CONTOURING THE METHODS
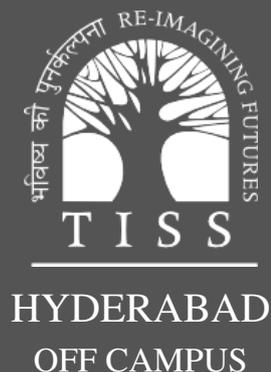# OF
TARGETING IN INDIA

Submitted to the *Office of Deputy Commissioner, Jalandhar*

Prepared under the aegies of the *Public Policy and Good Governance Lab*

A collaboration of School of Public Policy and Governance, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Hyderabad and the District of Jalandhar

GOVT. OF PUNJAB

TISS
RE-IMAGINING FUTURES
HYDERABAD
OFF CAMPUS

JULY, 2021

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FOREWORD

The Jalandhar District Administration has constantly strived to improve the quality of governance and make sure that it is able to perform its duties in a professional manner and reach all sections of society, with particular emphasis on providing access to government services and schemes to the marginalized sections of society and making sure that no one is left behind. This citizen-centric approach of the administration has reaped dividends and has also been acknowledged and appreciated by, both the State and Centre's administration. The District Administration has been working tirelessly during the COVID-19 pandemic to ensure that the schemes of the government are implemented in a time-bound manner. The District Administration has been awarded the Skoch Award in recognition of its exemplary performance in improving the Public Service Delivery in the month of December of 2020. Further, it was also selected for stage 2 of the Prime Minister's Award for Excellence in Public Administration under Improving Service Delivery Category. These recognitions serve as an appreciation and motivation to the Administration's earnest efforts.

In its effort to constantly improve the quality of services, the district administration has frequently collaborated with leading academic institutions in conducting research geared towards providing tangible positive outcomes for the betterment of society. Government-academia collaboration also holds promising potential by being mutually beneficial, allowing academia to study the good practices of the administration and bridging the gap between theory and practice, while simultaneously helping the government gain insights from academics on how to serve the populace better by incorporating best practices. The periodic intake of interns is another push that has been a source of unparalleled knowledge to students from all walks of life, imparting them with insight into the daily affairs of the Administration while also providing practical problem-solving skills. The Inception of Public Policy and Good Governance Lab, a collaboration between the District Administration and TATA Institute of Social Sciences Hyderabad, School of Public Policy and Governance is among the latest initiatives highlighting the administration's commitment to ensuring the highest standard of service delivery.

During the internship period the students conducted the field study and prepared the following reports:

1. **Why Jalandhar has Low Uptake in MGNREGA:** The policy interns studied the implementation of MGNREGA in Jalandhar and examined the issue of low uptake of MGNREGA work in the district despite the registered initial demand for work. Through primary & secondary research, the students gave a good insight into the issue and suggested measures to increase the uptake of the scheme in Jalandhar.

2. **The Quality of Public Service Through Sewa Kendra:** The Zero Pendency Approach of Sewa Kendras in Jalandhar has been analysed and recommendations have been provided by the policy interns on how this approach of the administration could be further augmented to provide better services to the citizens.

3. **Vaccination Guideline for Elderly & Persons with Disability**: Assistance was provided by the policy interns to the district administration of Jalandhar in the conceptualisation of an inclusive guideline for doorstep vaccination of the specially abled & elderly via community & ANM(Auxiliary Nurse Midwife) led mobilization.

4. **District Mineral Foundation Fund (DMFF):** The policy interns analysed the current status of DMF in Jalandhar & the initiatives taken by the district administration to address issues in the mining industry of Jalandhar. Additionally, they also recommended best practices for better utilization of the funds in the district.

5. **Contouring the Methods of Targeting in India**: The policy interns carefully examined the implementation guidelines of 90 schemes and have identified various targeting methods that could be used by the district administration to delineate policies in the future.

I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to Professor Aseem Prakash, for conceptualising this initiative successfully. In addition, I'd like to express my gratitude for the youthful and dynamic group of interns who have worked vigorously to compose these reports and give their inputs for the same. I sincerely hope that these reports can help us enhance the effectiveness of the policies in the future.

Ghanshyam Thori, IAS
Deputy Commissioner
Jalandhar

Foreword

Collaboration between government and academia is the key to catalyse innovative policies which can effectively deliver sustainable and socially equitable outcomes. Government administration is often focussed on delivering tangible outcomes and serving the populace, while academia is focussed on building new knowledge and applying existing concepts through research. A synthesis of both the efforts can yield promising results and such an exercise can be mutually beneficial for the stakeholders. Towards this, the School of Public Policy and Governance (SPPG) conceptualised the institutional design of the Public Policy and Good Governance Lab (PPGGL). The district of Jalandhar under the leadership of Shri Ghanshyam Thori, IAS, Deputy Commissioner operationalised the 'PPGGL' to better understand the outcomes of the ongoing policies, document successful practices and plan for the immediate and the long term future. Thus, under the guidance of Mr. Thori, a cohort of policy interns from SPPG undertook a thorough analysis of several programmes/schemes.

This particular report documents and analyzes a variety of targeting mechanisms used by the union and the state governments for the welfare of the citizens. These schemes not just target citizens but also states and institutions. However, what transmutes a citizen/state/institution into a beneficiary and determines a scheme to translate its theoretical benefits into operational outcomes depends on the methods used for targeting. The policy interns carefully examined the implementation guidelines of 90 schemes and have identified various targeting methods that could be used by the district administration to delineate policies in the future.

I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to Mr. Thori for his visionary leadership and other officials of the District Administration for their enthusiastic support in this endeavour. I sincerely hope that the series of policy reports prepared under the aegis of 'PPGGL' will not only bring the good work done by the district administration in the policy discourse but also help them to further enhance the effectiveness.

Yours Sincerely,

Aseem Prakash

Dr Aseem Prakash
Professor at School of Public Policy and
Governance and Deputy Director (Offg.)
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Executive Summary

Targeting is the process by which the specific populations are identified as beneficiaries who could avail the benefits of development programmes. There are also schemes and programmes which are not targeted and rather are universal. Universalism asserts that all citizens of a country are entitled to the same set of benefits provided by the government schemes. The schemes vary from each other based on the ways in which they are targeted. The experience of targeting beneficiaries in schemes across many countries proved that by minimizing the exclusion of the poor and other associated costs of targeting, the performance of targeted programmes may progressively improve. The government uses various parameters to enable this process of targeting. A list of ten parameters has been identified based on ninety central government schemes. The identified methods of targeting are the following: performance, means testing, social identity, economic identity, age, location, criteria with scores, criteria without scores, bidding and established procedure.

During the categorization process, it was revealed that schemes could not be lumped into a single category. To select beneficiaries under a single scheme, the government employs a variety of targeting strategies. It was also observed that, depending on the scheme's goals and aims, different targeting approaches were used for people, states, and institutions. To accomplish comprehensive socio-economic growth in a heterogeneous country like India, a variety of targeted approaches are used. The new paradigm is much more dynamic, diversified, and transparent, and it will serve to reduce exclusion and inclusion errors while also ensuring optimal use of national resources.

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Introduction

When India became independent it inherited a plethora of socio-economic problems. Though universalisation as a policy rationale to solve these challenges dominated the public discourse and logic in India throughout the early planning period, the policy of targeting made it to the social policy agenda in the 1980s. The policymakers realised that India being a pluralistic democracy was not impervious to the predicaments imposed by multidimensional inequalities ingrained within its society and hence a targeted approach had to be adopted to rectify these extreme polarities.

The trend towards targeting started in the mid-1980s with the launch of Indira Awas Yojana and became even more pronounced during the period of economic reform. In the wake of structural adjustment programmes in the 1990s, the governments tightened their fiscal policies. This push for fiscal discipline, paucity of resources and the thirst for economic growth that was on the top of India's political agenda facilitated the birth of the targeting approach (Palriwala and Neetha, 2009). By 1990, even the World Bank had put its weight behind this approach by stating that well-targeted transfers and safety nets formed a part of a comprehensive approach to alleviate poverty. The universal programmes slowly started to be narrowed down to targeted programmes. In addition to not giving supplementary resources to those who already have sufficient means, the idea behind the use of targeting was to generate a pro-poor distribution of social services in society. In 1992, the lists of poor based on self-reported income were compiled, with later survey rounds in 1997 and 2002 using different and more multidimensional criteria. For example, the "identified poor" received a certain quantity of cereals at heavily subsidised prices under the new targeted public distribution system (TPDS), which was established in 1997. Though the list of criteria employed for identifying the beneficiaries was rigorous, it could not completely prevent leakages, corruption or exclusion errors. To remedy these distortions in targeting, the government launched the Socio-Economic Caste Census (SECC, 2011) whose design consisted of a simple scoring methodology with an easily identifiable list of criteria to target the poor by measuring poverty. However, for a long time, socio-economic identities were used as a criterion for targeting beneficiaries in the country. [1]

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[1] Ministry of Finance, Government of India,, 2017. "Economic Survey 2016-17," OUP Catalogue, Oxford University Press, edition 2, number 9780199477661.

Universal development of a nation that is so heterogeneous will not be possible without adopting an equity-based model that envisages providing a level playing field for all by making an effort to rectify the existing polarities. Thus, paradoxically, a strong foundation for the universal development of a nation can only be laid by targeted universalism, a targeted approach that aims at achieving a universal goal by catering to the needs of different groups in a diverse manner. The Government of India is launching distinct targeted schemes from time to time. Each of these schemes has its own objectives where the general objective of the schemes lies in providing social, economic, and financial welfare to the citizens of the country. The benefits are targeted to the individual, business, states and institutions. This paper covers the central government schemes, spanned across various government ministries. We have identified certain parameters in the process of targeting and classified the selected schemes under them.

Methodology:

For the purpose of the study, 90 schemes implemented by various ministries of the central government were selected on a random basis. Based on the implementation guidelines of each scheme, funding patterns and the criteria adopted to target the beneficiaries were identified and tabulated. The different criteria used to identify the beneficiaries were then divided into ten broad categories. These categories are social identity, economic identity, age, performance, bidding, challenge mode/criteria with scores, criteria without scores, location, means testing and established procedure. The schemes were then categorized based on the definitions given to each category.

Universalism versus Targeting

Universalism asserts that all citizens of a country are entitled to the same government-provided benefits. Targeting, on the other hand, indicates that various procedures should be used to identify and transfer the majority of benefits to the poor. Many developing countries transitioned from broad social policies that prioritised universal benefits (but only covered a small portion of society) in the 1970s and 1980s, towards programmes that required beneficiaries to meet specified criteria. The data required to accurately identify the poor is sometimes complex and

imprecise, and the poorest countries frequently lack the statistical competence to address these challenges. This problem does not arise in the case of universalism. Sometimes, the universal benefits are much cheaper than the targeting.

Targeted schemes can often build tensions between those who are excluded and can be converted into instruments of patronage. Universalists often question the targeting from the perspective of human rights, moral principles of equity, or from the practicalities of targeting and its costs, including political costs and costs to beneficiaries. Universalists feel that using targeting to boost the efficiency of redistributive expenditure has proven unsatisfying, divisive, expensive, and counterproductive to efforts to expand the budget for social programmes. In contrast, targeting is monitored and assessed in case of minimising the error, while improvement in governance will make targeting procedures more inclusive. The decision to target arises from a discontent with universal subsidies' poor results. The targeting experience of schemes in various countries revealed that the performance of the targeted schemes can improve gradually by reducing the exclusion of poor and cost to beneficiaries and administrators.

In the case of India, the critics slammed the PDS's change from a universal to a targeted programme, citing difficulties such as inefficiency in targeting, increasing per-unit cost of benefit transfer, and leakages, regional disparities and skewed distribution of benefits. According to the study of Kundu and Srivastava (2004), though TPDS has improved the coverage of poor households in rural areas of the poor states it was simply too expensive and demanding in terms of the administration's expertise and capabilities. However, because universalism does not preclude targeting, targeting does not necessarily contradict the universalization of the schemes.

Targeting as a Strategy:

Targeting is a strategy employed for delivering benefits to a specific set of individuals/states/sectors/institutions based on their specific needs. Targeting mechanisms try to connect a scheme's specified goals to the people who will benefit from it. There are many ways to target the schemes, and most of the schemes use more than one targeting mechanism. Data pertaining to geographic mapping, household surveys, censuses, qualitative surveys, indices etc.

are used for targeting beneficiaries under various schemes. Targeting approach can be divided into two major types :

(i) **Household or Individual Targeting**: It is basically an effort to identify households or individuals who are deemed eligible to receive the benefits of a program. The selection of homes or persons can be based on means testing[2], proxy means testing[3], or community-based categorization, which allows communities to identify impoverished or vulnerable households within their own community. The Socio-Economic Census (2011) that collected new census data on asset and socio-demographic information has the potential to make the beneficiary identification process more transparent. A few of the Central Government schemes in this category are Antoyadaya anna Yojana, National Research Professorship, Eklavya Model Residential Schools and PAHAL.

(ii) **States and Institutional Targeting**: In this category, the states or the institutions are targeted to avail the benefits of the schemes. It also includes the categorical targeting and geographical targeting where the particular regions or the areas are selected in which the benefits of a scheme will be distributed. The beneficiaries in this category are selected using distinct methods such as challenge mode, bidding, established procedure and performance. Startup India Seed Fund Scheme, KUSUM, Unnat Bharat Abhiyan, National Clean Air Programme, UDAAN and STARS are some of the schemes, targeting various institutions and states.

A targeted intervention is considered to be efficient when the distortions caused by the errors of under coverage (exclusion) and the leakage (inclusion) are kept minimum. The entire pool of resources can be directed towards bettering the conditions of the identified targets. It reduces expenditure on members that do not need those benefits. But methods like community based self-targeting would be a debacle in communities having extreme social disparities and following norms that encourage socio-cultural exclusion of members based on identities like caste, gender etc. (Yusuf, 2010)

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[2] Means test is a method for determining whether someone qualifies for financial assistance to obtain a service or good, for instance, welfare payments. It looks at the means, or monetary resources, a person has available to them to pay for a particular service or good, then determines that person's access to financial assistance based on their ability to pay for it.

[3] The Proxy Means Test is an econometric method employed to estimate income or consumption when there is a lack of information on either of these indicators. PMTs are often used for welfare analysis and targeting policies. https://olc.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/1.pdf

In India's Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana[4]elites sidelined the powers of the Gram Sabha and denied benefits to the members of the scheduled castes. In Indira Awas Yojana[5], selection of beneficiaries was used as a means to garner political patronage by local politicians. According to Chavan and Ramakumar (2002), 15-26 percent of beneficiaries under the Integrated Rural Development Programme[6] scheme were above the poverty line and hence ineligible. The targeting designs must be hence dynamic and the list of beneficiaries must be updated periodically to thwart the "learning effect" where the ineligible beneficiaries learn to manipulate the system to avail the benefits of the schemes. (Yusuf, 2010)

Classification of Schemes

The government uses various parameters to enable this process of targeting. A list of ten parameters has been identified based on ninety central government schemes.These ten parameters are performance, means testing, social identity, economic identity, age, location, criteria with scores, criteria without scores, bidding and established procedure.

S.No	CATEGORY	DEFINITION
1.	**Performance**	Has to meet a certain specified standard or a threshold- can be merit oriented or positive inclusion.
2.	**Bidding**	Schemes that involve a bidding process.
3.	**Established Procedure**	Must fulfill any of the below criteria: 1.The institution that is eligible should have a legal basis under an act or a policy. (Eg Seva Bhojan Scheme). 2.When screening committees are explicitly set up to select a proposal without listing any criteria with scores 3.When screening committees are set up to select proposals which meet certain listed criteria (without scores).

[4] A scheme to provide supplemental wages to rural labour, creation of community assets and rural infrastructure. https://www.tn.gov.in/dtp/gorders/SGRY_Guidelines.pdf
[5] The scheme on constructing the free houses to SCs, STs, free bonded labourers in rural areas and also to non- SC/ST rural poor living below poverty line. https://pmayg.nic.in/netiay/home.aspx
[6] The scheme aims to raise the levels of the BPL families in the rural areas above the poverty line on a lasting basis by giving them income generating assets and access to credits and other inputs. https://rural.nic.in/about-us/about-ministry

		4.Where the set of criteria have not been disclosed.
4.	**Challenge Mode/ Criteria with Scores**	Criteria that have scores attached to them.
5.	**Means-Test-Welfare**	Based on an individual's or household's income, wealth or the ability to consume and spend.
6.	**Criteria without scores**	Criteria that do not have scores attached to them
7.	**Age**	Where age of an individual or an institution is mentioned as criteria for availing the benefits. Example : Start ups.
8.	**Social Identity**	Caste, Gender, Specially Abled
9.	**Economic Identity (Individual/State/Instit ution/Company)**	Income-based/Turn over of a Company, Economic wherewithal of an individual/household (Means Testing), State, Institution or Company.
10.	**Location**	Scheme is applicable to only few areas/States Scheme gives preference to few areas/States

Social Identity:

India is a deeply stratified society. Identities based on ethnicities such as religion, language, tribe and gender, class, biological identities like disability determine one's social functioning and access to resources and institutions. These diverse sections of the society face different challenges and are impacted differently by different issues.

Caste:

Caste is a social stratification system that divides the Indian society into units having distinct socio-cultural traits and occupations. Scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, that fall in the bottom of the caste pyramid, have been the most vulnerable groups who faced grave historical injustices and persecutions that have constantly hindered their growth. This extreme marginalization that spanned over centuries has retarded their upward social mobility. In India

where caste identity determined one's occupation and earnings for centuries, the marginalized caste groups who were coerced to take up menial jobs consequently fell into a poverty trap.

Acknowledging the development disparities among the caste groups, the government launched several schemes that either generally or particularly cater to the needs and aspirations of these subaltern groups. Specific schemes such as Babu Jagjivan Ram Chhatrawas Yojna, Credit Enhancement Guarantee Scheme for Scheduled Castes have been designed to ensure holistic empowerment of peripheral caste groups. Though PM Mudra Yojana aims at providing low interest loans to MSMEs owned by any individual irrespective of his/her caste identity, it benefits the marginalised social groups more as over 60% of the MSMEs are owned by them (NSSO Survey, 2013).

Gender:

India being a patriarchal and heretonormative society, the women and gender minorities have become largely peripheral groups that have been ostracized from the mainstream. While India's female labour participation rate is dismal, the data with respect to the representation of gender minorities in workspaces and educational institutions is either vague or absent. The patriarchal scripts that determine and circumscribe the agency of women have impeded their empowerment. Central government schemes like Stand up India, Sukanya Samridhi Yojana, Swadhar Greh envisage to uplift and empower women. Similarly, Garima Greh is a scheme that provided shelter homes and job training for the transgender community.

Tribe:

Scheduled tribes are considered to be the autochthonous population of India. By adopting the policy in line with the precepts of the 'Tribal Panchsheel' outlined by Nehru, the Indian government launched several schemes for their upliftment and empowerment. Schemes like Eklavya Model Schools specifically designed to provide educational opportunities for the tribal children is one such case in point. In other schemes like the National Fellowship and scholarship for the Higher education of ST students, though the benefits can be availed by any scheduled tribe student, special preference is given to an individual belonging to the marginalised particularly vulnerable groups.

Disabilities:

According to a report released by the National Statistical Office, nearly 2.68 crore people in India have disabilities. The stigma associated with the disability, lack of access to education, skill training and accessible infrastructure encumbers their development. The central government has launched several programmes like Accessible India, Scheme of Assistance to Disabled Persons for Purchase/Fitting of Aids and Appliances (ADIP Scheme), Scheme for Implementation of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act to enable their empowerment.

Religion:

India is a multi-religious nation owing to its rich history and accommodative culture. Apart from protecting religious minorities and according them rights under various constitutional and legal provisions, the central government implements schemes like the Hunar Haat, USTTAD, Nai Roshni directed at ensuring the educational and socio-economic empowerment of the minorities.

Social identity instead of being used to discriminate and divide people is being used as a tool to provide targeted assistance in order to reduce the gulf between the haves and the have- nots. Schemes targeting beneficiaries based on their social identities if implemented effectively will in fact solidify the national identity in the long run. It will reduce exploitation, instil a sense of self-sufficiency and foster an equity-based growth model. Institutional support in the form of targeted schemes is the need of the hour to not just pull them out of the poverty trap but also to remove the stigma attached to these identities. A heterogeneous society like India does need targeted schemes that envisage addressing the specific needs and issues of these groups in order to strengthen the foundation of multi-ethnic democracy. However, most of the time social identities are used as populist tools to capture vote banks. The presence of targeted schemes for one community and the absence for another might create friction in the society. Forward castes demanding separate schemes for economically weaker sections within their community is one such case in point.

Economic Identity:

This category includes the economic identity of an individual (means-testing) as well as the economic identity of an institution/state/company. The economic identity of a company in terms

of its initial capital investment and annual turnover plays a vital role in availing access to certain schemes. This form of identity aids the government to target those companies that are in dire need of help in order to survive the competition in the market. The central government's categorization of MSMEs and the definition of a start-up based on annual turnovers helps companies to leverage benefits provided under schemes such as Mudra Yojana, Prime Minister's Employment Generation Programme, start-up and stand up India etc. Along similar lines, the economic identity of a state defined in terms of its state GDP also plays a key role in getting access to benefits under certain schemes. For example, states of Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh were made beneficiaries of the TEQIP III scheme because of their low state GDPs.

Means testing:

This focuses exclusively on the economic identity of the individual. The means testing method relies on the household assets, and other indicators to estimate the household welfare. It looks at the means, or monetary resources, a person has available to them to pay for a particular service or good, then determines that person's access to financial assistance based on their ability to pay for it. The government has designed many schemes which help the poor people both in cash transfer and kind to provide basic amenities like food, health and education to those who are below the Poverty Line. Through The National Food Security Program (2013) government provides food grains to households that are below the poverty line and Antyodaya Anna Yojana to target the poorest of the poor people and relief from hunger. Under Swachh Bharat Mission the families who are below the poverty line are assisted with 12,000 rupees to build personal toilets for the households for achieving sanitation and hygiene.

Location:

In a geographically diverse country like India, pin code undoubtedly decides the trajectory of growth. The cartographic location directly impacts the economic opportunities available to states, markets or individuals. Certain schemes are also designed for the purpose of targeting issues specific to those geographical areas. While schemes like smart cities and Ujala focus on urban areas, schemes like smart villages, Atal Innovation Mission focus on rural areas. Similarly, certain states located in the areas having challenging and hilly terrain, low population density

and strategically located along the borders of the neighbouring states are provided with a special category status by virtue of which they are entitled to get financial assistance more in the form of grants than loans. Special schemes are also devised to cater to the needs of populations residing in particular locations owing to the unique problems they face. For example, the National Clean Ganga Mission puts its focus on the riverine states through which the river Ganga flows.

Criteria with scores/Challenge Mode:

In most cases, developmental projects are allocated under the pressure of populism without any due diligence and are announced as either part of the budget or as a development package to appease vote banks and regional governments. As a consequence, many projects face challenges with respect to the acquisition of land, delay in obtaining approvals, political opposition, failure to attract expertise leading to sub-optimal utilisation of resources. Challenge mode has been adopted to correct this discrepancy. It lays down distinct and indicative criteria on the basis on which a proposal would be evaluated. Each such predefined criterion will be assigned a fixed number of points that can be scored by the proposal if it meets that criterion. The proposals will be ranked and selected based on the overall scores achieved. Since scores are attached to each criterion, this category ushers in a paradigm shift in the way proposals are selected by bringing in the elements of transparency and objectivity. Schemes like Smart Cities, PM SwasthyaSuraksha Yojana fall under this category.

Bidding:

Bidding as a criterion includes the schemes which involve a bidding process to choose the targeted institutions, implementing agencies or state. It is the most popular technique of competitive public procurement for products, services, and infrastructure projects. It is carried out in accordance with established procedures defined in the standard bidding documents and outlined in the procurement rules. The idea is to increase competition while reducing discrimination. This is a transparent procurement process that permits rival contractors, suppliers, or vendors to compete fairly. There are two forms of bidding: open bidding (where the seals are visible) and closed bidding (where the seals are hidden-seals are open in view of a selective audience). Closed and open bidding are used as selection criteria in the schemes. The procurement announcements used to call for bids for these criteria are defined as Invitation for

Bids or Invitation to Tender. The bid evaluation can be done on the relative or absolute merits of the submitted bids. The highest scale value for the best bid and the lowest scale value for the worst bid can be assigned when evaluating the bids on relative merits. The scores of the other bidders are then spread out between these two extremes. Alternatively, the greatest scale value can be allocated to the best bid, while any score can be assigned to the worst bid, depending on how far it deviates from the best bid.

Sometimes, the bidding process will also be followed by an established procedure, where a committee is set up to select the proposals and evaluate them. The central government schemes such as UDAAN, Higher Education Financing Agency, KUSUM, PM Fasal Bima Yojana, Allocation of Metro Projects, National Mission on Clean Ganga, Setting up of Nation-wide Network of Laboratories for Managing Epidemics & National Calamities and Development Support Services to States for Infrastructure Project uses the process of bidding to select the implementing agency for the scheme through this process.

Performance:

The performance-based selection criterion emphasised mainly on the merit oriented selection or the quality assessment and the positive inclusion. This can also include the performance grading index, through which the institutions and states are assessed and selected for the scheme. For example, in the STARS (Strengthening, Teaching, Learning and Results for States Programme) project, the states are selected by the Ministry of Human Resource Development based on the performance grading index. While Himachal Pradesh, Kerala and Rajasthan have been recognised as lighthouse states owing to their high performance, Maharashtra, Kerala and Odisha have been recognized as learning states as they still need to strengthen their performance. The performance also includes the individual performance from the targeted group, especially in the case of the scheme- Khelo India. The talented players are identified based on their performance and hence 'performance' is considered the selection criteria to avail the benefit of this scheme.

In schemes such as the Aspirational District Programme, the districts are selected based on their performance in various sectors such as health, education, sanitation, agriculture and infrastructure. And later, the challenge method is used to score those districts. Thus, performance

as selection criteria plays a key role in implementing various central government schemes. The other schemes using this as a criterion along with the other criteria to target the group, individual or institutions include National Research Professorship, Ekalavya Model Residential Schools, National Fellowship for SC, National Clean Air Programme, Green Highways Policy, Distressed Asset Funds and TRIFED.

Age:

Age is a human attribute that has long been taken for granted. The concept of age as a criterion has recently emerged in various fields among others, psychological, futurological, demographic, legal, political and cultural contexts as an interest of research. Diversity studies have included age among race, gender, creed, ethnicity, background, education, function, and personality differences (Thomas, 1990; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Age as a selection criterion for schemes is considered when the age of an individual or an institution is mentioned as criteria for availing the benefits. For example, in the Universal Immunisation Scheme, age is the crucial criterion where the children across the country between 9 months to 15 years are provided with the immunisation. Similarly, age is the primary criterion in the schemes such as National Research Professorship, Startup India, PM Shram Yogi Mandhan Yojana, PM Karam Yogi Mandhaan and Prime Minister's Employment Guarantee Programme.

Established Procedure:

Any scheme that follows an established procedure laid down by the government as the basis for selecting the beneficiaries would fall under this category. However, this category will include only those schemes where the clear guidelines under the said established procedure have not been disclosed to the public. For a scheme to fall under this category of classification it needs to satisfy at least one of the following criteria : (i) The institutions that are eligible should have a legal basis under an act or a policy. For example in the Seva Bhojan scheme, the charitable or the religious institution has to be a registered body under a certain act. (ii) Screening committees are explicitly set up to select a proposal without listing any criteria attached with scores. (iii) Screening committees are set up to select proposals that meet certain listed criteria (without scores). For instance, in the Animal Husbandry Infrastructure Development Fund scheme, the project proposals submitted have to be approved by the Project approval committee based on

certain pre-listed criteria that do not have any scores attached to them. (iv) Set of criteria to be an eligible beneficiary has not been disclosed.

Criteria without Scores

Many welfare schemes designed by the governments for the holistic development of an individual or a sector are implemented at either the regional, state or national levels depending on the feasibility and desirability. The proposals submitted under these schemes are scrutinised based on a set of criteria delineated by the respective ministries in charge of its implementation. The presence of criteria enables an objective way of selecting eligible proposals under each scheme. The set of criteria can be based on a wide variety of parameters such as socio-economic identities, performance-based variables etc. No scores are attached to the list of criteria under this category of schemes. Schemes under this category include Swachh Bharat Mission, Ayushmann Bharat Atmanirbhar Rojgar Yojana, Allocation of Metro Projects, Science and technology innovation hub for SC, STs, Scheme for Fund Regeneration and Ujala scheme.

Classification of Schemes Based on Targeting Parameters:

Link to classification of 90 central government schemes

Conclusion

The study aimed to classify the schemes based on the targeting parameters that enable the process of delivering the benefits of the schemes/programmes to the intended beneficiaries. Though India focused on the universality of the schemes, the changing socio-economic context, depletion of resources and the changing world view that some (individuals/States/institutions/companies) need government support more than the others for more equitable and progressive development led to the genesis of the targeting approach. India has come a long way from universalised schemes towards targeted schemes and programmes since the introduction of Indira Awas Yojana during 1985-86. Though the focus was initially targeting beneficiaries on their socio-economic identities, the understanding of targeted programmes has changed based on the socio-economic requirements, and led to the evolution of other categories such as the location, age, performance, bidding, criteria with and without scores, challenge method and

established procedure. The professed aim of this modified targeting is to make the system more transparent and objective.

In the process of categorising schemes, it was observed that schemes could not be straitjacketed into any one specific category. The government is using multiple targeting methods to identify beneficiaries under one scheme. It was also observed that different targeting methods were being employed for individuals, states and institutions under the same scheme based on the requirements and objectives of the scheme. A plurality of targeting methods is thus being employed to achieve multifaceted socio-economic development in a diverse country like India. The paradigm now being used to target is definitely more versatile, diverse and transparent and would help in minimising the exclusion and inclusion errors along with ensuring optimum usage of national resources. However, the success of a targeted programme, as indeed of any programme, depends on detailed planning, efficient management and continuous monitoring and evaluation. The loopholes in the implementation procedures of these schemes such as local elite capture, local administrative delays, sub-optimal absorption and delivery capacity of local institutions, skewed intra family distribution of the intended benefits etc., if not effectively plugged, would prevent the realisation of these theoretical benefits of targeting on the ground level.

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Annexure

Link to the tabulated information on the 90 central government schemes

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