

Social Safety Nets in India

Public programmes have been designed to assist the poor since the planning process began in 1951. Some have succeeded more than others. Most have evolved over time. Some have been transformed into virtually new programmes. The IHDS investigated several important programmes that existed in 2005:

1. Public Distribution System, in existence since the 1960s, often modified since then, and supplemented in December 2001 by Antyodaya for the poorest of the poor;
2. School assistance, such as free books and uniforms;
3. Midday Meal (MDM) programme which was extended to schools across the nation since the 1990s;
4. Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS), since the mid-1970s;
5. Food for Work Programme started in 2000–1 as part of the Employment Assurance Scheme; and
6. Programmes directed at the elderly, such as the NOAP, Widow Pension, and Annapurna. These programmes have been discussed in Chapter 9 and will not be discussed in detail in this chapter.

Policy debates on these programmes have focused on the related issues of coverage and targeting. The IHDS results address both of these questions. First, how broadly have these programmes been implemented? While critics have sometimes charged that the programmes exist more on paper than in the lives of the poor, the IHDS results show substantial coverage for some programmes, especially the longer established ones. While there is a wide state variation and much unmet need, the results suggest that, over time,

programmes do expand to reach a broader array of India. Much remains to be done, but much has been accomplished.

A second, closely related question asks how well the existing level of assistance has targeted those most in need. Sometimes this issue is framed as how much of the unnecessary leakage of benefits has gone to those who are not in need. But targeting is a complicated issue because sometimes the costs of targeting exceed the benefits. Targeting costs are not merely administrative. The more targeted the programme is towards the poor, the weaker the political support for the programme. Benefits that are widely shared have wide public support. Moreover, targeted benefits for the disadvantaged become stigmatized, partly undoing socially what the programme accomplishes economically. In addition, given the complexity of Indian inequality across class, caste, community, and regional lines, targeting inevitably raises politically divisive questions about what types of targeting are legitimate.

On the other hand, the IHDS results suggest that some of the most successful government programmes have a built-in natural targeting that is not so much administratively regulated as determined by selection characteristics of the recipients themselves. Most MDM programmes, for instance, strive for universal coverage that is unregulated by the student's particular economic or social circumstances. Nevertheless, MDM programmes are overwhelmingly programmes for government schools, so many of the more privileged sections rule themselves out by opting for private schools. The PDS programmes have a similar natural selection mechanism that operates at least as effectively as the

distinction between below poverty line (BPL) and above poverty line (APL) cards. Wealthier households are simply not interested in the inferior grains provided by the PDS shops and prefer to shop in the less subsidized private market, where they find adequate supplies of good quality grains. Thus, the IHDS results below show that as wealth increases, even BPL cardholders purchase more of their grain in the private market.

THE PDS

Of all the safety net operations, the most far reaching is the PDS. The PDS provides basic items such as rice, wheat, sugar, and non-food items such as kerosene in rationed amounts at below market prices. The programmes originated in the early period after Independence, when food shortages required large imports of food under the *PL-480* grants from the United States. A large network of PDS shops, also known as Fair Price Shops (FPSs), was established. Local traders were enrolled as owners, and households were issued a PDS card with monthly per capita entitlements of food staples. The programme continued with indigenous public resources even after the *PL-480* programme ceased to exist, when India's food production improved. The network of 4.76 lakh FPSs now distributes commodities worth Rs 25,000 cr annually to a large proportion of households across all parts of India.

The PDS has changed both qualitatively and quantitatively since the 1970s. At first, the PDS was confined to urban areas and regions with food deficits. The main emphasis was on price stabilization. Private trade was considered exploitative and the PDS was considered a countervailing power to private trade.

Since the early 1980s, the welfare role of the PDS has gained importance. Nevertheless, in recent times, the PDS was widely criticized, for its failure to reach those living below the poverty line, for whom the programme was intended. Although rural areas were covered in many states in the 1980s, the PDS had an urban bias and large regional inequalities in its operation. An effort was made, therefore, to streamline the PDS by introducing the Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) in June 1997. The objective was to help very poor families buy food grains at a reasonably low cost so that they would improve their nutrition standards and attain food security. The new system follows a two-tier subsidized pricing structure, one for BPL families, and another for APL families. The Union Budget 2000–1 announced a monthly allocation of 25 kg of food grains to about 60 million BPL families under the TPDS. The issue price of food grains for

BPL families is fixed at 50 per cent of the economic cost that the APL families pay, and all prices are revised by the Food Corporation of India (FCI) from time to time. The total food subsidy (including programmes other than PDS) has significantly increased in real terms over the years.

In order to target the TPDS more towards the poor, the Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY) was launched in December 2000. This scheme sought to identify the ten million poorest of the BPL families and provide them each with 25 kg of food grains per month at a fixed price of Rs 2 per kg for wheat, and Rs 3 per kg for rice.

Distribution of PDS Cards

The IHDS finds that 83 per cent of households have a PDS ration card, 85 per cent in rural areas and 79 per cent in towns and cities (see Table A.13.1).¹ The most common reasons cited by respondents for not having a PDS card are bureaucratic difficulties (43 per cent), the household has moved but the card has not been transferred (10 per cent), a PDS card is not needed (9 per cent), it was lost (8 per cent), and a residual, other reasons (30 per cent). Comparisons of different types of households confirm some of these reasons. For example, 45 per cent of households who have moved within the past ten years lack a PDS card, compared with only 15 per cent of households who have lived in their places for at least 20 years. Statewise differences are again large. Low take-up is especially common in new, and more inaccessible, states (for example, 31 per cent of households in Chhattisgarh and 38 per cent in Jharkhand lack PDS cards) and in poor states (for example, 33 per cent in Bihar), corroborating the importance of administrative difficulties in issuing ration cards. The issuing of cards is closer to 100 per cent in Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Kerala. However, high income households, who have less of a need for a PDS card, actually have slightly higher rates of having a PDS card than the lowest income households. Young households are especially unlikely to have a ration card. Almost one-third (33 per cent) of households lack PDS cards when the oldest man is in his twenties, compared to only 10 per cent of households when the oldest man is 60 or older. Caste and religious differences, however, are small.

Of those with a card, 40 per cent have a BPL card and another 3 per cent have an Antyodaya card. The more useful BPL and Antyodaya cards are more common in rural areas (49 per cent) than in towns and cities (28 per cent)² but this is almost entirely a function of greater rural poverty. Income is, not surprisingly, the best predictor of holding a BPL or

¹ The IHDS estimates are higher than the NSS estimates (81 per cent rural and 67 per cent urban) perhaps in part because of households' reluctance to report to a government survey that they have an inappropriate BPL card, or even their expectations of acquiring a new one (NSSO 2005c).

² These IHDS estimates are also higher than NSS estimates of 36 per cent for rural areas and 18 per cent for urban areas, probably reasons similar to those noted in footnote 1. However, the IHDS and the NSS rank states similarly on BPL card ownership, so the associations reported here are likely to be robust to survey methodology.

Antyodaya card rather than an APL card. Nevertheless, there is often a disturbing mismatch between income and the issuance of BPL cards. A substantial proportion of households in the top three income quintiles have been issued BPL cards, although most are not eligible to receive them. On the other hand, although all those in the bottom quintile and most in the second quintile should have the BPL cards, only 59 per cent and 57 per cent of the bottom two income quintiles have been issued BPL cards.

Some of the discrepancy results from the volatility of annual income. More long range measures of economic position such as household assets (see Chapter 5) also predict BPL cards together with income measures. Figure 13.1 shows BPL cardholding by both annual income and household possessions.

Households that are poor on both measures have the highest rates of BPL cardholding, while those most affluent on both measures have the lowest rate. Nevertheless, 10 per cent of the households in the top quintiles on both measures have a BPL card rather than the more appropriate APL card. Worse, 33 per cent of the households in the poorest quintiles on both measures do not have a BPL card.

Statewise variation also accounts for some of these discrepancies. BPL cards are more commonly issued in the south and in several poor states, especially to households that

are poor. Among households with PDS cards, BPL or Antyodaya cards are more common in Jharkhand (64 per cent), Chhattisgarh (67 per cent), and Orissa (70 per cent), but also in Andhra Pradesh (85 per cent) and Karnataka (77 per cent). Punjab and Haryana have few BPL cards, as might be expected, but so do Uttar Pradesh (28 per cent), Rajasthan (28 per cent), and West Bengal (29 per cent). Thus, high and low proportions of BPL cardholders do not exactly follow high and low poverty states.

The more disadvantaged social groups are more likely to have BPL cards, partly because they are more often poor. Among Adivasis, 71 per cent who have a ration card have a BPL card, The same is true for 54 per cent of Dalits and 47 per cent of OBCs. Even considering only the lowest income quintile, Adivasis (78 per cent) and Dalits (67 per cent) have higher BPL uptake than forward castes (40 per cent).

Use of PDS Cards

Almost all BPL cardholders used their cards in the previous month (91 per cent) and 73 per cent of APL cardholders used their cards. Most were used for kerosene. Only 55 per cent of BPL or Antyodaya cardholders who consumed rice previous month bought it at a PDS shop and only 13 per cent bought all their rice there (see Table 13.1).

Similarly, only 44 per cent of BPL or Antyodaya cardholders who consume wheat purchased it at a PDS shop, but a larger proportion (28 per cent) bought all their wheat there. APL cardholders rarely used a PDS shop to purchase rice (11 per cent) or wheat (8 per cent) when they consumed those staples. Among BPL or Antyodaya cardholders, 35 per cent who bought sugar used a PDS shop in the previous month, and 21 per cent bought all their sugar there. For APL cardholders, the rates are much lower; 13 per cent bought any sugar and 8 per cent bought all their sugar at a PDS shop.

While the use of PDS shops is determined very much by the type of card a household has been issued, within cardholder types, income still plays a substantial role. The more affluent BPL households go to PDS shops less often for their rice and wheat and rarely for 100 per cent of their needs. Even among the small minority of APL cardholders who use PDS shops for grains, it is most often the poorer APL cardholders.

PDS shops are more sought for kerosene. Among BPL or Antyodaya cardholders who used kerosene in the previous month, 92 per cent bought it at a PDS shop, and 80 per cent purchased all their kerosene there. Even among APL cardholders, 89 per cent who used kerosene bought it at a PDS shop, and 75 per cent bought all their kerosene there. But kerosene is an undifferentiated commodity. Unlike rice or wheat, kerosene purchased at the PDS shop is identical to the kerosene purchased in the market.

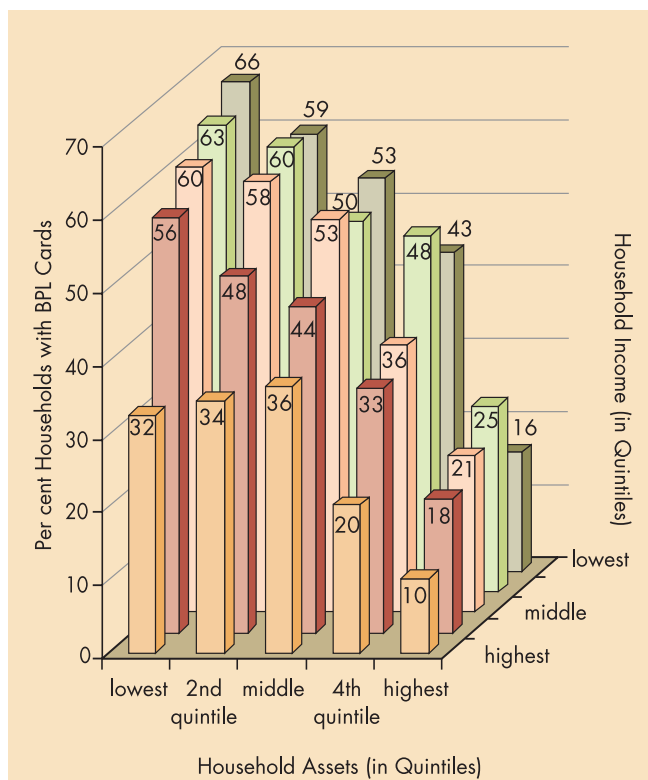


Figure 13.1 BPL Cards by Household Income and Assets

Source: IHDS 2004–5 data.

Table 13.1 Use of PDS Shops for Rice, Wheat, Sugar, and Kerosene by Income and Card Type

(in percentage)

	BPL and Antyodaya Cardholders Income Quintiles						APL Cardholders Income Quintiles					
	Poorest	2nd q	Middle	4th q	Affluent	Total	Poorest	2nd q	Middle	4th q	Affluent	Total
Any PDS purchase												
Rice	60	55	56	53	35	55	14	18	14	11	6	11
Wheat	51	45	45	40	27	44	13	12	11	7	5	8
Sugar	34	35	37	36	29	35	16	15	13	14	11	13
Kerosene	93	92	92	91	84	92	91	92	89	89	85	89
100 Per cent PDS purchase												
Rice	16	12	12	11	8	13	6	5	4	3	3	4
Wheat	34	29	27	25	19	28	11	8	8	6	4	7
Sugar	23	20	21	20	16	21	13	11	7	7	5	8
Kerosene	82	79	81	79	74	80	78	75	76	74	72	75

Note: q denotes quintile.

Source: IHDS 2004–5 data.

MIDDAY MEAL PROGRAMME

After Tamil Nadu introduced a successful MDM programme in schools, the National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education was launched across India in 1995. The MDM programme aims to increase primary school attendance and to improve the nutritional status of school children. Generally, the programme serves children aged 6–11. However, some upper primary schools also run the MDM programme, and recent union budgets have made a separate provision for upper primary schools. Under the MDM scheme, cooked meals are to be served during lunchtime in the school, with a calorie value equivalent to 100 gm of wheat or rice per student per school day. In some places, a dry ration is provided to be carried home based on a certain minimum level of school attendance.

The IHDS data reports that 60 per cent of children up to Standard 5 receive midday meals or free grains,³ 35 per cent receive the full MDM programme, 8 per cent get only *dalia* (broken wheat) for the meal, and 16 per cent are given grains in place of the meal. These programmes are mainly found in government schools. Among private schools, only 8 per cent of primary students participate, compared to 80 per cent at government schools.

Even among government schools, there are large differences by state and urban/ rural residence. Coverage is slightly better in rural government schools. Eighty one per cent of

rural primary students participate in the MDM programme, but only 70 per cent of primary students in towns and cities do. But state differences are larger. Coverage is almost universal in Himachal Pradesh (95 per cent of government primary students), Karnataka (93 per cent), and Gujarat (91 per cent). Even some poorer states, such as Rajasthan (93 per cent) and Madhya Pradesh (91 per cent) have excellent coverage. On the other hand, coverage is about half or less in Assam (21 per cent of government primary students), Punjab (50 per cent), and Kerala (56 per cent). While the need may be somewhat less in these prosperous states, coverage is also weak in Bihar (53 per cent).

While the PDS is a more targeted programme, the MDM programme is not. Self-selection into government primary schools is the main mechanism determining which children receive midday meals. Within government schools, there are only small differences by household income, education, caste, or religion.

Midday meals are beginning to appear post primary school in some states. Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Gujarat have almost full coverage in Standards 6 and 7. In Kerala and Jharkhand, almost half of standard 6 and 7 students get a midday meal. Beyond standard 7, only Tamil Nadu has a substantial MDM programme, although some Jharkhand secondary students also receive midday meals now.

³ The IHDS results are, again, higher than the NSS and again the reason is probably methodological differences. The NSS reports 23 per cent of rural households and 8 per cent of urban households benefit from midday meals (comparable IHDS percentages would be 31 per cent and 15 per cent) [NSSO 2005c]. But the NSS asks only a single question of the household respondent, 'whether anybody in the household received benefits from this and other programmes', whereas IHDS asks a specific question about each child as part of an extended inquiry about school experiences.

THE ICDS

Launched in 1975, the ICDS is a nationwide programme to build nutrition, health, and educational levels among pre-school children, and among expectant and nursing mothers. The ICDS programme provides an integrated set of services, including supplementary nutrition, preschool education, immunization, health check-ups, referral services, and health education, in millions of local *anganwadi* centres. Initially the programme focused on the poor living in backward areas, especially tribal areas and urban slums. However, the ICDS has expanded significantly and is now available to all households, regardless of poverty or caste status. By March 2005, 7.1 lakh *anganwadis* were reported as operational, serving 4.8 cr children with nutritional services and 2.2 cr children with preschool education.

The IHDS asked one woman in each household, with at least one child born since January 2000, whether she or her children had ever received any ICDS services. This is a smaller sample (10,428), so these estimates have a larger sampling error than estimates based on other statistics reported earlier. Overall, about 35 per cent of households with a child born since 2000 had received some ICDS services, 22 per cent had received maternity related services, and 35 per cent had received services for children. For a 30 year old programme, this is disappointing coverage.

Rural areas have more than twice the coverage of urban areas. Twenty six per cent of rural mothers and 41 per cent of rural children received some ICDS service, compared with 11 per cent of urban mothers and 18 per cent of urban children. Given limited resources, a rural bias is an effective approach. Nevertheless, there is enormous room for expansion, in both urban and rural areas.

State differences reveal great gaps among state governments in how they have been able to mobilize resources to provide ICDS services. In Tamil Nadu, 75 per cent of eligible households participate in ICDS. Only 7 per cent do so in Bihar. Only Tamil Nadu has made a significant impact in towns and cities with 58 per cent of urban households receiving the services. In no other state does urban ICDS coverage reach even 30 per cent. Some wealthy states cover the majority of households (for example, Haryana at 68 per cent), but so do some poor states (for example, Chhattisgarh at 62 per cent and Orissa at 67 per cent). Poor states like Bihar have weak ICDS coverage (7 per cent), but so does rich Punjab (8 per cent).

Compared to the substantial state and urban–rural variation in ICDS services, differences among households are relatively minor. In villages, the poorest fifth of households participate only slightly more (44 per cent) than the highest income fifth (39 per cent), although the difference is greater in urban places (33 per cent versus 12 per cent). In villages, forward castes, OBCs, and Dalits have almost identical

ICDS usage (42 per cent), but Adivasis are especially well served (63 per cent). Coverage among minority religions, however, is below the average coverage in rural areas with 28 per cent for Muslims and 16 per cent for other religions. In urban areas, the group differences are much smaller, and Adivasis have lower ICDS coverage (14 per cent) than the urban average (19 per cent). Although the class and group differences are smaller than the state and urban–rural differences, it is reassuring that, in general, the poorer and more disadvantaged sectors have the highest ICDS coverage. Although the ICDS is no longer a targeted programme, the somewhat higher coverage of the poor and disadvantaged reflects the programme's origins.

FOOD FOR WORK AND SAMPOORNA GRAMEEN ROZGAR YOJANA

The Food for Work Programme started in January 2001 as part of the Employment Assurance Scheme in eight drought affected states. It provides wage employment and food supplements for rural infrastructure projects. Preference is given to labour intensive projects, especially those that would help relieve droughts like Water conservation, watershed development, water harvesting, de-silting of village ponds, and construction of rural *kaccha* roads. After the IHDS was fielded, the government greatly expanded its rural employment efforts through the employment guarantee scheme. Results from those efforts are not reflected in the IHDS results.

The IHDS found 330 individuals who reported work under Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) or food for work programme in the past year. The great majority of these cases (80 per cent) came from Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa. The typical worker was employed for 30 days and was paid Rs 50 per day.

Almost all SGRY workers are rural, and three-quarters are men. Most (71 per cent) are in the poorest quintile of household assets (although only 34 per cent are in the poorest income quintile, suggesting that current incomes may have benefited from participation by usually poor households). Their educational attainments are remarkably similar to those of most rural workers. Most are 20–49 years old, very similar to the age structure of all rural workers. Adivasis are overrepresented (31 per cent compared to 11 per cent of other rural workers), forward castes (4 per cent compared with 17 per cent of other rural workers), and minority religions (3 per cent compared to 11 per cent of other rural workers) are underrepresented.

TARGETING AND COVERAGE OF BENEFITS

Benefits targeted towards the poor conserve limited resources for those most in need. It would seem, therefore, that targeting should improve programme participation among

the poor. On the other hand, universal programmes enjoy widespread public support, so the poor can benefit from the increased supply of government services.

The old age pension and widow pension plans reviewed in Chapter 9 are examples of government programmes explicitly targeted to the poor. The MDM and ICDS programmes are now intended to be universal programmes, while PDS shops fall somewhere between because of their larger benefits for households with BPL cards.

The actual extent of targeting low income groups, however, can depend on many factors beyond the announced policy. Geographic concentration, administrative problems of implementation, and middle class preference for goods and services in the private market can greatly affect the extent to which benefits end up being targeted towards the most needy. A convenient measure of effective targeting is the strength of the relationship between household poverty and programme use. The larger the difference in poverty rates between programme users and non-users, the greater the effective targeting of the programme. We use gamma, a common statistical index of association, to measure this effective targeting. We use the bottom quintile of household assets as the best measure of long-term household poverty. Table 13.2 reports this measure of effective targeting and the extent to which the poor receive benefits from the programme.

The first interesting result to notice is that supposedly universal programmes like MDM are actually more targeted than are purposefully targeted programmes such as food grain

distribution through PDS shops. This is attributable to the fact that poorer children attend government schools where MDMs are provided, while wealthier children go to private schools. Similarly ICDS has received greater emphasis in poorer areas with greater concentration of Scheduled Tribes. The most interesting result, however, is that, in general, the poor are best served by non-targeted programmes such as the ICDS and MDM while coverage of the poor is lowest among the most targeted programmes like Food for Work and Old Age Pensions. Although a different selection of programmes would undoubtedly yield somewhat different conclusions, this comparison raises important questions about whether targeting actually works in the interests of the poor.

DISCUSSION

This chapter seeks to analyse that the coverage varies widely across these government programmes and so does the extent to which benefits are related to household poverty, or disadvantaged social position. These two types of variation are related. The broadest programmes (for example, MDM) are least related to a household's economic or social position. Poor households benefit from these programmes, but so do middle income households. In contrast, the most targeted programmes (for example, food for work and the income supplement programmes for the elderly, discussed in Chapter 9) are the smallest. Targeting does not necessarily create more benefits for the poor. Many more poor, and Dalit or Adivasi households benefit from the non-targeted MDM than from the targeted food for work or widows' pension schemes.

Table 13.2 Targeting and Coverage of Government Benefits

(in percentage)

Programme	Population	Coverage:		Targeting	
		Per cent of Bottom Quintile Who Are Programme Users	Per cent of Programme Users in the Bottom Quintile	Per cent of Programme Non-users in the Bottom Quintile	Effective Targeting: Association of Poverty and Programme Use
Midday meals	Children 6–11	55	36	27	0.218
ICDS	Households with children under 5	35	34	31	0.054
PDS shop: food grains	Households consuming rice or wheat last month	30	29	25	0.106
Old age and widow pension	Individuals 60 years old or older	15	41	22	0.417
SGRY	Rural employed persons in six states	2	76	45	0.580

Source: IHDS 2004–5 data.

HIGHLIGHTS

- Below poverty level PDS cards are most common in households with both low annual income and few household amenities.
- Higher income households use their PDS cards less than low income households, even when they have an (inappropriate) BPL card.
- While almost all (80 per cent) students in government primary schools participate in midday meal programmes, children from urban and higher income families participate less often because they are more often in private schools.
- States differ widely in programme participation, although low participation rates for several programmes are found in both wealthy states (for example, Punjab) and poor states (for example, Bihar).
- Dalits and Adivasis have higher participation in all benefit programmes.
- Programmes that are more effectively targeted to the poor (for example, old-age assistance, food-for-work) often have lower coverage rates for the poor than non-targeted programmes such as midday meals or the ICDS.

Table A.13.1a Access to Social Safety Net Programmes

(in percentage)

	Has Any Card	BPL or Antyodaya (Versus APL)	Rice at PDS	Wheat at PDS	Midday Meals	ICDS Maternal Benefit	ICDS Child Benefit	SGRY or Food for Work	Old Age and Widow Pension
	All Households	PDS Card-holders	BPL or Antyodaya Cardholders		Government Primary Students	Women (15–49) with a Child Born in Last 5 Years		Rural Employed ⁴	60+
All India	83	43	31	35	80	22	35	0.9	9.0
Age¹									
15–19							26	44	
20–9	67	48	31	37		24	37	1.3	
30–9	78	45	31	38		18	31	1.1	
40–9	85	45	29	34		17	28	1.2	
50–9	88	40	26	33				0.9	
60–9	89	40	30	31				–	7.6
70–9	90	38	36	37				–	11.4
80+	92	31	32	36				–	10.9
Sex²									
Male					79		35	1.2	7.3
Female					80		35	0.6	10.6
Urban/Rural									
Metro urban	81	18	18	21	58	9	12		3.8
Other urban	78	32	33	35	73	12	19		5.8
More developed village	88	47	36	42	83	29	43	0.3	9.4
Less developed village	82	51	26	31	80	23	40	1.3	10.8
Income Quintiles									
Poorest	81	59	36	42	84	25	42	1.2	14.6
2nd Quintile	82	57	30	36	83	25	40	1.6	10.0
Middle	84	50	31	35	77	23	36	0.6	9.1
4th Quintile	86	37	28	32	74	20	32	0.5	6.5
Affluent	84	16	19	22	73	15	24	0.2	4.5
Education³									
0 years	82	61	32	35	83	22	37	0.9	11.6
1–4 Std	83	58	32	40	79	28	44	1.2	6.5
5–9 Std	84	47	31	35	80	25	40	1.2	5.4
10–11 Std	84	35	31	38	75	18	28	1.0	3.4
12 Std and some college	84	28	30	38	77	15	26	0.6	3.6
College graduate	83	17	22	26	70	10	14	0.4	1.1

(contd)

(Table A.13.1a contd)

	Has Any Card	BPL or Antyodaya (Versus APL)	Rice at PDS	Wheat at PDS	Midday Meals	ICDS Maternal Benefit	ICDS Child Benefit	SGRY or Food for Work	Old Age and Widow Pension
	All Households	PDS Card-holders	BPL or Antyodaya Cardholders		Government Primary Students	Women (15–49) with a Child Born in Last 5 Years		Rural Employed ⁴	60+
Social group									
Forward caste	84	24	29	28	79	16	29	0.2	5.5
OBC	81	47	32	37	80	22	36	0.8	8.7
Dalit	86	54	32	35	82	26	38	1.1	15.6
Adivasi	79	71	28	43	84	39	58	2.8	12.2
Muslim	84	36	26	29	73	13	24	0.4	4.7
Christian, Sikh, Other	87	23	30	48	57	10	17	0.0	6.1

Notes: ¹ Age is the age of the oldest male for ration card columns; age of the mother for ICDS columns; and age of the worker for SGRY or Food-for-Work.

² Sex is the sex of the child for midday meals and ICDS; sex of the worker for SGRY/Food-for-Work.

³ Education is the maximum adult education for ration card columns; education of the mother for midday meals and ICDS; education of the worker for SGRY/Food-for-Work.

⁴ The SGRY/Food-for-Work is analysed only for rural Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Maharashtra where the programme was active in 2005.

+ refers to 60 or more.

Source: IHDS 2004–5 data.

Table A.13.1b Statewise Access to Social Safety Net Programmes

(in percentage)

	Has Any Card All Households	BPL or Antyodaya (Versus APL) PDS Card-holders	Rice at PDS BPL or Antyodaya Cardholders	Wheat at PDS Antyodaya Cardholders	Midday Meals Government Primary Students	ICDS Maternal Benefit Women (15–49) with a Child Born in Last 5 Years	ICDS Child Benefit	SGRY or Food for Work Rural Employed ⁴	Old Age and Widow Pension 60+
All India	83	43	31	35	80	22	35	0.9	9.0
States									
Jammu and Kashmir	88	32	49	41	69	13	29		2.2
Himachal Pradesh	97	25	75	62	95	41	50		19.0
Uttarakhand	92	38	57	37	74	17	22		5.6
Punjab	89	5			50	9	8		11.8
Haryana	94	18		4	71	39	68		60.6
Delhi	75	28	16	19	65	10	13		4.6
Uttar Pradesh	83	28	18	16	86	5	10	0.6	5.9
Bihar	67	53	0	0	53	2	7	0.5	10.2
Jharkhand	62	64	9	23	80	34	54		4.7
Rajasthan	96	28	0	27	93	21	32		8.5
Chhattisgarh	69	67	26	46	83	31	62	3.2	10.0
Madhya Pradesh	76	41	29	27	91	27	44	1.4	7.9
North-East	71	46	28	3	59	4	14		15.3
Assam	86	28	4	0	21	6	10		1.7
West Bengal	94	29	4	24	77	16	35		3.1
Orissa	78	70	15	0	87	42	67	1.4	24.8
Gujarat	84	47	20	29	91	13	42		1.9
Maharashtra	90	31	64	66	87	39	52	0.3	4.2
Andhra Pradesh	77	85	40	11	89	32	40		16.3
Karnataka	72	77	61	81	93	39	46		8.6
Kerala	95	38	28	43	56	12	20		6.9
Tamil Nadu	94	51	44	80	85	60	75		3.4

Notes: ¹ Age is the age of the oldest adult male for ration card columns; age of the mother for ICDS columns; and age of the worker for SGRY or Food-for-Work.

² Sex is the sex of the child for midday meals and ICDS; sex of the worker for SGRY/Food-for-Work.

³ Education is the maximum adult education for ration card columns; education of the mother for midday meals and ICDS; education of the worker for SGRY/Food-for-Work.

⁴ The SGRY/Food-for-Work is analysed only for rural Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Maharashtra where the programme was active in 2005.

+ refers to 60 or more.

Source: IHDS 2004–5 data.