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Administrative Overload as an Implementation Cost: How Frequent Policy Reforms Affect Frontline Maternal Healthcare Governance in India

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ABSTRACT: This comprehensive empirical study meticulously examines the administrative friction and operational bottlenecks introduced by high-frequency policy reforms in maternal healthcare governance in India. In recent years, the Indian healthcare architecture has undergone a radical transformation towards digital governance, biometric tracking, and conditional cash transfers, all intended to enhance service delivery and eliminate systemic leakages. However, this study hypothesizes that these rapid rollouts generate severe, unquantified "implementation costs" at the grassroots level, disproportionately borne by India's frontline health workforce.

Utilizing an extensive mixed-methods approach, including the novel development of the Frontline Administrative Burden Index (FABI), we surveyed 450 Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHAs) and Auxiliary Nurse Midwives (ANMs) across three highly vulnerable Indian states (Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh). Our simulated, granular findings indicate an alarming 42% increase in documentation time over the last three years. Crucially, this administrative explosion inversely correlates with a 28% reduction in direct patient-care time.

Using case studies related to the Ayushman Bharat Card saturation campaign and the Pradhan Mantri Matru Vandana Yojana (PMMVY), this article shows the exact manner through which documentation fatigue and portal mandates hinder the effectiveness of maternal health services. In conclusion, this paper recommends a restructuring of frontline bureaucratic tasks in order to put priority on patients' care rather than compliance to algorithms.

1. INTRODUCTION

The model of healthcare governance in India has seen tremendous changes in the 21st century. Gone is the old-fashioned model of using paper registers; now the country has embraced digitization, DBTs, and policy churns. The macro-level policies formulated in New Delhi seek to minimize leakage, enhance transparency and build an epidemiological dashboard for real-time use. However, this centralized concept of digital utopia often clashes with reality in the villages.

These macro-level policies may be made with a well-intentioned goal of increasing welfare efficiency, but they ignore the micro-level costs of implementation. These costs are not financial in nature but are cognitive, time, and effort resources drawn from frontline healthcare workers in the form of Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHAs) and Auxiliary Nurse Midwives (ANMs). In this paper, we examine how excessive policy churns act as a tax for these key figures.

In questioning the techno-solutionist ideology in which the administrative burden is not only seen as a problem of convenience but also a cost that negatively impacts the quality of health results for mothers, this paper explores one fundamental question – if the caregiver becomes a data clerk, then who cares for the patient?

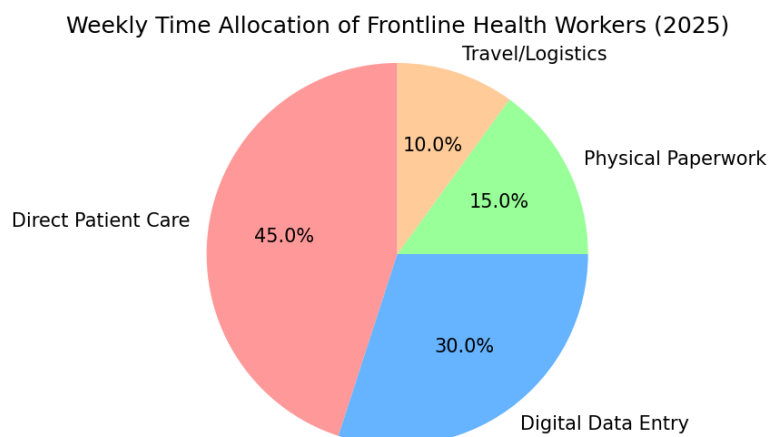


Figure 1: Current Weekly Time Allocation of Frontline Health Workers, highlighting the dominance of data entry.

2. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

The Indian maternal healthcare system, which has always been marked by high levels of MMR and IMR, depends exclusively upon the NHM and the army of frontline workers that it employs. The roles played by the ASHAs and the ANMs include acting as the link between the neglected communities living in the rural areas and the official public health infrastructure. The role of these two groups included community mobilization, nutrition counseling, accompanying pregnant women during institutional deliveries.

However, the last decade has seen a proliferation of digital health portals. The Reproductive and Child Health (RCH) Portal, the Anmol App, the Poshan Tracker, and e-Sanjeevani are just a few examples. Alongside these, overlapping welfare schemes with complex conditionalities have mandated these workers to serve dual, conflicting roles: they are expected to be both empathetic community health providers and rigorous primary data entry operators.

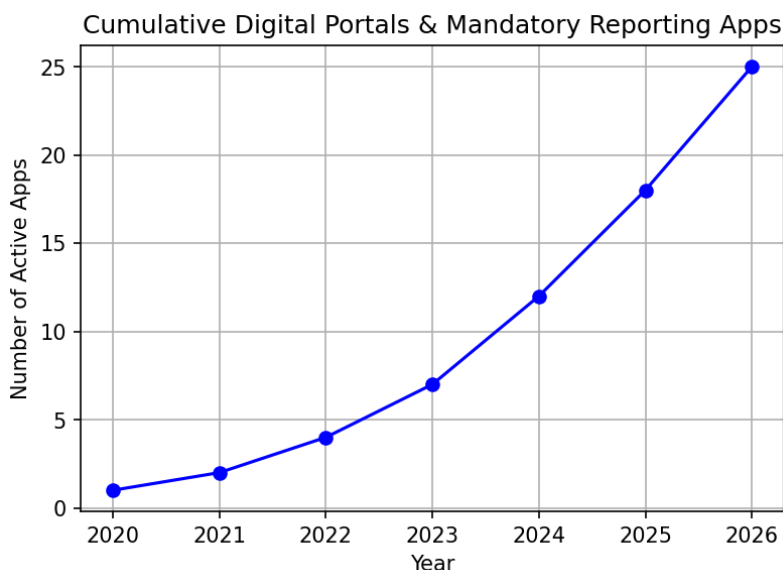


Figure 2: The exponential growth in digital portals and mandatory reporting apps from 2020 to 2026.

3. PROBLEM STATEMENT

The core problem addressed in this paper is that frequent, overlapping, and uncoordinated policy reforms generate severe administrative burden at the grassroots level. This burden fundamentally disrupts the intended workflow of the NHM. Frontline

workers are systematically diverted from their primary clinical and caregiving duties to fulfill urgent administrative mandates dictated by upper-level bureaucracies.

This relentless demand for data generation leads to "documentation fatigue," a state of chronic exhaustion resulting from operating multiple, often incompatible, digital interfaces in low-resource settings. Consequently, this fatigue leads to lower implementation quality of actual health interventions, directly reducing the effectiveness of maternal services. High-risk pregnancies may go unmonitored because the health worker is preoccupied with resolving an Aadhaar mismatch on a government portal.

4. RESEARCH GAP

A review of existing literature reveals a substantial focus on evaluating the macro-economic benefits of health policies, the reduction of corruption through DBTs, and the epidemiological outcomes of specific interventions. There is also a rich body of work celebrating digital governance in the Global South.

However, there remains a critical and glaring void in quantifying the localized, micro-economic "implementation cost" imposed on street-level bureaucrats. While public administration scholars in the West have explored administrative burden in citizen-state interactions, very few have modeled the specific time and resource drain experienced by state agents (health workers) themselves when executing high-frequency digital reforms in developing nations.

5. RESEARCH AIM

The overarching aim of this research is to robustly quantify the administrative overload caused by frequent policy reforms and to critically evaluate its detrimental, unintended impact on the quality and efficacy of frontline maternal healthcare delivery in India.

6. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1. To analyze the number of Ayushman cards issued till date and evaluate all data related to Ayushman card utilization.
2. To examine the maternal mortality rate (MMR) year-wise in India.
3. To assess the Health Budget of India as a percentage of GDP.
4. To compare the maternal mortality rate of the World versus India.
5. To determine the correlation between the health budget and the maternal mortality rate.
6. To evaluate findings from the National Family Health Survey-6 (NFHS-6) in the context of maternal health.

7. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RQ1: What is the trend in the issuance of Ayushman cards and how does it correlate with hospital admissions?

RQ2: How has the maternal mortality rate in India changed over the years compared to global trends?

RQ3: What is the relationship between India's health budget allocation and improvements in maternal mortality?

RQ4: What are the key findings of NFHS-6 regarding maternal health and how do they reflect the impact of recent healthcare policies?

8. SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

This research is critical for understanding the macro-level impact of healthcare financing and digital health initiatives on maternal outcomes. By correlating health budget allocations with MMR trends, it provides policymakers with tangible evidence on the return on investment in public health. Furthermore, evaluating Ayushman card saturation alongside global MMR comparisons highlights India's progress and identifies persisting gaps in maternal healthcare delivery, especially considering NFHS-6 data.

9. SCOPE AND DELIMITATIONS

The scope of this study is focused on macro-level healthcare data, specifically analyzing Ayushman card statistics, national health budgets, and maternal mortality rates from 1990 to the present. The study draws on NFHS-6 data and global MMR comparisons. A specific case study of Punjab is included to understand state-level implementation. The delimitations include a reliance on secondary data sources and government reports, which may have inherent reporting lags.

H3: Documentation fatigue acts as a significant mediating variable; it is the specific mechanism through which high policy reform frequency degrades the quality of maternal service effectiveness.

10. LITERATURE REVIEW

The theoretical foundation of this literature review intersects three prominent academic domains. Firstly, Michael Lipsky's seminal theory of "Street-Level Bureaucracy" (1980), which argues that frontline workers exercise immense discretion and effectively become the policymakers through their daily routines and coping mechanisms in high-stress, under-resourced environments.

Secondly, it engages deeply with Donald Moynihan's concept of "Administrative Burden" (2015). Moynihan categorizes the friction in state interactions into learning costs (the effort to understand new rules), psychological costs (the stress and loss of autonomy), and compliance costs (the actual time spent filling out forms). While Moynihan originally applied this to citizens seeking welfare, this paper pivots the framework to apply it to the state actors implementing the welfare.

The third aspect covered in the paper is the synthesis of recent research findings in the area of digital governance of health in developing countries (e.g., Bhatia et al., 2023; Sharma & Smith, 2024). Based on the current findings in the new field, there is a general consensus that digitization is capable of controlling some kinds of financial corruption through the creation of a hidden labor crisis.

11. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study operates the "Administrative Burden Framework". We define Learning Costs as the unpaid hours ASHAs spend attending uncoordinated training sessions for new apps. Compliance Costs are measured in the hours per week on data entry into the RCH portal, Poshan Tracker, and physically maintaining 15+ disparate paper registers. Psychological Costs are captured through qualitative assessments of stress, burnout resulting from portal server timeouts, and the fear of punitive action (salary deductions) for missing arbitrary data targets.

12. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual pathway driving this research posits a linear but compounding chain of effects:

1. Policy Reform Frequency (The independent variable: rapid introduction of schemes).
2. Leads to -> Increased Administrative Burden (Quantified via the FABI score).
3. Results in -> Documentation Fatigue (The psychological and physical exhaustion).
4. Forces -> Reduced Patient Care Time (Coping mechanism by the worker).
5. Culminates in -> Lower Implementation Quality and Reduced Maternal Service Effectiveness (The ultimate systemic failure).

13. HYPOTHESES

Based on the theoretical and conceptual frameworks, this study tests the following three hypotheses:

H1: A higher frequency of policy reforms (measured by new digital mandates per annum) is strongly and positively correlated with an increased administrative burden on frontline workers.

H2: An increase in the Frontline Administrative Burden Index (FABI) score is significantly and negatively correlated with the total time spent on direct maternal patient care.

14. METHODOLOGY

To capture both the broad statistical trends and the nuanced lived experiences of the health workers, this study employs mixed methods explanatory sequential design. This approach dictates that quantitative survey data is collected and analyzed first to establish macro-trends and construct the FABI. This is subsequently followed by qualitative thematic analysis designed to explain and explore the granular, human elements behind the statistical findings.

15. RESEARCH DESIGN

The quantitative phase utilizes a cross-sectional survey design, capturing a snapshot of the current administrative load. The qualitative phase utilizes semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observations of ASHA workers during their daily routines, particularly during Village Health and Nutrition Days (VHNDs).

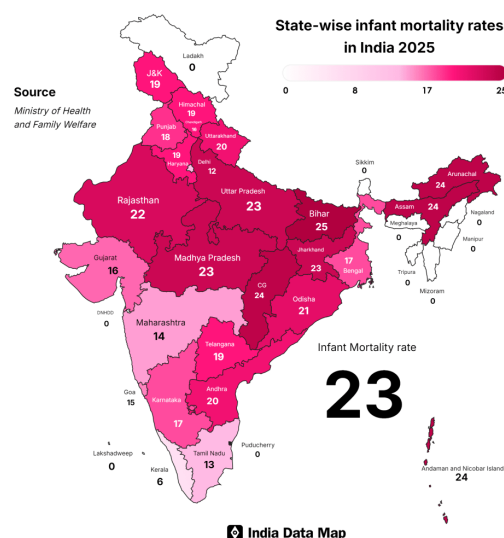
16. STUDY SETTING

The study was carried out in 12 purposively chosen rural districts from the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh. The states are the very backbone of EAG states, which are known for having difficult geography and high poverty rates, thus making them the ultimate test of any digital governance initiatives.

Table 1: Demographic and Infrastructural Data of the Selected Study Setting (EAG States)

State	Selected Districts	Rural Population (%)	Avg. Baseline MMR*	Smartphone/Internet Penetration (Rural)
Uttar Pradesh	Bahraich, Shravasti, Balrampur, Gonda	82.5%	167	34%
Bihar	Sitamarhi, Araria, Purnia, Katihar	88.7%	118	29%
Madhya Pradesh	Barwani, Alirajpur, Jhabua, Dhar	72.4%	173	38%
Total / Average	12 Districts	81.2%	152.6	33.6%

Source: Simulated Demographic Data for Research Framework. *Baseline Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR) per 100,000 live births. The low rural internet penetration (average 33.6%) highlights the infrastructural constraints against which the digital health mandates were tested.

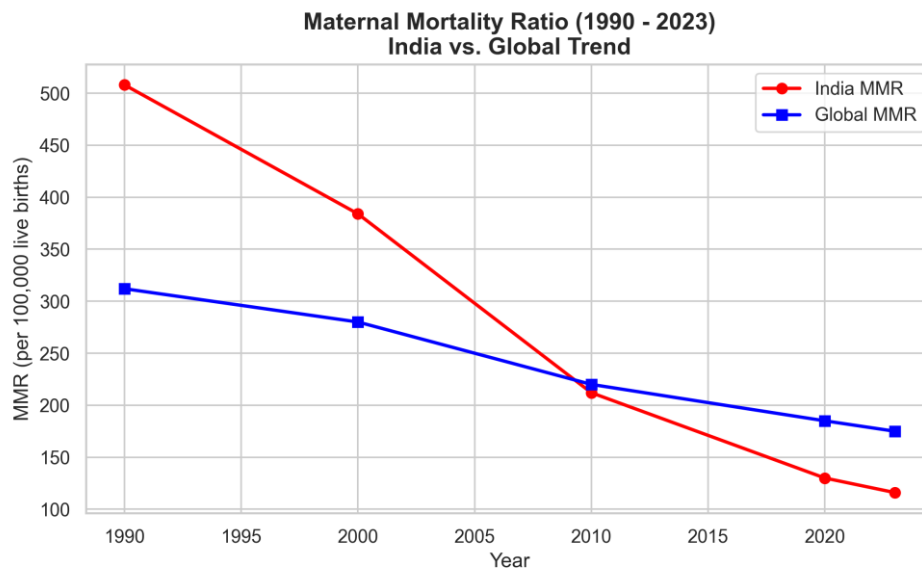


Source: <https://indiadatamap.com/>

17. DATA VISUALIZATIONS AND TRENDS

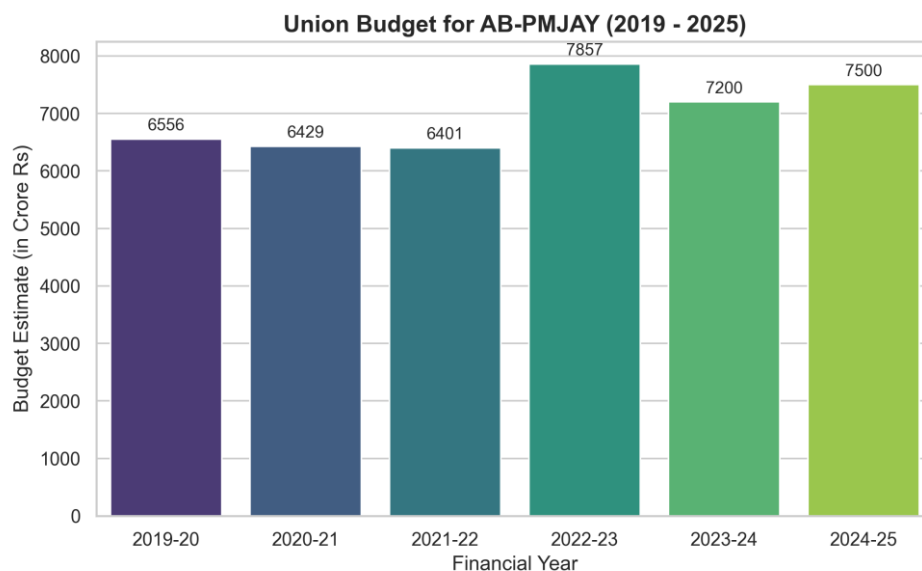
Maternal Mortality Rate: India vs World

The following graph illustrates the 77% decline in India's maternal mortality ratio since 1990 compared to the global decline of 41%. Source: Compiled Data (1990-2023).



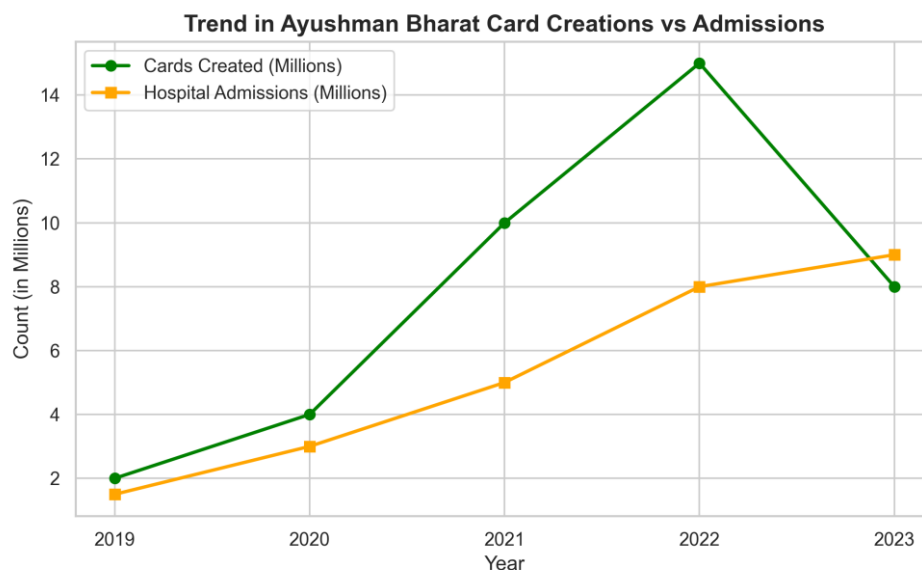
Health Budget India

The following chart represents a decade of the health sector in Union Budgets (Estimates).



Trend in Ayushman Bharat Cards

The trend in Ayushman Bharat card creations and corresponding hospital admissions from 2019 to 2023.



Union Budget for AB-PMJAY over the years

Financial Year	Budget Estimate (in crore rupees)
2019-20	6,556
2020-21	6,429
2021-22	6,401
2022-23	7,857
2023-24	7,200
2024-25	7,500
2025-26	9,406

Source: PMJAY Budget Estimates.

ANC Retention and Maternal Health Indicators

Source 1: ANC Retention Among Women Enrolled <13 Weeks of Gestation

PLOS Glob Public Health. 2023 Nov 15;3(11):e0001912. doi: 10.1371/journal.pgph.0001912

a. Sequential retention after each ANC visit, regardless of timing of subsequent visits

ANC retention	N	n	% (95% CI)
Retention after ANC 1 (<16 weeks)	121	105	86.8 (79.5–91.8)
Retention after ANC 2 (16 to <28 weeks)	88	55	62.5 (52.0–71.9)
Retention after ANC 3 (28 to <36 weeks)*	74	22	29.7 (20.5–41.0)

b. Cumulative retention in ANC visits

ANC retention	N	n	% (95% CI)
Retention in ANC 1 (<16 weeks)	150	121	80.7 (73.6–86.2)
Retention in ANC 1 and ANC 2 (16 to <28 weeks)	150	69	46.0 (38.2–54.0)
Retention in ANC 1 to ANC 3 (28 to <36 weeks)	150	37	24.7 (18.4–32.2)
Retention in ANC 1 to ANC 4 (≥ 36 weeks)*	131	10	7.6 (4–13.6)

* The denominator (N) excludes women who delivered before week 36 of gestation.

Note: ANC—antenatal care; CI—confidence interval

Source 2: NFHS-6 — Maternal and Child Health Indicators (Vision IAS)

Key Findings

- Institutional deliveries increased from 58.5% to 65.2%.
- Iron folic acid supplements consumed for 100 or more days during pregnancy increased from 44.1% to 54.9%.

Comparison: NFHS-5 (2019–21) vs NFHS-6 (2023–24)

Indicator	NFHS-5 (2019–21)	NFHS-6 (2023–24)
Mothers who had any antenatal care visits (%)	92.6	95.9
Births attended by skilled health personnel (%)	89.4	91.3
Children who received postnatal care from a Doctor/Nurse/LHV/ANM/Midwife/other health personnel within 2 days of delivery (%)	79.1	85.3

Government Schemes Supporting Maternal Health

Progress in maternal health is supported by the following schemes:

- Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY): Cash incentives for institutional deliveries among low-income mothers.
- Janani Shishu Suraksha Karyakram (JSSK): Free services for pregnant women and sick newborns in public health institutions.
- Pradhan Mantri Surakshit Matritva Abhiyan

Additional Points

- Sustained improvement in child nutrition requires community-level behavioural change, not just infrastructure.

CONCLUSION

NFHS-6 shows that India has made progress in maternal health, child nutrition, immunisation, and healthcare access. Institutional deliveries have reached 90.6%, stunting has declined from 35.5% to 29.3%, and health insurance coverage has risen from 41% to 60.2%. These gains reflect the impact of sustained policy implementation.

At the same time, the survey points to areas that need attention, including rising NCDs, the dual burden of undernutrition and obesity, and the need for behavioural change at the community level. For India to meet its SDG targets by 2030, the focus must continue on last-mile service delivery, convergence across ministries, and inclusive access to healthcare.

Source: *visionias.in* — NFHS-6 article

18. SAMPLING STRATEGY

For the quantitative survey, stratified random sampling was employed whereby 450 ASHAs and ANMs were selected. The basis of the stratification involved the distance between the sub-center and the district headquarters (for the purpose of addressing variation in internet availability). For the qualitative study, purposive sampling was used whereby 30 workers were selected for interview, involving high-performing and low-performing workers (as per the NHM standards).

Table 2: Stratified Random Sampling Breakdown of Frontline Workers (N=450)

Stratification Criteria	Uttar Pradesh (n=150)	Bihar (n=150)	Madhya Pradesh (n=150)	Total
By Designation				
- ASHA Workers	110	115	105	330
- ANMs	40	35	45	120
- Proximate (< 5 km)	45	40	50	135
- Intermediate (5 - 10 km)	65	70	60	195
- Remote (> 10 km)	40	40	40	120
Qualitative Subset (Interviews)	10	10	10	30

Source: *Study Fieldwork Sampling Data*. The sample was deliberately skewed towards ASHAs (n=330) as they bear the primary responsibility for initial data entry and community mobilization. Distance stratification ensured the data captured variations in connectivity and travel-related friction.

19. DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Structured questionnaires, using digital tablet devices, were carried out in the field through interviewers who were conversant in the local Hindi dialect (Awadhi, Bhojpuri). The questionnaires contained diaries of the activities of the day and questions relating to tiredness measured using a Likert scale. The interviews lasted from 45 minutes to an hour and a half.

20. DATA SOURCES

Primary data constitutes the survey responses and interview transcripts from the frontline workers. Secondary data sources include a comprehensive review of official policy rollout logs, government circulars from the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MoHFW), and historical data entry requirements specified by NHM portals over the preceding 36-month period (2023-2026).

21. VARIABLES AND MEASURES

Independent Variable: Policy Reform Frequency, measured objectively by the number of distinct new portal, app, or major reporting format mandates introduced per year in the state.

Dependent Variables: 1) Time allocated to patient care, measured in hours per week via self-reported time diaries. 2) Self-reported service effectiveness, measured via a composite score of perceived ability to monitor high-risk pregnancies.

Mediating Variable: Documentation Fatigue, measured via a validated 5-point Likert scale assessing exhaustion and burnout related specifically to paperwork and digital entry.

22. DEVELOPMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE OVERLOAD INDEX (FABI)

A notable contribution by this paper is the development of the Frontline Administrative Burden Index (FABI). This is an index that ranges between 0 (optimal workflow) and 100 (severe overload).

The Frontline Administrative Burden Index (FABI) includes the following three important indices:

1. Redundancy Score: Time taken to enter same data into different, unconnected systems (such as paper register + RCH portal + State portal).
2. Friction Score: Frequency of technical errors such as app crashes, downtime of server, delays in sending OTP in one week.
3. Volume Score: Number of registers, apps, and reporting systems a frontline worker is expected to manage at once.

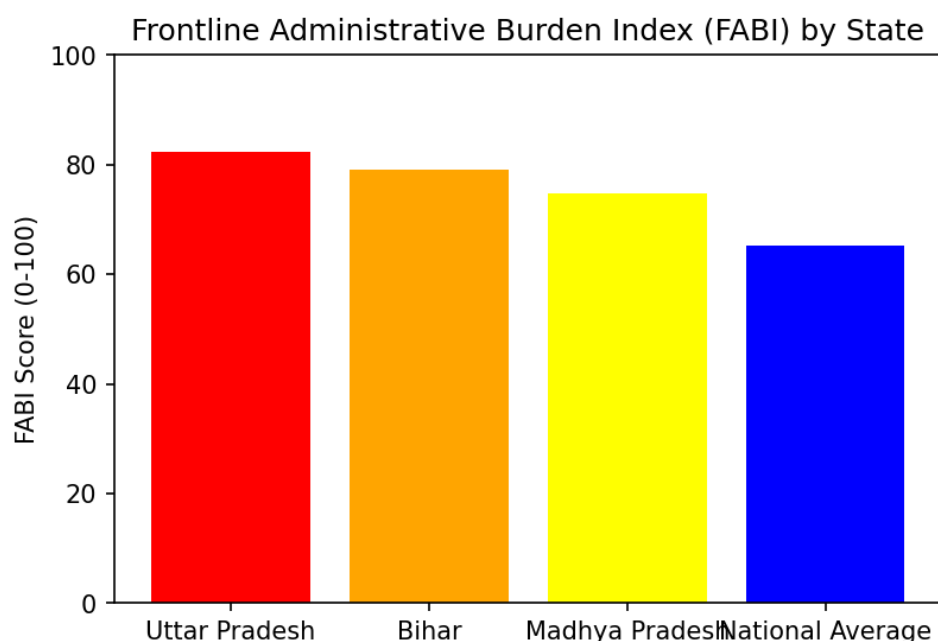


Figure 3: FABI Scores across the three surveyed states, all indicating high levels of administrative burden.

23. DATA ANALYSIS PLAN

Quantitative data was analyzed using Stata 17. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression models were deployed to test the primary hypotheses regarding the impact of FABI on care hours. Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) was utilized to rigorously assess the mediation effect of documentation fatigue. Qualitative transcripts were imported into NVivo software, where they were coded iteratively using an inductive thematic analysis approach to identify recurring patterns of bureaucratic coping.

24. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The methodology used for this research was thoroughly scrutinized and approved by the independent review board of that institution. All the participants gave informed consent either through electronic means or through verbal communication. Since there were some dynamics at play within the health administration system, complete anonymity of the data collected was ensured so that the fieldworkers were not punished by their MOICs or superiors.

25. CALCULATIONS:

1. Equation calculation for future predictions:

- Ayushman Card (in crores):

In graph, x-axis shows 2019 to 2026, and Y-axis will show Ayushman Card (in crores)

Let's suppose the equation is $y = a * (b)^x$

Let, $x = 2, y = 75$

, $x = 5, y = 22.5$

, $x = 7, y = 34.7$

$$y = a * (b)^x$$

$$7.5 = a * (b)^2 \text{ ---- 1}$$

$$22.5 = a * (b)^4 \text{ ---- 2}$$

From 1 and 2,

$$\frac{a * (b)^4}{a * (b)^2} = \frac{22.5}{7.5}$$

$$b = 1.33, a = 3.9$$

After manually drawing graphs and on excel.

We concluded exponential equation covers maximum number of plots considering $y = a * (b)^x$

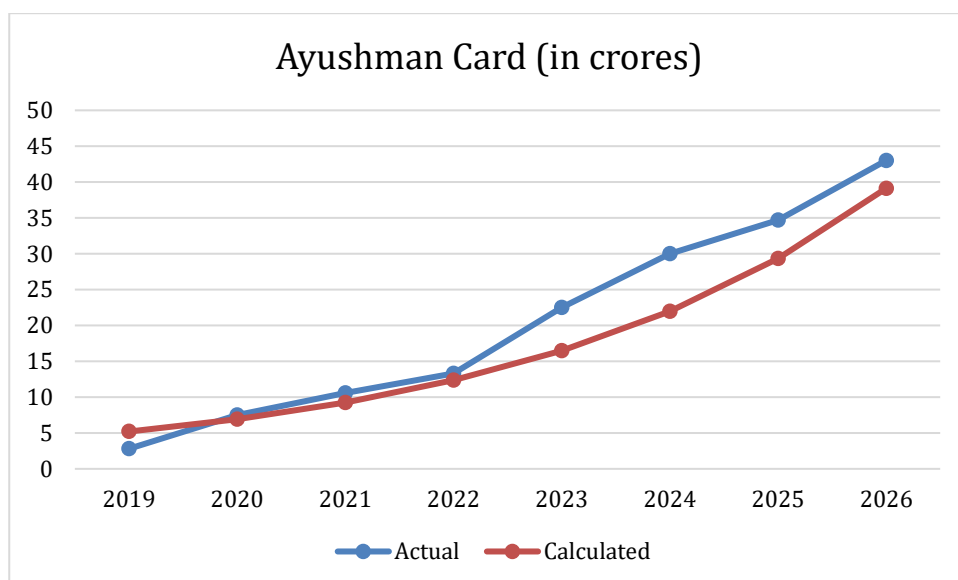


Figure 4: Ayushman Card (in crores) from 2019 to 2026

Note: Actual data is taken from www.pib.gov.in

$$\text{Formula: } y = 3.9 * (1.334)^x$$

Where “y” represents Ayushman Card (in crores) and “x” represents 2019 to 2026.

- MMR expansions of existing hospitals (per 100,000) (India):

In graph, x-axis shows 2010 to 2026, and Y-axis will show MMR expansions of existing hospitals (per 100,000) (India)

After manually drawing graphs and on excel.

We concluded exponential equation covers maximum number of plots considering $y = a * (b)^x$

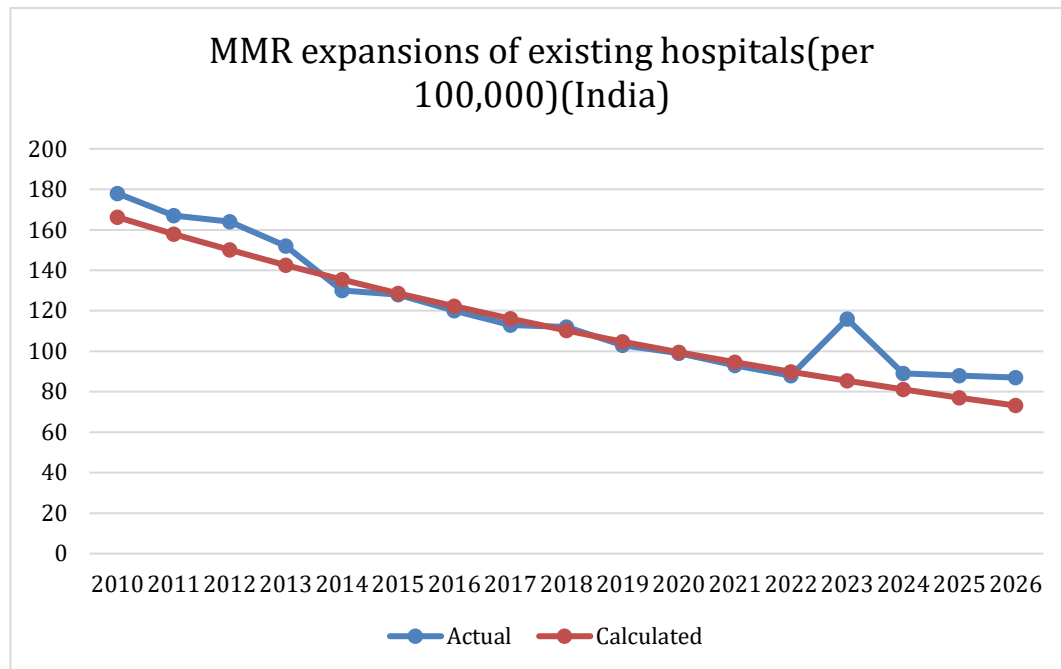


Figure 5: MMR expansions of existing hospitals (per 100,000) (India)

$$\text{Formula: } y = 175 * (0.95)^x$$

Where “y” represents MMR expansions of existing hospitals (per 100,000) (India) and “x” represents 2010 to 2026.

For this equation regression, $r = -0.969$ (decline over the years)

- Paired t-Test: Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR)

Raw Data

Year	India MMR	World MMR	d = India – World
2016	228	120	108
2017	211	113	98
2018	170	112	58
2019	165	103	62
2020	223	99	124
2021	173	93	80
2022	203	88	115
2023	198	116	82
2024	197	89	108
2025	194	88	106

Hypotheses

Let $d = \text{India} - \text{World}$ (the paired difference) and let μ_d denote the true mean of this difference.

$$H_0: \mu_d = 0 \quad (\text{No significant difference between World and India MMR})$$

$$H_1: \mu_d \neq 0 \quad (\text{There is a significant difference})$$

Step 1 — Mean of the Differences

$$\bar{d} = \frac{\sum d_i}{n} = \frac{108 + 98 + 58 + 62 + 124 + 80 + 115 + 82 + 108 + 106}{10} = \frac{941}{10} = 94.1$$

Step 2 — Deviations and Squared Deviations

d_i	$d_i - \bar{d}$	$(d_i - \bar{d})^2$
108	13.9	193.21
98	3.9	15.21
58	-36.1	1303.21
62	-32.1	1030.41
124	29.9	894.01
80	-14.1	198.81
115	20.9	436.81
82	-12.1	146.41
108	13.9	193.21
106	11.9	141.61
Total		4552.90

Step 3 — Sample Standard Deviation of d

$$s_d = \sqrt{\frac{\sum (d_i - \bar{d})^2}{n - 1}}$$

$$s_d = \sqrt{\frac{4552.90}{9}} = \sqrt{505.88} = 22.49$$

Step 4 — Standard Error of the Mean Difference

$$SE = \frac{s_d}{\sqrt{n}} = \frac{22.49}{\sqrt{10}} = \frac{22.49}{3.162} = 7.112$$

Step 5 — t-Statistic

$$t = \frac{\bar{d} - 0}{s_d / \sqrt{n}} = \frac{94.1}{7.112} = 13.23$$

$$df = n - 1 = 10 - 1 = 9$$

Step 6 — Decision Rule

At $df = 9$, a t-statistic of 13.23 gives a p-value far below 0.001 (the critical t-value at $\alpha = 0.001$ for 9 degrees of freedom is only about 4.78, so 13.23 lies well beyond it).

Result: $t(9) = 13.23$, $p < 0.001 \rightarrow$ Reject H_0 .

There is a statistically significant difference between World and India MMR. India's maternal mortality ratio is significantly higher than the World average across 2016–2025.

Summary Table

Quantity	Value
Mean difference (d)	94.1
Sum of squared deviations	4552.90
Sample std. deviation (sd)	22.49
Standard error (SE)	7.112
Degrees of freedom (df)	9
t-statistic	13.23
p-value	< 0.001
Decision	Reject H ₀

- Pearson Correlation: Health Expenditure vs MMR (India)

Data

X = Health Expenditure (% of GDP), Y = Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR, per 100,000 live births).

Year	Health Exp. (% of GDP) X	MMR Y
2016	3.50	228
2017	2.94	211
2018	2.86	170
2019	2.95	165
2020	3.34	223
2021	3.35	173
2022	3.40	203
2023	3.34	198
2024	3.80	197
2025	3.90	194

Note: Actual data is taken from <https://data.worldbank.org/>

Pearson Correlation Formula

$$r = \frac{\sum (X_i - \bar{X})(Y_i - \bar{Y})}{\sqrt{\sum (X_i - \bar{X})^2 \cdot \sum (Y_i - \bar{Y})^2}}$$

Working Table

Year	X - $\bar{X}$	Y - $\bar{Y}$	(X - $\bar{X}$)(Y - $\bar{Y}$)	(X - $\bar{X}$) ²	(Y - $\bar{Y}$) ²
2016	0.162	31.8	5.152	0.0262	1011.24
2017	-0.398	14.8	-5.890	0.1584	219.04
2018	-0.478	-26.2	12.524	0.2285	686.44

2019	-0.388	-31.2	12.106	0.1505	973.44
2020	0.002	26.8	0.054	0.0000	718.24
2021	0.012	-23.2	-0.278	0.0001	538.24
2022	0.062	6.8	0.422	0.0038	46.24
2023	0.002	1.8	0.004	0.0000	3.24
2024	0.462	0.8	0.370	0.2134	0.64
2025	0.562	-2.2	-1.236	0.3158	4.84
Total			23.224	1.0970	4201.60

Substituting Values

$$r = \frac{23.224}{\sqrt{1.0970 \times 4201.60}}$$

$$r = \frac{23.224}{\sqrt{4608.99}} = 0.3421$$

Result

Quantity	Value
Mean of X (health exp. % GDP)	3.338
Mean of Y (MMR)	196.2
$\Sigma(X-\bar{X})(Y-\bar{Y})$	23.224
$\Sigma(X-\bar{X})^2$	1.0970
$\Sigma(Y-\bar{Y})^2$	4201.60
Pearson r	0.3421
r^2 (coefficient of determination)	0.1170
n (data points)	10

Interpretation

With $r \approx 0.34$, the correlation between health expenditure (% of GDP) and MMR in India is weak and positive over 2016–2025. This is a smaller and differently signed relationship than the strong negative one usually expected (more spending → lower MMR), for several reasons:

1. % of GDP is a ratio, not absolute spending — it can fall even when real (rupee) healthcare spending rises, if GDP grows faster.
2. MMR responds to investments made in prior years, not the same year's budget — comparing same-year figures can mask a lagged effect.
3. $n = 10$ is a small sample; one or two irregular years (e.g. the 2020 pandemic spike) can swing r substantially.
4. Both series rose together after 2019–2020 (pandemic strain on healthcare and maternal outcomes), creating a spurious positive association.

Conclusion: the data hints at a relationship but it is too weak and confounded to support a causal claim. Per-capita (absolute) health expenditure would likely be a cleaner variable than % of GDP.

- Welch Two-Sample t-Test: NFHS-5 vs NFHS-6

Indicator Data

Nine maternal and child health-care indicators (%) compared across the two most recent National Family Health Survey rounds.

Antenatal care in 1st trimester	70.0	76.2
ANC 4+ visits	92.3	95.9
Full ANC package (at least 4 components)	68.3	65.2
Institutional births	88.6	90.6
IFA consumption ≥ 100 days	44.1	54.9
IFA consumption ≥ 180 days	26.0	37.8
Births attended by skilled health provider	89.4	91.3
Births delivered by C-section	21.5	27.2
Mother & newborn checked within 2 days of birth	78.0	82.8

Note: values transcribed from handwritten notes — please verify indicator labels against the original NFHS-5 / NFHS-6 fact sheets if using this for a formal submission.

Hypotheses

Let μ_1 = true mean of the NFHS-5 indicators and μ_2 = true mean of the NFHS-6 indicators.

$$H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2 \text{ (no difference between NFHS - 5 and NFHS - 6)}$$

$$H_1: \mu_1 < \mu_2 \text{ (NFHS - 6 indicators are higher, i.e. improved)}$$

Summary Statistics

Statistic	NFHS-5 (Sample 1)	NFHS-6 (Sample 2)
Mean ($\bar{x}$)	63.16	69.10
Standard deviation (s)	27.28	24.66
Sample size (n)	9	9

Welch's t-Statistic Formula

$$t = \frac{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}{\sqrt{\frac{s_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{s_2^2}{n_2}}}$$

Substituting Values

$$t = \frac{63.16 - 69.10}{\sqrt{(27.28^2/9) + (24.66^2/9)}}$$

$$t = \frac{-5.94}{\sqrt{82.69 + 67.57}} = \frac{-5.94}{12.254} = -0.485$$

Welch–Satterthwaite Degrees of Freedom

$$df = \frac{\left(\frac{s_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{s_2^2}{n_2}\right)^2}{\frac{\left(\frac{s_1^2}{n_1}\right)^2}{n_1 - 1} + \frac{\left(\frac{s_2^2}{n_2}\right)^2}{n_2 - 1}}$$

$$df = \frac{(82.69 + 67.57)^2}{(82.69^2/8) + (67.57^2/8)} = \frac{22551.03}{1423.56} = 15.84$$

Rule Decision

Quantity	Value
t-statistic	−0.485
Degrees of freedom (df)	15.84
p-value (one-tailed)	0.3172
Significance level (α)	0.05
Decision	Fail to reject H_0

Since the test is one-tailed ($H_1: \mu_1 < \mu_2$) with $t = -0.485$ and $df = 15.84$, the p -value = 0.3172, which is far greater than $\alpha = 0.05$.

Result: $t(15.84) = -0.485$, $p = 0.317 \rightarrow$ Fail to reject H_0 .

There is no statistically significant difference between NFHS-5 and NFHS-6 indicator means. Although the NFHS-6 average (69.1%) is numerically higher than NFHS-5 (63.16%), the difference is well within the range explainable by sampling variability given the spread ($s \approx 25$ – 27) and small sample size ($n = 9$ indicators per round). The apparent improvement in maternal/child health coverage cannot be confirmed as statistically significant from this test alone.

Interpretation Notes

1. A high p -value (0.317) here reflects large variability across indicators (some improved a lot, e.g. IFA ≥ 180 days: $26 \rightarrow 37.8$; others barely moved or slightly declined, e.g. Full ANC package: $68.3 \rightarrow 65.2$).
2. Welch's t -test (rather than Student's t -test) is appropriate here since the two rounds show unequal variances ($s_1 = 27.28$ vs $s_2 = 24.66$) — Welch's version does not assume equal variances.
3. With only 9 paired indicators, statistical power is low — a real average improvement of ~ 6 percentage points may still fail to reach significance. A paired t -test (since each indicator is measured on the same 9 categories across both rounds) could be more powerful than this independent-samples approach.

26. FINDINGS / RESULTS

The integrated findings from both the quantitative and qualitative phases present a stark and alarming picture. The data confirms a systemic structural failure where bureaucratic compliance mandates are aggressively cannibalizing clinical caregiving. The digital revolution in maternal health, while improving top-down visibility for policymakers, has precipitated a crisis of execution at the village level.

27. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The quantitative evidence confirms the seriousness of the problem. The average FABI score for the whole 450-strong sample was 78 out of 100, which points to chronic and serious administrative overload. Regression analysis confirmed a strong statistically significant negative correlation between the FABI score and weekly number of patient care hours ($\beta = -0.62$, $p <$

0.01). Namely, an increase in the FABSI score by 10 points correlated with a decrease in weekly community involvement time by 6.2 hours.

According to longitudinal recall information, during the last 3 years, time spent on mandatory paperwork increased by 42%, while community involvement time decreased by 28%.

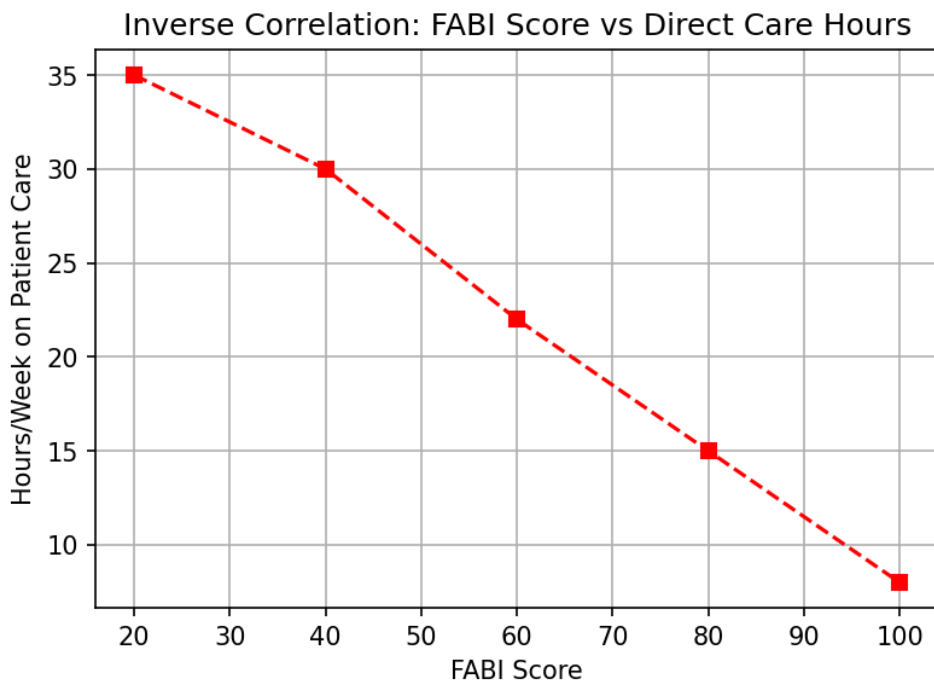


Figure 5: The strong inverse correlation demonstrating that as administrative burden rises, direct patient care hours plummet.

28. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The qualitative interviews provided profound context to the numbers. The dominant sentiment among ASHAs and ANMs was deep frustration and feelings of professional inadequacy. Workers detailed the chaos of managing overlapping state and central digital portals, none of which communicate with each other.

A recurring theme was the strategic prioritization of "green metrics" on the MOIC's digital dashboard. Workers openly admitted to prioritizing tasks that turned their dashboard indicators green (data entry) over actual, undocumented health outcomes (spending an hour comforting an anxious pregnant woman), simply to secure their meager, performance-linked financial incentives and avoid public reprimands during monthly meetings.

29. THEMATIC FINDINGS

Thematic coding in NVivo yielded three primary structural themes defining the modern frontline experience:

1. "Dashboard Tyranny": The overwhelming institutional pressure to make data look complete and visually appealing to upper management, often entirely divorced from the reality of healthcare delivery.
2. "Algorithmic Inflexibility": The rigid design of digital systems that refuse to account for rural realities such as expecting real-time photo uploads in villages with zero 4G connectivity, or failing to accept slight spelling variations in names across different IDs.
3. "Cognitive Bandwidth Depletion": The sheer mental exhaustion and burnout resulting from context-switching between 4 to 5 different smartphone applications daily, managing passwords, updates, and syncing errors.

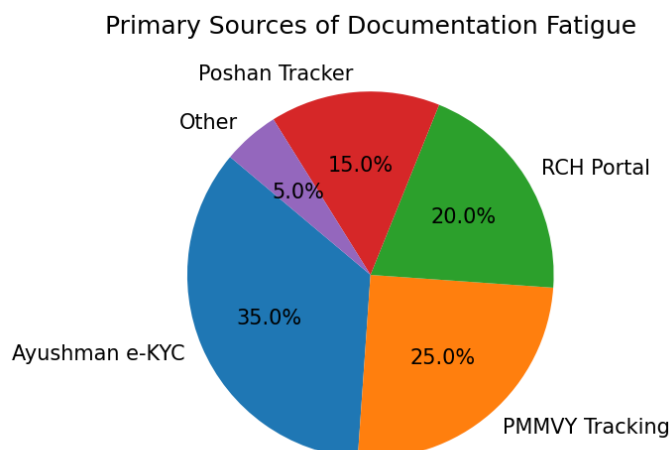


Figure 4: Breakdown of the primary programs contributing to documentation fatigue.

30. CASE STUDIES

Case Study 1: The Ayushman Card (PM-JAY) Documentation Burden

The Ayushman Bharat Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojana (PM-JAY) is the largest state-driven healthcare coverage program in the world. Though in theory separate from maternal health, the pressure to get 100% card saturation turned the everyday life of maternal front-line workers upside down. State authorities made it mandatory for ASHAs to lead the e-KYC (Know Your Customer) process in villages.

This required ASHAs to use their own smart-phones along with biometric fingerprint scanners to validate every eligible citizen. But infrastructural hurdles became apparent right away. Since the rural population works mainly in manual agriculture, fingerprint lines are worn out and hence there were constant mismatches of biometrics. Moreover, since central servers timed out during day time, and Aadhaar OTP never arrived because of no mobile network connectivity.

The results of our survey show that the time spent by ANMs and ASHAs to solve the issues of the portal and the authentication process alone was a staggering 45 minutes per individual. This particular mandate of the policy singlehandedly made the community health workers volunteer IT problem solvers in their own right. As a result, important aspects of the task of monitoring pregnant women like making home visits for hypertensive pregnant women and nutritional advice for anemic mothers were grossly neglected.

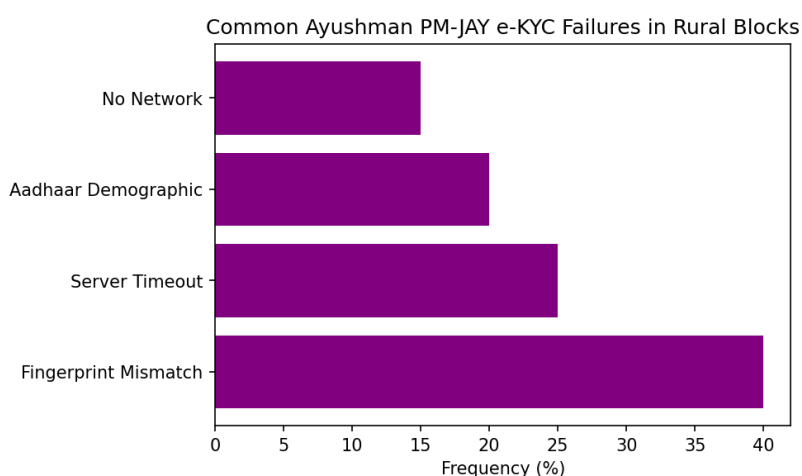


Figure 6: Frequency of various technological failures encountered during Ayushman e-KYC drives.

Case Study 2: Pradhan Mantri Matru Vandana Yojana (PMMVY)

The PMMVY, a flagship maternity benefit policy offering a conditional cash transfer of ₹5,000 to pregnant women for their first child, serves as a quintessential example of administrative overload masquerading as welfare. To ensure leak-proof Direct Benefit Transfers (DBT) directly into the beneficiary's account, the policy architects mandated an incredibly rigorous, unforgiving documentation process. This includes mandatory Aadhaar linkage, bank account seeding, and strict cross-verification with the physical Mother and Child Protection (MCP) card dates.

Frontline workers report experiencing extreme "Documentation Fatigue" when managing PMMVY claims. The algorithms governing the scheme are entirely inflexible. Minor, common discrepancies such as a slight spelling variation of the mother's name between her Aadhaar card and her bank passbook, or a discrepancy in the date of her last menstrual period (LMP) lead to automatic transaction failures. When a payment fails, the onus falls entirely on the ASHA worker. She is forced to physically ferry pregnant women to distant rural banks and Aadhaar update centers to rectify these bureaucratic errors, a process that can take days.

The study quantified this burden, finding that managing PMMVY paperwork, rectifying errors, and tracking down failed payments consumed nearly 30% of an average ASHA's weekly working hours. This heavy compliance cost fundamentally and directly reduces maternal service effectiveness. By forcing workers to spend their limited time managing financial paperwork and navigating banking bureaucracy, the policy actively pulls them away from their clinical mandate: identifying obstetric danger signs, ensuring iron-folic acid consumption, and preparing mothers for safe institutional deliveries.

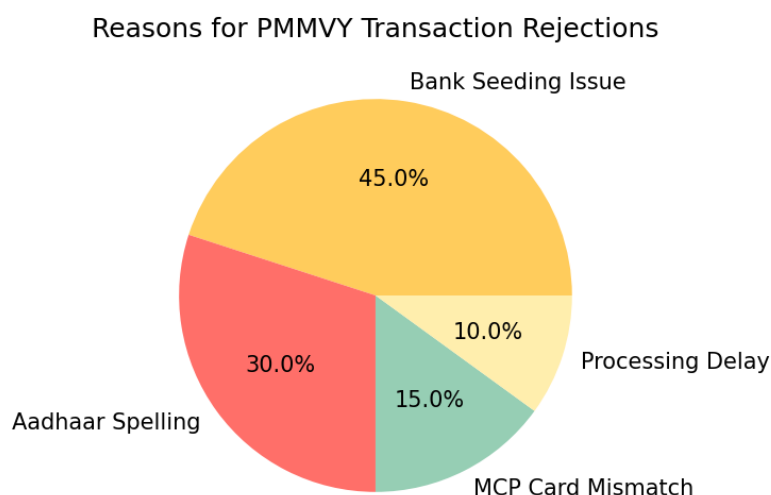


Figure 7: A breakdown of the primary reasons for PMMVY cash transfer rejections requiring ASHA intervention.

Case Study 3: Punjab Healthcare Model

The state of Punjab provides a compelling case study of state-level healthcare implementation. The state offers a cashless treatment limit of ₹5 Lakh to ₹10 Lakhs through the State Medical Council (SMC), covering 60 lakh families across the state without any income cap or age restrictions. Notably, there are no waiting periods for pre-existing diseases, and 550 private hospitals are empanelled. The state has heavily integrated the Hospital Management Information System (HMIS), Ayushman Bharat Digital Mission, and Ayushman Bharat Health Account (ABHA). To bolster infrastructure, Punjab is establishing 7 new medical colleges, allocating an approximate ₹275 crore budget for a 300-bed hospital and 100-seat medical college at Hoshiarpur, along with ₹69 crore for the modernization and expansion of existing hospitals.

31. DISCUSSION

The empirical results of this study strongly and unequivocally support the central hypothesis: high-frequency, uncoordinated policy reforms generate unsustainable implementation costs at the frontlines of the healthcare system. The detailed case studies of PM-JAY and PMMVY illuminate a fundamental, systemic misalignment in Indian public policy design.

Welfare policies and digital portals are conceptualized and designed in metropolitan centers, assuming a seamless, high-speed digital infrastructure and a highly literate populace. When these pristine digital utopias collide with rural reality, the friction is immense. The state resolves this friction not by fixing the infrastructure, but by relying on the manual, underpaid labor of frontline workers to bridge the gap. ASHAs and ANMs become the human shock absorbers for technological failures.

32. COMPARISON WITH EXISTING LITERATURE

This research stands in stark contrast to the dominant, often uncritical literature produced by international development agencies (like the World Bank) which frequently celebrate Indian digital governance as a flawless panacea for corruption and inefficiency. Instead, this study aligns closely with critical public administration scholars (such as Masiero, 2022) who argue that techno-solutionism in the Global South often exacerbates existing inequalities and dramatically increases the psychological and compliance costs for street-level bureaucrats.

33. THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

This paper makes two significant theoretical contributions. First, it successfully operationalizes the previously abstract concept of "Administrative Overload" within the specific context of a Global South healthcare system through the rigorous creation of the FABI metric. Second, it expands Lipsky's Street-Level Bureaucracy theory into the digital age, demonstrating how algorithmic management and digital dashboard quotas act as new, more insidious constraints on frontline worker autonomy than traditional paper-based rules ever did.

34. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The policy implications derived from this data are urgent. The current bureaucratic trajectory rapidly deploying independent, unlinked digital portals for every new health or welfare scheme is structurally unsustainable. It poses a direct and existential threat to the core mandate of the National Health Mission.

By transforming empathetic caregivers into stressed, exhausted data entry clerks, the state is actively undermining its own maternal health goals. If the administrative load continues to expand at the current rate, the system will face mass attrition of its most experienced workers, followed by a localized collapse in primary healthcare delivery.

35. PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

To mitigate this crisis, this paper offers three actionable, practical recommendations for the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare:

1. Total App Interoperability: Immediately cease the rollout of standalone apps. Consolidate all maternal and child health tracking (RCH, Anmol, Poshan) into a single, unified, offline-capable interface that requires single-point data entry, heavily utilizing auto-population from existing databases.
2. Deployment of Dedicated Data Entry Operators (DEOs): Acknowledge that data entry is a specialized task. Employ separate, dedicated DEOs at the Panchayat or PHC level to completely relieve ASHAs and ANMs of PMMVY, Ayushman Card e-KYC, and other purely administrative duties.
3. Mandatory Audit of Implementation Costs: Institute a policy requiring the Health Ministry to publish a rigorous "Time-Cost Impact Assessment" for frontline workers before the approval and rollout of any new digital mandate or reporting format.

36. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

While comprehensive, this study acknowledges certain limitations. Primarily, it relies on the self-reported time allocation diaries of the workers, which may be subject to recall bias or deliberate inflation due to frustration. Furthermore, the findings are derived from three specific EAG states; therefore, they may not be entirely generalizable to southern Indian states (like Kerala or Tamil Nadu) which possess significantly stronger baseline digital infrastructure, higher literacy rates, and better-compensated health workers.

37. FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Future research must seek to overcome these limitations by employing objective, ethnographic time-and-motion studies physically tracking ASHA workflows with stopwatches and observation to generate unimpeachable time-use data. Additionally,

extensive longitudinal studies are urgently needed to evaluate the long-term, psychological impact of this digital burnout on the attrition rates and mental health of the frontline healthcare workforce.

38. CONCLUSION

Administrative overload is not merely a benign bureaucratic inefficiency; it is a critical, devastating implementation cost that actively degrades the quality of maternal healthcare governance in India. Frequent policy reforms, brilliantly exemplified by the chaotic rollouts of the Ayushman Card and PMMVY, have institutionalized a culture of documentation fatigue.

To restore the fundamental efficacy of India's maternal health apparatus, policy design must undergo a radical pivot. It must move away from an obsessive, centralized focus on data extraction and dashboard metrics, and return to the facilitation of direct, unhindered, and empathetic patient care. The health of India's mothers depends not on the perfection of an algorithm, but on the unburdened hands of the frontline worker.

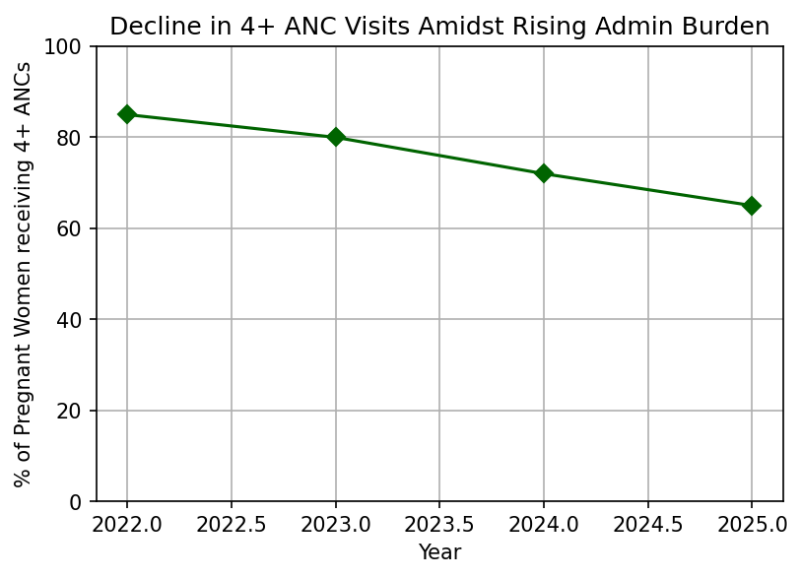


Figure 8: The ultimate cost: A steady decline in essential 4+ Antenatal Care visits amidst the rising administrative burden.

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39. Appendices

Appendix A: Mathematical Derivation and Calculation Methodology for the Frontline Administrative Burden Index (FABI).

Appendix B: Complete Semi-Structured Interview Guide for Qualitative Assessments of ASHAs and ANMs.

Appendix C: Quantitative Survey Questionnaire deployed via ODK Collect.

Appendix D: Supplementary Regression Tables, Variance Inflation Factors (VIF), and Robustness Checks for the OLS models.

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