

Health Microinsurance and Financial Protection for poor

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Abstract

Health microinsurance aims to provide financial protection to the poor by reducing their need to use the costlier risk management strategies. Present study is an impact assessment of a Government of India sponsored health coverage scheme (Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana). The study has been conducted by including three north-Indian states. The scheme has been assessed in terms of financial protection. Overall the health coverage scheme has been successful in reducing the hospital expenditure of the poor households together with improving their fund mobilization and smoothing the household consumption at the time of health shock.

Key words: Financial protection, Fund mobilization, Health Microinsurance, Rashtria Swasthya Bima Yojana and.

INTRODUCTION

Microinsurance is the insurance for low income people, who generally because of poverty, unawareness and lower affordability do not have an access to insurance facilities. Microinsurance is having the potential to assist the poor people to cope up with shocks, such as health shocks, death, crop loss and natural hazards (Dercon, 2005; Dror and Jacquier, 1999; Barnet Barrett and Skees, 2007; Gine Townsend and Vickery, 2008). Risks which are uninsured have a welfare implication which go beyond consequences for short term consumptions and is a cause of persistent poverty (Dercon, 2004; Townsend, 1994). Microinsurance as having a protective mechanism has the potential to reduce these welfare costs. By offering a payout on happening of some unfavorable outcome, it reduces their need to adopt costlier strategies thus protecting their income earning opportunities.

Of all the risks facing poor households, health risks probably pose the greatest threat to their lives and livelihoods. Health shocks have a direct impact on human capital formation. It thrusts health expenditure on a poor household precisely at a time when they can ill-afford it due to income shortfall resulting from the shock. Moreover, the uncertainty of the timings of illness and unpredictability of its costs make financial provision for illness difficult for households receiving low and irregular income (Tenkorang, 2001). Furthermore, given the strong link between health and income at low-income levels, a health shock affects the poor the most. Why insurance? First, many health risks such as those relating to isolated illness, injury, disability, maternity and the like are considered to be eminently insurable as these risks are mostly independent or idiosyncratic, that is, not correlated among community members. Secondly, insurance separates time of payment from time of use of health services for each member, and thereby makes possible demand for such services by its members who would not have otherwise been able to afford the cost. Insurance is particularly beneficial to the poor who often bear high indirect costs of treatment due to their limited ability to mitigate risk on account of imperfect labour and credit markets. Also, community-based insurance is considered to be pro-poor as it strengthens the demand side and thereby helps the poor to articulate their own needs (Develtere and Fonteneau, 2001).

Health microinsurance (HMI) offers a promising way to mitigate risks of disease and ill health, which are disproportionately borne by the world's poorest citizens. In developing countries, illness is mentioned more frequently then job loss as the main cause of poverty (Dodd et al., 2002; Asfaw, 2003) and many low-income individuals cannot afford medical treatment. Health risks pose dangerous threats to the lives and livelihoods of the poor, and health security remains integral to accomplishing many of the Millennium Development Goals. HMI is one many potential healthcare financing options for the poor. Research indicates that 26 per cent of households in low- and middle-income countries resort to selling assets and borrowing to cover healthcare expenses (Kruk et al., 2009), suggesting that there is a huge gap in healthcare financing. Although health care is increasingly perceived as a human right and public good, in reality resource constraints slow the deployment and scale-up of national health care financing. In these cases, HMI can be a possible



alternative; hybrid strategies that combine private-sector-led HMI with the strengths of the public sector also promise to push the frontier in healthcare financing for the poor.

Private sector HMI programmes aim to fill this gap, but designing valuable, sustainable health products is inherently more complex than with other types of microinsurance. Most health products cover catastrophic risks, which occur with low frequency, are often unpredictable, and result in a need for high-cost services. These catastrophic events are more easily insured than routine healthcare needs, so insurers have focused on hem, often designing in-patient-only cover. However, HMI programmes struggle to reach sustainable membership for these in-patient policies, partly because the poor perceive more value in cover for high-frequency, predictable and often low-cost services.

Review of Literature

Impact encompasses the changes that microinsurance makes to the economic or social circumstances of insured people or their households, enterprises or communities. It can be positive or negative, affect both insured and uninsured populations, occur either before, ex-ante, or after, ex-post, insured events happen, and have micro-, mezzo- and macro-level implications, often in ways that are linked. Since microinsurance is a relatively new intervention. Few impact assessment studies have been performed, which is exacerbated by a lack of standard indicators and research protocols for evaluating programs. Many of the existing studies also faced methodological problems that make it difficult to determine whether the reported effects were caused by the policies under consideration.

Health-microinsurance and Financial Protection

Financial protection occurs when microinsurance safeguards low-income households form using inefficient coping mechanisms in response to shocks and stress these mechanisms can include depleting savings and additional supplies of goods like food land livestock, selling valuable and sometimes income-generating possessions, borrowing at typically high interest rates, adjusting labour supply, altering purchasing and consumption patterns, engaging in reciprocal mutual support practices, capitalizing on self-help group memberships and withdrawing children from school to generate the resources necessary to handle the shocks involved (Radermacher et al., 2012). Besides reducing reactive measures taken by households in crisis, the financial protection provided by microinsurance theoretically allows individuals to proactively make decisions that improve their incomes and standards of living. These include choices related to asset accumulation; individuals are believed to be more likely to purchase productive goods, such as ovens or tractors, when the financial repercussions of losing or breaking them are mitigated. Similarly, microinsurance is believed to encourage "households to allocate resources to more profitable ends (which were previously precluded for being too risky)" (Morduch, 1995). Therefore financial protection is a wider concept and in order to evaluate the impact of Health Microinsurance on financial protection, the due care should be taken to include all the above mentioned areas.

Financial Protection Indicators:

After reviewing the current literature on HMI, the major indicators of financial protection has been identified as:

- Health expenditure (which includes out-of-pocket expenditure and catastrophic expenditure).
- Fund mobilisation.
- Income and consumption smoothing

(Pamer et al. 2011; Naguyen et al., 2012; Wagstaff and Yu, 2007; Wagstaff and Lindelow, 2008; Wagstaff et al., 2009; King et al. 2009; Galarraga et al. 2010; Thornton et al. 2010; Jowert et al. 2004; Wagstaff and Pradhan, 2005; Aggarwall, 2010; Chanakova et al. 2008; Diop et al. 2006; Franco et al. 2008; Jutting, 2004; Ranson, 2001; Schneider and Diop, 2001; Sepehri et al. 2006; Smith and Sulzbach 2008).

Health Expenditure

The most important and direct impact of health insurance is on out-of-pocket (OOP) health expenditure. Studies from Vietnam like Jowertt et al. (2003) have observed that health insurance reduces average OOP expenditure by approximately 200%. In the same line Healthcare Fund for Poor (HCFP), not only reduces sharply the OOP expenditure, but was also successful in reducing the catastrophic payment following the health shock (Pham and Pham, 2012). A very popular health insurance scheme in Mexico known as Seguro Popular (SP) has been successful in reducing the OOP and catastrophic health expenditure (Galarraga et al., 2010). Another study conducted by Wirtz et al. (2012) has found that households covered under SP had a lower probability of incurring OOP expenditures for medicines than their comparison group. The same observation is true of a couple of studies from China where a positive impact of health insurance on OOP and catastrophic expenditures has been found (Wagstaff and Lindelow, 2008; Wagstaff et al., 2009). Evidence from Ghana (Naguyen et al., 2011) also indicate that the National Health Insurance Program running in the country has been able to achieve a reduction in OOP expenditure that ranges from 0.5 percentage points to 1 percentage point (which amounts to a reduction of 36% to 67% of the sample mean).

Reviewing the literature, the researcher has come across the number of studies which have shown a negative impact of health insurance on OOP expenditure i.e. the HMI has not been able to reduce the OOP health expenditures of insured persons (Jowert et al., 2003; Wagstaff et al., 2008; wagstaff et al., 2009; Galarraga et al., 2010; wirtz, 2012). There have been lots of reasons found to be responsible for negative impact of MHI on OOP expenditure. HMI is believed to make people more likely to use health care providers (wagstaff et al., 2008; wagstaff et al., 2009; Galarraga et al., 2010). The reason can be that low income individuals have worse health status at the time of purchasing the policy and use health



insurance to access otherwise unaffordable services (Jowert et al., 2003). Theoretically health insurance should prevent excessive OOP, but supply driven demand may restrict this object of HMI, as people who otherwise would not have availed the service to use several treatments and procedures, which may not be insured (Budi Aji et al. 2013). The researchers also observed that insurance makes people more likely to move up the provider 'ladder' i.e. preferring township health centers(THC) to village clinics, and hospital to THCs (wagstaff et al., 2008). So we can say that HMI does not always reduce OOP health expenditures. HMI should reduce the incidence of catastrophic health expenditure. Some studies have observed this dimension within health expenditure.

The lack of impact on OOP expenditure does not necessarily mean failure of a program, given that this result might be explained -at least partly- by a desirable effect (increased utilization). The same outcome (lack of impact on OOPE) might suggest a need for totally different approach (Giedion et al. 2013). Studies should be conducted to study the health expenditure while considering both direct and indirect costs associated with it. For example OOP or catastrophic expenditure variables, as constructed by most of the researchers usually do not include health-seeking related costs (such as transportation costs) not paid at the point of delivery. Ekman (2007) has observed this by evaluating the impact of different health insurance schemes in Zambia not only on OOP payment at the point of service, but on a wider concept of health related OOP expenditures. He finds that being exempted from paying for care and having access to private or employment-based health insurance significantly reduces the risk increasing a catastrophic OOP expenditures. However, when other costs related to health-care seeking were included-such as transportation, food, and other costs, the study finds that the probability of suffering from catastrophic health care related expenditures actually increases. Thus when examining only the OOP expenditures at the point of services, the effect of reduction in price dominates, and these seems to be greater financial protection. However, when the other costs related to health seeking are included, the conclusions are reversed (Giedion et al. 2013).

Fund Mobilization

There are number of strategies available to a household to support OOP health expenditure like using cash and existing savings, sale of assets, loans, income diversification, wage labour, etc. There are other time-coping strategies like intrahouse labour substitution, changing the capital labour mix of production, hiring labour, free community labour etc (Sauerborn et al. 1996). Out of the above mentioned strategies depleting savings, selling productive assets (livestock etc) and taking loan at higher cost affects the household in longer run. Parmer et al. (2011) in their study mentioned that in the absence of adequate savings household resort to selling productive assets like live stock, which could have asserted the household in agricultural production (e.g. Ox or Donkeys). Moreover, loss of livestock leads to loss of their produce, e.g. milk that could have been used for self-consumption or sold in the market (e.g. cow, goat etc.) or people with inadequate amount of income face very hardships while repaying the borrowed amount, which result in reduction of essential consumption, which in turn have adverse impact on health.

There are hardly a couple of studies which have evaluated the impact of health insurance on Assets, borrowing etc. Parmer et al. (2011) in their study attempted to find out whether community based health insurance protect household assets in rural Burkina Faso, Africa. Within the Assets, durable goods and livestock were considered for evaluation. Finally impact has been evaluated by finding out the effect of insuring an additional member in the household on percapta household assets. All the models used in the study (OLS, 2OLS & FE) provide evidence that the community based health insurance scheme in the Nauna district protected household assets. Specifically the models predicted that Community Based Health Insurance (CBHI) significantly increased household assets. This is not surprising, given that the scheme is highly subsidized. Benefits of being insured out-weigh the cost of purchasing the insurance. The researchers themselves have realized the lack of other studies and stated that there is no other study that has analyzed the impact of CBHI on household assets, therefore becomes difficult for the researcher to bench mark these results with other studies. Aggarwal (2010) in her impact study also studied financial protection of insured and used borrowings/sale of assets resulting from medical payments as an indicator of financial protection. Results of the study revealed that health payments caused significantly less indebtness/sale of assets which have the most pronounced impoverishing effects. The results are more positive in case of surgical procedures. However result is not so significant for hospitalization a maternal case. In fact, inpatient treatments other then surgery resulted in increase of borrowing for the Yeshweni health group. Taking into account the availability of a few studies in this area, there is a need of further research as also realized by Parmer et al. (2011) and Radermacher et al. (2012).

Income and Consumption Smoothing

Severe adverse health event imposes the twin challenges of both coping with the expenses of the events in question and continuing to meet on-going household needs (Radernacher et al. 2012). Under such pressing circumstances, low-income people may pursue an undesirable action like eating less or less nutritious food. By reducing the financial burden of shocks, microinsurance aims to enable policyholders to maintain their incomes and standards of living in times of crises (Radermacher et al. 2012).

Objectives

To study the impact of health microinsurance on inpatient healthcare expenditure.



- To assess the incidence of catastrophic expenditure among the policy holders as compared to non-policy holders
- To critically evaluate the source of finances availed by the households for supporting healthcare expenditure.

Hypotheses

1. There is no significant difference between Inpatient healthcare expenditures of policy holders as compared to non-policy holders.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Data collection

Data collection was done using a pre-tested and structured interview schedule beneficiaries of RSBY which is Government of India sponsored health coverage scheme which was launched on 1st April 2008 by Ministry of Labour and Employment in two States to provide health insurance cover to BPL and other unorganized sector workers. A total of 450 respondents have been involved in the survey, consisting of 150 RSBY enrolled and 300 not-covered under RSBY.

Sampling Design

The impact of microinsurance is assessed by using a quasi-experimental survey design, which required comparison of a 'treatment' group, consisting of programme participants, to a 'control' group of non-participants. Participant group of respondents were selected after receiving list of insured households, where at least one hospitalization was occurred and where the household has received the treatment, from the state nodal agencies. Each non participant household for comparison was selected from the same locality where a participant household was located after taking the due care that the characteristics of participant and non-participant should be similar.

Participant group of respondents were selected through a multi-stage sampling method. In the first stage, three north-Indian states namely Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana were selected as being at the extreme of North-India. Jammu And Kashmir State was not selected as RSBY is not functional in the state.

In the second stage, one district from each state was selected after giving due consideration to performance of RSBY in all districts of a particular state. Kangra was selected from Himachal Pradesh. In Punjab Amritsar was selected, and Rohtak was selected from Haryana.

In the third stage of sampling 4 blocks showing more enrolment were selected from each district. After considering rural urban differences, out of 4 blocks two are rural and two from urban blocks.

In the fourth stage, data was collected from the treatment and control group respondents from each block, representing a district and ultimately a state.

S.NO	State (District)	No. of Insured HH	No. of Uninsured HH	Total	
1	Himachal Pradesh (Kangra)	50	100	150	
2	Punjab (Amritsar)	50	100	150	
3	Haryana (Rohtak)	50	100	150	
Total Households					

Table 1.1 Sample composition

Period of the Study

The present study has collected the data from the respondents pertaining to the year 2013-14.

Implementation of Propensity Score Matching

Propensity score matching method is used for the impact evaluation of a programme. The basic idea is to find in a group of non-participants those individuals who are similar to the participants in all relevant observable characteristics X. That being done, differences in outcomes of the control (untreated) group and of participants (treated) can be attributed to the programme. This essentially means that the outcomes of members are compared with the potential outcomes of untreated households had they been members of the programme. More specifically, if P=1 for treated group and =0 for untreated group, then the average treatment effect on treated (ATT) on an outcome variable Y is

which means,



ATT = E (Y1|P=1)-E(Y0|P=1)

While data on E (Y1|P=1) are available from the programme participants, estimation of the counterfactual E (Y0|P=1) is based on the assumption that after adjusting for observable differences, the mean of the potential outcome is the same for P = 1 and P = 0.

Application of PSM technique involves number of steps and these have been explained below.

• Estimating the Propensity Score

When estimating the propensity score, two choices have to be made. The first one concerns the model to be used for the estimation, and the second one the variables to be included in this model. Little advice is available regarding which functional form to use (see e.g. the discussion in Smith 1997)). For the binary treatment case, where we estimate the probability of participation vs. non-participation, logit and probit models usually yield similar results. Hence is not too critical, even though the logit distribution has more density mass in the bounds (Caliendo and Kopeinig, 2008). The present study has used logistic regression to calculate propensity score for matching. After reviewing the literature on the factors determining the demand for microinsurance and particularly health microinsurance, number of factors has been identified to be included in the model. Most studies focus on individual/household specific factors such as income, nature of their economic activity, demographic patterns, age structure, health patterns, social status, education, and personal preferences. However socio economic contexts within which households live cannot be ignored. The study therefore has explicitly and transport facilities. The 'statistical significance approach' was adopted in the final selection of model. The study has started with few important variables and then added new variables to test their performance. Variables were kept if they were statistically significant and increased the prediction rates notably.

Balancing Test

It is believed that imposing the common support restriction in the estimation of propensity scores improves the quality of the estimates. But there are also arguments against imposing this restriction. Lechner (2001) for instance, argues that besides reducing the sample considerably, imposing the restriction may lose high quality matches at the boundary of the common support region. However, following the standard practice to limit comparisons to a subset of cases lying on the common support of propensity scores, we also dropped households off the common support. We thus restricted our balancing test in the common support region with a trim value of 5%.

Assessing the quality of matching

For assessing the quality of matching, the situation before and after matching needs to be compared to check if there remain any differences after conditioning on the propensity score. Various indicators of assessing the quality of matching are available in the literature (Caliendo and Copeinig 2008). The present study has used the mean absolute standardized bias (Rosenbaum and Rubin, 1985; Lechner, 1999; Sianesi, 2004 Caliendo et al., 2005) and pseudo R^2 (Sianesi, 2004; Aggarwal, 2010). The results here reveal that matching for the present study has been able to reduce the mean bias to the extent of 20.53% and pseudo- R^2 also shows a considerable fall, setting a sound base for using propensity score matching.

Measure		
	Pre matching mean bias	22.4
Standardised Bias	Post matching mean bias	17.8
	Absolute change in bias	4.6
	Change (%)	20.53
	Pre matching Pseudo R ²	0.338
	Pre matching Likelihood Ch2	193.46
	Chi sq	0.00
Pseudo R ²	Post matching Pseudo R ²	0.081
	Post matching Likelihood Ch2	32.84
	Chi sq	0.00
	Change (%)	76.03

Table 1.2 Result of the mean absolute standardized bias and Pseudo R² tests

Assessing Common support Region

ATT (Average treatment effect on treated) and ATE (Average treatment effect) are defined only in the region of common support hence; an important step is to check the overlap and the region of common support between treatment and comparison group. The simple way is to visually analyze the density distribution of the propensity scores in both groups



(Lechner 2000). The present study has imposed common support restriction with a trim of 5%. The below figure shows the propensity score density distribution

Psmatch2: Treatment	Psmatch2 com	Total	
assignment	Off support	On support	
Untreated	0	300	300
Treated	3	147	150
Total	3	447	450

 Table 1.3 Showing Households under common
 support

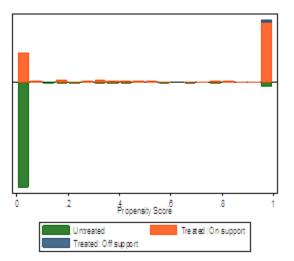


Figure 1 Propensity score Histogram

From the propensity score graph and table showing common support restriction results, it is clear that most of the households fall within the common support region, thus provides the sufficient reason for using ATT.

• Choosing a Matching Algorithm

There are different matching estimators in PSM like Nearest Neighbor (NN), Calipher and Radius, Stratification and Interval, Kernel and Local Linear and Weighting. The study has used Kernel matching, which is a non-parametric matching estimator that use weighted averages of all individuals in the control group to construct the counterfactual outcome. One drawback of this method is the use of observations that are bad matches. Hence the imposition of common support condition is of major importance and has overcome this limitation (Heckman et al., 1998), as earlier mentioned that the ATT and ATE are only defined in the region of common support (Caliendo and Kopeinig, 2005).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Health expenditure

Reducing healthcare expenditure is one of the basic objectives of RSBY. Results reveal that it has been able to achieve it target to a greater extent as inpatient OOPE per hospitalization is significantly lower for the Treated group as compared to the control group. In case of inpatient treatment, expenditure difference shows a t value greater than 1.96; hence the null hypothesis in this case is rejected.

Variable	Sample	Treated	Control	Difference	S.E	T-stat
Inpatient OOPE	Unmatched	1418.17	8005.75	-6587.58	853.85	-7.72
per	ATT	1459.61	8025.95	-6566.33	2070.40	-3.17
Hospitalization						

Incidence of Catastrophic Expenditure (CE)



Out of pocket Expenditure (OOPE) becomes catastrophic when it absorbs a considerable amount of annual household income (often defined as 10 per cent) (Radermacher et al., 2012). Table 5 shows the incidence of catastrophic expenditure. Among the sampled RSBY households 4.67% of the households have incurred catastrophic Healthcare expenditure where as it is 53.67% is case of Households not covered under RSBY, which clearly highlights a protective shield.

Incidence of Inpatient CE	Status of Sampled Household		Total
	Control Treated		
Not incurred CE	139 (46.33%)	143 (95.33%)	282 (62.67%)
Incurred CE	161 (53.67%)	7 (4.67%)	168 (37.33%)
Total	300 (100%)	150 (100%)	450 (100%)

Table 1.5 shows the incidence of catastrophic expenditure

Fund Mobilization

Poor households in case of health shocks use adverse strategies for mobilizing funds. Table 6 shows that the households not covered under RSBY have household savings and borrowings as their main source of finance to support inpatient health expenditure, but in case of Treated group major source is household savings to support out-of- pocket expenditure. Importantly there are 1.33% of households in case of control group who have sold household assets to support health expenditure, but such households are not found within the control group, hence shows a positive sign. Table 7 further elaborates the type of borrowings which households raise are not often without interest, and therefore adds to the worry. There are differences in case of treatment and control group but such cannot be attributed to program. Further more in rural areas people pay interest to money lenders on monthly basis and table 8 shows that it is around 2% to 3% per month, which is a point of concern. An attempt has been made to assess the households which have sold the household assets to support healthcare expenditure. Information has been acquired about the realized and market value of the asset. There were only 8 households where assets have been sold and these belong to the control group and 6 out of them have suffered loss on sale. Table 10 shows that all the assets sold were non income generating, which reveals no loss of source of income.

Table 1.6 shows the sources of Finance

Source of finance to support	Status of Sampled	Household	Total
Inpatient treatment	Control	Treated	
RSBY	0 (0%)	1 (0.67%)	1 (0.22%)
HH Savings (A)	128 (42.67%)	144 (96%)	272 (60.44%)
Raised borrowings (B)	26 (8.67%)	1 (0.67%)	27 (6%)
Sold Household assets (C)	2 (0.67%)	0 (0%)	2 (0.44%)
D=A+B	138 (46%)	4 (2.67%)	142 (31.55%)
E=A+C	4 (1.33%)	0 (0%)	4 (0.88)
F=A+B+C	2 (0.67%)	0 (0%)	2 (0.44%)
Total	300 (100%)	150 (100%)	450 (100%)

Table 1.7 Shows type of Borrowings

Type of Borrowing	Status of Sampled H	ousehold	Total	
(Inpatient)	Control	Treated		
Interest based	98 (59.76%)	2 (40%)	100 (59.17%)	
Non-interest based	66 (40.24%)	3 (60%)	69 (40.83%)	
Total	164 (100%)	5 (100%)	169 (100%)	

Table 1.8 Average Rate of interest (monthly) at which borrowed

	Status of Sampled Household	
Rate interest	Control	Treated
	2.51%	2%



Table 1.9 Shows occurrence of Loss on the sale of Asset

Occurrence of Loss	Status of Sampled Household		Total
(Inpatient)	Control	Treated	
0	2 (25%)	0 (0%)	2 (25%)
1	6 (75%)	0 (0%)	6 (75%)
Total	8 (100%)	0 (0%)	8 (100%)

Table 1.10 Shows kind of Asset Sold

Asset sold	Status of Sampled Household		Total
	Control	Treated	
Income generating	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Non-income generating	8 (100%)	0 (0%)	8 (100%)
Total	8 (100%)	0(0%)	8(100%)

Consumption Protection

Table 1.11 clearly shows that health expenditure has disturbed the essential household consumption more in case of the control group (40.67%). 15.34% of households covered under RSBY have reported of reduction in household consumption which is a positive sign as compared to households not covered under RSBY.

Table 1.11 Shows Impact of illness on Essential household consumption

Household consumption	Status of Sampled Household		Total
	Control	Treated	
Reduced	122 (40.67%)	23 (15.34%)	145 (32.23%)
Remained same	178 (59.34%)	127 (84.67%)	305 (67.78%)
Total	300 (100%)	150 (100%)	450 (100%)

CONCLUSION

Health microinsurance provides a promising protective mechanism against adverse health shocks which often have pressing financial implications. Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana (RSBY) being a government of India sponsored health coverage scheme has been successful in providing the financial protection by reducing health expenditures of policyholders significantly. It has restricted the poor households to use costlier sources of finances by providing the financial support. Poor households are less compelled to sell their household assets. It has helped in smoothing the essential household consumption in times of health shock.

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