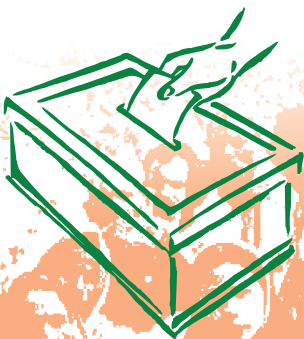




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INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISE

ICSSR, MHRD, GOI RECOGNIZED CENTRE FOR EXCELLENCE IN RESEARCH

Governance Reform Initiatives in Punjab:
A Review

The Role of Education in the Working of
Democratic Institution

RBI Autonomy — A Myth or Reality?

The Public Policy Significance of Social
Enterprise: A Case Study of India

‘Best Practices’ and Their Role in Policy
Implementation: Case of Saksham Haryana

Maternal Death Review: Challenges and
Evidence Generation for Improvement in
India

Cash Transfers During COVID-19 Pandemic
and Roadmap to Universal Basic Income






Alternatives for Financing Higher Education
in India



Aims and Scope

Journal of Governance & Public Policy is a bi-annual refereed journal published by the Institute of Public Enterprise to provide a forum for discussion and exchange of ideas on Governance (local to global) and Public Policy (including foreign policy and international relations) by policy makers, practitioners and academicians.

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From the Editors' Desk



The endeavor of the Journal of Governance & Public Policy has been to highlight the social, political and economic issues that have colossal impact of the lives of the citizens of the country. The Journal has been very selective in choosing the articles that fit into the broad contours of the governance and public policy. The article “Governance Reform Initiatives in Punjab: A Review” has highlighted the administrative reforms at the national level and Punjab in particular with the specific focus of improving the efficiency on one hand and eliminate corrupt practices on the other hand. The article has brought out various stages of administrative reforms in Punjab and corresponding challenges faced by the leadership in the state.

The article, “The Role of Education in the Working of Democratic Institution” has brought out the issues pertaining to the role of education in the successful functioning of democracy in the country. The article provides sufficient data to showcase that the selection of good leadership is linked to enrolment in higher educational institutions. Further, the article, “RBI Autonomy – A Myth or Reality?” the author has highlighted the need for the role of the RBI in providing stability to the country’s financial system; hence there is a need for the Government to provide sufficient autonomy to RBI. The article has highlighted certain issues like NPAs, financial frauds, etc, which have eroded the autonomy and flexibility of the bank and how the Government and the RBI clash on several issues of national significance.

The article, “The Public Policy Significance of Social Enterprise: A Case Study of India” has brought out the fact that the concept of social enterprise has gained significance in the recent past. The author says that India is presently emerging as one of the prominent hubs for the impact-driven businesses called social enterprises. The article, “‘Best Practices’ and Their Role in Policy Implementation: Case of Saksham Haryana” has brought out implementation of ‘Saksham Haryana’, launched by the Government of Haryana in 2017 to achieve grade-level competencies among students in government primary and middle schools across the state. The study found that mentoring and monitoring has shown significantly good results in raising the competency levels of the students in the state of Haryana.

The article, “Maternal Death Review: Challenges and Evidence Generation for Improvement in India” has found the issues pertaining to the maternal death rate and one important finding has been the weak health system which could be due to internal barriers that hinder the process either from the providers or government. The article, “Cash Transfers During COVID-19 Pandemic and Roadmap to Universal Basic Income” has brought out the fact that Government is capable of handling large scale cash transfer programmes due to the strengthened digital payment infrastructure. The authors of the article, “Alternatives for Financing Higher Education in India” has found that the spending on higher education is too small and needs to be boosted to far higher levels and there is a need to tap funds from the financial and capital market.

On the whole, this issue provides a mix of articles ranging from governance reforms and education to RBI’s autonomy and social enterprises. The mix of articles provides good insights into the issues pertaining to governance and public policy in India. The reader will find the mix of articles interesting and insightful in the Journal.

Dr Geeta Potaraju
Dr A Sridhar Raj

Governance Reform Initiatives in Punjab: A Review

Nirdosh Kaur Gill¹
Navreet²

Abstract

The democratic governments have paved the way towards welfare state and citizen-centric governance. In India, citizen-centric governance reforms have been initiated through various commissions and committees to make administration citizen oriented which is committed to the service, welfare and development of the common man. The legislative measures were taken and administrative attempts were made at central as well as state level. The government of Punjab also initiated reforms to bring efficiency, time bound services in a corruption free manner in the administration. To bring about positive changes and fulfill the aspirations of the people the Governance Reforms Commission was set up in 2009. This paper is an attempt to discuss the major initiatives taken at union level as well as state of Punjab for making administration citizen oriented and to what extent these programmes and policies have been implemented.

Keywords: Administration, Citizen Friendly, Commissions, Governance, Reforms

Introduction

After getting independence in 1947, India commenced its journey towards making the state a sovereign, socialist, democratic republic. It initiated to modernize the state and its administration by adopting parliamentary democracy. But most of the analysts and scholars of the world were skeptical about the success and working of the parliamentary democracy in a country like India, which was not only jam packed with the diversities but also had wide spread poverty and illiteracy. J S Mill had a strong

1 Associate Professor, A.S.S.M. University College, Mukand Pur, Distt. S.B.S. Nagar, Punjab and can be reached at gunugill@gmail.com

2 Associate Professor, Department of Public Administration, Panjab University, Chandigarh and can be reached at navreet9@gmail.com

connotation that democracy is at the crossroads in societies and countries which are diverse ethnically and linguistically (Lijphart, 1996, P. 258). In consonance with Mill's opinion Selig S. Harrison even predicted about the disintegration of the country opining that "The odds are almost wholly against the survival of freedom and the issue is in fact whether any Indian state can survive at all" Robert A. Dahl goes a step further when he put forth his argument that poverty and illiteracy are the banes for healthy democracy (Lijphart, 1996, P. 259). But all these kinds of propositions and predictions have been proved wrong with the successful existence of the state when seventy one years have already passed after independence.

In all these years the country passed through many ups and downs but attempts to devise new tools, techniques and strategies for efficient, effective, participatory, development oriented, citizen-centric administration never came to a halt. The administrative reforms continued to be a major consideration under various governments in India. The numerous committees and commissions set up after the independence are clear evidence of this fact.

The Indian leadership and particularly the Constitution makers were fully devoted to bring changes in the socio-economic conditions in the country. Moreover the Constitutional makers were aware of the fact that in a poor country like India political democracy would not be able to work without economic democracy. Likewise they made a couple of arrangements in the Constitution to make rudimentary alterations in the socio-economic conditions of the country. In this regard the two most important measures taken are in the form of Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy. On the one side the Fundamental rights contained in Chapter-III of the Constitution forbade the discrimination on the basis of caste, religion, language, place of birth etc., and thus giving right to equality but on the other side same chapter on fundamental rights ensures the privileges given to minorities, oppressed and backward classes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes of the population by applying protective discrimination on them. The Directive Principles of State Policy are directives to state in establishing fundamental goals of a welfare state and it is the duty of the state to give proper attention to these principles while making laws. The Article 38 of the Indian Constitution very clearly gives instruction to the state for boosting the welfare of the general public. It also directs state to create such a social order which is based on the principles of justice and equality and all the public serving institutions work towards meeting the objective of welfare of all (The Constitution of India, Article 38). The Constitutional historian Granville Austin described provisions of the Indian Constitution as a goal to promote social revolution. "To achieve the targets of social revolution framers of the constitution made special provisions to

fulfill the basic needs of the people. The adoption of parliamentary form of government, indirect democracy, Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy, provision of legislature, executive and independent judiciary all are means to achieve targets of social revolution” (The Hindu, October, 18, 2007). The assurance to bring about the social transformation has been underpinned throughout the Constitution, especially part three and four substantiate such pledge, precisely in safeguarding human rights and human development policies leading to good governance. The constitution guarantees that the fundamental rights are ensured as an issue of legitimate commitment rather than political concession. Further the chapter on Directive Principles of State Policy having Articles 36-51 which outlines the framers’ vision for good governance.

The governance reforms in Indian administration were started in 1950, the very first year when the Constitution had started working even. In the year 1950, A. D. Gorwala, an officer of the Indian Civil Service was assigned the responsibility of suggesting reforms in the public administration of the country. He submitted two reports – ‘Report on the Public Administration’ and ‘Report on the Efficient Conduct of State Enterprises’. These reports pointed out that a dedicated administration was the prerequisite to the accomplishment of the democratic planning which requires rearranging of the administrative system to deliver the governance in a subtle way (Dubhashi, 1986, pp: 18-34). The Government of India called Paul. H Appleby, an American expert of Public administration, to suggest reforms in the Indian administration. Two reports presented by him proved to be a turning point in the history of governance reforms. The later span of Nehruvian era observed the intensive reviews of the Government of India and the administrative setups made by the Indian Constitution. This era was dominated by the two set of documents namely; Reports of First Administrative Commission and the Commission on Centre State Relations. The first Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) was set up in January 1966. The Commission submitted 20 reports from 1966 to 1970, which led to many major changes in the administrative framework of the country. The commission found the decision making system very slow and inconvenient involving six layers. It suggested reducing the layers of decision making to speed up the decision making process. To give fillip to the process, the reorientation of the official levels, procedures and the ranks of the officials involved was also recommended (Singh, 2012, P. 665). The other significant proposals to remedy the melody of corruption and address the people’s grievances was to create an arch type of Lokpal at the centre and Lokayuktas in the states supplemented by a central personnel agency with proper form and jurisdiction to supervise and monitor the performance budgeting, procedural changes and above all

time bound redressal of public grievances, consequently making the public services purposeful (Sharma & Sharma, 2008, P. 407). But this big volume of recommendations given by the Administrative Reforms Commission could not bring noticeable changes in the administrative machinery of the country. During this time when the Commission was busy in preparing and submitting its detailed reports, major political changes were taking place in the country. The country not only witnessed for the first time the Congress party losing its control in 9 out of 18 states in general elections in 1967 but also unstable coalition governments made up from the diverse set of political parties. Whereas this political development produced a serious crisis of governance, the fragmented verdict on the part of the people combined with the diminishing administrative competence at the state and district levels caused much strain in the centre state relations (Singh, 2012, P. 666).

The excessive political centralization during 1970s resulted in escalation of regionalism and started a debate on state autonomy in the country. A two member commission under the chairmanship of Justice R. S. Sarkaria, the retired Judge of the Supreme Court was set up in 1983 to review the centre state relations. It stressed on transferring the planning procedure to the local authority and advocated for developing certain sound traditions regarding the appointment of the governors and use of Article 356. But most of the recommendations of this commission were not put into practice.

The decade of 1990s witnessed exceptional changes not only at political and economic front but also in theory and practice of governance also. The shifting of political power from the Indian National Congress had already begun in the decade of 1970s in many states. Many parties came together at national front after emergency and Janata Party formed the government in the centre in 1977. But this experiment could not last long and the Congress again gained power in the centre. But the 1989 general elections not only witnessed the end of the Congress majority rule but also signaled the emergence of multiparty system and coalition governments in the centre as well as states. The sense of regionalism had also heightened by now.

Meanwhile when political upheavals were taking place in India, a wave of globalization which stressed on the emergence of the worldwide economy and shift towards world capitalism was also going on. The Indian economy additionally experienced a change in perspective to liberalism and globalization after 1991. This kind of change was not an ordinary economic change only. It was a change of ideology also. First time after independence the country witnessed a change in Nehru's ideology of socialist welfare state. This change was totally opposite to the earlier philosophy as it included establishment of good governance

through liberalization, privatization and free market economy (Roy, 2006, P. 397). This economic transformation also resulted in the three important administrative developments namely reinventing the government, the new public management and downsizing of public bureaucracies to meet the emerging challenges (Jain, 2001, P. 1319). The Indian government responded to these developments in various ways.

The policy of liberalization followed by the Government of India since 1991 has thrown up new challenges for the public services arena. The Department of Administrative Reforms shouldered the responsibility of making public services a better mechanism for social and economic transformations in the country. It organized a national debate on the issue of making administration more responsive, accountable and effective in 1997. The issues raised in this debate were put into an action plan which was discussed in the conference of the Chief Ministers convened by the then Prime Minister Mr I K Gujral on May 24, 1997. The conference concluded with the submission that central and state governments should cooperate each other for achieving the targets of action plan especially in establishing accountable and citizen friendly government, maintaining transparency and providing right to information and above all improving the performance of the public services (Jha, 1998, P. 5).

Some of the measures taken by the government under the action plan include formulating the citizen's charters, establishing information and facilitation Centers, analyzing the existing processes and procedures, creating mechanism for the redressal of public grievances and decentralization of power. It was found that complexity of laws have given rise to the corrupt practices because the ordinary people do not understand these rules and become dependent on the experts who have better understanding of these rules. A Commission on the Review of Administrative Laws (1998) was constituted by the Government of India in May 1998 under the Chairmanship of P. C Jain an IAS officer. The Commission not only recommended revoking of 50 percent of central laws but also amending 109 Acts (Report of the commission on review of Administrative laws, 1998, P. 47). Special attention was paid to the issue of redressal of public grievances. To speed up the process of resolving the grievances, it was suggested to computerize the whole system of public grievances redressal and create effective monitoring software, along with the nomination of the senior officers as the Director of Public Grievances. Continuing the process of reforms the second Administrative Reforms Commission was constituted in 2005 under the Chairmanship of M. Veerappa Moily. It was entrusted with the task of recommending necessary measures to establish responsive, accountable, transparent, efficient and above all citizen-centric administration for the country

(Moily, 2007, P. 340). The Commission made significant reference about the quality of public services and attitude of the bureaucracy. It expressed its worrisome opinion that our bureaucracy has almost lost the people's concern and has become totally indifferent and unsympathetic towards them. The twelfth report of the Administrative Reforms Commission on Citizen-Centric Administration "The Heart of Governance", dealt in depth about the ways and means to the citizen-centric administration. Along with the voluminous recommendations given by the second Administrative Reforms Commission some other governance reforms which demand worth mentioning include Right to Information Act, Citizen's Charters and E Governance.

Governance Reforms in Punjab

As per the governance structure of the country the central government has been entrusted with more powers as compared to the state governments. For a long time major governance reforms were initiated by the central governments of different times through commissions and committees and state governments implemented these reforms as per the recommendations of the central government. But since a few years the governments of different states have also started various kinds of governance reforms as per their needs. The government of Punjab also took lead in this sphere and made efforts to bring about changes in the governance of the state. After the reorganisation in 1966 there were high expectations of the people from the state about the major changes in its politics, administration and economy. No doubt economy started flourishing in the late sixties due to the advent of green revolution and got the position of number one among all the states of the India. The Punjab economy not only contributed in reducing the number of people below poverty line but also secured the country from food insecurity (PGRC, Third Status Report, 2010, P. 11). However this pace of economic development could not be maintained because of the policies of liberalization, privatization and globalization, on the one hand, and political turmoil in early eighties on the other. The Green Revolution increased the polarization in the peasantry. It created a class of rich peasants and capitalist farmers at the cost of small peasants and tenants who were unable to manage the modern inputs. Many of them became landless. The struggle for socio-economic political hegemony between agrarian interests of the rich peasants and capitalist farmers and the capitalist interest of industrial elites is considered one of the reasons of Punjab crisis (Kumar, 1984, pp: 61-63). After the Green Revolution, the tension between disillusioned and disintegrating farming community and the Centre which controls agricultural policy, finance, credit, inputs etc. and prices of agricultural commodities changed into communalized zone

for the contest of statehood and state power. It is often said that political and economic revamping of the state because of green revolution has resulted in the communalization of Punjab. The militancy reigned a long time in Punjab and state remained under the President's rule. There were no noticeable administrative developments in the state at that time. The state administration remained busy either curbing violence and militancy or bringing stability of governments after the President's rule.

After a long period of militancy and violence, the elected government was restored in the state in 1992. Once again the expectations of people were raised from the political system that it would bring drastic changes in the politics and economy of the state. Therefore it became imperative to bring governance reforms in public service delivery system pertaining to almost all public domains such as education, health, water, sanitation, land records, police services, revenue etc. It was also important to create conditions for good governance. So to avoid distortions and barriers in the way of governance, a relook was needed in to the existing rules and procedures of working. So in order to bring required changes in the governance pattern of the state, the government set up the Punjab Governance Reforms Commission in January 2009.

The major task assigned to the Commission was to bring changes in the poor conditions of especially vulnerable and under privileged sections of the society in Punjab and to suggest required changes in the process, procedures and rules and regulations for the better delivery of public services. The most important required change was to alter the colonial working system in which the citizens were not trusted at all by the government (PGRC Status Report, 2009, P 30). In its first phase the Commission presented 5 reports concerning different issues related to the governance.

Recommendations of First Status Report

The first PGRC addressed various issues related to the simplification and reengineering of the essential public services. The PGRC in its very first year made assessment on what was in practice about the delivery of public services in Punjab. It considered it important to critically examine these initiatives to revamp them and make them more effective. It made a detailed assessment of the Single User Friendly Window Disposal Helpline for the Applicants (SUWIDHA) Project, Community Policing Resource Centres and citizen charters. Along with that it also suggested some other measures like (i) eliminating the affidavits: The Commission took serious notice of the problems that citizens come across while getting attestation of an affidavit and therefore recommended the elimination of affidavits for various services. It was proposed that any undertaking which is needed to be provided by the service seeker should be made on the plain paper except where the law made it compulsory. (ii) Use of Electoral database

for verification – It was recommended that wherever the identity and residential details of a citizen are required to be verified, the latest electoral database with the photograph of the elector should be used rather than sending the same for verification to field functionaries. Similarly income verification should be made from the (BPL) database. (iii) To widen the scope of the SUWIDHA Centres and for bringing more efficiency, such centres should be opened at Municipal, Block and Sub-Tehsil level also (iv) In the earlier bureaucratic centric as well as authoritative structure of the administration the service delivery mechanism of the police always remained snubbing the human dignity. It recommended the user friendly (comprehensive to the people from all socio-economic strata), time bound and single window service delivery to improve the overall image of police. It also recommended that the department of police services should prepare its citizen's charter immediately and the same should be implemented through the Community Policing Resource Centres (CPRC), established at district level. It was proposed that on-line police service delivery systems should also be introduced in all the CPRC's (PGRC Status Report, 2009, P. 36).

Recommendations of the Second Status Report

The Commission submitted its second report in December 2009. The second report mainly focused on improving the capacity of service delivery institutions. The Commission categorically recommended that the delivery of essential services by the governmental departments should not be considered as giving concessions to the public rather the officials should understand that to get services from the system is basic right of the people and even more this right should be protected by mentioning everything in the citizen's charters and those charters should be available to the public openly. The Commission strongly favoured the delegation of power to the front desk officials. It clearly specified that the authority of decision making should not only lie with gazetted officers especially in those services when system leaves no scope for discretion. There should be compatibility of offline and online services as the fully online system cannot be made available immediately. So, there should be appropriate arrangements for both systems working for the convenience of the people. The procedure of single window may not be suitable for transactions involving number of agencies. In such cases the departmental inputs should be provided at the SUWIDHA Centre. To provide a service within single visit there should be provision of data storage at the district SUWIDHA centre. To encourage the use of RTI services the Commission recommended that every SUWIDHA Centre should allocate its one service counter for receiving applications under RTI. It also suggested that every SUWIDHA Centre should dedicate

its one service counter for registering complaints only. The complaint recording mechanism should be available both online as well as offline.

Recommendations of the Third Status Report

The Commission presented its third report after a gap of one year i.e. December 2010. This report gave its proposals mainly regarding the economy, health sector, revenue and police department. It suggested that along with changes in the taxation policy of the state, checking the tax evasion could contribute significantly to raise the proportion of gross state domestic product (GSDP). It provided a detailed overview of the existing health system in the state and comparing it with the other major states of the country. It suggested the state government to make new health policy and the major objective of that policy should be to provide health care in such a way that none should be denied care because of lack of the financial resources. The Commission also gave its recommendations regarding regulating the private sector health providers (PGRC, Third Status Report, 2010, P. 17). The Commission recommended that the land records should be completely digitized, the institution of girdawari should be discontinued, the special girdawari will, of course, be done as and when required, for any kind of revenue related matters the people should contact only the Fard Centre at the district and tehsil level (PGRC, Third Status Report, 2010, pp: 92-109).

Recommendations of the Fourth Status Report

The Commission presented its fourth report in September, 2011. The major issues discussed in this report included a detailed examination of the Punjab economy, patterns and trends in urban development, working and assessment of the panchayati raj institutions in rural areas and municipal councils in urban governance and management of environment. It pointed out towards the paradoxes present in the Punjabi society by mentioning that the Punjabi society is most globalised, while its economy is localised. It has a developed agriculture sector with the poor industrial development. It has the highest per capita income but a very depressing front of social development. The problems of drug abuse, female foeticide and peasant suicides presently are big blots on the Punjabi society. The Commission proposed three types of governance reforms namely the institutional reforms, the functional reforms and the procedural reforms. The institutional reforms included streamlining the various agencies and departments for the better development. It was recommended to merge the two institutions of Punjab Urban Development Authority (PUDA) and the Improvement Trust in order to remove the problem of lack of coordination. The functional reforms included recommendations regarding transferring all the functions to the urban local bodies given in the 74th Constitutional Amendment. In the

procedural reforms emphasis was made on implementing the information technology at all levels of the governance. The report emphasized on strengthening the urban local bodies (ULBs) and panchayati raj institutions (PRIs) to make governance more responsive and the citizen oriented. The Commission argued that if the elected members are given due recognition and a positive role to play in the decision making process it can encourage the educated people to be part of the PRIs and can help in strengthening the democratic culture in the state (PGRC, Fourth Status Report, 2011, P. 143).

Recommendations of the Fifth Status Report

The fifth report of the PGRC was also submitted in September 2011 along with fourth report. This report mainly concentrated on the issue of education and Right to Information (RTI). The Commission pointed out that lack of education as per requirements of the time has resulted in increasing unemployment. The agriculture is no more a business of profit and at the same time no big industrial development has been made to provide alternative to the agriculture sector. As a result the youth is left with no other option except migrating to other countries for employment opportunities even through illegal methods. And those who cannot manage to go to foreign lands drift towards drugs in utter frustration. The report also mentioned about the status of dalits in Punjab. It pointed out that dalits in Punjab are in more disadvantageous position especially in terms of accessibility to land, education and health as compared to the dalits in the other states of India. Regarding functioning of RTI the Commission recommended that RTI can be successful only if all the officials especially dealing with RTI are properly trained and made aware about their rights and duties under the Act. It also recommended to devise methods and techniques to encourage people to make use of RTI to make the system more transparent.

Recommendations of the Sixth Status Report

The state government constituted another Commission known as the Punjab Governance Reforms Commission II in 2012. The Commission presented four reports to the government of Punjab on the different issues in July, 2013. The major issues in sixth report included; policy framework for the road safety in Punjab, police response system especially in the rural areas and policy initiatives to check crime against the women. On the basis of very detailed analysis about the issues related to road accidents the Commission recommended establishing research centres in the area of road traffic safety in existing institutions of repute, popularizing public transport system by making it more comfortable and convenient, strengthening the emergency medical services to check the number of casualties, large scale awareness campaigns to inculcate road safety

culture in the citizens, making road safety education as part of the school curriculum, developing training institutes for driving, strengthening and empowering the traffic police control units etc. The Commission made observation that generally the people in emergency in rural areas do not get services of police at the earliest possible. It recommended the global positioning system (GPS) fitted fully equipped police patrolling parties to each of the police stations in rural areas. The Commission also gave proposals for the police department especially to check the crime against the women. It recommended involvement of more number of women police officers to help the victim women, enhancing efficiency in investigation of crime against women and speedy delivery of justice, and above all special measures like tracking potential offenders, suspension of state incentives to the criminals, locating gender crime spots, monitoring of public transport system, cyber crime tracking etc.

Recommendations of the Seventh Status Report

The Right to Services Act came into effect during the working of the PGRC-I. It was thought to be imperative to give a fresh look to the issue of public services delivery systems, processes and procedures in the light of Right to Services Act, 2011. It suggested mandatory displaying all the information related to the norms for major services including citizen obligation, checklist and timelines for delivery of services, welfare programmes, assistance or any concessions under social security programmes etc. It recommended giving more powers to the SUWIDHA Centres by authorizing to issue certificates and permissions on its own where all the formalities have been completed and there is no choice for the officer to use his/her discretionary powers. In this way eliminating internal stages between receipt of application and delivery of document can bring efficacy in the delivery of the documents. The Commission emphasized on strengthening the grievances redressal system. It suggested that rather than having many assistant public information officers (APIOs) which can confuse the people about whom should they approach in case of grievances, the SUWIDHA Centres should be considered as the single window assistant public information officers (APIOs) for all the government departments and district head as public information officer (PIO) (PGRC, Seventh Status Report, 2013, pp: 97-98).

Recommendations of the Eighth Status Report

This report was mainly concerned with improving standards of public health facilities, medical education in Punjab and action plan on mother and child health. The report stressed on the need of intervention by the state and focused its attention towards public health education which can further contribute in the overall development of the society. It also pointed out

towards the major threats which the health department was going through such as shortage of general staff as well as medical specialists and major problems in providing health services in rural areas (PGRC, Eighth Status Report, 2013, pp:1-22).

Recommendations of the Ninth Status Report

The Ninth Status Report has especially made recommendations regarding the policy procedures, resolutions and grievances of non-resident Indians (NRIs). The globalization of economy, politics and advent of technology have thrown new opportunities for the diaspora and also increased the interaction with their own country of origin whereas this interaction has helped in certain ways in the growth of economy it has also given birth to certain unethical practices also. The NRIs are also facing many issues like voting rights or dual citizenship; problems related to marriage alliances, property related issues etc. The Commission recommended registration of marriage as mandatory especially in case of non-resident Indians along with this it recommended creating family courts to resolve the disputes at the earliest possible time especially abandoned cases. It also suggested curbing the activities of illegal agents involved in the practice of immigration to check the human trafficking (PGRC, Ninth Status Report 2013 P. 3). Since the advent of the computers some people believe that e-Governance is the panacea for all ills. It is capable of bringing good governance in any state but the PGRC refuted this assumption that technology is not a medicine to tackle the problems of misgovernance. Instead of e-Governance, the focus should be on engaged governance which automatically can bring e-Governance to fruitful use (PGRC, 2015, http://idcindia.org/wp-content/themes/idc/pbgrc_pdf/SECTION%20I.pdf).

Punjab Right to Services Act, 2011: The Punjab Right to Services Act is a landmark in the process of governance reforms in the state. In order to provide services to the citizens as their right, the government of Punjab enacted a comprehensive 'Right to Service Act' on June 7, 2011 and implemented in the state of Punjab as "The Punjab Right to Services Act, 2011" in the month of October same year. The Administrative Reforms Commission sponsored a survey in 2008 on the citizen's charters. It was found in this survey that "almost 41 percent of the charters under consideration did not indicate any time frame for the redressal of public grievances, almost 61 percent of the total charters did not indicate any time frame for acknowledging the receipt of public grievances and nearly 43 percent of the total charters did not have time frame for responding to the petitioners. None of the charters reviewed specified whether a petitioner would be conveyed reasons for rejections of his/her grievance. In addition to that these charters did not mention any penalties against the governments or its officials if they violate the charter conditions (Government of India,

2013, P. 6). So in this context many states including Punjab enacted the Right to Services Act. The Punjab Right to Services Act notified originally a total of 67 services to be provided within a stipulated time period of one to sixty days. The services covered under the Act included certified copies of all documents related to jamabandi, girdawari, mutation, demarcation of land, sanction of water supply sewerage connection, certified copies of birth and death certificates, registration certificate of vehicles, issue of driving license and renewal of arms license etc. Later on some more services were added into it. According to a notification issued by the government in January 2016, the number of services in this Act have increased to 351 pertaining to the different departments (Punjab <http://www.rtspunjab.gov.in/NotifiedServices.aspx>). The Punjab Right to Services Act, 2011 has empowered the people to attain various services with great efficiency and in time bound manner.

Reforms in Institutional Mechanism for Delivery of Public Services in Punjab

Presently various departments are involved in providing variety of services through its front end channels. By the end of year 2016 there were 157 SUWIDHA centres at district and tehsil level for providing 36 and 24 services respectively, 280 Sanjh Kendras by police for 27 services, 163 Farad kendras for land related activities, 22 state transport service counters for 19 services, 2112 Gram Suwidha kendras and 229 citizen facilitation centres. All these Centres are fully computerized for delivering time bound services (<http://www.dgrpunjab.gov.in/>).

Altogether on the basis of the various reports given by the Governance Reforms Commission many recommendations have been put into action. The one of the most important recommendations was about using the affidavits only where it is made compulsory by the law. The earlier requirement of seeking the attested copies of documents in educational institutions has been removed. The Commission also made special efforts to simplify various proformas which used to be very complicated for the understanding of the general public. The Commission has simplified more than 150 proformas up to 2016.

In case of police reforms, the Punjab state has set up a community police service delivery mechanism which is three layered. The three layered system includes 27 Community Police Resource Centres at the sub division level, 96 Community Police Suvidha Centres at the police station level and 356 Police Station Outreach Centres. These centres have been entrusted with the task of providing services like, delivery of copies of FIRs, untraced reports, NOCs for armed licenses, permission for religious and political processions, and verification of tenants among others. It also

provides the counseling services to the citizens who come across with the problems of domestic violence, dowry and other crimes against the women. The Police Saanjh Kendras are different in nature in their working from the traditional police stations. The Saanjh Kendras formal working is for community police partnership but informally they are working for the conflict resolution in various disputes related to family as well as issues related to social unrest (PGRC Fifth Report, 2011. pp: 4-11).

The government of Punjab has established 116 Fard Kendras to provide easy access of revenue services. The whole of the record (related to revenue department) and working process of these centres was computerized. After the implementation of this project the citizens were able to get online copies of jamabandies in almost all the districts and the process for settlement of contested mutations was also simplified. Another important recommendation included withdrawal of discretionary powers of tehsildars regarding calculation of construction cost and its replacement with flat rate.

The Department of local government also accepted many suggestions given by the PGRC in regard to various municipal services. Some of these include; approvals related to building plans, construction services, issuing of water and sewerage connections etc. After accepting the recommendations, necessary steps have been taken in the adoption of that. Many changes have also been made related to the birth and death registration and certificates. In the case of birth and death registration certificates, Accredited Social Health Workers (Asha) have been made the notifier by nullifying the earlier instructions which states that it has to be a family member only along with that Auxiliary Nurse Midwifery (ANM) has been given authority to issue birth certificate. Similarly, to lessen the burden of the department of the transport the mechanism of the delivery of various services has been divided into many authorities e.g. the registration of the vehicle would be made by the authorized dealers or selling company, fitness certificates of vehicles from a designated service station.

The loss of governance reform attitude is not something new it is a deep rooted problem in the systems. In fact, the holders of power never want to relax their control over the resources in favour of general public. Instead they make best efforts to retain it. Under such circumstances the governance reforms take place only out of compulsion either financial compulsions or interference by the judiciary (Rajan, 2017, P. 41). Even then the Government of India as well as Government of Punjab have attempted many times in different forms of Commissions and Committees to bring reforms in the administration and make it truly citizen-centric. But the efforts can prove to be fruitful only if the recommendations are implemented in letter and spirit. The process and procedure of working in various departments needs drastic changes to bring efficiency, transparency

and accountability and above all corruption free interaction of people with the government. Although information technology has a great potential in delivering public service the most efficient, transparent and accountable manner yet adoption of mere technology cannot improve the situation. This technology can be used only to support the bureaucracy, it cannot replace the bureaucracy. There has to be a commitment by the administrative machinery to improve the performance, bring quality and satisfaction among the citizens for effective functioning of the public services. Along with this the effective and efficient administration does not require only right size of civil servants, robust financial conditions, proper supervision and evaluation but strong political will as well as awareness of the general public about various welfare programmes initiated for them (Baghel & Kumar, 2006, P. 280).

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The Role of Education in the Working of Democratic Institution

Ramanand Pandey*

Abstract

This paper tries to understand the relationship between education and democracy and how education helps in development of the democracy. Equality is used synonymously with democracy. Democracy is the equality of constitutional rights, equality of opportunity, equality of political voice and equality of consideration. This equality can only be achieved with the help of education. If people are not educated enough, the equality given to them will not yield the best results because of low intellectual horizon and low decision-making capabilities. Right to free and fair elections would only be successful if the people voting are capable enough for taking informed decisions.

Plato was one of the first who propagate the idea to link education with the king or rules, he believes that A ruler should be philosopher (wisdom) or a philosopher should be king. Democracy is a pure form of government which tries to ensure that no one is exploited but this can only be ensured if the citizens have the capacity to take conscious decisions. They will only be able to exercise their rights if they know and understand them. The paper examines how the increasing level of the education among the Public and their representatives impact the economic and democratic atmosphere of the society.

Keywords: Democracy, Education, Political Discourse, Political Participation

Introduction

Education plays vital role in enhancing the capacity of public, it is also understood that it increases the choices of political representatives. This notion has been accepted throughout centuries. Whether its Indian history or Greek history, they all have regarded education as very important

* Department of Education (CIE), University of Delhi, Delhi and can be reached at ramanand.tiss@gmail.com

factor for the state matter. Egypt, China have also their own system to educate their leaders and people in way so they can be helpful in the state matter. The Plato's work 'The Republic' also highlights the significance of education in that time. He has highlighted how education and intellect in influencing political leader's capability to uphold the interests of himself and his subjects. This has been discussed as early as 380 BC. In the same period, In India Kautilya has also stressed in his book Arthshashtra and try to educate people about state matter.

Plato's believed in the idea that a "philosopher-king", will who would have gained higher education and an intellectually-gifted individual, he will be the only person to be able to effectively guide the "Ship of State" as his only pursuit would be that of knowledge, unlike other kings who the pursuit of wealth, honour could sway. He has discussed these concepts in a very detail way in his book Republic. In his essay (Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy), Lipset has shed some light on the role of education in electoral decision-making and democracy as a whole through his approach to the Classical Modernization Theory in his paper entitled, He has tried to conceptualize that education increases men's capacity to help them make electoral choices.

Even Plato and Lipset have shared their thoughts in different times but both have showcased the importance of education in ensuring rational electoral politics and greater political performance of elected leaders, showcasing how relevant these observations tend to be in the Indian electoral system is necessary. Many studies have confirmed this assumption that people in India still vote on the issues of caste and religion. Banerjee and Piketty have mentioned in their study that Indian voters usually vote on traditional issues. Milan Vashnav (2015) has observed that economic factors played an unusually large role in shaping voting behaviour. He has stressed that traditional factors like caste, regionalism is now less evident and surfed some setback in the last General Election.

The data shows that the general election of 2014 has changed many trends about the Parliament's educational attainment. It has been reported that 75 per cent of the Lok Sabha Members held at least a graduate degree with 28 per cent being postgraduates and 6 per cent being doctorate holders. This rise in the number of graduates becoming Members of Lok Sabha is a very significant issue because it had increased by only 21 per cent between the years of 1952 and 2012.

That's why it is essential to understand whether political representatives' educational qualifications and literacy give them any political advantage over their political rivals. It also needs to realize that whether political parties are getting some incentives from the electorate by providing tickets to more articulate and educated political candidates for the political offices.

These issues need more discussions and analysis.

India is the world's largest parliamentary democracy in terms of number of electorate participation. It has a fully functional legislative branch of the government which have supreme power to make law and other issues. The Parliament has two wings; one is Lok Sabha which has 543 elected members. These members are elected through the Universal Suffrage system also called Universal Adult Franchise which exercise through the FPTP (First-Past-The-Post) electoral system. The second is Rajysabha which has 250 members elected in the house by the state assembly members and through the nomination of president. Most of the states in India have State Legislative Assemblies. As name indicates, it consists of the States of India's legislative branch. It comprises of 4,120 constituencies, these members are selected through the Universal Suffrage system through the FPTP (First Post the Past) electoral system. Some of the states also have legislative councils.

Education as Theoretical Approach to Electoral Behavior

The study of voting behaviour in systemic and scientific way, known as "Psephology" which meaning is pebble. According to oxford dictionary this word has been organed from Greek word psephos which use for 'practice of casting votes. In modern understanding psephology express 'how people vote in election'. Because voting delivers one of the richest sources of information about the interaction between individuals, society, and politics. Therefore, this kind of study has become a significant part of social scientists' research in recent times (Goldman, 1966: 3). This also pronounce some interesting aspects of research and certain political phenomena. Earlier it was not acknowledged or approved and termed by some social science experts. The recent trend of voting behaviours, now expanded and it is not only limited to analyzing voting data, records and record of electoral shifts and swings. Now it also includes analysis of individual electoral behaviour which include the psychological processes (perception, emotion, and motivation) and their relation to the political action as well as of institutional patterns, such as the communication process and their impact on the election.

J.C. Plano and Fred W. Riggs have observed that voting behaviour is a field of study which is concerned with the ways in which people tend to vote in public election and the reasons why they vote as they do . Hazarika (2015) observes that Voting is a term which is used generally to describe contemporary behaviour of democracy. The popularity of democratic theory is kept getting popular so the term 'Voting'. Voting is a medium for citizens to express their approval/disapproval of the decisions of the government.

Education and Political Participation

Education plays an important role in influencing citizens to participate actively in political process of any country. The higher level of participation in political and civic issues increases the likelihood that common citizens' voices will be heard in crucial and important issues and provide a degree of legitimacy to democratic and civil institutions. However, in many countries, most of the citizens remain disconnected from politics and not very inclined to participate in it .

It was thought that Healthcare, poverty, and education assumes a significant part in spurring individuals in political investment among masses. When we take a gander at the issues that pull in the general population from participating in political campaigns / events, Health, poverty, and poor status of education come up as top issues. It has found in some of the studies that there is some close link between education and political participation. Individuals who had appropriate education and more instructive fulfilment will probably take an interest in political vents reliably. This will further motivate to discuss issues which will increase political engagement. This is also evident when it comes to the issue of freedom of speech. People who have higher educational attainment are more likely to be motivated to take action on issue related to free speech.

Destitution and joblessness are some very pertinent issues where there are moderately couple of contrasts between those with more educational attainment and less educational attainment. As India has just set out upon its excursion to be the biggest vote-based system on the planet lately, it is essential to care for the political angle and study the situation wherein India is and have acceptable learning of the variables which can impact it. The present study is mainly focusing on education as one of the key parameters in influencing political participation in India and its role in politics.

Due to the socio-economic situation, only the educated middle class could be elected as people's representative. Nonetheless, lately, the pattern has changed, and women, Agri workers and labourers, and in reverse classes are getting an opportunity to challenge and win races. Political support among minorities, Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes have been expanded. One-party predominance and its evil impacts are being considered as a past pattern. Defection, President's rule, and other election-related violence are presently not viewed as a worthy standard, individuals, legal executive do not consider it as noble option for democratic society. These socio-political developments are strengthening political discourse of the society.

Numerous provincial political groups have come to control in numerous states and are additionally collaborating with the decision of the central government with public acceptance; they are also getting acknowledgement

from public. Ordinary people have empowered with various constitutional and legal amendments like Right to information, Right to education, Panchayati Raj Act. These initiatives have brought more transparency and confidence in the government's working.

Higher educational attainment helps people to make rational decisions. The electoral choices help people in choosing the right candidates in the elections. The people are now more conscious, and they want a better educational qualification to lead them.

Figure-1: Graph Gross Enrolment Ratio in Higher Education in States from 2016 to 2018-19

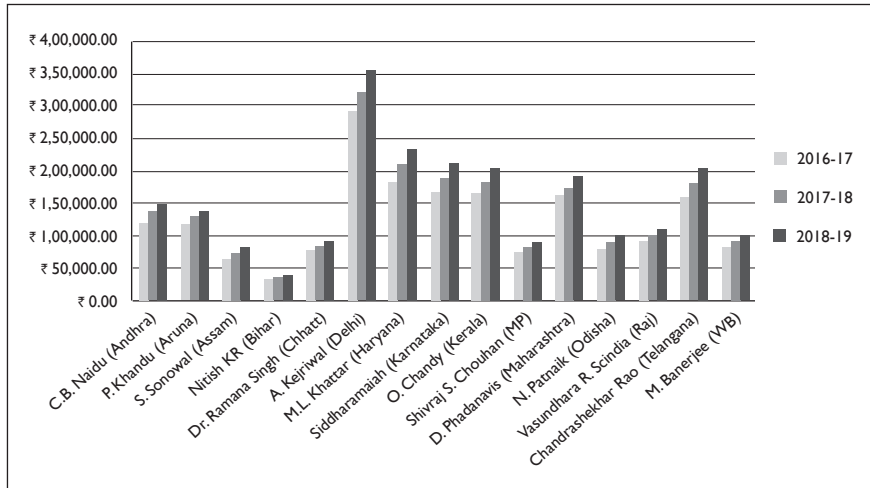
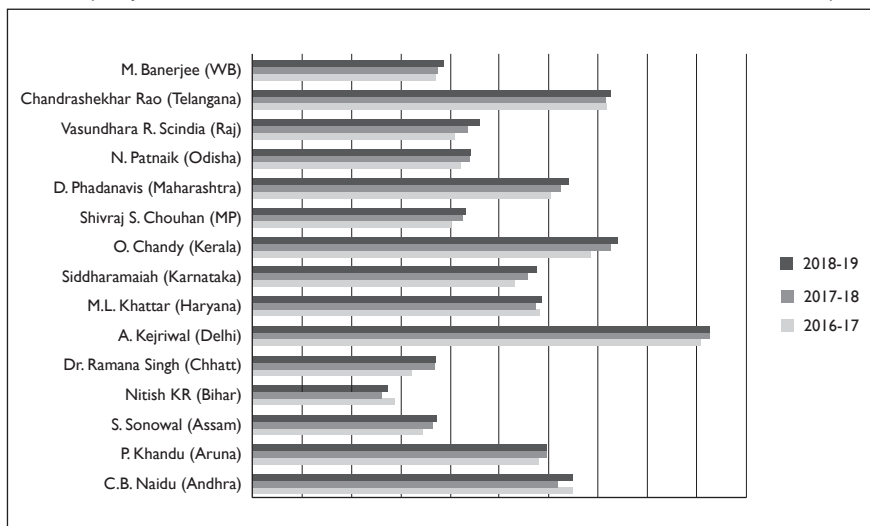


Figure-2: Graph Gross Enrolment Ratio in Higher Education in States from 2016 to 2018-19(Only those states have chosen whose GDP and GER both data are available)



In both the graphs a general trend of improvement over the year is clearly visible. There is strong possibility of other education related indicators, being positively correlated to the fact that education qualification of the political representatives has significantly improved over the time as well. It is to be noted that all the Chief Minister are minimum graduate, some even having master's degree.

Table-I: Chief Minister and their Educational Qualification: GER is a critical indicator of Students enrolled. Here GER has been used to highlight the glaring gaps due to paucity of used means

Highest Degree	Category	No. of CMs
PhD	I	0
Master	II	3
Graduate – Professional Course: Engineering, Med., Law	III	8
Graduate	IV	4
Diploma Courses	V	0
Intermediate	VI	0
Matriculation	VI	0
Not Matriculate (NFE)	VII	0
Illiterate	VIII	0

The above data shows that higher education qualification plays crucial role in the selection of the leaders. It is leaders who also guide states on the path of economic development. In our electoral system, we understand that public participation is very important and it also motivates political parties to increase their activities. The inputs which come from political system in forms of recruitment, interest, articulation, demand and protest on certain issues indicates about public opinion and help political parties to understand the aspirations of the people. It is very important for government that it should extend welfare policies to the people through Government and non-government agencies. These organizations should extend developmental benefits to the marginalized groups, and suitable steps should be taken to uplift the socio-economic conditions of the marginalized class to ensure better awareness.

It has been long pending demand and suggestion of various commissions too that government should spend 6% of GDP on education sector. It is important that government should make honest efforts and inspires people from all the sections to increase the total literacy rate which will increase the social and political awareness of the backward people.

Finding Linkages Between Political Consciousness and Education

Educating India's citizens will impact positively on future generation of the country too. It will inspire people of all level to have higher educational attainment. With access of more educational opportunities, India will able to foster educated and well-informed citizenry who can make rational/informed political choices.

Many scholars who study Indian political system and its development have noted that recent election trends are still influence by same socio-economic issues like gender, caste, locality, religion etc... It has been understood that education can be one of the liberating instruments to all socio-economic hindrance as it can give greater access of knowledge and information. These information's are really helpful for the citizen to participate in the political as well economic process of the country. It will also help people to convey their need and interest in the government system in better and more articulated way which can be reflected in policies too.

Education alone can solve all the problems in country like India which too diverse but it definitely it gives better understanding their socio-economic problem and they can try find solution with and within community as well. An educated citizen behaves in more responsible manner and understand the policies of the government in better manner. A citizen which has higher educational attainment can help his community to represent their issues to government. One of the visionary leaders of our country who has shaped our constitution also gave slogan- Educate, Organize, Agitate. He has asked people to give utmost importance to education so they can be politically empowered. Many social thinkers like Paulo Freire and Gramsci have highlighted the relation between education and political consciousness. So that while their enough evidences of interlink of education and political empowerment, it is an attempt to explore some empirical relation between measurable and verifiable factors.

Education can be determinative in invigorating the upsurge of the lower fragments of the general population while boosting all territories of political consciousness. Political discernment is a many-sided wonder which is dependent upon various parts. This examination in a various society as India is an undertaking to associate the political cognizance when all is said in done public with the status of schooling in its overall population. In this paper, in any case, the undertaking isn't as teleological, confirming schooling in itself is solidly associated with the development in a given political society. Consequently, this paper also adds some literature to Indian culture.

Conclusion

From the above investigation, however, it has appeared somewhat that expanded education among people has contributed towards higher Democratic turnout. Notwithstanding, the expansion can't be ascribed exclusively to education. This is mostly on the grounds that; proficiency in India doesn't mean political education. But it surely warrants a more in-depth study to identify the stronger correlation between literacy, political consciousness in any society or demography. The above data show that higher GER has contributed to electing a better and stable government. The further data analysis also shows that higher GER is directly linked to the economy of the states. Many studies have established that higher GER in higher education contributes to the states' development, but there is significantly less work done in this field. In recent years many institutions have been established, but it still a gap between demand and supply. The issue of quality education is still a major issue among all kind of educational institutions. The linkage between literacy indicators and socio-economic indicators was positively correlated in the United Nation Development Programme or UNDP's famous index in the short- Human Development Index or HDI. HDI and literacy take into account other factors such as health, longevity and other socio-economic indicators. There is a need to stress education should be available to everyone as it plays an essential role in economic and social mobility. This paper is a humble attempt to indicate that there is a potential for further research into the aspect of education and political empowerment in any community.

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RBI Autonomy – A Myth or Reality?

Shreya Makam*

Abstract

Reserve Bank of India (RBI) was formed in 1934 to provide a framework for the supervision of banking firms in India. RBI has been functioning with considerable institutional independence though disagreements & differences always persisted between the Government & RBI. The conflict between the Reserve Bank of India and the Union government seems to have reached a critical point in Oct 2018 suggesting that the Centre could invoke its directive powers under the never-before-used Section 7(1) of RBI Act. The government did not deny these indicating that it might compel RBI to toe its line on various issues of public importance. This paper deals with the various issues concerned with the tussle between RBI & the Government. Both Government & RBI should avoid confrontation and should work in the interest of the nation. Former RBI Governor Raghuram Rajan's analogy of RBI vs Government confrontation as described below is quite interesting.

“If the country is like a ‘car’, Government is compared with the driver with steering in its’ hand. Whereas, RBI is similar to seat belt for the driver i.e., Government in this case. It is beyond doubt that seat belt is recommended for safe driving. It is for the Government to put seat belt or not. Government’s priority would be on high growth, but the focus of RBI is always on financial stability and to control inflation. Both RBI & Government should mutually respect each other. Government should learn to listen to RBI”.

Keywords: Central Bank, Economic Growth, Inflation, Interest Rates, NPA

Introduction

Reserve Bank of India (RBI) is a statutory body meant for printing of currency notes & managing money supply in the economy. RBI was nationalised on January 1, 1949, thus coming under the total control by

* Specialises in Commerce and presently working at Deloitte AERS, Hyderabad and can be reached at makam64@gmail.com

the Government. RBI is governed by 21-member central board of directors appointed by the Government as per RBI Act. Following are the major functions of RBI:

- Monetary Authority – Country's monetary policy; & for controlling inflation with the objective of growth.
- Regulatory and Supervisory – Set criteria for financial operations by banking sector; & to protect customer's interest by banks.
- Foreign Exchange Management – Supervising the Foreign Exchange Management Act (FEMA) 1999 and to help the foreign exchange market in the country.
- Currency Issuer – Releasing new currency as well as destroying / abandoning old notes and coins.
- Developmental role – Policy formulation on banking.
- Related Functions – Banker to state as well as central governments; & chief banker to all.

RBI Policies

RBI is solely responsible for the following policy decisions which have a great bearing on the economy. Such is the dynamic state of affairs involving socio-political & economic aspects, RBI keeps revising the following parameters for ensuring the financial stability as well as the economic growth.

- Repo Rate or repurchase rate is the interest rate at which RBI is lending money to banks.
- Reverse Repo Rate (RRR) is contrary to Repo Rate i.e., RBI borrowing money from banks. This is required for controlling inflation by drawing excess money in circulation.
- Cash Reserve Ratio (CRR) is the liquid cash to be maintained by banks as per the guidelines by RBI.
- Statutory liquidity ratio (SLR) is the liquid asset to be maintained by banks in the form of gold and approved securities. Higher the SLR, lesser the flexibility with the banks to do business by giving loans.

Rift between RBI & Government

Difference of opinion between RBI & Government normally erupts on repo rate. While the Government wants low interest rates for making available loans cheaper in order to promote investment & boosting economy. Whereas, RBI insists on linking the interest rates with the financial stability, inflation etc. The chronology of events in the last decade as tabulated below enunciates the gradual erosion of powers vested with RBI.

2010	Financial Stability & Development Council (FSDC) for coordination of financial regulation function with Finance Minister as Chairman, bypassing the apex authority of RBI Governor.
2013	Financial Sector Legislative Reforms Commission (FSLRC) took away the functions of deposit insurance from RBI.
2016	Monetary Policy Committee (MPC) for decisions on repo rate & other monetary policy decisions. 3 members from Government & 3 from RBI. Earlier RBI Governor had veto power.
2016	Financial Search & Recruitment Committee chaired by Cabinet Secretary. This move has imposed bureaucratic control over selection of RBI Governor.
2018	Expansion of FSDC with 8 members from Government & only 4 members from RBI, thus domination by Government.

Confrontation of RBI with Government on NPAs

Non-Performing Assets (NPAs) or ‘Bad Loans’ as popularly known in the common parlance may be due to unavoidable extrinsic factors such as decreases in global commodity prices leading to slower exports or more intrinsic to the Indian banking sector. Many loans which are categorised as NPAs dates back to mid-2000s, especially when the economy peaked and business environment looked positive. Big business firms have availed loans for their projects based on their growth projections & performance. As the bank loans were being available freely without any fuss, many business firms had taken advantage of the same and moulded their businesses largely on external borrowings instead of equity/shares. The global financial crisis of 2008 culminating with the bankruptcy of US based mortgage firm Lehman Brothers had its effect on India too. The ripples of global depression affected the, thus But as Indian firms through their defaults on repayments towards bank loans. This global financial crisis was not coming to an end despite government interventions resulting in the decreased repayment capability of various business firms. This has further compounded the problem of banking institutions popularly known as India’s ‘Twin Balance Sheet problem’ wherein banks were awarding loans to corporate sector for repayment of their loans. By doing so, both the business firms as well as banks were subjected to severe financial stress. The practice of granting loans by banks for payment of interest due by the borrowers is called ‘evergreening’, which has mounted the burden of NPAs on the banks, especially public sector or government banks. This was conveniently brushed down by banks as non-performing loans instead of addressing their root causes leading to their unprofitability.

Just in a span of 6 months in the first two quarters of FY 2019-20 i.e., from April to September 2019, about one lakh crore rupees scam had surfaced in the Public Sector Banks (PSBs). These incidents & quantum of financial frauds kept on rising day by day, posing dangers to the financial stability and eroding the credibility of all stake holders such as banks, auditing firms,

credit rating agencies & even RBI, thus affecting the faith of general public at large. It is a well known established fact that scamsters whether large scaled business firms or small ones were able to take undue advantage of the various loopholes in the banking system. Though RBI had given early warning signals to the bankers, they could not avert the financial frauds. Coupled with the poor operational risk management & ineffective internal audits by government public sector banks due to their failure in analysing the business firms' operations by exercising due diligence, collusion by bank managers with the notorious fraudsters cannot be ruled out.

The premier Management Institute of the country IIM Bangalore found positive correlation amongst the banking frauds & NPAs (loan defaults), thus indicating the failure of corporate governance as well as collusion by bank officials with the mischievous businessmen. Collusion is not limited to just bank officials & industrialists/businessmen, but also spread to third parties such as advocates & chartered accountants. No action can be taken against the defaulting & colluding officers since they retire prior to taking any action against them and this further boldens others leading to total rot in the system. Reasons for financial bungle in PSUs is largely due to little or no deterrence for fraudsters as conviction rates are low due to the lack of specialized financial sleuths, unlike in advanced countries like USA where quick justice nails the culprits. The solution for arresting NPAs rests with PSBs by setting up internal rating agency for stringent evaluation of mega projects prior to sanctioning loans. Evaluation of projects should always be on the basis of the business model and not to go by the brand value. Further, quick punishment to erring officials of the banks who cooperate with scamsters for their vested interests can control in arresting NPAs.

RBI's February 12, 2018 Circular on classification of non-performing assets (NPAs) and norms of loan restructuring acted as a flashpoint. RBI stricthened the norms for settling of bad debts (NPAs) by banks through fixed timelines. It advised banks for initiating insolvency proceedings against the defaulters. Banks were given 6 months (180 days) to resolve the lingering NPAs and introduced the concept of a one-day default under which banks have to identify incipient stress even when repayments are overdue by even one day. This has put few banks to severe inconvenience to the extent that 2 public sector banks had come to the verge of closure, which was seen as overly harsh by the Government. However in Apr 2019, the country's apex court quashed the RBI's circular declaring it ultra vires.

Wilful Defaulters Culminating in Nirav Modi Scam

RBI defines wilful default as the deliberate non-payment of the loan dues, despite adequate financial soundness of the firm, diversion of funds which would be detrimental to the business firm, failure in acquiring assets for which loan was obtained from the bank, sale of assets & disposal

of securities for personal interests of owners, and misrepresentation or malafide fudging of accounting records, and any other fraudulent transactions by the borrower. As of Mar 2000, 42 banks and 4 financial institutions have produced a list of 240 enterprises as wilful defaulters, with the default amount to the tune of Rs. 1095 crore. The majority of the wilful defaulters were unlisted companies followed by private limited, partnership & sole proprietary entities. Banks can resort to legal suits & criminal cases against the borrowing firms, but with the mounting court cases at all levels, nothing positive can be expected from the judiciary. Recently, banks have formed a consortium to recover NPAs but the results are not very encouraging.

Though various institutions such as Central Vigilance Commission (CVC), Reserve bank of India (RBI) and Securities & Exchange Board in India (SEBI) have come together to address the loan defaults from corruption angle, wilful defaults have not come down due to political intervention, ineffective governance, weak legal and regulatory monitoring mechanisms and possibly corruption in the system. Measures to prevent NPAs especially wilful defaults would be only through tighter loan covenants, strict monitoring & effective governance. Further, the enactment of Insolvency & Bankruptcy Code in 2016 is also acting as a deterrent to defaulters due to its strict provisions. Banking fraud by the economic offenders and fugitives such as Nirav Modi & Mehul Choski to the tune of Rs 14,000 crore with the Punjab National Bank questioned the control of RBI on banks functioning. On the contrary, the then RBI Governor Urjit Patel passed the buck on to the government seeking more powers to oversee public sector banks on par with the private sector banks.

Conflagration between RBI & Government

In 2018, major differences erupted between RBI & Government as shown below:

- Interest rates – Coupled with the all time conflict on interest rates, RBI intensified its domain into regulation on policy formulation. While Government considers RBI as mere advisory body, whereas RBI asserted that it has the final say in the monetary policy formulation.
- Non-Banking Finance Companies (NBFCs) – RBI's refusal to the government's request for providing relief to NBFCs, which were grappling with a cash crunch after IL&FS collapsed on repayments, led to the strain on the mutual relations between Government & RBI.
- Mor's removal – In September 2018, Nachiket Mor's abrupt removal from the RBI board by the Government prior to ending his term is attributed to his strong opposition to the government's repeated insistence for higher dividend from RBI.

- Payments regulator – A separate payments regulator was proposed by Government with a hidden motive to clip the wings of RBI. Such was the extent of opposition by RBI, it has released its dissent note on its website.
- RBI's excess capital – The climax to the loggerheads between Union Government & the then RBI governor Urjit Patel occurred on Rs 9 lakh crore surplus capital held with the central bank. The contention of the Finance Ministry was that the 28% buffer of gross assets maintained by RBI is well above the global norm, which is about 14%. Bimal Jalan's committee on this issue worked out that transfer of Rs. 1.76 lakh crore would be optimal taking into account the central banks' financial resilience, cross-country practices, statutory provisions & its impact on public policy, operating environment on its balance sheet & risks involved. The intention of the Government was that surplus capital transfer may help the government to meet fiscal deficit target, but the role of RBI was to apply brakes on inflation. However, these differences culminated in the resignation of the then Governor Urjit Patel. However, the present RBI Governor Shaktikanta Das implemented the Bimal Jalan committee's recommendations. Few economists opined that instead of transferring RBI's excess capital to the government, this could have been utilised for setting up of an Asset Reconstruction Company (ARC) in the public sector, which could have cleaned up the mess created by NPAs in the PSU banks.

Conclusion

Both Government & RBI are important and should complement each other. RBI is not merely a central bank, it is banker to all the banks. Creating balance between "Price stability" and "future economic growth" is the main challenge of RBI as a monetary authority. RBI ensures that inflation remains within the prescribed limits through interest rates, money supply and availability of credit, whereas any popular Government always try to push on the growth front due to its electoral compulsions

Going strictly by the text of the law, RBI's independence is more a matter of convention than legal certainty. There is no doubt that RBI should act independently without interference from the Government, but at the same time coordination with the popularly elected Government is also important taking into consideration the economic growth of the country. On similar lines, Government too should let the coveted agency 'RBI' to act independently without due pressures & dictates. Supreme Court quashing the RBI's draconian Circular of 12th Feb 2018 on NPAs vindicate the Government's stand and at the same time Government's alleged pressurising RBI for surplus capital transfer to Government to the tune

of Rs. 9 lakh crore is also not appropriate since Bimal Jalan Committee pegged the same at Rs. 1.76 lakh crore.

Arvind Subramanian, Former Chief Economic Advisor stated that while the RBI's autonomy was critical, it was equally important to hold it accountable quoting their regulatory and supervisory lapses in the piling up of the NPAs and failure of IL&FS. He was aghast on how it was not identified at the right time when the NPA issue has been brewing since 2011. Further, he was very firm on the aspect of answerability of last few RBI Governors holding the office during that period. Former RBI Governor Raghuram Rajan told a parliamentary panel that a large number of non-performing assets were given between 2006 and 2008, and that public sector banks are to be blamed for the bad loans problem. Too many loans were given to promoters with history of defaulting and also for not adequately monitoring the promoters. In his reply on the NPA crisis, Rajan also spoke about the RBI's role, admitting that the central bank could have done more by raising more flags about the quality of lending in the early days of banking exuberance. Rajan said that the RBI could have started the Asset Quality Review (AQR) process earlier than it did and that it could have been more decisive in enforcing penalties on non-compliant banks.

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The Public Policy Significance of Social Enterprise: A Case Study of India

Roopinder Oberoi¹

Jamie P. Halsall²

Michael Snowden³

Raunaq Bhatia⁴

Abstract

The academic debate on globalization has created a new scope for the way societies are examined. The globalization discussion has created a critical debate regarding the economic, political, social and cultural aspects that make up a community. Communities are no longer as local as they once were and have become more globalized. This phenomenon encompasses a public policy retreat from central government and a greater emphasis on local governance. Many countries across the world have embraced a social enterprise agenda. The social enterprise agenda has formed a linchpin between statutory, voluntary and private sector organizations, and currently, there has been a remarkable surge in the popularity of social enterprise. In this paper the authors explore the issues, debates and contributions to the current economic climate that social enterprise offers.

Keywords: Community, India, Public Policy, Sectors, Social Enterprise, State

Introduction

In his book entitled *The Ways of the Worlds* (2017), David Harvey alludes to the fact that globalization is problematic in a capitalist system. As a

1 Department of Political Science, Kirori Mal College, University of Delhi, India and can be reached at roopinderoberoi36@rediffmail.com

2 School of Human and Health Sciences, University of Huddersfield, Queensgate, Huddersfield, UK and can be reached at j.p.halsall@hud.ac.uk

3 School of Human and Health Sciences, University of Huddersfield, Queensgate, Huddersfield, UK and can be reached at m.a.snowden@hud.ac.uk

4 Department of Liberal Studies, University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada and can be reached at raunaq.bhatia@uwaterloo.ca

Marxist, Harvey perceives that globalization in its current form is a process that creates uneven geographical development.

As a Marxist, David Harvey perceives that globalization in its current form is a process that creates uneven geographical development. Larraine suggests that developing countries have experienced “underdevelopment because they are dependent within the world capitalist system” (1989, P. 14). However, there is the counter argument that is mainly portrayed by politicians and policy makers that globalization can bring about positive changes within a local, national and global context. Lechnerb argues that globalization has generated a “new world society” (2009, P. 5) that has enabled places and institutions to interconnect across the globe. This interconnection has provided a new public policy platform within a global, national and local context.

In recent years, the emphasis of social enterprise in a worldwide setting has led to an institutional change in the way society is run. It is this realization in public policy thinking that social enterprise in a governmental context drives reform. Sepulveda notes that this motivation and enthusiasm for a social enterprise agenda develops a “social engagement and economic inclusion to different social groups, providing novel solutions to a range of societal problems which the state and private sector have been unable to solve” (2015, P. 843). It is this notion that the authors seek to address in this paper: the conceptual understanding of social enterprise as an economic, political, social and cultural tool in community governance. The next section of the paper focuses on the ways in which social enterprise is theorized. A critical discussion of the concepts of community, state and sectors is then presented, which examines alignments with social enterprise. Through the application of a case study, the paper presents the way India has grasped and driven the social enterprise agenda. The final section concludes the paper.

Theorizing Social Enterprise

Social enterprise has become a fashionable concept in both the private and public sectors. This concept has emulated from social and economic challenges that have faced countries around the world. Since the financial crisis of 2008, social enterprise or social entrepreneurship has played a crucial role as a key skill in leadership and management. Over time, there has been a real demand for knowledge of social enterprises in terms of what they do and how they work (Douglas et al., 2018). Politicians perceive social enterprise as key drivers in developing a prosperous economy. Moreover, social enterprise performs a central function in the economy, but also, the concept focuses on “results” and “outcomes” in local communities (Dart, 2014).

The popularity of social enterprise stems from examining the ways in which an organization can be run differently. From a public and voluntary sector point of view, these institutions are primarily focused on surplus. A surplus in these types of organizations is seen as money left over from the financial year, which is reinvested. A private sector is fundamentally interested in profit that is made and the ways in which this is distributed as rewards for its workers. For a social enterprise, the emphasis is around a common purpose and making a difference in the sector that social enterprise inhabits.

It comes as no surprise that examining the academic literature on social enterprise, there is no distinct explanation of what the term actually means. Palakshappa and Grant note that scholars locate themselves in different ways regarding the understanding of a social enterprise and there is “an array of often ambiguous and frequently disputed definitions, setting the scene for little consensus” (2018, p. 606). Interestingly, Palakshappa and Grant (2018) provide an explanation for why this may be the case; in essence, there are four reasons scholars cannot agree on a precise definition of what social enterprise is: (1) geographical, (2) social, (3) political, and (4) economic. Nevertheless, using their earlier social research on social enterprise (Oberoi, et al., 2018), the authors of this paper agree with the work of Sepulveda (2015). Sepulveda states that social enterprise provides the opportunity for “social engagement and economic inclusion” (2015, p. 843) to diverse societal groups, and provides real solutions that central government and the private cannot offer.

Community, State and Sectors

The social and political sciences have held broad and varied viewpoints concerning how communities evolve overtime. In Robert D. Putnam’s famous book entitled *Bowling Alone* (2000), Putnam observes that “debates about the waxing and waning of community have been endemic for at least two centuries. Declensionist narratives – postmodernist jargon for tales of decline and fall – have a long pedigree in our letters” (P. 24). Nevertheless, the way communities work is fascinating, as these factor scan dictate how a community can be divided or harmonized. When examining academic literature on the concept of community there are wide-ranging definitions of key features of a community (Stacey, 1969). Community is focused around geographical structures: place, environment, population and structures.

At the centre of the academic discussions on community is the discourse of civil society. In recent years, civil society has been a popular topic within the social and political science disciplines. This popularity has been driven by the increased presence of economic globalization. Moreover,

Dhanagare notes that “more contemporary interpretations of this notion seem to be drawing heavily on the liberal intellectual tradition” (2005, P. 47). From a political science perspective the civil society approach is seen as a “school for democracy”, whereby people in a society become civic minded and develop a sense social cohesion (Kage, 2010). This civic development within a community is a great example of civil engagement. Civil engagement is long established within state, local and national contexts. However, Pietrzyk (2003) notes that there are clear differences between the state and civil society as concepts. Pietrzyk (2003) perceives civil society as a demonstrative tool in the public compass, whilst the state acts as a profound tool for the productivity of social and political structures.

The state, which, as a structure, has been widely contested, is of paramount importance in the key functionality of a civil society. Dean notes that civil society in a governmental role operates in “space between the individual and the state” (2012, P. 116). According to Giddens there is a common vision in a neoliberal outlook that civil society in a state role is “a self-generating mechanism of social solidarity” (1998, P. 11). The state, in this perspective, is the central driving force that articulates the relationship between central and local government. Jessop (2015, P. 16) observes that the state:

“is a complex ensemble (or, as some scholars put it, assemblage) of institutions, organizations, and interactions involved in the exercise of political leadership and in the implementation of decisions that are, in principle, collectively binding on its political subjects. These institutions, organizations, and interactions have varying spatiotemporal extensions and horizons of action and mobilize a range of state capacities and other resources in pursuit of state objectives.”

The interaction of institutions within a state context has become more complex. For example, when examining institutions there has been an increasing level of interaction, which has been motivated by the renewal of social democracy, or, as Anthony Giddens coins the phrase ‘The Third Way’. Giddens characterizes the Third way as a bridge structure between traditional social democracy and neoliberalism.

The ‘Third Way’ is a new pro-globalized agenda in a complex political system, but in the current economic climate there has been an economic, social, political and cultural turn, which has been caused by the Global Financial Crisis of 2008. Since the Global Financial Crisis the way institutions function at state level has changed fundamentally (Hayes, 2017). Since 2008, the world has been in era of “Austerity” in response to the financial crisis. The purpose of providing an austerity strategy is to reduce public debt, thus encouraging growth within a country’s economy (Clarke and Newman, 2012). However, as evidence has demonstrated, in

some economic and social quarters it can have a profound long-term effect on society. Research carried out by Jones, et al. (2016) shows that the level of public spending cuts in the geographical areas of Bristol and Liverpool has increased the social and economic challenges in the local communities who are dependent on the voluntary and statutory sectors.

Non-government organizations (NGOs) or, as they are collectively known in the UK, the voluntary sector, have progressively become vital to the public policy process in central and local government circles. In the UK context, the driver for the increased importance of voluntary sector organizations was delivered by the New Labour government, which was elected in May 1997. When Labour came to power they wanted to change the style of government. In essence, they wanted to make sure that local communities across the UK recognized those central governments care for them. The solution for the New Labour government was the voluntary sector. Since 1997 the voluntary sector has become much stronger and has had significant input into many health and social welfare issues. Khan and Halsall (2017) note that when they came to power in May 1997, the New Labour Government empowered the voluntary sector. This empowerment continued when the UK coalition government was elected to office in May 2010, as the then Prime Minister, David Cameron wanted to expand the voluntary sector and further empower the “Big Society”. Furthermore, Fenwick and Gibbon state that the big society is seen in many ways as a reconnection between “the individual and the state” (2017, P. 128), but now that the idea has become irreverent. Although, the former Prime Minister, David Cameron would disagree with Fenwick and Gibbon (2017) that the big society has disappeared within the social policy context. In an article in the Daily Telegraph, Cameron discussed one of his key achievements: the creation of the National Citizen Service (NCS). According to Cameron (2016) the NCS have developed a powerful technique that greatly empowers young people. Cameron has argued that this example from the Big Society (16 and 17-year old youth from different geographical areas) has had a profound impact in local communities.

Social Enterprise Activity in India

India saw a significant increase in the focus on social enterprise activity in last decade (Kedia and Mohan, 2017). The amount and value of pioneering concepts and commercial strategies have improved due to increasing responsiveness, backing, superior training and workshops accessible for community impact leaders. The social enterprise ecosystem has firmed up, by multiple support organizations providing fiscal, and advice-giving aid to social enterprises in India. With the world’s highest number of registered non-profit organizations at 3.1 million, Indian economy has been rapidly

growing for the past five years. However, the UN Human Development Index (HDI) Report 2016 ranked India 131 out of 188, with the HDI falling by 27% due to rising disparities in teaching, well-being sectors besides living standards across the nation.

As part of an international movement, India is presently emerging as one of the prominent hubs for the impact-driven businesses called social enterprises. It must be pointed out that even though social enterprise has become a buzzword in recent times and the phenomenon has picked up at ground level, social impact and enterprise are intensely ingrained in the Indian ethos and culture. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries numerous thriving social businesspersons are successfully involved the community, organizational, and corporate worlds, endorsing views that were main concerns of state welfare activities like, education and health care. For example, to institutionalize the concept of khadi, Mahatma Gandhi set up the All-India Spinners' Association which became the symbol of volunteer act for income promotion in India. As a result, a system of volunteer organizations emerged around the nation to encourage local khadi and cottage businesses. After India achieved Independence these organizations obtained backing from the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and this was an excellent example of social innovation. In 1950 Vinoba Bhave started the Land Gift Movement in South India; he facilitated the reorganization of property to underprivileged and dispossessed. Similarly, Dr. Verghese Kurien transformed the Amul Dairy Cooperative by making India the world's largest milk producer. Amul is an excellent illustration of low-income dairy farmers forming a privately owned supply chain. John Bissell in 1960 started Fabindia and connected around 80,000 local handicrafts employee to the city marketplace by creating them the shareholders. Fabindia's exceptional community-owned typical model provided the local crafts persons a steady salary and bonuses from the business's progress.

In India, the term 'social entrepreneurship' was officially familiarized when Ashoka was established in 1981. Ashoka aimed to build a community of change makers who sought to plan, promotion, and scale social-impact designs in poor countries or markets. However, there have been remarkable progress since then and number of new social entrepreneurs established enterprises to tackle multiple problems faced by poor communities in India. In 1995, Harish Hande established SELCO Solar that provided economical goods and service through Grameen banks and cooperative societies.

Social enterprises in India are currently functioning in multiple segments, areas and phases of expansion. As the limit of government to solve India's problems singularly becomes evident, the crucial requirement for private-sector partaking in building and scaling sustainable solutions for society

has become more suitable. So along with governmental support, the private sector ecosystem to ameliorate the social and economic concerns has improved exponentially. Social Impact investors, community commercial incubators, and patron agencies are blossoming as important actors who are incessantly revolutionizing commercial systems. They are working together with the deprived and marginalized in Indian development course equally as clients and manufacturers. A divergent ecosystem of supporting various actors has been established in the last decade, to advance India's social enterprises.

The Indian Government has recognized the significance of social enterprise and lately undertaken numerous positive efforts to advance their development. The National Innovation Council (NInC) argues that one of the big challenges for India is to modernize to develop inexpensive and quality resolutions that tackle the requirements of persons at the bottom of the wealth pyramid, remove difference, and emphasis on an all-encompassing development model. India has seen extraordinary growth in social enterprise because of the Limited Liability Partnership (LLP) Act, 2002, that is a good substitute edifice as it provides for flexibility of a company with the caring reimbursements of a corporation (Intellect, 2010, p. 22). As it becomes apparent that there are the limits to government and NGO resolutions to growth, it becomes critical that private-sector partaking is established for scaling workable solutions. Consequently, hybrid structures among social enterprises are more suitable and improve the prospects of fundraising without disturbing the benefits of shareholders and stakeholders (Intellect, 2012).

The Government of India in their recent plans has planned to establish an innovation hub and called for a novel prototype aimed at frugal cost solutions where India is already a global leader'. Indian government has also prioritized social innovativeness in its 12th Five Year Plans as a topic under 'Decade of Innovation', and is dedicated to creating a network of support around Bottom of Pyramid attentive innovativeness and social enterprise and to make it available for entrepreneurs to execute on their ideas with competence and confidence. In acknowledgment of the fact that originality requires risk capital to encourage modernizations initial seed capital for social start-ups has been facilitated, though it is still inadequate. "The administration has also established the India Inclusive Innovation Fund (IIIF) for social enterprises. The IIIF, under the National Innovation Council (NInC) focuses on capitalizing the pioneering initiatives involved in offering resolutions for the poor and under privileged (Giz, 2012, p. 9).

The India Inclusive Innovation Fund has been capitalized to INR 5000 crores (USD 780 million), which is assigned to social impact investors for more than one decade starting from 2010. 20% of a social undertaking's

capitals are drawn from this endowment while the outstanding 80% must be generated from private stockholders. The private investment ecosystem has equally improved like government sector lately. Government has also undertaken inventiveness for encouraging knowledge-based free enterprise as an instrument for creating jobs especially for increasing the global capacity of the small firms. Such new initiatives include policies like Make in India (2014), a ministry set up to enhance skill development and entrepreneurship in 2014, focused on social innovation (Poon, 2011).

On the funding side, which is the most challenging aspect of social enterprise in India, a variety of funders, angel social impact investors and commercial funds are funneling resources to social enterprises. India's vibrant SE landscape is still fledgling in terms of income size per enterprise. The Beyond Profit survey carried out by Intellectap in 2010 found that "68% of SEs have been in existence for five years or less. Furthermore, annual revenue for about 90% of SEs is \$500,000, so it is not surprising that one in three SEs experience losses in their current operations" (2012, P.17).

The microfinance model has given some assurance to stakeholders and development experts in applying private market-based approaches to provide and develop responses to tackle the poor people requirements for inclusive progress. Though dominated by players from outside of the country, the level of domestic investment has multiplied extraordinarily recently. The current expansion in asset of social enterprises signifies that there is still space for expansion. The social enterprise looking for funds is also growing rapidly. Many funders, incubators, consultancies and other facilitating services are emerging to support social ventures and business in India; they help with accelerating and strengthening individual enterprises and the industry's structure by forming many online platforms for enabling knowledge exchange, and helping to connect early enterprises with experts by various fellowship plans. Campuses have also embarked upon new courses on social entrepreneurship, and independent organizations that help to impart knowledge and skills about the industry for college students are offering opportunities for them to participate. (Intellectap, 2012).

An increasing inclination in the landscape of Indian social enterprise is the modification of numerous NGO into for-profit organizations, as they are more likely to get funding and scale eventually. Several foremost microfinance institutions (MFIs), such as SKS and Spandana, were originally listed as NGOs and later converted themselves into for-profit businesses. A preliminary appraisal of the SE funding backdrop points towards that most SEs depend on non-institutional debt, equity and donations. While debt is a main basis of investment for numerous SEs, access to institutional debt (for example bank loans) is inadequate. With the access to equity financing improving, it is believed that the access to

institutional debt will eventually expand (Asia Development Bank, 2012, pp: 6-7).

The existence of incubators, research institutes and consulting service organizations provides vital support to new social enterprises. These organizations and their services provide assistance to make possible the development of social entrepreneurship, and also provide an information hub, which steps up the expansion of the sector by sharing systems and establishing collaborations to deal with several problems. For example, social enterprise UnLtd India and Villgro Innovations Foundation have commendable incubator programs that go beyond the mere incubation services by recommending a wide variety of facilities in an attempt to bolster enlargement of social enterprises. UnLtd India was recognized as among the topmost incubator by Beyond Profit magazine; it offers seed funds, growth consultancy services, co-working spaces for young entrepreneurs. Villgro, similarly, launched a social sector research and education initiative entitled Learning from pro-poor market-driven innovation in India', that emphasises on examining social businesses in India, and organizing annual discussions that allows collaboration between entrepreneurs, administration and stakeholders to encourage social innovation.

According to the Asia Development Bank report, some of the common practices of thriving social enterprises are:

“Tailoring making services and products for targeted marketplace; ensuring high quality productions and standardization, cost effectiveness and minimizes the expenditure; pioneering outreach programme to distribute products and services effectively; using cutting edge technology to expand efficiency; correct pricing and smart blend of numerous traders, particularly in rural areas.” (2012, P. 24)

Peredo and McLean (2006) specify that there are however incredible concerns that numerous social entrepreneurs face while working in India that hinder the start of innovative social business ventures. Hostile financiers, bureaucratic interruptions and administrative indifference all obstruct the startups. The multifaceted and onerous monitoring and organizational milieu leads to unwarranted state interference, which ultimately becomes the key stumbling block to the rise of new entrepreneurship in India. Furthermore, India is experiencing a lot of backing for social innovation and enterprise. Competitions and contests for pioneering ideas are being encouraged (British Council, 2016).

Lately, the Makerspace movement has grown in impetus, which allows the social impact investors and enterprises to ideate and create prototypes. Cases comprise Kerala Startup Mission's Fablab, and the Workbench Project in Bengaluru. These competitions have allowed social initiatives to demonstrate their innovations before viewers and put together systems to establish networks. In India most of social enterprises are functioning in

critical sectors with the highest attentiveness in agriculture and energy, as a recent British Council report notes:

“The frequently specified mission of social enterprises in the survey conducted by British council was that of generating employment (62%) after that was improving health facilities (41%), environment and sustainable goal issues (40%), tackling problem of social segregation (40%), backup for cultivation and allied activities (36%), empowering women (33%), helping education (32%), ensuring financial inclusion (31%) and backing up other social organizations.” (2015, P. 11)

The critical assessment of the social enterprise landscape in India identifies numerous challenges. The social entrepreneurship and innovation sector in India is still at a budding stage, with many new entrants in the market testing out experimental structures. Indian social enterprises are deficient in some sectors with no standardized perception of the concept of social enterprise. There is absence of supervisory background or official acknowledgement for SEs in India. There is a lack of common descriptions and widespread range of prevailing organizational forms are commonly termed as SEs within India (Satar, 2016). Indian social enterprise is kept out of official sectorial benefits like tax breaks or stimulus, etc. and the myriad nature of social ventures, besides the diverse nature of community issues requiring problem solving poses large challenge with regard to defining and restricting the limitations of social enterprise operation. The Indian SEs have, to some extent, been drawing the focus of researchers and policymakers, yet we still do not have a comprehensive representation of their developments to date. The substantial and comprehensive strategies relevant to the formation and administration of SEs are yet to be created. Amazingly, the mainstream Indian social entrepreneurial efforts continue to bring limited outcomes. In the larger developmental debate social enterprises are disregarded and overlooked by multiple agents (Satar, 2016).

Conclusion

This paper is concerned with the critical debates surrounding social enterprise. The paper began by providing a definition of the concept of social enterprise. As discovered, there is no exact definition of what social enterprise means in a theoretical context. However, social enterprise is performing an essential role in communities across the world. The authors of this paper see social enterprise as a catalyst to helping the community in the local economy. Social enterprise plays a vital role in moving a community forward in terms of investment and social change. In essence, in any social enterprise, the profit that is made is reinvested into the organization to make it financially stable.

The paper then moves on to discuss the underpinning ideas of community, the state and the impact that these sectors have on society. In this section, the authors find that politicians and scholars have their own interpretations of how a community should work for everyone. The final part of the paper presents the case study of India, within which social enterprise has become an increasingly important government policy. Finally, social enterprise has a decisive function in bringing together the public and private sectors.

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‘Best Practices’ and Their Role in Policy Implementation: Case of Saksham Haryana

Arushi Sharan¹
Chahat Sanghvi²
Meghana Kaladi³
Praneet Jaswani⁴

Abstract

As policy assessment and impact evaluations remain the dominant domains of inquiry when it comes to policy studies in India, little scholarly attention has been paid to the mechanisms of implementation of governmental programmes. Therefore, this study seeks to qualitatively examine the implementation process by taking the case of the ‘Saksham Haryana’, launched by the Government of Haryana in 2017 to achieve grade-level competencies among students in government primary and middle schools across the state. This has been done by identifying ‘best practices’ in implementation and looking at their role in achieving programme objectives, across the districts of Nuh, Gurugram and Jhajjar. By using the tool of ‘best practices’ the paper focuses on the dynamic between top-level policy makers and the ground-level implementers in the larger implementation process. It finds that while these practices are useful, their efficacy in achieving outcomes differs depending upon the context. Therefore, their effectiveness is not universal, and they are more akin to ‘good practices’.

Keywords: Best Practices, Competency-Based Education, Policy Implementation, Saksham Haryana

1 Ashoka University, Rajiv Gandhi Education City, Sonipat, Haryana and can be reached at arushi.sharan@ashoka.edu.in

2 Ashoka University, Rajiv Gandhi Education City, Sonipat, Haryana and can be reached at chahat.sanghvi@cmgga.ashoka.edu.in

3 Ashoka University, Rajiv Gandhi Education City, Sonipat, Haryana and can be reached at meghana.kaladi@cmgga.ashoka.edu.in

4 Ashoka University, Rajiv Gandhi Education City, Sonipat, Haryana and can be reached at praneet.jaswani@cmgga.ashoka.edu.in

* All authors have contributed equally to this paper and have been listed alphabetically.

Introduction

Competency-based education arose as an educational trend in the United States of America in the mid-1960s, as a part of a larger thrust towards outcome-based education. However, it is only in the 1990s that the trend started consolidating itself and became a popular programme amongst policy-makers and educators across the world (Butova, 2015). The general idea behind competency-based education is that teaching must shift its focus from simply the acquisition of knowledge by learners, to demonstrable ability to *apply* that knowledge. This translates into a shift for educators from assessing ‘learning’ more generally, to assessing specific ‘learning outcomes’ in students. Thus, competency-based education aims to teach students keeping in mind their actual learning levels (rather than grade-levels), and the differing dominant modes of cognition across a cohort of students.

The practice of competency-based education remains at a nascent stage in India, particularly when it comes to the field of education policy and its implementation. It was adopted as an explicit policy objective as recently as 2019, through the (Draft) National Education Policy. In the case of Haryana, the wake-up call that necessitated revamping the way education is perceived and carried out, particularly in the case of government schools, came through the alarming statistics published in the Annual Status of Education Reports (ASER) by the organisation Pratham¹. As per ASER 2012, only around 60% of students enrolled in Grade 5 could read a Grade 2 text, and less than 30% students could do simple two-digit addition and subtraction. In 2014, only 21.7% of the students in Grade 3 in government schools in rural Haryana could read at least a Grade 2 text. Similarly, only 24% of the students could do at least subtraction in Grade 3, and 30.8% of students in Grade 5 could do division².

These figures though higher than the overall national average at that time, were much lower than the similarly situated private schools of rural Haryana. This called for a serious intervention to bridge the gap in learning outcomes. The first intervention in this direction came with the Quality Improvement Programme (QIP), launched in 2014. The programme aimed at improving the quality of school education in 3,222 government primary schools. In line with this, a Learning Enhancement Programme (LEP) was also initiated from 2015 across these schools. Under LEP, the first hour of school work was reserved for remedial teaching. Students were grouped

1 Pratham is a large non-governmental organisation in India working towards improving the quality of education for children through low-cost and scalable interventions. ASER is an autonomous unit within the Pratham network for surveys, evaluation and research.

2 For more information, please see: <http://img.asercentre.org/docs/Publications/ASER%20Reports/ASER%202014/ASER%20state%20pages%20Eng/haryana.pdf>

according to their differing learning levels and activity-based teaching was done to help the students 'catch-up' to the required levels of grade-level competencies (GLCs). Pedagogical assistance and training were also provided to the teachers with the help of Block Resource Persons (BRPs) and Assistant block Resource Coordinators (ABRCs). New teaching materials were also designed by the State Council for Education Research and Training (SCERT) towards this end.

By 2016, little improvement was registered through QIP, with ASER, 2016 reporting that 27.7% of Grade 3 students in government schools could do at least subtraction and 25.1% of Grade 3 students could read a Grade 2 level text. These results called for the need for scaling up and instituting a more comprehensive competency-based education programme. This led to the launch of the 'Saksham Haryana' programme in 2017.

This paper examines the implementation of Saksham Haryana by identifying certain 'best practices' and assessing the role that they have played in its effective implementation on the ground. 'Best practices' are usually devised by top-level policy practitioners who want scalable and effective solutions, but their actual operation and success is dependent upon the ground implementers. Thus, this paper studies the perceptions and roles of both top and bottom level implementers to understand the working of these practices. By doing so, it takes the 'synthesiser view', wherein implementation is seen as a process in which implementers at various levels constantly interact and negotiate with each other in the execution of policy objectives.

This paper will begin by undertaking a review of literature pertaining to policy implementation. This will be followed by a brief description of Saksham Haryana and the research methodology that was adopted by this study. The next sections will present the findings and analysis. The final section will offer some suggestions for improved implementation of the programme.

Review of Literature

The sharing and usage of 'best practices' has been an important aspect of governance and policy-making for several decades, now as means to better achieve official aims and objectives. Their relevance and usefulness to achieve specific goals across policy sectors and management has been continuously assessed as well as critiqued. This review of literature will be across various relevant themes, and has been organised as such.

Implementation of Public Policies

The conventional literature on public policy implementation is seen to have developed through three generations of implementation researchers

operating primarily with three different models regarding implementation. Policy implementation was never really considered an area of research enquiry till the 1970s (McLaughlin, 1987). The classical view of policy implementation assumed implementation as a “natural corollary” to the creation and design of policies (Natesan and Marathe, 2015) – If the policy was well-designed, proper implementation would naturally occur. This view did not take into account the myriad of real-world constraints and incentives that actually affect implementation once the policy document leaves the policy-making chambers. Therefore, the first generation of implementation analysts problematised this simplistic view with Pressman and Widavsky (1973) bringing to light the idea that implementation of a policy is distinct from its mere declaration. To quote them, *“Policies imply theories... Policies become programs when, by authoritative action, the initial conditions are created... Implementation, then, is the ability to forge subsequent links in the causal chain so as to obtain the desired result.”* As is implicit from this quote, implementation is understood to have occurred when there is commanding control and action from the top. Thus, the first generation of policy-implementation analysts are also seen as ‘Top-Down’ theorists who believe that successful implementation depends solely on a strong, centralised, authoritative presence to execute it. This position overlooks the fact that implementation actually occurs through multiple levels of administration and is not the sole function of the kind of leadership that is there. The second generation of implementation analysts recognised this and took a more ‘empirical’ view of implementation. They put forth a ‘Bottoms-up’ model wherein implementation is seen to be most dependent on the ground-level implementers or the “street-level bureaucrats” (Weatherley and Lipsky, 1977) such as police officers, doctors, teachers. They argued that policy implementation involves negotiation and consensus-building among local actors (Yadav, 2010). However, even this model was criticized for laying all the emphasis on ground-level actors and discrediting the influence exerted by other implementers through the various echelons of administration. The third generation then sought to “synthesise” the work of the previous two generations. They viewed implementation as a complex, ongoing process (and not merely an outcome) that involves constant bargaining of power and resources as well as negotiations involving the incentives/beliefs of individual implementers among and across various levels of implementers.

Each of these models attempted to address the drawbacks of the previous ones and shed some new light on policy implementation analysis. They are not replacements for each other and their functional utility in terms of best

understanding policy implementation may depend on the context one is looking at. But perhaps this paper's objective of studying 'best practices' can be best understood by taking the lens that the third generation of implementation analysts adopt and the next section will explore why that is.

Understanding 'Best Practices'

'Best practice' usually refers to a method or a programme of action that has been successful in achieving its intended goal or objective. The sharing of such practices is common among policy makers and public managers for they are understood to contribute towards greater policy success through improved performance (Papanastasiou, 2019). 'Best practices' can also be seen as 'governing practices' that shed light on specific policy issues thereby increasing our understanding and knowledge about them. This helps in formulating particular techniques to address the said issues then (Papanastasiou, 2019). The primary purpose of these practices is to make government functioning more effective and efficient. However, there is an inherent paradox in the functioning of best practices in the public sector. 'Best practices' occupy a unique space between the general and the particular – while they arise from specific contexts, they are seen to be generalisable enough to be transferred to other contexts to improve policy effectiveness. Thus, a best practice involves every level of policy implementation. While its working depends on the ground-level implementers situated in specific contexts, the practice is seen to be scalable and transferable by the policy-makers who implement it from the top across diverse contexts. The functioning of these practices requires a constant and dynamic interaction between the policy-makers, public managers and the 'street-level bureaucrats.' Therefore, the 'Synthesiser' model of policy implementation is perhaps the most apt to situate them in.

However, there remain numerous limitations to the usage and study of best practices. The first one is the problem of transferability. If a certain practice works well in a particular context, how can it be decontextualized and transferred to a different context? (Pal and Clark, 2013). The results in terms of policy effectiveness will obviously differ because successful implementation cannot be reduced to the existence of a singular, abstract practice. Another related problem is the identification of best practices – If a practice has worked very well in one place, how do we know that it is going to be successful when applied to several different contexts? (Jennings, Jr., 2007) These two problems raise the issue of adaptability of best practices. In order to work well, practices need to be able to adapt to local conditions, but not to the extent that they lose their element of generalisability and

transferability. For these complications, many have stopped using the term ‘best practices’ altogether, opting for softer terms like ‘good practice’ when trying to provide exemplars in policy and governance. (Pal and Clark, 2013) Finally, best practices are limited in offering effective solutions because they don’t factor in political constraints and availability of resources in different situations (Bardach, 1994). In their quest for universalizable solutions to policy problems, public managers might also neglect the fact the most effective solutions are often localized and dependent on local personalities (Bardach, 1994).

Policy Implementation in India

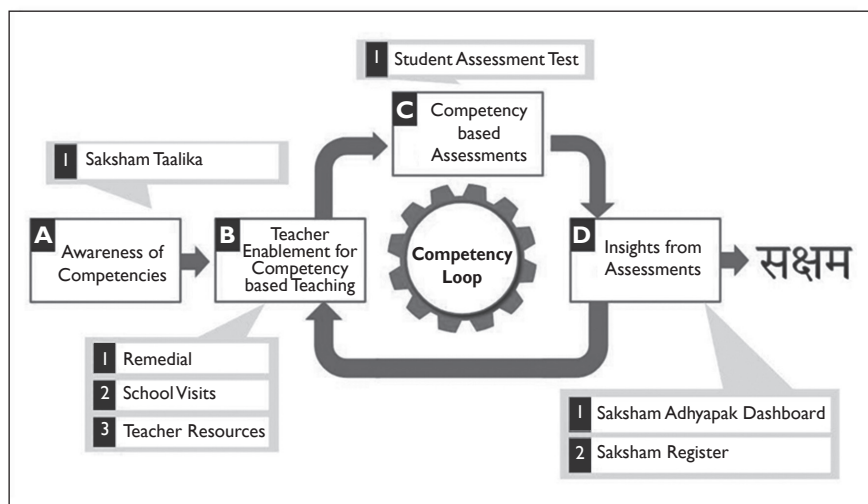
Policy implementation continues to be the Achilles’ heel when it comes to successful policy and governance in India. Lant Pritchett (2009) famously argued that India is a ‘Flailing State’; it has a strong head in terms of state capacity with its powerful bureaucracy but that head is woefully disconnected from the rest of its limbs. Local-level implementation of policy with its multitude of actors often lies beyond administrative-bureaucratic oversight and control with its lengthy processes and complex machinery. Sushma Yadav (2010) looks at this problem of implementation in detail and identifies certain roadblocks to successful implementation in India, such as overlap in functions of different government departments, absence of clear communication, and poor or no consultative mechanisms for policy formulation and implementation.

Despite the challenges and shortcomings associated with policy implementation in India, it remains to be a rigorously researched area. Policy studies in India are largely focussed on the overall success or failure of government programmes; implementation analysis gets subsumed under that larger rubric. Therefore, this study will attempt to shed some greater light in this domain by studying the implementation of Saksham Haryana. Further, since competency-based education is new to India and has been implemented on a large-scale in very few states, there is not much research on the implementation process surrounding it. Following from this literature review then, the paper will attempt to address this gap in its next sections.

About Saksham Haryana

Saksham Haryana was launched by the Chief Minister’s Office (CMO), Government of Haryana with the objective of making primary and middle students from government schools, grade-level competent through a robust combination of systemic interventions in the education department. The basic structure of the program is in Figure-1.

Figure-1: Saksham Competency Loop to Achieve Grade-Level Competencies Among Students



Source: Samagra Governance

The flowchart is referred to as the ‘Saksham Chakra’ and comprises of four components:

- Identifying the subject and grade-wise competencies
- Building capacity of the teachers through online and offline tools
- Conducting competency-based assessments in schools
- Analysing the data from the assessment and making course corrections

To measure the outcome of multiple academic interventions on student learning levels, the concept of Saksham Ghoshna was introduced. In 2017, the state set the aim to become ‘Saksham’ by 2019, i.e., achieve grade level competencies (GLCs) for 80% of students in the state. The unit chosen for this assessment was a block. For a block to be ‘Saksham’, more than 80% of its students needed to be grade level competent; for a district to become Saksham, all its blocks needed to become ‘Saksham’. For Haryana to become Saksham, all its districts needed to become ‘Saksham’. The assessments were administered to a sample that consisted of schools which provided the best representation across the categories of rural, urban, boys, girls, primary and secondary. Typically, 500 students per subject-grade combination were taken. In these schools, a third-party assessment³ was conducted, and based on the results it was (and is) decided whether the block had actually become ‘Saksham’.

3 The third-party assessments for the 8 *Ghoshna* rounds under Saksham 1.0, and the first round under Saksham 2.0 were conducted by the educational testing agency Gray Matters India. The second round under Saksham 2.0 was conducted by Educational Initiatives. To know more about them, please see: (i) <https://www.graymatters.in/> (ii) <https://www.ei-india.com/>

This project – its scope, scale, implementation mechanism, review and monitoring mechanisms – were designed by a team of professional consultants called the Saksham Haryana Cell (SHC). The elements of the programme model, such as the appointment of special officials, data collection formats, monitoring formats, best practices to be followed, administrative practices, timelines, etc., come from ‘the top’, and the districts and schools are bound to follow the directives.

Interventions and initiatives of various kinds have been made to achieve the goals and objectives of the programme. They range from academic, school to administrative interventions.

With respect to academic interventions, a remedial programme called Learning Enhancement Programme (LEP) has been instituted across 8,500 government primary schools in Haryana. The focus of LEP is on activity-based learning, peer learning and regular competency-based assessment of students. To provide pedagogical support to teachers and ensure that the programme is functioning effectively in schools, Mentors and Monitors (i.e. Block Resource Persons (BRPs) and Assistant Block Resource Coordinators (ABRCs)) conduct monthly school visits. On the administrative front, detailed district level and block-level planning is executed and the goals and vision of Saksham are aligned across stakeholders.

Table-1: Saksham 1.0 Ghoshna Rounds

Round	Month	No. of Blocks Assessed	No. of Saksham Blocks
1	Dec 2017	9	2
2	Feb 2018	13	1
3	May 2018	15	4
4	Aug 2018	23	11
5	Sep 2018	30	3
6	Nov 2018	25	5
7	Feb 2019	93	68
8	May 2019	25	13
Total		119	107

Source: Samagra Governance

There have been two phases since the launch of the program. In its first iteration, *Saksham 1.0*, grade-level competencies were tested only for students studying in classes 3rd, 5th and 7th in Hindi and Mathematics. The list of Ghoshna rounds under Saksham 1.0 and their results are in Table-1.

In the second phase, *Saksham 2.0*, the format was drastically changed with huge increases in both the scope and scale of the project. According to the new format, children in grades 3-5 were to be assessed in Hindi, Math

and Environmental Studies while students in grades 6-8 would be tested for Hindi, Math, Science and Social Sciences.

The results of the first round of Saksham 2.0 (conducted in September 2019), were quite poor, with zero blocks being declared Saksham. In the second round conducted in February 2020, a huge jump in results was witnessed as 22 blocks across 14 districts were declared Saksham.

Research Methodology

The study was conducted in three districts of Haryana- Nuh, Jhajjar and Gurugram. The research sites were selected due to their performance in the Saksham Haryana programme. With respect to outcomes of the Saksham Haryana assessments, Gurugram fares well, Jhajjar also performs well, but is not at par with Gurugram, and Nuh has been a poor performer (see Table-2). This variation helped understand how the 'best practices' function in differing contexts.

Table-2: District-wise Performance in Round 5 of Saksham Ghoshna (Sep 2018)

District	Hindi				Math		
	Grade 3	Students at GLC of Grade 3 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 2 (%)	Students at GLC of < Grade 2 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 3 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 2 (%)	Students at GLC of < Grade 2 (%)
Nuh		39%	36%	25%	60%	30%	10%
Gurugram		79%	17%	3%	91%	6%	3%
Jhajjar		70%	20%	10%	66%	17%	17%
	Grade 5	Students at GLC of Grade 5 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 4 (%)	Students at GLC of < Grade 4 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 5 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 4 (%)	Students at GLC of < Grade 4 (%)
	Grade 5	Students at GLC of Grade 5 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 4 (%)	Students at GLC of < Grade 4 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 5 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 4 (%)	Students at GLC of < Grade 4 (%)
Nuh		49%	36%	15%	80%	13%	7%
Gurugram		86%	9%	5%	95%	3%	2%
Jhajjar		75%	19%	6%	95%	4%	1%
	Grade 7	Students at GLC of Grade 7 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 6 (%)	Students at GLC of < Grade 6 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 7 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 6 (%)	Students at GLC of < Grade 6 (%)
	Grade 7	Students at GLC of Grade 7 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 6 (%)	Students at GLC of < Grade 6 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 7 (%)	Students at GLC of Grade 6 (%)	Students at GLC of < Grade 6 (%)
Nuh		77%	15%	8%	79%	12%	10%
Gurugram		94%	4%	1%	87%	10%	3%
Jhajjar		96%	2%	1%	88%	9%	3%

Source: Saksham Haryana Cell

Purposive, non-probability sampling was used for the study, and a qualitative assessment of the implementation process was conducted.

Primary data was collected through in-person and telephonic interviews with relevant stakeholders.

This was done over two rounds wherein Round One was conducted to identify the ‘best practices’ of the programme. Interviews for this round were conducted with stakeholders involved in the design and conceptualization of the Saksham Haryana programme, thus focusing on top-level implementers.

Eight stakeholders interviewed in this round included Saksham Haryana Cell members (3), Samagra Associates (3), Program Director, Chief Minister’s Good Governance Associates Programme, District Education Officer (DEO,) Jhajjar, District Elementary Education Officer (DEEO), Nuh and District Elementary Education Officer (DEO), Gurugram

Since the concept of a ‘best practice’ is inherently from the point of view of the policymaker and top-level executives, they were interviewed to improve the understanding of these practices. Their views were then juxtaposed with the viewpoints of the actual ground-level implementers during interviews conducted in Round Two. This provided a more holistic understanding of the practices and their impact on the Saksham Haryana programme. The interviews were conducted from February-May 2020.

From the analysis of interviews conducted in Round One, along with insights gained from the literature, certain parameters were identified for constituting a ‘best practice’. Based on these parameters, the ‘best practices’ identified for Saksham Haryana were:

- Deputy Commissioner (DC) / Sub-Divisional Magistrate (SDM) Reviews
- Mentoring and Monitoring through DIET functionaries
- Activity-based teaching methods under LEP

In the second round, interviews were conducted with the relevant ground level stakeholders associated with each practice, across the three districts. A total of 21 stakeholders were interviewed in this round from April-May 2020. They were as following (Interview Questionnaires included in Appendix I):

- LEP: Teachers (Gurugram, Jhajjar, Nuh), BRP Gurugram, BRP Nuh, BRP Jhajjar
- DC/SDM Reviews: SDM Gurugram, SDM Nuh, SDM Jhajjar, DC Nuh, DC Gurugram, DC Jhajjar, DEO Nuh, DEO Jhajjar, DEO Gurugram, District Institute of Education and Training (DIET) lecturer Jhajjar
- Mentoring and Monitoring: ABRC Nuh, BRP Jhajjar, BRP Gurugram, Block Education Officer (BEO) Nuh, DEEO Nuh, BEO Jhajjar, Block Institute for Education and Training (BITE) Principal Nuh, DIET Principal Gurugram, Teachers (Nuh, Gurugram, Jhajjar)

Keeping in mind the ethical concerns of interviewing different stakeholders, approval was taken from the Institutional Review Board of Ashoka University before commencing interviews. Informed written consent was also taken from all participants prior to conducting the interview.

Limitations

Three of the authors of this study were working as Chief Ministers Good Governance Associates (CMGGAs) at the time of data collection. Their association with the CMO may have impacted the responses obtained in the interviews because of the perceived authority of CMGGAs. Some data was also collected from District scorecards. However, it has irregularities and limitations due to its self-reported nature. Finally, the findings of this study are also limited to the operation of the Saksham Haryana programme within the state, and may not amenable to further generalisation.

Research Findings

On 'best practices'

Several stakeholders who were involved in the design and implementation of the programme were interviewed to understand how they understood best practices, and the key components of the same. They identified some practices that they believe may be characterised as 'best practices' such as the categorisation of students as per their learning levels, and regular monitoring. The common trends that emerged from their responses led to the identification of the following parameters that constitute a practice as a 'best practice':

- **Efficiency:** The practice helps achieve outcome more effectively.
- **Easy adoption:** The practice is easy to adopt by concerned stakeholders.
- **Scalability:** The practice can be replicated and scaled up in implementation.
- **Sustainability:** The practice is sustainable, and gets embedded into the system.

Based on this, certain 'best practices' for the Saksham programme were identified, and interviews were conducted with the relevant implementers. The findings and assessments pertaining to each of these practices have been presented next.

Mentoring and Monitoring

The mentoring and monitoring mechanisms consist of providing pedagogical support and training in competencies to school teachers, while observing and monitoring their performance at regular intervals at the same time. For *mentoring*, a dedicated cadre of ABRCs and BRPs have

been established by the state government through the Samagra Shiksha Abhiyaan (SSA) programme. There is one dedicated ABRC for each education cluster in a district and grades 3-8, while there is one BRP per education block for each subject between grades 9-12. They are tasked with the responsibility of mentoring teachers and educating them about the various competencies and new methods of teaching. The *monitoring* process is done by the education officials in the district, which include the District Education Officer (DEO), District Elementary Education Officer (DEEO), Deputy DEO, District Project Coordinator (DPC), and the Block Education Officers (BEOs). For the purpose of this paper, three mentors, monitors and teachers each were interviewed, across the districts of Nuh, Gurugram and Jhajjar.

The interviews of the ABRCs and BRPs highlighted that they perceive mentoring as a successful and effective practice. According to them mentoring has brought about a mindset change in teachers and there is a clear shift from rote based learning to competency-based education. Initially, teachers were a bit apprehensive towards the new mentors but over time they have accepted that the new teaching methods are indeed useful. However, it is not clear if this change has come about due to pressure from higher officials or a genuine, positive incentive to perform. The mentors also appreciated the support provided to them by the Education Department in terms of providing them with training and also encouraging them to perform better through initiatives like 'Saksham Mentor of the Week' and inviting them to headquarter-level events. However, the mentors did express dissatisfaction with the extremely low salary they receive, and the seemingly arbitrary allocation of districts. Several mentors work in districts far away from their homes and are unable to travel home frequently due to distance and low income. They also feel burdened with administrative work, which they feel distracts from their primary job of visiting schools and mentoring teachers.

The district education officials echoed views similar to the mentors. According to them, monitoring is the most important aspect of Saksham, as without it, it would be very difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of the programme. Apart from the standard roles and responsibilities assigned to monitors, they believe that this practice is essential for creating a conducive study environment in government schools. The reason being that many students of these schools come from underprivileged backgrounds, where parents cannot provide the necessary support for education at home (especially for a district like Nuh). All monitors also suggested that teachers have been very receptive towards this practice, which is evident from the fact that many teachers ask monitors to visit their schools frequently. However, an interesting finding from the interviews was that

many monitors see themselves more as mentors, and hence both end up performing similar roles. They also said that monitoring is a sustainable practice in the long run, even though the long-term objectives might keep changing.

The teacher interviews revealed a slightly mixed picture about the effectiveness of the practice. While the teachers in Jhajjar and Gurugram largely praised the practice, the teacher in Nuh was very critical of their role. According to him, adequate training isn't provided and the school visits are very arbitrary and irregular. Moreover, they don't seem to have a good grasp on the competencies. The other respondents, however, were positive about the roles of mentors and said that they impart new study techniques, create a good study environment and help teachers in imparting competency-based learning to students. All three respondents agreed that the role of mentors and monitors is crucial and it is a sustainable practice in the long run.

DC / SDM Reviews

Reviews are conducted by the DC at the district level every month, and by the SDM at the sub-district level to take stock of the current performance of the district, blocks and even schools in the Saksham assessments, and plan ahead for what needs to be done to improve the performance. These reviews are also a forum to solve administrative hurdles, and coordination issues to ensure that smooth implementation is taking place on the ground. The usual participants of these reviews are the DEOs, DEEOs, DIET lecturers, and even teachers. The DEO of Nuh, and the DIET lecturer from Jhajjar who were interviewed mentioned that these reviews also constitute a peer-learning platform for all the stakeholders to learn from each other's experiences of what worked and what didn't.

Nearly all the respondents who were interviewed said that the practice is effective in implementing the goals of Saksham; it helps bring accountability and a sense of responsibility among the stakeholders. Almost all the DCs and SDMs said that they appreciate and felicitate the good performers in these reviews to keep up the motivation among them. The DCs and SDMs from Gurugram and Jhajjar also mentioned that they conduct data-driven reviews i.e. they use the Saksham dashboard data and analyse the trends in it to identify which schools or areas need improvement in performance. After that, they try to understand their issues in-depth and then solve them. Some DEOs and DIET lecturers also mentioned that the DCs and SDMs pull up the non-performers during these reviews, but also encourage them to improve.

Only the DC from Nuh said the reviews have limited efficacy in achieving the goals of the programme, as the DCs and SDMs have no real power over the appointment of teachers or their performance appraisals. This view was

echoed by an SDM of the same district who said that they have no effective authority with respect to the teachers – they cannot recruit new ones to address the shortage in schools, or take action against the non-performers. This problem of teacher vacancies in the district was highlighted by the DEO, Nuh as well, who said that only one-third of the required capacity of teachers are currently appointed in schools in the district, and that student absenteeism is also a pressing issue. The DC mentioned that better implementation in the district would require the programme to be embedded in the state education department, and not the CMO such that problems pertaining to teacher vacancies, training and even school infrastructure can be resolved in a more streamlined and effective manner.

Nevertheless, all interview participants unanimously opined that the reviews are required at both the levels of the DC, as well as the SDM. The DC reviews provide a bird's eye of the entire district's performance and help for solving administrative issues, especially coordination issues with the state education department. The SDM reviews provide the platform for a micro-level analysis of the performance of blocks and schools. They help in solving specific issues that a school or cluster of schools might be facing, such as a lack of resources or poor school infrastructure. They allow closer monitoring of implementation, and resolution of any roadblocks or hurdles that crop up along the way.

Activity-based Teaching under Learning Enhancement Program

Although LEP was launched before Saksham Haryana, it is a core pillar of the program's operation now. It consists of remedial teaching in the first hour of school teaching every day. This remedial teaching is based on activity-based teaching, making use of visual aids, games and props to teach concepts to students. Students are grouped based on their learning levels, L0, L1, L2, with L2 students being completely grade-level competent. However, students are not aware of these categorisations. This grouping is done solely by teachers to track the competency levels of each student, and their concomitant progress over time. Teachers receive pedagogical assistance and teaching materials through ABRCs and BRPs to effectively conduct classes under LEP.

To understand the efficacy of activity-based teaching under LEP, teachers, mentors and monitors across the selected three districts were interviewed. Almost all respondents unanimously said that activity-based teaching under LEP helps achieve the goals of Saksham by bridging gaps in the learning levels of students. The methods of teaching used in this are particularly helpful for students to connect with the learning materials and so, help in clarifying concepts. Moreover, they encourage more class participation and peer group learning for students. This helps in retaining their attention during class and promotes student learning. Thus, it is a

student-centric practice. All teachers also opined that it is a sustainable practice in the long run.

However, the teacher in Nuh offered some critical views regarding the implementation of the practice. He said that often teachers categorise students into their learning levels improperly, and this affects the results. Further, he pointed out that the workshops and training conducted by mentors and monitors is often not relevant and specific to class requirements. This teacher was of the opinion that classes under LEP benefit only 50% of the overall students.

The mentors from Nuh supplemented this view and mentioned that there is a shortage of LEP manuals and training materials for teachers. But he said that wherever LEP teaching has been done properly, it has shown improvements in students' learning levels. The mentors from Gurugram and Nuh also pointed out that sometimes teachers don't understand how LEP classes are linked to Saksham, and this affects the effective implementation of the practice. The LEP syllabus, the Saksham Ghoshna exam syllabus and the state-board prescribed syllabus are sometimes seen to be distinct and unrelated, and so teachers find it burdensome to focus on all three.

This shows that there is some unclear communication between policy-makers and the ground-level implementers with respect to the vision and goals of the Saksham Haryana programme, and how that ties up to the overall programme of school education in the state. In a similar vein, some mentors also mentioned how there is no feedback mechanism that is currently in place that allows for ground-level feedback, to improve the overall working of the programme.

Final Assessments

Practices Perceived to be Effective and Sustainable

The findings from interviews conducted for each of the practices reveal that the stakeholders believe that overall, they have been successful in achieving the objectives of the programme, and are sustainable in the system in the long run. The practice of 'mentoring and monitoring' helps create a conducive learning environment in schools for the students. This practice has also been helpful in changing the attitudes of the teachers towards competency-based education and in providing pedagogical support to them to be able to carry out effective teaching. The DC and SDM reviews have helped in achieving the goals of the programme more effectively through generating accountability in the system by holding the concerned programme implementers responsible towards their tasks and performance. These reviews also help monitoring the ground-level implementation closely and solving any hurdles or glitches that crop up in

the operation of the programme. The activity-based teaching under LEP has directly helped in bridging the learning gaps among students by creating and sustaining student interest in learning, and clarifying concepts for them more effectively. These practices are also simple enough to be scalable.

Problem of Adaptability

The identified practices do not seem to operate with the same efficacy across different contexts. Across the interviews for all three practices, respondents from Nuh repeatedly offered reservations regarding the effectiveness of the practices. As mentioned previously, Nuh has already been a poor performer with respect to the Saksham assessments and the district is ailed by other problems pertaining to the delivery of education such as excessive teacher vacancies, poor infrastructure in schools, and lack of resources⁴. These contextual factors alter the effectiveness of the practices on the ground here. This is visible even through the data from the Saksham Scorecards⁵ (see Table-3) which shows that the school visits conducted in Nuh by monitors are more infrequent. This is reflected in the weaker performance of students in the student assessment tests.

This brings to light the ‘problem of adaptability’ that exists with ‘best practices’ (Pal and Clark, 2013). All practices operate in a certain underlying context; they are not executed by implementers in vacuum. Therefore, what works in one area very well cannot be simply picked up and transferred to another area as it is. Moreover, it implies that the identification of ‘best practices’ will always be tenuous, and often incorrect. *Therefore, it may be more suitable to refer to identified practices as ‘good practices’ rather than the ‘best practices’ of Saksham Haryana.*

Communication Gaps in Implementation

The interviews shed some light on some communication gaps that exists in implementation. The monitors often end up seeing themselves as mentors, and end up performing their roles leading to some unintended overlap in roles and functions. With respect to the LEP, this gap is more visible: some teachers are unclear on how the LEP classes are intrinsically linked to the primary goal of Saksham Haryana of grade-level competency. Thus, clearer communication from the top is required to make the ground-level implementers understand what their exact roles and responsibilities are, and how they are related to the achievement of the larger vision and objectives of the programme.

4 For more information please see: (i) <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/in-nuh-half-the-sanctioned-posts-in-schools-lie-vacant-records-6538035/> (ii) <https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Delhi/nuh-schools-in-need-of-lessons/article30234210.ece>

5 The Saksham Scorecard data was obtained through the District Dashboard data which can be accessed through <http://sat-dashboard.herokuapp.com/district-dashboard/>

Table-3: Saksham Scorecard (SS) Data (July 2019- Feb 2020)

District	Indicator	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb
Nuh	% students scoring above 50% in Student Assessment Tests	65%	--	63%	56%	56%	73%	73%	75%
	Average Quality Score of LEP Classrooms	60%	70%	70%	80%	--	--	--	--
	% school visits by Mentors/Monitors on SS App	5%	5%	3%	22%	42%	--	53%	196%
	DC Review (Monthly)	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
	SDM Reviews	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Jhajjar	% students scoring above 50% in Student Assessment Tests	83%	--	76%	69%	69%	82%	82%	84%
	Average Quality Score of LEP Classrooms	70%	90%	80%	80%	--	--	--	--
	% school visits by Mentors/Monitors on SS App	7%	38%	50%	84%	58%	--	33%	75%
	DC Review (Monthly)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	SDM Reviews	100%	100%	33%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Gurugram	% students scoring above 50% in Student Assessment Tests	84%	--	81%	75%	75%	88%	88%	91%
	Average Quality Score of LEP Classrooms	70%	80%	90%	90%	--	--	--	--
	% school visits by Mentors/Monitors on SS App	12%	31%	27%	56%	44%	--	34%	105%
	DC Review (Monthly)	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	SDM Reviews	67%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Saksham Scorecards, Saksham Haryana Cell

Some Suggestions for a Way Forward

The identified practices in this study are interconnected and complimentary. Together, they form the mainstay of the implementation of Saksham Haryana. Therefore, the successful implementation of the programme would entail the effective operation of each of these practices.

To enable that, the practices should be made more adaptable to local contextual factors. One way of doing that is by instituting a formal feedback mechanism that is to be taken from the ground through ABRCs, BRPs and teachers. At present, there is no such mechanism. This would also help in overcoming any existing communication gaps, such that the clarity of vision and direction are maintained in the implementation process.

Secondly, some changes can be made to improve the quality of service delivery:

- The employment conditions of mentors can be improved. These are educated and qualified individuals who are paid very less. This becomes especially challenging for mentors posted in urban districts like Gurugram where the costs of living are high. Further, there needs to be more transparency in the allocation of districts to these mentors. This may enhance their motivation and performance.
- The LEP materials can to be expanded from manuals for only teachers, to learning materials for students as well. The training and assistance provided to teachers can be subject-specific, as it is more generic at present.
- A common template and checklist for DC/SDM reviews can be created to ensure the quality of these meetings. Further, the option of virtual/remote review meetings can be instituted as the DCs and SDMs often have paucity of time and are unable to travel physically to different locations for the meetings.

These changes may help improve the functioning of the practices and aid in more robust and effective implementation of the programme such that quality, competency-based education is truly made available to students across public schools in the state.

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List of Abbreviations

- ABRC : Assistant Block Resource Coordinator
- ASER : Annual Status of Education Report
- BEO : Block Education Officer
- BIET : Block Institute of Education and Training
- BRP : Block Resource Person
- CMO : Chief Minister's Office
- CMGGA : Chief Minister's Good Governance Associate
- DC : Deputy Commissioner
- DEEO : District Elementary Education Officer

DEO	: District Education Officer
DIET	: District Institute for Education and Training
GLC	: Grade-level competency
LEP	: Learning Enhancement Programme
QIP	: Quality Improvement Programme
SDM	: Sub-Divisional Magistrate
SHC	: Saksham Haryana Cell
SSA	: Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan

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Maternal Death Review: Challenges and Evidence Generation for Improvement in India

Kranti Vora¹
Paridhi Gupta²
Shahin Saiyed³

Abstract

India has made slow progress in reducing maternal mortality. Maternal death review (MDR) is a tool to observe underlying health, social, and other contributory factors for maternal deaths. The objective of this study was to strengthen the existing MDR in India while recognizing key issues in the process of MDR and to provide possible solutions for the better functioning of MDR. An observational research in two states along with a review of literature from electronic databases, WHO, UNICEF, and government websites was undertaken to identify process-related challenges in MDR from 2010 to 2019. Search terms related to maternal death review, process, challenge, and India were combined. Incomplete MDR forms; political fear; weak public health system; lack of regular guidance and feedback from top to bottom levels; lack of coordination and motivation among the responsible team, inadequately trained staff; underreporting of maternal deaths; the resistance from dead women's family and blaming culture were identified as most obvious barriers. This review generated useful information on factors responsible for poor reporting of maternal deaths in the current MDR process in the country. It also allows future programs to improve the quality of MDR based on the results and gaps identified.

Keywords: India, Maternal Death, Maternal Death Audit, Maternal Health, Maternal Death Review

1 Associate Professor, PHFI – Indian Institute of Public Health Gandhinagar, Gujarat, India and Visiting Fellow, University of Canberra, Australia and can be reached at kvora@iiphg.org

2 Senior Research Fellow, PHFI – Indian Institute of Public Health Gandhinagar, Gujarat, India and can be reached at paridhigupta@iiphg.org

3 Consultant, PHFI – Indian Institute of Public Health Gandhinagar, Gujarat, India and can be reached at ssaiyed@iiphg.org

Background

Maternal deaths are well-defined by World Health Organization (WHO) as “the death of a woman while pregnant or within 42 days of termination of pregnancy, irrespective of the duration and site of the pregnancy, from any cause related to or aggravated by the pregnancy or its management but not from accidental or incidental causes” (World Health Organization). Almost all maternal deaths (99%) occur in developing countries and one-third of these deaths occur in South-Asia (World Health Organization, 2018).

India is one of the lowest-performing countries where a large number of maternal deaths take place in the world (World Health Organization, 2014). For 2016-18, India’s maternal mortality rate (MMR) was estimated at 113 maternal deaths/100,000 live births (NITI Aayog). This high incidence of maternal deaths causes a huge loss of human life and social welfare. For every death, many more mothers suffer varying degrees of morbid conditions. Pregnancy-related morbidity and mortality continue to have a serious impact on the lives of women and their children. Therefore, reducing MMR faster is a global health priority and targeted in the SDG framework too (United Nations).

In many countries maternal death review (MDR) is a strategy to reduce maternal deaths. It’s an in-depth systematic review of maternal deaths to explain underlying health, social and other contributory factors, and the lessons learned from such review are used in forming recommendations to prevent future deaths (Tayade et al., 2012). Effective and coherent use of reliable routinely collected information results in better planning and action in addition to generating an accountable and responsive health service. Conducting maternal death reviews is a technique to attain this pathway to change (Hussein et al., 2016). During Reproductive and Child Health (RCH) Phase II in India, MDR was implemented to improve the quality of obstetric care and reduce maternal morbidity and mortality in India (Government of India).

The Government of India has produced guidelines to carry out MDR to prevent maternal deaths. However, the MDR process varies in uptake and quality across the states (Smith et al., 2017). The effectiveness of review largely depends on the method, intensity of feedback, and required actions taken rather than on the specific review process used (Kongnyuy & Van Den Broek, 2009). Despite progress in reducing MMR, India needs to strengthen the existing MDR system to speed up the decline. This study was conducted to examine and highlight the MDR process and to provide reasons and possible solutions to identify MDR gaps at the community, facility, district, and state levels.

Methods

Observational research was carried out in two Indian states during 2017 to observe the MDR process. Also, informal interaction with key informants at the state, district, block, and community level was carried out to examine the MDR implementation process. Additionally, a secondary literature review of articles and reports on maternal death audit in India and its states was conducted. All secondary reports/documents and data from the National and State levels were referred to scrutinize our findings with available literature. A total of 11, out of which 6 published studies and 5 reports were included in the study.

Search Strategy

All available published and grey literature and reports from 2009 to 2019 in PubMed, Google Scholar, World Health Organization, and UNICEF websites were used to identify challenges and gaps in the current process of MDR in India. We also searched for reports, policies, and guidelines from Indian health ministry websites and different NGOs working in maternal and child health sectors. We used the search terms ‘maternal mortality OR maternal death in combination with review OR audit OR surveillance’. These were then combined with AND with the following search terms: process, challenge, issue, and India. Star truncation (*) was used where multiple endings of terms were possible.

Setting

India.

Study Design

Audit, review, report, confidential inquiry, survey, case papers/studies, government documents.

Eligibility Criteria

Studies and reports were included if the title and abstract were relevant to the review’s aim. Articles were required to have been undertaken particularly in the Indian context. Studies could be commenced at the community, facility, districts, states, or national level. Studies based on language (other than English); if only the clinical causes of maternal death were reported; reports focusing on routine maternal care and studies not located in India were excluded.

Results

The current study identified issues in the process for maternal death surveillance broadly in the following domains: governance, operational guidelines, and implementation of the MDR process in different states in India (Table-1).

Table-1: Maternal Death Audit Process Challenges in India

Author, Year	Maternal Death Audit Outcome / Issues / Challenges
Published Papers	
Kakoty & Das, 2018	Cursory process of MDR at various levels. MDR meetings were not held regularly in the district & the MDR process was not fully functional.
Paily et al., 2014	Confidential Review of Maternal Deaths: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Carried out by KFOG provides a central secretariat. - Expedient and practical MDR approach - Underreporting of cases - Lack of administrative guidance - Lack of regular in-house meetings
Subha Sri & Khanna, 2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One training session to train CSO staff. - Incomplete information from families - Missing information on late maternal, unsafe abortions, and home-delivered deaths - Difficulty in getting a health system perspective, resistance from the health system to assist in CSO-led SA - Enquiring the skilled team involved in the SA - Culture of blame
Smita Bajpai CHETNA Regional Resource Centre, 2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maternal death not reviewed/discussed with staff at different levels - Absence of feedback mechanism from the higher authorities to the medical staff - No corrective action based on the review outcomes - Non-participation and taken-for-granted approach to maternal death from the medical staff - Poor quality of MDR regarding the investigation, referable causes, and actions - Absence of or limited CSO involvement
Kalter et al., 2011	MAPEDIR process: Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, and West Bengal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of ability to identify and investigate maternal deaths in the public health system - Panchayati Raj Institutions – limited interest in health issues - Uncounted maternal deaths - Incapably trained health workers debilitate to report deaths - Poor coordination between top to bottom departments - Local contextual factors and unreported maternal deaths at home
Vora et al., 2009	Absence of medical records; poor record keeping Inadequately trained staff

Author, Year	Maternal Death Audit Outcome / Issues / Challenges
Grey Literature	
Government of Assam (Report No. 4 of 2017)	MDRs prepared for 75% of maternal deaths only and causes of maternal death in 25% of cases remained unknown <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information available on e-MDR revealed less reporting of maternal death cases
WHO, 2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited information on maternal deaths - Poor coverage of death reviews: design of the present MDR system is completely health system led - No information on the process available in the public domain. Large gaps in terms of enhancing transparency and accountability throughout the process - At present, the MDR focuses only on medical causes of death rather than the contributors to death - No scope for community participation
World Health Organization, 2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poor reporting of maternal deaths - Shortage of staff - Social and political hindrances: fear of punitive action and repercussion from the community - No proper information, education, and communication for community advocacy - Lack of ownership of the program by states and districts - Lack of supervision at the district and block-level - Lack of training to conduct MDR
MoHFW, Government of India, 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Underreporting and poor quality of analysis - Absence of detailed review in all districts. - Lack of understanding of MDR - Informal approach of the authorities for MDR
UNICEF, 2011	<p>The community-based MAPEDIR process:</p> <p>Challenges:</p> <p>(West Bengal)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Effective and regular supervision required <p>(Orissa)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - BMO thinks it as routine; in practice, this leads to neglect and oversight without thorough scrutiny - Lengthy questionnaire; submitted incomplete - Resistance from dead women's family - Need for better coordination between health schemes and ICDS, and between the District Program Manager, and the Chief District Medical Officer. - Persistent political fear while reporting maternal deaths - Weak health system - Unavailability of the interviewees on the allotted time (Rajasthan) - Localized resistance

Governance Issues

National / State Level

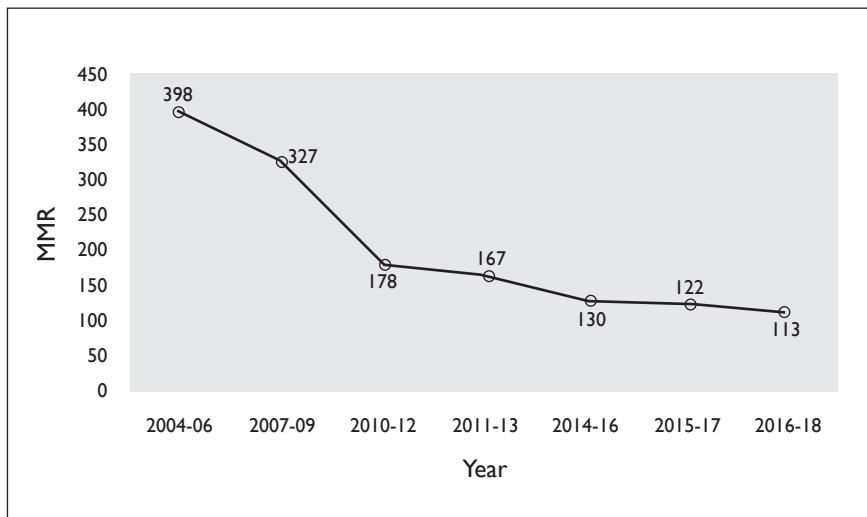
At the national level, data received from states is limited. Reporting of

maternal deaths has improved over the past few years but still in high mortality states such as Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh less than half of expected deaths are reported. Among deaths reported, proportions of deaths where MDR was conducted varies from state to state, and in high mortality states review is conducted in lower proportions.

Community-based MDR is a neglected component in the health system. According to guidelines published, community-based reviews must be taken up for all deaths that occurred in the specified geographical region, irrespective of the place of death (e.g. home, facility, or in transit) (Government of India, 2017). As a result, reporting the cause of death is missing. This is an important gap in the system also where proportions of deaths reported under “others” are high. This limits the usefulness of data for analysis and program improvement. Lack of community-based review also leads to a gap in understanding of community-level factors.

Maternal death is relatively a rare event and is calculated in terms of 100,000 live births. Hence, estimation is a difficult task and accuracy again is an issue. Sample Registration Survey (SRS) releases data on maternal deaths every few years and presents estimates of MMR at the state level. SRS has been the mainstay of knowing progress in maternal mortality in India and understanding the causes of maternal deaths despite its shortcomings. Graph 1 shows a decrease in the maternal mortality ratio over the years. Reduction in maternal mortality has slowed in the past decade despite efforts from the government and non-government stakeholders.

Graph-1: Trend in the Reduction of MMR in India based on SRS Data



A maternal death review is a tool to improve the quality of maternal health care services and also to measure the progress in the improvement.

In India, several guidelines for maternal death review have been introduced in past few years. In this study, we took into consideration the guideline that was issued in 2017. At each level of the information gathering, there is an oversight committee (Annexure-I). Also as per the guidelines, the MDR process is clear and mentions stakeholders responsible for community and facility-based review. Unfortunately, guidelines are not implemented effectively on the ground.

At the national level, there is limited technical staff with the capacity to analyze MDR information and formulate recommendations. Also, there is limited authority to ensure guidelines are being followed and recommendations are implemented.

As per the observational study, Committees for MDR are formed as per guidelines and there is a nodal person at the state level for the review. A nodal person has other responsibilities which permits little time for data analysis and identification of gaps. Hence, improvement and customized solutions proposed to improve maternal health services are limited or non-existent. Even if a solution is identified, follow up for effective implementation is missing. Many times, standalone meeting for MDR does not happen, it is included in routine RCH related meetings. This leads to ignorance of the issues related to maternal deaths and ad hoc completion of MDR guidelines.

Reporting of maternal deaths has improved over the past few years due to national and state-level efforts such as incentives to ASHA and community for reporting, follow up with field workers and district officers. The maternal death review process is clear to stakeholders at the state level. Maternal death review data is discussed at the state level frequently by technical and administrative stakeholders including the principal secretary in routine meetings. This is an improvement over the past but not adequate.

In none of the states, an exclusive maternal death review meeting is conducted. MDR is discussed with other MCH issues in routine meetings as and when time permits. The chair of the committee is usually high ranking administrative officer who has multiple responsibilities. This limits the ability of the committee to make programmatic improvements based on review findings. Data coming from districts are limited in terms of information and is of poor quality, for example, the cause of maternal death is not clear, etc.

District Level

At the district level, the nodal person also holds other full-time positions such as Reproductive and Child Health Officer, Monitoring & Evaluation Officer. This makes it difficult for the person to focus on MDR and improve the process. Maternal deaths were discussed in meetings frequently under the chairmanship of the administrative officer. At the state level, MDR is

discussed along with other issues in the health society meeting. Committee members should ideally include technical persons such as Obstetricians and Pediatricians but often it does not include specialists. Reports of maternal deaths are sent regularly to the state as a separate report and also on the online portal. Reports coming from blocks are often incomplete and inconclusive, as a result, not much discussion could occur in the meeting. Also, it was difficult to take any corrective action based on the reviews.

It was observed in the districts visited that the field workers have some knowledge about the process of MDR. Reporting of maternal deaths happening in the community happens monthly. Both ASHA and ANM report maternal deaths to appropriate authorities. The onus of reporting and review is on ASHA who has limited knowledge, hence often cause of death was in the “others” category which is non-conclusive. Knowledge of Medical officers regarding the review process varied and often the responsibility of conducting community-based review is transferred to contractual staff such as the National Health Mission (NHM) staff. Lower level facility providers do not have the knowledge and capacity to conduct the review or designate cause of death as per ICD 10 guidelines.

Numerical reporting has improved but review happens if and when time permits which are reflected in the national-level data. Many maternal deaths are missed or the information is incomplete due to travel to other districts or states. Papers related to admission and treatments are often not available with relatives.

Kerala – Best Practice – Confidential Inquiry

Kerala has adopted a “confidential inquiry” methodology for maternal death review. The state government of Kerala has an MOU with the professional organization of Obstetrics and Gynecologists (ObGyn) to conduct a review of maternal deaths independently. The process is confidential and non-judgmental. Findings from the inquiry cannot be used for legal purposes by anyone including the government. Findings of the inquiry are summarized and submitted to the government every year. Corrective actions such as the establishment of protocols, training of nurses for improving the management of labor have been taken in collaboration with the government.

Forms used by Kerala ObGyn society are different from national guidelines. The inquiry is mostly based on facility-based reviews and forms submitted by the treating doctor. On average 70% of all MD are reviewed. Anonymity and not being judgmental are the first and foremost criteria for all the committee members who meet every 3 months to discuss maternal deaths. Committee members are not paid any remuneration and are full-time practicing obstetricians working in the private sector or medical institutions. Non-obstetrician specialists/super specialists are also part of the committee.

For any program to be successful, it requires strong political will. In addition to the general apathy of higher officials, it was found that there was a persistent political fear in reporting maternal deaths (UNICEF, 2011; World Health Organization, 2014). One of the striking issues on the MDR process was a poorly functioning public health system (UNICEF, 2011; World Health Organization, 2014; Subha Sri & Khanna, 2014). One study concluded that the public health system lacked the capacity to identify and investigate maternal deaths (Kalter et al., 2011). It was noticed that there was a complete lack of guidance from all the departments involved in conducting MDRs (World Health Organization, 2014; Paily et al., 2014). Moreover, the general lack of guidance leaving all other associated staff to engage in their self-interested valuations.

Feedback is considered an important aspect of the process of MDR. In the majority of articles, it was found that maternal death was not reviewed, discussed, or supervised with staff at lower levels (Bajpai, 2013; World Health Organization, 2014). Further, MDR was taken for granted as a routine practice and it also created confusion among the staff. Regular feedback meetings were not held by the district / state which ended in a lack of understanding among the workers about the concept behind conducting MDR at block and PHC levels (MoHFW, 2011; Paily et al., 2014; Kakoty & Das, 2018). A one-time training session was not enough to train the staff on the MDR process. Staff seemed to be inadequately trained or poorly briefed about the MDR process (Subha Sri & Khanna, 2014). Lack of motivation and coordination between healthcare providers was also a challenge in the existing MDR (Vora et al., 2009; Kalter et al., 2011; Bajpai, 2013; World Health Organization, 2014).

Operational Guidelines and Implementation Issues

The most widely reported issue was the underreporting of maternal deaths (MoHFW, 2011; UNICEF, 2011; Bajpai, 2013; World Health Organization, 2014; World Health Organization, 2015). According to the WHO report, it was observed that less than a quarter of maternal deaths were reported and only two-thirds were reviewed (World Health Organization, 2015).

Another issue was related to the MDR forms. These forms are lengthy and the responsible personnel often leave them blank or incomplete in many districts (UNICEF, 2011; MoHFW, 2011). The facts recorded for maternal deaths are of poor quality and completely led by the health system (UNICEF, 2011; MoHFW, 2011; Bajpai, 2013; World Health Organization, 2014; World Health Organization, 2015). The current MDR process focuses only on medical causes of death, which resulted in missed deaths due to unsafe abortions, home deliveries, and other social or local contributing factors (Kalter et al., 2011; Subha Sri & Khanna, 2014; World

Health Organization, 2015). Family members of dead women resisted to give interviews and often were not available at the given time. Detailed reports are missing as relatives destroy those.

We observed in most articles, that at various levels the MDR process was hasty which led to improper and inadequate dissemination of information (Subha Sri & Khanna, 2014; World Health Organization, 2015; Government of Assam, 2017; Kakoty & Das, 2018). A culture of blame and lack of interest among health staff revealed that families and other peripheral health workers were reluctant to report, to articulate, and to accept responsibility for the number of maternal deaths (UNICEF, 2011; Subha Sri & Khanna, 2014; World Health Organization, 2015).

Discussion

This review on MDR process issues in India provides new information on why implementation of MDR is not successful with comprehensive capacity. This study highlights some issues with maternal death review from top to bottom levels in India. On the top levels, many politicians have limited knowledge in public health practice as these practices are complex and at a multi-level. To accommodate this challenge public health officials and providers need to distinguish the role of political and ideological factors for the MDR process and adapt advocacy approaches so that these factors are leveraged or neutralized (Hunter, 2016).

One important finding in the review was the weak health system which could be due to internal barriers that hinder the process either from the providers or from the higher official's part. Haryana's surveillance-based review system caused the reduction of missed death events and comparatively providing in-depth and correct information (Negandhi et al., 2016). Hence, MDR forms should be reviewed regularly after the initial review to ensure that all the information is filled and accurate before submitted to concerned departments.

Though maternal death reviews are conducted, important information is not always documented as per available guidelines. The findings from an incomplete questionnaire did not provide enough information. The possible reasons for this could be lack of information in facility records or families did not support in obtaining the information after the women's death. To overcome this issue, within each level of the health system practical and technical information should be disseminated in such a way that it will help the stakeholders to address the gaps related to the MDR process. It requires an uninterrupted flow of information / guidelines from top to bottom and bottom to top levels.

Due to the length of the questionnaire, it was either left blank, or the cause of death was mentioned as 'others'. This necessitates action on

“language, timeliness, and simplification” in order to enhance the quality, and facilitate adoption (Kapadia-Kundu et al., 2012) of the MDR forms such that actionable information is generated at local levels. Mandatory training, timely feedback, and effective supervision are short term options for health workers at all levels to acquire skills to meet the expectations in the management of the review.

Subsequently, issues corresponding to lack of interest and a culture of blame are linked with barriers to reporting maternal deaths and inappropriate functioning of the workers at lower levels. Therefore, staff should be encouraged to give a true account of events followed by a system that allows for the input, analysis, and feedback on data without fear of punishment (Radhakrishna, 2015). It will also ensure that there will be an overall improvement in report quality.

Recommendations

- Rigorous training should be given to healthcare providers and other staff on “The WHO Application of ICD-10 to deaths during pregnancy, childbirth, and the puerperium” to record the specific cause of maternal deaths.
- Since institutional delivery has increased up to 80%, the Confidential Review of Maternal Deaths should be conducted to identify factors contributing to maternal deaths.

Strength and Limitations

Our study revealed important areas of the public health system that could be strengthened to improve the reporting of maternal deaths. A limitation of this review was the number of articles included. Many of the maternal death reviews with full articles were not available online. However, the purpose of this review was to provide an explanatory interpretation for future corrections and recommendations on maternal death reviews at all levels.

Conclusion

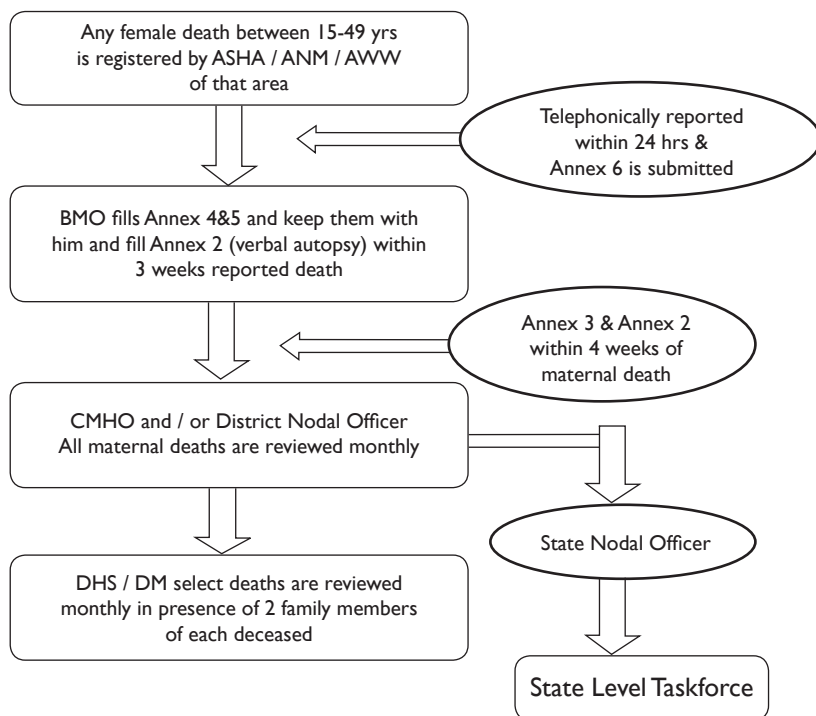
This kind of review is valuable to enhance the quality of MDRs. We conclude that current documentation on maternal death reviews was not comprehensive enough to provide all the necessary facts about maternal deaths in the country. The outcome of the review process is punitive action at present which prevents stakeholders to report or review maternal deaths fairly. Future studies need to address the process of conducting MDRs in more detail to identify avoidable factors that can be corrected to increase the reporting of maternal deaths in the country and also to reduce maternal mortality.

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Annexure-I: Flow of Information Regarding Community Base MDR As Per Previous Guidelines



Cash Transfers During COVID-19 Pandemic and Roadmap to Universal Basic Income

Prem Kumar*

Abstract

Financial assistance has been provided to vulnerable populations across countries during COVID-19 pandemic. The recent one is COVID-19 stimulus packages signed by the President of the USA on 27 December, 2020. It's a very comprehensive package. In India, both central and state governments provided financial assistance to vulnerable populations. Cash transfers, subsequent to the Government's announcement of a relief package to the poor in the time of COVID-19 pandemic, reveals the strength of digital payment infrastructure. Further, India's capability to run targeted cash transfer programmes on a large scale has been proved. The recent cash transfer mechanism must be evolved to deal with the chronic economic vulnerability of a large section of the working population. The recent developments – mainly plight of migrant workers, long queue for ration and relief package – necessitates further discussions on the universal basic income.

Keywords: Cash Transfer, Migrant Labour, Pandemic, Poverty, Universal Basic Income, Vulnerable Employment

Introduction

Lockdown, announced on 24 March 2020 to curb the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic, exposed the plight of migrant labour, which could be easily assessed by their desperate attempt to reach home. In big cities, migrant labour assembled in large number with the hope of arrangement of transport facilities by government to reach their villages. Some of them started their journey, as long as hundreds of kilometres, on foot. Media, both national and international, narrated the stories of some migrant labour reaching their home by covering a very long distance on foot. One of such stories is of 45 migrant workers who covered the distance of 1400 kilometres on foot

* Teaches at Shaheed Bhagat Singh Evening College, University of Delhi and can be reached at premkrec@gmail.com

(excluding some distance for which they got lift from truck drivers), from Warangal in Telangana to reach their village in Bahraich in Uttar Pradesh (NDTV, 24th April 2020). Evidently, desperation of migrant labour was the result of their economic vulnerability. Most of the migrant labours are daily wage and casual workers. After a few days of lockdown, economic vulnerability of local poor residing in urban slums and rural areas was also exposed by long queues for the meal and ration. It is quite clear that a large section of the working population is economically vulnerable. They can be pushed to starvation and poverty just after few days without work. A daily wage worker, who is above the poverty line, may be pushed into poverty if he / she does not get work. This may be true even for a regular wage/salaried employee working in the informal sector. International Labour Organisation's report, titled 'COVID-19 and the world of work: second edition', states that about 400 million workers in the informal economy are at risk of falling deeper into poverty during the crisis in India. Without cash assistance and free ration, millions would have been starved. The Central Government and states' government announced relief measures like cash transfers and free ration for the poor who have been hit hardest by the lockdown announced to curb the COVID-19 pandemic. The need for cash transfers can't be understood without having the understanding of the employment pattern and its vulnerable part.

Vulnerable Employments and Financial Support

Data on employment patterns suggest the prevalent economic vulnerability of a large section of the working population. As per National Sample Survey's annual report 'Periodic Labour Force Survey, 2017-18', 25% of rural households derive their income from casual labour. The corresponding figure for urban India is 11.8%. Employment pattern is predominantly characterised by lack of job contract and social security. Even in the case of regular wage / salaried employees, high percentage of workers lack written job contract and social security benefits. In the non-agriculture sector, 71.1% of regular wage/salaried employees had no written job contract, while 49.6% were not eligible for any social security benefit (Table-1). Evidently, almost half of regular wage / salaried employees are vulnerable.

Table- I: Employment Pattern and Vulnerability (figures are in %)

	Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Share of self-employed among workers in usual status	57.8	57.7	39.2	34.7
Share of casual labour among workers in usual status	28.2	31.8	15.1	13.1

	Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Unemployment rate	5.8	3.8	7.1	10.8
Vulnerability among regular wage/salaried employees in the non-agriculture sector	All India			
Proportion of workers not having written job contract	71.1			
Proportion of workers not eligible for paid leave	54.2			
Proportion of workers not eligible for any social security benefit	49.6			

Source: National Sample Survey's Annual Report 'Periodic Labour Force Survey, 2017-18'

In rural India, a large number of workers have shifted from farm employment to non-farm employment. Further, this is a continuous process. Generally, these workers are being absorbed in low wage informal sector as daily wage workers, petty shop owners, casual workers etc (Kumar 2019). Policies have not been formulated for both, workers engaged in agriculture sector and distress shift of workers from farm employment to non-farm employment. In the absence of such policies, vulnerable employments are being created in non-agricultural sector due to distress in agriculture sector. In the absence of sustainable livelihood, economically vulnerable workers face consistent danger of falling into poverty. The redressal of chronic economic vulnerability of a large number of workers requires a policy of universal basic income, since the employment pattern has evolved with vulnerability as one of its basic characteristics. Uncertainty of basic income, required for basic necessities, necessitates policy of cash transfers. The recent mechanism of cash transfers, with the objective of providing relief to vulnerable population in the time of COVID-19 pandemic, manifest the strength of digital infrastructure and its capability to serve the economically vulnerable group on a large scale.

Digital Infrastructure and Cash Transfer

On 26 March 2020, Finance Minister, Nirmala Sitharaman, announced 1.7 lakh crore relief package for the people hit hardest by the COVID-19 lockdown. The cash transfer component of the package includes Rs. 500 for three months to the Jan Dhan accounts women, Rs 1,000 in two equal instalments to senior citizens, widows and disabled and cash transfer to farmers under the PM-KISAN scheme. As of 10 April 2020, Rs. 28,256 Crore was deposited to around 31 crore poor. There are over 38 crore Jan Dhan accounts. Direct benefit transfer could have been possible by digital payment infrastructure created through linking of Jan-Dhan accounts with

the account holders' mobile numbers and Aadhaar [Jan Dhan-Aadhaar-Mobile (JAM)]. Out of Rs. 28,256 Crore; Rs.9,930 crore was given to Jan Dhan women account holder; Rs. 13,855 crore to farmers as the first instalment of Rs. 2,000 under PM KISAN; Rs. 1,405 crore to senior citizens, widows and divyangs under the National Social Assistance Programme; Rs. 3,066 crore to 2.16 crore beneficiaries through building and other construction workers cess fund. The figures suggest that cash transfers have been done on a very large scale.

States have also provided financial assistance to the vulnerable population. Artists and performers could not get work due to restrictions imposed due to COVID-19 pandemic. Kerala provided them financial assistance. Earlier Kerala Government had given Rs. 2,000 to such workers and later Rs. 1,000 was given to them. These workers were not registered for pension schemes. Drivers of para-transit vehicles became vulnerable during the lockdown imposed due to COVID-19 pandemic. Delhi Government provided them one-time financial support of Rs. 5000. The money was directly transferred to the bank accounts of the applicants due to the Aadhaar based system.

As compared to developed economies, financial assistance provided by both central and state governments is not comprehensive. On 27 December 2020, the COVID-19 stimulus package was signed by the President of USA, Donald Trump. This is the package of \$900bn. It is a comprehensive package. It has been designed to provide funds to support small businesses, schools, health providers and vulnerable individuals. This package includes individual aid of \$600 to those having annual income up to \$75,000. An extra \$300 per week for at least 10 weeks will be provided as unemployment benefits.

The relief packages provided by Indian government, as compared to developed economies, may be small. But, India's achievement in creating digital payment infrastructure for direct benefit transfer is remarkable. It has evolved over years. Governments, led by UPA and NDA, have invested huge amount of money on Aadhaar and Jan Dhan. The recent mechanism of cash transfer during the pandemic is the result of sound digital payment infrastructure created over years.

Recent Cash Transfer Mechanism to Universal Basic Income

India's Economic Survey 2016-17 discusses the concept of universal basic income as a policy tool to deal with poverty. Its pros and cons have been discussed in detail. The estimated expenditure has also been calculated. The universal basic income for the year 2016-17 had been estimated at Rs. 7,620 per year. The estimated expenditure on its implementation was 4.9% of GDP. The proposed format of the programme, either excluding

or including other subsidies and welfare programmes, and the estimated expenditures suggest that government can consider the implementation of universal basic income programme. The programme seems viable as far as economic cost is considered. India has successfully implemented welfare programmes on a large scale. Further, the recent cash transfers on a large scale suggest the same. The outcomes of cash transfer programmes have been evaluated by researchers and policy makers. Fultz and Francis (2013) argue that evidence on the outcome of cash transfers has limitations and gaps. But, these programmes reduce poverty and vulnerability. Cash transfer programmes increase the income generating capacity of an individual / household. In Brazil and Mexico, cash transfers reduced poverty (Rosengerg, 2013). These programmes also improved health condition and education. Rosenberg also discusses the positive outcomes of cash transfer in Northern Uganda. It had increased income of individuals. In India, positive impact of cash transfer on income may boost the economy, if universal basic income is implemented.

The current trend and pattern of COVID-19 spread, across states in India, suggest that this pandemic would stay for long time, few months to a year or even more. On 22 April 2020, in his opening remarks at media briefing, WHO Director General said that this virus will be with us for a long time. Undoubtedly, millions workers, mainly working in informal sector, will lose jobs. As a consequence, workers engaged in vulnerable employment will fall in poverty. The figures may be in millions. This would wipe out India's achievement in reducing poverty, which has been gained in decades. The recent mechanism of cash transfers, developed on the strength of digital payment infrastructure, should be further developed and must be considered for future policies, mainly universal basic income. Obviously, a big programme like universal basic income requires meticulous discussions and it can't be done in the current time of pandemic. But, it must be considered as life and economy come to normal. We must think about the possibility if India had been running universal basic income programme. Then, perhaps, India had not witnessed the plight of poor and migrant labour on the roads.

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Alternatives for Financing Higher Education in India

S Teki¹

R K Mishra²

P Geeta³

Priyanka Mishra⁴

Abstract

The Government of India has taken a step in the right direction and embarked on the path to transform Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in India. With the National Education Policy 2020 (NEP 2020), being approved by the Union Cabinet of India on 29 July 2020, a vision has been laid out and a comprehensive framework has been put in place for transforming elementary education to higher education as well as vocational training in both rural and urban India.

Keywords: Bonds, CSR, HEIs, NEP, Securitization

Introduction

NEP 2020 is a bold step towards transforming education in India and in more particular the higher education. A look at the state of higher education in India clearly points out the need to take innovative steps to not only bring it back to good shape but also make it so robust that India's higher education system is on even keel with such system in their counterparts. Our Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) have to figure in the global rankings which would make us the hub for HEIs attracting foreign students. Now should be the turn of India when attractiveness of foreign HEIs is declining in North

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1. Professor & Dean and Chairman BOS and Chairman Faculty of Commerce and Management, Adikavi Nannaya University, Rajahmundry and can be reached at tekisunny@gmail.com
 2. Senior Professor, Institute of Public Enterprise, Hyderabad, Telangana and can be reached at rkmishra@ipeindia.org
 3. Assistant Professor, Institute of Public Enterprise, Hyderabad and can be reached at pgeeta@ipeindia.org
 4. Research Scholar, Institute of Public Enterprise, Hyderabad and Assistant Professor, Princeton P.G. College of Management, Hyderabad and can be reached at priyanka7035@gmail.com

America and Europe. Achieving this is not an unsurmountable challenge as India is a multicultural country providing space for citizens with diverse backgrounds. India would have to create a new ecosystem for higher education in India especially with an emphasis on improving infrastructure and creating a raft of institutions to provide funds and putting in place a futuristic vision.

Is 6% Outlay of GDP is An Insurmountable Challenge

As per the NEP 2020, public expenditure on education in India is 2.7% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2017-18. The report noted that it has never attained the 6% of GDP envisaged in the 1969 Policy, reiterated in the Policy of 1986 and reaffirmed in the 1992 Programme of Action.

The corresponding figures as per the report stood at 7.5% for Bhutan, Zimbabwe and Sweden; 7% for Costa Rica and Finland; 6% for Kyrgyzstan, South Africa and Brazil; 5.5% for UK, Netherlands and Palestine; and 5% for Malaysia, Kenya, Mongolia, Korea & USA. The moot question that arises here is how to bring the India's level of expenditure somewhat near to these countries. One of the reasons of the lackadaisical performance in this regard is traditional approach of total dependence on the government. The other reason is that expenditure on higher education has come to be considered as 'merit good / public good'¹. There is no denying the fact that the expenditure on education is a 'merit good / public good' but in contrast the Indian Financial System does not place it higher in the pecking order of allocating the resources to the economy. It is therefore essential that we take a 360 degree turn and look to new financing instruments. In other words, HEIs, its regulators and the government as the super regulator has to think of establishing connect with the financial institutions and capital markets. We would limit our discussion to capital markets in view of their width and depth, velocity, integration with the global system and technology adoption. HEIs may have to think afresh they organize themselves and also their legal forms. The Stock Exchanges, Security and Exchange Board of India and the Department of Financial Services, Ministry of Finance, Government of India would have to treat this new 'animal' a little differently. A lot of thinking has to be done at the policy level of reorganizing the HEI system at its various layers differently. Reorganization and continuous adaptation is the need of the hour. Immense resources are knocking at the door provided suitable amendments are made in the laws governing FDI, taxation regime, investment incentives, sociological and anthropological background of the people. A 6% outlay of GDP on education should not be limited only to the extent of government spending. There is a need to reframe the competition of this 6% in a divergent way which we explained in detail as under:

It is high time that resource diversification is considered as the major plank for financing higher education in India. The following Resource

Diversification Matrix would show that there is considerable scope for widening the resource based for financing higher education.

Resource Diversification Matrix

	Government (Tax Payers)	Students and / or Parents	Industries Services	Alumni and Other Philan- thropists	International Cooperation
1 Direct Institutional Contribution	X				
2 Indirect Assistance and Subsidized Loans	X				
3 Tuition Fees					
3.1 Degree Programs		X			
3.2 Non-Degree Programs		X	X		
4 Student Loans and Graduate Taxes					
4.1 Subsidized	X	X	X		
4.2 Unsubsidized		X			
5 Productive Activities					
5.1 Services					
5.1.1 Consulting	X		X		X
5.1.2 Research	X		X		X
5.1.3 Laboratory Tests	X		X		
5.2 Production of Goods					
5.2.1 Agricultural Products			X		
5.2.2 Industrial Products			X		
5.3 Rental of Land and Facilities			X	X	
6 Donations					
6.1 Direct			X	X	X
6.2 Indirect (Lottery)				X	

Source: D Bruse Johnstone, et al, The Financing and Management of Higher Education: A Status Report on Worldwide Reforms, The World Bank, 1998, p 8

Bonds: A Promising Resource for Financing Higher Education

Coming to the bond market, the suitability of bonds may be matched with the need and type of the institutions, its financial background and its capacity to repay both the principal and the interest. There can be bullet payment bonds or clip and stitch bonds wherein principal can be paid at the maturity and interest could be paid as and when it falls due. Most of the HEIs would be well advised to enter the bond market in view of their large asset base. This would not be a threat to HEIs and their stakeholders since it would be a step only in the direction of monetizing the assets. There are public universities, engineering institutions and collages with chunks of land. The secured bonds can provide an effective solution to these institutions as also the investor since the rate of interest to be paid by the HEIs would be lower than the bank rates and return on gilts whereas HEIs would only mortgage their idle land and infrastructure. This makes a case for research in estimating the funds that could be raised through this instrument. India has caught up with the US in terms of the volume of bonds issued as a percentage of GDP. In the US, this is about 18% whereas

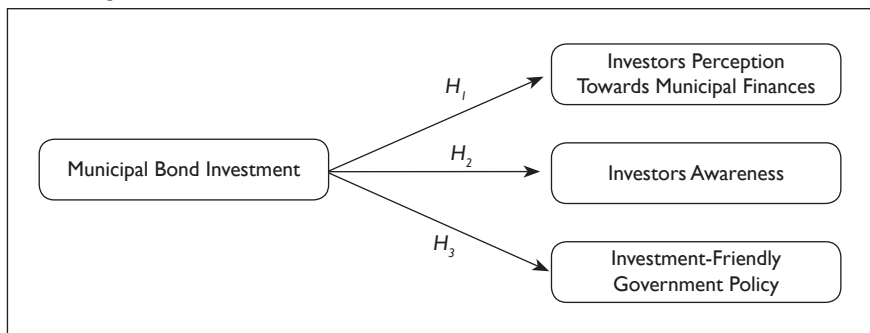
in India, we are closed to 16%. The different variants for bond financing are given in Box 1:

Box 1: Bond Variants for Higher Education Institution Financing

- ✓ General Obligation Bonds
- ✓ Revenue Bonds
- ✓ R&D Bonds
- ✓ Green Bonds
- ✓ Social Impact Bonds
- ✓ Public Benefit Bonds
- ✓ Linked Deposit Programme
- ✓ Energy Efficiency Loans
- ✓ User Fees
- ✓ Municipal Bonds

Of those bond variant mentioned in the box, the one which has been outsmarting others is the municipal bonds². Although in the nascent stage and nowhere the US municipal bond market, 31 municipal corporations have floated such bonds raising about Rs.3,390 crore so far. A good chunk of this has gone to investment by the municipal corporations in education. Metropolitan corporations can show the way to the rest of municipal corporations in raising municipal bonds only in investment in higher education. The metro cities in India would benefit from the presence of inhabitants having received higher education in one or the other stream. The acceptance of such bonds in such corporations would be a very high as continuing education could be embedded in the overall framework of higher education. To make municipal bonds a cash cow for HEIs, the perception of investors, investors' awareness and investment friendly government policy have to be attended to.

Municipal Bond Investment in HEIs

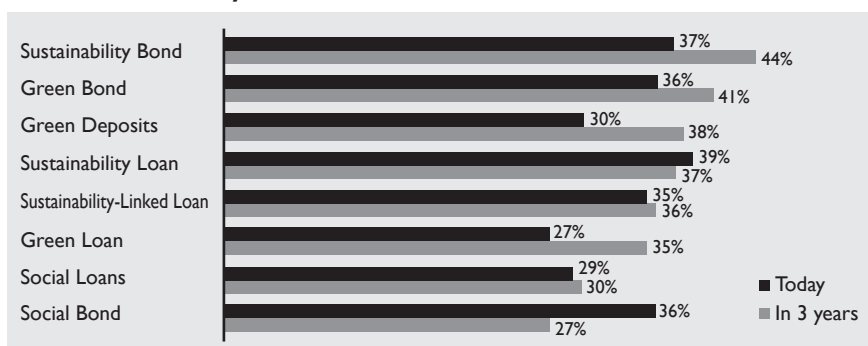


Source: R K Mishra, et al, Municipal Bonds as an Investment Option among Indian Investors, South Asian Journal of Management, Hyderabad; Volume 27: No.2 (April – June 2020), p 148

Why HEIs in India have been obvious of bond financing as the source for continuation, expansion, excellence and creating new benchmarks. XIME Bhubaneswar is an excellent example wherein a given loan was repaid just the next year as the proceeds realized from fee were twice the amount of the money borrowed. It is evident that the HEIs have the attitude of risk aversion, not thinking out of box and be hardcore on following the traditional approaches.

Investment in HEIs could be considered as investment in sustainability. It has been proved more than true in the case of Asia Pacific countries. They have taken it as a part of the Environment Sustainable and Governance (ESG) challenge. Not only those investments have made deep inroads in Asia Pacific countries but they are also seen as promising land in future. Investors in Asia Pacific countries have been investing in sustainable bonds, green bonds, green deposits, sustainability linked loans, social loans, and social bonds.

Investors: sustainable finance instruments invested in to date, and planned over the next three years



Source: Intelligence Unit, The Economist 2020, Financing Sustainability: Asia Pacific embraces the ESG challenge, London, p.7

Looking to the future, the global investors intend to focus much of their attention on sustainability bonds. Hong Kong, New Zealand, Singapore and Australia are in lead followed by Japan. India stands next to China in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). We could become a more attractive destination by floating projects for financing HEIs. This would require cultivating the requisite financial skills, new managerial culture and a determination to expand in size as size matters ultimately.

Equity Investments and Public Private Partnerships

Equity investments open a new door for HEI financing. There is enough number of cases for equity financing in India, China and of global business schools in other countries. Equity investments can take care of infrastructure

needs and campus development. Such investments could ensure a high rate of return to investors. Some private universities in India have come up this way. Even public universities could consider this option. Public Private Partnership (PPP), yet unfolds another channel wherein the funds could flow from reverse sides and the management could also be on the same pattern. This is a bit different from the normally defined PPP approach but has taken deep roots in the OECD and European Union countries.

Tapping Industry for Financing Higher Education

Industry association could be a potential instrument for HEI financing. Harvard Business School is an excellent example. Stanford is next to being counted. In India, the appreciation for this is on increase. Mahindra University at Hyderabad is a case in point in so far as India is concerned.

Patents, Trademarks and Royalties

Foreign universities have been increasing their dependence on moneys received from patents and royalties. Each lab is vying with its competitors to be ahead in the race of generating new patents and trademarks. Indian HEIs need to seriously think about the potential of this source for financing.

CSR: An Emerging Source of Finance for Higher Education

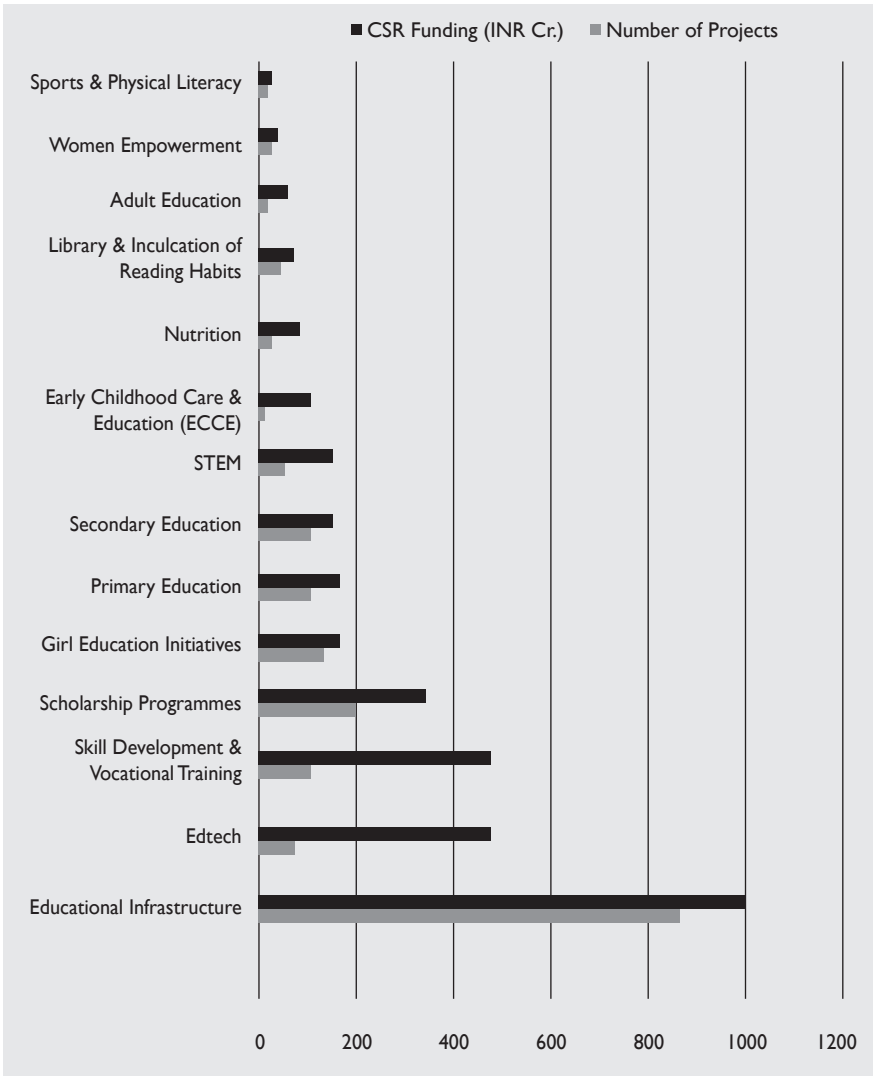
Education enriches people's understanding of themselves and the world. It provides them with knowledge, scientific temperament and necessary life skills, while leading to holistic development of personality. It opens up multiple avenues for a meaningful and sustainable livelihood and provides opportunities to grow individually as well as contribute to the nation's growth. It is thus one of the most important social sector which acts as the edifice of our developmental landscape³.

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) provisions in the Companies Act 2013 as amended in 2016 make it obligatory for the listed firms to spend 2% of the net profits on social expenditure as detailed in Schedule VII. 'Education' tops the list of subjects given in the schedule. Every year, the CSR spend should be in the vicinity of Rs.20,000 crore. Education leads the other subjects in terms of the expenditure⁴. However, during 2020-21 expenditure on health has overtaken education. PM CARES Fund has upset the apple cart of the education sector, of course for neutralizing COVID-19. The interesting point to note here is that only 8,000 companies are listed in the stock markets against the overall number of companies around 20,00,000. Many unlisted companies are highly profitable with their net worth per share being astronomically high but they escape from the

provisions of the Companies Act as it applies only to the listed companies. Further between the public and private sectors, it is the public sector which has shown greater concern for engagement in CSR.

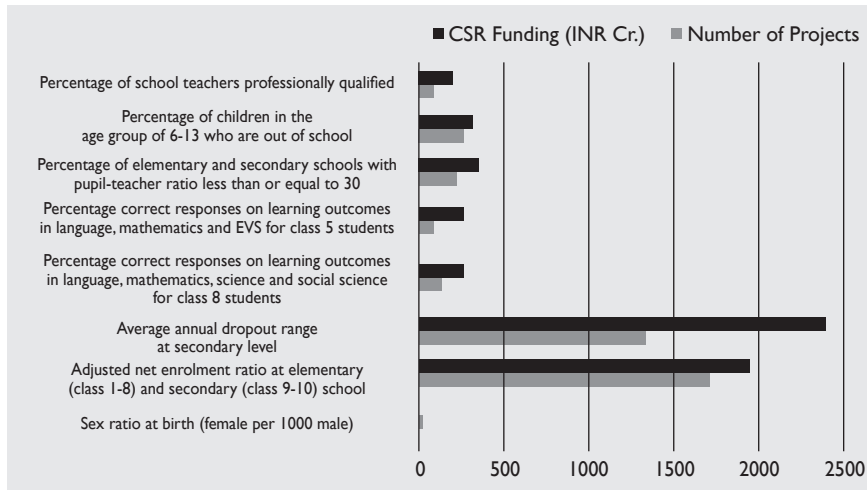
The data by CSR Box 2020 reflects an analysis of 613 companies which contributed to CSR in FY 2019 through around 8501 projects and a consolidated CSR spent of INR 12143.77 Cr. Top 80 companies contribute to about 75% of the total CSR contribution in educational sector. Over 88% companies invested CSR fund in one or more education projects

Figure- I: Sub Thematic Area – CSR Spend in Education



Source: CSR Box, April 2020

Figure 2: Area of CSR – Education Spend as per SDG 4.



Source: CSR Box, April 2020

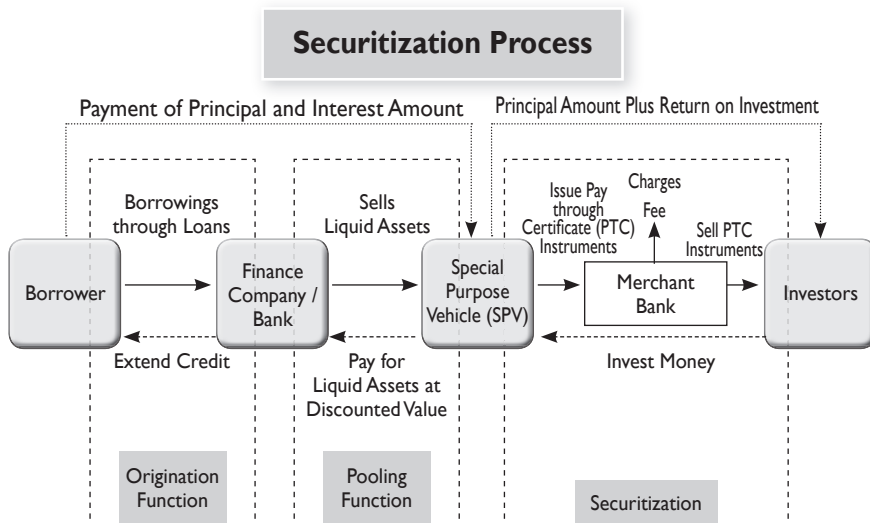
Highlights

- In the year 2018-19, 542 companies contributed to the projects in education domain through CSR funding of INR 3127 Cr.
- The contribution remains diverse, coming from 37 industrial sectors, being channelized to 2053 projects.
- Top 80 companies contributed about 75% of the total CSR funding in education
- Majority of the projects fall within budget range below INR 1 Cr.
- 3 industrial sectors of - (i) Oil, Drilling, Lubricants & Petroleum, (ii) Computer, Software & IT and (iii) Banking & Finance, contribute to approximately 51% of the total CSR funding in education
- Maharashtra, Karnataka, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Delhi were identified as top 5 states receiving the funding, whereas, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal were the top 5 states in terms of number of projects.
- Approximately, 54% projects were large scale projects operational in multiple states.
- Implementing agencies lead project execution in education sector, followed by direct implementation by corporates
- 28% projects were implemented through public private partnership
- Out of the total funding, INR 450.20 Cr. was dedicated towards the aspirational districts.

- 14% of the total share of CSR funding in education was directed to aspirational districts
- BSE/NSE listed companies contribute the highest share of CSR funds (i.e. INR 313.27 Cr.) towards aspirational districts
- PSUs contributed highest percentage of funding (i.e. 24% of total CSR expenditure in education) towards education projects in aspirational districts
- PSUs contributed a 29% share in the total funding flowing to aspirational districts
- Implementing agencies led the project execution in aspirational districts
- Power & Heavy engineering, Construction, Contracting & Infrastructure, Computer

Securitization

Securitization is a technique leading to pooling of assets and transforming them into securities. A large number of HEIs have become leviathan. It is necessary that they get to right size. Many HEIs have assets which are used to the extent of 10 to 20%. Securitization comes in very handy to convert these assets into cash pipeline enhancing the flow of funds to HEIs. The first step that HEIs have to take up is to prepare the register of assets and then undergo the valuation process. This would follow in acquiring understanding of the capital market operations in terms of issuance of securities. Most of the HEIs are yet to develop an understanding of securitization and its process. The process of securitization is given below:



Source: Prachi M, Securitization, November 25, 2019

Considering Higher Education as Industry

In India, there have been inconclusive debates whether education could be considered as industry. Education in all its aspects is no different today from any other industrial unit. Industry deals with men, material and money. These three attributes also govern education. Given this, it is difficult to make out why the banks and financial institutions shun education from lending. There has been very limited number of instances when HEIs have been able to tap this source and that too for short and medium term.

Summing up

The spending on higher education is too small and needs to be boosted to far higher levels. It is the educated coming out of HEIs who matter to the country as they lead the various sectors of economy, polity and society. It is worrying to note that HEIs have received scant financing over the years. There is a continuous decline in funds allotted to these institutions. Noting the gravity of the situation arising out of resource crunch being faced by the government, there is no hope that such funding would get a short-in-arm in future. Given this limitation, the only way to remedy the problem is to diversify the resource mix. The Indian financial and capital market system provides an olive branch to HEIs for tapping the funds for spurring their organic growth. This requires HEIs to inculcate market orientation and diversify their finance mix. The government needs to include higher education in the scope of lending by financial institutions. HEIs should gradually and consistently reduce their dependence on tuition fees and look for funding from known tuition fees sources. No more higher education should be construed as 'public good' as in its present form it has all the elements of a 'general good'. The best investment that anyone can make in the present time is in himself / herself since more one learn, the more one can earn.

Endnotes

- 1 Domingo Docampo, International Comparisons in Higher Education Funding, Spain, April 2007, P. 3.
- 2 Thomas R Volanin, Financing Higher Education in the United States: An Overview, George Washington University, NW, Washington.
- 3 R K Mishra and Shulgana Sarkar, Corporate Social Responsibility, Academic Foundation, New Delhi 2020, P. 17.
- 4 R K Mishra and Shulgana Sarkar, Corporate Social Responsibility: Driving a Sustainable Future, Academic Foundation, New Delhi 2017, P. 27.



ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Nirdosh Kaur Gill

Nirdosh Kaur Gill is working as Associate Professor in Political Science in ASSM University College Mukandpur. Her area of interest is E-governance, Citizen Centric Institutions and Public Policy. The geographical region of the studies is India in general and Northern states Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Jammu and Kashmir, New Delhi especially.

Navreet

Navreet is working as Associate Professor in the Department of Public Administration, Panjab University, Chandigarh. Her Research Interests are Renewable Energy Policy Analysis (Bio Energy and Solar Energy), Social Policy Analysis (Women and Child Welfare) and Financial Inclusion in India, E-Governance Studies. The Geographic focus of research articles and projects is India in general, Northern States (Punjab, Haryana in Particular). Presently she is working on ICSSR Project Promoting and Facilitating Usage of Solar Energy under National Solar Mission in India: An Evaluative study of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

Ramanand Pandey

Ramanand Pandey is a Research scholar of the Department of Education of the University of Delhi, Delhi. He has done his Masters from TISS, Mumbai in Dalit and Tribal Studies and Action. He has worked on National Education Policy with MHRD from its inception.

Shreya Makam

Shreya Makam, a graduate in Commerce (Hons) from Christ University, Bengaluru. She is presently serving in Audit Wing at Deloitte Inc Hyderabad and has won the spot award for excellence. Her main area of interest is Finance. She has done her internship on micro-financing of small & marginal farmers in rural economy during her graduation. She has published papers on 'Cause Marketing' and 'NPAs in Banking Sector'. She has won the Mitige Fest's Business Quiz conducted by Christ University.

Roopinder Oberoi

Roopinder Oberoi is a permanent teaching faculty at Department of Political Science, Kirori Mal College, University of Delhi for 16 years. She did her M.A, M.Phil and PhD from University of Delhi. In the Year 2009 she was awarded a Post-Doctorate Research Fellowship by the University Grant Commission. She specializes in the area of Political Science, Public Administration, Corporate Social Responsibility, Sustainable Development and Social Enterprise. She is presently working on International project on Social Enterprise and Higher Education with UK University of Huddersfield. Roopinder is Founding Member of Centre of Innovation and Social Enterprise, KMC, University of Delhi.

Jamie P Halsall

Jamie P. Halsall is a Reader in Social Sciences in the School of Human and Health Sciences at the University of Huddersfield, UK. His research interests include communities, globalisation, higher education, public and social policy. Currently, Jamie is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts and a Chartered Geographer of the Royal Geographical Society, and was awarded Senior Fellowship of the Higher Education Academy in January 2017.

Michael Snowden

Michael Snowden is a senior lecturer in Mentoring Studies in the School of Human and Health Sciences at the University of Huddersfield. His research interests lie in the field of pedagogy, mentorship, social enterprise, curriculum enhancement, and learning. Michael is a regular speaker at national and international conferences concerned with the development of pedagogical strategies in various contexts.

Raunaq Bhatia

Raunaq Bhatia completed reading for his undergraduate degree with Honours in Liberal Studies and Joint Honours in Mathematica at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada in December 2020. While pursuing his studies, he undertook an internship with the United Nations Development Programme and worked as a Research Assistant at the University of Waterloo.

Arushi Sharan

Arushi Sharan is currently a Research Associate with the Chief Minister's Good Governance Programme (CMGGA), Haryana. In this capacity, she guides research projects in the domains of governance and public policy in Haryana. Prior to this, she has worked at the Trivedi Centre for Political Data, Ashoka University, and as a Teaching Fellow in the Department of Political Science, Ashoka University. Her academic research interests include the political economy of development, political institutions and public policy

Chahat Sanghvi

Chahat Sanghvi is a Consultant to the office of District Municipal Commissioner, Gurugram. He has been engaged with multinationals, NGOs and government organisations in the last few years, with a focus to understand and contribute to all facets of the development sector. He has completed his Bachelor's and Master's degrees in Economics. His areas of interest are urban design, campaign strategy and policy reforms.

Meghana Kaladi

Meghana Kaladi is a Deputy Manager at the Chief Minister's Good Governance Associate (CMGGA) Programme, Haryana. She has been working with different state governments since the past three years, with extensive experience in policy design and implementations practices. Her areas of interest are gender, education governance practices, and people-centric policies. She has also had work experience in research and advocacy, specifically in education policy and design.

Praneet Jaswani

Praneet Jaswani is currently preparing for the Civil Service Examinations. He has worked earlier as a Legislative Assistant to Member of Parliament (LAMP) Fellow for Dr. Vikas Mahatme, Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha, and as Chief Minister's Good Governance Associate (CMGGA), Nuh. He has completed his B.Sc. in Economics. His areas of interest are legislative research, education and health policy.

Kranti Suresh Vora

Kranti Suresh Vora is MD (ObGyn) from Gujarat University, MPH from Johns Hopkins School of Public Health, USA and PhD from University of Maryland, USA. Vora started her public health career as a consultant in SEWA, Ahmedabad and has worked as a faculty at IIPH, Gandhinagar since October, 2012. She has managed various projects in maternal health area with international partners such as Karolinska Institutet, Sweden and University of Aberdeen, UK and Unicef Afghanistan. Vora has been instrumental in developing demographic surveillance sites to gather evidence for improving maternal child health in India. She has worked in tribal areas to establish a cohort of more than 1000 pregnant mothers to examine impact of maternal infections and maternal stress on birth outcomes and early childhood. Vora has published more than 50 peer reviewed publications to improve reproductive and child health in India and neighbouring countries.

Paridhi Gupta

Paridhi Gupta is an MPH from Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, USA. She is currently a Senior Research Fellow at Indian Institute of Public Health Gandhinagar (IIPHG), Gujarat. Gupta has been involved in various research projects funded by WHO and DST-SEED (Govt. of India) to improve maternal and child health in India. Gupta has published her work in national and international journals and is also a lifetime member of the Indian Public Health Association.

Shahin Saiyed

Shahin Saiyed has done MBA in healthcare Management from Sikkim Manipal University. She has been working in public health since fifteen years. She worked with various organizations from local grass-root level NGOs to academic and research organizations. She started her public health career as a researcher in FRHS (Foundation for Research in Health Systems) and worked in different research projects funded by WHO, UNICEF, Oxfam and Government of Gujarat. Ms Shahin is working at IIPH, Gandhinagar since 2013. She has experience in the areas of reproductive health especially maternal child health and evaluation studies. She managed and supervised large surveys and surveillance sites including big data management in different geographies within India.

Prem Kumar

Prem Kumar has teaching and research experience of more than a decade. He has earned his Ph.D. at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. His research interests are urban development, labour economics and international trade. His research papers have been published in celebrated journals of academia, like Economic and Political Weekly. Currently, He is working on transformation of rural economy and shift of working population from farm to non-farm sector.

S Teki

S Teki is Presently, Principal (I/c.), UCAC, Professor and Chairman BOS, faculty Dean, Department of Commerce and Management Studies, Adikavi Nannaya University, Rajahmundry, India. He did Ph.D. from University of Pune, an M.B.A. from North Maharashtra University, Jalgaon and an M.Com., from University of Pune, Pune. He has a total of 28 years premier academic experience including 11 years at the national level management institutions, at the National Institute of Financial Management, Faridabad and the Indian Institute of Forest Management, Bhopal, and in post-graduate MBA teaching, academic administration, research, consultancy and training. He has published 57 papers/articles in national and international journals and international conference proceedings publications. He extensively travelled all over the world visiting 30 countries including North America, Europe, Australia, South America, Africa, and Asia for delivering various sponsored academic assignments like paper presentations, training, and consultancy. He completed many research projects focused on Microfinance, Financial Inclusion, NTFPs, Forestry, and Poverty, funded by various agencies including UNESCO. He has completed nine consultancy assignments worth more than Rs. one crore, including a couple of consultancy assignments for World Bank Assisted Forestry Projects in India, Reputed Central Public Sector Undertakings WAPCOS Ltd, Gurgaon, NSTFDC, New Delhi, Custodian of Enemy Properties, under Ministry of Home affairs, GoI, and Central Universities, NEHU, Shilong, Meghalaya.

R K Mishra

R K Mishra, Senior Professor, ONGC Subir Raha Chair, NLCIL Chair, Institute of Public Enterprise, is a graduate of International Management

Programme, SDA Bocconi, Milan, Italy. He has been a Fellow of British Council and Commonwealth Secretariat. He has had research stints at London Business School and Maison Des Sciences De L' Hommes, Paris. He has taught at the University of Bradford, United Kingdom and was a visiting Professor at Maison Des Sciences De L' Hommes, Paris, University of Technology Mara, Malaysia, Faculty of Economics, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. He is a member of the UN Task Force on Standards of Excellence in Public Administration and Education. He has been a Management Consultant to several organizations including DFID, Deloitte, Adam Smith Institute, ADB and Centre for Good Governance. He was associated with the UNDP project on Macro Economics of Poverty Reduction carried out by RBI Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Banking and Research. He was a team member of the State Fiscal Restructuring Project of the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy. He is Vice-President, International Association of Schools and Institutes in Administration (IASIA), Brussels. His current interests include corporate social responsibility, corporate governance, modernization of State, civil service systems, financial administration, environmental administration, privatization, SOE reforms, restructuring, poverty management, and good governance.

P Geeta

P. Geeta, Asst. Professor, Institute of Public Enterprise, Hyderabad holds a Doctorate in Management from Osmania University, Hyderabad, Master of Philosophy in Political Science, University of Madras and Masters in Political Science, Ravishankar University, Raipur, Chattisgarh. She has about 25 years of experience in management and development consulting. Her areas of expertise include Public Sector Policy and Management, Participatory Governance and Civic Engagement, Health System Strengthening, Administrative Reforms, Institutional Reforms, Change Management, and Capacity Building.

Priyanka Mishra

Research Scholar, Institute of Public Enterprise, Hyderabad and Assistant Professor, Princeton P.G.College of Management, Hyderabad.

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For chapters in an edited book

Rosenau, James N. 1988. "New Dimensions of Security: Turbulence in International Politics," in George Ross, ed. Security in a Globalising World, New York: Macmillan

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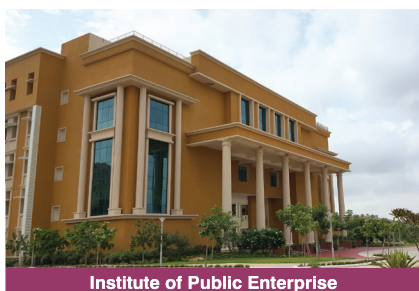
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