

**Targeting Cooking Gas Benefits in India: Investigating
Administrative Burden and Policy Feedbacks**

By

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Governments today face the unenviable challenge of expanding the social safety net in ways that strengthen the social contract between the citizen and the state without undermining individual autonomy and the overall experience of democratic citizenship. All too often, the legitimate politico-administrative values that are advanced as regulatory justifications, obscure the costs imposed by the specific choices of policy instruments and implementation on policy targets. In the context of a welfare program with increasing service outputs, this research explored how the costs of onerous experiences in administrative encounters restructure the citizenship outcomes, i.e., the civic capacities and social dispositions of the policy targets.

The overarching objective of this research is to understand how administrative burden shapes citizenship outcomes. In the context of the cooking gas cash transfers reform in India, this dissertation used mixed methods research to explore the originators of administrative burden, its differential impacts on policy targets, and its role in shaping policy feedbacks. The qualitative research findings identify a broad range of costs associated with administrative burden, and how they are disproportionately experienced by the disadvantaged groups among the policy targets.

The field survey findings showed that low education, female gender, and rural status are predictors of administrative burden. They also found that administrative burden has a negative predictive effect on civil participation, and a positive predictive effect on political participation, activism as well as citizen disengagement. These findings are in consonance with actual citizen participatory behaviors of the case context, wherein civil society led public interest litigation has developed as a response to technocratic implementation. Importantly, the findings also show that even when there is an increase in the policy targets' perceptions of procedural justice and policy legitimacy, administrative burden is found to be a negative predictor of such positive citizenship outcomes. The results from the embedded field survey experiment find evidence that the strategic frames that use the fiscal and inequality frames are both very effective in enhancing policy legitimacy. The findings reflect the need for foregrounding administrative burden reduction as a public value integral to effective policy implementation in democratic societies.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Background and Motivation

Citizens' disposition towards government is more easily improved by reducing the encumbrances in everyday interactions with it than by enacting new laws on the books. Yet administrative laws may be necessary to mitigate the disparities of power between the citizen and the government, wherever administrative burden is viewed by the experts, on balance, as an acceptable cost of administrative reform. There is now an acknowledgement that, administrative burden (hereafter also referred as "burden") can be wielded by politico-administrative actors as, a technique of governance "that helps define and achieve government goals" i.e. as a policy instrument (Howlett, 2017), in the pursuit of "policy making by other means" (Lineberry, 1977, p. 71).

Administrative burden is defined as "an individual's experience of policy implementation as onerous (Burden, Canon, Mayer, & Moynihan, 2012, p. 742). The seminal article by D. Moynihan, Herd, and Harvey (2015) has focused scholarly attention on citizen-state interactions with administrative burden as a unit of analysis. Their work has led to a shift in attention, from "formal rules to their social consequences" and from the "highly visible politics of largescale reform to the subterranean political processes that shape ground-level policy effects"(Jacob S Hacker, 2004, p. 243).

Public services expansion is a highly visible strategy of adding content to the social contract between the citizen and state. In doing so, governments often use measures that

capture the increase in public service outputs or the reduction of welfare fraud, as metrics that reflect government performance. Wichowsky and Moynihan (2008, p. 908) make the case for incorporating “the impacts of policy on the individual’s role as a citizen” i.e., citizenship outcomes within the performance measurement system. They suggest that the inclusion of such mission-extrinsic values would be helpful to understand both the intended and unintended consequences of policies, so that administrators wherever necessary, can adopt a “do-no-harm” standard in the design and implementation of policies.

In modern democracies, the recent government reforms for public and welfare services reform are heavily premised on biometric identification and creation of large-scale database management systems. This marks the emergence of a new administrative paradigm that approximates to what Esmark (2016) described as the Late Modern Technocracy (LMT). In such a context there is a concern that reforms are often advanced through “ordeal mechanisms” (Economist, 2015), which disproportionately impact those from the poorest households. In this context, this research is motivated to explore the originators of burden and its role in attenuating policy feedbacks i.e., the ways in which “policies, once enacted, restructure subsequent political processes” (Mettler & Soss, 2004, p. 60) with a specific focus on citizens.

Context of the Research Problem

This section begins by contextualizing the importance of clean cooking fuels for sustainable development in India. It then elaborates the policy rationale, describes the programs through which a shift was affected from a regime of indirect cooking gas subsidies to cash transfers and the key elements of the policy design that determine its

feedback effects. It then explains the compliance regime and contextualizes its role in advancing the subterranean politics of the regulatory welfare state.

Clean Cooking Fuels for Mitigating Household Air Pollution

Household Air Pollution (HAP), which results from the exposure to the combustion of solid fuels for household cooking, poses a significant health hazard for women and children. Recognizing the substantial health, economic, and social burdens associated with the widespread use of solid fuels, developing countries are making efforts transition towards the use of clean fuels for domestic household cooking. These efforts dovetail with the Global Sustainable Development Goals (GSDG) which seek to reduce premature mortality from non-communicable diseases through prevention and treatment, by a third by the year 2030.

India's 1.3 billion people live across 29 states and seven union territories which vary widely in terms of geography, economy and population density. According to Salvi et al. (2018, p. e1364), India, which has 18% of the world's population, due to the occurrences of chronic respiratory diseases contributes to 32% of global Disability Adjusted Life Years (DALYs). Scholars have noted that the health costs of the HAP due to use of polluting cooking fuels like biomass and coal result in one million premature deaths each year with another 0.15 million deaths occurring due to their contribution to general outdoor air pollution in the country (Chafe Zoë et al., 2014).

Welfare Targeting of Cooking Gas Benefits: Programs and Policy Design

In India, Liquefied Petroleum Gas, i.e., LPG, (hereafter also referred to as cooking gas) which is supplied in cylinders is a widely used clean cooking fuel. Earlier cooking gas was indirectly subsidized by selling all domestic cooking gas cylinders at low cost. To arrest the diversion of domestic cooking gas cylinders which are priced lower than the market price for non-household uses, in June 2013, India's Ministry for Petroleum and Natural Gas (MOPNG) launched the Direct Benefit Transfer for LPG (DBTL) scheme "with an aim to curb leakages and prevent black-marketing and provide subsidy to consumers in their bank accounts" (PIB, 2013). In the context of this research DBTL, Direct Benefits Transfer (DBT) and cash transfers are used synonymously and interchangeably.

In the case of welfare targeting of cooking gas benefits, the Indian government has not formally articulated its policy. The shift from the traditional non-targeted subsidy regime to a welfare targeting regime is achieved through policy conversion "without formal policy revision" and by "the deployment of existing policy levers in new ways, rather than the revision of those policies through normal procedures of collective political decisionmaking" (Jacob S. Hacker, 2005, p. 46). However, a policy can be broadly understood as "a relatively stable, purposive course of action or inaction followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern" (Anderson, 2011, p. 19). So, the underlying intent of the Indian government's welfare targeting policy is discerned through publicly available information such as government documents, news reports, speeches of leaders, press releases and implementation guidelines from India's Union Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas (MoPNG).

Despite the success at efficient subsidy administration, in view of the rise in “consumer grievances”, the Indian government in March 2014 ordered the scheme to be “held in abeyance” (Dhande, 2014, p. 9). It constituted a committee headed by the former Chief Justice S.G. Dhande to review the DBTL implementation with a mandate “to understand every aspect of the scheme and the difficulties encountered by the stakeholders, primarily LPG consumers.” The committee while acknowledging the hardships faced by consumers, determined that “technological solutions” and changes in “scheme design”, would be able to mitigate the challenges in policy implementation (Dhande, 2014, p. 9). The Indian government along with the public sector Oil Marketing Companies (OMCs) has launched a cooking gas cash transfer program and two supporting programs to promote cooking gas subsidies to the deserving households, which are briefly explained as follows:

PAHAL (Pratyaksh Hanstantrit Labh)/DBTL

By late 2014, only 65 million (43%) of the then 153 million cooking gas customers, spread across India’s 676 districts have joined the DBTL scheme (PIB, 2014a). However, the DBTL cash transfer program was reinstated from January 2015 under a new name “PAHAL (Pratyaksh Hanstantrit Labh)” by the newly elected government headed by the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). As part of the overall policy of welfare targeting, the aim of PAHAL/DBTL program is to make cash transfers into the policy target’s bank accounts the principal mode of delivery of government subsidies.

Give It Up (GIU)

In March 2015, India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi has launched a mass campaign called "Give It Up" urging the better-off cooking gas consumers to voluntarily surrender their cooking gas subsidy, so that they can be directed towards poor families (PIB, 2016). This program aims to move them out of cash transfers program. Only about 10 million customers (~ less than 5 % of the customer base) voluntarily gave up cooking gas benefits. On December 28, 2015, the Indian government through a press release officially notified the restriction of cooking gas benefits to only where the consumers or his/her spouse had taxable income of less than ₹ 10,00,000/- (~14360 USD) during the previous financial year computed as per the Income Tax Act, 1961 (PIB, 2015a).

Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana (PMUY or Ujjwala)

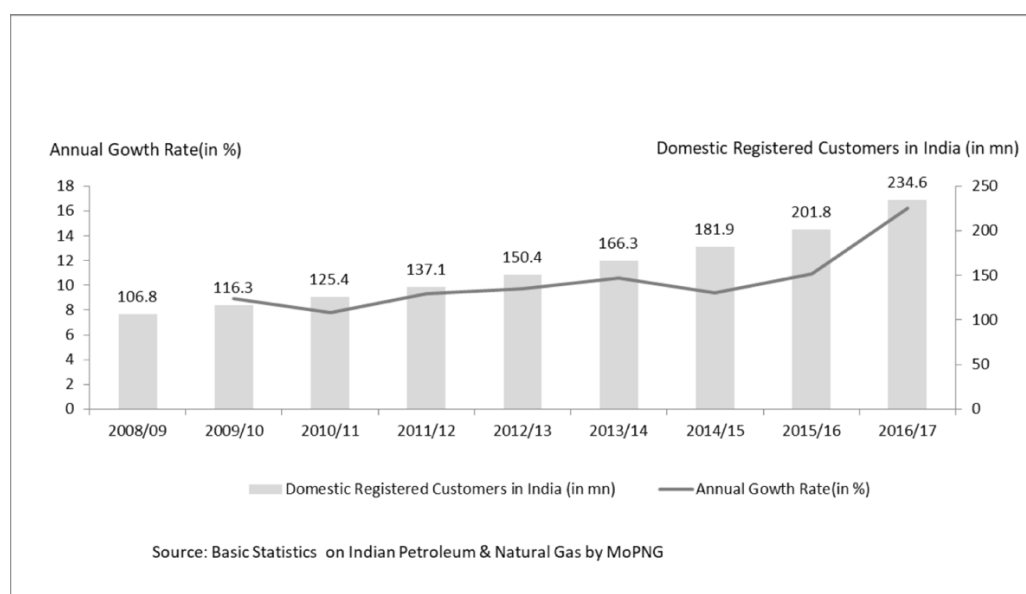
The Indian government has launched a program on May 1, 2016 called the Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana (PMUY - hereafter also referred to as Ujjwala), to distribute 50 million LPG connections to women from Below Poverty Line (BPL) families. Women who are identified as hailing from a BPL household based on the data from the Socio-Economic Caste Census – 2011 (SECC 2011) and who comply with the DBTL documentation requirements receive a waiver of the installation costs of a cooking gas connection under the Ujjwala program. The Ujjwala program serves as a gateway initiative for BPL households to shift from solid fuels to the PAHAL/ DBTL cooking gas cash transfer program by subsidizing the one-time installation expenses of a cooking gas connection which included the deposit on the LPG cylinder and the cost of the gas stove.

Salient Elements of the Cooking Gas Cash Transfers Policy Design

Pierson (1993) observed that policies have an impact on the mass publics based on the material resources they confer (resource effects) as well as, by influencing how citizens see themselves and others (interpretive effects). The key elements of the policy of cooking gas cash transfers that contribute to policy feedback effects are:

Program design

It is widely considered that universal programs by providing full benefits to the poor, help incorporate them as full members of the society (Skocpol, 1992). In the traditional system that existed prior to the implementation of cooking gas cash transfers, subsidies were indirect and only notionally universal in that they are not targeted at specific groups of citizens. However, given that the cooking gas distribution networks during this phase were disproportionately concentrated in the cities, the benefits did not reach many rural citizens. As part of the shift to cooking gas cash transfers, the MOPNG has considerably expanded the distribution network to rural areas which has now led to almost 3/4th of India having access to cooking gas (*Annual Report 2017-2018*, p. 21). This has led a rapid expansion and doubling of the registered cooking gas connections from 106 million in 2006-07 to 234 million by 2016-17.

FIGURE 1: RECENT GROWTH OF DOMESTIC COOKING GAS CONSUMERS

Size of benefits

The size of benefits can influence the size of resource effects. Due to the expansion of the cooking gas distribution network, although the cooking gas subsidies themselves are targeted, many customers now had an increased access to cooking gas. The price of domestic cooking gas, which is supplied in 14.2 Kilogram cylinders, is administratively controlled. The Indian government provides a subsidy that covers the gap between the cost of supply (determined by global prices) and the retail price. The price gap which is termed an “under recovery” is the difference between the cost price incurred by the OMCs and the retail price.

The monetary value of the cooking gas subsidy that was provided as cash transfers for the low-income and BPL households, at around 252 ₹ per cylinder (~3-4 USD) (*Annual Report 2017-2018*, p. 21), is considered so small that some in the media rationalized the denial of

benefits to the better-off households with the news headline “It's just one pizza that the govt is denying you” (Mukul, 2015). Alkon, Harish, and Urpelainen (2016) using nationally representative household data from India from 1987–2010 showed that even very poor people are willing to pay for access to modern fuels like cooking gas. However, news reports show women who received cooking gas connections under the Ujjwala program are not purchasing gas refills, because of the high upfront cost of refills (Kishore, 2017).

Traceability/ Visibility

The shift to cash transfers has helped increase the visibility of benefits to the low-income and BPL households. The free cooking gas connections marketed through the Ujjwala populist program have provided new benefits to BPL households. The Indian government, as part of the Give It Up program, has also issued “certificates of recognition” to those who voluntarily gave up subsidies. It also set up a website that showed the name of the poor person who benefited from such acts of benevolence by the better-off citizens.

Identification with the Policy and Programs

Public support for social policies depends on their ability to identify with a program. The three different programs of Give It Up, PAHAL/ DBTL and Ujjwala which are targeted at the better-off, low-income and BPL households respectively ensured that these groups can identify with the policy of welfare targeting of cooking gas benefits. Borrowing from the Brazilian strategy of donating cooking gas stoves, the Ujjwala program popularized the use of cooking gas, although the level of cooking gas usage is dependent on other factors like

the affordability of the gas cylinder (Goldemberg, Martinez-Gomez, Sagar, & Smith, 2018), and the level of administrative burden.

Duration of the benefits

The cooking gas benefits are available to all those low-income and BPL households who meet the eligibility and documentary requirements. The documentary requirements have been a source of delays or denial in cash transfers. However, considering that fuelwood has been the traditional way of household cooking in rural India, there is less likely to be organized groups advocating for affordable cooking gas in the rural areas unlike the case of the public distribution system which provides food rations for low-income and BPL households.

Program administration

Unlike most welfare programs which are implemented through state-level bureaucracies, cooking gas is provided to customers through a network of cooking gas distributors, who work under the overall supervision of the OMCs that are controlled by the MOPNG of the central government. Traditionally, cooking gas was provided as a service to paying customers, and therefore unlike in the case of food rations, it is considered a service directed at the better-off sections. Therefore, expanding the service to low-income and BPL households can contribute to positive policy feedbacks.

The implementation of cooking gas cash transfers is driven by soft law instruments which are rules and other instruments that “guide and influence behaviour but have neither the statutory nor contractual force” (Aronson, 2007, p. 3). Therefore, although the government documents do state that Aadhaar is not compulsory, during policy implementation citizens are coerced into compliance by, in effect making it necessary for receiving cooking gas cash transfers.

As noted by IISD (2018), by the estimates of the MOPNG of India’s central government do not reveal the data of the considerably higher number of households still dependent on solid fuels, although they show that approximately one fifth of households (over 50 million) still have no access to clean cooking fuel. The selective and inconsistent reporting of data on active connections makes it difficult to estimate the number of active domestic cooking gas consumers who are excluded from receiving cooking gas cash transfers due to reasons other than a high-income threshold.

IISD (2018) estimated that, of the 224 million active connections as on April 2018, approximately 22-23 million are excluded from cooking gas cash transfers. Of these, as part of the Give It Up initiative only about 10 million (less than 5 per cent of active connections) are excluded from cash transfers. It therefore estimated that, approximately 10-12 million domestic consumers (about 5 percent of all active connections) are excluded in the most recent financial year from cooking gas cash transfers due to their inability to provide either their Aadhaar number, bank account details.

Compliance Regime for cooking Gas Cash Transfers and the Subterranean Politics of the Indian Regulatory Welfare State

The term compliance regime refers to “the official rules regarding incentives and sanctions, allocation of resources, provision of information, etc.” (Weaver, 2014, p. 252). A range of policy instruments are used to secure compliance with public policies. Prominent among them are laws, which are “primary legislations” that derive their legitimacy through authorization from legislatures. Delegated legislations are “secondary legislations meant to give effect to such authorizations from the legislature. Policy implementation can also operate through “tertiary legislation” where rules are framed with either no or unclear authorization derived from the statute (Baldwin, 1997; Weeks, 2016, p. 14). In the case of cooking gas cash transfers, the government largely operated through tertiary legislation.

The implementation of DBT is premised on making three policy instruments as essential requirements for public services access. The first among these is a mobile phone, which is tied to India’s triumphalist media narrative of a “mobile revolution.” The second requirement is a bank account, a basic no-frills version of which is popularized as “Jan Dhan.” Banking access dovetails with the policy goal of greater financialization i.e. linkages of the households with the financial sector and the economy. The last and most controversial instrument is “Aadhaar,” a 12-digit unique-identity number issued to all Indian residents based on their biometric and demographic data. It is posited as a foolproof solution for accurately identifying beneficiaries. Together these three policy instruments Jan Dhan, Aadhaar and mobile are popularized with a catchy acronym as “JAM.” That the onus of providing information about an individual’s JAM into various public services

databases, a practice colloquially referred as “seeding,” falls upon the individual customer seeking to enroll for those services, is a major source of administrative burden.

The JAM requirements individually operate as substantive policy instruments (Howlett, 2000, p. 415) by advancing multiple, seemingly complimentary goals - like telecommunications access, financial inclusion and providing identity - that are directed at affecting the nature and type of services for the same target population. As an integral component of the PAHAL/DBTL compliance regime, they together with other “hidden” policy instruments operate as one procedural policy instrument that regulates the number or nature of “deserving” policy targets for cooking gas cash transfers. (Howlett, 2000, p. 420).

Howlett (2018, p. 110) theorized that a policy instrument which uses a specific category of governing resource is expected to “to trigger or lever a specific characteristic or receptor mechanism, inducing a certain behavioural response.” Elaborating the tools of government approach by Christopher Hood and Margetts (2007), he theorized, that the use of policy instruments that rely on the government’s nodality or centrality in a network is conditional on the belief in the accuracy of its message (credibility) among policy targets. Likewise, for those policy instruments which use authority as the governing resource, the behavioral response is dependent on perceptions of rightfulness or lawfulness (legitimacy). Similarly, for policy instruments that use treasure or monies, the targets group’s behavioral response is provisional on the perceived need as well as receptivity to government funding (cupidity). Finally, in the case of policy instruments that use organization, the policy target’s behavioral response depends on the individual’s perception of government

competence. Governments can also deploy a policy mix i.e., “a combination of multiple policy instruments that serve a single or multiple goals” (Bouma, Verbraak, Dietz, & Brouwer, 2018), whose receptor mechanisms cannot easily be separated.

The JAM policy instruments are horizontally interlinked and bundled as a “policy mix” for implementing cash transfers. Members of the household are required to provide JAM details to receive cash transfers under the Ujjwala and PAHAL/ DBTL programs. The compliance regime established for Direct Benefits Transfer (DBT) with JAM as the basic requirement, began with the implementation of cooking gas cash transfers under the PAHAL/ DBTL program. Table 1 shows the relative spread of bank accounts, biometric identity numbers, and mobile density.

TABLE 1: CONTEXT OF TARGETING OF COOKING GAS SUBSIDIES IN INDIA

| # | Characteristic | Delhi | Bihar | India National Average |
|---|---|----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | Annual Per Capita Consumption of cooking gas (in USD) | 17.8 (Highest in India) | 1.9 (Lowest in India) | 5 |
| 2 | % Total Households using cooking gas | 97.7 | 17.8 | 43.8 |
| 3 | % Rural Households using cooking gas | 80.8 | 10.8 | 24.0 |
| 4 | % Urban Households using cooking gas | 97.9 | 63.8 | 80.6 |
| 5 | % Rural households | 2.3 | 89.1 | 67.6 |
| 6 | Literacy (percent) | 86.2 | 61.8 | 72.9 |
| 7 | % Population under Poverty Line | 9.9 | 33.7 | 21.9 |
| 8 | % Overall Telephone Density | 236.3 | 56.9 | 86.2 |
| 9 | % Households Availing Banking Services | 236.92 | 60.28 | 58.7 |
| 10 | % of the population enrolled under Aadhaar (Biometric identity) | 119 | 82 | 89.6 |
| Sources: % Rural Households, Literacy, % Households Availing Banking Services - India census 2011 % of the population enrolled under Aadhaar (Biometric identity) - UIDAI Website as on 15.05.2017 Annual Per Capita Consumption of cooking gas (in USD) – Clarke (2014) % Overall Telephone density – TRAI as on Oct 2016 % Total Households using cooking gas - NFHS-4 (Urban 80.6 %, Rural – 24%, Overall – 43.8%) | | | | |

The welfare state model that has operated in India since the year 2009 onwards hews to a regulatory-welfare state model in which the state “applies and extends rule making, rule monitoring, and rule enforcement either directly or indirectly” with regard to welfare goals (Levi-Faur, 2014, p. 608). The policy conversion in the delivery of cooking gas benefits is

achieved principally through a spectrum of tertiary or quasi-legislative instruments that are intended to achieve policy compliance.

Indian government's embrace of the regulatory-welfare state model, can arguably be traced back to 2009, as a response to the criticism that the progressive rights-based laws that secured workfare, education and food security and freedom of information (Ruparelia, 2013) in the earlier decade, have augured in an "entitlement state" (Rajaraman, 2013). Legitimate public values like optimal utilization of fiscal resources (the Indian government spends more on importing oil - about \$269 billion or 14.5% of its Gross Domestic Product(GDP) (Coady, Parry, Sears, & Shang, 2017) - than on health expenditure) and poor welfare targeting (under the earlier traditional system, cooking gas subsidies have largely benefited the better-off households (GOI, 2016) who constituted 91% of the domestic cooking gas customer base) were invoked to justify not just the shift to cash transfers, but the embrace of the DBT model which is premised on JAM policy requirements, as a common solution for targeting of all welfare and public services.

The impact of India's shift towards a welfare regulatory state on democratic citizenship needs to be assessed in the context of its selective embrace of the earlier administrative paradigm of New Public Management (NPM) reforms. India's embrace of market mechanisms for the delivery of public services is not matched by an associated commitment to guarantee the rights of its customers and to address their demands and grievances. India still lacks a legally enforceable citizen charter. The Right of Citizens for Time-bound Delivery of Goods and Services and Redressal of their Grievances Bill which was introduced in 2011 in the Indian parliament is an attempt to replicate at the national

level, the Right to Public Service Acts enacted in some states to enforce timely delivery of some public services (Robinson, 2012). However, it has not yet been legislated by the Indian parliament. Similarly, despite a suggestion for its enactment by the Indian Supreme Court, there exists no Administrative Procedure Act, that governs the actions of government agencies in rulemaking, adjudication, and enforcement of specific regulatory agenda as a check against state overreach.

The selective embrace of the tenets of the NPM administrative paradigm and a greater emphasis on values of efficiency and effectiveness has led to an undermining of other public values. As a consequence, the civil society led opposition to the imposition of Aadhaar as an integral part of targeting of all welfare and public services has culminated in the 2nd longest litigation before the Indian Supreme Court. Although in an earlier judgment, the Indian Supreme Court has ruled in a unanimous judgment that citizens enjoy an absolute right to privacy, in a subsequent judgment, it allowed the use of Aadhaar albeit with several restrictions. The policy implementation of cooking gas transfers is thus characterized by a lack of value consensus leading to the subterranean politics of regulatory reform.

Research Statement and Purpose

In the context of India's cooking gas cash transfers reform, the central question guiding this research is "how does administrative burden in citizen-state interactions shape policy feedbacks?" and thereby develop a grounded understanding of the changes in the citizen-state covenant.

Firstly, in terms of the research context, it elaborates the policy conversion given effect in the policy area of cooking gas subsidies in India. Secondly, in terms of theoretical contributions, it sought to establish a scholarly nexus (Weible & Carter, 2017) i.e., theoretical and empirical nexus between public policy and administration (D. P. Moynihan, 2014). It does so by a) linking the administrative burden theory with the theories of policy instruments in public policy research, b) zooming or clarifying the theoretical black boxes by proposing burden as a negative feedback with an attenuating effect on the receptor mechanisms of policy instruments, and c) filling – by identifying burden as an omitted factor that can explain the weakened behavioral response to the use of policy instruments.

Thirdly, in terms of methodology, this research uses an exploratory mixed method approach guided by a pragmatic research paradigm to systematically study the phenomenon of burden and its broader effects on political agency and civic capacities of cooking gas cash transfer policy targets. It both describes the construction of burdens as well as explores the relationship between burden and citizenship outcomes. Lastly, borrowing the scholarship on policy design and policy feedbacks, it sought to contribute to an improved understanding of the effects of administrative burden on citizenship outcomes in the context of emerging democracies.

Statement of the Research Problem

Much of the debate about the implementation of India's DBT reforms is filtered mostly through the lens of administrative exclusion – understood in terms of “nonparticipation attributable to organizational factors rather than claimant preferences or substantive

eligibility status” (Brodkin & Majumdar, 2010, p. 827) or citizen privacy. Given the weak administrative capacity of the government, everyday hassles are all pervasive. In recent times, there is a broad rhetorical commitment to reduce “the time and effort on the part of both the citizen as well as the Government officials” (PIB, 2014b). However despite this, notwithstanding an overall increase in government services access and outputs with time, policy implementation is widely acknowledged to have increased the hassles for those who are distant from India’s urban centers (Dabadge, Sreenivas, & Josey, 2018).

The government’s efforts to mitigate administrative burden are largely urban-centric, given their emphasis on the solutions that are contingent on the access to internet, mobile and electronic payment mechanisms (*Annual Report 2017-2018*, pp. 78-79). Experts (Dhande, 2014, p. 25) and policymakers (George & Subramanian, 2016) have shown a preference to minimize the scope of both administrative burden and administrative exclusion by invoking in some cases, their faith in digital technologies. Lastly, India has witnessed almost a decade of civic activism and public interest litigations against the mandatory use of Aadhaar (a unique identity number based on biometric data) for identification in public services. However, most elected officials and political parties have been either not able (Verma & Tripathi, 2013, pp. 155-156) or have avoided, articulating a principled stand on the concerns of citizen privacy and administrative exclusion stemming from the use of Aadhaar, thereby facilitating the depoliticization of those issues.

In this context, it is important to explore whether administrative burden in citizen-state interactions is merely a “hassle” or “annoyance” that has little bearing on expected behavioral response of the policy targets, or whether it rises to the level of an “aggravation”

or “stress” that ultimately weakens the intended effects of a policy and its instruments on them. It is also useful to explore whether administrative burden is disproportionately skewed towards disadvantaged groups characterized by weak human capital assets. Answering the question of whether administrative burden undermines policy feedbacks can be useful to think about how democratic governments should systematically engage with administrative burden.

Research Significance

Scholars have argued that in face of challenges like “rising social inequality,” public administration should focus on “sustaining democratic institutions” (Rosenbaum, 2018, pp. 20-21). Others have pointed out the Anglosphere-sourced models and designs are only adopted partially in the developing world (Pollitt, 2015, pp. 7-8). Although it was argued that even democratic governments can learn from non-democratic regimes (Wilson, 1887, p. 220), there is little research on the implications of the selective diffusion of administrative models. To address such concerns, Durant and Ali (2013, p. 279) have argued that public administration research should focus “on discerning the contributions—positive or negative—over time of public administrative theory and administrative reform to citizen estrangement” in order to address the “the citizen-marginalizing tendencies of bureaucratic administration.” The policy undermining effects of administrative burden is a topic at the intersections of theory and praxis, which speaks to many of these concerns.

This research has attempted to establish a scholarly nexus between theories of public policy and the administrative burden theory. It attempted to draw connections between the broader technocratic conceptions of policy implementation with micro-level citizens’ experiences

of administrative burden. Its attention to elements of policy design and feedbacks are centered on the experiences of citizens as policy targets. Overall, it offers a comprehensive case study of how administrative burden restructures the citizen-state relationship.

Data Collection Methods

In trying to understand how administrative burden influences policy feedbacks, the objectives of this research ranged from comprehending the originators of administrative burden to identifying its varied effects. For this reason, the research questions guided the choices of the methodological toolkit.

The unit of analysis for this research are adult members of Indian households. The study looked into all three types of policy targets namely a) Better-off households with high-income levels who no longer receive cooking gas benefits b) Households who receive cooking gas benefits and c) Low-income households who are not enrolled to receive cooking benefits despite their eligibility. This research used an exploratory mixed methods research design. In the qualitative phase of the research, it employed content analysis, interviews, participant observation to triangulate preliminary findings of citizens' negative experiences of cooking gas cash transfers reform.

The findings from the qualitative phase are then used to design and administer a field survey in Patna district in the Indian state of Bihar. The survey sample is selected through quota sampling from both rural and urban areas. Besides measuring the burdensome experiences in citizen-state interactions, the survey measured citizenship outcomes in

terms of citizen participatory behaviors, and perceptions of procedural justice and policy legitimacy.

The analysis of the data from the qualitative and quantitative phases of the research is conducted using NVIVO and STATA software respectively. Findings from previous research and published reports are used to guide the design of the survey as well as in the triangulation and interpretation of its findings.

Map of the Dissertation

Following this chapter, this dissertation is organized in the following manner. Chapter 2 provides the review of literature about the dissertation topic. It begins with the conceptualization and operationalization of administrative burden and discusses the various theoretical approaches to studying them. It then discusses the factors associated with administrative burden. It then discusses the role of administrative burden in shaping citizenship outcomes and various theoretical approaches to studying them.

Chapter 3 presents the research objective, design and an outline of the methodology. It provides broad details of the exploratory mixed methods research design, focus of the research, analysis procedures, and the justifications for the methodological choices during various phases of the research.

Chapter 4 presents the details of the qualitative research phase in terms of methods used, types of data collected, the analysis procedures followed and presents the findings. It will explain how diverse data sources are used to triangulate the findings.

Chapter 5 presents a discussion of the quantitative data analyses based on a Computer Assisted In-Person Interview (CAPI) survey with rural and urban citizens. The operationalization of variables, statistical procedures and results of the survey are presented in this chapter. It will discuss the rural-urban differences in citizens' negative experiences and how the key contextual factors may exacerbate or alleviate a citizen's administrative burden.

Chapter 6 summarizes the key findings and observations drawn from this research. It will highlight the key contributions of this research to the theoretical and practice of policy design and implementation. It concludes with a discussion of its limitations and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is structured as follows: It first elaborates the central concept of administrative burden and discusses how it relates to concepts like red tape, administrative exclusion, and target compliance. It then summarizes the theoretical and methodological approaches used to study administrative burden

Secondly, theoretical literature on contextual factors like blame avoidance strategies, compliance and enforcement regimes and the elements of program design that deliberately and otherwise, contribute to the construction of burdens is discussed. Thirdly, the literature on citizen outcomes are presented to show the policy feedback effects of the consequential and distributive nature of burdens on democratic citizenship through their effect on citizens' participatory behaviors, and perceptions of procedural justice and policy legitimacy. A perspective that foregrounds the implications of technocratic compliance regimes and their policy instruments for democratic citizenship informs the analyses of the concepts presented in this chapter. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of gaps in the reviewed research and how the present study attempts to contribute to the advancement of theory on administrative burden.

Conceptualization and Operationalization of Administrative Burden

Administrative burden is defined as “an individual’s experience of policy implementation as onerous (Burden et al., 2012). Administrative burden is a perceptual measure of the

negative experiences in citizen-state interactions. It can be both, the cause or a consequence of administrative exclusion (Brodkin & Majumdar, 2010, p. 827).

Studies into how citizens judge public services have shown that the “ideational and relational significance of services matter more than their material significance” (McLoughlin, 2015; Sacks, 2011). The costs associated with burden may not necessarily be weighed solely against material benefits, but also against the normative expectations held about public service delivery by the citizens. Metaphorically, burdens are the potholes, diversions, toll roads or broken bridges that divert the policy target’s journey towards compliance policy goals. Where administrative burden is high, it has an impact on the participatory behaviors of citizens (Sarah K. Bruch, Myra Marx Ferree, & Joe Soss, 2010) and their perceptions of procedural fairness (Brodkin & Majumdar, 2010).

Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Administrative Burden

Administrative burden is a concept that is particularly resonant for understanding citizenship outcomes in emerging democracies where the yearning for improved governance presents unique opportunities as well as challenges for administrators. A considerable body of diverse literature and perspectives inform the question of why citizens do not always follow government policies.

The public management literature on red tape and street-level bureaucracies have engaged with the barriers and unjustified costs imposed by administrative rules, procedures and their interpretation by legal authorities. D. Moynihan and Herd (2010, pp. 655-657) made a persuasive case for shifting the focus, away from internal red tape - which directly affects

government managers - to address external red tape (Bozeman, 2000) - which refers to the negative effects of rules on citizens. They advocated deeper engagement with the value neutrality of rules wherever they undermine the social and political rights of certain political groups. Along those lines, the recent research by Heinrich (2015) went beyond the concerns of access to and efficiency in highlighting how the denial of monthly benefits affects the outcomes for adolescents in South Africa's Child Support Grant program.

Weaver (2014, pp. 246-249) studied citizens' behaviors from the perspective of barriers to compliance with government policies. He conceptualized the gap between a program's stated objective and actual levels of compliance levels is framed narrowly as "target compliance gap" that can be understood, presumably from the perspective of the policy makers in terms of various categories of "compliance barriers." Accordingly, he classified them as into three broad categories, namely the perceived incentives to comply (incentives and sanctions, monitoring and enforcement), the willingness to comply (information and cognition problems, attitude and belief problems and peer effects) and the capacity to respond (resource and autonomy problems).

From the perspective of development economics, the literature review in the context of cash transfer programs by Devereux et al. (2015, p. 30) offered a broad categorization of costs of welfare targeting. Per them, welfare targeting costs include administrative costs (for administering the program), private costs (travel costs, opportunity costs, etc.), social costs (e.g. erosion of community cohesion), psycho-social costs (such as stigma and loss of self-esteem), political costs (loss of political support) and incentive-based costs (e.g., behavioral change to meet eligibility criteria). The typologies by Weaver (2014) and

Devereux et al. (2015) advance understanding about the barriers to public services access by framing low program uptake concerning “non-compliance” or “target effectiveness” respectively.

D. Moynihan et al. (2015, pp. 45-46) have described the concept of administrative burden by identifying from a behavioral perspective, in terms of three categories of broad costs that comprise administrative burden. They theorize that burdens arise while searching for information about public services (learning costs), complying with rules and requirements (compliance costs), and the stresses, loss of autonomy, or stigma that come from such encounters (psychological costs).

Recent scholarship which used the administrative burden perspective to study citizens experiences have used a broad wide variety of methods such as mixed methods research (Burden et al., 2012; Heinrich & Brill, 2015; Herd, DeLeire, Harvey, & Moynihan, 2013), qualitative-interpretive research methodology (Muhammad A Nisar, 2017) and descriptive case study method (Herd, 2015; D. Moynihan et al., 2015) and survey experiments (Jilke, Van Dooren, & Rys, 2018).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, administrative burden research even in the west has mainly engaged with the effects of regulation in policy areas involving vulnerable groups like welfare recipients (Barnes & Henly, 2018), elderly care (Jilke et al., 2018), immigrants (Heinrich, 2018) and minority citizen groups like Latinos (Saldivar, 2015). Notably, a considerable body of administrative burden research is from developing countries like South Africa (Heinrich, 2015), Pakistan (Muhammad A Nisar, 2017), Mexico (Peeters et

al., 2018) and Ecuador (Rinehart & McGuire, 2017) is related to cash transfers. Further, the only common feature that so far connects the research on administrative burden in the west with that in developing countries is a concern with exclusionary effects of large-scale master database management systems on program participants.

The cases of Medicaid in Wisconsin (D. Moynihan et al., 2015, pp. 45-46) and Dutch civil registry system (Peeters & Widlak, 2018) discuss the overt and covert roles of administrative burden in public services access owing to digitalized welfare, that is reflected, even if sometimes indirectly, in the research from South Africa (Heinrich, 2015), Pakistan (Muhammad A Nisar, 2017), and Ecuador (Rinehart & McGuire, 2017). This research takes forward this line of inquiry by studying the effects of technocratic policy implementation involving Aadhaar, a national biometric master database management system on citizens' experiences of cooking gas cash transfers.

Factors Associated with the construction of Administrative Burden

D. Moynihan et al. (2015) theorize that administrative burden is a venue of politics where the policy preferences of political actors determine the design of administrative structures. These may include elected officials, senior administrators, instrument constituencies, stakeholders, managers, and street-level bureaucrats. The description and explanations about the originators of administrative burden draw substantially from related concepts in public policy like hidden politics, blame avoidance and strategic framing.

This research also borrows from the Politics-of-Instrument-Choice approach, which studies the underlying politics behind the government's choice of the tools of the government

(Christopher Hood & Margetts, 2016, p. 136). By illuminate the specific effects of policy tools and the type of politics they engender (Lascoumes & Le Gales, 2007) this approach can clarify how particular forms of government action can “mediate how citizens experience the state as a positive or negative force” (D. Moynihan et al., 2015, p. 44). The originators of administrative burden can be traced to assumptions embedded in policy design.

Blame Avoidance Strategies & Strategic Framing

Welfare retrenchment, an example of an unpopular social policy is often an antecedent of administrative burden. Describing the politics of blame avoidance as the contemporary politics of the welfare state, Pierson (1996, p. 179) theorized that “governments confronting the electoral imperative of modern democracies will undertake retrenchment only when they discover ways to minimize the political costs involved.” Governments in trying to change the trajectory of the welfare state may deploy “strategies of stealth, obstruction, and indirection” as part of “hidden politics” (Jacob S Hacker, 2004). Given the attractiveness of such strategies as “policymaking by other means (Lineberry, 1977),” D. Moynihan et al. (2015) theorized that they could be a source for the construction of administrative burden.

Building on the research by Weaver (1986) and others, Christopher Hood (2010, pp. 16-23) discusses three strategies employed for avoiding or deflecting blame. They are: 1) presentational strategies - that deal with “the loss or harm perception dimension of blame and may also work on the time dimension to have an effect”; 2) Agency strategies – which deal with the perceived agency dimension of the blame and 3) Policy strategies – that

although mainly deal with the agency dimension and the time element and work through the overall architecture of the policy.

Vis (2016) offered another typology of blame avoidance strategy namely manipulating procedures, manipulating perceptions and manipulating payoffs and discussed credit claiming welfare retrenchment that may lead to electoral gains. Levy (1999, p. 240) in his work on the “vice into virtue approach,” theorized that “inherited vices like inequities within existing welfare system can be targeted to soften or obviate the supposedly ineluctable trade-offs between equity and efficiency.” He argued that vices in existing welfare systems such as economic inefficiency or substantial public spending provide opportunities for enhancing efficiency without sacrificing either equity or efficiency.

Wenzelburger (2011, p. 1155) proposed a framework that subsumed the various strategies of blame avoidance, framing, communication or credit claiming by distinguishing between two different kinds of strategy namely (1) strategic communication – which refers to “mainly rhetorical strategies of the ways in which political actors try to justify cuts, convince voters that they are necessary and frame welfare retrenchment in a way that does not harm (or even increases) their approval rates” and (2) strategic organization of welfare state reform – where strategies “clearly aim at organizing the unpopular policy in a way that avoids blame (by hiding the cuts or by blurring responsibility for the cuts” (Wenzelburger & Hörisch, 2016, p. 115).

Leimbigger and Lammert (2016) discussed how American President Barack Obama used the strategic frame of “market” to emphasize the economic and cost-containment priority

of health care reform until the passage of the law in 2010, and subsequently shifted to the strategic frame of “rights” to emphasize the concept of “access” to care. Economic crises or poor economic conditions may be used by political and governing elites to advance reforms to the welfare state. Marx and Schumacher (2016) conducted a survey experiment in the United Kingdom to evaluate how economic change in conjunction with different elite frames impact citizens’ support for the welfare state retrenchment. They found elite frames significantly influence the effect of economic change on welfare state preferences, and that party identification is crucial to understand individual differences in welfare state preferences. Similarly, Rahn, Gollust, and Tang (2017) conducted an internet-based survey experiment to study the policy governing the sale of raw milk. They showed that “a frame emphasizing consumer choice and food freedom is more effective than the frame that dominates among the policy establishment, that emphasizing public health risks.”

In the wake of the growing influence of behavioral science, nudges and boosts have emerged as the preferred choice of policy intervention by politico-administrative actors. In principle, nudges seek to intervene in the choice architecture while preserving freedom of choice or without imposing significant penalties (Sunstein, 2016). In practice, ethical constraints on behavioral interventions may not always operate, especially in settings characterized by weak rule of law. To account for the diversity in behavioral interventions, scholars have recently differentiated the nudging mechanisms from boosting mechanisms (Grüne-Yanoff, Hertwig, & Machines, 2016).

According to Grüne-Yanoff et al. (2016, p. 152) boosts refer to interventions that can “target the individual’s skills and knowledge, the available set of decision tools, or the

environment in which decisions are made.” Grüne-Yanoff et al. (2016) argued that the boost approach, in contrast to the nudge approach which assumes a “somewhat mindless, passive decision makers” (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009, p. 37), “who are hostage to a rapid and instinctive “automatic system” (p.19), assumes the individual as a decision maker whose competencies are sought to be improved by “enriching his or her repertoire of skills and decision tools and/or by restructuring the environment such that existing skills and tools can be more effectively applied.” The politico-administrative strategies of blame avoidance driven by a vice-into-virtue approach can use boosts as a form of strategic communication.

Compliance & Enforcement Regimes

The success of a policy depends on whether or not the target population behaves in ways that are desirable for achieving intended goals. Weaver (2014) reasoned that willingness is not a prerequisite and that despite the likelihood of high costs of monitoring and enforcement, “grudging-even compelled-compliance is still compliance.” Arguably such an instrumental approach to the design of compliance and enforcement regimes can potentially short-change the substantive goals of a policy. The enforcement regime (Weaver, 2014, p. 252) i.e., how the rules are enforced and monitored, is equally central to citizens’ experiences of policy implementation.

Characteristic Features of Program Design

Characteristics of public policy may also play a role in creating administrative burden. Some of them are discussed below:

Program design

Scholars have noted that universal programs may enhance the incorporation and participation of recipients, while means-tested programs were more likely to depress full citizenship and political engagement (Campbell, 2003; Mettler, 2002; Soss, 1999). However, Sarah K Bruch, Myra Marx Ferree, and Joe Soss (2010) showed that Head Start, a means-tested program increased engagement because it promoted participant involvement, whereas policies with a paternalistic design, like the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) program, discourage political and civic participation.

Size of the benefits

The size of benefits plays an essential role in welfare uptake. Where the benefits are generous, the participants are likely to engage with the program. Program participation may be low in case the size of the benefits is considered small when weighed against the costs of complying with the program.

Traceability/ Visibility

As the case of Social Security benefits showed, benefits that are noticeable and traceable to government action are more likely to generate feedback effects (Arnold, 1992). However, when benefits are delivered as tax breaks - such as childcare tax credits or college tuition tax credits – they are not easily recognized by recipients as government benefits and consequently fail to generate the same attention to government action as direct spending programs (Mettler, 2011).

Duration of benefits

A program which offer short duration benefits like the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) in the United States are likely to generate fewer positive feedbacks than those who offer benefits for longer duration like the Social Security program.

Program administration

Program administration is related to the strategic organization of welfare state reform. Program administration is a critical and complex aspect of program design that shapes citizens' perceptions of administrative burden. There are aspects of program administration like program structures, administrative rules, and practices, organizational aspects like network governance that confer interpretive effects by conveying messages to the program participants. These have a significant bearing on the generation of policy feedback effects.

Administrative Burden as an Attenuator of Citizenship Outcomes

Policy feedback theory is based on the premise that public administration and policy can have manifold effects on politics by structuring conflicts and norms leading to a reciprocal relationship between politics and public policy (Lowi, 1964; Mettler & Soss, 2004). According to (Béland, 2010) the early feedback literature had three focal points: state building, interest groups, and lock-in effects. While the research on state building focused on how bureaucratic efforts at implementing new policies using new or existing administrative arrangements transform or expand the capacities of the state, the scholarship on interest groups studied how “new policies affect the social identities, goals, and

capabilities of groups that struggle, or ally in politics” (Skocpol, 1992, p. 58). Another stream of policy feedback literature engaged with lock-in effects i.e., how policies affect politics (Pierson, 1993, p. 608).

A. Schneider and Ingram (1993, p. 334) theorized that the designs of public policies produce the “social construction of target populations,” which the authors described as “the cultural characterizations or popular images of the persons or groups whose behavior and well-being are affected by public policy.” Pierson (1993) explained the effects of policy design on mass publics concerning the influence of incentives and resources (resource effects) and how policies make citizens see themselves with relation to the state (interpretive effects).

The effects of policy design on the behaviors of mass publics have been varied, with fewer consistent findings. From an American perspective, Wlezien (1995) noted that the public reacts to the policy status quo in a “thermostatic” manner, where their preferences become feedbacks for corresponding changes in policy. From a Swedish perspective, scholars have found that citizens who had more experiences with universal programs exhibited greater trust in politicians compared to those experiencing targeted programs (Kumlin, 2004; Kumlin & Rothstein, 2005). Campbell (2012) argues that although political behavior is shaped by early political socialization, group identifications, or symbolic politics and values (e.g., partisanship and ideology), attitudes about public programs may also change in response to real-life events and stimuli, although she qualified that such changes in political behavior are contingent on information reaching the citizens.

Drawing from the policy feedback literature, Wichowsky and Moynihan (2008, p. 908) argued that performance management systems should pay attention to citizenship outcomes - “the effects of policy design and implementation on individual civic capacities and dispositions and on social bonds of civic reciprocity and trust.” Incorporating citizens’ negative experiences of policy implementation can produce new insights into the analyses of how the quality of interactions with the government alters citizenship outcomes. Administrative burden is understood as negative policy feedback and an adverse citizenship outcome.

As Campbell (2012, p. 338) noted, policy feedback research has mainly focused on “the participatory and attitudinal effects of universal programs versus targeted ones.” This research investigates how burden mediates citizenship outcomes in terms of citizens’ participatory behaviors, procedural justice, and policy legitimacy. Further, it studied how in the context of strategic framing, these feedbacks might shape the legitimacy of welfare retrenchment.

Citizens’ Participatory Behaviors

Political participation and civic engagement among citizens in democratic societies manifest in a broad spectrum of citizens’ participatory behaviors. Citizens’ participatory behaviors can be conditioned by a range of factors including the design of welfare programs, the distributive effect of rules on social groups, technology adoption, and public services access. Watson (2015) found that welfare conditionality depresses patterns of democratic engagement and reduces civic membership and activity. She also found support for the claim that welfare conditionality reduces political interest and respondents’ belief

that ordinary people can influence what the government does. These offer a clean contrast with her findings that individuals who receive traditional rights-based benefits have positive assessments of government and participate at higher levels than those who do not receive them.

Heller, Price, Reinharz, Riger, and Wandersman (1984) define participation as “a process in which individuals take part in decision making in the institutions, programs, and environments that affect them.” Ekman and Amnå (2012) have proposed a unitary framework to organize all forms of civil and political behaviors using a typology on a matrix that intersects manifest and latent forms of participation with both individual and collective political behaviors. Talò and Mannarini (2015) have developed a measure called the Participatory Behaviors Scale based on the conceptualization of citizens’ participatory behaviors by Ekman and Amnå (2012). The scale was composed of four factors: disengagement, civil participation, participation in formal politics and activism. This research uses those factors in understanding how administrative burden shapes democratic citizenship.

Formal Political Participation

According to Talò and Mannarini (2015) formal political participation includes individual actions like “contact activities” and writing politicians or officials to report or obtain intervention, and collective actions like becoming a member in a political party, trade union or non-governmental organization (NGO) Formal political participation may also extra-parliamentary actions like strikes and petitions.

Based on a study in three provinces, Hern (2016, p. 18) found that in Zambia - a low-capacity democracy - compared to citizens without any access to public services, those with even marginal access to services are more likely to report higher levels of political engagement and political participation. Saldivar (2015, p. 68) using the interview method found that Latino immigrants in the United States were disproportionately affected by red tape, thereby reducing their participation in the political arena.

Research shows that targeted programs reduce participation compared to means-tested programs. Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995, pp. 209-210) noted that the mean number of political acts was one full point lower for recipients of AFDC, Medicaid, Housing Subsidies, and Food Stamps compared to recipients of Veteran's Benefits, Student Loans, Medicare, Social Security as well as the general public.

Civil participation

Ekman and Amnå (2012) describe latent forms of political participation using the term "civil participation" to describe "social involvement" - attention and interest in political and societal issues - and "civic engagement" - ways in which citizens participate in the life of a community in order to improve the living conditions of disadvantaged groups or to shape the community's future (Adler & Goggin, 2005).

Swartz, Blackstone, Uggen, and McLaughlin (2009) who studied the effects of state interventions on civic participation among young adults found that those who receive welfare are less likely to vote than non-recipients, whereas the participatory behavior of

the recipients of non-means-tested government assistance is similar to those young adults who do not receive government help.

Disengagement

The conceptualization by (Ekman & Amnå, 2012) also includes disengagement which may take on latent form like an apolitical disinterest in politics or as an active, anti-political behavior that manifests in violent behavior like brawls.

Some scholars have characterized the “gradient of governance” which referred to “...the extent of slippage in governance outcomes between more central and more remote locations” as a proxy for government’s disengagement with rural citizens (Krishna & Schober, 2014).

Activism

Ekman and Amnå (2012) use the term activism to explain both legal and illegal forms of extra-parliamentary actions. The legal forms of activism include strikes and petitions, which at the individual level may constitute behaviors like signing petitions, distributing flyers, and boycotting or buying certain products for ideological, ethical or environmental reasons. The illegal forms of activism may comprise violent manifestations, unauthorized demonstrations or riots triggered by ideological reasons.

Procedural justice

Procedural justice refers to the notion held about the processes of citizen-state interactions as being characterized by “neutrality, lack of bias, honesty, efforts to be fair, politeness and respect for citizens’ rights (Tom R Tyler, 2006, p. 7). According to (Mazerolle et al., 2014, p. 11) “Procedural justice in action can be broken down into four key elements or principles. These are dignity and respect, trustworthy motives, neutrality, and voice.” In addition, transparency can contribute to perceptions of procedural justice (Tyler, 2011, p. 73). Latter descriptions of procedural justice also included transparency as a key element.

Kaufmann and Tummers (2016, p. 11) in their experiment conducted through the online platform MTurk, found that red tape’s negative effect on procedural satisfaction is stronger for individuals with more conservative political views.

In his research on the Norwegian and German complaints systems, Crosby (2013) measured the ideal type of procedural justice using seven types of criteria namely consistency, independence, voice, quality, transparency, timeliness and financial risk. He found that Norway secures procedural justice of welfare claimants with regards to timeliness, and to a large degree on the criteria of quality, transparency, and financial risk, and Germany in terms of systemic consistency, independence, voice, quality and transparency.

Policy legitimacy

Tom R. Tyler (2006, p. 375) described “legitimacy is a psychological property of an authority, institution, or social arrangement that leads those connected to it to believe that it is appropriate, proper, and just.” Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (2001, p. 150) noted that - the extent to which perception of a process in governmental policies matches a citizen’s own perception of how that process should work - has a bearing on his approval of the government. The perception of procedurally just treatment of citizens is fundamental to the publics’ perception of the government’s legitimacy, which in turn forms the foundation for legal compliance.

May and Jochim (2013, p. 431) suggested that policy legitimacy can be understood as “the acceptance by the governed of the goals and approach for resolving problems, recognizing that there is virtually never full agreement.” He explained that policy feedbacks are mediated by “the experience with the institutions that deliver the policies, and the images put forth by the interests that support or oppose the policies.”

Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Policy Feedbacks

Citizens’ participatory behaviors

The messages that policies send people relay information about where they stand within the community (A. L. Schneider & Ingram, 2008) or “whether the government is responsive to their concerns, thereby encouraging engagement, passivity or even alienation” (Wichowsky & Moynihan, 2008, p. 909).

Using the survey method, Hern (2016) observed that compared to advanced industrial democracies, the lower expectations from government cause policies to produce different effects in low-capacity democracies. In his research on public services provision in Zambia, he found that those who reported full access to public services are “twice as likely to engage in each.” additional political behavior and 38% more likely to report an additional level of political engagement, while those who report marginal access were 71% and 48% more likely to report additional participation and engagement, respectively” (p.11).

In her research on Latino communities, Saldivar (2015, pp. 69-70) used the interview method to find that while disproportionate red tape in immigration policy had no direct effect on participants from New York, those from Arizona have expressed feelings of disengagement and disillusionment with government.

Democratic governments often use websites as a means for promoting transparency and facilitating pre-legislative consultations mandated by law. In July 2014, the Indian government has launched mygov.in as a platform to encourage citizen’s participation in the policy-making processes. In her analysis using the descriptive case study method on the use of mygov.in to promote citizen participation, Sabhikhi (2016) noted that the website offers no information about how citizen’s comments are incorporated into policy. She further noted that in India where many have no access to internet access, the lack of offline modes of consultation can limit citizen participation.

Procedural Justice

Impartiality in the exercise of rules and procedures is the foundation for citizens' perceptions of a better quality of government. In his online experiment on the negative effect of red tape Kaufmann and Tummers (2016) found that a higher level of red tape is associated with lower procedural satisfaction and that such negative effects are stronger for individuals with more conservative political views. In his research on public services provision in Zambia, Hern (2016) used the survey methods to find that citizens in low-capacity democracies hold a sense of procedural justice despite poor service provision because they believe the government is making an effort in good faith to serve them.

Policy Legitimacy

Citizens perception of legitimacy of policies depends not just on their perceptions of procedural justice, but also other factors like perceived benefits and outcome fairness. Globally, welfare reform has moved from universal regimes to that of targeted benefits. As a consequence, the questions of “who should get what and why?” have become central to ensuring the legitimacy of public policies.

Using the survey method, Valkeapää and Karppinen (2013) found that procedural justice and acceptance of forestry operations are the strongest explanatory factors in explaining policy legitimacy. In their study on energy policy decisions, however using the survey method, Visschers and Siegrist (2012) found that procedural fairness only has a limited impact compared to perceived benefits and outcome fairness in determining acceptance of acceptance of the decision of new energy policies.

Research Gap

The exclusionary effects of welfare reform are widely researched topic in public administration and public policy. Administrative burden can be a useful concept to understand the subterranean political processes that shape ground-level effects of public policy. This research explores the relationship between administrative burden and democratic citizenship. While prior research shows that the increase in public service outputs is likely to lead to an increase in procedural justice and legitimacy, this study aims to explore whether burden has an attenuating effect on such feedback effects.

Scholars studying citizen participation in democratic societies have attempted to understand citizens' participatory behaviors in terms of political participation and civic engagement. However, the citizen disengagement and the activist roles of citizens have not received the same level of attention. This study addresses that gap by using a framework that captures how administrative burden affects a broad range of citizens' participatory behaviors including citizen's disengagement.

Citizens' views of the quality of government are conditioned by their perceptions of procedural justice and legitimacy of policies. While such perceptions may vary due to national and as well as policy-specific contexts, understanding them is of critical importance to citizen-state interactions. This study explores whether the government's use of strategic communication to justify the rationalization of subsidies affects the legitimization of the DBT policy for cooking gas.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND OBJECTIVES

The study focused on effects of cooking gas cash transfers policy on citizens. Perceptions that the compliance regime established to give effect to implementation is honest, unbiased, benevolent, and lawful can make it easier to elicit the expected behavioral responses from the policy targets. Advancing procedural justice is important not just to advance other goals but as an expression of fair treatment. Similarly, perceptions of policy legitimacy can lead to greater compliance by increasing support among policy targets. This study pays attention to the antecedents as well as how these feedback effects are generated in the PAHAL/DBTL program.

Objectives of the Research

The overarching objective guiding this research is to understand whether burdensome citizen-state interactions shape citizenship outcomes. To that end, this research both attempts to establish through triangulation from multiple sources that citizen-state interactions are characterized by administrative burden as well as discerning to the extent possible, how administrative is wielded as an instrument of hidden politics. The second goal is to explore whether administrative burden is experienced differently by the sub-groups of the target population who are disadvantaged by the lack of human capital and whether factors like income, social status and education heighten its impact. The third goal is to understand if administrative burden attenuates the positive feedback effects i.e., positive citizenship outcomes.

Research Questions

The questions of this research, drawn from mixed-method research tradition are as follows:

1. How do the ideas, institutions, interests, individuals, and the external environment, etc. that inform the choices of the policy instruments, lead to the construction of burden?
2. What are the socio-demographic variables that exacerbate administrative burden among policy targets?
3. How does burden shape citizenship outcomes in the cooking gas cash transfer program?

Description of Target Population

The policy targets for the cooking gas cash transfer program are the Indian households. The end goal of the policy is to move them away from the use of solid fuels towards cleaner fuels like cooking gas. They can be categorized into three broad groups:

1. Those who use cooking gas but gave up cooking gas benefits, either voluntarily before December 28, 2015, when the income threshold was set by the Indian government, or mandatorily thereafter
2. Those who have enrolled for cooking gas cash transfers under PAHAL/ DBTL
3. Those who still depend on solid fuels despite being eligible for cooking gas cash transfers

Rationale and Summary for the Use of Research Design

Administrative burden is a citizen-centered theory of policy implementation by D. Moynihan et al. (2015). The concept of citizenship outcomes is a citizen-centered articulation of the policy feedback theory by Wichowsky and Moynihan (2008). This theoretically grounded study seeks to explore the role of burden as an explanatory factor for self-undermining policy feedback effects (Jonathan Oberlander & R Kent Weaver, 2015). Studying these theoretical concepts in real life contexts can advance understanding about whether or not burden diminish citizenship outcomes.

This section lays out the rationale for the methodology and methods guiding this research. Chapters 4 and 5 will separately present the details of the qualitative and quantitative research methods and their findings.

Researcher's Philosophical Stance

Methodology refers to the “ontological and epistemological infrastructure that forms the groundwork for a research question” (Haverland & Yanow, 2012, p. 401). This logic of this research is informed by a pragmatic worldview which emphasizes the use of all available approaches for understanding the research problem (Creswell, 2013, p. 11). Pragmatism is a deconstructive paradigm that focuses on “what works” as the truth regarding the research question under investigation (Tashakori & Teddlie 2003a). The pragmatic worldview is not rooted in any one epistemology i.e., way of knowing, or

ontology, i.e., system of reality. This research employs a theoretical lens that foregrounds the effects of onerous citizen-state interactions on citizenship outcomes.

Methods refer to all those tools and techniques that are used to carry out research (Haverland & Yanow, 2012, p. 401). The selection of methods, techniques and procedures of research as part of the pragmatic worldview is guided how best they may aid the inquiry into the phenomena under study, rather than by a prior established rationale. This research acknowledges that interpretations of reality vary from observer to observer and thereby takes a social constructivist view of the evidence which argues that the choices made in generating evidence are determined by institutional or disciplinary perspectives of those leading the inquiry. The pragmatic worldview is suited given the challenges of obtaining access to data and subjects about a program which is considered the flagship welfare initiative of the government.

The case of cooking gas cash transfers, the on-the-ground effects of which are studied in this research, raises philosophical questions not just about the appropriate role of the administrative state in a constitutional state but also about the objective and subjective viewpoints. The pragmatic paradigm is also chosen for its epistemological emphasis on both the objective and the subjective, depending on the stage of research cycle and the role that value systems play in research choices like the units of analysis, study variables and interpreting the results under this paradigm. The normative principle guiding this research inquiry is that a democratic government should constantly strive to make citizen-state interactions simpler for its most vulnerable groups of citizens.

Qualitative research emphasizes the inductive logic where a researcher starts with the collection of data from which theory is generated. Quantitative research, on the other hand emphasizes a deductive logic whereby formal research begins from a general theory or conceptual framework from which hypotheses are generated and tested. The pragmatic world view uses both the inductive and hypothetico-deductive logics to address the research questions. Such research is guided by a nature of reality (ontology) that seeks to incorporate diverse viewpoints of social reality and the best explanations borne out of the researcher's personal value system (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 88).

Exploratory Mixed Methods Research Design

The mixed methods research methodology chosen for this project can be best described as an exploratory mixed methods research design. In the exploratory mixed methods research design, researchers begin with a qualitative research phase where emerging methods of research like document analysis and interviews are used to explore the phenomenon central to the investigation. The findings from the qualitative research phase are substantially used to answer or explain the relationships between the concepts or variables. To answer research questions regarding socio-demographic variables and policy feedback effects on citizens i.e., citizenship outcomes with more confirmatory evidence, research hypotheses which can be considered as a form of quantitative research questions are framed and tested using survey data. The findings from the qualitative research phase served as an input for designing a survey instrument that was administered in the quantitative research phase (Creswell, 2013, pp. 225-227). The figure 2 outlines the basic procedures of exploratory mixed methods research design.

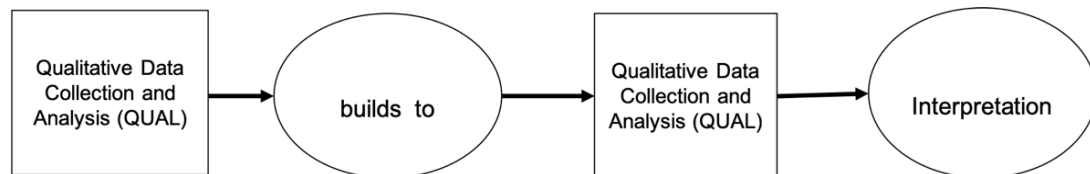
According to Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989), the five purposes underlying mixed methods research are “triangulation, complementarity, development, initiation, and expansion.” This research triangulates the phenomena of administrative burden and policy feedbacks through a range of data sources to achieve corroboration and correspondence of results across different method types with convergence as the ultimate goal. During the qualitative phase of research, key socio-demographic variables that contribute to burden and policy’s effects on the citizen in terms of citizen participatory behaviors, procedural justice are identified. The direction of the relationships was further tested during the quantitative phase. The qualitative phase has contributed to the development of the survey instrument.

The analytical strategy used for integrating qualitative and quantitative data as part of this mixed methods research is called typology development. According to Caracelli and Greene (1993, p. 197), it refers to the use of substantive categories and frameworks developed using one type of data in analyzing a contrasting data type. The qualitative phase initiated a deeper probing of the concepts of citizen participation, due to which the participatory behaviors scale (Talò & Mannarini, 2015) was used to understand it in terms of political participation, civil participation, activism, and disengagement.

The qualitative phase also contributed to a recasting of the relationship between burden and procedural justice, because somewhat counter-intuitively, despite pervasive administrative burden the expansion of service outputs through the cooking gas cash transfers has found evidence of an increase in perceptions of procedural justice and policy legitimacy. To understand the role of the government’s strategic communication in

“boosting” the policy legitimacy of cooking gas cash transfers, a quasi-experiment was embedded within the field survey.

FIGURE 2: BASIC PROCEDURES OF EXPLORATORY MIXED METHODS RESEARCH DESIGN



Source: (Creswell, 2013, p. 220)

Qualitative Phase

In the mixed methods research design used for the study, eleven interviews were conducted as part of the qualitative research phase between in New Delhi, India from September 2016 till March 2017. The research process during this phase is emergent i.e., the questions and forms of data collection are reorganized based on the availability of access to data sources. The data and insights from the qualitative research phase have informed the development of new variables, the design of the survey instrument and in finalizing the survey sampling strategy.

Quantitative Phase

The survey was implemented in Patna district of Bihar in India between April and May 2017. Six additional interviews were also conducted in the survey locations to enhance contextual understanding.

TABLE 2: SUMMARY OF RESEARCH DESIGN

| | Qualitative Phase | Quantitative Phase |
|----------------------------|--|---|
| Source of Data | Documentary analysis: a) news sources, b) parliamentary questions, c) reports Interviews | Survey responses Interviews |
| Research Process | Exploratory | Explanatory |
| Data collection procedures | Purposive, snowball sampling | Quota sampling |
| Goal | Development of new variables Survey instrument development | Confirmatory, experimental – Field survey in a natural setting |

CHAPTER 4: QUALITATIVE METHODS & FINDINGS

First, this chapter describes the qualitative research tools and techniques that are used as part of this research and then presents the findings of the research. Consistent with the pragmatic paradigm, this research uses analytical traditions borrowed from exploratory case study, descriptive qualitative inquiry and grounded theory to answer the research questions.

The exploratory case study method is used to examine the distinct phenomena of administrative burden and policy feedbacks. These phenomena need more research to aid the formulation of research hypotheses that can be tested. The exploratory case study method is considered appropriate in cases where the research environment limits the choice of methodology (Streb, 2010).

The research also uses methods of descriptive qualitative research to answer questions about (1) “how people interpret their experiences, (2) how they construct their worlds, and (3) what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 23). The aims of using this method are to achieve descriptive validity i.e., an accurate accounting of the events and interpretive validity, i.e., accurately accounting the meanings participants attributed so that the participants themselves would agree with such interpretation.

Grounded theory is a methodology of theory development where narrative data is systematically gathered and inductively analyzed with the aim of discovering patterns, themes, and categories in data.

TABLE 3: QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS TRADITIONS USED IN THE RESEARCH

| # | Analytical traditions | Sources/ Data Collection Strategies | Aim |
|---|---------------------------------|--|---|
| 1 | Case study | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Multiple sources of data: mixed, qualitative and quantitative | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To understand the complexity of cooking gas cash transfers reform in a holistic manner to reveal the politico-administrative motivations, ideological underpinnings and cognitive frames of those in the government and judiciary that advance public values legitimizing burden |
| 2 | Descriptive qualitative inquiry | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Text-based data (official reports, firsthand news reports, parliamentary questions and interviews) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> to describe the outward content of occurrences, experiences, and opinions about the phenomenon of burden and its role in weakening policy feedbacks/ receptor mechanisms. |
| 3 | Grounded theory | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parliamentary questions, firsthand news reports, and interviews, | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> to develop empirically grounded propositions about the key elements of administrative burden and its associated relationship with policy feedbacks/ receptor mechanisms. |

Qualitative Methods, Sampling and Data Collection

This section describes the qualitative methods used as part of this research, along with the sampling strategies and methods of primary data collection.

Primary sources refer to those that provide a firsthand testimony or direct evidence concerning a historical topic under research investigation. These include published reports, press releases and firsthand news reports, parliamentary questions, speeches, statements by politico-administrative leaders, court decisions and interviews of respondents.

- a) *Published Reports*: They mainly include 5 published reports on cooking cash transfers, produced by the government, external evaluation agencies and India's auditing agency. More details of the reports are presented in Table 4. Reports from other sources supplement them.
- b) *Press Releases and firsthand news reports*: Periodical press releases issued by the government about cooking gas cash transfers programs are included in the study. Firsthand news reports are journalistic accounts of policy implementation produced through field reporting or deep insight into an issue related to cooking gas cash transfers implementation. Such news reports are a useful source of knowledge about citizens' experiences of policy implementation (Tummers & Rocco, 2015, p. 820). English is the bridge language in a multi-lingual country like India. This researcher solely focused on press releases and news reports in the English language media. The selection of news sources has been made through purposive sampling.

A conscious effort has been made to make the data sources more diverse by including firsthand news reports from media sources which are located farther away from India's urban centers. The firsthand news reports were identified and selected through web search using the search terms such as "LPG" AND "subsidy" AND "India" in Google search engine for the period from June 2013 to August 2016. The Principal Investigator read the articles obtained using the search criteria and selected relevant news reports which gave a firsthand account of burdensome experiences in the cooking gas cash transfers program.

- c) *Parliamentary Questions*: In parliamentary democracies, the Members of Parliament (M.P.) ask questions of the executive branch for a variety of purposes ranging from gathering information from the executive, and/ or acting as an oversight tool to force the executive to make a statement (Jensen, Proksch, & Slapin, 2013). Written questions posed by members of the Indian "Lok Sabha" or the lower house of the Indian Parliament that raised concerns about negative or adverse citizen experiences of cooking gas targeting, were included. The search was conducted on the website of Indian Lok Sabha using search terms "LPG" AND "subsidy" for the period from June 2013 to August 2016. Here again, to keep the number of questions at a manageable level for further analysis, only written questions posed in the India Lok Sabha i.e., the lower house of the Parliament whose members are directly elected, are chosen.

Typically, each parliamentary question on a topic related to cooking gas would consist of 1-4 inquiries. After reading the question, it was categorized within the coding

categories and subcategories chosen for the research. For example, when a parliamentary question (Ajmal, Senguttavan, Gopalakrishnan, Parasuraman, & Gandhi, 2015) reads as follows:

whether the Government has fixed criteria to obtain the benefit of DBTL through Aadhaar Card only resulting deprived of the DBTL benefit to some of them and if so, the details thereof along with other mode of DBTL beneficiary has been worked out by the Government; and...

The parliamentary question is identified as pertaining to the coding category of “compliance costs” and within that, the subcategory of “difficult rules” because the question alludes to the concern about reported deprivation of benefits for those who face difficulty in obtaining an Aadhaar document.

- d) *Speeches, Statements and Court Decisions*: The views expressed by judiciary, politicians, and administrators who are associated with shaping the policy design and implementation were included in this research. Selected speeches made by the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the court ruling in the case against the use of Aadhaar, a unique identity number issued by the Indian government to all its residents based on their biometric and demographic data, controversially promoted as an identifier for services delivery, the media editorials penned by public officials and media statements by Minister of Petroleum and Natural Gas were included. The full speeches of the Indian Prime Minister, made in English, were obtained from the Prime Minister’s website at <https://www.narendramodi.in/category/text-speeches>

TABLE 4: PUBLISHED REPORTS INCLUDED IN THE RESEARCH

| # | Name of the Report | Publisher | Year | Type |
|---|---|--|------|---|
| 1 | Subsidies to Liquefied Petroleum Gas in India: An assessment of the Direct Benefit Transfer in Mysore | International Institute of Sustainable Development (IISD) | 2014 | External evaluation report |
| 2 | Review of the Direct Benefit Transfer for LPG Scheme Committee Report | Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas (MOPNG), Government of India (GoI) | 2014 | Government-commissioned evaluation |
| 3 | DBTL Performance Evaluation: Insights from the World's Largest Subsidy Benefit Transfer Scheme | Council on Energy, Environment and Water, (CEEW) & IISD | 2016 | Government-supported external evaluation |
| 4 | Assessment Report: Primary Survey on Household Cooking Fuel Usage and Willingness to Convert to LPG | Petroleum Planning & Analysis Cell (PPAC), MOPNG, GoI. | 2016 | Government-commissioned feasibility assessment report |
| 5 | Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India on Implementation of PAHAL (DBTL) Scheme | The Comptroller & Auditor General of India (CAG), GoI | 2016 | Government Audit report |

- e) *Interviews*: The interview method is useful in learning about the citizens' experiences of the welfare targeting of cooking gas subsidies. This method can provide insight into the actual experiences, thereby helping to understand the divergence between the anticipated and the actual nature of citizen-state interactions, the responses of subgroups among the citizenry like women, scheduled castes and tribes as well as rural citizens, and most importantly how negative citizen-state interactions may influence their behavior as citizens (Merton & Kendall, 1946).

It was initially proposed to also schedule some elite interviews as a way to gain insights into the design of the compliance regime for cooking gas cash transfers program. However, this method was not pursued because in the initial interactions in mid-2016 public officials and even some scholars showed reluctance in acknowledging that the program's compliance regime poses hurdles for citizens. Attempts were made instead to triangulate using other publicly available sources like newspaper columns and published articles.

The in-person interviews were conducted with 17 respondents. Pamphlets were placed at cyber cafes, bus stands, and such public places elicit cooperation from respondents. However, this has not led to voluntary participation. So, interviews participants were selected using snowball sampling. The researcher began with an entrepreneur and asked him to recommend cooking gas customers willing to be interviewed. For sampling low-income households, visits were made to low-income localities, where members of households available and willing to be interviewed were recruited. Once the respondent gave the written consent, details like age, gender, education, income,

social category and proximity to the nearest cooking gas distributor were asked and noted. The interviews ranged from five minutes to an hour. In addition to the first crop of eleven interviews that had been conducted while trying to secure cooperation from officials in New Delhi, a further six interviews were conducted in Patna district during the quantitative phase of research. This included the head of a rural gas distribution center, in his role as a customer who gave up subsidies and the head of a local village.

A cash incentive of ₹ 100 (~ 1.534 USD) was offered to secure respondent cooperation during the qualitative interview phase. In general, interview respondents from low-income households have shown a sensitivity to elaborate on their opinions about questions of fairness in compliance regimes. The interviews were conducted in a combination of Hindi and English. The interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder. Local experts were consulted to clarify the meaning of some words to ensure the accuracy of the translation during transcribing.

- f) *Participant observation:* The researcher received a letter of support from a government official in the Union Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas (MOPNG) for conducting field research. However, written permission from local cooking gas distributors who work for the OMCs to conduct participant observation inside their offices was not forthcoming. So, the researcher was only able to conduct this exercise in the public spaces outside of the distributor offices during the survey fieldwork.

Secondary sources are those that describe, discuss, interpret, analyze, evaluate, summarize, and process the primary sources. These included published speeches of politico-administrative actors and academic articles.

TABLE 5: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 17 INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

| # | Characteristic | Urban location (New Delhi) - 11 | Rural location (Patna) - 6 |
|---|--|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | Age | | |
| | (Average) | 39 | 45 |
| 2 | Gender | | |
| | Male | 9 | 4 |
| | Female | 2 | 2 |
| 3 | Social category | | |
| | General | 2 | 2 |
| | Other Backward Caste | 6 | 3 |
| | Scheduled Caste | 2 | 1 |
| | Scheduled Tribe | 1 | 0 |
| 4 | Education | | |
| | Graduation or higher | 5 | 1 |
| | Up to class 10 | 0 | 2 |
| | Up to class 5 | 0 | 2 |
| | Uneducated | 6 | 1 |
| 5 | Income (In Lakh Indian ₹) | | |
| | More than 10 | 1 | 1 |
| | 5 – 7.5 | 4 | 1 |
| | 2.5 - 5 | 1 | 0 |
| | 0 – 2.5 | 5 | 4 |
| 6 | Proximity to the cooking gas distributor (In Kilometers) | | |
| | 0 - 1 | 2 | 2 |
| | 2 - 3 | 9 | 3 |
| | 4 - 5 | 0 | 1 |
| 7 | Cooking gas status | | |
| | Affluent customers | 2 | 1 |
| | Customers receiving cooking gas benefits | 4 | 2 |
| | Eligible citizens who are not enrolled into the PAHAL/ DBTL program | 5 | 3 |

Qualitative Data Analysis

As part of the qualitative data analysis, the Principal Investigator has primarily focused the identification of two key themes central to the research. The first relates to the justifications advanced either using alternative facts – which are referred as “false but convenient statements of reality” (A. O. Larsen, 2018, p. 178)” or through the invoking of legitimate public values by those in the judiciary, executive and the administrative agencies. Relatedly it also explores the creation of ordeal mechanisms which can be understood as the policy instruments of hidden politics, which operate as “limited, goal-oriented and highly technical devices” that “operate with little visibility to external actors”(Bezes, 2007, p. 24) to reorder social relations, and their role in fostering and legitimating burden. The second relates to the costs associated with their negative experiences. The third concerns with the nature of feedbacks engendered by them as well the extent to which they can be attributed to specific aspects of policy design and policy mix.

According to Downe - Wamboldt (1992), content analysis is an analytical method that can be used “to draw valid inferences from verbal, visual or written data in order to describe or quantify specific phenomena.” They theorized that content analysis improves the inferential quality of results by concerning itself with meanings, intentions, consequences and interpreting results in the context and environment within which the data is produced. This method of analysis is used, as it can be valuable in reflecting the belief systems underlying the communication content of policy actors like government, legislators, frontline bureaucrats as well as the belief systems of groups of people. A total of 46 first-hand news reports, 106 parliamentary questions and 17 in-person interviews were included

for the qualitative data analysis. The analytic categories for coding along with the sub-categories are outlined in figures 3 and 4.

FIGURE 3: ANALYTIC CODING CATEGORIES FOR ADMINISTRATIVE BURDEN

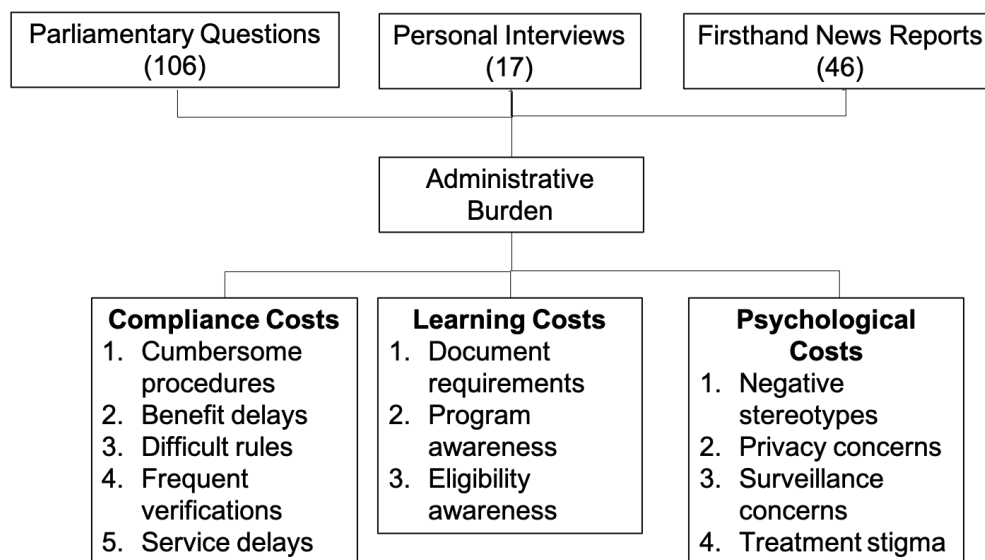
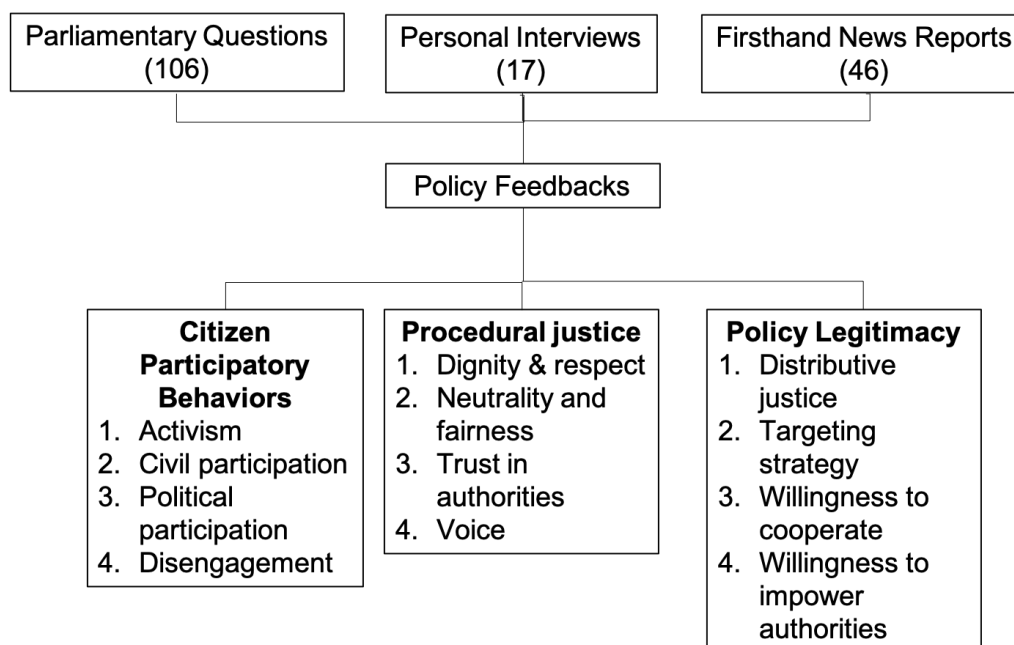
Analytic Categories for Coding Administrative Burden

FIGURE 4: ANALYTICAL CATEGORIES FOR CODING POLICY FEEDBACKS

Analytic Categories for Coding Policy Feedbacks

A directed approach to content analysis is used to validate and conceptually elaborate the theoretical framework (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1281). It is used here for using administrative burden to explain its role in generating policy feedbacks of both self-reinforcing and self-undermining nature. The key concepts of learning, compliance and psychological costs from the administrative burden theory of D. Moynihan et al. (2015) are chosen as the initial predetermined coding categories for coding citizens' negative experiences. The codes that explore the participant's experiences are derived *in vivo* through grounded analysis, to account for the specific research context (Charmaz, 1996, p. 41).

Similarly, when considering policy feedbacks, using the framework developed by Talò and Mannarini (2015), citizen participatory behaviors were analyzed in terms of predetermined coding categories of activism, disengagement, civil and political participation. The categories and operational definitions of procedural justice and policy legitimacy are based on concepts from previous research (Tom R. Tyler, 2006; Valkeapää & Karppinen, 2013). The coding was conducted using NVIVO Version.12 software.

Key passages from the text which corresponded with the coding categories were first identified. Subsequently wherever useful, within each broad coding category, they were then categorized under codes which emerged from the specific context or prior theory. For example, while considering administrative burden, under the coding category of compliance costs, service delays and lengthy compliance procedures are identified as some of the subthemes. Similarly, when considering procedural justice, voice and trust are some of the themes which emerge from theory are identified.

The process of coding involved a mix of descriptive coding (summarizing the primary topic of the excerpt) and process coding (coding a word or phrase that depicts an action).

Qualitative Research Findings

In this section, the findings of the qualitative phase of the research are presented in the following manner. The findings of the qualitative phase of the research are organized around three questions of how administrative burden constructed, whether they are consequential; and lastly, if the consequences of administrative burden are experienced disproportionately by the weaker sections of the society.

The Construction of Administrative Burden

The context and compliance regime facilitating the policy implementation of cooking gas cash transfer programs were already discussed in the first chapter. Through the use of descriptive qualitative inquiry method, this section will attempt to answer the research question related to the construction of administrative burden - How do the ideas, institutions, interests, individuals, and the external environment etc. that inform the choices of the policy instruments, lead to the construction of burden?

It specifically focuses on how the “ordeal mechanisms” for policy targets are constructed and perpetuated by various branches of the government. In doing so, drawing from the tradition of descriptive qualitative inquiry, it analyzes how legitimate public values were advanced to justify administrative burden. The Politics-of-Instrument-Choice approach

studies the underlying politics behind the government's choice of the tools of the government (Christopher Hood & Margetts, 2016, p. 136); their specific effects and the type of politics they engender (Lascoumes & Le Gales, 2007). Using the Politics-of-Instrument-Choice approach to the study of policy instruments, it describes how the hidden tools, techniques and policy instruments of burden are used to give effect to a coercive compliance regime for cash transfers. The focus of this section is on the policy and program level choices that contribute to the construction of administrative burden for policy targets. The latter sections which discuss the consequential and differential impacts on citizen groups focus on micro-level tools and techniques that operate ordeal mechanisms. Table 6 provides statistics which provide a useful context for the implementation of cooking gas transfers.

Coercion through stealth

The Jan Dhan – Aadhaar – Mobile (JAM) refers to the documentary requirements for participation in the cooking gas cash transfers program. Each of these documents is aimed at promoting an individual policy. For example, Jan Dhan refers to low-frills bank accounts which are promoted as part of India's financial inclusion efforts. Aadhaar is promoted as a universal identifier across the entire gamut of public policies.

The JAM policy mix lends itself to operate as the main technique or concrete device of hidden politics to manage the claims on the Indian state. To the extent that it advances government's goals of Aadhaar enrolment in several policy contexts through coercion using non-judicial legality, it operates as an ordeal mechanism. The government dubiously

argued that Aadhaar (unique identity number) implemented by the Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) is merely a mechanism for identification, even as the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission of India stated, “We will simply make it compulsory for those benefiting from government programmes to register for the UID number.” The then Chairman of UIDAI elaborated, “Yes, [Aadhaar] is voluntary. But the service providers might make it mandatory. In the long run I wouldn’t call it compulsory. I’d rather say it will become ubiquitous.” In November 2012 long before cash transfers were initiated, he laid out the government’s intentions, “If you do not have the Aadhaar card, you will not get the right to rights” (Ramakumar, 2014).

Notwithstanding several interim orders from the Indian Supreme Court to not make it compulsory, the government aggressively used soft law techniques. Thus by 2017 when the matter was finally heard by the Indian Supreme Court, the government claimed to have already enrolled most of India’s population. The information requests seeking transparency of government’s actions with regard to cash transfers were stymied by leaving the Information Commissions at the state and central level short of staff, which rendered them either partially functional or fully non-functional (Bhatnagar, 2018). Although civil society complaints about benefit denial due to errors in Aadhaar database and coercion have led to temporary suspension of the cooking gas cash transfers before India’s national election from March to December 2014, the DBT reform was accelerated and expanded thereafter.

The Socio-Economic and Caste Census 2011 (SECC-2011), a door-to-door administrative survey which measures the socio-economic status of rural households that ranks them based on pre-defined parameters, is the basis for the identification of Below Poverty Line

(BPL) households for Ujjwala program, which incentivizes low-income customers to join the cash transfers program by offering them free cooking connections. The SECC-2011 data is expected to be a key non-binding input for state governments to prepare beneficiary lists, by first considering all those who are to be compulsorily included, and thereafter progressively adding further beneficiaries based on the extent of deprivations and considering available budgets and guidelines (Saxena, 2015, p. 16). The mismatch between state BPL lists and SECC data has led to some households to question the lack of transparency in the government's criteria.

Governing by Gaslight

Public policy literature refers to the role of instrument constituencies which are “a category of collective policy actors who are bound by an interest in a particular policy instrument or solution”(Foli, Béland, & Fenwick, 2017, p. 3). There was a concerted effort by transnational elites, government and sections of academia and media to advance alternative facts to highlight the benefits of Aadhaar (Khera, 2013).

The Indian Prime Minister has played a leadership role in increasing the acceptability of cooking gas cash transfers among the public. He made a persuasive case for moving from a regime of indirect subsidies to direct subsidies through cash transfers by framing it as an effort to mitigate socio-economic inequality. He pleaded that the better-off households should give up cooking as benefits, so that they may be redirected to the truly needy, as follows:

I know that several of you are economists. Economists generally believe that human beings are rational. They believe people will not give up a benefit for which they are entitled. Last year, I gave a call to citizens. I asked them to give up their cooking gas subsidies, if they felt they were not poor enough to get it. We also made a promise. Every connection given up, would be used to give a new gas connection to a poor family. Poor women in rural India use firewood or biomass and suffer greatly because of smoke. This scheme is entirely voluntary. You may be surprised to learn that nearly 6.5 million people in India have responded to my call. It warms my heart, to see that so many of them have come forward, with no compulsion to benefit the poor and give up their subsidies. Already, over 5 million new connections have been given to the poor. It is a sign of the public spirit and the self-respect which prevails among Indians and shows the potential of citizen action.

Although the “Give It Up” program was initially voluntary, after the initial public response has cooled off, by the end of 2015, the government introduced a rule denying cooking gas benefits to better-off households with annual taxable incomes of over 1 million ₹ (~13700 \$).

Government officials have buttressed the argument that cash transfers have reduced leakage of welfare benefits over media claims of administrative exclusion by presenting convenient evidence (George & Subramanian, 2016). Government press releases made regular claims of savings due to the shift to cash transfers that were based on estimates rather than hard evidence (PIB, 2016b). However, such claims were refuted both by independent think tanks (Clarke, 2016) as well as India’s Auditing agency – The Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) (CAG, 2016). But instead of admitting the convenient nature of facts advanced by the government, the Petroleum Minister reiterated his perspective (CNBC-TV18, 2016) as follows:

There are two kind of calculations, one is accounting, another one is what we have done, and we have projected that. Due to DBT we could block

around 3.34 crore of bogus connections. If I go by that number in last two years, then in 2014-2015 and 2015-2016 if they would have taken 12 cylinders per consumer and the rate of subsidy we have passed on - in 2014-2015 itself we saved around Rs 14000 crore and in 2015-2016 we saved around Rs 6000 crore. This is fact, and this is our calculation.

Such subjective claims about truth have weakened the common factual basis for deliberation and public reasoning. Although the firsthand news reports from Indian media routinely highlight cases of administrative exclusion, scholars have noted the mainstream media's curious abdication of institutional memory in terms of the systematic disregard for democratic norms in DBT implementation, the lack of an editorial line, absence of evidence-based analysis and facile acceptance and circulation of government claims without scrutiny (Khera, 2016).

In a testament to the corrosive effect of alternative facts on the functioning of constitutional democracies, the Indian Supreme Court as part of its 1,448-page verdict in the six-year-long case involving several public interest litigation challenges to the Aadhaar project, accepted the claims by the government as more credible than those advanced by more than two dozen petitioners on behalf of civil society and others. The majority judgment by the Indian Supreme Court (Misra, Chandrachud, Sikri, Khanwilkar, & Bhushan, 2018) ruled:

In fairness to the petitioners, it is worth mentioning that they have referred to the research carried out by some individuals and even NGOs which have been relied upon to demonstrate that there are number of instances leading to the exclusion i.e. the benefits are allegedly denied on the ground of failure of authentication. The respondents have refuted such studies. These become disputed question of facts. It will be difficult to invalidate provisions of Parliamentary legislations on the basis of such material, more particularly, when their credence has not been tested. (paragraph 317, page 386)

In a break from its past advocacy for citizens' rights under the "right to life jurisprudence" and the "principles of good governance and civilization (Robinson, 2009), in the Aadhaar case the Indian Supreme Court accepted the government's claims and good intentions disregarding the petitioners' claims of administrative exclusion.

Balancing Inequity with Technocratic Rationality

A strong belief in the role of expertise and the transformative potential of technology is pervasive in the post-colonial nations, including India. The report of the review of the Direct Benefit Transfer for LPG Scheme (Dhande, 2014, p. 25) observed:

The Committee also acknowledges that during the implementation of the scheme, consumers faced difficulties in obtaining Aadhaar in districts where Aadhaar penetration was low, in getting Aadhaar seeding done in bank account and LPG database, in getting their grievance resolved and on account of systemic challenges such as ad-valorem VAT rates.

The Committee while examining these challenges concludes that these issues can be mitigated through technological solutions and some changes in the scheme design. The balance of convenience clearly lies in the favour of the scheme.

In an earlier case before the Indian Supreme Court, the Indian government suggested that a citizens' privacy is not a fundamental right and should yield to national interest articulated in terms of efficient, transparent, and targeted delivery of subsidies, benefits and services. In that case, in a unanimous landmark judgment, the Indian Supreme court in 2017 declared that citizens enjoy a fundamental right to privacy, that it is intrinsic to life and liberty and thus comes under Article 21 of the Indian constitution.

Although Aadhaar biometric identity's initially stated purpose was to provide a new form of an identity document for those without existing forms of identity documents, in actual practice - 99.97% of the Aadhaar numbers issued were on the basis of existing identity documents (Khera, 2017). In the Aadhaar case, the judgment of the Indian Supreme Court (Misra et al., 2018) acknowledged and rationalized the claims of the petitioners of administrative exclusion (in the context of failures in biometric technology) in this manner:

The entire aim behind launching this programme is the “inclusion” of the deserving persons who need to get such benefits. When it is serving much larger purpose by reaching hundreds of millions of deserving persons, it cannot be crucified on the unproven plea of exclusion of some. It is clarified that the Court is not trivialising the problem of exclusion if it is there. However, what we are emphasising is that remedy is to plug the loopholes rather than axe a project, aimed for the welfare of large section of the society. (p. 554-555)

The court articulated an uncritical faith in the government's claims and the potential of technology, often by quoting extensively from the claims articulated in the power point presentation before the bench on behalf of the Union government by the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of UIDAI. It pronounced its position vis-à-vis the truth claims made by the administrative state:

We may hasten to add that by no means, we are accepting that if such an exclusion takes place, it is justified. We are only highlighting the fact that the Government seems to be sincere in its efforts to ensure that no such exclusion takes place and in those cases where an individual who is rightfully entitled to benefits under the scheme is not denied such a benefit merely because of failure of authentication. In this scenario, the entire Aadhaar project cannot be shelved. If that is done, it would cause much more harm to the society. (p.387)

On the issue of the trade-off between constitutionally guaranteed freedoms, including that of individual's privacy, the judgment stated:

Thus, even when two aspects of the fundamental rights of the same individual, which appear to be in conflict with each other, is done, we find that the Aadhaar Act has struck a fair balance between the right of privacy of the individual with right to life of the same individual as a beneficiary. (p. 425)

The judgment thus has allowed that in instances where expenditure is incurred in respect of a subsidy, benefit or service from the Consolidated Fund of India, Aadhaar could be used as an identifier. The weaker sections of the society who depend more than others on government now have to subject themselves to greater invasion of privacy, in the name of dignity under the right to life, accorded by the state through welfare support.

Administrative Burden in Cooking Gas Cash Transfers

This section presents evidence gathered from primary and secondary sources to answer the research questions relating the experiences of administrative burden and their differential distribution among various sub-groups of the population. It will also identify the contextual variables that shape such negative experiences in citizen-state interactions.

The following two sections present evidence from the qualitative data collected through primary and secondary data collection methods. The exercise is not intended to be a customer journey mapping exercise or a comprehensive accounting of the spectrum of costs associated with burden. Instead, it explores through triangulation using different data collection methods whether the learning, psychological and compliance costs associated

with burden in cooking gas cash transfers are pervasive and potentially substantive in their impact on the policy targets.

Compliance Costs

Published reports: All the published reports which covered the period from 2013 to 2016 have identified the widespread difficulties in compliance. The multiplicity of documents asked from the customers can also pose challenges for compliance. After the initial launch in 2013, The IISD's 2014 Report found that 96% of those surveyed expressed that the DBT required excessive paperwork. It further revealed that respondents felt they received too many reporting requests from multiple authorities for a range of documents (Sharma, 2014, p. 4). The CRISIL report identified "long waiting periods to get a refill, distance of the distribution center and tedious application procedure" as significant barriers to program participation (CRISIL, 2016, p. 16).

Rural citizens who had to visit a bank branch, often several kilometers away, to withdraw the cash transferred in lieu of the benefits described it as a "time consuming as well as tiresome process" (Sharma, 2014, p. 6). This has financial implications for the poor, for whom withdrawing cash transfer money (which is not a large amount even by India standards) from the bank could mean losing daily work wages given that bank branches are often far away. This is in addition to having to get the cooking gas cylinder refill from the distributor's location (since they are not delivered at the customer's door outside of India's cities, notwithstanding government's guidelines). As Jain, Agrawal, and Ganesan (2016, p. 16) acknowledge the CEEW evaluation report, these costs associated with

burden, due to the shift from indirect subsidies to cash transfers have contributed to an increase in the number of dormant connections.

The IISD Report also found that respondents were denied cooking gas benefits i.e., subsidy payments into their bank account because the gas connection was issued in the name of a relative. Such delays in correcting the records have led to the denial of benefits (Sharma, 2014, p. 5). The CEEW evaluation report was based on telephone surveys conducted in May 2015 in 3 states with relatively high penetration of cooking gas usage, namely Gujarat, Kerala, and Haryana. It found that only 2.5 percent of the household found the enrolment process difficult and that as many as 45% of those households had to make 3-4 visits to complete the enrolment process (Jain et al., 2016, p. 9).

Firsthand news reports: The firsthand news reports are the principal medium that channelizes citizen grievances in the public sphere. Due to the automation of the application process, the staff working at the citizen interface have to include all the data required by the software program. Any errors made by data entry operators while entering the customer's information may lead to delays in benefits transfers for the customer. In such cases, it is incumbent upon the customer to follow up and be subjected to frequent verifications by fulfilling the paperwork requirements. As one customer reported:

I recently switched my LPG connections. On the online form my entire address cannot fit because of the shortage in space, thus, my form has been processed five times at the cost of Rs 150 by the distributors. This is my fifth visit in a fortnight. (Alok, 2015)

The rules framed for beneficiaries by MOPNG are found to increase the compliance costs. The government rules, in a bid to empower women as part of the Ujjwala program mandated that only adult women from BPL households should be enrolled for free gas connections. This signals a populist commitment by the government to help women who perform domestic tasks like cooking and are therefore most vulnerable to health hazards associated with HAP due to the use of solid fuels like cow dung and coal. However, there is no evidence that mandating that the gas connection should be in the name of a female beneficiary will lead to more benefit to the women. One firsthand news report documented the denial of benefits to members of a BPL household without an adult female, who otherwise would have benefited from the program if not for such a requirement (R. K. Singh, 2016)

Under the PAHAL/ DBTL, the financial transactions between the citizen and the government pass through the master databases of multiple entities such as banks, gas agencies, the National Payments Council of India, India's payments regulator and the UIDAI, which is the Custodian of Aadhaar data. Glitches in interoperability among these entities cause hardships to customers (Akmali, 2016). Other service related compliance issues included delays in processing documents provided by the customers, in cases even when they are willing to give up benefits (Patel, 2015), and delays in receiving cash transfers (Gopal, 2014)

Parliamentary Questions: The compliance costs faced by citizens are among the most common parliamentary questions posed by MPs to the government. The questions by Members of Parliament ranged from those pertaining to service-related delays to low

income households (A. Devi, 2013) rural-urban differences in quality of service delivery (R. Devi, 2014), difficulties in complying with documentary requirements pertaining to Aadhaar (Karadi, 2014), cash transfer delays (Thomas, 2014).

The review of parliamentary questions shows that the topics are concerned with delays in benefits transfer, the cumbersomeness of procedures, and the poor quality of cooking gas services in rural areas.

Participant observation: The government's Ujjwala program provides free gas connections to women from low-income households. Although cooking gas cylinders are to be delivered at the homes of the customers, home delivery services are not provided in rural areas. In rural locations, the researcher has witnessed individuals, in some cases women, carrying the gas cylinder which weighed 14.5 Kilograms (~32 pounds) all by themselves to the nearest auto rickshaw or two-wheeler vehicles to transport it to their residences in neighboring villages.

Interviews: The interviews have revealed that customers from rural households who are using cooking gas are not enthused about cooking gas cash transfers over the earlier method of indirect subsidies. Often, they have to resort to purchasing gas through illegal means due to lack of documentation. One interviewee stated:

Because of problems with the government apparatus. Government says that it will provide connections to BPL families only. For that, they need to do a proper survey that has not been done. Some of the neediest people are not getting the benefits. They don't have their names in the BPL list. When they ask for benefits, they are told your name is not there, so you are ineligible. Some of these people don't have the money to get the

connection without this scheme, hence they are forced to depend upon other sources.

They also expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of transparency about the eligibility criteria as follows:

This is because they don't have their names in the list. Government has made no provisions for them. Even a letter written by sarpanch, panchayat, mukhiya etc. (officials of the local government) validating their BPL status can't solve their issue. People would have benefitted had such letters been accepted as a proof of BPL status.

In rural areas, one of the respondents reported that he stopped using cooking gas because of the delays in receiving cash transfers. The reasons for such service delays were explained by a rich customer who does not receive cash transfers but has insight into the identification process, as follows:

The cooking gas refill can only be booked through a customer's mobile phone. If someone loses his mobile number and wants it changed, the distributor cannot change it on his own. He can only raise the request on behalf of the customer. In some cases, the delay may be anywhere from 10 days to up to a month. Till then, the customer has to wait. Unlike previously, in the DBTL system, distributor is not allowed to book refills on behalf of the customer.

He also explained how the process of "deduplication of customer data," and mismatches in administrative data that are used to identify "deserving customers" for cash transfers and free as connection benefits under the Ujjwala program, affects low-income households:

In the case of Ujjwala, those applicants whose names are included in the Socio-Economic Caste Census (SECC) 2011 list are recommended. But the applications are scrutinized and finalized by the National Payment Corporation of India (NPCI). NPCI can reject the applicants on the basis

that even though they are shown as Below Poverty Line (BPL) as per State government records, their name does not figure in SECC 2011. So, the applicant may argue that he receives rations and benefits under Indira Awaas Yojana under the BPL category from the state government, but that won't help. The central government writes that all BPL households will get Ujjwala connections, but in reality, only those included in SECC 2011 stand to benefit.

The Block Development Officer (BDO) could verify and certify a BPL household earlier. In Ujjwala, SECC 2011 was the sole basis. So, some households argue that they are excluded from Ujjwala benefits although they are identified as BPL by state government. Then NPCI will verify the information uploaded by the distributor, and about 15-30% usually are excluded at that level.

He also explained that those from scheduled castes communities like Mushahars (traditionally rat-catchers who now work as agricultural laborers) mostly do not use cooking gas because they neither have a bank account or Aadhaar. He also explained how the communitarian aspect of rural life is at odds with the technology-driven top-down logic of beneficiary identification with this explanation:

Assume, you have a neighbor who does not own a mobile but knows your mobile number, he can give it (without consent) to the gas agency to be used for a connection not in your name. When you go and try to add that same mobile number of yours to your own gas connection, you are then liable to be rejected. NPCI will match and verify the customer's name and address with Aadhaar and bank account, but not the mobile number.

The researcher has confirmed this from gas agencies that “de-duplication is only done to verify that the applicant's name on the bank account and Aadhaar number are matched, but they are not cross-checked with databases of mobile service providers. This shows that the flaws in the beneficiary identification processes could be a source of administrative exclusion. However, in urban areas, respondents have expressed that despite initial

difficulties in arranging documents, the service quality has improved due to reduced human interaction.

Learning Costs

These reflect the difficulty faced in obtaining knowledge about program availability, eligibility requirements, and access.

Published reports: One government-commissioned report identified that around 57% of the households in the surveyed states, who are still dependent on solid fuels are unaware of the PAHAL/DBTL program that provides cash transfers to incentivize cooking gas usage and this was found to be even higher at 67% in Bihar, one of the backward states of India (CRISIL, 2016, p. 53). Further, the report also found that awareness about the program application process is comparatively lower among respondents with lower education levels and this trend is more prominent in states such as Bihar.

The IISD report also discussed the lack of familiarity in using an Automated Teller Machine (ATM). Even when there is sufficient awareness of the procedures, basic tasks like accessing benefits can pose challenges in the absence of either the skills or resources to maneuver the technical procedures to remotely access program related information through the internet or by navigating the automated phone menu using a mobile phone. Rural citizens were known to send women of their households to the bank to check if the money is deposited into their accounts so that the male wage earner of the household could later go and collect it (Sharma, 2014, p. 6).

Similarly, the CEEW found that among the 5.4% of those who are found to be not enrolled in their telephone survey, 45% cited the lack of awareness about the process, absence of a bank account and rejection of documents by banks as the reasons (Jain et al., 2016, p. v).

News Reports: In the case of PAHAL/DBTL, the prospective customers can sometimes be required to obtain knowledge about procedures for not just applying for a cooking gas connection, but also simultaneously about opening a bank account, enrolling for Aadhaar and how to interlink all of them (Jitendra, 2013).

Parliamentary questions: In general, very few awareness related questions by the members of the parliament. For example, parliamentarians ask questions on the details of persons using cooking gas, and of villages/ areas where cooking gas is not provided (G. Singh et al., 2015) while some questioned about efforts made by the government to increase program awareness (Ajmal et al., 2015). Such questions could be a proxy for concern about a lack of awareness among the policy targets.

One reason there are few questions related to learning costs i.e., awareness related barriers faced by policy targets of the cooking gas cash transfers, could be that this research only considered queries posed to the MOPNG, which mainly facilitates cooking gas cash transfers implementation. Some of the questions related to barriers to awareness could have been directed to the Ministry of Finance - which is engaged with expanding access to bank accounts or the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology which oversees the expansion of Aadhaar and mobile access. Other reasons could be that in order to enforce

the accountability of the executive, questions from the Members of the parliament are mainly oriented towards seeking those information and data that are not otherwise easily available in the public domain.

Participant observation: In the rural location the researcher has witnessed customers seeking help by bringing documents identifying their low-income status from other welfare programs to convince the staff at the gas distributor about their “deservingness.” This is because, it is unclear to many of them, why despite their evident eligibility for the program, their name does not figure among those identified through the Socio-Economic Caste Survey – 2011.

Interviews: During interviews, respondents from low-income households who still do not use cooking gas have explained that they have no idea about how to get the necessary documents. In some cases, they only came to know about the program after the researcher has explained it to them. One interviewee belonging to scheduled tribe category, who was living in Delhi for more than 40 years was asked about his awareness of government’s programs for free gas connections stated:

Yes...though I haven’t really heard of it...but people talk among themselves, I get to hear that. However, I do not know of it. Neither we are literate, nor we have a knowledge of this thing. If we had the knowledge, we would have made the government give it out (for us).

Some of the interviewees who do not use cooking gas replied in monosyllables in the negative when asked if they are aware of the cooking gas cash transfers program. One respondent in the state of Bihar expressed a disinclination to use cooking gas for the fear

that it may cause an explosion in the house. This shows the need to increase public awareness about the cooking gas usage.

Psychological Costs

These include costs that arise when citizens feel the stress, stigma or a sense of loss of autonomy in citizen-state interactions. Stigma can either arise from being identified as a user of a means-tested program (identity stigma) or from a concern about being treated poorly by others (treatment stigma) (Stuber & Schlesinger, 2006, p. 935). Unlike in western democracies where identity stigma is known to reduce program participation, in India - a lower-middle income country - welfare program participation does not carry the same negative connotation in public discourse. However, the researcher found some evidence of treatment stigma in citizen-state interactions.

Published reports: Corruption can have a disproportionate impact on the poor who lack the means to pay for the services. A report on analysis of data from Central Public Grievance Redress and Monitoring System (CPGRAMS) - a public grievance portal administered by India's Department of Administrative Reforms & Public Grievances (DAR&PG) showed that malpractices and corruption constitute 29% of all addressable grievances in with regard to cooking gas services (*Grievance Analysis & Systemic Reforms Recommendation*, 2016). Together with compliance costs associated with cooking gas services (66%), they form 95% of all addressable grievances.

The psychological costs are rarely reflected in reports. The issue of lack of privacy in citizen-state interactions in India was a subject of some contestation. It was resolved when the Indian Supreme Court in 2017 in a unanimous verdict deemed it to be a fundamental right. But after a year has passed since the Supreme Court judgment, the government has only initiated the consultation process to enact a law to enforce citizen privacy. The debate has now moved on to the issue of the reasonableness of restrictions to be placed on citizens' privacy.

Scott, Tehranian, and Mathias (2002, p. 10) have argued that a modern state seeking to advance large-scale plans for the welfare of its population “requires the capacity to locate citizens uniquely and unambiguously.” Some scholars who have studied digital inclusion projects have argued that populations engaging in interactions with the welfare state may not even consider their personal details private in that context (Gangadharan, 2017). A recent study on India by Srinivasan, Bailur, Schoemaker, and Seshagiri (2018, p. 1242) offered a more nuanced analysis of how citizens view the issue of privacy vis-à-vis the government. They found that concerns about privacy are primarily weighed by citizens against their perceived need to be seen by the state. This in turn is based on the rationales offered by the state and tempered by their previous experiences of citizen-state interactions.

News Reports: The Give It Up program has turned the scrutiny on urban middle classes who were initially asked to “voluntarily” give up cooking gas benefits. Usually, treatment stigma is associated with experiences of low-income groups. But in this case, the relatively better-off households were encouraged to give up cash transfer benefits. As one urban customer argued “My husband and I pay a lot of taxes, there is no reason for someone to

frown at us and why we cannot redeem some benefits given by the government” (Alok, 2015). Indeed, urban citizens nurse a feeling of injustice as they feel most of the social benefits are directed towards the rural poor (Ramakrishnan, 2014).

Wealthy citizens who have given up cooking gas benefits have refused to participate in a government-commissioned survey arguing:

It is wrong for anyone to ask the income of another individual. I joined the scheme after seeing one of the advertisements that were being broadcast on television and wanted to do my bit to help those in need. But that does not give the centre or the gas company to ask about my income. What is the correlation between joining the scheme and the consumer's income? (Soni, 2016)

By adopting a lens of networked privacy, (Srinivasan et al., 2018) argued for relational understanding of citizens’ privacy where “their desire to negotiate when the state could ‘see’ them and when it could not, whether by staying under the radar or by actively obfuscating how the state saw them.” The implementation of cooking gas cash transfers is clouded by the uncertainty regarding the legality of Aadhaar, questions about its mandatory nature, and frequently shifting deadlines for enrolment. This has exacerbated the feelings of confusion among the citizens (Gopal, 2014).

Parliamentary questions: There were no questions raised by the members of the parliament about psychological costs.

Participant observation: The low-income customers typically arrived at the office of the gas distributor either early in the morning or during the afternoon hours. Although they

were made to wait, such delays were construed as a problem of low staff capacity rather than as a sign of disparate treatment. Such treatment of the citizens is often the norm in India.

Interviews: Affluent urban customers have expressed concerns about government surveillance and privacy. One customer who has given up benefits explained that the low value of benefits was one of the reasons he chose to give up subsidies. When asked for his reluctance to share his Aadhaar number, he explained:

The reason is, why should I give my biometric details to these government undertaking companies, autonomous bodies etc. If I provide it to them, they will have all my personal information. So, someone can hack my data and use it. I can share it with government not them. Government in my view maintains certain security standards.

In interviews with low-income households in rural locations, the researcher found that cultural factors can also play a role in limiting program participation. The Yadavs are a peasant-pastoral backward caste who are traditionally engaged in cattle raising. They claim their descent from the Hindu God Krishna who is worshipped as a cow herder. They often depend on dry manure from animal waste for cooking fuel. So, they are slow in cooking gas adoption compared to individuals from other castes.

Policy Feedback Effects of Cooking Gas Cash Transfers

This section explores the policy feedback effects of the cooking gas cash transfers. Unlike the costs associated with program participation, the policy feedback effects are less visible. Further, this research is directed at the effects of policies on citizens. To that extent, given

the emphasis on citizen-state interactions, the lens of procedural justice was chosen as a theme for analysis.

Given that this research focuses on a particular policy, the lens of policy legitimacy would offer a better understanding over generalized trust in government, although the latter is more frequently measured. Thirdly, citizen participation in the context of this research is broadly conceived in terms of various kinds of participatory behaviors exhibited by the citizens.

Policy legitimacy

Published Reports: Any assessment of the legitimacy of the welfare targeting of cooking gas benefits through DBTs should also consider the historical context of India's emerging democracy. To contextualize the use of authority as a governing resource in the context of cooking gas cash transfers, a recent Pew report revealed that although three-quarters of respondents supported representative democracy, it found that Indians exhibited support for autocratic rule more than any other nation surveyed and that a majority (55%) of Indians endorsed a system of governance driven by a strong leader (PewResearch, 2017). The report also showed that India is one of the five countries to exhibit more than 80% trust in government. It is also one of seven countries among the 38 surveyed where more than six-in-ten support technocracy i.e., rule by experts instead of elected officials.

This shows that some of the distinguishing aspects of the cooking gas cash transfers like the coercive and technocratic approach to implementation may be viewed as necessary for

improved governance by large sections of the population. The CEEW Evaluation report lauds the “strong leadership” shown by the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi in facilitating the “institutional coordination” necessary for the implementation of the cooking gas cash transfers from November 2014, as a key contributory factor for the success of PAHAL/ DBTL program (Jain et al., 2016, p. 18).

News Reports: The issue of social inequality and the strategy to address it is central to the legitimacy of India’s shift towards welfare targeting through DBT. Two incidents are illustrative of the steps taken by the Indian government to ensure the policy legitimacy of DBT for cooking gas. During the early days, the number of gas cylinders available to a household annually was reduced to eight cylinders, which was considered a politically unpopular measure. Once the issue became a matter of public debate, the government has decided to increase the number of cylinders available to a household to twelve.

Similarly, in Dec 2015, once the government excluded the cooking gas benefits to better-off households, the media debates led to contrasting that decision with the subsidized price of food served at the Indian Parliament Canteen. Soon after that, the government hiked food prices and announcing that they will operate the Parliament canteen on a “no-loss, no-profit basis” (Patel, 2015). These instances show how authority is exercised to emphasize responsiveness to citizens. The news reports also showed that even citizens qualifying better-off households see their economic security in uncertain terms:

Till a decade ago, those holding lakhs of rupees were considered rich. But with today’s cost of living that is not much. In homes of government employees, even if both husband and wife earn, they spend more on

transport, communication and other things. They should tax the corporates. (Ramakrishnan, 2016)

Although the DBT the coercive compliance regime is widely acknowledged to be exclusionary by design, many Indians seem to view such a policy implementation as a virtue of strong leadership.

Parliamentary questions: Members of the parliament have raised questions related to the administrative procedures for excluding rich customers from cooking gas cash transfers and whether the savings accrued have been redistributed to offer additional subsidies to poor citizens in rural areas (Nathan et al., 2015). Others have raised the issue of rural-urban inequities in cooking as access and consumption (Nani & Birla, 2016). These questions indirectly speak to the issue of the legitimacy of government's policy of cooking gas cash transfers.

Participant observation: The redistributive rationale for cooking gas cash transfers is widely propagated through print and television channels. Celebrities were brought in to endorse the idea of giving up benefits, so the government could help the poor. This contributed to the public support for cooking gas cash transfers.

Interviews: The willingness to empower authorities is also informed by the relational context of a citizen with the policy. An interview respondent from an urban location who is a customer who gave up subsidies expressed his views about cooking gas reform as follows:

I'm a government employee; anybody can track my salary, while for them it's not applicable. We need a transparent system, if I see a person earning similar or more than me but he is still able to manipulate it, that is wrong. We need a transparent mechanism for that. Overall the initiative is good. If people are capable of giving up, they should give up, it contributes towards nation building.

But another urban interview respondent who also gave up subsidies acknowledged the challenge of exclusion, stating:

Availing subsidies won't get easier. For poor people, it will get difficult. They will have to prove that they are poor. Earlier everyone was poor. Now that person will have to prove that he/she is poor. And that lies in the hands of many people. Proving that one is poor. That is not in his/her hands. It's in the hands of the local Patwari, then in the hands of someone at the Block level, then some local Sarpanch, some Pradhan (local government officials). It's an administrative thing. And the poor man doesn't know whom to approach in order to be certified as poor.

He also acknowledged that he gave up subsidies not because of motivation derived from government's campaign but because of the constant bespoke messages beamed at him through personalized communication channels like Interactive Voice Response (IVR) and text messages by the government.

The individual experiences of the ground realities of policy implementation also shape the public support cash transfers. Respondents from rural areas have voiced support for universal coverage but also make a distinction that under cash transfers there is more transparency in benefits disbursement, for which they credit the government. At the same time, whatever corruption they experience, like the money that urban customers pay to staff who deliver at their home, is viewed as localized corruption.

Procedural Justice

Successive governments have prioritized the effective implementation of the welfare targeting for cooking gas benefits. The priority accorded to effectively implementing the welfare targeting of cooking gas benefits is evident from various reports.

Published Reports: The CEEW performance evaluation report concluded “strong political will and leadership, juxtaposed with institutional co-ordination and intensive advertising and communication campaigns” are the critical drivers of PAHAL/DBTL implementation (Jain et al., 2016, p. 23). Indeed, by a range of measures aimed at improving the quality of public services based on the recommendations of the Dhande Committee (Dhande, 2014), accompany the shift to cooking cash transfers.

The CMS-India Corruption Study of 2015 survey which was conducted in Delhi reported that compared to the previous year, the citizens’ reported firsthand experience of corruption was the least in the case of domestic cooking gas service, which was ranked among the top three performing services among the fifteen services considered for the study (*CMS-India Corruption Study 2015: Perception and Experience with Public Services in Delhi*, 2015). The report also noted that in compared to previous year, corruption has increased by nearly half in the case of home delivery of domestic cooking gas (a localized form of fraud attributable to delivery persons) and less weight of the cooking gas cylinders (due to pilferage of cooking gas). Reports suggest these findings hold true for rural areas as well. The CEEW evaluation report noted that “less than 1 per cent of the households enrolled

reported instances of corruption at the hands of distributors or bank officials” (Jain et al., 2016, p. 10).

News reports: The government has taken several e-governance initiatives, notably the Sahaj initiative for the online release of new cooking gas connections and the use of social media to quickly address public grievances. The online portal mylpg.in to enable customers to register for new LPG connections online, as well as make online payments for the same (PIB, 2015b). The government has developed mobile apps to facilitate convenient booking of gas cylinders.

Parliamentary questions: Questions about redistribution of the resources (Nathan et al., 2015) were posed to explore the procedural justice dimensions of cooking gas cash transfers. Some Members of Parliament have posed questions about service quality (Ajmal et al., 2015). While these questions may not approximate to the theoretical understanding of procedural justice, they do speak to the concern for improving the conditions of service experience for citizens.

Interviews: In interviews, most respondents who are customers, expressed that they found the shift to cash transfers to make government more transparent. One interviewee expressed his perception as follows:

I do think that this scheme is noble because now we are more aware of the system and it's getting transparent. We know the processes and how exactly the price is getting determined when subsidies are there.

It must be pointed out that government's determination of monthly cooking gas prices is directed at removing indirect price subsidies, which was only partially fulfilled, after it was evident that such a move was making it unaffordable for low-income customers (PTI, 2017). As such the general public has little insight into the rationale behind the determination of monthly cooking gas market prices. But the public seems to associate the shift to cash transfers with greater transparency. They also expressed a belief that the government is fair in treatment regarding benefits disbursement. When asked about corruption through pilferage of cooking gas from canisters by local delivery agents, a respondent stated:

Yes, such things happen sometimes, but it happens because of low awareness levels- people don't know the weight of a cylinder. We need to increase the awareness levels so as to keep them in check.

While they acknowledge instances of localized corruption, such as the low weight of cylinders delivered at residences, they make a distinction between larger intent of the government and petty corrupt acts by local staff. Even in rural areas, there is an intuitive belief that increased automation has improved the service experience. One interviewee respondent expressed:

Yes, but the basic advantage is that time we used to call the agent continuously 3-4 times, but now you don't need to call him at all. Now your interaction with the agent/particular gas agency is very limited and that has helped because earlier you needed to call him 3-4 times to get the cylinder early.

Even so, there is acknowledgment even among the affluent customers that cash transfers can exacerbate inequalities in the absence of expanded networks of social

infrastructure in rural areas to improve the ease of service delivery. One respondent opined:

I appreciate the process by which it is done, but the target has to be assured in terms of like supply of cylinders in the local markets. Here in Delhi you have doorstep delivery of cylinders, but if you go to a village, there people themselves go to the agencies. A cylinder is not something which can be lifted by any person, you require a good build to lift it.

Citizen participatory behaviors

This research has attempted to capture a broad spectrum of citizen participatory behaviors in a democratic context.

Firsthand News Reports: Many civil society groups have mobilized against Aadhaar by filing public interest litigation petitions. In the aftermath of the launch of the “Give It Up” program, salaried urban middle-class groups exhibited activist civic behavior arguing that the meager government benefits they receive in return for taxes paid, were being taken away (Ramakrishnan, 2016). The levels of social involvement (attention) and civic engagement (action) are high initially, given that cash transfers were implemented first implemented in the domain area of cooking gas. From September 2015 onwards, Indian government started operating pilot projects of cash transfers in lieu of food rations previously provided through the Public Distribution System (PDS) in three Union Territories (U.T.s), i.e., Chandigarh (CDG), Puducherry (PDY), and Dadra and Nagar Haveli (DNH), so there was a discernable shift in media attention towards exclusion errors in other policy areas with more visible implications for the poor. Media reports cite that scheduled caste women viewed greater political participation as a mean to gain access to

welfare benefits (Bhatt, 2017). It quotes one woman from the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh where the Ujjwala program is being implemented, as follows:

I don't have Ujjwala gas (the Prime Minister's ambitious scheme to provide LPG connections to BPL households) or a toilet at home. Don't ask me why. Our village elders never keep our name in the list (for cooking gas connections). If Mayawati's government comes, we will have more money

Published reports: An early evaluation report by IISD based on individual field surveys and focus groups in 2013 has documented the hassles in implementation. However, an evaluation study conducted in 2015 has documented better outcomes for citizens. But such reports do not focus attention beyond the immediate outcomes of policy implementation.

Parliamentary questions: There were no questions posed by Members of Parliament about how cash transfers influence citizen participatory behaviors. Most of the questions raised in the parliament focused on administrative exclusion in cash transfers. Opposition parties on some occasions have even forced the adjournment of parliament over the issue of Aadhaar linked benefits (PTI, 2016)

Participant observation: During the field visit to low-income households, the researcher found not only found a lack of awareness among the lower caste groups, but also that they showed a resigned behavior towards the challenges in gaining access to welfare programs. It is evident that the poor gain access to government benefits through intermediaries who arrange for documentation. However, the present design of the program does not make it easy for the very poor who lack documentation to join it. Even so, there are many members

of the rural middle class who have benefited from the increased access to subsidized cooking gas.

Interviews: In the interviews, respondents from low-income groups have expressed a disinterest in politics and a feeling that the government is not responsive. They sometimes showed a lack of inclination to probe the issue further.

Findings from Qualitative Research

The research findings of this chapter show that a faith in technology and an instrumental view of policy goals pervades the policy design of cooking gas cash transfers. They identify the role of soft law, alternative facts and opaque beneficiary selection processes as ordeal mechanisms intended to achieve a programmatic retrenchment in the policy area of cooking gas benefits. They also briefly touch upon the effects of such hidden policy instruments in fostering administrative burden and restructuring the citizen-state relationship.

The use of authority as a governing resource through soft law instruments and the use of nodality through promotion of alternative facts, pose unique challenges to ensuring the legitimacy and credibility respectively for the policy of cooking gas cash transfers. Although the price of subsidized cooking gas was largely remained unchanged between 2012 and 2016, the total unit subsidy fell dramatically due to the government's policy of gradual increase in the price of subsidized cooking gas by 2 ₹ (~USD 3 cents) per each domestic cooking gas cylinder starting from July 2016 onward and monthly 4 ₹ (~USD 6 cents) increases from June 2017, ending in November 2017. The implementation of a

Goods and Services Tax (GST) in July 2017 has also been a factor that contributed to the increase in the sale price of domestic cooking gas cylinders. The increase in both the final sale price and the reduction in the total unit subsidy could be the reason the reduction in the annual consumption of cooking gas cylinders per person lagging despite an increase the overall consumer base (Nair, 2018). This contributes to reduced cupidity, despite the increase in perceptions of government's competence given the expansion of cooking gas distributor network outside urban areas.

The chapter also triangulates evidence from diverse sources to show that the shift towards cooking gas transfers have caused considerable difficulties for the citizens. Understanding the full scope of administrative exclusion requires access to recent administrative data, which is not yet in the public domain. However, the chapter findings suggest that administrative burden is higher than what is officially acknowledged by the government. The qualitative research identified that differences in age, gender, education, income, education, location, gender, social category, family size and individual's profession have a bearing in the perception of costs associated with burden.

Thirdly, the chapter summarizes the policy feedbacks generated by the cooking gas cash transfers. The findings show that administrative burden, specifically the compliance costs seem to diminish policy legitimacy. However, the perceptions about distributive justice have a more significant role in determining policy legitimacy. Citizens' perception of procedural justice in the context of cooking gas cash transfers seem to hinge upon fair treatment in citizen-state interactions, and perceptions of reduced corruption. The research has found that effects of cooking gas cash transfers on citizens participatory behaviors to

range from increased civil, social participation to activism in some instances. It also found that the evidence of disengagement is high among individuals from low-income households, a category that overlaps with those belong to castes and communities ranking lower in the social hierarchy, or having low, income, education or belong to the rural areas or the female gender.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the Qualitative Data Collection Procedures

During the qualitative phase, the research relied on firsthand news reports, parliamentary questions, speeches, and statements of government officials to gain insight into the policy implementation. This is because the coercive nature of the compliance regime and the negative experiences of citizens are widely documented in the Indian and global media.

Factors such as inexperience, constraints of time and money, the Principal Investigator's status in the academic community as well as the respondent's willingness or lack thereof to elaborate on the underlying issues of "deservingness" and "inequality" that inform their negative experiences, have played a role in undertaking the exercise. Given the high degree of awareness about the political significance of the policy program, in some cases, the interviewees exhibited a social desirability bias by answering in a manner that they believed is likely to be viewed favorably. In other instances, wherever respondents used non-verbal cues to express a desire not to pursue a line of inquiry, the Principal Investigator either moved on to other questions and concluded the interview.

Limitations of the Qualitative research

In this chapter, to strengthen the credibility of the scholarship, an effort is made to lay out the choices of research methods and analytical tools used in this research work. In the same spirit, it is necessary to lay out its limitations. One of them is Principal Investigator's resources as a doctoral researcher. There were constraints of time, access and sequencing that arose from the challenge of securing written approvals from government officials for survey work undertaken in the next stage. Due to this, participant observation inside the offices of the gas distributors and elite interviews were not undertaken.

The Principal Investigator is aware that his skills and resources for conducting this research are biased by his position as a student in an American University, attempting to use the perspectives mainly drawn from his disciplinary knowledge and field work to offer a critical analysis of an empirical problem. At the same time, as an Indian citizen with the relevant training and experience, he brings his cultural awareness and practical understanding of the challenges of expanding social protection benefits to inform the research. Based on the structured research questions and a broad review of the literature drawn from diverse disciplines, the Principal Investigator hoped to challenge the conventions of his own disciplinary perspective and his personal experiences as an international researcher.

Validity & Reliability

According to Whittemore, Chase, and Mandle (2001, pp. 527-528), ensuring validity “becomes the process whereby ideals are sought through attention to specified criteria, claims to knowledge are made explicit, and techniques are employed to address the most pressing threats to validity for each type of inquiry.” The choice of the methods in this research is informed by a pragmatic approach that seeks to employ the best available research method to explore the research questions. At the same time, as discussed earlier in this chapter, care was taken to acknowledge the strengths and weaknesses of individual research methods. Admittedly, some of the research methods like parliamentary questions offer a limited and indirect perspective into the negative experiences in citizen-state interactions. The very fact that legislators have raised questions about the burden experienced by citizens in the context of the policy speaks to the salience of those concerns among legislators of India’s highest deliberative body.

Care was taken to ensure the validity of the research findings through the use of multiple methods for triangulating them. Even though the selection of firsthand news reports, parliamentary questions interviews are done through convenience sampling methods and thereby limited in their thoroughness, care was taken to ensure the transparency of the methodology and that the results are an accurate representation of the total population (Golafshani, 2003). The interpretation of the negative experiences in citizen-state interactions as well as citizenship outcomes are presented through repeated checks using qualitative data analysis, to ensure the integrity of the findings,. Care was taken to be

sensitive to the cultural and social contexts, and the data collection methods were designed to capture the multivocality of perspectives and voices among citizen groups.

CHAPTER 5: QUANTITATIVE METHODS AND FINDINGS

Research Hypotheses

In their article on administrative burden, D. Moynihan et al. (2015) advance several theoretical propositions regarding the effects of administrative burden. They broadly pertain to three key areas 1) on citizens 2) on inequality and 2) the relationship between administrators and burden. This research focuses on all these three areas but with a particular focus, on some policy feedbacks. While the previous chapter briefly discussed the relationship between administrators and burden, this chapter explores the relationship and effects of administrative burden on policy targets across various groups by measuring some policy feedback effects on citizens.

D. Moynihan et al. (2015, pp. 45-63) theorized that burdensome processes undermine political efficacy and civic participation. While they have argued that, by communicating signals about political engagement, burden impacts political participation, they do not further elaborate the direction of the relationship between burden and political participation. This research hypothesizes that in a functioning democracy it is expected that an increase in administrative burden is expected to increase not just political participation but also activist behavior. While administrative burden itself can be considered a negative citizenship outcome, it is hypothesized an increase in burden would lead to an increase in citizen disengagement - another negative citizenship outcome. Accordingly, it explores whether burden increases citizen disengagement, political participation and activism and has an attenuating effect on civic participation.

The administrative burden theory argued that imposing burden disproportionately impacts those with low human capital – like those hailing from lower income, lower education etc. Accordingly, this research hypothesizes the disadvantaged sections among the policy targets – broadly understood as those belong to female gender, those with low education, low income, rural background, belonging to disadvantaged social categories such as other backward caste, scheduled caste and scheduled tribe, and those engaged in lower level occupations - would experience a reduction in positive citizenship outcomes and an increase in negative citizenship outcomes.

Previous research has shown that fair and equitable processes matter more for citizen trust than assessments of government performance (Van Ryzin, 2011). Along similar lines, D. Moynihan et al. (2015, p. 47) argue that the violation of citizens' needs for basic needs for autonomy and respectful treatment aggravates burden. This research tests the proposition that burden reduces procedural justice and further explores how burden bears upon the legitimacy of the cooking gas cash transfers policy.

While the Indian government has not released any document explicitly laying out its policy, as discussed as part of the qualitative research findings, it has used mass media to frame the welfare targeting aspect of the cooking gas cash transfers in terms of mitigating social inequality. To understand its effects, this research explored whether the use of strategic framing increased policy legitimacy. Accordingly, the key hypotheses for the survey research are as follows:

TABLE 6: OVERVIEW OF HYPOTHESES

| # | Hypotheses |
|----------------|--|
| H ₁ | Disadvantaged groups among the policy targets experience a reduction in positive citizenship outcomes and an increase in negative citizenship outcomes |
| | Citizen Participatory Behaviors |
| H ₂ | Increase in administrative burden <i>reduces</i> policy target's civil participation |
| H ₃ | Increase in administrative burden increases policy target's political participation |
| H ₄ | Increase in administrative burden increases policy target's activist behavior |
| H ₅ | Increase in administrative burden increases policy target's <i>disengagement</i> |
| | Procedural Justice |
| H ₆ | Increase in administrative burden decreases policy target's perceptions of procedural justice |
| | Policy Legitimacy |
| H ₇ | Increase in administrative burden decreases policy target's perceptions of policy legitimacy |
| H ₈ | Use of strategic frames of political communication increases policy legitimacy |

Sampling & Data Collection Measures

Description of the sampling method

This research used quota sampling, a type of non-probability sampling method that is improved with socio-economic data to reflect the population of interest (Vehovar, Toepoel,

& Steinmetz, 2016). The data was collected through two separate surveys, one each at the urban location and rural locations respectively and merged for data analysis.

Location selection

This assumption driving this research is that administrative burden is more likely to prevalent in states with low social infrastructure. The Indian state of Bihar has the lowest per capita consumption of cooking gas in India of ₹ 123 (~2 USD) which offers a stark contrast with the National Capital Territory (NCT) of Delhi, which has the highest per capita consumption of ₹ 1153 (~18 USD) (Clarke, 2014, p. 7). States with low per capita consumption of cooking gas are those that offer the greatest scope for improving government performance concerning the improvement of formal cooking gas access. Given the general poverty, general low availability of social infrastructure like banks, gas distributors, etc. the state of Bihar also poses the challenge of enforcing the compliance regime, i.e. the official rules regarding incentives and sanctions, allocation of resources, provision of information, etc. for targeted delivery of cooking gas benefits.

The state of Bihar along with the neighboring state of Uttar Pradesh are the two large states in India where Ujjwala program was implemented at a large scale with the goal of expanding access to cooking gas benefits among those households identified as Below Poverty Line (BPL). Under the Ujjwala program, women belonging to households which are identified as BPL under the Socio-Economic Caste Survey 2011 (SECC 2011) are eligible to receive the free cooking gas connection. The program is widely implemented in Bihar, leading to an increase in the coverage of those who received a cooking gas

connection and mostly benefited low-income households. Given that all three interventions in related to cooking gas Direct Benefits Transfers (DBTL) namely the “Give It Up” initiative – the initiative where high-income households are asked to initially “voluntarily” give up cooking gas benefits, PAHAL/ DBTL - the main initiative for targeted cooking gas cash transfers that covered all but those identified as belonging to a the high-income group and Ujjwala – a gateway project for the poor to join the cooking gas cash transfers, are actively being implemented in that state, Bihar was purposively chosen.

The Indian state of Bihar has 38 administrative districts and spans a geographical area larger than Ireland. Among the target population, the availability of Aadhaar, bank account and a mobile number linked to a biometric identity are basic prerequisites for conforming with the compliance regime for LPG subsidies. Therefore, the districts of these states were ranked based on the extent of spread of Jan Dhan (low-frills) bank accounts and Aadhaar numbers as shown in table 7:

TABLE 7: RATIONALE FOR LOCATION SELECTION

| Districts in Bihar with the highest number of Jan Dhan (low-frills) bank accounts | Districts in Bihar with the highest number of rural Bank branches | Districts in Bihar with the highest Aadhaar Enrolments |
|---|--|--|
| 1. Patna 2. Muzaffarpur 3. Gaya | 1. Patna 2. Muzaffarpur 3. Gaya | 1. Patna 2. East Champaran 3. Muzaffarpur |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Source: Accessed at http://www.pmjdy.gov.in/statewise-statistics on October 13, 2016. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Source: Accessed at http://slbcbihar.com/banking-outlet-branches.aspx on March 28, 2017 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Source: Accessed at https://uidai.gov.in/ on March 2, 2017. |

The district of Patna ranked first in both the spread of Aadhaar numbers and low frills (Jan Dhan) bank accounts and was chosen selectively. Within Patna district, research in an urban location was conducted in the Patna Municipal Corporation where the state capital is located. The Patna Municipal Corporation has 75 urban wards which are divided into 5 urban circles. The Principal Investigator conducted his research in the New Capital circle area.

According to India's Census 2011, Patna district was divided into 23 Community Development (C.D.) blocks. The principal investigator has selected a C.D. block with 100% rural population according to Indian census data for 2011. It has only one gas distributor for a C.D. block with an area of approximately 25 square kilometers. The

principal investigator collected from 2-3 villages within the C.D. block, falling within a 10-12-kilometer radius from the location of the gas distributor's service center.

Data Collection Procedures

The researcher spent 52 days (from March 28 to May 19, 2017) in the field location of Patna district of the Indian state of Bihar. About 15 days of time and effort were invested in trying to convince the local officials of the Oil Marketing companies to accept the letter of research support issued by an Official of the Union Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas (MOPNG) and provide written permission to access the policy target lists and their contact information. This could have facilitated the implementation of a mixed-mode survey and random sample selection.

Since the cooperation was not forthcoming, an IRB amendment was submitted from the field location. After receiving approval for the amendment submitted to the IRB protocol E17-024 on April 13, 2017, the sampling method was changed to non-probability quota sampling. About 5 days were spent arranging the field logistics including the renting of a two-wheeler for travel in Patna city and in the rural areas. Although a cash incentive was initially proposed, it was not ultimately offered. The actual survey field work spanned 32 days across both rural and urban locations between April 17 – May 19, 2017. On average, during this time, the researcher spent at least six hours in field work with a goal of surveying 10-15 respondents per day. The survey in the urban location was conducted between April 17- May 17, 2017 and resulted in the collection of 178 survey responses. In the rural location, field work was done from April 25 - May 19, 2017, to collect 233 survey responses, for a total of 411 responses.

Description of quota sampling

The quota sampling was planned to ensure representativeness on the criteria of gender, social category, rural-urban differences and types of cooking gas cash transfers policy targets.

According to the National Family Health Survey (NFHS 2015-16), 63.8 percent of the urban population and only 10.8 percent of the rural population in Bihar had access to cooking gas. Since the launch of Pahal/ DBTL in 2013 and the Ujjwala program in 2016, the cooking gas coverage has rapidly increased. After consultation with the local officials, the survey endeavored to include those with cooking gas access to 80 percent of urban and 45 percent of rural sample.

Similarly, among customers from urban location, efforts were to ensure more than 10% of the urban sample covered belonged to “Give It Up” customers.

Respondent selection

The researcher benefited from the informal cooperation and advice extended by local district administration, local officials of gas agencies in the planning and implementing the field survey.

Customers from better-off households: The customers from better-off households are recruited entirely from urban location i.e., Patna city. The Union Ministry of Petroleum

and Natural Gas (MOPNG) has issued “certificates of appreciation” for customers from better-off households who “voluntarily” gave up cooking gas benefits. They were identified when they came out of the gas distributor’s office holding such certificates.

Cooking gas customers: In the urban and rural locations, cooking gas customers availing benefits were recruited at the premises of the local gas distributor’s office. On average about 50 customers visit the offices of the cooking gas distributor. The majority of the surveys were conducted in the morning hours between 9 –11 AM or right after lunch between 1- 3 PM, during which time most customers visited the office of the cooking gas distributor, usually to physically pay the bills. In many cases, they included those whose benefits were stopped due to lack of documents. In rural areas where there is no door delivery of the cooking gas canisters, one of the main reasons they visit the office of the local cooking gas distributor is to physically collect them to their residences.

Customers not availing benefits: To meet adult members of the households who do not use cooking gas, the principal investigator visited the poorer localities in Patna city and undertook street recruitment. In rural areas, to meet adult members of the households who do not use cooking gas, the principal investigator undertook street recruitment in nearby villages and visited a local rural school where a one-day vaccination drive was organized.

To strengthen the representativeness of the sample in terms of under-represented social categories and gender, the principal investigator conducted additional street recruitment at a village known to have a high population of people belonging to a high Scheduled Caste

(S.C) population. Similarly, additional street recruitment was conducted at a housing settlement near a brick quarry to interview the Scheduled Tribe (S.T.) population.

Development of Survey Questionnaire

An initial questionnaire was developed with inputs from an Indian social scientist with extensive expertise in social policy related field survey research, a think tank expert who previously conducted a national level performance evaluation of the cooking gas reform, and some senior administrators belonging to the Indian state of Bihar. This was then revised and finalized in consultation with members of the dissertation committee. Subsequently, the Hindi translation was prepared locally and then verified by academics from India, local experts, and administrators. Both versions were pretested locally in Patna city. The English and Hindi versions of the survey questionnaire are both loaded on to Qualtrics in such a way that the user can easily flip from one language version to another.

The survey screening questions were designed to only select an individual who is the adult member of the household and has lived there for at least 5 years. After explaining the research and obtaining the consent, three cooking gas cash transfer related awareness questions were asked, and information was provided. The main questionnaire is in three parts. The first section had questions on administrative burden. The second section has questions on citizen participatory behaviors, procedural justice and a survey experiment related to policy legitimacy. The third section had questions on socio-demographic variables.

Implementation of the Computer Assisted Personal Interview (CAPI) Survey

Increasingly field survey research in India is conducted using mobile devices through Computer-Assisted Personal Interview (CAPI) method. Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) refers to “the use of portable computers in face-to-face interviews to record respondents’ answers directly into a computer, rather than a paper questionnaire (Martin & Manners, 1995, p. 51). Qualtrics software was used to design the CAPI survey. Both CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interview) and CASI (Computer Assisted Self Interview) modes are found to be successful for interviewing the mass publics (Weisberg, 2009, p. 38).

As Martin and Manners (1995, p. 59) noted: “on a CAPI survey some form of paper record of the questionnaire is required in addition to the electronic version to facilitate discussions between customers and researchers, and for reference at the analysis stage.” During the rush hours it was common to have more than one respondent willing to be surveyed. In such instances, a paper questionnaire in both Hindi and English was used as a guide to give prospective survey respondents a chance to familiarize themselves with the consent procedures, seek clarifications, assess the type of questions and the time requirements before they agreed to participate in the survey. A government guide of social category of castes was also used by the researcher to ensure accurate coding of respondents into the appropriate social category. On average each survey took about 15-20 minutes.

The advantages of CAPI survey include an increase in the speed and efficiency of the surveys, improved data quality, the ability to carry out complex survey procedures. Further,

another advantage of a CAPI survey is that unlike a paper survey, the risk of the interviewer inadvertently asking the wrong question is minimized, as their sequencing is programmed. The CAPI survey also poses some challenges in implementation. Programming a CAPI survey is time-consuming. The interviewer needs to pay attention to the device and not just the respondent. Secondly, when incorporating the answer to the open-ended feedback question in the end of the survey text form, the principal investigator found it challenging to input a large amount of text using the touchscreen keyboard on the iPad.

Measurement of Variables

Dependent variables

Administrative Burden

Administrative burden which is defined as “an individual’s experience of policy implementation as onerous” (Burden et al., 2012, p. 742). It is a behavioral phenomenon determined by the policy context and can be broadly understood from that perspective, in terms of learning, compliance and psychological costs associated with policy implementation. According to them for policy targets, learning costs are those which arise from the search processes for program-relevant information and assessing their relevance for them. Compliance costs stem from the difficulty of participating in the program, while psychological costs pertain to the stress and stigma associated with program participation as well as a perception of the diminution of individual autonomy.

There is no prior available scale to measure administrative burden. Within the field of public administration, it is so far studied using different research methods. In the research on child care subsidy program in the United States (Barnes & Henly, 2018) and effect of administrative burden on marginal communities in Pakistan (Muhammad A. Nisar, 2018), qualitative research methods were used. A case study approach was used to describe the roles of the Dutch master data management systems (Peeters & Widlak, 2018) and low-trust bureaucracy in Mexico (Peeters et al., 2018) in perpetuating administrative burden.

In her research on the South African Child Support Grant (CSG) program, Heinrich (2015, p. 412) used administrative data on lower levels of Child Support Grant (CSG) receipt to measure administrative burden as part of a mixed methods research project. The research by Jilke et al. (2018) sought to measure administrative burden i.e., policy target's perceptions of difficulty in the context of "actual" policy implementation, in terms of learning costs i.e., a lack awareness, through a field survey experiment in which the experimental conditions were performed randomly in strata of Flemish public and private organizations offering elderly care facilities.

Similarly, the research by Muhammad A. Nisar (2018) studied administrative burden through ethnographic research in a non-western setting. One of the reasons why no standardized scale for administrative burden was developed could be that the underlying perceptions – broadly categorized in behavioral terms as learning, psychological and compliance costs - are dependent on the case context.

For the purposes of this research administrative burden is sought to be measured as an aggregate index of learning, compliance and psychological costs through items derived inductively from grounded theory and consultation with aforementioned experts about difficulties cooking gas cash transfers in policy implementation. This is meant to increase the face validity of the measures. The respondents were asked the question:

“Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about cash transfers for cooking gas subsidies. Please answer as best as you can, based on your perceptions about the service interactions”

The scale consists of fifteen items with five response categories that ranged from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.” The measurement items and their factor loading are shown in table 8. The summary statistics for the administrative burden are shown at table 24 in the annexures.

TABLE 8: MEASUREMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE BURDEN

| Element | Measurement Items | Factor loadings |
|------------|---|-----------------|
| | Learning costs | |
| LC1 | Information about the relevant program is easily available (coded in reverse) | 0.61 |
| LC2 | The eligibility criteria for program enrolment are easy to know (coded in reverse) | 0.62 |
| LC3 | Knowing which documents are needed for enrolment is difficult | 0.62 |
| LC4 | Unfamiliar with the use of mobile or internet to make service requests | 0.59 |
| LC5 | The program rules can be followed without anybody's help (coded in reverse) | 0.65 |
| | Compliance Costs | |
| CC1 | Procedures for program enrolment are cumbersome | 0.61 |
| CC2 | Experienced delays in service delivery | 0.61 |
| CC3 | Getting the documents needed to enroll for program benefits is time consuming | 0.58 |
| CC4 | Complying with frequent verification requirements by the government is bothersome | 0.63 |
| CC5 | Experienced delays in benefit transfers | 0.60 |
| | Psychological costs | |

| Element | Measurement Items | Factor loadings |
|----------------|---|------------------------|
| PC1 | Concerned about having to share personal information during program enrolment | 0.60 |
| PC2 | Monitoring of program participants by the government is over intrusive | 0.60 |
| PC3 | Program benefits are portrayed as only meant for some sections of the society | 0.61 |
| PC4 | Beneficiaries are now often suspected of undeservingly getting government subsidies | 0.62 |
| PC5 | Making biometric identity number as the basis for benefits is questionable | 0.62 |

Cronbach's alpha is a measure used to assess the reliability, or internal consistency, of a set of scale or test items. To measure scale reliability, a minimum α coefficient between 0.65 and 0.8 is usually recommended, while α coefficients that are less than 0.5 are usually considered unacceptable. To improve the validity of the scale, measurement items labeled LC5, CC4 and PC4 were excluded. The standardized administrative burden scale based on 12 measurement items has a reliability of 0.65 which can be considered as a reasonably acceptable measure of scale validity.

Citizen participatory behaviors

To capture the various types of citizens participatory behaviors in a democratic context, the Participatory Behaviors Scale (PBS) developed by (Talò & Mannarini, 2015) was used. The PBS scale is based on the theory developed by Ekman and Amnå (2012) who aimed at developing a unitary framework for all forms of civil and political behavior by incorporating two forms of participation (latent and manifest) and two levels of political behavior (individual and collective). The shorter version of the PBS scale (PBS-16) (Talò & Mannarini, 2015, p. 9) which consisted of four first-order factors namely civil participation, political participation, activism and disengagement was used. The respondents were asked the following question:

“The following list includes a list of behaviours characterizing civic and political engagement. Can you indicate to what extent you recognize these behaviours as your behaviours?”

The citizen participatory behaviors scale consists of sixteen items with five response categories that ranged from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.” The overall citizen participatory behaviors scale had a reliability of Cronbach alpha 0.85 which is considered highly reliable.

Disengagement

Ekman and Amnå (2012) use the term disengagement to denote the disconnect from the traditional channels of political participation. The measurement items and their factor loadings for disengagement are shown in table 9.

TABLE 9: MEASUREMENT OF DISENGAGEMENT

| Element | Measurement Items | Factor loadings |
|----------------|---|------------------------|
| | Disengagement | |
| disengage1 | Does not read newspapers or watch TV programs that address political issues | 0.70 |
| disengage2 | Feels that politics is uninteresting and useless | 0.53 |
| disengage3 | Refrains from talking about politics | 0.49 |
| disengage4 | Is unconcerned with politics | 0.55 |

The standardized disengagement factor has a reliability of 0.65 which can be considered as a reasonably acceptable measure of scale validity.

Civil participation

Ekman and Amnå (2012, p. 291) use the term to denote “activities by ordinary citizens that are intended to influence circumstances in society that is of relevance to others, outside the

own family and circle of close friends” (Adler & Goggin, 2005, p. 241). The measurement items and the factor loadings for civil participation are shown in table 10.

TABLE 10: MEASUREMENT OF CIVIL PARTICIPATION

| Element | Measurement Items | Factor loadings |
|----------------|--|------------------------|
| | Civil participation | |
| civilpart1 | Writes to the newspaper editor | 0.73 |
| civilpart2 | Discusses politics with friends and/or on the Internet | 0.54 |
| civilpart3 | Buys newspapers or watch TV programs that address political themes | 0.56 |
| civilpart4 | Volunteers in a social/civic/religious organisation | 0.61 |

The standardized civil participation factor has a reliability of 0.68 which can be considered as a reasonably acceptable measure of scale validity.

Political participation

According to Talò and Mannarini (2015) formal political participation includes individual actions like “contact activities” and writing politicians or officials to report or obtain intervention, and collective actions like becoming a member in a political party, trade union or non-governmental organization (NGO). Formal political participation may also include extra-parliamentary actions like strikes and petitions. The measurement items and the factor loadings for political participation are shown in table 11.

TABLE 11: MEASUREMENT OF CIVIL PARTICIPATION

| Element | Measurement Items | Factor loadings |
|----------------|---|------------------------|
| | Formal political participation | |
| Polpart1 | Runs for public office | 0.81 |
| polpart2 | Donates money to a party or a political organisation | 0.78 |
| polpart3 | Is a member of a party, syndicate or political organisation | 0.77 |
| polpart4 | Undertakes activities in a party/syndicate/political group | 0.73 |

The standardized political participation factor has a reliability of 0.82 which can be considered as a highly acceptable measure of scale validity.

Activism

Ekman and Amnå (2012) use the term activism to explain both legal and illegal forms of extra-parliamentary actions. The legal forms of activism include strikes and petitions, which at the individual level may constitute behaviors like signing petitions, distributing flyers, and boycotting or buying certain products for ideological, ethical or environmental reasons. The illegal forms of activism may comprise of violent manifestations,

unauthorized demonstrations or riots triggered by ideological reasons. The measurement items and the factor loadings for activism are shown in table 12.

TABLE 12: MEASUREMENT OF ACTIVISM

| Element | Measurement Items | Factor loadings |
|----------------|--|------------------------|
| | Activism | |
| activism1 | Boycotts products (for ethical or ideological reasons) | 0.68 |
| activism2 | Signs petitions | 0.66 |
| activism3 | Is active in a movement/forum | 0.62 |
| activism4 | Participates in strikes, protests, demonstrations | 0.58 |

The standardized activism factor has a reliability of 0.70 which can be considered a good measure of scale validity.

The summary statistics for the four factors of the PBS scale are presented in the annexure at table 25 to table 28 in the annexures.

Procedural justice

Procedural justice refers to the notion held about the processes of citizen-state interactions as being characterized by “neutrality, lack of bias, honesty, efforts to be fair, politeness and respect for citizens’ rights (Tom R Tyler, 2006, p. 7). According to (Mazerolle et al., 2014, p. 11) “Procedural justice in action can be broken down into four key elements or

principles. These are: dignity and respect, trustworthy motives, neutrality, and voice.” In addition, transparency can contribute to perceptions of procedural justice. Tyler (2011, p. 73) in later descriptions of procedural justice also included transparency as a key element.

In the context of treatment by authorities involved in cooking gas service delivery, the policy targets were asked the following question:

“Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about the treatment by authorities involved in cooking gas service delivery. Please answer as best you can, based on your perceptions about service interactions”

The scale items were developed to suit the context. They were asked to share their perceptions about procedural justice on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.” The measurement items and the factor loadings for procedural justice are shown in table 13.

TABLE 13: MEASUREMENT OF PROCEDURAL JUSTICE

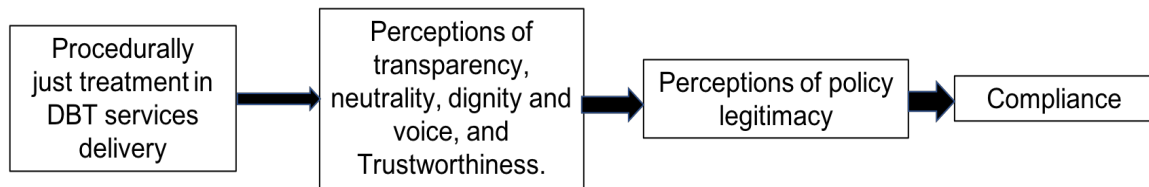
| Element | Measurement Items | Factor loadings |
|----------------|---|------------------------|
| PJ1 | Individuals can express their viewpoint before decisions are made by authorities (Voice) | 0.77 |
| PJ2 | The rules and procedures are always consistently applied by the authorities (Neutrality/ consistency) | 0.72 |
| PJ3 | Decisions are made by authorities in a transparent manner (Transparency) | 0.76 |

| Element | Measurement Items | Factor loadings |
|---------|--|-----------------|
| PJ4 | Individuals are treated with politeness and respect during service interactions by the authorities (Dignity and respect) | 0.73 |
| PJ5 | Confident that authorities will not unduly exclude or exploit individuals (Trustworthy motives) | 0.76 |

The standardized procedural justice scale has a reliability of 0.79 which can be considered as a highly acceptable measure of scale validity. The summary statistics for the procedural justice scale are presented in the annexure at table 29.

Policy legitimacy

FIGURE 5: SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE THEORY OF PROCEDURAL JUSTICE & LEGITIMACY



(Adopted with modifications from Nagin and Telep (2017, p. 1.4))

The perceptions of procedural justice are expected to lead to policy legitimacy. May and Jochim (2013, p. 431) suggested that policy legitimacy can be understood as “the acceptance by the governed of the goals and approach for resolving problems, recognizing

that there is virtually never full agreement.” In the context of cooking gas reform, on the lines of study by (Valkeapää & Karppinen, 2013, p. 53), policy legitimacy is measured by asking the following question:

“Thinking about welfare targeting through direct benefits transfers, please share whether these reflect your beliefs”

Respondents were asked to share their perceptions about policy legitimacy on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.” The measurement items and the factor loading for procedural justice are shown in table 14.

TABLE 14: MEASUREMENT OF POLICY LEGITIMACY

| Element | Measurement Items | Factor loadings |
|------------------|---|------------------------|
| pollegit1 | Enrolling for Pahal/ direct benefit transfers helps to reduce cost of purchasing cooking gas (Agreement) | 0.80 |
| pollegit2 | To help government utilize limited resources, citizens from higher income bracket should voluntarily give up subsidies (Redistribution) | 0.62 |
| pollegit3 | Authorities should be given a wide range of discretion in implementation of the direct benefits transfer mechanism (Support) | 0.58 |

| Element | Measurement Items | Factor loadings |
|------------------|---|-----------------|
| pollegit4 | Direct benefits transfer mechanism targets cooking gas subsidies towards those groups that deserve them the most (Redistribution) | 0.62 |

The standardized policy legitimacy scale has a reliability of 0.72 which can be considered as a good measure of scale validity. The summary statistics for the policy legitimacy scale are presented in the annexure at table 30.

Socio-demographic variables

The socio-demographic variables included in the study are gender, distance from the gas distributor, education, income, household size, location (rural-urban), social category and occupation. The summary of the sample statistics is presented in table 10.

TABLE 15: SUMMARY OF SAMPLE STATISTICS

| Socio-demographic variable | Sample | | Total |
|--|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| | Urban | Rural | |
| Gender | | | 395 |
| Male | 89 (40.64) | 130 (59.56) | 219 (100.00) |
| Female | 81 (46.02) | 95 (53.98) | 176 (100.00) |
| Distance from the gas distributor | | | 394 |
| Less than 2 km | 56 (33.73) | 110 (66.27) | 166 (100.00) |
| 2 km or more | 113 (49.56) | 115 (50.44) | 228 (100.00) |
| Education | | | 395 |
| Not literate/ No formal schooling | 34 (29.31) | 82 (70.69) | 116 (100.00) |
| Literate up to primary level (Class 5) | 13 (34.21) | 25 (65.79) | 38 (100.00) |

| Socio-demographic variable | Sample | | Total |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| | Urban | Rural | |
| Primary to secondary level (Class 10) | 33 (36.26) | 58 (63.74) | 91 (100.00) |
| High school (Class 12) | 23 (53.49) | 20 (46.51) | 43 (100.00) |
| Graduate | 50 (58.14) | 36 (41.86) | 86 (100.00) |
| Post graduate or higher | 17 (80.95) | 4 (19.05) | 21 (100.00) |
| Income | | | 395 |
| Less than 2.5 Lakhs | 108 (35.88) | 193 (64.12) | 301 (100.00) |
| 2.5 to less than 5 lakhs | 29 (49.15) | 30 (50.85) | 59 (100.00) |
| 5 to less than 10 lakhs | 17 (89.47) | 2 (10.53) | 19 (100.00) |
| 10 to 15 lakhs | 11 (100.00) | 0 (0.00) | 11 (100.00) |
| 15 Lakhs and above | 5 (100.00) | 0 (0.00) | 5 (100.00) |
| Household size | | | 394 |
| 1 - 3 | 22 (59.46) | 15 (40.54) | 37 (100.00) |
| 4 - 6 | 77 (45.83) | 91 (54.17) | 168 (100.00) |
| 7 - 9 | 39 (41.94) | 54 (58.06) | 93 (100.00) |
| 10 - 12 | 19 (35.85) | 34 (64.15) | 53 (100.00) |
| 13 - 15 | 9 (42.86) | 12 (57.14) | 21 (100.00) |
| More than 15 | 3 (13.64) | 19 (86.36) | 22 (100.00) |
| Location | | | |
| | 170 (43.04) | 225 (56.96) | 395 |
| Social category | | | 393 |
| a) General category | 85 (57.05) | 64 (42.95) | 149 (100.00) |
| b) Other Backward caste | 60 (35.09) | 111 (64.91) | 171 (100.00) |
| c) Scheduled caste | 17 (27.87) | 44 (72.13) | 61 (100.00) |
| d) Scheduled tribe | 6 (50.00) | 6 (50.00) | 12 (100.00) |
| Occupation | | | 395 |
| a) Unskilled | 17 (26.98) | 46 (73.02) | 63 (100.00) |
| b) Vocational/ semi-skilled | 38 (36.19) | 67 (63.81) | 105 (100.00) |
| c) Clerk/ supervisory level | 8 (36.36) | 14 (63.64) | 22 (100.00) |
| d) Petty trader/ Shop owner | 24 (53.33) | 21 (46.67) | 45 (100.00) |

| Socio-demographic variable | Sample | | Total |
|---|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| | Urban | Rural | |
| e) Self employed | 27 (72.97) | 10 (27.03) | 37 (100.00) |
| f) Professional | 24 (92.31) | 2 (7.69) | 26 (100.00) |
| g) Other (student/ retired/ house wife) | 32 (32.99) | 65 (67.01) | 97 (100.00) |

The summary of the study variables is presented in table 16.

TABLE 16: SUMMARY OF STUDY VARIABLES

| | Obs. | Mean | Standard Deviation | Min. | Max. |
|---|------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|------|
| Legitimacy | 395 | 0.00 | 0.74 | -2.14 | 1.02 |
| Procedural justice | 395 | 0.00 | 0.73 | -2.00 | 1.30 |
| Civil participation | 395 | .001 | 0.71 | -1.12 | 1.55 |
| Political participation | 395 | -0.00 | 0.80 | -0.65 | 2.39 |
| Activism | 395 | -0.00 | 0.72 | -0.74 | 1.93 |
| Disengagement | 395 | -0.00 | 0.69 | -1.10 | 1.47 |
| Administrative burden | 395 | 0.00 | 0.40 | -1.00 | 1.17 |
| Gender | 395 | 0.44 | 0.49 | 0 | 1 |
| Distance | 395 | 0.43 | 0.52 | 0 | 4 |
| Education | 395 | 3.02 | 1.65 | 1 | 6 |
| Income | 395 | 1.41 | 1.02 | 1 | 8 |
| Household size | 394 | 2.79 | 1.27 | 1 | 6 |
| Location | 395 | 0.56 | 0.49 | 0 | 1 |
| Social category | 395 | | | | |
| e) General category | 393 | 0.37 | 0.48 | 0 | 1 |
| f) Other Backward caste | 393 | 0.43 | 0.49 | 0 | 1 |
| g) Scheduled caste | 393 | 0.15 | 0.36 | 0 | 1 |
| h) Scheduled tribe | 393 | 0.03 | 0.17 | 0 | 1 |
| Occupation | 395 | | | | |
| h) Unskilled | 395 | 0.15 | 0.15 | 0 | 1 |
| i) Vocational/ semi-skilled | 395 | 0.26 | 0.26 | 0 | 1 |
| j) Clerk/ supervisory level | 395 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0 | 1 |
| k) Petty trader/ Shop owner | 395 | 0.11 | 0.11 | 0 | 1 |
| l) Self employed | 395 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0 | 1 |
| m) Professional | 395 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0 | 1 |
| n) Other (student/ retired/ house wife) | 395 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0 | 1 |

Survey Findings

Quantitative Data Analysis Procedures

The data from both the surveys were merged. STATA/IC 15.1 software was used for data analysis. The statistical analysis included the 1) descriptive statistics 2) testing of the scales using Cronbach's Alpha and 3) Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression. The results and the discussion are presented in the following section.

In a systematic review of policy feedback effects on mass publics, E. G. Larsen (2018, p. 12) noted that most quantitative studies of policy feedbacks used the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression method. This section presents the results of the Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regression analysis of the key variables of this research and discusses the findings. The results of the regression of socio-demographic variables on administrative burden are presented in table 17. In this research, an increase in administrative burden and citizen disengagement are considered as a negative citizenship outcome, while an increase in political participation, activism, procedural justice and policy legitimacy are described as positive citizenship outcomes.

Administrative Burden and Social Inequality

This section discusses the role of administrative burden in exacerbating social inequality.

TABLE 17: REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF ADMINISTRATIVE BURDEN ON SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

| Demographic variables | Administrative burden |
|--|------------------------------|
| Gender (Female) | 0.10** (0.04) |
| Distance (More than 5 km) | 0.08* (0.04) |
| Education | -0.07*** (0.01) |
| Annual income | 0.03 (0.02) |
| Household size | 0.01 (0.01) |
| Location (Rural) | 0.16** (0.04) |
| Social category | |
| General (reference group) | |
| Other backward castes (OBC) | -0.05 (0.04) |
| Scheduled caste | 0.10 (0.06) |
| Scheduled tribe | 0.08 (0.13) |
| Occupation | |
| Unskilled (reference group) | |
| Vocational/ Semi skilled | -0.02 (0.07) |
| Clerk/ Sales work/ Supervisory level | -0.15 (0.11) |
| Petty trader/ Shop owner | -0.01 (0.09) |
| Self-employed Professional/ Junior executive | 0.13 (0.10) |
| Professional-Middle-Senior Executives | 0.04 (0.12) |
| Other (Student/ Retired Other/ Housewife) | -0.02 (0.07) |
| _cons | -0.01 (0.11) |
| N | 391 |
| R-sq | 0.17 |
| adj. R-sq | 0.13 |
| * p<0.1 ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 | |

The results from table 17 show that the female gender and rural status significantly predict an increase in administrative burden, while the increase in education status is a strong predictor of a decrease in administrative burden. The results show that for every unit increase in the female gender, there a 0.1 unit increase in administrative burden is predicted. Similarly, every unit increase in rural status predicted a 0.16 unit increase in administrative burden. These results were significant at a p-value of less than 0.05. Likewise, every unit increase in education predicts a 0.07 unit decrease in administrative burden, and this result is significant at a p-value of less than 0.001. Further, the results also show a loosely significant relationship (p-value of 0.1) between the increase in the distance from the gas distributor and administrative burden.

These findings support hypothesis H_1 by showing that in the context of cooking gas cash transfers, disadvantaged groups like women and rural citizens, and those who live far away from cooking gas distribution centers experience negative citizenship outcomes due to increasing administrative burden.

The research also shows that an increase in education reduced administrative burden. This supports the theory that high education can ease the burden in citizen-state interactions and vice versa. However, at least in the context of cooking gas cash transfers, annual income, household size, social category, and occupation are not found to be significant predictors of administrative burden.

Administrative Burden as an Attenuator of Policy Feedbacks

Citizen participatory behaviors

In order to explore the effect of administrative burden on citizen participatory behaviors namely civil participation, political participation, activism and disengagement were regressed on administrative burden, the results of which are presented in the following table:

TABLE 18: REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATORY BEHAVIORS

| | | Civil participation | | Political participation | | Activism | | Disengagement | |
|--|--|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 1 | Model 2 |
| Administrative burden | | -0.26** (0.07) | 0.03 (0.07) | 0.14 (0.08) | 0.27*** (0.09) | 0.14 (0.08) | 0.28** (0.08) | 0.41*** (0.07) | 0.38*** (0.08) |
| Gender (Female) | | | -0.07 (0.07) | | -0.15* (0.09) | | -0.10 (0.07) | | 0.05 (0.07) |
| Distance (More than 5 km) | | | 0.04 (0.06) | | 0.12 (0.08) | | 0.04* (0.07) | | -0.02 (0.07) |
| Education | | | 0.14*** (0.02) | | 0.04 (0.03) | | 0.07** (0.02) | | -0.03 (0.02) |
| Annual income | | | 0.05 (0.03) | | 0.07 (0.04) | | 0.03 (0.04) | | 0.00 (0.04) |
| Household size | | | -0.00 (0.02) | | 0.02 (0.03) | | 0.03 (0.02) | | 0.01 (0.02) |
| Location (Rural) | | | -0.07 (0.07) | | -0.18** (0.09) | | -0.13* (0.07) | | -0.07 (0.07) |
| Social category | General (Reference group) | | | | | | | | |
| | Other backward castes (OBC) | | -0.16** (0.07) | | -0.17* (0.09) | | -0.25** (0.08) | | 0.01 (0.08) |
| | Scheduled caste | | -0.15 (0.10) | | -0.16 (0.12) | | -0.38*** (0.11) | | -0.00 (0.11) |
| | Scheduled tribe | | -0.90*** (0.19) | | -0.35 (0.24) | | -0.52** (0.21) | | 0.45** (0.21) |
| Occupation | Unskilled (Reference group) | | | | | | | | |
| | Vocational/ Semi skilled | | 0.14 (0.10) | | 0.17 (0.13) | | 0.21 (0.11) | | 0.07 (0.11) |
| | Clerk/ Sales work/ Supervisory level | | 0.18 (0.16) | | 0.15 (0.20) | | 0.18 (0.18) | | 0.17 (0.17) |
| | Petty trader/ Shop owner | | 0.18 (0.13) | | 0.12 (0.16) | | 0.13 (0.14) | | 0.08 (0.14) |
| | Self-employed Professional/ Junior executive | | 0.20 (0.14) | | 0.14 (0.18) | | 0.32** (0.16) | | 0.19 (0.16) |
| | Professional-Middle-Senior Executives | | 0.01 (0.18) | | -0.10 (0.23) | | 0.12 (0.20) | | -0.06 (0.20) |
| | Other (Student/ Retired Other/ Housewife) | | 0.08 (0.10) | | 0.14 (0.13) | | 0.12 (0.11) | | -0.01 (0.11) |
| _cons | | 0.00 (0.03) | -0.41*** (0.15) | -0.00 (0.04) | -0.19 (0.20) | -0.00 (0.03) | -0.21 (0.17) | -0.00 (0.03) | 0.00 (0.17) |
| N | | 394 | 391 | 394 | 391 | 394 | 391 | 394 | 391 |
| R-sq | | 0.02 | 0.29 | 0.01 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.07 | 0.10 |
| adj. R-sq | | 0.02 | 0.26 | 0.00 | 0.06 | 0.00 | 0.14 | 0.07 | 0.06 |
| Standard errors in parenthesis * p<0.1 ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 | | | | | | | | | |

Model 1 shows the results of OLS regression with citizen participatory behaviors namely civil participation, political participation, activism and disengagement as the dependent variable and administrative burden as the independent variable. Model 2 adds socio-demographic variables to the regression analysis.

Civil participation: The results from Model 1 show that administrative burden is a significant negative predictor of administrative burden and thus find support for H₂. However, Model 2 results show that effect does not hold when socio-demographic variables are added. Instead, an increase in education is found to be a significant predictor of civil participation, while backward caste status is significantly negatively related to civil participation. Similarly, scheduled tribe status showed a highly significant negative relationship with civil participation. The findings find support for the hypothesis H₂ that administrative burden attenuates civil participation. They also support H₁ by showing that belonging to vulnerable groups such as backward caste and scheduled tribe social categories is a significant negative predictor for civil participation while education increases it.

Political participation: The results from Model 1 show that administrative burden does not significantly predict political participation, whereas Model 2 shows a significant and positive relationship between administrative burden and political participation thereby finding support for H₃. The results from Model 2 also show that living in a rural location is negatively related to political participation, and the female gender and backward caste as loosely significant negative predictors of civil participation thereby lending support to H₁.

Activism: as in the case of political participation, the results from Model 1, do not show administrative burden to be a significant predictor of activism, whereas Model 2 showed a significant and positive relationship between a citizens' perception of administrative burden and their activism. As in the earlier case of political participation, the study found an increase in education to be a significant predictor of activist behavior. Additionally, it found that belonging to occupations that are characterized "Self-employed Professional/Junior executive" is a significant predictor of activism. It also found that belonging to low social categories like backward castes, scheduled caste, and scheduled tribes is a significant negative predictor of activism. Finally, the Model 2 results also showed that an increase in the distance from the gas distributor is a loosely significant positive predictor, while rural status is a loosely significant negative predictor of activism. The Model 2 findings provide strong support for both H₁ and H₄.

Disengagement: The results from both Model 1 and Model 2 show that administrative burden is a significant positive predictor of disengagement. Model 2 results also show that scheduled tribe status significantly predicts citizen disengagement, thereby lending support for H₁ and H₅.

Procedural justice

To explore the relationship between administrative burden and procedural justice, in Model 1 an OLS regression analysis was conducted with procedural justice as the outcome variable and administrative burden as the predictor variable. In Model 2, socio-demographic variables were included. The results of the analysis are shown in table 19:

TABLE 19: REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF PROCEDURAL JUSTICE

| | Model 1 | Model 2 |
|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| Administrative burden | -0.42*** (0.07) | -0.46*** (0.09) |
| Gender (female) | | -0.14 (0.07) |
| Distance (beyond 5 km) | | -0.06 (0.07) |
| Education | | 0.00 (0.02) |
| Annual income | | 0.14*** (0.04) |
| Household size | | -0.04 (0.02) |
| Location (Rural) | | 0.27*** (0.07) |
| Social category | | |
| General (Reference group) | | |
| Other backward castes (OBC) | | 0.25*** (0.08) |
| Scheduled caste | | 0.42*** (0.11) |
| Scheduled tribe | | -0.17 (0.21) |
| Occupation | | |
| Unskilled (Reference) | | |
| Vocational/ Semi skilled | | -0.05 (0.11) |
| Clerk/ Sales work/ Supervisory level | | -0.29 (0.17) |
| Petty trader/ Shop owner | | 0.15 (0.14) |
| Self-employed Professional/ Junior executive | | 0.11 (0.16) |
| Professional-Middle-Senior Executives | | -0.21 (0.20) |
| Other (Student/ Retired Other/ Housewife) | | -0.00 (0.11) |
| _cons | 0.00 (0.03) | -0.27 (0.17) |
| N | 394 | 391 |
| R-sq | 0.07 | 0.20 |
| adj. R-sq | 0.06 | 0.17 |
| * p<0.1 ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 | | |

The results from Model 1 and Model 2, both show administrative burden is a strong significant negative predictor of procedural justice. The Model 2 results also show that higher income is a significant positive predictor of procedural justice.

Secondly, they also show that a rural background, low social categories like other backward castes and scheduled castes is a significant predictor of procedural justice which seemingly contradicts H₁. This result can be contextualized from recent research about procedural justice from Zambia (Hern, 2017, p. 596) which found that in low-capacity states, absent the expectations of universal service provision, those who receive some level of government services are likely to hold a sense of procedural justice.

Policy legitimacy

Model 1 in the table that follows shows the results of the regression analysis conducted with policy legitimacy as the outcome variable and administrative burden as the predictor variable. In Model 2, socio-demographic variables were included.

TABLE 20: REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF POLICY LEGITIMACY

| | Model 1 | Model 2 |
|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| Administrative burden | -0.38*** (0.08) | -0.40*** (0.09) |
| Gender (female) | | -0.05 (0.08) |
| Distance (beyond 5 km) | | -0.01 (0.07) |
| Education | | 0.03 (0.02) |
| Annual income | | 0.07 (0.04) |
| Household size | | -0.03 (0.02) |
| Location (Rural) | | 0.15 (0.08) |
| Social category | | |
| General (Reference group) | | |
| Other backward castes (OBC) | | 0.14 (0.08) |
| Scheduled caste | | 0.29** (0.11) |
| Scheduled tribe | | -0.16 (0.22) |
| Occupation | | |
| Unskilled (Reference) | | |
| Vocational/ Semi skilled | | -0.02 (0.12) |
| Clerk/ Sales work/ Supervisory level | | -0.25 (0.18) |
| Petty trader/ Shop owner | | -0.22 (0.15) |
| Self-employed Professional/ Junior executive | | 0.04 (0.16) |
| Professional-Middle-Senior Executives | | -0.48** (0.21) |
| Other (Student/ Retired Other/ Housewife) | | -0.00 (0.12) |
| _cons | 0.02 (0.03) | -0.18 (0.18) |
| N | 394 | 391 |
| R-sq | 0.042 | 0.13 |
| adj. R-sq | 0.040 | 0.10 |
| * p<0.1 ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 | | |

Similar to those for procedural justice, the results in both Model 1 & 2 show that administrative burden is a significant negative predictor of policy legitimacy. Also, on the lines of procedural justice, Model 2 results further show that scheduled caste status is a significant positive predictor of policy legitimacy. Interestingly, the occupational status of “Professional-Middle-Senior Executives” is a negative predictor of policy legitimacy which seemingly does not support H₁. However, this is justified by the case context, because this group is likely to comprise of those with an annual taxable income of 10 Lakhs, who are therefore are barred from availing the cooking gas cash transfers. In the open-ended feedback question at the end of the survey, some have expressed that such a rule for welfare targeting, which only covers the salaried class, and excludes businessmen and big farmers whose rarely pay income tax or any other direct tax, is not fair.

Field survey experiment on strategic framing

It was evident from the qualitative phase of the research that despite the widespread perceptions of administrative burden, some seem to be positively disposed to the shift to cash transfers in case of cooking gas, owing to the government’s skillful use of nodality. While they are not publicly articulated as such, the information is propagated as boosting mechanisms.

According to Grüne-Yanoff et al. (2016, p. 152), boosts refer to interventions that “can target the individual’s skills and knowledge, the available set of decision tools, or the environment in which decisions are made.” The noted that the nudge approach assumes a “somewhat mindless, passive decision makers” (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009, p. 37) “who are

hostage to a rapid and instinctive “automatic system” (p.19). In contrast, the boost approach according to Grüne-Yanoff et al. (2016), “assumes a decision maker whose competences can be improved by enriching his or her repertoire of skills and decision tools and/or by restructuring the environment such that existing skills and tools can be more effectively applied.”

The concept of boost is very similar to the concept of strategic framing. To explore the effects of strategic framing on policy legitimacy, a survey experiment was embedded within the field survey.

Experiment Treatments for Strategic Framing of Welfare Targeting

The findings from qualitative research discussed the role of strategic framing of cooking gas cash reform by the government. Official press releases emphasized the economic benefits of curing welfare fraud and excluding benefits to the better-off households.

The Indian government in a press release dated July 20, 2016 (PIB, 2016b) has claimed that the estimated savings from cooking gas reform through “implementation of DBTL (PAHAL) mechanism” exceeded ₹ 21,000 crores (~3 Billion USD). Similarly, in the press release dated December 28, 2015, stated that cooking gas benefits will be denied to those with “taxable income of more than ₹ 10,00,000/- (~14360 USD) during the previous financial year computed as per the Income Tax Act, 1961.” The first press release emphasized the benefits of the cooking gas cash transfers reform while the second emphasized the need to “ensure that the subsidy benefits go to the “deserving” customers.”

Such information was repeatedly presented as the “official data” from the government, even though its claims were disputed by other government institutions like the office of the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India.

Secondly, expert reports commissioned by the government often discussed the need to conserve scarce fiscal resources through welfare targeting. But this argument is rarely made in public appeals, possibly because such recommendations are at odds with the mass public opinion. Nevertheless, the effect of framing the issue in such terms to the public is little explored. In the Indian context, the mass support for such expert framing has implications beyond mere cooking gas reform given that such expert logic guides welfare reform not just for cooking gas but in other policy areas such as food rations and fertilizers.

Thirdly, in the year 2015, the Indian government has launched a mass media campaign spearheaded by the Indian Prime Minister that advanced “social inequality mitigation” as the logic behind the shift to welfare targeting through cooking gas cash reform. The Indian Economic Survey (GOI, 2016) in its analysis presented supporting evidence that most of the cooking gas benefits are directed to urban consumers. Similarly, the speeches and public campaigns, the government has emphasized the need for better-off households to give up benefits in favor of the poor (Modi, 2016).

The “Give it Up” campaign elicited some initial public support where nearly 1 crore (10 million) customers have reportedly “voluntarily” gave up subsidies (PIB, 2016a). The percentage of customers who gave up their benefits constitutes only about 5 percent of the number of active subscribers of 197.33 million by March 2017. By the end of 2015

however, the public response to the mass campaign has reportedly dimmed. The government then made it mandatory to exclude those with an annual income of 10 lakhs (1 million Indian ₹ ~14360 USD) (PIB, 2015a) .

In this context, the survey administered a field experiment to understand the causal effects of strategic framing of welfare targeting through cooking gas cash transfers using one control group and three strategic frames or treatments.

Objective frame: The information from these press releases is combined to present as follows:

According to the government, the implementation of direct benefits transfer for cooking gas subsidies has substantially reduced the bogus domestic LPG connections, which has led to a subsidy savings of over 21,000 crores. To ensure subsidy benefits go to the targeted groups, government rules now exclude well-to-do households, if the consumer or his/her spouse had annual taxable income of over 10 Lakhs from receiving LPG subsidies.

Fiscal frame: This frame contextualizes the objective frame by providing additional information that highlights India's status as an oil importing country: The additional information it provided is as follows:

India imports 80% of its oil requirements and nearly 40% of gas consumption. To prevent the impact of increasing global oil prices to LPG consumers, the government will have to pay more towards subsidy, which in turn may lead to fiscal destabilization. Therefore, LPG subsidies should be targeted only to poor households, and the well-to-do households should be asked to purchase LPG at market prices.

Inequality frame: On those lines, the additional information provided is as follows:

The better-off sections of the society account for 91 percent of the LPG subsidies, while the poor account for only 9 percent of the consumption, thereby constituting an implicit subsidy of ₹ 40,000 crores to the rich. Therefore, LPG subsidies should be targeted only to the poor households, and well-to-do households should be asked to purchase at market prices.

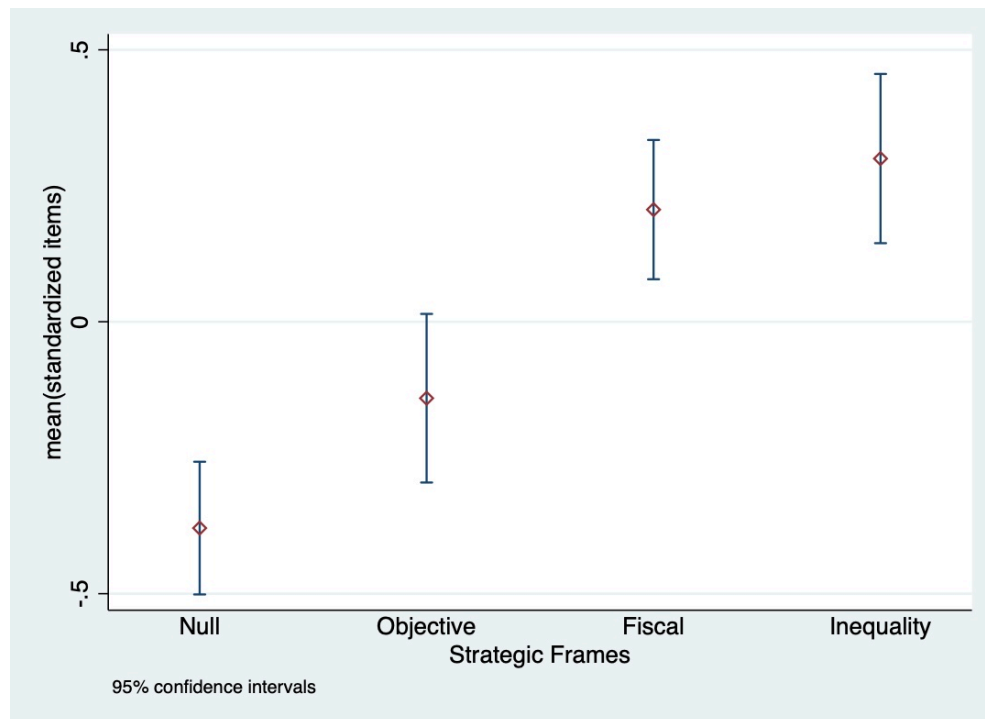
The DBT reforms in India, which are widely hailed as a paradigmatic shift from a universal to a targeted welfare regime, began with cooking gas cash transfers. The relative progress expanding formal cooking gas access is often conflated with the combination welfare targeting and social inequality strategic framing undertaken by the central government in cooking gas policy area and held out as a model for other policy areas. However, there is still considerable skepticism and fear of electoral blowback among state governments who are expected to lead in those policy areas. In this context, to explore whether strategic framing has a predictive effect on policy legitimacy.

To that end, the four strategic frames (null frame, objective frame, fiscal frame and inequality frame) and combined into one predictor variable, and along with other variables administrative burden and procedural justice regressed on policy legitimacy. The null frame is the reference group. The descriptive statistics of the one-way ANOVA conducted to determine if policy legitimacy differed based on exposure to different treatments of strategic frames are shown in the following table.

TABLE 21: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF STRATEGIC FRAMES

| Strategic Frame | Summary of mean (standardized items) | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| | Mean | Standard Deviation | Frequency |
| Null | -0.37 | 0.63 | 105 |
| Objective frame | -0.14 | 0.70 | 82 |
| Deficit frame | 0.20 | 0.70 | 120 |
| Inequality frame | 0.30 | 0.73 | 87 |
| Total | 0.00 | 0.74 | 394 |

The survey respondents were randomly divided into four groups: null frame (105), objective frame (82), deficit frame (120) and inequality frame (87). There was a statistically significant difference between groups as determined by one-way ANOVA ($F(3,390) = 20.61, p = .001$). The proportion of respondents supporting the various frames is depicted in the following figure 6.

FIGURE 6: PROPORTION OF RESPONDENTS SUPPORTING VARIOUS STRATEGIC FRAMES

The figure 3 clearly shows that providing information to the policy targets had increased the policy legitimacy. The group exposed to inequality frame expressed more policy legitimacy compared to group exposed to fiscal frame. Similarly, the group exposed to fiscal frame expressed more policy legitimacy compared to group exposed to objective frame, with the group that is exposed to the null frame showing the least policy legitimacy. This shows that the provision of information has acted as a boosting mechanism to improve the decision making of the respondents.

Finally, a Bonferroni multiple comparison test was conducted to determine which of the group means of the treatments differ. The results are shown in the following table 22.

TABLE 22: BONFERRONI MULTIPLE COMPARISON OF GROUP MEANS

| | Comparison of mean (standardized items) by Strategic Frame (Bonferroni) | | |
|-------------------------------|---|-------------------|----------------|
| Row Mean/ Column mean | Null | Objective frame | Deficit frame |
| Objective frame | 0.23 (0.11) | | |
| Deficit frame | 0.58*** (0.00) | 0.34*** (0.00) | |
| Inequality frame | 0.67*** (0.00) | 0.44*** (0.00) | 0.93 (1.00) |
| * p<0.1 ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 | | | |

The results from table 22 show that there is a significant difference between the groups exposed to null frame and those groups exposed to deficit and inequality frames. Similarly, there is significant difference between the group exposed to objective frame and those of

groups exposed to deficit and inequality frames. However, there is no significant difference between the groups exposed to deficit and inequality frames.

Discussion and Summary of the Survey Findings

The findings of this dissertation research represent an incremental but useful contribution to the advancement of the theory of administrative burden. It provides empirical research evidence to many of the theoretical propositions advanced about administrative burden (D. Moynihan et al., 2015) and citizenship outcomes (Wichowsky & Moynihan, 2008). For one, it makes the case for consideration of administrative burden as a negative citizenship outcome, and as negative policy feedback.

While D. Moynihan et al. (2015) theorized about burden's role in attenuating civic participation, this research provides empirical evidence to support their theoretical proposition. It extends that theory regarding burden and democratic citizenship through evidence from a non-western democratic context that shows that burden increases political participation, activism and disengagement among the policy targets. More importantly, it found the positive predictive effect of burden on citizen disengagement is significant among the scheduled tribes, who are the most disadvantaged social group in Indian society.

This research also finds support for D. Moynihan et al. (2015) by showing that burden is a negative predictor for procedural justice. The finding that shows social groups like other backward castes and scheduled caste status as a positive predictor of procedural justice can be understood from the case context. The implementation of the cooking gas transfers was accompanied by the largest nationwide expansion of cooking gas distribution network in

over a decade. Programs like Ujjwala which targeted women from poor households mostly benefit those from other backward castes and scheduled castes. Hence, procedural justice in this case can be explained by their access to the welfare service.

The findings about policy legitimacy mirror those about procedural justice, except that only scheduled caste status is found to predict policy legitimacy. Interestingly the occupational category of “Professional-Middle-Senior Executives” who, due to their taxable income are deemed as “undeserving” of cooking gas benefits is a negative predictor of policy legitimacy.

The relationship between citizens’ perceptions of policy legitimacy and objective service outputs is not always linear. In the case of targeted welfare, subjective perceptions of distributional justice, broad agreement with the policy and support for authorities can play a key role. Groups with historically low expectations from the government, like the scheduled castes may generate greater legitimizing results in response to improvements in access to cooking gas. Whereas, the “Professional-Middle-Senior Executives” who also fall into the overlapping category of urban citizens that has long had access to cooking gas at subsidized prices, tend to view the mechanisms of targeting that exclude them as unjust.

The results from the field experiment lend support to the theory that boosting mechanisms by the government improve the policy legitimacy among the policy targets. Available aggregate data shows that welfare targeting through the cooking gas cash transfers is accompanied by a broader expansion of cooking gas distribution network in rural India. This research finds that the broad increase in service outputs to groups previously deprived

of access to cooking gas can explain both, high levels of procedural justice as well as policy legitimacy. At the same time, the administrative burden in the targeted welfare program seems to predict a reduction in civic participation, political participation and activist behavior and increased disengagement among the disadvantaged groups among the policy targets. However, apart from the overall increase in service outputs, the government's use of informational policy tools to advance the rationale of social inequality mitigation seems to have boosted the policy legitimacy. This points to the complex ways in which burdensome reform is advanced in low-capacity democracies.

Limitations of Survey Research

1. In a public opinion survey, there is always the risk that the data does not measure what truly differentiates the population. In designing this research, the researcher has not included relevant variables like partisanship which have explanatory power.
2. The survey research is based on a voluntary, non-probability sample, and thus the results are not statistically projectable to the Indian population. However, the survey did involve a geographically and demographically diverse sample of volunteers.
3. The principal aim of the survey research was to assess the relationship between variables of interest with strong internal validity rather than to use a representative sample to describe the Indian population. Similarly, scholars have previously noted that studies on policy feedbacks expect a certain level of reverse causality (Hern, 2017, p. 596). This research does not claim to be an exception and acknowledges that as a limitation of this project.

4. The researcher acknowledges the risk of common methods bias which may arise due to using the same survey respondent to measure both the independent and dependent variables. This was attempted to be remedied through different scale properties for dependent and independent variables, temporal separation i.e., time delay between the measures and proximal separation i.e., physical distance between the measures and psychological separation by incorporating the socio-demographic variables at the end of the survey after the survey experiment (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Podsakoff, 2012, pp. 549-551).

CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS

This chapter summarizes the overall findings of this mixed methods research project, acknowledges the limitations of this research, discusses both the theoretical and practical implications of the research and points to the directions for future research.

Summary of the Research

This research was designed as an exploratory study into the policy feedback effects of burdensome citizen-state interactions. The introductory chapter laid out the context of India's cooking gas cash transfers reform, and how the change towards the targeted delivery of energy subsidies was achieved through policy conversion. The Indian government's embrace of the regulatory-welfare state model is predicated on the JAM policy mix whose larger goal is greater financialization. Indeed, in India, low fiscal resources are cited as the reason for not giving full effect to the rights-based legislations enacted in the earlier decade. A regulatory-welfare state model enjoys elite support in India as an effective strategy to regulate the citizens' claims on the government.

This explains the unwavering commitment shown by the Indian government to the implementation of the DBT model of welfare targeting, despite considerable evidence about the limitations of individual policies like financial inclusion (Demirgüç-Kunt, Klapper, Ansar, & Jagati, 2017) and the large scale use of biometric identification to regulate public and welfare services (Srinivasan et al., 2018). The shift to the regulatory-

welfare state model in other policy areas like workfare has also focused scholarly attention on the role of administrative politics in policy implementation (Narayanan, Das, Liu, & Barrett, 2017).

Using the Politics-of-Instrument-Choice approach, this research examined the question of how administrative burden is constructed in the implementation of cooking gas cash transfers. It described how policy conversion is given effect through soft law instruments to minimize the scope for democratic contestation. It also discussed how the credibility of Direct Benefits Transfers (DBT) policy was sought to be curated by forwarding convenient truth claims and the strategic withdrawal of the sense-making capacities of the government.

The findings from the qualitative research triangulate using grounded theory approach to identify a broad range of compliance, learning and psychological costs associated with administrative burden, and how they are disproportionately experienced by the disadvantaged groups among the policy targets. The data sources used for the qualitative research included parliamentary questions, in-person interviews, news reports and evaluation reports. Drawing from the qualitative research findings of the case context and administrative burden theory, the research sought to explore the relationship between administrative burden and policy feedbacks.

For the purposes of this research, the policy feedbacks that are studied are procedural justice, policy legitimacy and citizen participatory behaviors in terms of civil participation, political participation, activism and disengagement. As part of the research, a field survey of 411 respondents was conducted in Patna district of the state of Bihar in India. The survey

used quota sampling and covered both rural and urban areas and was administered as a Computer Assisted Personal Interview (CAPI) survey and yielded 395 completed responses.

The findings from the field survey showed that the female gender and rural status are positive predictors of administrative burden in citizen-state interactions, while higher education is a negative predictor. The research found that administrative burden has a negative predictive effect on civic participation, and has a positive predictive effect on political participation, activism and is a significant positive predictor of citizen disengagement. These findings are in consonance with actual citizen participatory behaviors wherein civil society led public interest litigation has emerged as a response to technocratic welfare targeting reforms in India.

The research findings also lend support to the theory that the attenuation of positive citizenship outcomes like civil participation, political participation, activism, procedural justice, and policy legitimacy and exacerbation of negative outcomes like administrative burden and citizen disengagement is significant for disadvantaged groups like women, rural citizens, those from lower social categories like other backward castes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. These findings support the theoretical proposition that administrative burden exacerbates social inequality by disproportionately affecting those with low human capital assets.

The findings that rural background, other backward caste status, and scheduled caste status are positive predictors of procedural justice are explained from related research in

developing country context which showed that even a marginal increase in service outputs leads to an increase in procedural justice. Even in the context of an increase in service outputs, the findings showed that administrative burden has a significant attenuating effect on the positive policy feedbacks. This points to the need to acknowledge administrative burden reduction as public value integral to policy implementation in modern democratic societies.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

This research further elaborated the theories of administrative burden (D. Moynihan et al., 2015), and contributed the scholarship on policy feedbacks and more specifically, citizenship outcomes (Wichowsky & Moynihan, 2008). By theorizing administrative burden as an attenuator of the expected behavioral responses from the use of policy instruments, it establishes a scholarly nexus with theories of policy instruments (Howlett, 2018). This research also contributes to a better understanding of the use of strategies like the use of soft law approaches on the democratic deliberative capacities on policy targets.

This research makes a unique contribution to administrative burden theory by showing how administrative burden is operated as an instrument of hidden politics in India's cooking gas cash transfers. It does so by unpacking the role of regulatory welfare strategies driven by JAM policy mix, policy instruments like soft law and alternative facts to restructure the social relations between the government and citizen. It also contextualizes the broad support for technocracy in the Indian society that leads to a rationalization of administrative burden as a necessary cost of policy implementation.

This research makes a contribution to theory development by providing empirical support to the claim that in democratic societies, administrative burden leads to increased political participation, activism, and disengagement among policy targets and reduced civil participation. Consistent with research from other developing country contexts characterized by an increase in service outputs (Hern, 2017), this research shows that there is an increase in procedural justice and policy legitimacy especially among the lower caste groups in the cooking gas cash transfers program. At the same time, administrative burden is found to reduce procedural justice and policy legitimacy, which speaks to its attenuating role on positive citizenship outcomes.

Overall this research provides a case study of the policy implementation experiences in welfare targeting programs in a non-western context. These empirical findings of this research lend support to the theory that administrative burden has a consequential effect on policy targets. By showing that the negative citizenship outcomes like administrative burden and disengagement are high among the vulnerable groups, it demonstrates administrative burden's role in exacerbating social inequality.

The theoretical implications of such findings are that even in the context of welfare programs characterized by expanding public service outputs, administrative burden can undermine the end policy goals. The technocratic wave in public administrative reform as the marker of post-NPM changes is more prominent in emerging democracies like India rather than advanced democracies of the Western hemisphere. Left unaddressed, the undermining effects on administrative burden can potentially lead to a loss of faith in the very idea of liberal democracy as a form of self-governance.

The public opposition to the LMT wave of administrative reforms in India lends support to the argument that compliance policies guided by the influence of behavioral sciences create their own “anti-politics” (Button, 2018, p. 1035). The following table adapted with changes from Jonathan Oberlander and R. Kent Weaver (2015, pp. 41-42) summarizes the self-reinforcing and self-undermining feedback effects of the cooking gas cash transfers policy.

TABLE 23: SELF-REINFORCING AND SELF-UNDERMINING MECHANISMS AND EFFECTS OF COOKING GAS CASH TRANSFERS

| | Self-Reinforcing Policy Feedback Mechanisms and Effects | Self-Undermining Policy Feedback Mechanisms and Effects | Conditions Exacerbating Self-Undermining Effects |
|-------------------------|---|--|--|
| Socio-political | | | |
| a) Cognitive effects | Expansion of cooking gas distribution network and provision of free cooking gas connections (under Ujjwala program) increases the perception of expansion in service outputs | Perception of concentrated losses due to barriers posed by a technocratic compliance regime increase perceptions of grievance in mass public. This is mitigated in part by the use of alternative facts. | The increase in retail prices of cooking gas reduces the cooking gas affordability for lower income groups. The low-banking penetration and uncertainty surrounding the legality of Aadhaar contribute to administrative burden. |
| b) Constituency Effects | The flow of concentrated benefits to the deserving policy targets (e.g., cooking gas connections and to a lesser extent affordable cooking gas) reinforces a sense of entitlement and faith in government | Perception of concentrated losses arising from the use of SECC-2011 has led to the development or strengthening of constituencies seeking expansion of “deserving categories.” | The use of income tax as the basis for exclusion from cooking gas cash transfers has led to resentment due to the public perception that the salaried classes are being targeted for exclusion ignoring those better-off households who pay no income tax. |
| c) Agenda effects | Broad elite support for welfare targeting through DBT and constituency support arising from increased formal access to cooking gas leads to incremental fixes | Civil society opposition to compliance policies for cooking gas cash transfers as part of the larger opposition to DBT has led to a long drawn out judicial impasse | The ongoing legal challenges to Aadhaar and associated limitations in expanding banking access undermine the DBT model of cooking gas cash transfers |

| | Self-Reinforcing Policy Feedback Mechanisms and Effects | Self-Undermining Policy Feedback Mechanisms and Effects | Conditions Exacerbating Self-Undermining Effects |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|
| Fiscal | Earmarked budgetary support for the expansion of cooking gas distribution network and provision of cooking gas stoves under Ujjwala program ensure the expansion in the formal access to cooking gas | The suspension of the gradual increase in the sale prices of subsidized cooking gas causes an increase in the fiscal expenditure by the government | The increase in global crude prices also has an effect on the fiscal expenditure by the government. |
| Administrative | The central government has a clear goal of targeting energy subsidies. A centralized approach to implementation is given effect in the cooking gas policy area through apex-level coordination with the OMCs who control the distribution networks and Banks. | The lack of a clear role for state and local government as part of the enforcement regime and the weak incentives for distributors to fully enforce the rules and regulations contributes to weak policy implementation | The Emergency Helpline No. “1906” and the public grievance mechanisms based on an online system called “Centralized Public Grievance Redressal and Monitoring System” (CPGRAMS) are both centralized solutions that are not easily accessible for the disadvantaged groups. |

The practical implications of this research mainly focus on improving government responsiveness. The state of Karnataka has launched its own competing populist program called “Mukhya Mantri Anila Bhagya Yojane (MMABY)” expanding the categories of citizens who qualify for cooking gas benefits (Belur, 2018). This has prompted India’s central government to add seven more deserving categories besides those identified by SECC-2011 (PIB, 2018). This speaks to the role of democratic contestation in minimizing administrative burden and improving citizenship outcomes. It is imperative that the Gram Sabha (elected local village council) should be involved in identifying and including those eligible policy targets who are otherwise excluded from SECC-2011 or the seven categories.

Secondly, in the past few years, Western democracies have taken some systematic steps to promote Administrative Burden Reduction (ABR) through the enactment of the “once-only principle” and “simplification strategies” (Gallo Claudia, 2014). The Indian governments both at the center and state levels have established “e-mission teams” to strengthen the administrative capacity to undertake e-government reform. It is imperative that they should now be reoriented to advance ABR, especially for women, elderly and rural citizens as a mission value of e-Government. While such reconstitution of the priorities of the experts is necessary and welcome, it constitutes only a partial solution to the pervasive problem administrative burden experienced by policy targets.

The subterranean politics of the Indian welfare state is a principal originator of administrative burden. Therefore, deepening democratic values like due process and transparency is necessary to strengthen the public's trust in government. In democracies characterized by high social inequality like India, ABR should also focus on systematic reforms that strengthen the deliberative capacities of citizens and improve the overall quality of political life.

Bovens and Zouridis (2002, p. 182) have noted that computerization taken too far, can undermine the due process, and leave no room for “*Einzelfallgerechtigkeit*” (justice in each particular case). Therefore, they make the case for moving away from a “rigid form of legality – *lex dura sed lex*,” and to make room for “a form of material justice” that “preserves the legitimacy of the constitutional state.” To that end, from a European perspective, they suggest the incorporation of hardship clauses – which allow citizens to highlight the specific circumstances in which government interventions lead to unjust outcomes and customer panels - which review and contribute to the refinement of expert systems. Besides adapting those suggestions to the Indian context, it is necessary to enact the Citizen Charter Act and the Administrative Procedure Act to provide due process protections to the citizens.

Limitations of this Research

This research has several limitations. While the limitations of the individual research methods and methodology are discussed in the respective chapters, the practical limitations

of this mixed methods research project need to be laid out in some detail in order to contextualize the findings.

Its findings of the effects of strategic frames in enhancing policy legitimacy are limited by the stage of policy implementation and other time sensitive factors. This survey research was undertaken shortly after elections in the neighboring state of Uttar Pradesh. Both Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are among the states where cooking gas services were aggressively extended before the elections, as part of distributive politics (Briggs, 2012).

This study includes a cross-sectional survey. In order to examine causal explanations, national panel surveys offer a better recourse. This study did not directly measure the role of perceived benefits in the calculations of citizens when seeking to participate in welfare programs. While this study explains the macro-level governing arrangements and philosophies that contribute to burden, it does not elaborate on how the calibrations of policy instruments, e.g., the retail price of domestic cooking gas cylinder has an effect on the citizens' overall calculus of the costs and benefits.

Directions for Future Research

This exploratory case study offers insights into how regulatory welfare regimes impact democratic citizenship. This mixed methods research is designed to identify the causes of administrative burden and their effect on citizenship outcomes measured in terms of citizen participatory behaviors, procedural justice, and policy legitimacy. Multiple research

methods were used to enhance the validity and generalizability of the analysis. Future research can elaborate or modify the ideas and themes discussed in this research

The government exchange theory by Truex (2017) can be used to study how citizens engage with the trade-off between the costs associated with burden and the benefits of program participation. This can explain some of the counter-intuitive findings concerning how citizens experience better citizenship outcome despite the fact that the design of public policies in low-capacity democracies normalizes administrative burden.

Secondly, public participation in public administration research is mostly studied through the lens of civic engagement. This research attempted to study the citizen participatory behaviors more broadly. This line of research can potentially yield interesting insights into how certain types of policy designs generate citizen disengagement more than others or induce disengagement in certain groups more than others.

Thirdly, this research has through a survey experiment identified the role of strategic framing of welfare reform in enhancing policy legitimacy. It also offered a descriptive analysis of the convenient statement of facts that underlie such strategic frames. There is a need to understand the implications of the administrative agencies' instrumental relationship with truth for the legitimacy of constitutional democracies. Clearly, it raises philosophical questions about the very role of neutral competence that forms the basis for the emergence of the administrative state. Therefore public administration as a field of knowledge and practice needs to assess its own role in the light of its commitment to democratic administration.

Fourthly, scholars have earlier identified the potential for a scholarly nexus between the theories of administrative burden and policy studies. This research has elaborated the specific scholarly nexus between the theories of policy instruments and administrative burden by exploring how burden attenuates the receptor mechanisms and expected behavioral responses of policy instruments. This line of research can be further pursued to understand how the modes of governance, policy design and policy instruments interact to produce particular forms of relationship between the government and the governed.

Lastly, the emergence of late-modern technocracy as a post-NPM administrative paradigm is most visible in non-western democracies which also lack the resilient institutions of democratic accountability that can be seen in the west. Public management as a field with its focus on rational-instrumental orientation needs to be supplemented with insights from administrative law as well as a greater emphasis on political-policy orientation, to engage with the implications of this paradigm. While case studies can offer insights into the reform trajectories of particular countries, there need to be systematic efforts to understand the influence of technocracy on democratic administration as well as on citizens' faith in democracy.

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ANNEXURES

Additional Tables

TABLE 24: SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE BURDEN

| Element | Measurement Items | Obs. | Mean | Std. Dev | Min | Max |
|------------|--|------|------|-------------|-----|-----|
| | Learning costs | | | | | |
| LC1 | Information about the relevant program is easily available (coded in reverse) | 394 | 2.79 | 1.31 | 1 | 5 |
| LC2 | The eligibility criteria for program enrolment are easy to know (coded in reverse) | 393 | 3.10 | 1.40 | 1 | 5 |
| LC3 | Knowing which documents are needed for enrolment is difficult | 394 | 2.93 | 1.43 | 1 | 5 |
| LC4 | Unfamiliar with the use of mobile or internet to make service requests | 390 | 3.08 | 1.29 | 1 | 5 |
| LC5 | The program rules can be followed without | 387 | 3.55 | 1.46 | 1 | 5 |

| Element | Measurement Items | Obs. | Mean | Std. Dev | Min | Max |
|------------|---|------|------|-------------|-----|-----|
| | anybody's help (coded in reverse) | | | | | |
| | Compliance Costs | | | | | |
| CC1 | Procedures for program enrolment are cumbersome | 391 | 2.36 | 1.64 | 1 | 5 |
| CC2 | Experienced delays in service delivery | 363 | 2.32 | 1.41 | 1 | 5 |
| CC3 | Getting the documents needed to enroll for program benefits is time consuming | 381 | 3.21 | 1.47 | 1 | 5 |
| CC4 | Complying with frequent verification requirements by the government is bothersome | 368 | 3.31 | 1.37 | 1 | 5 |
| CC5 | Experienced delays in benefit transfers | 366 | 3.04 | 1.49 | 1 | 5 |
| | Psychological costs | | | | | |
| PC1 | Concerned about having to share personal information during program enrolment | 380 | 1.96 | 1.33 | 1 | 5 |

| Element | Measurement Items | Obs. | Mean | Std. Dev | Min | Max |
|----------------|---|-------------|-------------|---------------------|------------|------------|
| PC2 | Monitoring of program participants by the government is over intrusive | 382 | 2.82 | 1.40 | 1 | 5 |
| PC3 | Program benefits are portrayed as only meant for some sections of the society | 377 | 2.94 | 1.46 | 1 | 5 |
| PC4 | Beneficiaries are now often suspected of undeservingly getting government subsidies | 384 | 3.25 | 1.33 | 1 | 5 |
| PC5 | Making biometric identity number as the basis for benefits is questionable | 382 | 2.93 | 1.55 | 1 | 5 |

TABLE 25: SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR DISENGAGEMENT

| Element | Measurement Items | Obs. | Mean | Std. Dev | Min | Max |
|-------------------|---|------|------|-------------|-----|-----|
| | Disengagement | | | | | |
| disengage1 | Does not read newspapers or watch TV programs that address political issues | 390 | 2.04 | 1.50 | 1 | 5 |
| disengage2 | Feels that politics is uninteresting and useless | 394 | 2.84 | 1.54 | 1 | 5 |
| disengage3 | Refrains from talking about politics | 387 | 2.77 | 1.52 | 1 | 5 |
| disengage4 | Is unconcerned with politics | 391 | 3.18 | 1.61 | 1 | 5 |

TABLE 26: SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR CIVIL PARTICIPATION

| Element | Measurement Items | Obs. | Mean | Std. Dev | Min | Max |
|-------------------|--|------|------|-------------|-----|-----|
| | Civil participation | | | | | |
| civilpart1 | Writes to the newspaper editor | 391 | 1.58 | 1.16 | 1 | 5 |
| civilpart2 | Discusses politics with friends and/or on the Internet | 391 | 3.46 | 1.59 | 1 | 5 |
| civilpart3 | Buys newspapers or watch TV programs that address political themes | 388 | 3.45 | 1.66 | 1 | 5 |
| civilpart4 | Volunteers in a social/civic/religious organisation | 394 | 2.67 | 1.67 | 1 | 5 |

TABLE 27: SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

| Element | Measurement Items | Obs. | Mean | Std. Dev | Min | Max |
|-----------------|---|------|------|-------------|-----|-----|
| | Political participation | | | | | |
| Polpart1 | Runs for public office | 391 | 1.58 | 1.16 | 1 | 5 |
| polpart2 | Donates money to a party or a political organisation | 391 | 3.46 | 1.59 | 1 | 5 |
| polpart3 | Is a member of a party, syndicate or political organisation | 388 | 3.45 | 1.66 | 1 | 5 |
| polpart4 | Undertakes activities in a party/syndicate/political group | 394 | 2.67 | 1.67 | 1 | 5 |

TABLE 28: SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR ACTIVISM

| Element | Measurement Items | Obs. | Mean | Std. Dev | Min | Max |
|------------------|--|-------------|-------------|---------------------|------------|------------|
| | Activism | | | | | |
| activism1 | Boycotts products (for ethical or ideological reasons) | 391 | 2.19 | 1.53 | 1 | 5 |
| activism2 | Signs petitions | 386 | 2.09 | 1.37 | 1 | 5 |
| activism3 | Is active in a movement/forum | 390 | 2.28 | 1.62 | 1 | 5 |
| activism4 | Participates in strikes, protests, demonstrations | 394 | 1.87 | 1.46 | 1 | 5 |

TABLE 29: SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR PROCEDURAL JUSTICE

| Element | Measurement Items | Obs. | Mean | Std. Dev | Min | Max |
|------------|--|------------|-------------|-------------|----------|----------|
| | Procedural justice | | | | | |
| PJ1 | Individuals can express their viewpoint before decisions are made by authorities (Voice) | 394 | 3.66 | 1.22 | 1 | 5 |
| PJ2 | The rules and procedures are always consistently applied by the authorities (Neutrality/consistency) | 392 | 3.42 | 1.17 | 1 | 5 |
| PJ3 | Decisions are made by authorities in a transparent manner (Transparency) | 387 | 2.98 | 1.62 | 1 | 5 |
| PJ4 | Individuals are treated with politeness and respect during service interactions by the authorities (Dignity and respect) | 394 | 3.85 | 1.16 | 1 | 5 |
| PJ5 | Confident that authorities will not unduly exclude or exploit individuals (Trustworthy motives) | 393 | 3.16 | 1.25 | 1 | 5 |

TABLE 30: SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR POLICY LEGITIMACY

| Element | Measurement Items | Obs. | Mean | Std. Dev | Min | Max |
|------------------|---|------|-------|----------|-----|-----|
| | Policy legitimacy | | | | | |
| pollegit1 | Enrolling for Pahal/ direct benefit transfers helps to reduce cost of purchasing cooking gas (Agreement) | 393 | 13.20 | 1.22 | 11 | 15 |
| pollegit2 | To help government utilize limited resources, citizens from higher income bracket should voluntarily give up subsidies (Redistribution) | 394 | 13.80 | 1.17 | 11 | 15 |
| pollegit3 | Authorities should be given a wide range of discretion in implementation of the direct benefits transfer mechanism (Support) | 393 | 13.73 | 1.62 | 11 | 15 |
| pollegit4 | Direct benefits transfer mechanism targets cooking gas subsidies towards those groups that deserve them the most (Redistribution) | 392 | 14.02 | 1.16 | 11 | 15 |

List of first-hand news reports included in the analysis

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List of Parliamentary Questions included in the Analysis

15th Lok Sabha

| S.No | Q.No | Q.Type | Date | Subject |
|------|------|-----------|------------|--|
| 1. | 1803 | Unstarred | 16.08.2013 | Allotment of Retail Pumps and LPG distributorships |
| 2. | 1762 | Unstarred | 16.08.2013 | Sale of LPG Cylinders |
| 3. | 1719 | Unstarred | 16.08.2013 | Production of LPG and CNG |
| 4. | 1716 | Unstarred | 16.08.2013 | Refill of LPG Cylinders |
| 5. | 1659 | Unstarred | 16.08.2013 | Rajiv Gandhi Gramin LPG Vitaran Yojana |
| 6. | 1620 | Unstarred | 16.08.2013 | LPG Connections |
| 7. | 2510 | Unstarred | 23.08.2013 | Transfer of LPG Cylinders |
| 8. | 2433 | Unstarred | 23.08.2013 | LPG Connections to BPL Families |
| 9. | 2423 | Unstarred | 23.08.2013 | Rajiv Gandhi LPG Vitaran Yojana |
| 10. | 2390 | Unstarred | 23.08.2013 | LPG Portability Scheme |
| 11. | 3320 | Unstarred | 30.08.2013 | LPG Connection |
| 12. | 395 | Unstarred | 06.12.2013 | Complaints against petrol pumps and LPG dealers |
| 13. | 390 | Unstarred | 06.12.2013 | Consumption of LPG Cylinders |
| 14. | 383 | Unstarred | 06.12.2013 | Fake LPG Connections |
| 15. | 319 | Unstarred | 06.12.2013 | Subsidized LPG Cylinders |
| 16. | 303 | Unstarred | 06.12.2013 | LPG Distribution Network in Rural Areas |
| 17. | 289 | Unstarred | 06.12.2013 | Subsidy on LPG Cylinders |
| 18. | 287 | Unstarred | 06.12.2013 | LPG Cylinders |
| 19. | 280 | Unstarred | 06.12.2013 | Expansion of LPG Network |
| 20. | 257 | Unstarred | 06.12.2013 | Sale of Subsidized LPG Cylinders |
| 21. | 256 | Unstarred | 06.12.2013 | Subsidy on LPG Cylinders |
| 22. | 459 | Unstarred | 06.12.2012 | LPG DISTRIBUTORSHIPS UNDER RGGLVY |
| 23. | 1497 | Unstarred | 13.12.2013 | Shortage of LPG Cylinders |
| 24. | 1481 | Unstarred | 13.12.2013 | Expired LPG Cylinders |
| 25. | 1464 | Unstarred | 13.12.2013 | Reduction in LPG Subsidy |
| 26. | 1426 | Unstarred | 13.12.2013 | Dubious Small LPG Cylinders |
| 27. | 1421 | Unstarred | 13.12.2012 | Supply of LPG Cylinders in CarNicobar |
| 28. | 121 | Starred | 13.12.2013 | Cash Subsidy on LPG and Kerosene |
| 29. | 254 | Unstarred | 07.02.2014 | Subsidy on LPG Cylinders |
| 30. | 2773 | Unstarred | 07.02.2014 | Shortage of LPG Cylinders |
| 31. | 2761 | Unstarred | 07.02.2014 | Supply of LPG Cylinder |
| 32. | 2725 | Unstarred | 07.02.2014 | Allotment of LPG Distributorship |
| 33. | 2702 | Unstarred | 07.02.2014 | LPG Portability Scheme |
| 34. | 2686 | Unstarred | 07.02.2014 | Coverage of LPG and PNG |

| S.No | Q.No | Q.Type | Date | Subject |
|------|------|-----------|------------|--|
| 35. | 2683 | Unstarred | 07.02.2014 | LPG Subsidy |
| 36. | 2650 | Unstarred | 07.02.2014 | LPG Connection |
| 37. | 408 | Starred | 21.02.2014 | Diversion of Domestic LPG Cylinders |
| 38. | 401 | Starred | 21.02.2014 | LPG Connections |
| 39. | 4598 | Unstarred | 21.02.2014 | LPG Cylinder |
| 40. | 4559 | Unstarred | 21.02.2014 | Increasing Quota of LPG |
| 41. | 4509 | Unstarred | 21.02.2014 | LPG Distributorships |
| 42. | 4475 | Unstarred | 21.02.2014 | Rajiv Gandhi Gramin LPG Vitaran Yojana |

16th Lok Sabha

| S.No | Q.No | Q.Type | Date | Subject |
|------|------|--------------------------------------|------------|--|
| 1. | 585 | Unstarred | 14.07.2014 | LPG Connections to BPL Families |
| 2. | 1627 | Unstarred | 21.07.2014 | Supply of LPG Cylinders |
| 3. | 1535 | Unstarred | 21.07.2014 | Cash Transfer Scheme for LPG Kerosene |
| 4. | 2701 | Unstarred (Labour and Employment) | 28.07.2014 | Welfare Schemes for LPG Suppliers |
| 5. | 2674 | Unstarred | 28.07.2014 | LPG Distributors Retailers in JK |
| 6. | 2627 | Unstarred | 28.07.2014 | Black Marketing of LPG Cylinders |
| 7. | 2616 | Unstarred | 28.07.2014 | LPG Eligibility Criteria |
| 8. | 2596 | Unstarred | 28.07.2014 | Allotment of LPG Distributorship |
| 9. | 478 | Starred | 11.08.2014 | Security Deposit on LPG Connections |
| 10. | 188 | Unstarred | 24.11.2014 | Illegal Refilling of LPG Cylinders |
| 11. | 108 | Unstarred | 24.11.2014 | Supply of LPG |
| 12. | 106 | Unstarred | 24.11.2014 | Cash Subsidy Scheme for LPG |
| 13. | 78 | Unstarred | 24.11.2014 | Policy on Petrol Pump LPG Distributorships |
| 14. | 28 | Unstarred | 24.11.2014 | Commission of LPG Distributors |
| 15. | 2 | Unstarred | 24.11.2014 | Irregularities in Supply of LPG Cylinders |
| 16. | 1357 | Unstarred | 01.12.2014 | Anti-Pilferage Devices on LPG |
| 17. | 1235 | Unstarred | 01.12.2014 | LPG Distribution by Private Players |
| 18. | 1208 | Unstarred | 01.12.2014 | LPG Connections |
| 19. | 1180 | Unstarred | 01.12.2014 | Settlement of LPG distributors HIP cases |
| 20. | 220 | Starred | 08.12.2014 | 5 Kg LPG Cylinders |
| 21. | 2498 | Unstarred | 08.12.2014 | Irregularities in Supply of LPG |
| 22. | 2447 | Unstarred | 08.12.2014 | LPG Supply |

| S.No | Q.No | Q.Type | Date | Subject |
|------|------|-------------------------------------|------------|--|
| 23. | 305 | Starred (Supplementary question) | 15.12.2014 | LPG Subsidy Linked to Aadhar |
| 24. | 3648 | Unstarred | 15.12.2014 | LPG Coverage |
| 25. | 3571 | Unstarred | 15.12.2014 | Subsidy on LPG |
| 26. | 1023 | Unstarred | 02.03.2015 | LPG Distributors and Retailers in JK |
| 27. | 1953 | Unstarred | 09.03.2015 | LPG Distributorship |
| 28. | 3205 | Unstarred | 16.03.2015 | Multiple LPG Connections |
| 29. | 4351 | Unstarred | 20.04.2015 | LPG Connections to BPL/Poor Families |
| 30. | 96 | Starred | 27.07.2015 | Delivery of Domestic LPG Cylinders |
| 31. | 1067 | Unstarred | 27.07.2015 | Setting up of Petrol Pumps/LPG Distributorships/Kerosene Depot |
| 32. | 5470 | Unstarred | 27.04.2015 | LPG Subsidy for BPL families |
| 33. | 5421 | Unstarred | 27.04.2015 | Commission to LPG/Kerosene Dealers |
| 34. | 2286 | Unstarred | 03.08.2015 | Give Up Campaign of LPG Subsidies |
| 35. | 2203 | Unstarred | 03.08.2015 | LPG Connections |
| 36. | 293 | Starred | 10.08.2015 | Direct Benefits Transfers LPG |
| 37. | 3450 | Unstarred | 10.08.2015 | Supply of Subsidised LPG Cylinders |
| 38. | 3236 | Unstarred | 10.08.2015 | New LPG Connection to BPL People |
| 39. | 13 | Starred | 30.11.2015 | LPG Consumption |
| 40. | 4 | Starred | 30.11.2015 | LPG Coverage |
| 41. | 156 | Unstarred | 30.11.2015 | Giving up of LPG Subsidy |
| 42. | 93 | Unstarred | 30.11.2015 | LPG for BPL families |
| 43. | 2 | Unstarred | 30.11.2015 | LPG Network |
| 44. | 1168 | Unstarred | 07.12.2015 | LPG Customer Services |
| 45. | 2459 | Unstarred | 14.12.2015 | Multiple LPG Connections |
| 46. | 319 | Starred | 21.12.2015 | Long Term-LPG LNG Contracts |
| 47. | 1550 | Unstarred (Finance) | 04.03.2016 | LPG Subsidies |
| 48. | 224 | Starred | 14.03.2016 | Subsidy on LPG |
| 49. | 2706 | Unstarred | 14.03.2016 | LPG Connections to Consumers |
| 50. | 20 | Starred | 25.04.2016 | Withdrawal of LPG Subsidy |
| 51. | 1 | Starred (Supplementary question) | 25.04.2016 | LPG in Rural Areas |
| 52. | 147 | Unstarred | 25.04.2016 | Theft of LPG |
| 53. | 1339 | Unstarred | 02.05.2016 | Shortage/Black Marketing of LPG |
| 54. | 1264 | Unstarred | 02.05.2016 | 5 Kg LPG Cylinders |
| 55. | 2401 | Unstarred | 09.05.2016 | Subsidy on LPG Cylinders |
| 56. | 2975 | Unstarred | 11.05.2016 | Replacing LPG with PNG in Smart Cities |
| 57. | 19 | Unstarred | 18.07.2016 | Time Limit for Transfer of LPG Subsidy |
| 58. | 221 | Unstarred | 18.07.2016 | Surrender of LPG Subsidy |

| S.No | Q.No | Q.Type | Date | Subject |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|--|
| 59. | 214 | Unstarred | 18.07.2016 | Allotment of LPG Agencies/Petrol Pumps |
| 60. | 177 | Unstarred | 18.07.2016 | Criteria for LPG Distributorship |
| 61. | 131 | Unstarred | 18.07.2016 | LPG Connections |
| 62. | 49 | Unstarred | 18.07.2016 | LPG Distributors |
| 63. | 1364 | Unstarred | 25.07.2016 | Production/Consumption of LPG |
| 64. | 1356 | Unstarred | 25.07.2016 | LPG Connection under Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana |

Study brochure – English


Participate in a Research study on Clean Cooking Fuel Policy

Participants are needed for a research study on the awareness and household consumption of cooking fuels. Please contact us if you meet the criteria below:

- 1) Are you 18 years or older?
- 2) Are you the head of an Above / Below Poverty Line (BPL) Household?
- 3) Are you a resident of the National Capital Territory (NCT) of Delhi/ Bihar for the past 10 years?

(Categories, statements will be modified or added as appropriate to the location and respondent context)

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>A mobile recharge voucher of 100 Rupees value will be provided for those willing to participate in the study. Please contact us at</p> <p>+91-9958226408</p> | <p>Study dates:</p> <p>July 20 - September 20, 2016</p> <p>(or)</p> <p>Nov 25 – December 31, 2016</p> <p>(Dates will be chosen as appropriate)</p> |
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|---|---|
| <p>This recruitment document was approved by the Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for Protection of Human Subjects on July 19, 2016; currently there is no expiration on the approval of these forms</p> |  <p>RUTGERS</p> <p>School of Public Affairs and Administration Newark</p> |
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|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| LPG Study - Call 9958226408 | LPG Study - Call 9958226408 | LPG Study - Call 9958226408 | LPG Study - Call 9958226408 | LPG Study - Call 9958226408 |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|

Study brochure – Hindi


स्वच्छ रसोई गैस नीति के शोध अध्ययन में भाग लेते हैं.

प्रतिभागियों के खाना पकाने के ईंधन के बारे में जागरूकता और घरेलू खपत इस शोध के अध्ययन के लिए आवश्यक है। आप हमसे संपर्क करें अगर आप नीचे दिए गये मानदंडों को पूरा करते हैं :

- 1) आपकी उम्र 18 साल या उससे ज्यादा है?
- 2) आप गरीबी रेखा से ऊपर या गरीबी रेखा के नीचे आते हैं.
- 3) क्या आप पिछले दस साल से (राष्ट्रीय राजधानी क्षेत्र) दिल्ली/ बिहार के निवासी हैं.

(प्रतिभागी के द्वारा दिए गये बयानों को संशोधित कर उनके श्रेणियों में जोड़ दिया जायेगा.)

| | |
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| <p>इस अध्ययन में भाग लेने वाले प्रतिभागी को 100 रुपये का मोबाइल रिचार्ज प्रदान किया जायेगा. कृपया हमसे संपर्क करें +91-9958226408</p> | <p>अध्ययन की तारीख :</p> <p>जुलाई 20 - सितम्बर 20, 2016</p> <p>(या)</p> <p>नवम्बर 25 – दिसम्बर 31, 2016</p> <p>(दी गयी तारीख चयन उचित समय पर होगा)</p> |
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| <p>यह भरती दस्तावेज़ रटगर्स यूनिवर्सिटी संस्थागत समीक्षा बोर्ड के मानव संरक्षण विषय द्वारा जुलाई 19, 2016 सूचित किया गया है। वर्तमान में इस सहमति प्रपत्र की कोई समाप्ति समय नहीं है</p> |  <p>RUTGERS School of Public Affairs and Administration Newark</p> |
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|--|--|--|---|--|
| <p>एलपीजी अध्ययन- कॉल 9958226408</p> | <p>एलपीजी अध्ययन- - कॉल 9958226408</p> | <p>एलपीजी अध्ययन- कॉल 9958226408</p> | <p>एलपीजी अध्ययन - कॉल 9958226408</p> | <p>एलपीजी अध्ययन- कॉल 9958226408</p> |
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Interview guide - English

Since 2013, Indian government has shifted to Direct Benefits Transfer for LPG subsidies (DBTL) now known as PAHAL (Pratyaksh Hanstantrit Labh). In this context, please tell us the following:

A. Administrative burdens

1. Are you aware of PAHAL scheme?
2. Can you describe how you obtain LPG subsidy under the PAHAL scheme
3. Are you aware of Ujwala scheme?
4. Can you describe how you obtain free LPG connection under the Ujwala scheme?
5. What are the difficulties experienced at various steps in getting LPG subsidy under PAHAL?
6. From a citizens' perspective please describe how interacting with the government made you feel, at each stage of service interaction with government under PAHAL?

B. Characteristics of policy benefits

Program design

7. How is the new method of LPG subsidy delivery different from the old one?
8. From your perspective, what are the advantages and disadvantages of indirect subsidy over PAHAL?
9. Do you think cash transfers encourage more people to join the program?
10. Do you use the subsidy cash deposited by the government in your bank account to buy LPG cylinders?
11. How is offering LPG connections exclusively to women members of the family under Ujwala scheme helpful?
12. Did you give up LPG subsidy in response to government campaign?

C. Citizen outcomes in government performance

13. Do you agree government should eliminate subsidies to the rich?
14. After enrolment for PAHAL, is there a change in how you use LPG gas or other methods for household cooking?
15. Do you think it has now become easier for the poor to get LPG subsidy under PAHAL?

Policy Feedbacks

16. Do you feel you are treated respectfully while interacting with government under the PAHAL scheme?
17. Do you feel that the people and processes engaged in enrolment for PAHAL are honest and free of corruption?
18. With regard to PAHAL, relative to others in the society, do you feel you are being treated fairly?
19. Does the PAHAL scheme implementation enhance your trust in government?
20. Do you believe that the government while implementing PAHAL scheme has the citizens' best interests at heart?
21. With regard to PAHAL, do you feel that government is responsive to what the public truly wants?
22. Do you feel empowered as a citizen while participating in PAHAL?

Interview guide - Hindi

सामने पब्लिक –साक्षात्कार नर्देशिका

भारत सरकार ने 2013 के बाद एलपीजी आर्थिक सहायता प्राप्त के लिए प्रत्यक्ष लाभ हस्तांतरण शुरू किया, जो अब 'पहल' (प्रत्यक्ष हस्तांतरित लाभ) के रूप में जाना जाता है, इस सन्दर्भ में आप हमें अपने विचार बताएं -

क प्रशासनिक बोझ

1. क्या आपको 'पहल' योजना के बारे में जानकारी है?
2. 'पहल' योजना के तहत आप एलपीजी सब्सिडी कैसे प्राप्त कर सकते हैं, इसके बारे में बताएं?
3. क्या आपको 'उज्ज्वला योजना' के बारे में जानकारी है?
4. उज्ज्वला योजना के तहत कैसे आप मुफ्त रसोई गैस कनेक्शन प्राप्त कर सकते हैं, इसके बारे में बताएं ?
5. पहल योजना के तहत एलपीजी सब्सिडी प्राप्त करते समय आपको किन परेशानियों का सामना करना पड़ रहा है ?
6. एक नागरिकों के नजरिए से सरकार के बातचीत करने से आप कैसा महसूस करते हैं, जिसमें सरकार पहल के हर पहलू और सेवाओं पर बातचीत की जाती है?

ख नीति के लाभ और विशेषताओं

कार्यक्रम प्रारूप

7. एलपीजी सब्सिडी वितरण की नई विधि पुराने विधि से अलग कैसे हैं ?
8. आपके नजरिये में 'पहल' के ऊपर अप्रत्यक्ष सब्सिडी के क्या फायदे और नुकसान है ?
9. आपको लगता है कि नगद हस्तांतरण के कारण अधिक लोग कार्यक्रम में सहभागिता को होंगे ?
10. क्या आप आपके खाते में सरकार के द्वारा जमा की गई रकम का इस्तेमाल एलपीजी सिलिंडर खरीदने के लिए करते हैं?
11. उज्ज्वला योजना कैसे, विशेष रूप से परिवार के सदस्यों में महिलाओं के लिए सहायक है?
12. सरकारी अभियान के लिए क्या आप एलपीजी सब्सिडी छोड़ सकते हैं ?

ग सरकार के प्रदर्शन पर जनता का रुख

13. क्या आप इस बात से सहमत हैं कि समृद्ध लोगों की सब्सिडी सरकार को हटा देनी चाहिए ?

14. पहल में नामांकन के बाद , क्या रसोई गैस के उपयोग और घर का खाना पकाने के अन्य तरीकों में कोई बदलाव आया है ?
15. क्या आपको लगता है कि 'पहल' के आने से गरीबों को मिलने वाली सब्सिडी और आसान हो गई है ?

घ नीति प्रतिक्रिया

16. 'पहल' योजना के तहत सरकार से बातचीत करते समय क्या आपके साथ सम्मान के साथ व्यवहार किया जाता है ?
17. क्या आपको लगता है कि जो लोग पहल में नामांकन प्रक्रियाएं में लेगे हैं वो ईमानदार और भ्रष्टाचार से मुक्त हैं ?
18. क्या 'पहल' के तहत और समाज में जुड़ी इससे अन्य को लेकर आपको लगता है, कि आपके साथ निष्पक्ष व्यवहार किया जा रहा है ?
19. पहल योजना में क्रियान्वयन होने से क्या आपका विश्वास सरकार पर बढ़ा है ?
20. क्या आप मानते हैं कि सरकार के द्वारा लागू किया गया 'पहल' योजना नागरिकों के सर्वोत्तम हित के लिए है ?
21. 'पहल' के आने के बाद, क्या आपको लगता है जनता जैसा चाहती है सरकार वैसा ही बर्ताव कर रही है ?
22. पहल योजना में भाग लेने के बाद क्या आप अपने आपको सशक्त महसूस करते हैं ?

Survey Questionnaire – Hindi version

प्रशासनिक बोझ प्रश्नावली

1. प्रिय प्रतिभागी,

हम भारत में रसोई गैस सब्सिडी लक्षीकरण से संबंधित एक सर्वेक्षण में आपकी भागीदारी का अनुरोध करते हैं। यह सर्वेक्षण शैक्षिक अनुसंधान के लिए है। इसका उद्देश्य यह समझना है कि लक्षित जनसंख्या के विभिन्न समूह, रसोई गैस प्राप्ति के अनुपालन में आनेवाली बाधाओं को कैसे देखते हैं। अनुसंधान के निष्कर्ष यह समझने में मदद कर सकते हैं कि सरकार नागरीकों के लिए सार्वजनिक सेवा वितरण में संभावित सुधार कैसे कर सकती है।

धन्यवाद !

जांच प्रश्न

2. आपकी उम्र क्या है ?

- 18 वर्ष से कम
- 18-29
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-59
- 60-69
- 70-79
- 80 या अधिक

3. क्या आप अपने परिवार के मुखिया या निर्णयकर्ता हैं ?

➤ हाँ

➤ ना

4. आप कितने समय से इलाके के निवासी हैं ?

➤ 5 साल से कम

➤ 5 साल से अधिक

सहमति

5. आपको श्रीनिवास येरमेट्टी और डॉ. नोर्मा एम. रिक्की (पी0एच0डी0) के द्वारा किये जा रहे शोध कार्य के लिए आमंत्रित किया जाता है। ये दोनों संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका में स्टगर्स यूनिवर्सिटी के सार्वजनिक मामलों और प्रशासनिक स्कूल में शोधार्थी हैं। इस शोध का मूल उद्देश्य कुकिंग गैस के लिए बनायी गयी नीति तथा इसकी प्रक्रिया को समझना है। इस प्रक्रिया में प्रत्येक भागीदार को लगभग 20-30 मिनट का समय लगेगा। यह शोध अज्ञात होगा, अज्ञात मतलब यह कि आपके द्वारा दी गयी जानकारी को किसी से साझा नहीं किया जायेगा ताकि आपको पहचाना न जा सके, शोध में आपकी पहचान और आपकी प्रतिक्रिया के बीच कोई संबंध नहीं होगा और आपके डेटा को सरकार के साथ साझा नहीं किया जाएगा। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि हम आपका नाम, पता, फोन नंबर और जन्म की तारीख को अपने डाटा में शामिल नहीं करेंगे।

शोध के दौरान एकत्रित डाटा को एक पासवर्ड से सुरक्षित कंप्यूटर/ टेबलेट तथा ऑनलाईन क्लाउड में पासवर्ड से सुरक्षित रखा जायेगा। शोध पूरा होने के तीन साल बाद सारे डाटा को सिस्टम से हटा दिया जायेगा। स्टगर्स यूनिवर्सिटी के संस्थागत समीक्षा बोर्ड और शोध दल के सदस्यों की ही शोध के दौरान एकत्रित की गयी जानकारीयों तक पहुँच होगी। परन्तु अपवाद में कुछ नियमों को छोड़कर, अगर इस शोध के रिपोर्ट को कहीं पर भी प्रकाशित किया जाता है या किसी प्रोफेशनल कांफ्रेंस में इसे प्रस्तुत किया जाता है तो इसके परिणाम केवल सामूहिक रूप में ही प्रकाशित किये जायेंगे, किसी भी तरह के व्यक्तिगत रिजल्ट को प्रकाशित नहीं किया जायेगा।

इस शोधकार्य में भाग लेने में किसी भी तरह का जोखिम नहीं है। आप प्रक्रिया में भाग लेकर शैक्षणिक शोध में अपना योगदान दें रहे हैं और इस शोध से आपको किसी भी तरह का लाभ नहीं मिलने वाला है। इस अध्ययन में आपकी भागीदारी स्वैच्छिक है। अगर आपको शोध में शामिल नहीं होना है तो आपके पास विकल्प दिया हुआ है। आप किसी भी समय इसको छोड़ सकते हैं और इसके लिए दंड का कोई प्रावधान नहीं है।

इसके अलावा, आप उन सवालों के जबाब न चुन सकते हैं जिसके साथ आप अपने आप को असहज महसूस करते हैं।

यदि आपके मन में इस अध्ययन से संबंधित कोई प्रश्न है तो आप श्री श्रीनिवास येररमसेट्टी से संपर्क कर सकते हैं।

मो० नं० +91 9958226508

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यदि आपके पास इस शोध या शोध प्रक्रिया से संबंधित कोई सवाल है तो आप संकाय सलाहकार डॉ. नोर्मा एम रिक्की से riccucci@rutgers.edu पर संपर्क कर सकते हैं।

यदि आप एक अध्ययन प्रतिभागी के रूप में अपने अधिकारों से संबंधित कोई प्रश्न पूछना चाहते हैं तो कृपया रटगर्स विश्वविद्यालय के आई.आर.बी. प्रशासक से संपर्क करें:-

पता- कला और विज्ञान (आई.आर.बी.) संस्थागत समीक्षा बोर्ड, रटगर्स विश्वविद्यालय, न्यू जर्सी के राज्य विश्वविद्यालय लिबर्टी प्लाजा, सुइट/ 3200 335 जॉर्ज स्ट्रीट, 3 तल, नई ब्राउनश्विक, न्यू जर्सी, संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका 08901

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यदि आपकी उम्र 18 साल या इससे ज्यादा है और उपर दिए गये सारे कथनों को समझते हैं, तो इस शोध प्रक्रिया में भाग लेने के लिए 'सहमत' बटन को दबाए अन्यथा असहमत बटन को दबाकर आप इस शोध में भाग लेने से बच सकते हैं।

➤ सहमत

➤ असहमत

6. क्या आपने प्रधानमंत्री उज्जवला योजना के बारे में सुना है ?
- हाँ
 - नहीं
 - पता नहीं/ कह नहीं सकते
 - जबाव देने से इंकार कर दिया
7. प्रधान मंत्री उज्जवला योजना गरीबी रेखा से नीचे के परिवारों (बी.पी.एल परिवारों) की महिलाओं को मुफ्त एलपीजी कनेक्शन प्रदान करती हैं। इस योजना के तहत, नए एलपीजी कनेक्शन प्राप्त करने की लागतों को कवर करने के लिए 1600 रुपये का वित्तीय सहायता दी जाती है।
8. क्या आपने 'पहल योजना'/ डीबीटीएल (डायरेक्ट बेनिफिट ट्रांसफर स्कीम) के बारे में सुना है ?
- हाँ
 - ना
 - पता नहीं/ कह नहीं सकते
 - जबाव देने से इंकार कर दिया
9. पहल योजना (प्रत्यक्ष हस्तांतरित लाभ) या डीबीटीएल (डायरेक्ट बेनिफिट ट्रांसफर) योजना के तहत भारत सरकार 10 लाख से कम आय वाले लोगों के खातों में घरेलू एलपीजी गैस के 12 एल.पी.जी. सिलिंडर खरीदने के लिए सब्सिडी की रकम ट्रांसफर करती है।
10. क्या आपने 'गिव ईट अप कैंपन' के बारे में सुना हैं ?
- हाँ
 - नहीं
 - पता नहीं/ कह नहीं सकते
 - जबाव देने से इंकार कर दिया

11. 'गिव ईट अप कैंपन' के माध्यम से सरकार ने उन लोगों से सब्सिडी छोड़ने की अपील की जिनकी आय दस लाख से अधिक है, इस सब्सिडी के माध्यम से सरकार ने ऐसे गरीब परिवारों को एल.पी.जी. कनेक्शन देने का वादा किया है, जिनके पास ऐसा कोई कनेक्शन नहीं है।

भारत सरकार की धोषणा के अनुसार 28 दिसम्बर, 2015 से उन उपभोक्ताओं को एल0पी0जी0 सब्सिडी उपलब्ध नहीं होगी जिनकी या जिनके पति/पत्नी की कर योग्य आय 10 लाख से अधिक है।

12. रसोई गैस हेतु आप निम्न में से किन कार्यक्रमों में नामांकित हैं ?

| | हाँ | न |
|-----------------|-----|---|
| उज्जवला योजना | | |
| पहल योजना | | |
| गिव ईट अप योजना | | |

13. निम्नलिखित में से कौन सा कथन रसोई गैस के संदर्भ में आपकी स्थिति का सबसे अच्छा वर्णन करता है-

- एल0पी0जी0 ग्राहक जिसके लिए रसोई गैस सब्सिडी हस्तांतरण बंद कर दिया गया है।
- मध्यस्थों से खरीदकर कभी-कभी एल0पी0जी0 का प्रयोग करते हैं।
- खाना पकाने के लिए कभी भी एल0पी0जी0 का प्रयोग नहीं किया है।

प्रशासनिक बोझ

14. रसोई गैस सब्सिडी के नकद हस्तांतरण के बारे में निम्नलिखित बयानों से आप किस हद तक सहमत और असहमत हैं, कृपया

सरकार के द्वारा दी जा रही सेवाओं के अनुभव के आधार पर अपना उत्तर दें।

| कथन | पूर्ण सहमत | कुछ हद तक असहमत | न ही सहमत न ही असहमत | कुछ हद तक सहमत | पूर्ण सहमत |
|--|------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|------------|
| प्रस्तुत योजना से संबंधित जानकारी आसानी से उपलब्ध है | | | | | |
| योजना का लाभ प्राप्त करने के लिए पात्रता मानदंडों को जानना आसान है | | | | | |
| नामांकन प्रक्रिया के लिए कॉन से दस्तावेज की आवश्यकता है- यह जानना कठिन है। | | | | | |
| सेवा अनुरोध हेतु मोबाईल और इन्टरनेट के उपयोग की जानकारी नहीं है | | | | | |
| इस योजना की नामांकन प्रक्रिया जटिल सी है। | | | | | |
| सेवा वितरण ज्यादा समय लेता है | | | | | |
| इस योजना का लाभ लेने के लिए आवश्यक दस्तावेज प्रस्तुत करना ज्यादा समय लेता है | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| योजना के नियमों का पालन किसी कि सहायता के बिना भी किया जा सकता है | | | | | |
| सरकार के द्वारा आवश्यकता पड़ने पर बार-बार सत्यापन कराने में परेशानी होती है | | | | | |
| योजना में नामांकन के दौरान व्यक्तिगत जानकारी साझा करने में चिंता होती है | | | | | |
| कार्यक्रम के प्रतिभागियों पर सरकारी हस्तक्षेप ज्यादा होता है। | | | | | |
| इस योजना का आलेखन इस प्रकार है कि इससे समाज के केवल कुछ ही वर्ग के लोग लाभ ले रहे हैं। | | | | | |
| सरकार के द्वारा जिन लोगों को सब्सिडी मिल रही हैं वह भी संदेह के घेरे में हैं, की उन्हें यह अनुचित रूप से प्राप्त हो रही है | | | | | |
| बायोमेट्रिक पहचान संख्या रखने वाले ग्राहकों को ही वास्तविक समझना संदिग्ध है। | | | | | |

नागरिक और राजनीतिक जिम्मेदारी

15. निम्नलिखित सूची में नागरिक और राजनैतिक व्यवहार के वादे को दर्शाने के लिए एक श्रृंखला शामिल है। क्या आप यह बता सकते हैं कि आप इन व्यवहारों को अपने व्यवहार के रूप में किस हद तक पहचानते हैं।

| कथन | पूर्ण सहमत | कुछ हद तक असहमत | न ही सहमत न ही असहमत | कुछ हद तक सहमत | पूर्ण सहमत |
|---|---------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| अखबार के संपादक को लिखते हैं। | | | | | |
| किसी उत्पाद का बहिष्कार किया है (नैतिक और वैचारिक कारणों के लिए) | | | | | |
| राजनैतिक मुद्दों से संबंधित कोई भी अखबार नहीं पढ़ा या टीवी चैनल नहीं देखा जो इन मुद्दों को संबोधित करता हो। | | | | | |
| आप यह अनुभव करते हैं कि राजनीति उदासीन और व्यर्थ है | | | | | |
| याचिका साइन करते हैं | | | | | |
| राजनीति के बारे में बात करने से उदासीन होते हैं। | | | | | |
| राजनीति में कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं है। | | | | | |
| अपने मित्रों के साथ या इन्टरनेट पर राजनीति के बारे में चर्चा करते हैं। | | | | | |
| किसी भी राजनैतिक मुद्दे को जानने के लिए टीवी प्रोग्राम देखते हैं या अखबार खरीदते हैं। | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| जनप्रतिनिधि बनने में प्रतिभागिता करते हैं। | | | | | |
| किसी भी पार्टी या राजनीतिक दल को दान देते हैं। | | | | | |
| किसी भी समाजिक /नगर/धार्मिक संगठन के स्वयं सेवक है। | | | | | |
| किसी पार्टी, सिंडिकेट या राजनीतिक संगठन के सदस्य हैं। | | | | | |
| किसी भी आंदोलन/ मंच में सक्रिय है। | | | | | |
| किसी भी पार्टी/ सिंडिकेट/ राजनीतिक समूह की गतिविधियों में शामिल रहते हैं। | | | | | |
| हड़ताल, विरोध या किसी प्रदर्शन में भाग लेते हैं। | | | | | |

प्रक्रियात्मक न्याय

16. निम्नलिखित बयानों को देखकर आप यह बताएं कि रसोई गैस सेवा वितरण में शामिल अधिकारियों द्वारा की गई मदद से आप कितने सहमत या असहमत हैं। इस प्रक्रिया में शामिल होने के दौरान मिली सेवाओं के अनुभव के अनुसार ही इन प्रश्नों का जबाब दें।

| कथन | पूर्ण सहमत | कुछ हद तक असहमत | न ही सहमत न ही असहमत | कुछ हद तक सहमत | पूर्ण सहमत |
|-----|------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|------------|
|-----|------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|------------|

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| प्राधिकारियों द्वारा निर्णय लेने से पहले कोई भी व्यक्ति अपना विचार व्यक्त कर सकता है। | | | | | |
| नियमों और प्रक्रियाओं को प्राधिकारियों द्वारा हमेशा सुसंगत लागू किया जाता है। | | | | | |
| प्राधिकारियों द्वारा लिए गये फैसलों में पारदर्शित होती है। | | | | | |
| प्राधिकारियों द्वारा सेवा परस्पर संवाद के दौरान किसी भी व्यक्ति से विनम्रता और समानता के साथ व्यवहार किया जाता है। | | | | | |
| यह विश्वास है कि प्राधिकारियों द्वारा किसी भी व्यक्ति का शोषण नहीं किया जायेगा। | | | | | |

सर्वे का प्रयोग- नीतिगत वैधता

17.

वस्तुनिष्ठ ढांचा

“सरकार के अनुसार रसोई गैस सब्सिडी के लिए सीधी लाभ हस्तांतरण के कार्यान्वयन में फर्जी घरेलू एल.पी.जी. कनेक्शन काफी

हद तक कम हो गए हैं, जिससे 21,000/- करोड़ से अधिक की सब्सिडी बचत हुई है। लक्षित समूहों को सब्सिडी लाभ सुनिश्चित करने के लिए सरकारी नियम अब 10 लाख से अधिक कर योग्य आय के लोगों की पहचान कर उन्हें सब्सिडी के दायरे से बाहर कर रहे हैं।”

18.

| |
|-------------------------|
| अशक्त फ्रेम |
| कृपया अगले प्रश्न देखें |

19.

| |
|---|
| असमानतागतढांचा |
| <p>एल0पी0जी0 सब्सिडी का 91 प्रतिशत हिस्सा समाज के बेहतर वर्ग के लिए होता है जबकि गरीब के खाते में एल0पी0जी0 खपत का सिर्फ 9 प्रतिशत आता है, जिसमें 40 हजार करोड़ सब्सिडी का प्रावधान अमीरों के लिये है। इसलिए एल0पी0जी0 सब्सिडी को केवल गरीब परिवारों को लक्षित करने की आवश्यकता है और जो इस सब्सिडी को छोड़कर एल0पी0जी0 बाजार की कीमत पर खरीद सकते हैं उन्हें इसके लिए प्रोत्साहित किया जाना चाहिए।</p> |

“सरकार के अनुसार रसोई गैस सब्सिडी के लिए सीधी लाभ हस्तांतरण के कार्यान्वयन में फर्जी घरेलू एल.पी.जी. कनेक्शन काफी हद तक कम हो गए हैं, जिससे 21,000/- करोड़ से अधिक की सब्सिडी बचत हुई है। लक्षित समूहों को सब्सिडी लाभ सुनिश्चित करने के लिए सरकारी नियम अब 10 लाख से अधिक कर योग्य आय के लोगों की पहचान कर उन्हें सब्सिडी के दायरे से बाहर कर रहे हैं।”

20.

न्यूनतमढांचा

भारत अपनी तेल की जरूरतों का 80% आयात करता है और लगभग 40% गैस खपत का भी आयात करता है। एल.पी.जी. उपभोक्ताओं पर वैश्विक तेल की कीमतों में बढ़ोतरी के प्रभाव को रोकने के लिए, सरकार को सब्सिडी के रूप में अधिक भुगतान करना पड़ता है, जिससे राजकोषीय अस्थिरता बढ़ती है। इसलिए एल.पी.जी. सब्सिडी को केवल गरीब परिवारों को लक्षित करने की आवश्यकता है और जो लोग इस सब्सिडी को छोड़ करें एल.पी.जी. गैस बाजार की कीमत पर खरीद सकते हैं उन्हें इसके लिए प्रोत्साहित किया जाना चाहिए।

“सरकार के अनुसार रसोई गैस सब्सिडी के लिए सीधी लाभ हस्तांतरण के कार्यान्वयन में फर्जी घरेलू एल.पी.जी. कनेक्शन काफी हद तक कम हो गए हैं, जिससे 21,000/- करोड़ से अधिक की सब्सिडी बचत हुई है। लक्षित समूहों को सब्सिडी लाभ सुनिश्चित करने के लिए सरकारी नियम अब 10 लाख से अधिक कर योग्य आय के लोगों की पहचान कर उन्हें सब्सिडी के दायरे से बाहर कर रहे हैं।”

नीतिगत वैधता

21. प्रत्यक्ष लाभ हस्तांतरण के माध्यम से कल्याणकारी लक्ष्यीकरण के बारे में सोचकर कृपया साक्षा करें कि क्या निम्न कथन आपके विश्वासों को दर्शाते हैं।

| कथन | पूर्ण सहमत | कुछ हद तक असहमत | न ही सहमत न ही असहमत | कुछ हद तक सहमत | पूर्ण सहमत |
|--|------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|------------|
| पहल/ प्रत्यक्ष लाभ स्थानांतरण का नामांकन कुकिंग गैस खरीदने की लागत कम करता है। | | | | | |
| सरकार को समिति संसाधनों का इस्तेमाल करने में मदद करने के लिए, उच्च आय वर्ग के | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| नागरिकों को स्वेच्छा से सब्सिडी छोड़नी चाहिए। | | | | | |
| प्रत्यक्ष लाभ हस्तांतरण तंत्र की और भी मजबूत बनाने के लिए प्राधिकारियों को अपने विवेक के अनुसार एक मजबूत श्रृंखला तैयार करनी चाहिए। | | | | | |
| प्रत्यक्षलाभ हस्तांतरित क्रिया-विधि का उद्देश्य यह है कि उनलोगों तक गैस की सब्सिडी को उनलोगों तक पहुँचाया जाए, जिनको इसकी ज्यादा जरूरत है। | | | | | |

जनसांख्यिकी चर

22. आपका लिंग क्या है ?

- पुरुष
- महिला
- ट्रांसजेंडर
- पता नहीं/ कह नहीं सकते
- जबाव देने से इंकार कर दिया

23. निकटतम एलपीजी डिस्ट्रीब्यूटर से आपका घर कितना दूर है ?

- 2 कि.मी. से भी कम
- 2-5 कि.मी.
- 5-8 कि.मी.

- 8 कि.मी से अधिक
- पता नहीं/ कह नहीं सकते
- जबाव देने से इंकार कर दिया

24. परिवार के मुखिया या निर्णयकर्ता की शैक्षणिक योग्यता क्या है ?

- कोई भी पढ़ा लिखा नहीं/ किसी भी तरह की शिक्षा प्राप्त नहीं की,
- पांचवी कक्षा तक साक्षर है (कक्षा 5)
- प्राथमिक स्तर – माध्यमिक (कक्षा 8 – 10)
- हाई स्कूल (कक्षा 12)
- स्नातक (डिग्री स्तर तक)
- पता नहीं/ कह नहीं सकते
- जबाव देने से इंकार कर दिया

25. आपकी वार्षिक पारिवारिक आय क्या है ?

- 2.5 लाख से कम
- 2.5 से – 5 लाख
- 5 लाख से 10 लाख तक
- 10 लाख से 15 लाख तक
- 15 लाख या अधिक
- पता नहीं/ कह नहीं सकते

➤ जबाव देने से इंकार कर दिया

26. आप समाज के किस श्रेणी से आते हैं ?

➤ सामान्य

➤ अन्य पिछड़ा वर्ग (ओ.बी.सी.)

➤ अनुसूचित जाति

➤ अनुसूचित जनजाति

➤ पता नहीं/ कह नहीं सकते

➤ जबाव देने से इंकार कर दिया

27. आपके परिवार में कितने लोग हैं ?

➤ 1 - 3

➤ 4 - 6

➤ 7 - 9

➤ 10 - 12

➤ 13 - 15

➤ 15 से अधिक

➤ पता नहीं/ कह नहीं सकते

➤ जबाव देने से इंकार कर दिया

28. घर में मुखिया/निर्णयकर्ता का पेशा क्या है ?

- अकुशल कामगार
- व्यवसायिक/ अर्ध कुशल श्रमिक
- क्लर्क/ बिक्री कार्य/ प्रबंधन संबंधी कार्य
- छोटा व्यापार/ दुकानदार
- खुद का अपना व्यवसाय है/ उद्योगपति/ जूनियर अधिकारी
- वरिष्ठ अधिकारी/ अधिकारी, व्यावयिक व्यक्ति/ उद्योगपति
- एक और नौ से ज्यादा कर्मचारी, सशस्त्र बल/ सुरक्षा बल, विधायी/ कानून प्रवर्तन पदाधिकारी
- अन्य (छात्र/ रिटायर्ड अन्य/ गृहणी)
- पता नहीं/ कह नहीं सकते
- जबाब देने से इंकार कर दिया

29. अंत में, एल.पी.जी. कैश ट्रांसफर प्रोग्राम के बारे में कुछ और भी हैं जो आप साझा करना चाहते हैं ?

30. आपके कीमती समय के लिए धन्यवाद।

Survey Questionnaire – English

Administrative Burden Questionnaire

1. Dear Respondent,

We request your participation in a survey about the targeting of cooking gas subsidies in India. This is for academic research that aims to better understand how various groups of the target population view the barriers to compliance in receiving cooking gas. The findings can help understand how government can potentially improve delivery of public services to citizens.

Screening Questions

2. What is your age?

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| Under 18 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18-29 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 30-39 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 40-49 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 50-59 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 60-69 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 70-79 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 80 and above | <input type="checkbox"/> |

3. Are you the head/ decision maker of the family?

- | | |
|-----|--------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> |

4. For how long are you a resident of the locality?

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Less than 5 years | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| More than 5 years | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Consent

5. You are invited to participate in a research conducted by Srinivas Yerramsetti and Norma M. Riccucci Ph.D. of the School of Public Affairs and Administration at Rutgers University, Newark in U.S.A. The purpose of this research is to understand the citizen's experience of the targeting of cooking gas benefits. This process will take approximately 20-30 minutes for each participant. This research is anonymous. Anonymous means we will record no information about you that could identify you. There will be no linkage between your identity and your response in the research, and your data will not be shared with the government. That means we will not record your name, address, phone number, date of birth etc.

Once collected research data will be secured in a password protected computer/ tablet in a password protected online cloud. All data will be deleted after three years of the completion of the study. The research team and the Institutional Review board at Rutgers University are the only parties that have access to the data from the study, except as may be required by law. If a report of this study is published, or the results presented at a professional conference, results will be published in the aggregate only. No individual results will be published.

There are no foreseeable risks to participation in the study. While participation may contribute to academic research, you may receive no direct benefit from participation in the study. Participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate and you may withdraw at any time during the study procedures without any penalty to you.

In addition, you may choose not to answer any questions with which you are not comfortable. If you have questions regarding this study, you may contact Mr. Srinivas Yerramsetti at +91- 9958226408 or email at srinivas.yerramsetti@rutgers.edu

If you have any concern about the study or study procedures, you may contact the Faculty Advisor Dr. Norma M. Riccucci at riccucci@rutgers.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact the IRB administrator at Rutgers University, Arts and Sciences IRB: Institutional Review Board, Rutgers University, The State University of New Jersey Liberty Plaza / Suite 3200 335 George Street, 3rd Floor, New Brunswick, NJ, USA 08901

Phone 732-235-2866

Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

If you are 18 years of age and older, understand the statements above, and will consent to participate in the study, click on the 'I agree' button to begin the survey. If not click on the 'I Do Not Agree' button which you will exit the form.

I Agree ☐
 I Do Not Agree ☐

Awareness and LPG usage Questions

6. Have you heard of "Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana"?

Yes ☐
 No ☐
 Don't know / Can't say ☐
 Refused ☐

7. Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana - Scheme provides free LPG connections to women from Below Poverty Line (BPL) Households. Under the scheme, financial support of Rs 1600 will be provided to cover the costs of obtaining a new LPG connection.

8. Have you heard of "PAHAL Yojana"/ DBTL (Direct Benefit Transfer) scheme?

Yes ☐
 No ☐
 Don't know / Can't say ☐
 Refused ☐

9. Under PAHAL (Pratyaksh Hanstantrit Labh) Yojana (or) DBTL (Direct Benefit Transfer) scheme for LPG, Government of India provides cash subsidy for purchasing domestic LPG gas cylinder, directly to the customer's bank account, for up to 12 cylinders a year, for households with income below 10 Lakhs.

10. Have you heard of the "Give it up" campaign?

Yes ☐
 No ☐
 Don't know / Can't say ☐
 Refused ☐

11. Through the "Give it up" campaign, the Indian government has urged LPG customers with household incomes above Rs. 10 lakhs to voluntarily surrender their subsidy. Through the subsidy saved, the government promised to give LPG connections to poor families having no such connection.

From December 28, 2015, the Indian government has announced that LPG subsidies will not be available if the consumer or his/her spouse had taxable income of more than Rs 10 Lakhs during the previous financial year. LPG customers have to give a self-declaration stating that their annual taxable income is below 10 Lakhs.

12. Are you enrolled for cooking gas through any of the programs listed below?

| | Yes | No |
|-------------------------------|-----|----|
| Ujjwala Scheme | | |
| PAHAL (or) DBTL scheme | | |
| Give it up campaign | | |

13. Which of the following best describes your status with regard to cooking gas?

- LPG customer for whom cooking gas subsidy transfers have been stopped. ☐
- Uses LPG occasionally by purchasing from middlemen ☐
- Never uses LPG for household cooking purposes ☐

Administrative burden

14. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about cash transfers for cooking gas subsidies. Please answer as best you can, based on your perceptions about service interactions.

| Statement | Strongly disagree | Somewhat disagree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Information about the relevant program is easily available | | | | | |

| Statement | Strongly disagree | Somewhat disagree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat agree | Strongly agree |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| The eligibility criteria for program enrolment are easy to know | | | | | |
| Knowing which documents are needed for enrolment is difficult | | | | | |
| Unfamiliar with the use of mobile or internet to make service requests | | | | | |
| Procedures for program enrolment are cumbersome | | | | | |
| Experienced delays in service delivery | | | | | |
| Getting the documents needed to enroll for program benefits is time consuming | | | | | |
| The program rules can be followed without anybody's help | | | | | |
| Complying with frequent verification requirements by the government is bothersome | | | | | |
| Experienced delays in benefit transfers | | | | | |
| Concerned about having to share personal information during program enrolment | | | | | |
| Monitoring of program participants by the government is over intrusive | | | | | |
| Program benefits are portrayed as only meant | | | | | |

| Statement | Strongly disagree | Somewhat disagree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat agree | Strongly agree |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| for some sections of the society | | | | | |
| Beneficiaries are now often suspected of undeservingly getting government subsidies | | | | | |
| Making biometric identity number as the basis for benefits is questionable | | | | | |

Civil & Political Participation

15. The following list includes a list of behaviors characterizing civic and political engagement. Can you indicate to what extent you recognize these behaviors as your behaviors?

| Statement | Strongly disagree | Somewhat disagree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat agree | Strongly agree |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Writes to the newspaper editor | | | | | |
| Boycotts products (for ethical or ideological reasons) | | | | | |
| Does not read newspapers or watch TV programs that address political issues | | | | | |
| Feels that politics is uninteresting and useless | | | | | |
| Signs petitions | | | | | |
| Refrains from talking about politics | | | | | |

| Statement | Strongly disagree | Somewhat disagree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Is unconcerned with politics | | | | | |
| Discusses politics with friends and/or on the Internet | | | | | |
| Buys newspapers or watch TV programs that address political themes | | | | | |
| Runs for public office | | | | | |
| Donates money to a party or a political organization | | | | | |
| Volunteers in a social/civic/religious organization | | | | | |
| Is a member of a party, syndicate or political organization | | | | | |
| Is active in a movement/forum | | | | | |
| Undertakes activities in a party/syndicate/political group | | | | | |
| Participates in strikes, protests, demonstrations | | | | | |

Procedural justice

16. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about the treatment by authorities involved in cooking gas service

delivery. Please answer as best you can, based on your perceptions about service interactions.

| Statement | Strongly disagree | Somewhat disagree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Individuals can express their viewpoint before decisions are made by authorities | | | | | |
| The rules and procedures are always consistently applied by the authorities | | | | | |
| Decisions are made by authorities in a transparent manner | | | | | |
| Individuals are treated with politeness and respect during service interactions by the authorities | | | | | |
| Confident that authorities will not unduly exclude or exploit individuals | | | | | |

17.

| Objective Frame |
|---|
| <p>"According to the government, the implementation of direct benefits transfer for cooking gas subsidies has substantially reduced the bogus domestic LPG connections, which has led to a subsidy savings of over 21,000 crores. To ensure subsidy benefits go to the targeted groups, government rules now exclude well-to-do households, if the consumer or his/her spouse had annual taxable income of over 10 Lakhs from receiving LPG subsidies"</p> |

18.

| |
|------------------------------|
| Null Frame |
| Please see the next question |

19.

| |
|---|
| Inequality Frame |
| <p>The better-off sections of the society account for 91 percent of the LPG subsidies, while the poor account for only 9 percent of the consumption, thereby constituting an implicit subsidy of Rs. 40,000 crores to the rich. Therefore LPG subsidies should be targeted only to the poor households, and well-to-do households should be asked to purchase at market prices.</p> <p>"According to the government, the implementation of direct benefits transfer for cooking gas subsidies has substantially reduced the bogus domestic LPG connections, which has led to a subsidy savings of over 21,000 crores. To ensure subsidy benefits go to the targeted groups, government rules now exclude well-to-do households, if the consumer or his/her spouse had annual taxable income of over 10 Lakhs from receiving LPG subsidies"</p> |

20.

Deficit Frame

India imports 80% of its oil requirements and nearly 40% of gas consumption. To prevent the impact of increasing global oil prices to LPG consumers, the government will have to pay more towards subsidy, which in turn may lead to fiscal destabilization. Therefore, LPG subsidies should be targeted only to poor households, and the well-to-do households should be asked to purchase LPG at market prices.

"According to the government, the implementation of direct benefits transfer for cooking gas subsidies has substantially reduced the bogus domestic LPG connections, which has led to a subsidy savings of over 21,000 crores. To ensure subsidy benefits go to the targeted groups, government rules now exclude well-to-do households, if the consumer or his/her spouse had annual taxable income of over 10 Lakhs from receiving LPG subsidies"

Policy Legitimacy

21. Thinking about welfare targeting through direct benefits transfers, please share whether these reflect your beliefs.

| Statement | Strongly disagree | Somewhat disagree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Enrolling for Pahal/ direct benefit transfers helps to reduce cost of purchasing cooking gas | | | | | |
| To help government utilize limited resources, citizens from higher income bracket should voluntarily give up subsidies | | | | | |
| Authorities should be given a wide | | | | | |

| Statement | Strongly disagree | Somewhat disagree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| range of discretion in implementation of the direct benefits transfer mechanism | | | | | |
| Direct benefits transfer mechanism targets cooking gas subsidies towards those groups that deserve them the most | | | | | |

Demographic Variables

22. What is your gender?

- Male ☐
- Female ☐
- Transgender ☐
- Don't know / Can't say ☐
- Refused ☐

23. How far away is your house from the nearest LPG distributor?

- Less than 2 Kms ☐
- 2 Kms to less than 5 Kms ☐
- 5 Kms to less than 8 Kms ☐
- Greater than 8 Kms ☐
- Don't know / Can't say ☐
- Refused ☐

24. What is the educational qualification of the head/ decision maker of the family?

- Not literate/ No formal schooling ☐

- Literate, up to primary level (Class 5) ☐
- Primary level - Secondary level (Class 8 - 10) ☐
- High school (Class 12) ☐
- Graduate (up to Degree level) ☐
- Post graduate (up to masters level or higher) ☐
- Don't know / Can't say ☐
- Refused ☐

25. What is your annual income?

- Less than 2.5 Lakhs ☐
- 2.5 to less than 5 Lakhs ☐
- 5 to less than 10 Lakhs ☐
- 10 to less than 15 Lakhs ☐
- 15 lakhs and above ☐
- Don't know / Can't say ☐
- Refused ☐

26. To which social category do you belong?

- General ☐
- Other backward castes (OBC) ☐
- Scheduled caste ☐
- Scheduled tribe ☐
- Don't know / Can't say ☐
- Refused ☐

27. How many members are there in your household?

- 1-3 ☐
- 4-6 ☐
- 7-9 ☐
- 10-12 ☐
- 13-15 ☐
- More than 15 ☐
- Don't know/ can't say ☐
- Refused ☐

28. What is the occupation of the head/ decision maker of the household?

- Unskilled worker ☐
- Vocational/ Semi skilled worker ☐
- Clerk/ Sales work/ Supervisory level ☐
- Petty trader/ Shop owner ☐
- Self-employed Professional Businessman/ Industrialist
with 0 Employees, Officers/ Junior Executives ☐
- Professional-Middle-Senior Executives/ Officers, Business
Person/ industrialist with 1-9+ employees, Armed forces/
security forces, Legislative/Law enforcement officials ☐
- Other (Student/ Retired Other/ Housewife) ☐
- Don't know/ can't say ☐
- Refused ☐

29. Finally, is there anything about the LPG cash transfer program that you would like to share?

30. Thank you for your time.