



## ICRIER-KAS Seminar Series 2013: Challenges and Priorities in the Twelfth Five Year Plan

## Second Seminar 12th Five Year Plan: Challenges and Opportunities for the Social Sector

Date: 27 May 2013 (Monday) Venue: Gulmohar Hall, India Habitat Centre, New Delhi

Dr. Rajat Kathuria: Good Morning everybody, a very warm welcome to all of you despite another searing temperatures, I am really happy to see all of you here. Dr. Syeda Hameed, Member, Planning Commission; Mr. Tomislav Delinic, Officiating Resident Representative to India KAS, KAS is Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, a German Foundation in India. Distinguished guests, media, ladies and gentlemen a very good morning, a very warm welcome to the second ICRIER KAS seminar for this year on the twelfth five year plan and the challenges and opportunities for India's social sector. As some you might know who have attended the first ICRIER KAS Seminar this year that was on growth about couple of months ago. This is our fifth, in our series of ICRIER KAS seminars and we have enjoyed a very good relationship with KAS and I thank KAS at the outset for cooperating with us on this very kind of timely and very interesting seminar series that we hold with them every year. All of you are very familiar with ICRIER so I do not want to spend too much time talking about ICRIER but those of who are not, let me just briefly mention that ICRIER was setup in 1981 as a policy oriented think tank to facilitate India's increasing integration into the global economy. So within around for about 30 years and since then ICRIER has come a long way and traversed and interesting and I guess a remarkable path towards achieving its vision. ICRIER's vision is to contribute to rapid and inclusive growth and which is why we are hosting a seminar on this topic here today by enhancing the knowledge content of policymaking. We undertake policy oriented research and our stakeholders include the government multi-lateral agencies, all stakeholders, consumers as well as industry, associations and other institutions. Since 1991, since after India liberalised there has being a significant change in the focus of ICRIER's activities. We are no longer just focused on integration into the global economy but as India struggles to keep pace with other countries in term of his human development outcomes naturally ICRIER's activities have also changed to mirror some of those problems that we face in India's economy and one of the thrust areas that have focuses on inclusion. The 11th five year plan in that faster an inclusive growth and we saw number of ICRIER initiatives being launched by the Indian government in the social sector that you will get positive results over the planned period. However, weaknesses have remained and significant things need to be done to change the outcomes that we see in the social sector. They remained huge inequalities in access to most basic services both within and across states and this is clearly unacceptable and unsustainable for a country that aspires to a higher development status and a concomitant role in committee of nations. I do not need to present here the dismal numbers that we see in terms of education and health outcomes and other human development indicators and I guess to a persuaded audience like this all of you are probably familiar with those numbers. But some of these will be discussed in the technical session that will follow but the issue for today's discussion does the 12th five year plan adequately address the challenges in the country's social sector and does it offer sufficient opportunities for its development? This is I guess a weighty issue, a very important issue, a crucial issue for India and we have a number of distinguished speakers who will deliberate on this and enacting us with their worthy insights. On behalf of ICRIER and KAS, our partner for this seminar series as I said, I welcome Dr. Syeda Hameed who will deliver the keynote address shortly. Dr. Hameed has been a distinguished Member of the Planning Commission as well as of the Island Development Authority which is headed by the Honourable Prime Minister since 2004. She looks after health, women and children, minorities, voluntary action in the states of Rajasthan and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands at the Planning Commission. Dr. Hameed also heads several important organisations among them being the Maulana Azad National Urdu University in Hyderabad of which she is the Chancellor. Dr. Hameed was awarded the Padma Shri in 2007, The Al-Ameen All India Community Leadership Award in 2006 and the Bi Amma Award in 2012, thank you Dr. Hameed for being here with us today. I also welcome Dr. Santosh Mehrotra who is Director-General of Applied Manpower Research which is the only autonomous research institute of the Planning Commission. He is the Head of the Development Policy Division at the Planning Commission until 2009, Head of the Rural Development Division again at the Planning Commission from 2006 to 2008 and Lead Author of the 11th Five year plan. He has also led the team that wrote The India Human Development Report which was published by the Oxford University Press in 2010. Dr. Mehrotra has written extensively on the issues related to health, education, human development in general and we are eager to hear him speak on these topics. Dr. Sonal Desai who is Professor of Sociology at the University of Maryland, USA and a Senior Fellow at NCAER is the Lead Presenter today and was the Lead Author of the 2010 India Human Development report. She is the demographer by trainee whose work primarily deals with social inequalities in developing countries with the particular focus on gender and class inequalities. She has also studied inequalities in education, employment, maternal and child health outcomes within the context in political economy of the region. I would also like to thank the three distinguished discussions on the panel today who have been long leaders in field of human development Dr. Nisha Agrawal, CEO of OXFAM India, Dr. Amir Ullah Khan The President of Glocal University and Ms. Caitlin Wiesen, Country Director of UNDP India. All the bios, the brief profiles of speakers will be in packet before you and I am really grateful that we have been able to assemble such a distinguished panel of speakers. I am sure that you will enjoy listening to these eminent speakers and hope you will participate in the discussions that will follow both in the opening session as well as in technical session, we had allocated some time for interaction with the speakers which you know we feel adds a lot of value to the discussions. I will also once again take this opportunity to thank KAS, Mr. Tomislav Delinic, Mr. Pankaj Madan and the rest of the KAS team for their continued cooperation. I would also like to thank Ali Mehdi from ICRIER and rest of the events team who has painstakingly coordinated the seminar

disregarding the heat that this event has brought about. Thank you very much for being here and I would also like to say that at the end of this KAS seminar series which we will have four such seminars the other two are going to be held outside of Delhi not to get away from the heat but to take just this to other geographical locations in India. One will be in Kolkata and the other will be in Mumbai and at the end of the series we are hoping that we are able to put all of the four seminar series together in the form of proceedings or a book, we are working on that and if that happens I am sure that all of you would like to have a look at it in and thank you all of you for participating in this seminar and braving the heat of Delhi to be here. Thank you very much and may I now invite Mr. Tomislav Delinic to make his opening remarks. Thank you.

Mr. Tomislav Delinic: Thank you very much Dr. Rajat Kathuria and Dr. Syeda Hameed Member of the Planning Commission and dear panellist, experts sharing your thoughts today with us, dear guests, friends of ICRIER and the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation very good morning also from my side. Konrad-Adenauer Foundation is a German Organisation now 50 years active on the international level, in more than 100 countries we try to support and develop platforms of discussion on matters of democracy, matters of rule of law, development of social questions and so on and in India we are trying to do so for more than 40 years and we are very happy and very proud of our partnership with many distinguished organisations such as ICRIER here in India and Dr. Kathuria in recent years I think we have developed quite a good set of formats were we discuss important questions of development to both sides for also of India itself as well and as all of you know and that is also a reason why we are here. There many questions which we all are looking for answers, so therefore looking at quarterly format of seminars we have developed here our recent one and the one today we try to pick up these topics and bring distinguished guests and experts from all over the country but especially here also in Delhi together to find answers and especially I am very thankful that members of the Planning Commission would share their thoughts and inputs from their point of view with the experts here and engaged in a heated discussion as well. Besides all these events we have also studies going on so questions of fiscal prudence of investment possibilities and so on of I hope utmost importance also to you and bring value to the development of the arguments here in India. So in this regard let me thank you Dr. Kathuria and your team for all these initiatives you have developed and professionalism you have taken up to bring these seminars and events forward. Today's seminar you have already heard a couple of thoughts and that is not prolonged there too much but we are looking at the social sector visa-a-visa the 12<sup>th</sup> five-year plan and I think we have an excellent panel of speakers. There is always criticism on development of existing state of affairs but that is good and I think for that we lay down also the foundation or the path of future progress. But I think it also very important to point out that progress has been undertaken and then found in this regard, I mean it is nothing new to you that India is very much globally perceived as a powerhouse in economic terms and also this is something from.... point of view of importance and powerhouse with a demographic dividend which is a huge chance for a country. But then again all of you know especially if you look at the questions of socio terms then lots of home work has still to be done to actually turn this huge amount of young people in this country into this energetic factor everybody hopes it will turn into. The other way

around in Europe and Germany we have to also think about concepts how to actually overcome the demographic challenge we have and the other point of view that we have not enough young people to take up the workforce in our society. So in this regard I think we have many thoughts to share on both sides and see what policies will lead to a successful and to actually use demographic changes or demographic realities in the best way to develop our societies and economies to welfare and peaceful state. In this regard I think that the Germany has also learned its lesson after the development after Second World War were from our zero a new concepts have been brought in, the question of the socio marketing economy which all parties and again the country share as a strong belief to develop the economic possibilities and it is something where we try also to develop our ideas and our system based on a new and recent developments as I mentioned for example through the fact that now we have very ageing society which is not capable anymore to keep up the pace with holding up their social standards which we have so far. So we have to we think and find new inputs and in this regard we are also looking at development in the growth and India's for sure one of the most important partners we have and very interested in the discussion and the points of view which will be brought up today especially Dr. Hameed thank you for sharing your thoughts right after from the beginning here and I am very sure that all of you are now eagerly waiting for these arguments and points of discussion you will make. In this regard let me thank you on the name of Konrad-Adenauer Foundation, to ICRIER, Dr. Kathuria who mentioned also dear colleague and your team and Mr. Ali Mehdi also for your work and I am very thankful that you bring this initiative eventually to the ground that these many many processes which we all of us do not see and thankful to you Dr. Kathuria the team your fighting this fight and we can eventually enjoy an interesting event. To all the speakers, to everybody in the auditorium thank you very much for being with us and I hope that you will also despite the fact that we will be outside of Delhi follow the discussion of the next seminars but there are many events also not only of ICRIER but also of ICRIER and KAS, I will be happy if you join us again as well but for now let us wish good successful seminar, thank you very much.

Dr Syeda Hameed: Hi, Dr. Kathuria, Mr. Tomislav Delinic, my colleagues and friend Santosh Mehrotra, Nisha, Caitlin, Sonal and Amir Ullah Khan and so many other distinguish colleagues that are here today and I am particularly very happy to see Santosh here my distinguish colleague for many years at the Planning Commission now heading up a very important institute. I am glad that you are having the seminar here and I am glad you are taking it to other centres but I sometimes wish that it could go to smaller centres in the country and also if some of this could be in the Hindi medium because I think that whole idea of inclusive growth which does not take into its whole, you know the mass of people who will be completely and totally out of the orbit of a seminars like this. I think we really need to re-think that and this is a very good forum because I think what we can get out of a forum like this where many seminars and many discussions but what we can get out of forum like this is how to actually take the distinguished minds and the intellectuals who were sitting around this room get them on board and leave with this very elusive onset of inclusive growth. Today, we are all and reeling under the shock of the Bastar killings, none of us are not affected by the fact but that two important leaders Mahendra Karma and Patel were killed. The Patel's son Dinesh was killed by the Maoists and none of us can be unmoved by the fact that these were 18 and 20 year olds who ambushed them in while the cavalcade was moving towards a big event, a big political event. We have all been following with great interest, I remember when a team of a very distinguished team led by Ramachandra Guha had gone several years ago to study the situation in the depths of this Bastar area in Chhattisgarh forest and come out with a chilling report. So inclusiveness what is it while we all condemn the violence in which innocence have been killed and those youth who encountered them they were also 18 and 20 year olds who in a chilling .... manner bludgeoned Mahendra Karma to death. What is this anger that you see and I think in a distinguished gathering like this we have to come to grips and come to term with it. Completely jump into another subject what is this chilling anger? What is this violence that he encountered as far as violence against women which reached a peak on December the 16<sup>th</sup>, 2012 in the case of the gang-rape of Nirbhaya. What is it with those youth who commit this kind violence? Is it something which is always, we simply sometimes say this has always happened now there is more reporting, now there is more sensitivities, now there is more media attention focused on this. But something about what my colleague Tomislav talked about this demographic dividend. What is happening with this demographic dividend? How are we going to address the concern of a more inclusive growth? Santosh was one of the authors of the 11th five-year plan, it was towards a faster an inclusive growth. This plan is towards a more inclusive faster and sustainable growth. So we will not able to achieve the inclusive growth that is why this plan is about more inclusive and sustainable. Today, the most papers are reporting every single leader has condemned the killing but there is also a voice that are we going to stop the development in these areas. No, we cannot stop our efforts to bring development in the remotest and the most complex areas. Two days ago, I have just come from Mexico, visiting an area called The Chiapas where again these, the Aztecs and the Mayans, tribal who have been totally and completely displaced by the powers that sit in Mexico city and neighbouring country. So what are they doing? What have they been reduced to? There is something that lesson that one needs to take and there is something that one needs to apply one's mind to the fact that it is not the fact that we have got, we have got monitorable targets in the plan. Santosh was responsible in preparing the monitorable targets of the 11th plan and some of you have also been part of civil society consultation in which we have prepared these monitorable targets. I will simply tell you some of the monitorable targets which you all know very well and you have expert like Sonal and you have somebody like Amir Ullah Khan and Caitlin who has also been involved with us, who will talk more about it in the technical session. But here for example in the six sectors that I deal with in health and education; in education one of the overall monitorable targets is mean ways of schooling to increase to seven years. Enhance access to higher education by two million seats additional for each cohort. Eliminate gender and social gap for SCs, STs, Muslims and rest of marginalised and help reduce IMR to 25 and MMR to one per thousand, TFR to 2.1, under nutrition among children 0 to 3 by half of NFHS 3. We have some targets in service delivery where we have the greatest challenge access to banking services to 90% of Indian households. Major subsidies and welfare related benefits payment to divert cash transfers using the Aadhar Platform with linked bank account. Now these are just the bunch of words that have been put together after a lot of thought, a lot of deliberation, a lot of conferring those have been placed as the overall monitorable targets of the 12th plan. Let me just give

you one example taking from the monitorable targets of the overall plan if you jump to the minorities chapter of the plan, we have.... for the first time Muslim minorities, minority the word minority will remove the euphemism, we are talking of Muslims and we are saying that the gender gap in education to be removed so that Muslim girls can be on par with the rest. Now that is a very, it is one example and it is an extremely important example if there is one priority that the Muslim community has in this country, it is priority is education particularly education certainly education for the male child but it is education as well for the girl child. Now in order to fulfil this overarching overall monitorable target of the plan every state has to get on board and I think this is where the real challenge is. The states in all the national development council meetings for the last nine years I have been attending these NDC meetings and listening to the states, the one demand is that let us become most dependent on the centre, do not impose the centre's priorities, we know what we want, give us free money. So the centrally sponsored schemes are now today there is an article again in the newspaper I think it is in The Hindu regarding the centrally sponsored scheme and fact that for the first time cabinet has taken a very quick decision, cabinet takes a lot of decision but this has been in record time thanks to the intervention of the Ministry of Agriculture in this the cabinet has taken a quick decision to pour down the scheme to 77. So and further there is scope for reduction of the centrally sponsored scheme to get the states more scope to exert what is it that they need and what is it that they desire? So I think the whole idea of disparity and the whole concept of marginalisation and inclusiveness also extends to the regional disparities among the states which are the well performing states, which are states that are still lagging behind, and within the states that are well performing, which are the islands of deprivation that exist even in a state like Karnataka, there is Gulbarga. In a state like Tamil Nadu, there is Dharmapuri and so on so that I think the plan has to, the fact that the plan has prescribed certain road map and the point that I am going to share with you is that the Planning Commission provides this road map and then there is this tension between the Planning Commission and concerned sectoral ministry in order to carry out what the Planning Commission has set out as a road map for example let me give you the example of the National Rural Health Machine, in health I think the point about people being left out of this health paradigm is becoming, is one of the most difficult and most tickling propositions that needs to be resolved. So the National Health Mission which is an overarching mission which includes the National Rural Health Mission and the National Urban Health Mission instead of two silos instead, instead of a silo approach to create a convergence and try to bring health to the most marginalised people. People who live not in the metro cities but who live in the Simlipal forest area of the Mayurbhani district of Orissa. How do you get health to ....? How do you get health to the women who is tribal women, who is totally and completely cut off, who lives in the Dhani's of Rajasthan? In my book which was released a year ago in which I had actually encapsulated my experiences of looking after the social sector in the Planning Commission called beautiful country stories from another India and .... gathered my experiences across the country where I went again not at all to the metro cities but where the primary health centre or the sub centre whether community health centre, where the tribal hospitals where the issues that concerned the people at the edge were those issues exist and I found that in remotest corners of the country it was because of a very conscious and active and participating approach taken by individuals and people just who are interested in giving

their yogdan to this growth project of India where they were working there was something wonderful going on. I have my colleague Mr. Mahmood Khan sitting here who is working in a remote area, an area which is right bang next door Mewat, right next door to the Gurgaon complexes and the whole design of a major city like big state is a heart of darkness with Mewat and in Mewat bringing enlightenment through a single persons effort aided and abated by a lot of help from community but essentially it is the fact that we have continuously said that when the efforts are made and something good happens like something good is happening in Mewat, something good is happening even in the Simlipal forest area where Mayurbhanj district in Koraput, in Balangir, in Kalahandi in many parts of Orissa there things happening because people are trying, people are making efforts and then to simply give a mantra and say you upscale all the efforts and goes across the country that I think the economists and the experts will tell us that is that does not always work. For example it took me almost eight years since I discovered the work that is done by Rani and Abhay .... Bhang in Gadchiroli as far as reduction of infant mortality is concerned by using the local resources available in the .... if tribal areas building them, teaching them, and making them with simple interventions reducing the IMR, bringing the IMR to a desired level with in a record time so that was called the Gadchiroli experiment which I had gone to see in that district which as you know is a very difficult and a very complex and a district which is effected by Maoist extremism, there this experiment is successfully carried out. It took me six or almost seven years to bring it as a part of National Rural Health Mission. So whereas we have rolled out all these programmes and you know all the schemes of the government, we will be hearing more about the schemes of the government but when you go around the countryside and you go into the primary health centres, you go into the sub centres as you go into the Anganwadi centres, you look at the severely malnourished, undernourished children, you look at the condition of for example the infant deaths that are recently being reported out of West Bengal. When you look at these conditions you realise where is this national, where is this National Rural Health Mission where is it working and how is it actually rolled out on the ground and how are people being benefited. So therefore hence the service delivery becomes an extremely important part of the process of planning which is again a very painstaking effort. We can say that the post metric and pre-metric scholarships scheme which is a very important scheme in the minority sector, it should be rolled out on an Aadhaar platform, it should be rolled out, payment should be made as direct benefits transfer in the children's bank account but we know that the children do not have bank, they do have access to banks still the whole banking sector access there is a lot lot and lot that needs to be done. So what we are trying to do is we have tried to provide this road map in nine sectors and look after the health sector and look after the women, children and at the nutrition sector, a sector that I would say that this Planning Commission that I have been member of for the last two terms and the second term is now drawing to an end, if nutrition has got some .... role it started off with Dr. Santosh Mehrotra pushing for it but it was always an invisiblised sector despite the fact that the Prime Minister said that it is a kala dhabba on the country, the state of under nutrition of the children. That has finally been you know got a profile and that has been singularly the effort, I am not here to say that you know make any big claims because we are all in the same boat, we are all struggling, we are struggling to stay afloat and then we get these setbacks like you know the Chhattisgarh massacre but regardless this nutrition which is one of the most difficult problems has been actually the time, we have at least got our heads wrapped around it now. I would say at least we have got there and then we have this target that we are going to reduce it under nutrition among children .... by the half of the NFHS three levels and then the issue are breastfeeding and that is the issue of severely under nourished children and all the programmes and the pressure to increase the funding if made in each of these sectors and the funding also is phenomenal increase in the funding but the funding is never as much as the sector demands so the result is that there is this voices of discontent I heard all around. So I think I have just given you a brush stroke view the 12th Five year plan is a draft of it which is very close to the final is now up on the note and I would urge all of you to look at it and I would urge you to look at one section in particular which has got the attention of the whole Government of India and lot of civil society and that is a section which again I would say that it was a great struggle to put it there and that is the multisectoral approach to the issues concerning women, children and nutrition and actually detailing what is the responsibility across the government of all the sectors simply relegating the sector of women, children, and nutrition to a ministry called Women and Child Development I think is a fools dream, it has to have a multi-sectoral approach, it has to be .... let me say that the issue of the decline in sex ratio which is I think one of the most shameful conditions of this country. The decline in sex ratio is not an issue that has to be either dealt with by the health of women and children, it has a multi-sectoral character, it should be dealt multi-sectorally and finally since we have been able to include this matrix of multi-sectoral approach to issues of human development in the sector of women and children and nutrition this idea has clicked and for the first time the Prime Minister's office has directed that all sectors within government take a look at these five pages at the end of the third volume of the which is called the social sector. I wish it was the first volume but social sector always is a third volume of the five-year plan to look at it and look at this approach and then in the management performance appraisal when the ministries concerned provide benchmarks for themselves then judge them against their performance in this aspect. So it is, you know like, these are all instruments that we have thought about, these are instruments that we have placed there which is again due to the contribution and the advice and the cooperation and the multi consultations of which... my colleague is sitting here. He was so much a part of these consultations that we had with civil society across the country, I remember even in Chhattisgarh going to a place is called Tilda where all the tribals from all over the country and I should not say all the tribals, representative tribals from all over the country had connected together in Tilda to give us their advice on the tribal issues. So we try to do a lot of some things but not very successful, some things were really took affect but the fact is that as a consequence of that you have a document before you which I feel that it is now up to you, intellectuals and scholars and economists like you and all of those people you will be talking to in other cities when you take these seminars and hopefully to the smaller centres, so the people to apply the pressure in order for the government to deliver for example let this last...when we talk overall monitorable targets of minority education and filling the gap in minority education by the year 2017. Who is going to delay it, who is going to insure that it happens, people like Mr. Mahmood Khan, people like Nisha, people like Santosh, like Sonal, like Amir Ullah all of you are going to, like...sitting back there. If you are going to exert that pressure on the government to say that if this has been the commitment of the government by

the year 2017 this gap will be filled, so year two is almost over, have we gone two-thirds, have we gone one-third of the way. So I feel that those kind of nuggets have to be drawn out of the plan and they have to be hammered otherwise it is just, they will just be hidden and it would be invisible and it will just be another document and lot of latitudes and lot of good things would have been said and so life will go on. Thank you very much.

**Participant:** Thank you Dr. Hameed for the really inspiring address although we are short of time, the programme does say that we will have a little of engagement with the audiences. If you have any questions please identify yourself and since we are running short of time please be brief.

**Participant:** Madam, thank you for a good discourse, name is Sanjay Nagi from Market Insight Consultants. In the domain cycle they saw that if you plan then you normally achieve targets. I believe and most of people sittings in this audience believe that the Planning Commission has done a good job but deployment on ground is very-very pathetic. Let us not be upbeat about the deployment. The controversial topics like corruption can you tell us three major reasons where we can contribute which are bottlenecks in better implementation of your plans on ground.

**Participant:** My name is Vijay Saluja, I am a Senior Fellow with Institute of Social Sciences, madam you mentioned in your talk about the couple who is doing excellent work to decrease infant mortality. Now my point is that if these people are doing good jobs, I think the country must know about that and there must be many like these in the country so why do not you do and device a system to highlight the best practices and those peoples who were doing excellent job because no one in the hall even knows about it so that is my suggestion, thank you.

**Participant:** ....I work in Indian....I was a Director in a Health Services here, madam thank you very much for the....presentation. Going through the Austerity Committee document and the basic objective I have mentioned in National Health Coverage when 80% of the doctors work in private sector and 50% doctors are available, 30% not available in the country, there is no possibility of getting an industrial coverage, how do you approach that and the one word is looking at the private sector you have mentioned in one and a half lines that the private sector today encourage how were they also to be acted and monitored. Your interest in the private sector has to be much more which is actually at the moment carrying 80% of the healthcare services in this country, please clarify the point, thank you.

Garima Malik: Dr. Garima Malik, Assistant Professor in Delhi University. First a congratulations on a very inspiring talk and my question, madam, you talk about the rural areas and talk about what margin lies but there are lot of people in the informal sector even in cities who do not have, we have the best of the hotels and best of education but we do not have access to them. What has been done to include them in the ambit because even if we had to get an Aadhaar card link for the maids who work in our house or the drivers, or the car

cleaners, they do not even have an Identity card in order to get an Aadhaar card made so what has been done about that.

**Participant:** Good Morning, my name is Nidhi Chahuan, I am the President in organization called....we work in the field of disability and development and madam, we have the opportunity to debate with you and many....on many of the standing committees of the 12th plan to look into 12<sup>th</sup> plan from a disability perspective. We thank you here again to have this opportunity today. Madam, when we look into the graph to the 12th plan, there are some recommendations but overall we are, of course, disappointed. In that the key recommendations that as are follow up from the 11th plan that we would like you to consider that we have submitted to the 12<sup>th</sup> plan, one is looking into the allocation of the 3% funding for specifically participated in the related issues which....mentioned and the....key recommendations that we have was looking up a little into setting up of disability units within each of the ministries. We are very-very fortunate to have the department of disabilities affairs to be set up in the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment as these promise to us in the 11<sup>th</sup> plan. With the third plan the sector is....that every ministry sets up a disability unit so that we can look into disability in every possible way, your comments on that please ma'am.

**Participant:** There is one last question, sorry there is a lady in the back there one last question.

**Participant:** Good morning Madam, I am Shweta from ICRIER itself, I am evolving research on agriculture and given my interest in what have been falling of the national food security bill, I just hoping that may be if you can give us some synergies at ministry you are looking at from the bill getting implemented....get implemented, thank you.

**Participant:** (Hello! is it on?) Well I do not think I can do justice to these questions they are really very very good questions and I think the first question is like the mother of all and that is I really like that question about the fact of the ground reality and what it is we all know very well and what the three things in which you can contribute. So I can think of some things but what would be really nice is at the end of this morning when you before you break for lunch if there is some kind of a consensus that can emerge here and we would definitely like to hear about it and place it in an IPC, in an Internal Planning Commission meeting that what really do you feel that people of your calibre or I do not know what other word to use for it, your cohorts across the country would be able, how can they contribute, what can they do because there is no way that government alone can hold this load, it is just like forget it okay. So I think that would be a good question so that is my short answer Mr. Saluja, Oh! Yes the country must know about the Dabangs and Gadchiroli, we just think everyone knows but the fact is nobody knows or if in a country of 1.25 billion people may be it is just a miniscule number of people would know something which is happening in this country or all across this country things that are happening for example in areas which are flood prone, youth in those areas and I am now thinking of Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal, where young youth have actually made volunteer to make groups which warn and help people in

case of floods, which warn people and help people in case of animal an elephant attacks and you know that elephant mole and kill people today at this time as we are talking in places in Jalpaiguri district and other districts of this country. Those kind of heroic things that are done by young people are demographic dividend which it when it works the other way around, when it works constructively so I think that really needs to be showcased. Dr. Mukherjee's question about how do you, I mean the gap in human resources and the fact of private I think that is I really have know very, I really do not, cannot give you one very quick answer to that. I do not know, I am struggling with that as a member responsible for health, how do we do, what do we do, we have said okay so let us now be very seriously integrate the Indian systems of medicine and use the Ayush practitioners who are very keen let us also used the RMPs, the registered medical practitioners who are very keen to do their yogdan a bit so we have been struggling with that but there is a very strong lobby that would not allow that to happen and I am a person who is like a Don Quixote tilting at the windmills and not being able to get what I really would like so this is an issue if you, today we have Chief Minister of Nagaland for annual plan discussions. Yesterday, we had the Chief Minister of Chhattisgarh for annual plan discussions.

**Dr Syeda Hameed:** ....training, that has also not taken. So that is basically the situation. Dr. Garima's question about informal sector no access, well, we have done, I can sort of give you few examples. For example the Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojna now has been extended to include domestic workers. So those kind of enabling mechanisms have been extended to informal workers, the fact remains that the informal workers, they do not have access, they do not have easy access, there is a huge issue of corruption in issuing of Aadhaar cards and we read about that all the time and yet my own young man who works in my office who was barely able to read and write but at least he is literate in that sense. He was able to get his laminated Aadhaar card. So you know what happens and how these things happen but yes, you are right, they do not have and this is one of the struggles that we have. Nidhi Jalan's question about 3% funding for disability and disability units in the ministry, we have also said and you were with us in our discussions and we have also said that disability cannot again be confined to the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. Every ministry, every sector has to have a disability unit but it was with a great struggle that the disability unit was actually established within the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. I think that is the struggle worth. Multi-sectoral nature of these social sectors or something which is, slowly the recognition is coming and I think we cannot relent on that because every sector needs to have a consciousness and some dispensation towards disability. A Food Security Bill, I would not start that, maybe I will talk to you because I will be running out of time and eating into the next session but I think that is also a question that we can maybe bilaterally speak about.

**Participant:** Thank you Dr. Hameed for meticulously answering each of the questions that has been, I know it is not easy task being where you are but let me not take any more of your time and the audience's time but just extend a very warm thank you and gratitude from ICRIER and on behalf of KAS for you having come here and reminding us of the enormous problems country of India's size of 1.2 billion people face. One is always overwhelmed by

the magnitudes in India by the sheer size of the problems that we had and yet, Dr. Hameed reminded us of these very very inspiring stories that are happening at the ground level and one of the challenges she herself pointed out is how do you scale this up. I am not sure if the economists are right people to provide the answer but there are a number of intellectuals and scholars in this room as we say that are going to deliberate on this and we would certainly send you a copy of the proceedings in that regards.

## Participant: ....

**Participant:** Absolutely, we will do that and thank you very much once again. Please join me in giving Dr. Hameed a round of applause.

**Dr. Rajat Kathuria:** Come in, all of you standing outside, could you please come in so we will start. We are already a little behind schedule but we will eat into our lunch time a little bit because as you notice we have got a very distinguished panel and we want to make complete use of their presence on this platform. So may I request Dr. Mehrotra to please take over the proceedings or the technical session, thank you?

**Dr. Santosh Mehrotra:** Thank you very much Rajat, thank you to ICRIER and to KAS for inviting me to chair this session. I have been allotted 15 minutes here and actually I am going to sort of part and I will come back to say what I want to say, perhaps towards then once I have heard others. So what Sonal and I have agreed is that she lead-off and then we will have a discussion where the main speakers are Nisha, Amir and Caitlin. So without any further ado, I will ask Sonal to start with her presentation, Sonal.

**Dr Sonal Desai:** See the first thing I have to do is start with, do not do our usual Indian thing of complaining about challenges without recognising the achievements and one of the nicest things about 12th plan actually is a very well-written plan. So those of you who have not actually read the document, I highly urge you to read it. It is wonderfully written. It is both reflective of achievements of 11th plan as well as thoughtful in future strategies. What happens is though when you start reading these beautiful documents like this, it also inspires you to think out of the box and that is what I am going to do. I am going to sort of take-off from the 12th plan but also try to think a little bit out of the box in terms of what are the relevant issues for us to look at. What I am going to talk about is basically on four topics, I will just give you an overview. First, I want to discuss a little bit about the fact that we have succeeded in 11th plan, places a different kind of a burden on us, so it is a burden of success. Everybody should have that problem but once we have it, we should learn how to deal with it. Second, I want to talk about are sort of issues of quality and service delivery which is pretty much the next frontier. We have been focussing a lot on access and the next frontier is our focus on quality. Third is that we are living in a world that is changing and that places very different kind of demands on us and what are those demands and how do we address it and the final thing I would like to do is make a plea for policy realism. I think sometimes policy becomes so ambitious that it actually cannot be implemented very easily and maybe we should be thinking little bit in terms of policy realism. You know there was this quote by

Dulles which talks about measure of success is not whether you have a tough problem to deal with but whether you have the same problem that you are dealing with today which was there last year or is it a different problem and I think that we do not do enough to think about how our problems that we may be dealing with might have changed and might have changed just because we succeeded in what we started out wanting to do. Let me give you a few examples. One of the things that we have been doing is we have focussed very heavily on educational access and in fact, we are very proud of the fact that we are close to 100% primary school enrolment. We even have rapidly rising secondary and college graduation rates but while that has been happening, I believe and that is a very arguable point that I believe that quality has been declining. Frankly, nobody collects any data on it. There is no way to show any data that tells you that quality has been declining. Here is the only data point that I could come up with which is using data that NCAER has collected called India Human Development Survey which was conducted in 2004 and 2005, ask questions on whether people can speak English or not and we are just looking at the people with college degree who self-report I can speak English and what you can see is you can see this solid decline on this redline which looks at people with college degree and their ability to speak English. I actually think that it is really the case that I mean if we go through different parts of India, we would probably find that people's ability to speak English among college graduates has went up. Now you could make a case that English is not necessarily the marker of the best educational level and so on and so forth and I would not want to argue with it but I wish we had data on some of the more basic skill level which we can compare overtime on the same types of skills, you know ability to do fractions, ability to read a map. We do not have that data but what we do see is a very solid decline in English skills. Now part of it is really because of the success of educational expansion. What has happened is that we have a large proportion of Indian population who now is enrolled in school and if you are enrolled in school, then you go to secondary school and then some of them will go to college. So what has been happening is that there has been a declining gap between different socioeconomic groups and different social groups in school enrolment. Many of them are first generation learners. Many of them are going to colleges in small district towns. We have this hurly burly growth of private schools and private colleges and a variety of educational institutions with very little quality control. So it is not surprising if you actually see a decline in the college graduate output and it is a desirable thing. I mean at some level, it is a desirable that there should be more people going to college. So how do we match these two, that is going to be our next frontier of challenge. Second one is looking at under nutrition and if we look at the data from National Family Health Survey 1 and National Family Health Survey 3 between 1992-1993 and 2005-2006. What we see is that there has been some improvement but the improvement has been disproportionately located at the upper end of the socioeconomic stratum. It is the richer families in which malnutrition has declined. Now again, you could complain about it but I am actually very pleased to see it. The reason I am very pleased to see it is that, you know actually in odd country in which the rich and the poor have very similar levels of malnutrition. If the rich and the poor have similar levels of malnutrition, what it means is that there is something else out there that is causing malnutrition. It has nothing to do with sort of food intake, it could be water and sanitation, it could be a disease prevalence, it could be a variety of other things. So when we move to social conditions in which the malnutrition declines among the rich, it actually gives you a cause for hope. That is a good thing. It is a good thing that at least for some people, we have an improvement in nutritional status. The problem is of course that then what it happens is that when you are looking at it in terms of future, then you actually have a nutritional inequality and how we are going to deal with this nutritional inequality and there is enough research which shows that nutritional status has actually impact on school achievement, on future productivity etc. etc. So now if you are going to be dealing with nutrition inequality, what are we going to do about it? So that is our sort of...new frontier of challenge. It is a good challenge but nonetheless it is a challenge. Third one of a similar kind is, all of you probably remember this huge unhappiness that we all had when the National Sample Survey results of 2009-2010 came out and there was a decline in female labour post participation. One of the reasons, not of total reasons but at least one of the reasons for that decline in female labour force participation is increasing women's education. What we see is that basically and here are again the data from the same India human development survey, by the way the reason I keep showing India Human Development Survey data is because that is the work I did. I can pull out tables out of my own work but I think the same results could be seen in other surveys as well. What you see here is for every level of household income quintile and this household income excludes women's own earnings, is her husband's, father-in-law's, everybody else's income, for every level of household income, when education level increases, women's work participation rate drops until it reaches college level. Post-secondary is where it is again sort of sees an uptick but that uptick very rarely makes up for the decline. So you do see a sort of a U shape and what we see is that women with four years of education are much less likely to be in the labour force than women with zero years of education. Education is a good thing. Declining women's labour force participation not so good thing and what causes it is something that we have very poorly understood. At least part of it is absence of suitable jobs for women with some education. Actually the same thing applies to men. When we think in terms of increased youth unemployment and there has been an increase in youth unemployment, some of it is that when young men have gained more education, they are looking for a job that is more suitable to what their aspirations were in gaining education. They do not find it, they remain unemployed for a while and then they sort of return to whatever was the job, their families had, agriculture actually, the proportion of men with college degrees who are able to find white collar job used to be something about 70% in 1983, it has gone down to about 40% to 45% in 2000 onwards. So men also face the same thing but men do not stay out of labour force whereas women when they face the same issue, for them, finding an alternative job is very difficult. So at least portion of the decline in female labour force participation rate is associated with our success in increasing women's education levels. So the next issue I want to talk about is the quality. For nearly 10 years, the ASER surveys have been documented that badly 50% of the students can read simple paragraphs. I think everybody in the room is more or less aware of it but these simple results actually hide a more acute problem. What is really happening is that we have these two groups of kids, one who go to school immediately learn whatever they are supposed to learn and then keep learning and then there is this group of kids who did not learn what they were supposed to learn in class 1, 2 and 3 and they will keep continuing the school and not learning it. So this is sort of what is often known now-a-days is the flat learning profile. The more you stay in school, the more you should know but what we find is that the variety of studies, not this ASER study that is Andhra Pradesh work by Kartik Muralidharan, there is education initiative study etc. which each show that for kids who did not learn whatever they needed to learn to say one digit additions, two digit additions, three digit additions, subtraction etc. in the year they were supposed to learn it in, if they did not learn it, subsequently their chances of learning it are very low. So they have sort of gotten what one would call as a flat learning profile. Now some more results but I would not show it to you right now. Now you know we also have similar problems with health services quality and I will talk to you about in a few minutes. Parents and patients clearly realise this as a problem and they are sort of voting with their feet moving towards private sector. One of the questions that you asked in the morning was what about private sector in health. People are clearly moving towards private education, private healthcare utilisation. Unfortunately, it does not tell you that those services are necessarily of better quality. So that is something else to think about but the other problem is that when the middle class and the rich move away from government services and start going towards private services, actually the quality of government services declines because it is the rich who demand the better quality services and ensure that better quality services are available and again I am going to skip away this graph. On the health services, I think that it is wonderful that the plan talks about increasing expenditure on health services. However, proportion of people who use private healthcare is very very low. Essentially four out of five episodes of illnesses people use private healthcare services, only 25% are using government care. This happens regardless of whether there is a sub-centre in the village, there is a PHC in the village, CHC in the village etc. etc. but the fact is that when you have a PHC or CHC which provides better quality care, there is a higher utilisation rate of government health services as the blue bar shows. So yes, people are using private services but chances that they would use government services go up when there is more certain types of services are available which are sort of more technically oriented. How people's preferences for private sector can be balanced with growth in public spending is something we need to think about and Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojna is a very interesting experiment. It is also an experiment which has some huge challenges because it pays for hospitalisation care, it does not pay for initial preventive care and so the cost of RSBY treatment is going up and its fiscal stability remains sort of problematic but clearly, that has been one of the more successful programmes. There are also some new problems that we have not thought about and these new problems require different responses and not more of the same. The first example is just the disease transition. I think that while we recognise that overtime, we will be dealing with diseases of lifestyle, cardiovascular disease, heart disease and so on, our service provisions have not really been responsive or changed according to it. As epidemic logical transition occurs and as infant mortality goes down, communicable diseases go down, we will be dealing more with things like blood pressure, heart attacks, cancer and other diseases which are often being called the diseases of the lifestyle and what is more actually is that these diseases are higher among Indian population living abroad. If you look at Indians living in United Kingdom, they have one and a half times as great a likelihood of dying from heart disease as the native born British population. Similar observation has been in the US context. Whether it is Indian genetics or is it Indian diet, I have no idea but the fact that is the case is something that we need to be cognisant of because that could become the next epidemic that India has to deal with. The second issue is and I am not going to go into detail here is antibiotic resistance. We have been paying very little attention to issue of antibiotic resistance as this graph you can see, the number of doses of antibiotics sold in India has skyrocketed between 2005 and 2009 and antibiotic resistance is going to be a big issue that we are going to have to deal with overtime. Most of the things that we are able to deal with, most of the service provision that we sort of address, we do well with campaign type mode. So for example, polio campaign is extremely successful but a DPT which has to be done sort of a more, polio you just give it to people at the street corner and you can do it in a campaign mode. DPT is something where you need actually a child's vaccination record because you cannot really give too many doses of DPT. DPT rate has not gone up nearly as much as polio rate, not diseases rate but immunisation rate for DPT has not gone up as much as immunisation for polio and part of it is because we succeed much better when we do campaign mode than sort of sustained interventions. Now the final thing that I want to talk about is policy realism. I think I cannot keep a count of number of schemes that exist in India. At some point in time somebody was doing the count at a district level and they had counted 380 schemes that were available. We have this vast number of schemes and many of them, we have not thought about whether they are going to succeed or not, whether they are designed to succeed or not. So for example if you look at right to education, remember I just talked about this flat learning profile. Right to education basically has this very emotional appeal where we say that children should be placed in a classroom suitable to their age but if they have not learnt certain skills, putting them in classrooms suitable to their age essentially ensures their failure. So tugging at the heartstrings may not be as productive towards increasing the skill level and frankly, I had personally been administering a lot of skill tests to kids who are 15 to 18, many of them are in 9th, 10th, 11th etc. and it is painful to see these youngsters who cannot read and how embarrassed they are. One of the reasons we actually see this large dropout between class 8 and 9 is because up to class 8, there is automatic promotion and class 9 is when you start seeing examination. Food, again National Food Security Act is going to become big, it is going to be something that we are going to have to deal with it and there is a general argument seems to be that let's focus on food subsidy towards the priority group and they use the term priority group because nobody really wants to define who the priority group is and we currently do have already targeted public distribution system. One of the problems is it is so difficult to identify the poor. For a number of reasons, one is it is conceptual. You give out BPL cards, they are supposed to last at least five years but that assumes that you can identify people who are going to stay poor, they are poor and they will stay poor. What if poverty is more of a function of illness, job losses or the transient phenomena rather than a chronic phenomena and we do not even have data that will tell us what proportion of our poverty is chronic, what proportion of our poverty is transient. There are measurement issues because ultimately, you are essentially looking at people's economic status which is self-reported. Obviously, there are a bunch of errors in it. There are political economic issues where political patronage grants you BPL card. I have actually done an interview in a household with pradhan in a village where pradhan was too embarrassed for himself to have a BPL card. He had an APL card, his son had a BPL card. This is something again comes from 2005 data that I mentioned earlier where the blue line is people with BPL cards, red line is people with APL cards, above poverty line, below poverty line and this is our consumption expenditure. If we can see, the two curves are very similar. Somebody has a below poverty line card, somebody does not have it. The red line which is below the poverty line where I have marked with the red circle, those are the people who should have a BPL card but have been excluded out of having a BPL card. The people above on the right side of the poverty line are people with the blue line the blue dot are the people who should not have a BPL card but have it. So we have enormous errors of inclusion and exclusion. Can we really give out target the poor identify and target the poor? Personally I am convinced it is very difficult to do it. I am very happy to hear alternatives from somebody but I frankly do not think it is very easy to do in which case, and again there are issues of fiscal responsibility that how do we manage then the food subsidies. Maybe we need to keep about some clever ways of dealing with it. I do not see why PDS should be giving out sugar or jaggery, let us take that off. Why not add millet, why not add some of the more coarse grains but then we need to get some more clever ways of dealing with this and I cannot tell you that I have all the answers but it seems to me that the original proposal probably just is not very workable. So we might need to get somewhat more realistic. Social inclusion education, I want to do it, just show you this. Most of the social inclusion education schemes that Dr. Hameed talked about, they are all geared towards people at metric and post-metric levels but really most of the inequalities in education are emerging in primary school level. These are graphs from multivariate analysis. I have controls for parents income, household income, parents education, all kinds of things and still what we find is that the reading and arithmetic skills of Dalit, Adiwasi and Muslim children is considerably lower than the skills of a forward caste kid and they have just .... overtime and I would not show you the data here but even at the college level, we see extreme differences in performances between Dalit, Adiwasi and Muslims and others and most of the problems began at primary school levels. So I am not suggesting we get rid of those post-metric schemes, I am not suggesting we get rid of reservations, all I am suggesting is that let's start focussing on primary school at least. Let's just start with a focus there someday. So here is my final slide on the 12th plan scorecard. On these four issues that I talked about, not everything else because overall as I started, a plan is a fantastic document. As far as dealing with challenges of success, I think it is very poor because frankly, we have not recognised that we have success and we have not recognised that what are its consequences. So it is very poor. The quality focus, I think is moderate. You can actually see words like quality and you can see some attempt at sort of motivating teachers in the education chapter but it is pretty moderate and ability to identify new challenges, again I would say moderate. You can see some nodes there to things like skill requirements etc., there is a little bit of section on cardiovascular diseases but overall, we are still sort of very focussed towards our own style of thinking. For example if we really thought that we are dealing with diseases that require more sophistication and laboratory testing and regular monitoring, you would be focussing on laboratories rather than working towards sort of skill upgradation of Asha. So I mean I think we have gone very much towards sort of grassroots health approaches which are very useful for epidemic diseases but not as useful for diseases which require greater monitoring and laboratory interventions, drugs etc. etc. As far as policy realism is concerned, I am sad to say it is non-existent. It is very easy to sort of add things in but realistically thinking about what can we do, we have very little of it. So this is an example. Then we talk about social exclusion. We consistently keep adding new groups into socially excluded categories. We never take anybody off. The OBC list has been growing

and growing and growing but nobody has been taken off of it. I do not mind it, I mean I am not trying to complain about focus on providing benefits to disadvantaged groups, the problem is that when you have 65% of your population which is supposed to be targeted towards receiving of these benefits, really it is very difficult to have, you know you are basically if there one....should be....we are using....So in some sense thinking through criteria and by the way this creamy layer criteria simply does not work. So I kind of have this memory of a recent newspaper article with creamy layer criteria which talked about Rs 60000 household income as the threshold for a creamy layer criteria which would include large percentage of Indian households. So in some sense, thinking through who are our target groups, how can we sort of benefit them, leaving all the reservations, all the benefits in place just thinking through who are the people who should be receiving those benefits would be a very helpful thing to do. Also politically sensitive things are going to do, I guess that is one of the reasons it has not been done. Okay, I think I shall end here and leave it to other panellist. Thank you.

**Dr. Santosh Mehrotra:** Thank you very much indeed Sonal for that very wide ranging ....raising a very large number of issues there and I am still delighted that I decided to speak towards the end because I will have a chance to discuss many of the issues that you have raised since I was one of the authors of not just the 11th plan but also several chapters in the 12th plan. Let's move to the discussion. The first speaker is Dr. Nisha Agrawal who as you all know is the CEO of OXFAM India.

**Dr. Nisha Agrawal:** Thank you Santosh and thank you Sonal for that presentation. I think in the morning, we talked about the huge gap between the plan and the implementation and basically what OXFAM India does is we focus on implementation. We fund about 170 NGOs that work at the grassroots level in the seven poorest states of India and we really look at why programmes and policies and plans do not reach the ground from the perspective of the most marginalised communities and look at what works best and what does not work and then feed that back into the policy dialogue. So it is really very much a focus on this kind of implementation gap that Dr. Hameed talked about. So from that perspective then, just a few comments. First of all, the very term, I think using the term burden of success is something that I would really argue with. I think if investment in social sectors is supposed to be the foundation that is going to lead to a more equal opportunity and a more inclusive development path, then we are really lagging behind that and before we declare success on access and so on and move on to quality, just a very basic access things are not happening in our country. So what needs to be done, I mean Syeda ji said focus on what needs to be done. Unfortunately as far as we see, yes some things need to be done by the rest of society but given that these are basic human rights, right to basic education, basic healthcare, basic food, a lot of the burden is still very much on the government. While other members can jump in and lend their hands, a lot of the basic foundation for providing a more equal opportunity, equal access kind of country, inclusive growth, whatever you want to call it, has to be done by the government and it is not happening. So if we look at that, what is the first thing, I think public expenditures. While we can say it is growing up, she said it is increasing, yes, obviously we are growing, we were growing at almost double digits, so the size of the economy is rising but as a share of GDP, the spend on basic health and basic education is rising only very very gradually and we are still at the bottom of the pile as far as most countries in the world are concerned. So to be spending, it has gone up barely from 0.9% of GDP to about 1 now. 1% of GDP on public healthcare, it is the lowest in the world and unfortunately no matter what one wants to do, you cannot say we want more of the private sector. 80% of the expenditures in this sector are already private and that sector is largely unregulated and the sector is largely not delivering either quality medicine or access to the poor. So it is not something we can say we are doing our bit now, everybody else needs to join hands. I think the basic infrastructure still needs to come. From the government, it is not happening. Again on education, again a promise has been made for many decades to increase the share of GDP on public spending on education from 3% of GDP to 6%, it is not happening. I mean these numbers seem to be just be stuck for decades and decades with maybe an increase in the second decimal place from plan to plan. So without that, things are not going to happen in India and certainly we would want to say we are still moving to a highly unequal society because the basics of providing equal quality education and equal quality healthcare to the masses are not in place and this talk about you know what she was referring to you could say therefore doctors or therefore teachers, second lower quality teachers and lower quality doctors to poor people is just going to continue to create a nation where we are leading to greater and greater inequality and that is not the way to go. We should be thinking about how we move to common education systems and a common system of healthcare for all. So that is my first point that we are not declaring success, we are really not even moving in anyway towards what one would begin to call success in human development, yes. Secondly, what would make the whole system work? The minute NGOs say, she says everybody complains, yes, we like to see more money. Everybody will immediately say yes but the ones that we are spending is not reaching the poor. What would actually make that money reach the poor, greater decentralisation. I mean we at the local levels have no ways of managing the system and are holding the system accountable. So until the panchayat, the gram sabhas, the communities themselves are empowered to take decisions to fire a teacher who does not show up to work, it is not going to happen and so money alone obviously is not the answer, money is the first need but greater decentralisation, both of local PRI authorities as well as of communities which is really built into things now like NRHM and which is what NGOs work on. That is the part we can do of strengthening community level, monitoring community level, demand for accountability and we are all doing that but it is again not just our job to create greater demand for better governance. One area that we think as a substance, I mean what I talked about was process and public expenditures but substances we talk now for the first time in the 12th five-year plan of early childhood development. That is going to be the key that zero to three age group, both for malnutrition as well as for learning outcomes as well as for healthcare outcomes and we talk about it but we are yet to see how that is going to be put in place and as we say two years are getting on by and we really do not see what is happening and then finally also on this monitoring of the gaps, you know we have to move away from a system of generalities to say 90% of the kids are in school. As soon as you start to look at dropout rates after primary enrolment and you start dividing them by the marginalised groups, by Dalits, by Muslims, by Tribals, you begin to see a very different picture of India emerge immediately and so all our monitoring has to

be done by social groups and obviously be gender. Dr. Hameed talked about the gap between Muslim girls and other children, today the most marginalised pace in India is a Tribal girl. Tribals are 20 years behind other poor people, Muslims and Dalits are about 10 years behind. So really looking at groups of people and saying what is holding them back and we heard about the violence and the dissatisfaction arising from a country that is going further and further towards the path of inequality and lastly I would say some need for prioritisation. We are now sitting at a moment when the whole world is talking about what is going to happen in the post-MDG, post-2015 framework, OXFAM has done a policy note, we left it outside. Of course it is very difficult to say for development we need only 10 things but if you have a 1000 things, it also means with 1000 things, nobody is ever going to monitor and then it is too easy to say we do not have the data. So to be really serious about what is it that we would like to achieve in the five-year plan, the 12th plan dialogue needs to be linked up to the MDG post and post-MDG dialogue which it is not at the moment and to come up with a set of priority goals that we can put on one sheet of paper and then develop the data systems that are needed because at the moment, policymakers also say to us during the 12th plan process oh, well, we cannot monitor anything because we have the data five years later. Well, whose problem is that, I mean as a middle income country, we cannot even have data to monitor our own goals and plans, then they are not really worth the paper they are written on. So prioritisation, setting up data systems, monitoring course correction so that we do not look back at the end of five years but when we are doing a midterm appraisal of the 12th five-year plan to say this is off-course, this is on-course, let's accelerate this, let's put some energy and money behind this and so on is also a very top priority. Thank you.

**Dr. Santosh Mehrotra:** Very good Nisha...very punchy, very provocative, thank you very much for that. Now to Dr. Amir Ullah Khan for your 10 minutes.

Dr. Amir Ullah Khan: Thank you Santosh and thanks to Sonal and I am going to talk around her presentation. Special thanks to Sonal because she finally explained to be why I do so poorly in arithmetic, must be my tribal background but I often wonder, but Sonal, the two or three important things that I took from what you said before I start talking about something else, one, the issue of targeting. That is a great point and it is very rarely that we begin talking about it. It is very important that she brings it up and I am sure some of you take that, how do we identify the poor and you explained that really well. Someone was arguing this saying that look, today it is so simple to identify the poor, ask somebody for their cell phone number and that is not poor. So you can then knock out everybody who has cell phone number. You have got 780 million people outside that system. The two issues that I had with you, one and so also with Ms. Syeda Hameed, you know you will find that one of the issues that we do not talk about when we talk about health, social development etc. is this entire issue of women and family planning. There is no mention anywhere. Just to put it into perspective as to why I say that, some simple calculations, 40 million pregnancies a year. Of those 40 million pregnancies a year, anaemia, whatever, you have 13 million dyeing. So 27 million live birth. Of the 27 million live births, take a guess how many are unwanted. 15 million, more than 50% are unwanted. That access to contraception, access to spacing just does not exist, it is a great issue but we do not and thanks to what we did 50 years ago, we still do not talk about it.

So that is the one serious issue that is missing. The one issue that you did point to but because we did not have time, you did not go into it as much as I would like to is the vaccination issue. Remember she spoke, gave you this fascinating slide on how polio has been successful and how DPT has been terribly unsuccessful. Again a simple, you know, a simple Tweetable comment, 50% of the vaccines in the world are manufactured in India. We are a great country. We manufacture the cheapest best drugs though some of us do not do it very well and get hold up in the US court but 50% of vaccines of the world are manufactured in India and 50% of India's children are not vaccinated. You saw 55% prevalence rate there, new vaccines none at all. You keep talking about rotavirus and so on, some of us and the rest is caught into such controversy that we cannot go further on that issue. Let me quickly now take the three-four minutes that I have. The big issue that in the last 10 years, we have three states that have more than 10 crore of population. So the issue that I talk about are smaller states better and I come from the discussion that we are having on Telangana. Look at urban population. The west is urbanising much faster than the east is. What explains this pattern, the west urbanises much faster but the east has lower fertility rates? Andhra, Orissa, West Bengal do much better in lowering population growth. Is there a role that migration plays? Why is it that states that have traditionally large out-migration also have very large densities of population. Are we not mobile population and therefore the issue that Nisha points... is public spend and that greyish blue is the private spend and you will find that while we spend very little of our money on health, most of it comes from the private sector. The reason I show you this chart is just because South Africa, Mexico, Russia, Brazil.... I am not comparing us to any of the developed countries or the rich countries but take our own partners and the difference is stark. So why is India such a big problem? Look at that line there, 20% of births in India but every other thing disproportionately higher, higher maternal death, higher neonatal death, higher low birth, higher degrees of malnutrition that great point, that great point in fact that Sonal raised that what we have is some sort of a secular malnutrition that the rich and the poor both are undernourished. Look at UP, Bihar very badly, do very badly, all of you know that. My worry is Maharashtra, Gujarat. Why do these states do badly? Bihar, the story is writ everywhere. You keep talking about why Bihar does badly and if you compare Bihar to the rest of the country you know that it does terribly poorly. The good news that Sonal talks about -- everybody has cell phones, can we use that? I am not going to talk, I wanted to talk a little bit about that but I leave this for later. The same issue with sanitation. We now have increasing access to toilets but very few people use them. Why that happens? We do not know but again that is something that is not in the discourse anymore. The chart here again, just I want to keep repeating this point that I am in some sense okay with UP and Bihar doing poorly but why are Gujarat and Maharashtra doing poorly on everything, on everything, on anaemic women, on unmet need for family planning, all of that. Therefore my last point, this is what India looks like. My favourite photographs -the NASA photographs, you see where the lights are and you see where the darkness is. You see where we are growing and you see where we are down and therefore no surprise that we killed some 15 people yesterday or 25 or whatever. Thank you.

**Participant:** Amir thank you very much for closing on that brilliant note, very good sir, thank you and over to our final discussant Ms. Caitlin Wiesen who is the Country Director for UNDP India.

Ms. Caitlin Wiesen: Thank you. I am last but hopeful not least here and I just wanted to mention this is an honour and delight and privilege to be here with you under this distinguished panel and I am speaking here as a Country Director of UNDP but on behalf of Lise Grande who is the UN Resident Coordinator & UNDP Representative. It was mentioned earlier and I just wanted to underscore that this seminar is happening at an extremely important moment in time and that time is yes the launch of the 12th five-year plan but also being held as was mentioned earlier in conjunction with the high level of UNDP in the post 2015 agenda. So I thought it was worthy just at this point to add a moment to say that as many of the SME audience are well aware that India is likely to miss most of its MDG targets with the exception perhaps of education enrolment .... nutrition. I did want to mention that the overarching goal of the 12th five-year plan a faster, more inclusive and sustainable growth is an elusive one shared by many other emerging economies and I would say at the outset as this has been said earlier commend the Government of India for the focus in the 12th fiveyear plan for focussing on the social sectors including health and education, employment and skilled development, women's agency and child rights and social inclusion. Equally investing in this key social sectors is central to advancing human development and I thought I would just take a moment to share a few slides on how India compares in terms of its human development achievements with that of other countries and here are the drawing largely from the recently published report from UNDP and the human development report 2013 on the rise of the global south and before I share those I should mention also that India has recorded significant growth in its human development index according to India's own human development report with lead author here Santosh Mehrotra between 1999 and 2008 India's HDI has increased by 21%, which is impressive. However when we compare with other countries India ranks 136 out of 187 countries lagging behind BRICS and IBSA countries on....per capita, gross national income as well as human development income and notably the human development index for India is 15% lower than that for the average for other BRICS and IBSA countries. If we turn down to inequality which is again something that is not unique to India, it is a persistent challenge in India as well as other countries, we noticed that when we look at the or adjust the human development index for inequalities that India loses 29% of its HDI value due to inequalities and that this loss is greater than the average loss for most middle human development income countries which is 24%, so not fairing so well. Among income, health and education, the greatest loss due to inequality in India is the education dimension. There are some issues with the data there but when we compare it with the average loss from middle HDI countries, it is quite significant. Equally the loss of HDI value due to inequality when we look at life expectancy is 27% compared with the average loss in middle income human development value countries which is 19 and that is a considerable gap. On the positive side, however, the loss of HDI value in India due to inequality of income at 15% is less than that of other middle income countries. Just wanted to also look at another major concern at the context of the 12th plan and how this compares with other countries and looking at gender based inequalities which are major issue and how India compares its performance with other countries and just to highlight a few statistics -- overall India ranks 132 out of the 148 countries for which gender inequality index has been established. It ranks lower on the gender inequality index than other BRICS countries, other IBSA countries and within SAARC it is second only to Afghanistan. This is largely on account of -1) the low percentage of seats held by women in parliament, 2) as we heard earlier from the other speakers the shockingly high level of the average adolescent fertility rate within India and the lower than average female labour force which is significant within middle income HDI countries as well as South Asia and addressing significant challenges I just wanted to take a moment and share an analysis that was undertaken in the context of the human development report that looks at those countries that have rapidly improved their human development performance and indicates that promoting equity voice and accountability are critical. There were four ways that were highlighted that were critically important to advancing human development incomes, firstly whilst addressing rise in inequality and countries with less inequality the finding were do better by and large and improved more in human development. Secondly and critically is focussing on women's education and capacity development and this was found to be essential to reduce in gender inequality. Thirdly is making government structures more accountable, educated and interconnected youth demanding greater accountability is vital. Fourthly was the recommendation of encouraging participation for greater inclusion which is essential for stability and social coherence. I think some of these are relevant to our conversation today and I would just against this background I would speak to three issues particularly related to the 12th plan. These are skilled development, women's agency and social inclusion. Turning to the first on the issue of skilled development, we have talked much about the demographic window of opportunity like potential for demographic in a dividend and by 2020 India will be the youngest nation and also remain so till 2040. By 2020, it is estimated India will have surplus of 56 million working people and the rest of the world will have the shortage of 47 million people and by 2022 India plans to secure 500 million persons, this is enormous and the 12th plan of course, it is tremendous opportunity during the 12th plan and the rightly place great importance on it. The plan document is well articulated and its strategies for development and expanding outreach on how to redefine better infrastructure trainer, but I would like to highlight three questions where it may have fallen short and needs greater thinking and this is related to issue of skilling for youth and issues of informality. One of the critical issues is how questions that are pretty small in the form of questions but how does one promote skilling in an environment of the jobless growth, largely jobless growth and how we are going to change that equation where 85% of the workers are employed in the informal economy. If one thinks through, it is the most frustrating is to skill if there are not jobs to be skilled into and how does one reach out to informal economy workers who had a huge opportunity cost to take out time to skill themselves if they are not ensured of a job to go to and where were those jobs be coming from within the private sector, where were the jobs be coming from overseas and what attention is being given to the informal economy. Secondly, if we turned to the issue of skilling the girl youth and I think this has been issue raised is that how the girl child and the girl youth has been so excluded from the development process and I work in many parts of India and especially where patriarchal values do dominate we find that the girl youth misses out opportunities for skilling, has very limited mobility to access skilled development opportunities and really needs a secure environment for learning and an outlet for where to go once that learning has been applied. The third area that needs much more thinking is how to reach out to tribal youth and left wing extremist affected areas. We heard the very sobering notes with which Dr. Syeda Hameed opened this morning with the chilling murders and the evidence that is emerging that this was largely undertaken by youth 18 to 20 years old. The issue is how are we going to reach out to these very difficult areas? We tend to look at skilling within certain sets of people who are easy to skill, who are easy to move into an employment force but how do we get skill for the unreached and how do we develop programmes that are going to be tailored to them that will respect and ensure a secure job with dignity and with identity. It does not mean rolling out the same types of training that are provided to the usual. I raised these questions right now just because as we try to think of how to exclude the excluded in the skilling process we really need to be thinking of how support organisations working with youth, women and excluded and identifying specialised training programmes that will reach and meet their particular needs. The second issue that I wanted to address was this issue of women's agency and while there have been serious efforts made to promote gender equality through various legislations, policies and schemes, women status right now within the 12th plan continues to be an area of serious concern. Women and children as we know, girl children face huge discrimination, the adverse child sex ratio under six is still matter of great concern, the crime records are terrible, they are increasing by some 29, crime against women has increased by almost 30% between 2006 and 2010 and finally maternal mortality is falling behind and well behind the target of the 11th plan. So clearly we still have a long way to go on women and women's agency and would like to start by commending the 12th plan for focussing on development planning and bringing about structural transformation not only in the women related to direct policy and programme interventions, the critically more generally in policy and programmes in many other sectors that impact upon women's lives. Again this whole issue that it cannot be undertaken by one ministry, it needs to be an issue that is main stream....When I look across the plan and the overall agenda for occlusive growth, there are several opportunities for women that are critical and I would like to highlight just three. The first is the immense scope for enhancing women's role in the unorganised sector. Almost 400 million people or more than 85% of the working population in India working in the unorganised sector and of these at least 120 million are women. We just like to remind the group that the recommendations of the Arjun Sengupta Committee Report still stand valid today from the perspective of women working in the unorganised sector. Typically, she lacks savings, support systems which means there are no fallbacks in emergency, she is dependent on low wages, often an insufficient return for her labour and a work environment that can often extract long working hours and impose terrible safety hazards. So as we move forward in .... inclusion, it is imperative that women's contribution is given due credit, that statutory provisions such as those for migrants, regulation of employment and working conditions, maternity benefits, etc, are strongly implemented. Secondly is the women's positioning in the informal economy needs to change from unorganised producers at the bottom of the supply chain or value chain to organised producers equipped with better skills, knowledge of the markets and ability to manage and run enterprises. There are millions of jobs that need to be created and incomes from enterprises and businesses that need to be enhanced. To achieve an 8.2% growth rate during the 12th plan period, it will be critical that we provide an enabling environment for millions of women in the unorganized sector who can contribute to the growth as well as benefit from it. A new and renewed culture of entrepreneurship that places faith in the capacities of real producers will define the next generation of....growth. One minute more so let me....thank you and then I would just highlight the third issue is that of social inclusion and here I think issue that cuts across the entire plan and it is an issue that is absolutely essential to reaching persistently excluded groups and particularly vulnerable tribal groups, manual scavengers, trans gender, people with disabilities and from our findings what we found are four key points and I will leave these with you as the key points. One is that we need to address the particular vulnerabilities of these groups; we need to look at interventions be it livelihoods, education, health services, social protection; we need to look at what those specific needs are and how we can best reach them and organisations of the socially excluded need to have their needs to be representative and actively integrated into planning decision making processes at all levels and three, the schemes and plans of centre and state government need to make special efforts to outreach to these groups. We tend to reach the same group again and again and not reach those who are persistently excluded from the process and fourth, we need to continue all of these within the context of a very strong right space framework. I would just leave with one final note and it is one that has been stated over the course of the previous speakers but that a key challenge for social inclusion is that of innovation and skill. There is fantastic work is happening at district and block levels in pilot, much more needs to be done on systematically learning from the scaling, learning from what did not work and if we cannot address scale, we would not be able address the challenges of the social sector within the 12th plan. Thank you very much....deliberation.

Participant: Thank you very much indeed Caitlin for focussing our attention on jobless growth, on the unorganised sector, and especially on the needs of women and girls in particular. Okay I may take this opportunity to actually make sort of seven or eight sets of points which very much respond to many of the things that have been said by this panel but also have been raised this morning. I should began, however, with a disclaimer that while I am one of the authors of some of the chapters in the 12th five-year plan, I also had an autonomous society and autonomous research institutes of planning commission, we are not necessarily part of the planning commission and the terminology that has been used just now "jobless growth," where do you think it came from? It came from a paper that we put out in February and we were delighted that in the economic survey, chapter 2, Raghuram Rajan the special chapter, takes cognisance of precisely that but they did it after we put that out and all the media was talking about it because that is what the data is telling us, so we do not pull our punches and you will see that I will not pull my punches either because I must began by saying that I was delighted as compared to the 11th plan process in which I was involved in as well but with the 12th plan process because the 12th plan process was considerably more consolidated, a lot more stakeholder discussions took place, a lot more use was made of the internet and of social media to actually seek opinion so it was in that sense an attempt by at least the planning commission to learn because it is nobody's case that even in government, this is nobody's case that we are really succeeding with inclusiveness in growth. So let me yet point to some two or three, what I believe are really truly success stories in the 11th plan period which sort of are reflected at the beginning of the document. You will recall that during the 10th plan period which is 2002 to 2007, we achieved the growth rate of 7.7% per annum which was unprecedented in the history of our country. Now you may well say this coincided with the period of rapid growth in the international economy and so we were riding that way but surprise, surprise that despite the global economic and financial crisis which did impact us significantly in 2008 and after, the 11th plan clocked a growth rate of 7.9% per annum, nearly 8% per annum so that is we exceeded the 10th plan rate and we are pretty at 8% per annum, now that is point one. Point two is that this growth rate and by the way I was the one who wrote the chapter in the 11th plan on poverty reduction and if you recall reading that you will see how downbeat that chapter is, it is truly downbeat because it tells the real story. We were, of course, relying upon 2004-2005 and its sales, consumption and expenditure data and what it told us about poverty is that you know using the URP, the uniform recall period not the MRP which is now used, and using the previous Lakdawala method as opposed to now the Tendulkar method, you know while there will be a significant decline in poverty rate, meaning the incidence of poverty systematically between 1973-1974 and 2004-2005, you know the numbers of the poor, the absolute number of the poor hardly declined at all in that 30-year period from 1973-1974 to 2004-2005. Now that is a shocking state of affairs, meaning that we had 320 million poor people in 1973-1974 and we had 300 million poor people in 2004-2005 consistent method across time, consistent definition obviously updated for price rise. However, if you look at what happened between 2004-2005 and 2009-2010 and more recently the consumption expenditure data is coming out from the NSS of 2011-2012, see very significant decline, very significant decline in absolute numbers of the poor by the Tendulkar methods and over 50 million decrease in the absolute numbers of the poor. Now of course we have still 350 million poor people by the higher poverty line. Now 65 years down the road after independence if you say we still have a quarter of our country's population which is poor and 350 million people who are poor, then it really just breaks your heart what more can you say but let me just re-emphasise that there was a sharp improvement in the rate at which poverty was declining, the incidence of poverty declining between 2004-2005 and 2011-2012 from a previous decline rate of 0.5% per annum to a decline rate of nearly 2% per annum so that is a very sharp change. Something has really changed here. Let me turn to my final sort of point about so called success story if I may and this is really essentially based on the India Human Development Report of 2011 which we wrote for the planning commission, it is only the second India National Human Development Report and we came to the following conclusion. We were asked to focus our attention on how the SCs, the STs and the minorities particularly the Muslims are doing and we came to the following conclusion. Caitlin mentioned the increase in the HDI. I am not going to focus on that and I am going to talk about just in a few sentences how we claimed that during this period of fast economic growth, we have seen social inclusion taking place because we established empirically for the SCs, for the STs and for the Muslims, the three most marginalised groups in our society, that by and large for most social indicators, their social indicators have been improving faster than the national average. So we claim on the basis of that that social inclusion has been taking place now. Sociologist may well claim that improving social indicators faster than the national average is not the only measure of social inclusion, there are other measures, of course, we do not deny that but you cannot say that if social indicators were worsening or the gap between the national average and the SCs, STs and Muslims were worsening, then social inclusion. No, obviously you could not have claimed that so we are claiming that social inclusion has happened, much more remains to be done, no question about that. The Muslims are doing better than the SCs and STs but the SCs and STs and the Muslims their social indicators are still worse than the national average but convergence is taking place that is the point and in fact we established and Hameed would be interested in this that our conclusions which are based on 2000s data as opposed to the 1990s data which Sachar Committee Report was based on, we established quite clearly and empirically that there is convergence is taking place between Muslim indicators .... and in other words things are not as bad as they were as Sachar Committee had demonstrated and I think rightly demonstrated, it is just that we are using the 2000s data and not using the 1990s data. You know none of this takes away from the point that Syeda ji was making about girl's education, we also make that point. Anyway now let me point to the very serious challenges that remain and let me start with the health sector. I think in the previous session a very-very important point was made here by the doctor here about the shortage of doctors in the public health system and some suggestions were made by Syeda ji about RMPs, they want to come on board but they are wanting to come on board alone does not help, the fact of the matter is that unless we ensure that these RMPs get training there is no point in bringing them on board because how will you monitor them? How will you manage them? How will you monitor them is a big-big question so the question then arises is the public health expenditure rising fast enough to set up training institutes in the country across the country in large enough numbers to train nurses and these RMPs to bring them on board? It is not just you know saying oh! we need RMPs coming on board, they need training, otherwise there is no point in bringing them on board. Let us be very clear about it. Secondly, there is a very serious shortage of doctors in the rural areas, not in the urban areas, we all know that, so how are we going to get the doctors in the rural areas actually sitting in PHCs or sub-centres that Sonal was so rightly emphasising which are 24x7? If they are not 24x7, no one is going to go there, so do not be surprised if they do not go there, they have to be functional 24x7, in Tamil Nadu they go there because there most of the PHCs are 24x7 and for that you need to put money and you need warm bodies. You need really nurses, doctors to be there and you need to build houses for them. Where they have housing in the PHC, they will live there so they will not have to travel from anywhere. Now so how do you going to ensure this? The way you are going to ensure it and Sri Lanka did this 50 years ago for God's sake what I am about to say that you require all MBBS doctors. The moment they come out that they will spend a year in rural areas, now we keep..., but who is against this? The MCI is against this. The MCI has struck this tooth and nail. Sri Lanka did this 50 years ago, ladies and gentleman. Why cannot we do this? There are some very serious vested interests here in play. So exhorting us, ourselves let us do this and let us do that, let us first break the vested interest back. If we do not do that, forget about it. Point number 3, we need three-year degree trained doctors, not five-year degree trained doctors. Five-year degree trained doctors will be in urban areas, forget about expecting them to be in rural areas. You have that in Chhattisgarh. Why cannot we follow that? In Tamil Nadu, they are still using 5-year trained doctors but they make sure that in the medical colleges which are in the rural areas and of course the number of medical colleges is much higher per thousand population, they bring on board students from rural

areas so they prefer to be in rural areas. So there are models in place which are functional and all we need to do is to replicate them so what that requires is warm body and for warm bodies, you need money, 1.2% of GDP allocation is not going to do it. Okay, let me turn to this issue of the RSBY. Now the RSBY came about in 2008. I joined the planning commission in 2006, one of the first few things I was asked to do by the deputy chairman is to do a paper for the planning commission on health insurance system. So I did but when I wrote that paper what I had in mind was that the objective of the RSBY and objective of that I had written down in that document was that we will have an RSBY like thing in order to cut down on private out-of-pocket costs because we all know that private out-of-pocket costs obviously is problem which is what Sonal has been talking about. I did not think that this is going to be at the expense of greater expenditure on public health system. If you are not this or that, it is this and that. So no one beholding the 15th of August speech from the ramparts of the Red Fort the Prime Minister announces an RSBY and a year later it gets rolled out and anyone who has seen the evaluations of the RSBY that can only shed tears. Every evaluation that you read about in the EPW tells a very sorry tale. My brother who is a doctor in Lucknow keeps telling me how the system is being ripped off all the time by collusion between the doctors and the patient....Rs. 30,000 is the suppose quoted, it is being ripped off whether you are sick or not, people split that Rs. 30,000 over the course of the year between the doctor, the provider and the provided. So very serious problems with the RSBY and if there is going to be a trade off between its increased expenditure in the public health system on the one hand and increased coverage of the RSBY on the other, then there are real serious issues. Let me turn to a very important issue, then remaining into health sector that my good friend Amir raised about unwanted pregnancies, half of them are unwanted. Why are they unwanted? Why are you getting unwanted pregnancies because there is unmet need. Amir will understand what I am talking about, meaning the people want modern means of contraception, there is no one to provide it and you will reach the unmet need only if you have functional primary health centres, that is only way it has been done over anywhere in the world, functional health centres, 24x7 primary health centres which require training of nurses on a vast scale because the ratio in our country, nobody showed this number, if you look at India in the league table of the ratio between nurses and paramedic staff to doctors, we are among the worst, we are among the worst because over the period the neglect of the primary health system in UP for instance most of damn nurse training centres closed down. Few years ago early part of the 11th plan, there were hardly any nurse training centres in the existence. How is that ratio going to change? How are you going to make sure sub-centres have ANM, the auxiliary nurse midwives 24x7 who are resident there? If you do not have them, you do not have them. You have to put the money there and the institutions to train them to actually ensure that that happens and by the way on the PFR, there is good news and there is bad news as well. In the planning commission's HDR of 2002, said there were four states at that time which had achieved TFR of 2.1 the replacement. In our HDR 2011 but citing only 2009 data that is the best data we had at that point, there were nine states which had achieved replacement rate of TFR. There are four big defaulters, culprits in the TFR are the ones you expect UP, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, 3.6, you know 3.5 TFR that is where most of the unmet need is. If do not concentrate on meeting, ensuring unmet need there in the rural areas, it is not happening, it is not happening, because for the country as a whole by the way it is predicted that in 2015 we will have achieved 2.1 but in the country as a whole because in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, etc., etc., Punjab it is dropping so low, the TFR, that it will compensate for the UP, Bihar, Rajasthan, etc., but that is not the point because poverty is getting concentrated in these erstwhile four or five states now including Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand. So if you get 30 people getting killed, so these are the underlying structural factors, let us take care of these underlying structural factors. I will just make an aside here before I come back to the 12th plan, aside here because....raised a point about Maoist violence. Four years ago when I was head of the rural development division, we created an expert group for the first time in 20 years on the development challenges in extremist affected areas. It is a report which is downloadable from the website of planning commission. I recommend to all of you to read it. Background papers for that report have been edited by me in our forthcoming in a book....later this year. Essentially we argue that if you do not address the development challenges and the social injustices that the people of these states have suffered, there is not any chance of the violence stopping you but you will address the development challenges only if you have peace and you can have peace only if you have talks. If you do not have talks, you cannot have peace and we are willing to talk to the JKLF in J&K. We are willing to talk to the Nagas, we have been talking to them for 20 years. Somehow we have not succeeded in....because unfortunately what are good, the naxal friends who managed to kill the leader of the Salwa Judum which should never have come into existence in the first place that was our committees' report, the Salwa Judum, never happened, even being created, and what naxals do not realise and recognises is that when they do carry out actions like this in order to draw attention, we have not gone away so do not take us lightly, what they do not realise is that is going to cause a reaction. It only entrenches the belief of many people that this is an internal security issue. This is the most serious security issue in the country, is it? I am not so sure. Read our forthcoming book, at least if you read that report. Let me turn to the next issue which is malnutrition. Very rightly pointed that both rich and poor are undernourished and I think two of you perhaps rightly noted that actually the problem is elsewhere. It is not if we attack nutrition per se, the problem is not going get solved and one of the problems, I have time only to look at only one of the problem, it is sanitation which some of you touched on. Now Amir asked the question toilets are being built why are they not being used? My friend, first let us talk about the toilets being built. We have data on this in the India Human Development Report and very interestingly you now even have data in the census 2011. Census 2011 says that only 32% of the total households in our country have toilets, 32%, 65 years after independence and the data that is shown here earlier was right, 70% to 80% of rural households do not have a toilet. Now in those toilets which have been built, have been built using a subsidy from the government targeting the BPL, I am going to come back to that targeting the BPL because I do not agree with Sonal at all because things have moved on from the time that she sees the situation that is describing but those toilets are not being used. Why are they not being used, Amir asked. The reason why they are not being used is because you need mindset change before you are going to use those toilets. Those toilets when built with the subsidy mean another room for the rural household, a chidiya khana, a place to keep husk and fodder and murgi khana and stuff like that. Why should I be using the toilet? For centuries me and my predecessors, my forefathers have used the fields and you are telling me I should use the toilet, why? Mindset change. When people realise that when all of you shit together in a village, you are creating about 500 kilos of shit at the end of the month, every month and that the flies which come back and sit on your glass of water you drink or your food, you are eating and drinking shit, all that needs to happen, all the needs to happen if that mindset change. How do you trigger that mindset change, there are methods but the Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan which is the new version of the total sanitation campaign does not even begin to recognise that. Therefore we are working very hard to ensure those guidelines change but that matters is not giving a subsidy to build a toilet because once people realise that I am eating and drinking everybody else's shit, they will build the toilet themselves so you do not have to give them a subsidy to build it and by Jove I have seen it happened. Mindset changes like that. It is an explosion that occurs at the community level. When triggering is done at the proper level, it happens within half an hour but you need thousands of foot soldiers to be the triggers. You need people to be trained to be triggers, thousands of them otherwise it is not happening. You may go on subsidising the building of the toilets and they will still not be used. The classic case is that of the Punjabi family which has the beautiful aangan and the beautiful bathroom with the tiles and the flush and everything and 5 o'clock in the morning they sit in the Maruti and go to the canal to shit, all of them, together. Okay, so you know that is what has to change. If you do not change that, forget about reducing diarrhoeal disease with children. If you do not reduce diarrhoeal disease, absorption of food that is ingested does not happen and malnutrition will continue. It is true for women and it is true for men. Why do I say women in particular? Can you even begin to imagine any of you? What is the meaning of withholding water or withholding eating that women have to do on a daily basis because during the day they cannot go, they cannot go? Can you imagine 50% of our rural population lives under those circumstances? Do any of us even begin to recognise and understand what that means and what implications that has for the health of those women? So these women are perennially sick and they are small and stunted and they give birth to small babies and we have the highest low birth weights children in the world why are we surprised? India accounts for only 16% of the world's population, but 60% of the world's population that defecates in the open lives in India. If we are going to deal with the nutrition problem, the only way to address it is if we get our sanitation right. I did not see enough of that I must say in the 12th five-year plan what I have just said. I am sorry I am going on but I will try to be briefer now. RTE, yes, yes of course, enrolments have risen, quality is declining but there are two or three things which I think I want to emphasise at this point. It is true that the middle class is leaving the government school, so school for poor children are poor schools, we know all these things but we have got a real conundrum here and we have had this conundrum for decades and no plan no matter how nice and no matter how much money you put into a Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan is going to solve the problem that I am about to raise. In 2004, the World Bank did a nationally representative sample of teacher absenteeism and they had done it in seven other countries, low income countries and we were seventh in the league table. 25% of our teachers were absent and those who were present, they were not necessarily found to be teaching. Now if that is the state, why would a child even come to school let alone remain there. Parents are still pulling children out of school because they are not learning anything and by the way Kartik Muralidharan and the World Bank apparently have done a recent survey I think it was done in 2011 and I have been pestering Kartik everyday to send me the results but he has told me the results are still the same. So how is this problem going to be solved if the teachers are not going there and even if they, and I am not even going to the issue of subject knowledge, you know that is another issue, no, I would not even go there. First let us just ensure that what they know if they are there they may be able to teach. If they teach, then the children will come because the poor are so desperate for their children to get educated so let us not blame the parents any longer. It is the state, it is the state government which has been refusing to solve the problem because the central government cannot do anything about it. Education is a state subject and the state governments have to take on the teacher union, no question about it. They have no choice in the matter but not willing to take them on. Of course we also have to....cannot we universalise enrolment at the primary level, we have not even universalised enrolment of the upper primary level and one of the serious problems there is girls, although that is remaining there which I will come back, them remaining in school and Sonal was right in that regard. But so if you do not break the back of the teacher remains, there is not a hope in hell that this is reviving. Let me turn to this very important and dramatic change and good news that Sonal rightly pointed out....which is that girls between the ages of 6 and 14 are not in child labour but in school and girls over 14 are also continuing in school. Dramatic change in numbers between just 2005 and 2010, the NSS data is just so revealing, dramatic, now it shows how poor parents are just desperate even for their girls to acquire education, desperate. But these girls once they complete seven-eight years of education, they are not going to continue to do the zari zardozi, the agarbatti making, the beedi making like their mothers used to do, they are not going to do that. They are going to move out. They want to move out. You will see a phenomenon of these girls wanting to move to urban areas. You will see a replication of Jakarta or Manila or Bangkok happening, that you go to any retail mall and they are full of these youngsters who just completed, just completed eight years of education and they moved out and the question is will their parents allow them to do that if our cities become as unsafe as they are now? Big question, so skills is a very important issue, no question about it. Skills for girls very important and let me address that issue in a minute but I will address that issue only after I address jobs but we were the ones who wrote the chapter on employment. In the 12th plan, once we wrote the chapter on skill development and Caitlin is absolutely right, there was a remarkable growth in employment outside of agriculture between 2000 and 2005 but the NSS data between 2005-2010 shows exactly the phrase that Caitlin used which come straight out of our paper joblessness and informalisation challenges to inclusive growth because what happened was that as compared to the first half of the decade wherein 60 million jobs were created although 20 million of those are not worth talking about because 20 million of those were in agriculture and they are distress driven, 40 million jobs in non-agriculture were created. I do not have time to go into that, wait for our next paper on that subject why employment did not rise in 2005-2010 but there is a real issue out there that in the second half of the decade, manufacturing employment actually fell in absolute term, fell in absolute terms and it had increased by about 25% in the first half of the decade, it actually fell by 10% in the second half of the decade. In services, it had increased by 20% in the first half of decade, it increased by only 4% in the second half but something very interesting is happening. People are leaving agriculture. Rural distress has caused people leaving agriculture. 14 million people left agriculture by the subsidiary and principal status between 2005 and .... 2010, first time in the history of our country that we have seen a decline, absolute decline in the numbers in agriculture. So if they did not go to manufacturing and did not go to services, where did they go? Construction. Massive increase in employment in construction, thanks to the investment and investments in infrastructure, in housing, etc., and this is true across the board, across the whole country, rural as well as urban, I mean I am sort of amazed that in my home state of UP in the last five years I have seen such a dramatic change that you got not a single house, almost not a single house in a village is a kachcha house, every house is a pucca house so in other words and bricking is at all over the place, they are mushrooming, mushrooming all over the place. Construction employment is growing so there is that transition which you expect as an economy transforms itself, is beginning to happen that is very good news but one of the reasons why the capital intensity of output has been increasing in manufacturing particularly of those to some extent in services is the skill gaps and the skill shortages at the top. So while 500 million to be skilled is a completely unfounded number by the way based on no definition whatsoever and we have questioned that and if you read our piece of the March 30th issue of 2013 of the EPW, you will see how we have questioned it systematically, undermined that number because it has no foundation. However, we have estimate and no alternative number and it is still extremely, extremely challenging. We come up with a number over the next 10 years, meaning 2012 to 2022 of 290 million of which and it is very important to emphasise there is a 100 million of people who must complete 10 years of general academic education, so only the remaining 190 consists of those who need either technical education post higher secondary or vocational training in the say highers, in the secondary or the higher secondary level and those who are already in the workforce, already in the workforce who have less than 10 years of education because what we project, our projections were based on the assumption that of the current share of 45% of total nonagricultural workforce which has 10 years of education that will go up to 90% of total nonagricultural workforce that will have 10 years of education. So by those definitions, find it of course on NSS numbers, we estimate 100 million people additionally need general academic and then the remaining 190 are vocational technical including those who are in the workforce. It is a huge challenge, no question about it and I am sorry to say you look at the 11th plan, not very good news. If you are interested I can tell you or read the chapter. Finally, let me close by talking about this issue of the food bill, the food security bill because that is related to some of the nutrition, the health issues that I have been talking about with the following. I agree with Sonal that there are real issues about identifying the poor. However, all the criticisms that Sonal was making about the identification of the poor, please remember just for clarity sake, when the planning commission puts out a number 25% or 30% of the country's population is below the poverty line that is a Tendulkar based estimate of the poor, it does not tell you whether Rajat Kathuria is poor or not and Santosh Mehrotra is poor or not that is a different exercise, a totally different exercise takes place and that is run by the MORD, the Ministry of Rural Development, and it has been run three times, 1992, 1997, 2002 when it was done and last it was done in 2002 and the most recent one is still ongoing, it is about to finish. It will hopefully put this whole matter to rest. The criticisms are very legitimate, very correct but are focussed, are based upon the design that was used for the MORD survey of 2002 and which was a terrible-terrible design. Everyone is agreed about that in the planning commission and the Saxena Committee Report, the NC Saxena Committee Report actually has attempted to change that. I was a member of that. In fact, the base paper that I did in EPW in 2008 became the basis then, I am not saying this, NC Sir says this of the NC Sexena Committee Report which is now being the basis for the SECC, meaning the socio-economic and caste census which has been happening for the last two years throughout the country and hopefully that issue will go away and on this issue that Sonal raised if you are going to do this only every five years, then are you only thinking of this as chronic poverty, what about transient poverty, that issue we have taken care of in economies, so we obviously took care of that. We said every two years there has to be an assessment by the gram sabha about the identified poor so where the people are moving in, moving out that is going to be taken care, so it is not in this new one, it is not going to be self reported or any such thing based on those 13 questions. So as far as the food bill is concerned, the problem is not really targeting. I think the objective is to have as universal a programme, the real problem is the following that if you put the food bill in place without first reforming the PDS, it will be a nightmare and a disaster. There is no question about it and there is some recognition within government about this, but we just hope that that PDS reform happens preferably before but certainly simultaneously with the passage of the food bill because if that does not happen, this will be a nightmare of the PDS, of the current TPDS multiplied manifold and I agree entirely with Sonal that what foods should you include, millet is already in bill. Tamil Nadu has been doing many of these things so anyway let me stop there. Thank you and let me open it up for discussion and the floor is open ladies and gentlemen, please identify yourself and unlike me be brief. Sir, identify yourself.

**Prof. M Srivastava:** I am Prof. M. Srivastava, Editorial Chief of International New Bureau. Thank you for your thought provoking and very informative speech. I want to know what could be the roadmap for the sanitation, education and health in rural area. Thank you.

**Participant:** Okay. I think what we will do is we will take sort of three questions and then open it up to my colleagues. Yes ma'am and you after sir.

Participant: Thank you sir. I am Shipra... from Amity University. I have two questions to the panellist — one is related to the declining women participation ratio. Now women participation ratio, we have seen that in Delhi as it is increasing the per capita income, the participation ratio is very poor compared to Bihar so whether this should be taken as indicator or we should discuss about the voluntary and involuntary unemployment issues related to the women because women have to really....sector than interested in taking up job so that is one issue which should be taken care of when we are talking about the women low participation level indicator for development. Similarly with the women in politics, there are very interesting studies which say like in panchayat wherein most of the states have done 50% reservation because the panchayat elections are fought under non-political issues mainly, only non-political parties, direct political parties are not involved but when it goes to assembly and parliament many of the women actually are not interested in coming into the politics in that way so women are taking this as an indicator we should think that whether these aspects have been taken care of and second question then is again related to the quality of education. Now obviously that until class 5, the primary education, if you look at the quality, yes this is very-

very pathetic but whether we should focus on that or we should focus on the very primary thing that at least the women or....they have gone up to class 5 may be they are not qualified to do the class 5 textbook but at least they can sign and they can count the money received in the money order or they can count the money that they have receive for the NREGA scheme. So whether in this stage even if the quality is not that much, whether we should concentrate on, even then we should concentrate on expanding the primary education level which is at least some...improvements. Thank you.

**Participant:** Thank you. Ma'am at the back.

Participant: Thank you. Dr. Mehrotra I would like to take up your point that the unmet needs that you mentioned for people from the social sector, let me draw the attention of distinguish panellist that the unmet needs, unrecognised needs of people with disability because for people belonging to the social sectors where the needs are unmet, that the people with disability their needs are not even recognised, that only the needs that we talked about literacy, basic education, health, sanitation, food, shelter, skill development employment and....that is not an issue neither....discusses any other cause that is available. So my question is how do we look into the challenge and opportunities for people with disability because in a social sector what I see is that even lowest in hierarchy that we do not even focus on the recognition or that people do exist and there are....about 70 million people with disability are in India and I think there are further marginalised from the marginalised sectors because you take a person with disability that could be a girl child, the child from the rural area, a person from a poorer background, a person belonging to the ballot category or to the Muslim category because the disability is a cross cutting issue even amongst the group that we are talking today and what is it that we need to do to say that the 70 million population of the country are not further marginalised from the marginalised groups and how do we end this hierarchy in the social sector.

**Participant:** Sir and then there is a ma'am and there are many-many hands which are coming up. I think after two more questions I am going to ....

**Participant:** I shall be very brief. My name is....I am from the Association of Synthetic Fibre Industry. You made a comment and I will make a comment on that that in manufacturing sector the growth of jobs is not taking place where you cannot really make a remark like this in the manufacturing sector without addressing the need to reform the labour laws. You know flexible labour laws are probably main factor for the employment not going in the....

**Participant:** Can I ask you a very specific question about that. What exactly are you referring to? Are you referring to industrial disputes of chapter 5?

**Participant:** That is right.

**Participant:** Okay. So as an employer tell me your experience that is much better rather than people talk about labour laws, all labour laws I am talking about.

**Participant:** That is it. Okay....the power availability, the quality of power so all these factors need to be addressed and you talked about poverty, number of people below the poverty line. Even Dr. Arjun Sengupta report, I think it mentioned about 310 million people below poverty line, but what is the definition of poverty line? What the planning commission has been saying Rs. 30 or it is less than \$2 a day?

**Participant:** No, no it is not \$2 a day, it is the planning commission number of Rs. 30 per person per day. Can you just remember that per person per day?

**Participant:** That is the concept of poverty line, I think it needs to be raised into today's context. Even a caddy in golf club earns much more and still we say he is below poverty line.

**Participant:** Sir I must respond to that actually because somehow there is genuine misunderstanding about what is this Rs. 32 a day. Of course, caddy is above the poverty line, I am sorry to say, caddy is above the poverty line because Rs. 32 per person per day implies about Rs. 5000 for a family of five, so let us just keep that in mind per month. Sir.

**Participant:** How can you...

**Participant:** No, no let us not get into this. Sir, sir, sir, sir, sir. Sorry not Verma ji, there is a gentleman before you.

**Vijay Saluja:** Mr. chairman sir my name is Vijay Saluja. You are at the centre and the people usually in the government, but what I have learnt from your speech is more wailing and....what is the solution because the point is who will put the thing in the proper perspective because we have been seeing in all the seminars this not happening, this is not happening but who will do that?

**Participant:** Thank you. Okay.

**Participant:** Thanks Santosh and the only thing that I wanted to point out was that yes ma'am we do not talk about disabilities. The other questions I am sure Sonal will... and that is really a sincere point. Thanks.

**Participant:** Yes. Let us just have couple of questions. One is I think that Ms. Shipra...raised on access to education even if people can just signed their name or count the money that they get is not it enough and I think it sort of follows on what Nisha also talked about access as an issue. I think that we have reached nearly 100% enrolment for primary school, class 1 to 5. We do have dropout problems for class 6 to 8 and then 8 to 10, okay, and those how do we associate it at some level with quality. What happens if you really do not read and you are in class 6 or 7, it torture, okay, and so if we cannot deal with issues of quality in class 1 to 5, we are going to have problems of access in subsequent classes and that is something that is worth thinking about. I also wanted to comment on Santosh on targeting, like I think we....agree to

differ on this one because you are talking about a new methodology that is being proposed for a survey that has not been finished and in fact I am surprised as to why it has not been finished, okay, it has taken a very long time to conduct a socio-economic survey so there are no data to be able to see if this survey methodology is actually going to correlate well with outcomes. Some of the work that Himanshu and Rinku Murgai have been doing in conjunction with the ongoing survey shows actually a targeting is not that much better so let us keep at least empirically our mind open that far enough that that is the process by which we might do the targeting to begin with but let us access it continually to be sure that we are doing it right, after all in 2002 or so we thought we were doing it right, okay. And I think I pretty much will you most of the other questions for subsequent panellist.

Participant: I would just like to comment on one only which is the one about women in politics and whether it is a matter of choice or not. I recently attended this world economic forum meeting that was held in December in Delhi and there was a panel of male CEO sitting up here and talking about why women do not rise to senior leadership or on boards of the corporate sector and they got up and they said, you know it is a very difficult job, women do not want it and they were booed by the whole audience. I mean if you do not create an environment in which women can flourish, how can you say whether there is a demand or not a demand for that? So I would say in politics, I mean we are 50% of the population. We have the right to have equal amount of representation and when there are quotas at local level, you see women stepping into that role and doing a fantastic job and their choices are very different from the choices of men and it only happens with quotas. I mean it is not happening anywhere in the world without it, even in the most developed countries in the world. So on this, until we do it, we would not know. We have not have the choice or the chance to be in politics and when we get that women reservation bill, you will see very competent women stepping forward and ruling the nation I think.

Participant: Let me respond to some of the issues that were raised for me. I was a bit sort of dismayed by a comment that all I was doing was wailing and raving and ranting and I was not telling you what the solutions were. I thought my entire presentation was exactly about solutions but the point is these solutions were not there five years ago. We are talking about these solutions because they are solutions which still remain to be implemented. There are many things which have already been done. We had successes. If we did not have successes and if we have not increased the allocation for education, how do you think we got to the following point that you got complete universal NER, net enrolment rate, at primary level? How do you think that happen? It happened with money and the right policies. Second, where do you think the money went when allocations for educations were increased? Not just to building more schools, hiring more teachers but also to creating something which did not exist 10 years ago. We were raving and ranting about these 10 years ago because they did not exist because in 1995 we did not have an MDM, a mid day meal scheme. In 1995, the then government came up with....and the then government came up with rations, 3 kilo rations to every child who will come to school. It was five years, four years later that as a result of the Supreme Court judgement, it became hot cook meals and it revolutionised the enrolment rates. We increased allocations and you were all questioned why am I paying this 2%

surcharge on my income tax which goes into elementary education. Well this is where the money is going, so do not tell me that I do not want to pay because it is being wasted. It is not entirely being wasted because it has led to enormous improvement in enrolment and enormous change in retention rates, otherwise we would not be of 97% NER at primary level. Labour law, agree with you sir, we are working on a paper right now in fact for the planning commission on precisely this issue. We did an analysis. It is particularly true for the organised sector. This is not obviously true for the unorganised sector because if you look at either chapter 5, you look at and we done this analysis of the annual survey of industries data and we noticed a very interesting phenomenon that either chapter 5 says that if you have a company and employees more than 100 workers, if it needs to throw them out or it needs to sort of retire them or whatever, it needs to take permission from the state government well and the state government usually sits on it and does not give it. Now so we looked at what, if you look at annual survey, ASI data, obviously for the organised sector, you see an interesting discontinuity at 100 workers. You see that the number of share of total firms suddenly drops after 100 workers so there is a concentration of firms below 100 and then it sort of, there is discontinuity there. So I am not denying for a minute that its something that has to be addressed but labour laws biggest problem is the following that we have too many of them. We have about 50 central government ones, on top of that we have state ones and there is no effort made to rationalise this and we make this argument in the 12th plan itself so yes I am raising a problem. It has to be addressed. Who is going to do it? Well the state government have to take the initiative, the central government too and the point was made about sanitation or the education. There are so many things that need to be done, yes of course, but I thought I said what needs to happen in sanitation. If you do two things, it will happen and I said it and I am only repeating for your benefit – one, do not subsidise the building of toilets you are wasting money, it is only causing leakage, all that is happening is toilets have been built, no one is using it, so do not subsidise it and two, focus your attention, policy and Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan of the MORD, needs to focus its attention on collective behaviour change, collective behaviour change, community led, community led collective behaviour change as oppose to individual subsidies for building a toilet. Okay another round of questions.

**Participant:** This is a simple, just one on that sanitation, it is technology issue too that one, toilets are very expensive. Secondly, they are all water dependent so there is a technology angle also that needs to be looked.

**Participant:** Yes. We got solutions for that. I am not going to answer your question. We will have a bilateral. Verma ji, then the gentleman here and the gentleman there and then the lady there.

Participant: I am Dr. ....

**Participant:** Hold on, hold on, I did not recognise you sir. I will recognise you when I recognise you.

Mr. M C Verma: Well M C Verma, earlier at ICRIER. I have no real question but I want to make a couple of small comments. The first comment goes that I like Sonal's presentations and the new ideas which it throws especially the various graphs and the data which comes out and while one should not go only by numbers but what is behind the numbers, which means the quality. The quality of education is extremely important issue and that is something which needs to be well I would say needs to be emphasised again in a way, in a way. I was also like to comment that the labour force participation rates have been studied in the ILO for a very long time and what the curve which you have shown on there that curve is know to the ILO for something like 40 years. I used it when I was adviser of labour, employment, manpower in the planning commission and this is not something which is unusual for India. It happened practically all over the world and we should be happy that we are following basically what happens in other countries that they are developed and the issue of why some women do not want to work because more income is available in the families, perfectly natural, there is nothing to be sort of fought about it. It is a natural tendency and the tendency will change as the aspirations will change so that is another thing. The third thing ....

Participant: Verma ji, brief, brief.

**Mr. M C Verma:** Last point, your questioning of 500 million people to be trained. I have been doing that in my own papers in recent years and I find that the government was perhaps not informed properly in 2008 when the Prime Minister gave this figure and the figure was accepted in large audience including the CII and others. A figure of even 190 million which is what you have now mentioned....

Participant: 290.

**Mr. M C Verma:** .... is also, 290 which means 190 plus 100 that also is very difficult to achieve and I have written something on that subject which we can share separately. Thank you.

**Participant:** Okay. We are really running extremely late, it is 1:25 nearly. I am going to take four more, one, two, three, four and unfortunately we really ran out of time, I am so sorry. Yes in whatever order you want to do it.

Mr. Mahmood Khan: Thank you. Mahmood Khan. I have one sort of observation and bit of a suggestion for those who are putting proceedings together. Observation is I think there was a famous quote about the French and English constant war going on and to monitor the French coming, the Britishers created a tower. Finally, the war ended, everything over but tower carried on and they kept on paying for it. It took another 100 years finally to dismantle it. This planning commission exercises, this is 12th one going on, they have been doing it but unfortunately the lessons we learn, we do not discard the whole thing, they still carry on. Now we are a very big country. We have too many states. We have constitution, federal structure but my observation because I grew up in the villages and have gone around the world and again come back to the village is can we think of simplifying our planning

processes? Can we use bit of creativity because I am finding that in fact one of very interesting observation, the other day I was talking to a bureaucrat, employment around the world 70% to 90% is mostly SMEs and informal sector across the world but in our country the bureaucrats when they lay down the KPIs for the trainers, the so called skill building kind of capability, they say you must get this percent, 75% employed, you must get them a job, you must get them sort of certificate, you must monitor and only then your....really. Now we are basically talking formal sector, we are talking is 7% to 9%, 10% kind of thing but on the other hand jobs need to be created for these people who need to be entrepreneur, self employed that kind of thing. Now can planning commission think bold actions and liberate these bureaucrats because the psychologies about corruption, psychologies about control, can we sort of dismantle our country from these controls?

Participant: Okay, great thank you.

**Mr. Mahmood Khan:** That is kind of .... Thank you.

Participant: Sir. Yes, yes sir, yes. The mike is with you and then the lady and then here.

Mr. George Koreth: Thank you. I am George Koreth from the Asian Centre. You have mentioned the very interesting point at one stage about the mindset. We think you put your finger on the elephant in the room because the mindset was directly linked with the cultures that we have and nobody is really working on changing the cultures but we are trying at the grass root levels. It also requires very-very specialised processes and so on, so that is one point. I think at least the planning commission has to write more in the plan about the cultural constraints which are blocking the progress and development and number 2, if you look at the very poor numbers or parameters on women, I think again all of us men belong to a very strong and powerful patriarchy and this is another gorilla sitting in window, patriarchy and almost nothing has been done by any commission or any bureaucracy or any university on this kind of elephant. Thank you.

**Participant:** Ma'am. Yes, no, no it is you.

Participant: Hi, I am Dr. ....in social sector. It is just basically a point I would like to make what we have been facing while working in the community. One is that we also justify in a sense on the community toilet use. We need to involve community particularly at the local level in the planning process as well. One solid example what we faced while working in Shillong, the toilets were built up but of course no discussions with the community, etc. When we went to see why it has not been used, the toilets are not being used? We talked to the community. Very quickly, it was a slum area and Muslim dominated population. One small reason what they said all the toilet, the commode or whatever the Indian style was, the way they were sitting it was facing west and then the Muslims, they pray, they read their namaz, they have to face west so that was simple reason. If at the design level, the people, the implementers have talked to the community that would have saved money, time, everything. Similarly on the use of, on the implementation of the SJSRY schemes our interaction with the

communities in Jabalpur City area slum location, they said please stop the discussion, we do not want SJSRY scheme at all. We asked them why? Simple reason. We do not want beauticians' course. We do not want achar making, beedi making, etc. Please do not force all that on us. Give us something that we would like to carry on, we would like to have as our career. Thank you.

**Participant:** Okay. Good. Sir. Ma'am if you could really, I do not know...I am in Rajat's hand, Rajat you tell...but I expect you ma'am to be no more than one minute if I give you the floor.

Dr. Singla: I am Dr. Singla, gastroenterologist...Hospital and from Indian Medical Association....On the first place I want to congratulate Sunil for the very straight forward lectures deliberations. Three things I want to make out. One is about rural servicing. Sir I started my case in 1975 and I went to village and I really wanted to work in village. Lowering the quality of doctors will not at all help going to the villages, just improve the infrastructure, just bring the Gandhian village model that things will work. I have passed two years in USA also and I have learnt there head system also how they improve, this is the same way. Second is you also agree that improving infrastructure and our politicians also agree that only 15% and I do not say it is only 15% I say hardly 15% goes to the consumer so thus how we can improve this thing, how can the planning commission should focus on that that instead of 15%, even if 30% or 60% reaches, how much improvement it will take place. About sanitation, we are talking of rural sanitation. In Ashok Vihar colony where I live, when I came in 1988, if it was five days raining, hardly for five minutes, water logging was there but now if it is a five minutes raining for five days the water logging is there and we are talking of sanitation in villages. I know that you would not be giving much time, I think one of my colleague he said about the mindset and he also touched that point, the mindset if it changed I think, strongly I think the mindset of not the common people, not the other things have to be changed, the mindset of the politicians from where the everything closes to be changed and I end by saying one thing of R K Laxman who did a party some 10 years back, 15 years back saying that there seems to be a nexus existing between politicians and bureaucrats, politicians and planners, politicians and business people but there do not seem to be a nexus existing between a politician and a common man so please create a nexus between politician and a common man, the things will improve.

**Participant:** Thank you sir. Thank you. Ma'am.

**Participant:** Last point. No I am sorry ma'am cannot take any more questions.

**Participant:** Just continue with the earlier comment, .... very pleased that plans are very good on paper. Even if 50% of those plans were implemented, monitored, accountability was there, our country would have been on a different place so where is that thinking going on those government's processes and connect of the ground realities to the policy makers. Thank you.

**Participant:** Panellists if you like to respond. Sonal.

**Participant:** I am just going to give a quick comment on Dr. Singla and medical professionals, I actually think that perhaps what we want a two tiered systems. I do believe that technological knowledge is going to be the key and as are the laboratories as far as the cardiovascular diseases and other diseases are concerned, we also need sort of some of the grass root service providers so maybe the trick is to have two tier system of certain diseases handled by technically trained people, certain things handled by relatively lower skilled but well prepared individuals. However, also there is work by people like Jishnu Das and Jeff Hammer who have surveyed doctors in ...., okay, doctors and basically shown that they cannot recognise classic symptoms of heart attack, okay. So let us talk about the quality of doctors as well as other lower status providers.

## Participant: ....

**Participant:** Sir, sir, sir, bilaterally over lunch.

Participant: Just very quickly on this issue of mindset, patriarchy and whether whose mindset politicians or public, related set of comments. I think this is the key, not just in sanitation but almost everything to do with gender issues for example if you take domestic violence, we have a fantastic law. It remains on paper because if you do a survey of people both men and women, 70% of them think it is perfectly fine to beat women for a variety of reasons, okay. Same thing on property rights, fantastic law on paper, both men and women in India do not think that women should be owing property so until we change mindset, you can create all the supply of laws, policies, programmes but there is no demand for them and therefore they do not get implemented and the whole patriarchy issue that is the biggest mindset I think that needs to be changed and I think the politicians' mindset will only change when the public's mindset is first changed as we saw after the Delhi gang rape case where people come out on the streets that is what create political will, it does not come out of a vacuum so we need to change the mindsets of our people and our communities first and then other things will follow. Thank you.

**Participant:** Okay, I will take only one minute, one and a half at most.

**Participant:** The 500 million number, C K Prahalad is the source of that, C K Prahalad was a professor at the university of Austin, Texas, and that is where he wrote that there is no paper, actually there is no paper, we looked very hard, there is no basis for that. It is just something that he wrote in some press piece and then it became the basis of policy. You see this mindset of our leaders that something that is produced abroad must be right and believe it or not, the 500 million has already been allocated for the last four years between the ministries. Of the 500 million, 100 million is to be done by the ministry of labour. NSDC is to do 150 million. NHRD is to do 50 million that is 300 million, the remaining ministries have to do 300 million. Can you have a bigger joke than that? Anyway there is no basis for it but if you think people who do work abroad on a pedestal, I mean you now currently have by the way someone sitting abroad in Columbia University arguing that all this talk about malnutrition

rates being so high and worst than Africa is complete hogwash and of course we are growing so brilliantly and if we are growing so brilliantly, we must be reducing malnutrition as well and so on. I mean we have heard this argument a few times now and it is really finally got my goat and we are now going to take him apart in EPW. We will take him apart because there is a limit to which we can take your association with prestigious university abroad simply to give you an argument which is so foundation-less and so baseless that it boggles the mind. To my dear friend, the doctor sitting in front of me, no you cannot really solve India's public health system problems by lowering the standards of doctors, this is exactly the argument for decades that has been made by the Medical Council of India and we know who dominates them. We know exactly. They are the ones who have also prevented the one year requirement on publicly trained doctors at public expense. You pay next to nothing if you were training in a private medical college, you would be paying through your nose but you get into a government institution, you pay next to nothing, your parents pay next to nothing and if the government says you must be spend...., you are required to spend a year in rural areas before you will get registered, you create a hassle, you create a big, big hungama and that is the hungama has been going on for 50 year ladies and gentlemen. Sri Lanka did this 50 years ago. We are still talking about it. We are still talking about it. It is a crime. I would say if you are... because if children are dying, then that is a crime. I take that as a crime and then you make the argument do not lower the requirement. When you make the argument one year compulsory is not acceptable, you are part into that crime, I am sorry to say. Thank you very much. Enjoy your lunch ladies and gentlemen.

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