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# Why NYAY will not work

The scheme raises several questions. First, there exists a complete vacuum in terms of how beneficiary amount was computed. Second, the amount proposed is only sufficient to help the poor come above poverty line in rural areas provided all existing schemes remain intact. Third, the absence of a reliable beneficiary identification mechanism creates immense scope for exclusion errors. Finally, not many seem to have considered the challenges regarding scheme administration

**T**HE WAR ON POVERTY by any government must be founded on a strong and well-functioning welfare state that holds the promise of lifting its people out of poverty and ensuring sustainable socio-economic development. Today, India is one of the fastest-growing economies in the world, but all the sections of the population have not equally gained from the prospects of accelerated growth. This necessitates the need for the government to play a central role through actively strengthening its welfare programmes that accrue benefits for the poorest of its poor. Now, more than ever, the government cannot afford to redeem itself of its responsibilities by simply diverting funds towards cash transfers as the centrepiece for tackling poverty. One such populist play that has

come forth recently is the Nyuntam Aay Yojana (NYAY).

Let us first dissect the scheme from a rational and economics vantage point to assess whether it is really meaningful? In the most simplistic terms, the scheme is proposed to be implemented as a minimum income guarantee scheme wherein every household with an annual income of less than Rs 72,000 would be provided the shortfall in income by the government. This means that, for instance, a household with an annual income of, say, Rs 60,000 would be entitled to receiving Rs 12,000 from the government under this scheme.

But it is the basic fundamentals of the scheme that raise questions. The first and foremost question arises regarding the rational basis of taking Rs 72,000 as the threshold for the minimum income guarantee for, say, an average family of

five members.

An amount equivalent to Rs 72,000 per year essentially translates into a monthly household income of Rs 6,000 (72,000/12). This, in turn, means that each household member would have a basic income of Rs 1,200 a month (Rs 6,000/5). But on the basis of what rationale does the scheme consider a meagre amount of Rs 1,200 as sufficient enough to lift a person out of poverty?

According to the Economic Survey 2016-17, a universal basic income is premised on “the idea that a just society needs to guarantee to each individual a minimum income which they can count on, and which provides the necessary material foundation for a life with access to basic goods and services.” Therefore, it is important to ascertain whether guaranteeing Rs 40 per person per day ensures basic economic welfare to an individual—in terms of the most basic consumption, transportation, education and health expenditure?

There exists a complete vacuum in terms of how this amount was computed. Whether it was based on NSSO’s consumption expenditure, the poverty line estimates of Tendulkar or Rangarajan, or was it arrived at after ascertaining the imputed cost of essential goods and services required by an individual to lead a dignified life, or some other criteria? Besides, were factors such as market price fluctuations, inflation and economic cycles and their impact on purchasing power of the masses kept in mind while arriving at this figure?

The amount of assured income under NYAY seems to be more or less in the range of below poverty line estimates by the Tendulkar and Rangarajan committees formed over a decade ago and, therefore, dated. More importantly, these poverty line estimates have been widely criticised on grounds of underestimating consumption expenditures in terms of calorie intake and on health, education as well as on grounds of its methodology. A more recent committee on poverty held that the consumption basket should contain a food component that satisfies certain minimum nutritional requirements, as well as con-

sumption expenditure on essential non-food item groups (education, clothing, conveyance and house rent), in addition to a residual set of behaviourally determined non-food expenditure. However, the estimates of the committee were based on the assumptions that the welfare state functions well and will provide basic necessities at subsidised prices. Following this assumption, the Rangarajan report recommended a monthly per-capita consumption expenditure of Rs 972 (rural areas) and Rs 1,407 (urban areas) as the poverty lines, respectively, at the all-India level. The amount proposed under the scheme is only sufficient to help the poor come above poverty line in rural areas provided all the existing schemes remain intact, even in terms of financial outlay. Any attempt to rationalise or replace existing schemes to finance NYAY is likely to leave the beneficiaries worse off. Seemingly, proceeding with the scheme without making it workable and meaningful is setting the stage for impeding the nation’s socio-economic development.

Thereafter comes the discernible challenge of the minimum income guarantee scheme imposing a serious burden on the fiscal capacity. Accordingly, given the limited fiscal space, NYAY would involve rationalising existing welfare schemes. Reducing welfare benefits in favour of NYAY would need to consider the fact that cash transfers and welfare benefits are not perfect substitutes for each other. This means that a conversion of welfare benefits into cash transfers involves incorporating additional costs borne by the beneficiary, i.e. transaction costs (like banking access, access to markets, etc) and transition costs (cost of learning and adapting to a new system of receiving and managing welfare benefits) of moving to cash.

Thereafter comes the critical aspect of scheme implementation. As a prerequisite for success, NYAY would need to be implemented in a robust manner with a mechanism that ensures that the income is transferred directly to the target beneficiaries, without leakages and exclusion errors. This would necessitate a two-pronged approach through proper target beneficiary identification and sound financial inclusion infrastructure. The

scheme seeks to target the bottom 20% of the population comprised of households earning less than Rs 72,000 per annum. The scheme design does not impinge the grass-root realities of the people that it seeks to benefit. These potential target beneficiaries are largely employed in the informal economy as farmers, daily wage labourers, casual labourers, etc, with no official records of income. They survive in tenacious conditions with uncertain incomes and no employment security, and mostly without access to the formal banking system.

Therefore, there exists no robust mechanism or reliable data source to identify all the individuals who earn less than Rs 12,000 per annum. The absence of a reliable beneficiary identification mechanism creates immense scope for exclusion errors. In case a large number of poor households are excluded from this scheme, the argument of it being a surgical strike on poverty would no longer hold. Therefore, the mechanism for target beneficiary identification under NYAY is court to failure.

Finally, not many seem to have considered the challenges regarding scheme administration. Assuming that the amount is adequate and the target beneficiaries have been correctly identified, how would the money reach the poor? Transferring funds to their bank accounts would require that every beneficiary of the household must have a bank account, a biometric and a linked mobile number. Until complete financial inclusion is achieved, implementing NYAY through digitised payment modes seems far from feasible.

**The potential target beneficiaries are largely employed in the informal economy, with no official records of income. There exists no robust mechanism to identify all those who earn less than the threshold**

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## A NEW ERA Japan in just one word

The Heisei period is ending; on Monday morning, Japan’s Cabinet will most likely endorse the new Era name

**R**EMEMBER JAWAHARLAL NEHRU’S “Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny...” speech on August 15, 1947? End of one era. Beginning of another. Remember the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989? Again the end of one era. Beginning of another. Well, we are today again on the unique cusp of history: On Monday, April 1, the Japanese government will announce the era name that will be used for the new Emperor’s reign that begins on May 1 as the current Emperor Akihito abdicates in favour of his son, Crown Prince Naruhito. End of one era. Beginning of another.

When, in 1989, Emperor Akihito ascended the throne, the name given for the era under his reign was ‘Heisei’, which is now in its 31st year. Before that, the Emperor’s father, the war-time Emperor Hirohito, held the throne for 62 years—an era that was named ‘Showa’. Every emperor’s reign, or *genjo*, has a name, which is used alongside the Western calendar to count the years. The naming of an era is somewhat similar to the naming of a new-born child. It will carry hopes and expectations... dreams for the future of Japan.

The *genjo* name appears on coins, newspapers, driving licences and all official paperwork as a way of marking time. Under the system, which spans several centuries, 2019 is known as Heisei 31, or the 31st year of Akihito’s reign.

Eras, their names and their happenings, each have a distinct flavour. At the beginning of the Meiji era in the late 19th century, Japan began to adopt a capitalist system and opened up to the world. The Meiji (enlightened rule) era of 1868-1912 is, therefore, remembered as a period of West-inspired modernisation. The Showa (enlightened harmony) era, which began in 1926, is closely associated with Japan’s economic rise, but also with its role in the Second World War. So, there are always mixed feelings when Showa is mentioned. The Heisei era, too, has its own set of imagery.

**Heiwa (peace) and Ankyu (peaceful and permanent) are potential candidates for the new era name, but no one really knows**

Foremost, of course, what comes to mind is the end of the bubble economy; as also the loss of economic supremacy in Asia to China. And, of course, there are memories of the 1995 terrorist attack on the Tokyo subway (the sarin gas incident) and the disastrous earthquake, tsunami and nuclear accidents of March 2011.

The Era Name Act stipulates that a name must be written with two Chinese characters, it must have a positive meaning, and it must be easy to read and write, and not be a phrase that is commonly used. It is also unlikely to start with the first character of any of the last four eras, in the current case: Heisei, Showa, Taisho and Meiji. Beyond that, the selection process is highly confidential. The process has been in progress for a year now. Expert panels have discussed, deliberated and debated many options and suggestions. Japan’s Cabinet, on Monday morning, will most likely endorse the final recommended name. To guard against leaks, even Cabinet members will reportedly hand over their phones and smart watches before the meeting, and must stay in the decision-making room until the official proclamation is made. On Monday morning in Tokyo, the Chief Cabinet Secretary, Yoshihide Suga, will enter a room, pause, bow, gather his thoughts, and then hold up a work of handwritten calligraphy—written in traditional *sumi* ink on decorated *shikishi* paper. Millions of people across Japan will pause, too, and digest the meaning of the two *kanji* characters, and history would have been made.

Heiwa (peace) and Ankyu (peaceful and permanent) are potential candidates for the era name, but no one really knows. Well, Monday morning will witness the historic revelation: The new era’s name will be a veritable ‘reset’. Japan will surely hope it will be a reset for new ‘hope’.

## INDIA AND ASEAN

# Both regions have much to gain

Appropriate reduction of non-tariff barriers to enhance trade and investment would be the ‘drum beat’ for this strategic partnership

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**I**NDIA-ASEAN RELATIONS HAVE undergone a tectonic shift in the ongoing structural move in the global order. One finds growing resonance and positivity between the two with a foreseeable impact on the regional economy, trade and geopolitical stability. This can be achieved by tapping and complementing each other’s vast and growing markets, which will augur well for both.

**Opportunity to boost trade linkages:** Both India and ASEAN share common growth drivers such as favourable demographics, increasing domestic demand, proliferation of technology, urbanisation, skilled workforce, and most importantly led by governments that are collaborating to ensure trade in the region reaches new heights, with minimal barriers.

There is no denying that the ASEAN India Free Trade Agreement (AIFTA), which was signed between ASEAN and India in 2015, has led to a progressive market access, and a more conducive investment ecosystem among the member nations. Both India and ASEAN have set-up joint committees to monitor implementation of trade agreements and identify non-tariff measures which can be further liberalised.

Apart from this, India and ASEAN countries have mutually decided to gradually abolish tariffs on 80% of tariff lines accounting for 75% of trade. Further liberalisation in non-tariff measures would be important for India and ASEAN to realise

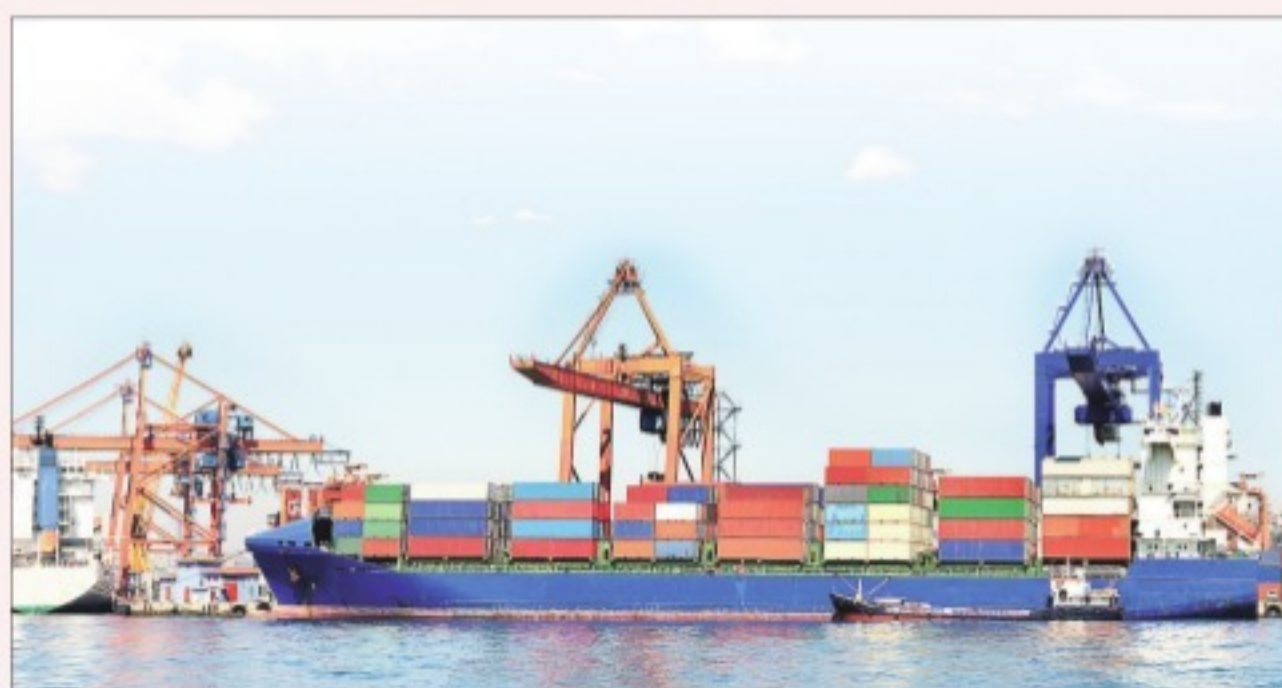
the goal of \$200 billion trade by 2022. AIFTA and abolishing of tariffs on a vast number of product lines is expected to give great boost to bilateral trade.

There is no denying that AIFTA will facilitate better integration of supply chains in the machinery, electrical and electronics sectors and transport, which could be further enhanced by services trade and investment. However, it will be imperative to accelerate business to business connections, information flow, establish institutions for mutual recognition of standards in the bilateral services agreements and abolish other non-tariff barriers to realise full trade potential and product integration between India and member ASEAN coun-

tries. This optimism is reflected in the significantly higher levels of trade flows between India and ASEAN with ASEAN being India’s fourth-largest trading partner.

Enhancing air connectivity along with maritime and road linkages can further create opportunities for employment and growth for India and ASEAN. Further, it will be beneficial to establish efficient regional value chains (RVCs) which will strengthen economic cooperation by expanding market access among ASEAN member countries. Well integrated regional value chains will lead to reduced cost of manufacturing and trading for the member countries.

**Mutually-beneficial engagement:** Encouraging greater connections and col-



laboration between India and ASEAN in the areas of infrastructure, innovation and start-ups and digital economy would be mutually beneficial. This would create a multitude of touch points between the two and can potentially take this inherently vibrant relationship to the next level.

Logistics is likely to play a prominent role in the growth of trade between India and ASEAN in the coming years. As a result, the focus of governments and businesses have shifted towards integrating logistics after the implementation of various forward looking initiatives, like the ASEAN-India Commemorative Summit, ASEAN-India Plan of Action (2016-2020), Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity (MPAC) 2025.

Regional Value Chains (RVCs) have played an important role in laying the foundation for improving manufacturing and production processes in ASEAN countries as they seek to become an integral part of Global Value Chains (GVCs). Mature RVCs in India and ASEAN such as IT/ITes and apparel sector, respectively, which have now become part of GVCs, can potentially benefit both India and the ASEAN.

**Building efficient institutional connectivity:** It will be mutually beneficial to develop efficient transportation and infrastructure to enhance economic exchanges between India and ASEAN countries. Establishing trade facilitation measures will help to reduce the volume of documentation

which obstructs the movement of goods and services between India and ASEAN. This requires abolishing non-tariff barriers and other restrictive institutional processes.

**Growth in innovative ways:** India and ASEAN have identified innovation as a priority, and are working towards understanding how to build connectivity so start-ups have access to markets in both regions. Technology plays a very important role in integrating logistics which further gets enhanced by the adoption of technology solutions such as e-commerce and app-based crowd sourced logistics platforms, leading the supply chain activities from insourcing to outsourcing, rail and freight transportation. Companies are now deploying new age technologies like big data analytics, machine learning, blockchain and robotics to develop a much more efficient and smart logistics, reducing time and costs.

**The way forward:** Greater political, economic and diplomatic engagements between India and ASEAN will pave the way for better trade ties with member ASEAN countries and also prepare them for global uncertainties.

While India and ASEAN together transcend on their respective and joined paths to economic and social prosperity, leveraging institutional mechanisms for an appropriate reduction of non-tariff barriers to enhance trade and investment would be the ‘drum beat’ for this strategic partnership.