI), Right to Education (RTE), Mahatma Gandhi Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) and now National Skill Development Mission (NSDM). Even initiative such as introduction of e- governance has also far reaching positive consequences in the development. However people who are poor and marginalized historically have moved further down in the process. Recent report of multiple institutions of government has validated that population below poverty line is more than 40 percent.

A cursory glance into the results of these programmes provides us several disturbing pictures:

- **73rd and 74th CAA:** Poorly adopted/ adapted universally by states across the country. There are many good case studies of Gram Sabha, where there is regularity of occurrence, participation of local community in the planning and decision making process, however in majority cases, we do not find Gram Sabha allowed to work in a manner that was originally intended.
- **MGNREGS:** Result is mixed and linear towards negative outcomes including siphoning of funds.
- **JNNURM:** Less than 20 percent of the funds are utilized under the Community Participation Fund. Almost all the City Development Plans (CDP) are done by nominated consultants. Stakeholders for whom plan is made have never been consulted or never been given opportunities. About urban poor, they have been completely alienated. There is visible reluctance on the part of Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) to provide space for participation. Finally

CDP funds are yet to be utilized. Many ULBs have not been able to send proposal to JNNURM Cell due to inadequate capacity to involve local communities in the planning of the projects. Finally major chunk of JNNURM fund is used by few Mission Cities with focus on only infrastructure. The Basic Services to Urban Poor submission fails to have a major impact.

- **Recognition of Forest Rights Act:** People associated with the Government during the time the same was enacted convincingly informed that the historical injustice to tribal community will be addressed by this act. Everybody was positive, but the result is that forest department continues to claim their rights. There is perceived conflict between various sections of the act – community rights vs. individual rights. Most of the state have either not genuinely followed or are disinterested to follow the same.
- In almost all the super programmes being undertaken, the results are similar.

The question often being raised that why all these progressive steps/ programmes failed to achieve desired results. What are the root causes of these problems, why is that we are unable to address these root causes? Why does the service delivery process entail inefficiency and ineffectiveness? How should we address governance issues?

With this backdrop, I would like to share my reflections on the Chapter 5 – Sustainable Management of Natural Resources of the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan.

Sustainable Management of Natural Resources: This can occur only, if local communities are involved critically in the whole process. Gram Sabha needs to have a sub tier called Ban Sabha/ Mandali, which is already there. This structure needs to be activated. Adequate training, orientation programme and supportive monitoring needs to be there in the process. The role of local CSOs are quite important for spearheading the same. Forest Rights Act (FRA) needs to be implemented consistently. During the 1990s Joint Forest Management (JFM) was fast adopted and provided space for local community and Gram Sabha participation in the forest protection. Rights Based Approach (RBA) is most acceptable method where in forest communities will be empowered to claim rights and service providers (forest department/ Gram Panchayat and others) will be sensitized for responding effectively to the needs of the community.

Food insecurity is one of the major challenge faced by both urban and rural poor due to increasing cost of commodities/

food items, scarcity caused by regular ecological stress, etc. In urban area, there is scarcity of land for poor to grow crop/ vegetable. The plan must talk about introduction of urban agriculture. Urban poor can be grouped in to SHGs/ vegetable grower society and be given community land (school premises, municipal waste land, other grounds, space near railway track etc. for the same. Community Participation Fund (unutilized yet) can be diverted for this purpose. Let us start with Mission cities, then replicate.

For adverse climate change: Polluter pay principle needs to be applied. The amount of carbon dioxide gas and other emission a company emits has to be repaid with similar amount in terms of capital or responsibility to the society. It is seen that many companies though take away massively repay very less. Recent excessive and rampant mining is a blatant example. There must be an agency and system to look into these matters. There is example of states where several industry houses has been allowed to be establish without conducting basic Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). It is of course now mandatory. Public hearings are hardly conducted where local people have participated and their grievances are settled.

I therefore suggest a wider stakeholder consultation of the 12th Five Year Plan with various stakeholders for wider perspectives. Mere discussion and discourse by development expert and planner will not provide the clear ground reality. Various CSOs along with respective Municipal Corporation, Municipalities, Zila Panchayat and other such bodies can be associated with in the process.

Comments of the Decentralization Community members on the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan

Compiled by Tina Mathur on behalf of Solution Exchange, Decentralization Community

Members of the Decentralization Community appreciated the Planning Commission for widely recognising civil society organizations (CSOs) and for providing space for enabling citizens to give suggestions while constructing the Approach Paper for the 12th Five Year Plan. They gave the following specific comments.

Overall Comments on the Draft Approach Paper

There should be a paradigm shift in the Draft Approach Paper to the 12th Five Year Plan. It is better to have two approaches instead of 'an approach'. One approach for those States/ Union Territories/ Regions that have developed and addressed almost all problems related to first generation. These States/ Union Territories/ Regions have all together a different set of issues, say, second and third generation problems. On the other side, underdeveloped States/ Union Territories/ Regions have to address mainly first generation development issues. Second and third generation problems are not a serious issue for them.

On the basis of Human Development Index (HDI), States/ Union Territories/ Regions can be divided into two categories (Category One and Category Two). Category One includes States / Union Territories / Regions having HDI between 0.700 and above. And Category Two includes those having HDI less than 0.700. (All the States and Union Territories have prepared human development reports. At the district level also, preparation of human development reports have been either completed or started). This argument for two approaches has some evidence in the draft approach document of Twelfth Five Year Plan itself. It says, "Several of the economically weaker States have demonstrated an improvement in their growth rate. Amongst them are Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand, and to some extent Uttar Pradesh." It also admits that "Some formerly higher income and high growth States have shown slightly weaker growth over the 11th Plan period, most prominent of which are Karnataka and Tamil Nadu."

The available evidence suggests that the approach and strategy to the 12th Five Year Plan may be more suited and conducive

for weaker States / Union Territories / Regions in terms of HDI and other development indicators. A 'leveling of approach' is not suited to contribute potential growth rate from higher income and higher growth States. In other words, 'leveling of approach' will lead to a convergence in economic attainment across States, which in turn may accelerate the process of stagnation of development within the higher HDI States. Finally, the hitherto high performing States may move towards a retarded growth rate. For achieving 9-9.5 percent targets for 12th Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission has to adopt 'multi dimensional approaches' based on development indicators rather than 'an approach'.

The approach and strategy of the 12th Five Year Plan assumes much significance mainly in the context of evolving economic crisis and consequent issues on the one hand and country's obligation to fulfill the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) on the other. The economic crisis threatens to destabilise development segments and the vulnerable groups would be victimized more. The deadline to achieve MDGs – eight anti-poverty goals by 2015 – is also in the midst of the 12th Plan. However there exist deficiencies in attaining MDGs, viz. eradicating extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and develop a global partnership for development.

There has been a paradigm shift in the development discourse since the late nineties – from a mere GDP based development approach to the human development approach. However the development approach for the 12th Plan is centred on the GDP as can be read from the Planning Commission's document. (See Section 1.3) Acknowledging the fact that water, health, sanitation, education, environment, etc are mentioned in the document, the perspective need to reflect the core issues and challenges the vast population of the country faces. It is the human development approach that encompasses the issues of health, education, and livelihood for the survival and sustenance of the people.

Chapter 6 — Rural Transformation

As the Draft Approach Paper argues, there is "an unprecedented injection of resources from the Union Budget to the rural and farm sector". There is evidence to show financial inclusion by covering a population of 100 million from the poorest segments of the community. But the injection of resources

and opening bank / post office accounts under MGNREGA does not provide real development and transformation to the rural economy. Rural transformation requires rapid expansion of employment and income opportunities. The Draft Approach Paper says there is a total of 13 flagship development programmes, and in all these programmes a certain proportion of funds is set apart under a 'flexi-fund' to promote innovation. It also argues that there is a need for greater state specific flexibility reflecting the variations in conditions across the country.

But where is the 'flexi-fund' available? What type of State-specific flexibility is reflecting under the flagship programmes? In the majority of States, all the flagship programmes are considered as either the Collector's pocket money or the pocket money under the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Zilla Parishad. In the administration of the flagship programmes, no space has been allowed to the elected representatives of the PRIs by the officials. Though all the flagship programmes especially require the involvement and ownership of Panchayats, generally schemes are implemented by the functionaries of the line department. The Draft Approach Paper argues for the "accountability of local government functionaries to the elected local representatives". The reality is that the very local government functionaries are not allowing the elected representatives to act and function. There are incidents to suggest that elected local representatives are not allowed to occupy even their respective space in Zilla Parishads and Block Panchayats.

The Draft Approach Paper reports that "PESA would lead to self governance and empowerment of the people. However, implementation of PESA is far from satisfactory. Most of the States have not framed rules for implementation of PESA so far." The Planning Commission should try to find out the reasons for the present state of PESA implementation. However, the Paper is silent on these matters. Without real devolution of powers to the Local Self Governments rural transformation is impossible.

Chapter 15 — Governance

The Draft Approach Paper rightly speaks about the role of good governance in the broader context of both the functioning of the society and the implementation of the Plan schemes. According to the Paper, "[a]n important reason for the relative lack of success of many flagship programmes in India is that the local institutions that should run these programmes are not adequately empowered. The 73rd

Amendment transferred functions to PRIs but there has been very little effective devolution of funds or of control over functionaries.” For the present status, the approach paper makes allegations against State Governments. It says: “Action in this area lies predominantly with state governments.” The political economy analysis gives an impression that the Government of India too is equally responsible.

Delays in wage payments have nullified the achievements of the MGNREGA. High rates of mortality in SHGs have an adverse impact of the self employment schemes. The inability to transform Indira Awaas Yojana into a larger habitat programme is its major weakness. Slipback is a major problem of TSC and NGP Gram Panchayats whereas lack of aquifer management perspective is the lacuna in watershed management programmes. However, Panchayats are generally criticised for the poor project implementation and lack of project management capabilities of the system, in which Panchayats have no real role.

The time-consuming nature and the inability to track ‘utilisation certificates’ are the major reasons for poor monitoring of fund flow. For tracking of central and state releases, the Draft Approach Paper stands for the Central Plan Scheme Monitoring System (CPSMS). The CPSMS has been initiated by the Controller General of Accounts in collaboration with the Planning Commission to serve as a comprehensive MIS and decision support system. This deserves appreciation.

The Draft Approach Paper is silent on the areas and districts under the most extremist affected including left wing extremists. It is reported that there are around 83 districts in India under the category of most extremist affected districts (MEAD) and left wing extremist districts (LWED). These deserve a focus.

The problem of corruption has been considered a major issue of governance by the Draft Approach Paper. It suggests a multifaceted approach to deal with corruption. The Paper also argues for the improvement of the electoral reforms. Members suggested the introduction of the system of ‘proportional representation’ as one of the major electoral reforms. The Planning Commission needs congratulation to accept and equally recognize the important of specialist trained in alternative dispute resolution with expertise in conflict assessment, management, mediation and facilitation.

The Paper’s ‘governance’ sub-topic speaks vehemently about the service delivery and good governance. But these are addressed more in the context of Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSSs), not in the real spirit of ‘decentralisation’, ‘local governance’, etc.

These existing deficiencies and critical gaps must be addressed if the MDGs have to be attained within the deadline – the middle of the 12th Plan. The need for inclusive governance has been encountered during the recent past. The concern on climatic changes and subsequent negative externalities that disproportionately affects the most vulnerable groups is another area requiring serious attention. The rights-based development programmes like MGNREGS need to be intensified. And all developmental programmes need to reflect the rights-based approach. Considering all these, the 12th Plan approach should focus on being

- sight based,
- inclusive, and
- participatory.

Focusing the perspective triad, the major focus should be more on:

- Intensifying the concerned programmes to achieve MDGs by 2015
- Formulating strategies to create new environment to respond to climatic change
- Ensuring inclusiveness and participation in all programmes
- Framing the CSSs with Inclusive governance and
- Strengthening the transparency and accountability mechanisms at Central, State, and local government level.

WADA NA TODO ABHIYAN

Wada Na Todo Abhiyan (WNTA) is a national campaign. It envisages holding the government accountable to its promise to end poverty, social exclusion, and discrimination.

At the World Social Forum 2004, Mumbai, human rights activists and social action groups agreed on the need for a forceful, focused, and concerted effort to make a difference to the fact that one-fourth of the world's poor live in India, and continue to experience intense deprivation of opportunities to learn, live, and work in dignity. WNTA emerged from this consensus.

WNTA aims to make a difference by monitoring the promises made by the Government of India to meet the objectives set out by the UN Millennium Declaration (2000), the National Development Goals, and the promises of the UPA II government with a special focus on the Right to Livelihood, Health, Education and Exclusion.

WNTA works to ensure that the concerns and aspirations of Dalits, Adivasis, nomadic tribes, women, children, youth, people with disability and people living with HIV/AIDS are mainstreamed across programmes, policies, and development goals of the Central and state governments.

WNTA is a coalition of over 4000 rights action groups across 28 states and three Union Territories of India to link individuals and social groups and engage policy-makers on issues of strategic relevance.

WNTA is also an affiliate of the UN Millennium Campaign (UNMC) and the Global Call to Action against Poverty (GCAP).

A Campaign Coordination Group consisting of more than 130 organizations governs Wada Na Todo Abhiyan. An elected Convenor leads the Group. The Campaign Steering Group functions as WNTA's executive committee and comprises 21 elected representatives from the Campaign Coordination Group. The National Campaign Coordinator is the Member-Secretary of the Campaign Steering Group.

The Campaign Secretariat is based in New Delhi. It implements the daily operations of WNTA and supports the functioning of the different groups and bodies formed through the Campaign Coordination Group under the leadership of the National Campaign Coordinator.

SOME WNTA INITIATIVES

- All India People's Manifesto: Developed charter of demands in more than 300 parliamentary constituencies across the country just before the 2009 general election
- The first-ever People's Mid-term Appraisal of the 11th Five Year Plan

- Annual Civil Society Review of the UPA II's promises
- Women's Tribunal against Poverty III: Women's Tribunals are being organized in 10 states, followed by a National Tribunal in Delhi
- Various activities around UN Millennium Development goals
- "Nine is Mine" campaign to demand the allocation of 9 percent of the GDP to health and education measures
- Bimonthly radio programme "Haq Hamara Wada Tumhara" on Air 102.6

PUBLICATIONS

- Women's Charter Against Poverty, March 2008
- Review of the Three Flagship Schemes of the UPA, April-May 2008
- The People's Verdict, 4th Civil Society Review of the NCMP, May 2008
- Case studies from India Towards the UN High Event on the MDGs, Sept. 2008
- All India Peoples Manifesto, Dec 2008
- National Consultation on the Role of Civil Society in the Eleventh Five Year Plan, 15-16th Dec 2008
- All India Peoples Manifesto: Summary of Demands, March 2009
- 100 days of UPA-II Governance: Popular aspirations, Promises, Commitments & Missing Links, Sept 2009
- Women's Tribunal on Climate Justice: Testimonies from Dalit, Adivasis and Muslim, 11-13th Nov 2009
- How Inclusive is the Eleventh Five Year Plan? People's Mid Term Appraisal, Feb 2010
- Universalization of Education and the issue of PPP in India, 27-28th March 2010
- A Civil Society Response on 1 Year of UPA-II, 17th June 2010
- A response to The India Country Report on Millennium Development Goals, Aug 2010
- Millennium Development Goals in India, 2010 - A Civil Society Report, 17th Sept 2010
- Women's Tribunal against Poverty - III: Testimonies from Single Women, Dalit, Adivasi and Muslim Women, women from Urban Slums and Transgender, Nov 19-20th 2010
- Approaching Equity: Civil Society Inputs for the Approach Paper - Twelfth Five Year Plan, 3rd May 2011
- The People's Verdict: Civil Society Review of UPA-II Government's Performance, 23-24th June 2011

Our effort is to make this 12th Five Year Plan inclusive and to create enabling spaces, where the viewpoints of the most marginalised, disadvantaged and poorest of the poor groups/citizens of our country can be voiced and heard.

Our inputs to the Plan approach are formulated keeping human rights and social justice principles in mind.

