DEMOCRACY OF THE OPPRESSED

ADIVASI POVERTY AND HUNGER

RAMDAS RUPAVATH

FOREWORD BY WERNER MENSKI

Democracy of the Oppressed

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Adivasi Poverty and Hunger

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To

Grandfather and Mother
Shri. Venkatiya Naik Rupavath
Smt. Bheemini Bai Rupavath

This study has been carried out to assess the impact of the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) on the socio-economic status of tribals in Odisha and Andhra Pradesh. The book takes a tour of the history of democratic decentralisation in India and charts how it has caused issues among different sections of society, often benefitting the rich and leaving the poor even more marginalised. Professor Rupavath looks in detail at the many development programmes in India which have been designed to alleviate poverty and examines, through empirical research, the role of the state and the socio-economic impact the programmes have had on the Adivasis. Interviews held in the field have contributed to this study which presents a rich resource for future policymakers, as well as researchers and students in this very complex and intricate area. Findings of the present study point out the inefficiency and rampant corruption involved in the implementation of the MGNREGA over the years. It can be hoped that the study will contribute to raising awareness on the part of the targeted groups and, above all, showing officials the importance of transparency and responsible governance for the effective implementation of this scheme and others.

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Dr. Ramdas Rupavath

Foreword

As a South Asia specialist and editor of *South Asia Research* since 2003,[1] I have been privileged to learn about multiple voices from below in South Asia for many years. In this context, I first encountered the earlier work of the esteemed author of the present book in about 2014. I took his critical writings seriously, despite the fact that a major argument of his article focused on the model of a vicious circle of disadvantage for tribal communities in India.[2] The fieldwork conducted for that article of 2016 had clearly identified many bottlenecks of development in tribal children's education but also began to show possibilities of change. I found the glimpses of hopeful evidence inspiring and could recognise them as reflections of emerging transformational change, also in tribal environments of India.

In contrast, the model of a vicious circle was something that I instinctively opposed for several reasons. The image itself suggests an interlinked ring of factors that operate to prevent change. It reflects fatalistic submission to disempowering oppression, a strategy that my activist, development-oriented mental frame of reference does not accept as healthy or productive. Use of such images risks constructing depressing barriers for any hope of real change. It discourages the voices from below and suggests to the victim(s) of oppression or disadvantage that there is no hope for relief since so many changes need to happen before there could be any real progress. I was happy to discover that in this book, the vicious cycle model does not feature.

My own research on South Asia and on India, in particular, has consistently suggested that studying India is not the same as examining earlier stages of development in Europe. There may be many points of comparison, but especially the demographic and socio-cultural realities of the subcontinent have generated very different conditions for any form of discourse about socio-economic development. Also, intimately connected to this, law-related core issues such as protection of basic social and economic rights need to be tackled in light of South Asian conditions, with plurifocal historical consciousness, and in massively different ways than in sparsely populated states of the Global North.[3] It is also far too simplistic to treat India as a common law country and to build on such misguided premises elaborately constructed arguments and impressively formulated assertions that all India needs to do is follow 'the West'.

It might help here to understand my comparative approach and academic stance if I indicate briefly what I remember from growing up in a small village in North Germany. In the mid-1940s, with very immediate reverberations at least into the early 1950s, Germany was flooded with huge numbers of refugees from former parts of Germany that are now Russia and Poland. My father, who was 19 years old in 1945 and thus conscripted into the army at a late stage, on his return from being a prisoner of war in 1948, found that his home in Eastern Prussia was now in Poland. Facing complete disruption, he started work on a farm, just for food and shelter. A few years later, I observed as a child that many people still worked for food. A farmer's wife, assisted by several young women, would have to prepare cooked lunches, plus coffee and cakes for late afternoon, every day in busy periods for dozens of people engaged in harvesting and other agricultural work. If the food offered was not good enough, people would gossip and go to work for another farmer.

A few years later, though, German farm workers expected money rather than food. Still, some years later, most of them had abandoned agricultural work and found full-time jobs in various branches of the economy. Well before the arrival of machines that replaced most agricultural helpers, in the era of booming post-war German reconstruction, rapid changes were experienced by those willing to work hard. In fact, soon there was a severe scarcity of labour, and Germany famously began to recruit foreigners as 'guest workers', from far-flung places such as Turkey, Spain and Portugal, Greece and Italy. Many of these migrant workers simply stayed on and made Germany their home.

Such rapid socio-economic changes reflect the increasing ability of the industrial and service sectors of early post-War Germany to absorb the surplus rural workforce. This transformational capacity as an early and swiftly expanding developmental factor in Germany has definitely been missing in India's early postcolonial economic reconstruction, which was further complicated by refugee movements in and after 1947 and significant general population increases also in rural areas. As this book confirms, in line with many other studies, Nehru's focus on industrial development studiously side-lined concerns for the rural unemployed and underemployed masses. This may not be seen as a more or less unwitting oppression of vast numbers of people, rather a deliberate forgetting, or 'oublierring', as a recent study on caste discriminations has called this,[4] the presence of disadvantaged village people in India, despite Mahatma Gandhi's constant reminders, which of course fell silent in 1948.

In the rural Germany that I experienced a few years later, nobody seemed to talk about the right to work as an entitlement. Initially, simply the need to secure work in order to survive was dominant. It was clear to the numerous landless people in the villages that one had to build a future for oneself and one's children, who initially also worked with their parents on the fields when they were not in school. A perspective from below, through this lens from 1950s Germany, indicates the presence of disadvantaged groups of people, refugees in this case, who knew that they had to help themselves to rebuild their lives and could not expect state handouts to secure their day-to-day survival and economic progress. Fortunately, increasingly ebullient market forces swiftly took care of the basic needs of such people. But I remember also that the collection of minor forest produce, as it is called in India, was still widely engaged in, mainly collecting firewood, herbs, berries or mushrooms, largely for domestic consumption rather than for sale.

The conditions in post-War Germany are, of course, very different from post-colonial India. And yet there are notable similarities, too. In both cases, an early government policy focused on industrialisation was promoted. If in Germany, this soon led to the vanishing of agricultural labour and a general scarcity of labour, the opposite has been the predicament of India. Here demographic developments have been such that the population has meanwhile mushroomed to over 1.3 billion people. As a result, a massive challenge for Indian perspectives from below has remained how to break into the labour market, a kind of glass ceiling predicament faced by hundreds of millions of young Indians today at different levels. In post-1990s conditions of economic liberalisation in India, reinforced by a notable move towards privatisation, which may also be described as a withdrawal of the stressed-out Indian state from certain domains, the competition for meaningful jobs has become a somewhat mad race on many tracks.[5]

If the above observations apply mainly to urban Indians and to some extent also to the general rural population, for many tribal people of India, these changes at higher levels and largely outside their traditional habitat did not remain without ramifications. However, the implications have often not been positive at all. Non-tribal people migrated to and encroached on tribal habitats. Numerous huge infrastructural state projects, supported by assertive use of the 'eminent domain principle', simply took away the tribals' forest lands and ruined their traditional livelihood patterns. At the same time, the erratic and often precarious sustainability of self-sufficient small-scale agriculture and collection of forest produce that used to sustain most tribal people of India could all too often not alleviate the constant risks of hunger and even starvation. Meanwhile, in addition to massive land alienations, various impacts of what one may broadly speaking call climate change have impacted even on remote forest dwellers. All of this, as we know, has led to mass movements to urban centres, in the hope of finding employment and decent means of survival.[6] Such distress migration, which quite a few authors are seeking to portray these days as a form of climate refugee movement, causes yet more problematic congestions in India's already overcrowded and heavily polluted major conurbations and other urban centres. It would clearly not be sustainable in the long run to simply watch such manifestations of rural-urban migration without any state intervention. But how does one prevent rural citizens from leaving their habitat if the law guarantees a right to freedom of movement within the nation?

The present book examines the impacts of a massive rural employment scheme, under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) of 2005. The book is based on based on extensive in-depth field studies and questionnaires, administered to tribal populations in various districts of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. In the later, fieldwork-based chapters of this book with their detailed findings, one locates amazingly rich evidence of what may be achieved with some forward-looking rights-focused rural employment planning. However, state involvement in such scenarios is not only designed to benefit the historically oppressed and neglected sections of India's population, such as India's tribal communities or Scheduled Tribes, probably many more than 100 million people now. It addresses country-wide all kinds of rural communities at risk of starvation and seeks to prevent them from moving to the big conurbations.

The present book is not a legal study, yet it conveys very clearly the message that India's sound constitutional framework has firm pillars of support for such wide-ranging policies and measures of poverty alleviation. These solid signposts dictate that pro-poor and pro-rural policies need to be devised and constantly refined by those who put themselves in charge of development issues or were appointed to deliver results. The focus on rural development work risks becoming an elistist growth industry, a self-interested domain of specialists, forgetting or deliberately ignoring that public interest demands that the legitimate expectations of disadvantaged citizens are the main concern, and that their perspectives from below must not be ignored. Crucially, such development measures will therefore need to be monitored for effectiveness, ultimately to fulfil the solemn promises of the Preamble of the Constitution of 1950 and other relevant provisions.

The sub-tile of this book, 'Democracy of the Oppressed', seems to indicate that more consciously targeted and democratically inspired strategies are now at work to redress traditional and customary imbalances that could easily have fatal consequences for the lives and well-being of many millions of Indians. Together with India's Fundamental Rights guarantees, the solemn preambular promises of 'JUSTICE, social, economic and political', together with LIBERTY, EQUALITY and FRATERNITY, have constantly risked being violated and discarded, so that it often appeared, taking a perspective from below, that they exist only on paper or as pious symbols. However, the Indian state, whatever that entity precisely means, is seriously charged with putting these solemn promises into practice, to the best of the state's abilities. One learns this from a detailed study of the increasingly intensive interaction of the Constitution's provisions on Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy, a topic that is repeatedly referred to within the present study. This is Indian democracy at work, very different from what it was like in the early postcolonial era, but also noticeably quite different from various models of the Global North for how to manage a nation state of such massive dimensions that involve so much inequality and asymmetrical socio-economic structures.

To what extent India's constitutional promises include a full-fledged and straightforward 'right to work' has remained open to various ideologically coloured interpretations. There is no doubt, however, that Mahatma Gandhi's inspiring early leadership is reflected in the relevant key provisions of the Directive Principles of State Policy. Article 39(a) provides that 'the State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing – (a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means to livelihood'. Article 41 reinforces this and makes this important principle even clearer:

> 41. Right to work, to education and to public assistance in certain cases.-
> The State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want.

This kind of provision certainly does not mean a basic right for all Indians to a stable, somewhat cushy, well-paid job with certain formal privileges. In training seminars for young academics in India, we have sometimes had to comment that this does not mean a right to a post-doctoral placement. However, the Constitution clearly demands that the State shall take seriously not only the evident needs of persons who are physically or otherwise prevented from engaging in paid work, but also those, tellingly, who suffer from 'undeserved want'. The subtle language of this kind of provision can therefore easily be activated, if there is a will, to imply an obligation for the State to provide certain classes of disadvantaged people with sustainable opportunities for paid work.

I suggest that by connecting this element of ‘work’ to Article 21 of the Constitution, whether as a right, or in fact as a duty of every able-bodied Indian citizen, as we know since the protracted debates in India’s Constituent Assembly, we may get some further guidance. Notably, this is also proposed and highlighted in the extensive introduction of an important earlier study on the working of the MGNREGA.[7] By guaranteeing the right to life in Article 21, in all its various dimensions, the Indian Constitution also suggests an obligation on the state to create, or at least to endeavour to provide and even guarantee, an environment in which every person protected by this Constitution has a basic right to survival. In a spirit of state welfarism, this may be interpreted as a basic obligation of the state to provide needy people at least access to some food and potable water. As a matter of rules, or even basic values, this may be clear-cut in principle, though it may run into problems of practical execution or may be counteracted by questionable assertions that such support is not possible, or not affordable. Such political obfuscations apart, more critical are debates over what should be the appropriate process(es) for the Indian state to implement and/or make such basic provisions available.

I have argued for many years that since India is not Switzerland or Singapore, assumptions that state welfare may be handed out to all those who claim to need it would simply not be feasible for a massive nation such as India. India’s leaders of government, but also the higher judiciary, seem to know this very well, but may not speak about it in much detail. They have formulated policies of social welfare, though, especially obvious in family laws, that rely on people’s and families’ self-controlled ordering and mutual support structures, rather than promising that the welfare state will pick up the bills. Indeed, such fiscally prudent policies seem to be protecting India’s welfare state from excessive expectations and potentially fraudulent claims, by throwing the welfare burdens back to the social realm and the respective families.[8] Insufficient attention has been given to such connections in India’s ‘progressive’ family law and personal law debates. Elsewhere, arguments driven by rich countries with small populations, such as Finland, that a basic wage for every citizen would take sufficient care of everyone’s immediate needs of survival, and would thus address the requirement of guaranteeing the right to life for everyone, have been debated at length, but dismissed as fallacious by experienced Indian experts.[9]

The Indian Constitution does, however, as shown above, demand focused action to save the country’s most deprived citizens from starvation. One might cynically connect this to attempts to garner votes, yet such unproductive politicking distracts from the seriousness of this problem. The predicament of avoiding mass starvation has been shared by all parties and governments seeking to rule India, ever since independence, and seems reflected in the subtle wording of the pertinent constitutional provisions cited above. Significantly, Indira Gandhi's slogan 'Garibi Hatao' about banishing poverty echoes in this book, but the challenges for India in the twenty-first century have risen to much higher dimensions and infinitely larger scales. This has demanded more attention for well-planned state action with a long-term perspective, not some one-off fire-fighting here and there. This book shows well, despite some reservations about such centralising powers, that this planned action seems to arise right from the federal centre and its financial resources, which are now handed down for distribution more or less directly to the local level. This method, it seems, is deliberately bypassing the states of India to a large extent, since the involvement of state bureaucracies would risk further leakages of the assigned funds and provisions.

The current rural employment policies and schemes under MGNREGA that this book examines in depth through extensive field studies, for parts of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, are therefore truly innovative, and as yet incompletely understood. Such policies clearly originated in the Congress era, but are being implemented now in ways that seem to make significant advances in encouraging Indian tribal people's active participation in democratic decentralisation, giving them not only day-to-day support, but also a voice and platforms for making themselves heard, in ways that did not exist before.

It can certainly not be claimed that the job is done, and that everything is 'hunky-dory' in India, as a critical friend of mine, who is also a retired professor, tried to put in my mouth recently. Yet the author of the present study is quite correct to portray the MGNREGA as a partial victory for a full-fledged right to employment and, especially, as a valuable form of empowerment for women as the most visible effect of this scheme. There are grave continuing challenges along this route, though. Given that, as the present study confirms, so many tribal people remain uninformed or insufficiently involved in the operation of such schemes for rural work programmes, important chances are still being missed to make such projects as productive as possible. It is encouraging to read that there are many recent initiatives to promote self-help groups (SHGs) and low level self-employment schemes. As the tribal people presented in this book seem to have more disposable income now as a result of targeted local work programmes under MGNREGA, wise decisions about how to spend the new earnings are crucial. Frittering one's income away in frivolous ways will raise new risks of precariousness. The book does not say much about this, but probably the role of women in this particular context will be crucial.

This study makes especially valuable suggestions about the need for deeper consciousness of India's tribal people in terms of their involvement as empowered stakeholders in the planning, execution and auditing of MGNREGA projects. This, then, means tribal people are not only encouraged to claim their right to work. They are also empowered to practise self-controlled ordering for themselves and their environment. They are encouraged to take more control and to plan their own future and the sustainable future of the precious environment they live in. One of the most significant benefits of the MGNREGA schemes seems to be that it does encourage local people, including India's tribals, to stay in their respective locality, thus slowing down the frightening scale of urbanisation in India. If the prolonged involvement of MGNREGA can alleviate tribal poverty in India in the long run, and also avoid the much-lamented and still observed snatching of state benefits by advanced people, then a truly effective revolution of the relationship between the Indian central state and the most peripheral citizens has been achieved. India needs to develop its own pro-active measures to cultivate a democracy of the oppressed. This book indicates significant progress on that road and its findings should be widely publicised.

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Notes

1 See http://journals.sagepub.com/home/sar.

2 Ramdas Rupavath (2016) 'Tribal Education: A Perspective from below', *South Asia Research*, 36(2): 205-28, at p. 226.

3 Werner Menski (2006) *Comparative Law in a Global Context. The Legal Systems of Asia and Africa*. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

4 Aniket Jaaware (2018) *Practicing Caste: On Touching and Not Touching*. New York: Fordham University Press.

5 The literature on this is of course huge. Sameer Kochhar (ed.) (2010) *India on the Growth Turnpike. Essays in honour of Vijay L. Kelkar*, New Delhi: Academic Foundation, captures the macro-dimensions and also discusses issues of equity and financial inclusion of underprivileged people. Dilip Hiro (2015) *The Age of Aspiration. Power, Wealth, and Conflict in Globalizing India, New York and London: The New Press*, reports on Indian struggles with the impacts of globalisation. Snigdha Poonam (2018) *Dreamers. How*

Young Indians are Changing the World. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, captures more of a bottom-up perspective, though with an urban focus.

6 For examples of various motivations, see Rajib Lochan Dhar (2014) 'Job Search Processes for Tribal People from Jharkhand and West Bengal', *South Asia Research*, 34(3): 191-208.

7 Ashok, K. Pankaj (ed.) (2012) *Right to Work and Rural India. Working of the Mahatma Gandhi National rural emlpoyment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS)*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications, p. 9. Pankaj also indicates the proactive position taken by the Indian Supreme Court in this context (p. 10).

8 See already Werner Menski (2000) *Modern Indian Family Law*. Richmond: Curzon, a study which has been republished by Routledge in India.

9 See Ashok K. Pankaj (2016) 'The Fallacies of "Basic Income". Review Article', *South Asia Research*, 36(3): 397-405.

INTRODUCTION

POOR ADIVASIS: THE CAUSES OF POVERTY

Development is supposed to be a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. In other words, it is the process of expanding human freedoms which means the capacity of an individual to avoid deprivations such as starvation, under-nourishment, morbidity and mortality. Therefore, development may not happen unless an individual's deprivation is removed. Poverty, unemployment, forced displacement and alienation reduce the capabilities of individuals to enjoy their freedoms.[1] But the current socio-economic scenario in India is witnessing displacement and alienation as a foundation stone for development. Several developmental projects involve the introduction of direct control by a developer over land which was previously owned by a subaltern individual or group. This displacement is not only in a physical form but affects the socio-cultural sphere too. According to a report by the World Commission on Dams,[1] it refers to not only the loss of livelihood and means of production but also one's favourable socio-cultural milieu.[2] The displacement caused by dams in India is as high as that caused by other developmental projects. Taneja and Thakkar (2000) point out that estimates on displacement in India from dam projects alone range from 21 million to 40 million.[3] The Narmada Sardar Sarovar Dam Project in India, which has displaced 127,000 people, has perhaps been the most widely researched and discussed project in history involving forced resettlement.[4] Due to the emergence of the New Economic Policy in 1991, the process of forced displacement and land alienation went at a fast pace in India. Areas ranging from tribal hamlets to urban slums lacked the government's support. The inclination of the state towards market forces undermined any pro-people development policy. Forced displacement and land alienation adversely affect children and women in addition to men, owing

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[1] Amartya Sen (2000), Development as Freedom, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

to their unanticipated migration and involuntary resettlement. They lose their livelihood, ongoing education, existing health care facilities and nutrition. Therefore, displacement and land alienation may not be fully explained until outcomes such as people's migration and involuntary resettlement are explored explicitly. Jean Dreze says that displacement has been a history of failures (*Report of the workshop held at the India International Centre on September 12 and 13, 2002 organised by the Institute of Development Studies*). The total lack of transparency, especially the blockage of information from the project authority to the displaced community, has led to failed resettlement and rehabilitation.[5] In his view, displacement should be voluntary, and a resettlement policy should ensure that people's views are sought before being resettled. Therefore, it is imperative to define displacement, land alienation, migration and rehabilitation policies.

Non-traditional security threats have now assumed enormous importance. Contemporary challenges like environmental degradation, poverty and extremism differ from traditional military ones. State-centric traditional security issues which determined the crucial paradigm during the Cold War era are being challenged these days. Traditionally, national security is defined in terms of the ability of a state to protect its interests, broadly defined as territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the nation from external threats. Human security is a people-centred notion of security, which is threatened by non-traditional challenges in the present time. This includes economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security. The traditional security paradigm does not include within its ambit such issues as rapidly increasing non-traditional threats to security like the struggle for energy resources and the depletion of other resources, food shortages, increase of infectious diseases, cross-border environmental degradation, forced migration, international terrorism, insurgency, ascendancy of non-state actors in drugs, arms, money laundering and financial crime organisations.[6] High economic growth has not lessened the extent of food insecurity and malnutrition, because the distribution of economic benefits has remained deeply unequal. Not all growth is development, nor is it equally distributed to cater to the minimum needs of the common people. This is because, in a country like India, the contradiction of poverty in the midst of plenty is prevalent. Poverty is deepest among members of Scheduled Castes and Tribes in rural areas. A major cause of poverty among India's rural people, both individuals and communities, is a lack of access to productive assets and financial resources. High levels of illiteracy, inadequate health care and extremely limited access to social services are common. The development of micro-enterprises, which could generate income and enable poor people to improve their living conditions, has only recently become a focus for the government.

People's participation is a key component of democracy. Democracy is never complete unless people's participation and active involvement are assured. Particularly in this modern age where it is said that t power belongs to the people, the government is supposed to be? their welfare agency. People come into direct contact with the government through a decentralised system, at a local level, more so in rural and remote areas.

After India's independence, democracy and development became interrelated in the process of modernisation. In the context of participatory development, decentralisation widens the scope of people's participation in the developmental process.[7] Decentralisation, in a general sense, refers to the transfer of authority and power from a higher level to a lower level, from the powerful to the powerless. It follows a path whereby the centralised power gives way to the distribution of power among the people at the grass-roots level. The debate supporting decentralisation always advocates that people situated at the grass-roots level are better equipped to take care of themselves than the ones devising their policies, who are located far away geographically and have no idea about the local dynamics.[8]

Food Insecurity and the Disadvantaged Sections

Deprived people are disproportionately affected by non-traditional challenges such as food insecurity. Food scarcity is a major problem for underprivileged sections of society. Their vulnerability to multiple adversities means that people require specific help in order to benefit from development on their own terms. Food insecurity is the limited or uncertain availability or access to nutritionally adequate, culturally appropriate and safe foods. It may result in an inadequate and insufficient dietary intake, which leads mostly to malnutrition and may create a significant health burden on the population, and this may be concentrated in socio-economically disadvantaged localities that would be mostly urban.[9] Food insecurity is associated with a lower household income, poorer general health and depression. It is more often prevalent in urbanised disadvantaged areas. Moreover, it can be seen that the government's initiatives to deal with food insecurity reflect its failure to grasp the realities of exclusion faced by the marginalised or disadvantaged sections of society, especially in rural areas?

The Public Distribution System (PDS) evolved as a system to manage scarcity and to distribute food grains at affordable prices. Over the years, PDS has become an important tool in the government's policy in terms of food security management. PDS is supplemental in nature and is not intended to make available the entire requirement of any of the commodities distributed under it to a household or a section of society. The PDS system is also an attempt to improve food availability for the population living in the most vulnerable areas (remote, tribal and drought-prone regions). In an attempt to limit the mounting cost of food subsidies and at the same time, ensure that people below the poverty line do get subsidised food grains, the PDS started to target only those people below the poverty line.[10]

Major commodities distributed under the scheme include staple food grains such as wheat, rice, sugar and kerosene, through a network of public distribution shops, also known as Ration shops established in all states across the country. Both the central and state governments share the responsibility of regulating the PDS, with the central government being responsible for procurement, storage, transportation and bulk allocation of food grains, and the state governments tasked with r distributing the same to the consumers through the established network of Fair Price Shops (FPSs). State governments also have operational responsibilities including allocation and identification of families below the poverty line, the issue of ration cards, plus supervising and monitoring the functioning of FPSs. Under the PDS scheme, each family below the poverty line is entitled to receive 35 kg of rice or wheat, and those above the poverty line are entitled to receive 15 kg of food grain on a monthly basis. Under Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY) the poorest of the poor families in the state have been supplied with 35 kg of rice per family per month at Rs 3 per kg since September 2011. It is evident from our field study that 91 per cent of respondents are receiving benefits from the Yojana, and the rest are not using this benefit as they belong to the APL group.[11] It can be observed in the study that all families below the poverty line (BPL) are receiving subsidised rice as per government norms.

Governmental Measures and Critical Estimate

The Public Distribution System (PDS) is, however, in a woeful condition. The 1997 BPL lost its validity in 2002, and the last BPL survey was undertaken in the Telengana state in 2002. Although the survey was conducted at the national level and comprised of all the States and union territories, but the 2002 BPL list has not yet been published publicly.

Although the rules stipulate that the BPL survey has to be conducted every five years. Another setback to the poverty amelioration programme in the region has been the erroneous identification of the poor, with corruption playing a big role in the faulty distribution of BPL cards. People who are Above the Poverty Line (APL) such as government schoolteachers, owners of big houses, middle-class traders, big farmers, and contractors, have obtained BPL cards through manipulation. No one has doubted the utility of the PDS in the supply of food grains to the poor of the country at affordable rates. Procurement and distribution of food grains is a huge task, but the whole system is degraded by corruption. There are more leakages and maladministration. Hence benefits to the poor are low. Inefficiency and corruption have made the PDS weak at several levels. The system lacks transparency, accountability, monitoring and enforcement. Surveys are not being conducted regularly and properly, with the result that APL people have been issued with BPL cards while those eligible for BPL cards have been ignored. Bogus cards are in abundance despite the fact that even in the contemporary times most or all of the people have Aadhar cards. Immediate measures are required to stop the diversion of food grains. Delivery systems under the PDS have to be improved so that the real beneficiaries get their due entitlement at a fixed price, fixed quantity, fixed time and wholesome quality. Innovative methods are required to improve the system. The whole system must be totally revamped, and modern technology would appear to be the only solution, and the its rate has been reduced due to the advancement in the technological growth, lots of fake beneficiaries have been weeded out due to the launching of the Aadhar which mostly depends on biometric authentication.

Decentralisation is seen as a means of empowering local people by involving them in the decision-making process that affects them. It is one of the best means of promoting efficiency at the grass-roots level of local self-government. In India, local self-government (Panchayati Raj) institutions came into force to widen the scope of democracy and the socio-economic and political development of the people at the grass-roots level. The Panchayati Raj institutions have an important role in the community development programme.[12] The welfare programmes are basically implemented through the three-tier Panchayati Raj system. The Gram Panchayat implements the programme at a rural level by the participation of rural folk. The success of the programme depends upon effective democratic participation at the grass-roots level, which is an effective tool by which the socio-political forces in the society can articulate their ideas, present their demands and programmes, and influence the decision-making process.

Local government has existed in India since ancient times. Village Panchayats used to exist in India during the days of the Mauryas, Guptas and other kingdoms of ancient India. This continued during the Sultanate and Mughal period. The British, however, destroyed the village Panchayat in India and instead established rural local governments. Officials from different governments were brought under the district level and entrusted to a collector who was made responsible for good governance in the country. The provincial governments had complete control over the district administration.[13]

After independence, Indian leaders tried to establish the dream of local government or Gram Swaraj by changing the nature of district administration. The most important initiative for local government was the implementation of Panchayat Raj for the all-round development and local administration in the villages. A three-tier local government was established in nearly all the villages. This included Gram Panchayat at the village level, Panchayat Samiti at the block level, and Zilla Parishad at the district level.[14] The elected representatives of the people at the local level designed and implemented the development plans. Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan were some of the first states to launch the Panchayati Raj institutions. The creation of these institutions was dependent upon the state government. In 1993, with the passage of the Panchayati Raj Act by the 73rd Amendment of the Constitution, this became part of the law of the land. Panchayat Extension Scheduled Area Act, 1996 is a further Act enacted by the Parliament of India for ensuring self-governance govern through Adivasi Gram Sabhas for tribal living in the Scheduled Areas of India (PESA Act). The Forest Rights Act of 2006is an Act to recognise the forest rights and occupation in the forest land of forest-dwelling Adivasis who have been living for generations on such lands, and whose rights have been recognised by the government of India. The creation of the Panchayats received constitutional status and has been made mandatory in all states.[15]

The post-independent state had, at first, been following almost the same policy as the erstwhile colonial state. While it could bring in a few changes to suit its constitutional needs, it has taken care to see that these changes did not come in the way of the exploiting class. In the name of protecting the interests of tribals stringent laws were enacted by the colonial and post-colonial government under popular pressure, but here were always loopholes in these legislations, leaving room for the well-to-do non-Tribals to continue the historical process of exploiting the Tribals non-Tribals were encouraged to enter into these areas mainly to satisfy the increased revenue demands of the state. The traders and the cultivating non-tribal peasantry, therefore, entered these areas only to fulfil the demands of the state, and their entry deprived the tribals of their land.

Further, the introduction of community development programmes in the plain areas improved socio-economic conditions there. The tribal societies, however, could not reap the full benefits of the programmes, and could not catch up with the fast progressing plains people because of their traditional economic and cultural drawbacks. The age-old differences in the social and economic life of the Tribals and non-Tribals could not be wiped out. Even after the implementation of multiple developmental programmes, the tribal could not escape the gap and catch up with the plains people, as their pace of progress was not fast enough. The introduction of numerous development programmes and their haphazard implementation confused the ignorant Tribals, necessitating radical reorientation of tribal development programmes to suit the needs of the Tribals

State repression of the tribal movement and resistance paints a picture of an obnoxious mode of exploitation reinforced by the state, and the dominant classes. At the same time, the process also indicates an intense urge of the tribal communities in India, to assert and organize themselves on par with the other millions of oppressed Indians. The Tribals were able to express resistance and sporadic retaliation, which is a testimony to their courage and is an apt characterization of the development system practiced by the state in spite of its apparent objectives of welfare, constitutionality and so-called socialism.

The resistance offered by the various movements and other tribal forces had an impact on the state and dominant classes. It has resulted in certain modifications of the position of the Tribals, while the state with all its repressive machinery was compelled to adopt transitory liberal strategies of welfarism. Tribes, on the other hand, organize their efforts relentlessly to fight the injustice affecting their life patterns and demand the constitutionally and as well as socially valid recognition of their identity and existence.

What is needed is a democratic theory that accepts the great diversity of human situations, yet provides coherence to them through an active political process, opens up new and creative spaces within the framework of civil society, and at the same time restructures the state for realizing these ends. The government of India should look at the glass of Adivasi movements for the motherland that is Bharat, rather than the Maoist movement.

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Chapter One

Democracy of the Oppressed: A Perspective from Below

Studies on the tribes of India have gradually increased since Independence. Different scholars have interpreted tribal people in different ways. Some scholars have romanticised the literature by painting an idyllic picture of a primitive and simple life of dance and song, of ritual and colour. However, prominent social science scholars have essentially provided factual or strong empirical knowledge of socio-cultural, economic and political issues of tribal areas, highlighting different forms of exploitation, underdevelopment, poverty and vulnerability. The problem of alienation in tribal areas, as viewed by various researchers, is not a mere "structuralist-legalist" one, but a much more deeply connected phenomenon full of contradictions relating to the existing socio-economic order. The separation of natural resources from tribal communities can be understood in a more scientific way with the assistance of theoretical formulations of the concept of alienation. Hence, in this chapter, an attempt is made to analyse the problem of tribal autonomy in the light of understanding the theoretical formulations of alienation and private property. Thus, there is a reason to examine the theoretical concept of alienation in a democratic society and its application to the problem of natural resources in tribal areas.

Since Independence, many development schemes and protective measures have been attempted by the central and state governments for the tribal areas of Bharat. However, this chapter reflects the deteriorated condition of the majority of Tribals. While exploitation and backwardness are found in many communities and social groups in India, among tribes, it has also resulted in social alienation. The existence of a distinct culture and lifestyle makes the problems of Tribals different from those of other deprived groups in India.

It is confusing, as some people in society express themselves differently to others. It is equally important to examine how the Indian state responds differently to such a phenomenon. India is a country with both unity and diversity. It has been divided on the basis of culture, religion, race, ethnicity, tribes and castes. The theoretical model which can be applied to a segmented society is "democracy". Arend Lijphart says that democracy is a "government by an elite cartel designed to turn a democracy with a fragmented political culture into a stable democracy".[1]. Cooperation between elites within the same group and elites of other groups is needed in a successful democracy to find common ground to establish a grand coalition government. The capitalist class knows that they cannot solve conflicts of interest unilaterally, and therefore need to carry out strategic bargaining and this will give each group a chance to bargain for the best possible outcomes involving both cooperation and competition.

Democracy and Alienation

Indian democracy has been intensively analysed, debated and criticised for a long time. However, democracy is not only concerned with elections and the formation of the government, and it is more about values, ways of thinking and practices. Democracy need not be electoral, but can be replaced by needs that should be focused on social justice. Through a democratic method, existing social, economic and political injustices can be removed. The Tribals are the most affected people in such a democratic set up with this sort of developmental approach. New tribal politics will be based on two things: the resourceful politics of the Adivasis and the survival politics of the informal sector.[2]

Though the Indian Constitution takes an unambiguous position on the resources of Adivasis, these continue in different forms that range from natural resources that they manage or utilize for their daily livelihoods. It is widely recognised that, over the years, the centre of gravity of the Indian economy has shifted to the intermediate class groups. Within the class hierarchy, there exists an economic polarisation between rich non-Tribals and those Tribals who are largely alienated and displaced from their land.[3] The political parties in the centre and the states who have seen an emergence of powerful non-tribal leaders have drastically changed the very mosaic of Indian federal polity. As part of this process, we now have strong states and a weak centre, a different form of federal arrangement than existed earlier Regional parties are playing an important role in the Indian political process. The state has shifted its orientation from being a welfare state to a market-oriented one due to vast impacts of the liberalisation and globalisation. However, the process of liberalisation has created inequality in society with the concentration of the fruits of growth in the small, rich class. There is a continuing and in fact, growing inequality of opportunity while poverty has seldom posed a threat to the system anywhere. Inequality, in a milieu of rising democratic and human rights, can potentially become a grave danger.

After India became independent, our political leaders recognised the participation of the entire population. Leaders from rich, western-educated, feudal backgrounds were the rulers of the Indian state. This scenario began to change only with the political mobilisation of the Dalits, of course, within the parliamentary framework. This did not herald true democracy. Democracy should indicate rule by the people, rather than the rule of the rich and powerful; there must be economical, social and political equality. In other words, only an egalitarian society can be truly democratic. The precondition is equal access to means of production, not only for the expansion of productive forces but also for enabling and ensuring the creative potential of every individual. Growth brought about by a few dynamic and enterprising individuals must be expanded into one brought about by all persons in society. If high growth is the creation of a few, growth will be higher if all realise their creative potential. This calls for a new vision as well as a new development strategy which can herald democracy from below, evolving organically as a natural and spontaneous process.[5] Political inclusion and economic exclusion are still the order of the day. The Panchayat Raj or PESA Rights Act or Forest Rights Act is not sufficiently reassuring as regards resources such as land, water, forest, cattle, credit and markets, which continue to be controlled by a few rich non-tribal families. This has created a new kind of development: according to Foucault, disbursed power is difficult to tackle. Without economic democracy, socio-political democracy cannot be realised. As B. R. Ambedkar warned, unless these two latter democracies are brought about soon, the victims of the system will overthrow the constitution which the Constituent Assembly had laboriously built.[6] Of course, the system permits individual inclusion, even if it results in the exclusion of groups, a phenomenon obviously happening, particularly in the case of the social electorate. Competitive politics co-exist uneasily with a competitive economy built on an unbroken scaffolding of a caste-based, hierarchical social and economic order. The transition from the state capitalism of the planning era to the market capitalism of the liberalisation era has only skewed the opportunities and reinforced the old prejudices.

The media, or the production of knowledge, is controlled by the non-tribal rich upper-class elites, who sit in judgement of the quality and efficiency of the Adivasis and other subalterns. Of course, there is a nominal presence of a few people who belong to these social groups among academics, but they lack the power to influence policies and to structure knowledge. They remain silent, and thus safe, so long as they do not raise and debate social issues. Corruption is part of our structure. The tribal society and scheduled tribe sub-plan budgets are taken away by the non-tribal bureaucrats, meaning that inequality and corruption thrive in an unequal system. The question of equality was accepted at the launch of the Planning Commission, with a declaration being made to achieve growth and social justice in an egalitarian society. In fact, the present scenario is characterised by the overuse of globalised terms such as tribal empowerment or sustainable development, not words such as equality, liberty and justice which should find a place in academic and media discourse. With the use of such terms, very harmful policies and programmes are introduced. The state uses force to suppress movements that show resistance to these policies. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Government Acts are primarily de-politicising the Tribals and abetting the policymakers. What is beneficial to a few is presented as beneficial to all. The poor tribes, ignorant and illiterate, whose immediate concern is their next meal, are seldom concerned with policies. They are not concerned with competition, making more profit and capital accumulation. The state supports the private appropriation of public resources. In Andhra Pradesh it was since the 1970 period that saw a huge surge in tribal movements and now in the current context the new created State Telangana state has also seen a vast and major rise in the tribal movements. The Tribals alienated from their land who were protesting about the Jungle (forest), Jamin (land) and Jaal (water) were put in jail. The tribes alienated from their land are traditional indigenous people who were denied land rights and were displaced and do not even have the right to protest. The struggle for land among frontier agencies and non-frontier agencies has caused hostility over displacement issues and resulted in the brutal state force of beating and killing, including violence against women and children. The state has an inhuman attitude towards tribes in India and is violating human rights. It seems that the existing bourgeois-democratic milieu is deficient in understanding this. The upper caste and its top leadership structure struggles in its understanding of the socio-economic reality of India.[7]

The most paradoxical thing is that everybody talks about equality, liberty and fraternity, but in practice, most are afraid of true democracy. What is available to people is the freedom to agree not to disagree. Decisions concerning all people are taken by a few who are rich and powerful. In fact, the legislators are elected by people who are funded by the rich.[8] Since inequality leads to corruption and is the gravest threat to the sustainable security of tribals, a non-threatening order needs to be put in place.

The policies adopted by the central and state governments in India regarding the tribal population have passed through a number of phases. The first time that the Congress party took formal note of the Tribals was in 1946, on the eve of Independence. In the early phase of tribal planning, the major dilemma faced by the government was the need to strike a balance between the Tribals' need for economic development and the continuation of their precious lands. Following the advice of Verrier Elwin, Nehru formulated five principles which attempted to strike a balance between the "isolationist" and "assimilationist" policies, i.e. between doing too little and doing too much. These principles were: 1) tribal rights to land and forest should be respected; 2) Tribals should be encouraged to maintain their own traditional arts and culture; 3) an attempt should be made to train a team from among the Tribals for administration and development. Too many outsiders should not be allowed; 4) over-administration and multiplicity of schemes should be avoided; 5) results should be judged not in terms of statistics but in terms of how the quality of human life has evolved.[9]

It is also important to note that the various state governments never allocated a substantial budget for tribal welfare and development. We can observe that it was only in the 5th Plan that there was an increase in the amount allocated to tribal development. By the 1960s, the reigning model of development perceived tribal development as a statistical problem. Tribals would also share in the general developments taking place in the country. Whenever programmes were created by the central government, the state governments often set up commissions for suggesting changes. Beginning with the commission in 1961 under U. N. Dhebar, a number of them were appointed. During the 1971 parliamentary election, Mrs Gandhi used the Slogan "Garibi hatao", and congress took a turn to the left in terms of economic policy. Hence in 1972, the Planning Commission prepared detailed guidelines for tribal development based on the concept of "Area Development", focusing on the development of tribal communities. Regional development "growth centres" and integrated tribal development are backward. Thus, peripheral areas and growth centres often emerged as focal points of exploitation of Tribals in India.[10]

The political dimensions of tribal development hence became important in the 1970s for political leaders to distribute their spoils to elite groups or to consolidate banks of votes. In the 1980s, the language may have changed, but the basic rationale remained the same: an input-output model imposed from above, though care was taken not to break down the structure fully. Therefore, demands from within the tribal community and violent tribal uprisings may force the government of various states to rethink tribal policy.

The pattern of development imposed by the Indian state since Independence has led to interrelated consequences: poor socio-economic conditions, land alienation and resentment and movements against non-Tribals. In spite of several protective measures, the economic conditions of the Tribals have deteriorated, and they are also experiencing social alienation, both of which are important causal factors in recent tribal movements. This has been due to the extensive exploitation of the rich natural resources of their habitat, the decline of traditional activities without any viable alternative, and the consequent marginalisation and exploitation of cheap labour accompanied by alienation from agricultural land.

However, given the framework of macro planning, very little of tribal culture could be protected, nor could special attention be given to their needs. Hence, two problems for Congress in the early years were the interrelated issues of tribal progress and tribal integration. Thus, the policy as regards tribal communication, in India and elsewhere, largely followed the safeguards and special provisions given in the Constitution such as the reservation of seats in the legislature, land transfer regulation and services. Some schemes were started to help Tribals set up cottage industries, provide educational facilities, or irrigation etc. The attitudes of congress-run state governments were also ambivalent. Many initially followed the rules set up by the scheduled areas and by the scheduled tribes' commission established by the government of India in 1960 which attempted to preserve tribal culture and identification; however, this position was gradually abandoned. By the 1960s, the pressure of governing such a large country led to the notions of tribal development and economic development becoming synonymous.

The Historical Context of Development

The separation of natural resources from tribal communities can be understood in a more scientific way with the assistance of the theory of the concept of alienation. Hence the manifestation of alienation differs among societies, from slavery to serfdom and capitalism. Thus, the concept of alienation may be interpreted as a specific problem of Tribals, where the growth model becomes the primordial source of exploitation and results in the creation of a society where exploitative relations exist.

The concept of alienation defines the political state of the Adivasis in terms of the socio-economic transformation of society. Many political philosophers analyse and criticise the condition that human beings are leaders of society. The concept of alienation, as discussed by Hegel, was highly idealistic, not materialistic. However, Marx, in his book, “Economic and Political Manuscripts” describes the concept of alienation as “estranged labour” and mainly focuses on exploitation and alienation. He further discussed the concept of alienation in a capitalist society. According to Marx, “alienation” is fundamentally in relation to property, involving involuntary surrender to another. It is through the process of alienation by which the Adivasis became enemies of one another. Social relationships, together with conditions of people’s lives and activities, created an alien and hostile society. In this context, this can give further insights into the present problem of the Adivasis.[11]

Marx assumes that both alienation and exploitation become marked features of a capitalist society. He deals with the concept of alienation of man from different dimensions, i.e. (a) from the product of his labour (b) from his own activity in life (c) from his species (d) from other men. Therefore, in this context, the idea of alienation applies to marginalised people, those who are disposable in the Adivasi world. The colonial people introduced modern activities like roads, railways and telecommunications. This led to the penetration of non-Tribals in tribal areas. A barter system was replaced by a monetary system resulting in the commercialisation of agriculture. With money running in their veins, the money lenders played a crucial role in alienating tribal land and natural resources. The Adivasis in the precolonial period were forest dwellers. Their economic and social activities were based on their natural resources and were not seen as commodities as they were freely available. Their concept of property was territory and usufruct, rather than mine and thine. Their societies depended on natural resources for livelihood in the tribal areas. These resources were never under private ownership; however, when the aliens penetrated the tribal areas, thee Tribals lost many of their natural resources. These development processes ignited further changes in terms of relationships which involved more and more exploitation. Thus, there is a need to relate the concept of alienation to the problem of land, water and the jungle in agency regions in order to understand the issues of marginalised people. Therefore, the historical context and theoretical concept of the state is important in understanding the tribal conflicts in the region regarding their democratic rights, the natural resources being the major source of livelihood for the majority of the Indian peasant class. Natural resources are the backbone of the Indian nation, and they occupy great importance in daily activities. But in capitalist societies, they are controlled by a small number of the rich class who accumulate all the wealth. In the context of production relations, the Indian economic system is neither purely capitalist nor feudalist; rather, it is a mixed semi-feudal development. After globalisation, commodities became a source of wealth, which necessarily resulted in inequalities in society.[12]

The political system of depending on capital, and land being in the hands of the corporate sectors and multinational companies, has resulted in structural inequities which further create social injustice. Politics in the scheduled areas are much more important. The structural inequalities that occur in the name of growth affect a large number of resources and large masses of Adivasi communities and mineral-rich forests. Globalisation brought about rapid changes for the Indian marginalised groups. This led to new identity movements, including the introduction of various development and welfare programmes to counter the social movements.

Though land and forest are the only sources of their livelihood, this has become much more acute in the present stage of the economy. The tribal communities, by and large, have lost their land and forests in states like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Telengana, Andhra Pradesh and Odisha, and also in the northeast states, which have large tribal areas. The unfortunate development is that the people migrating to tribal areas have displaced indigenous people and this displacement has taken different forms, for example through large-scale industries, dams, wildlife sanctuaries, mining, international airports and road expansions by the capitalist class. The Adivasis have been displaced from their land, but these displaced people are given neither rehabilitation nor proper compensation. Globalisation mainly concentrates on mining backed by multi-national companies, and on the other hand, results in poverty, hunger, violence and anti-social elements in rural areas.[13]

The problem of the alienation of natural resources in tribal areas has not been adequately dealt with by researchers. It is not a mere structural or legal problem, but a much more deeply connected phenomenon, full of contradictions related to the existing socio-economic order. The separation of land from tribal communities can be understood in a more substantive scientific manner with the help of the theoretical formulation of the concept of alienation. As Satyadeva has pointed out, alienation is inherent in exploitative ways of production, and its nature varies. Hence, there are also differences among various societies based on slavery and serfdom.

The discussion on alienation is presented here in two parts. The first part looks at the process of the alienation of natural resources in tribal areas, and the second, at the forms and effect of this alienation. In tribal communities, this can be examined through the concept of land alienation. The landholding system, which is a network of human relationships pertaining to the control and use of the land, has always been a major factor conditioning the socio-economic and political order of the day. Land being the major source of livelihood for the vast majority of the Indian peasantry, it assumes great importance in their lives. But in an economy dominated by private property dealings, the concentration of land in the hands of a few would be the net result. This creates an artificial scarcity of land and a majority of people who are in need of land. Land at this stage becomes a commodity and also a source of exploitation, which necessarily results in the perpetuation of many kinds of inequality among the people. The level of production and ownership over the means of production and the way in which the products are distributed as whole besides supplying them among the different classes of society for their daily and essential needs. Land concentration, particularly in the hands of a few, results in structural inequalities, which further engulfs the disparities concerning land. It is this context of the broader spectrum of land disparities that exist in Indian society. The structural changes regarding land which have occurred in the plain areas of India since the colonial period have invariably affected the neighbouring forest regions where large masses of tribal communities reside.

The process of land alienation has manifested itself mainly in the large-scale migration of tribal communities from fertile plain areas to the neighbouring forests. The structural changes occurring in the plain areas have been responsible for this shift, and they have also affected the lives of tribals living in the forest.

These changes introduced rapid capital investment, irrigation facilities, railway and communication facilities, sale and purchase of lands and the creation of certain land systems like Zamindari and ryotwari systems. These pre-independence changes were later on supplemented by changes in the post-independence period which led to the pauperisation of the Indian tribes. This, in turn, led to numerous tribal revolts by different Adivasi groups and individuals for different reasons at different times. This led to the Indian state adopting a policy of enactment of various land and forest laws.[14] In this period, various developmental institutions came into existence in the form of credit networks to counter rural debt and to reduce the role of moneylenders, such as the Small Farmers Development Agency. These and other associated changes in the post-independence period should be taken as variables of a larger agrarian scene while examining the tribal situation and the question of land alienation.

The question of natural resources is not just the result of the existing situation. Its origin may be traced to the periods of deprivation of tribal lands or to periods of withdrawal of their rights to exploit forests. It is being realised that the Tribals have always had a craving a tendency to seek access to land. It is for land that in the last few years, tribes have fought and been massacred. This is due to something more than mere possessiveness. During the 17th and 18th centuries, the more advanced groups forced the Tribals either to retreat to the nearest jungles or to become landless labourers. As land is the only source of their livelihood and their other assets are extremely meagre, Tribals were deprived of their way of life. This has become much more acute in the present stage of the commoditised market economy.

Thus, the inference that may be drawn from the data shows that a majority of the scheduled tribes have small-sized landholdings. The data also reveals a gradual deterioration in levels of land ownership among the STs (scheduled tribes). According to a 2011 census of the government of India there were 84.18 lakh cultivators and 48.32 lakh agricultural labourers among the scheduled tribe workers who constituted about nine-tenths of the total working population. And further, it was observed that in the states where there were large tribal areas, the pattern of continuing to have command over the land, on the one hand, and a high incidence of landlessness on the other could be seen across different regions. However, in many regions, with the development of communications and the intermixing of the population, the situation has further deteriorated. In some of the advanced areas, members of tribal families have been rendered completely landless, and they may not possess even 5 to 10 per cent of the total land area.[15]

The migration of non-tribal communities and their land acquisition has also led to a decrease in natural resources. This phenomenon was as dominant in the 1990s as it was in the 1960s and prior to that. After the 1960s, land alienation took a different turn, where it was accompanied by much-renewed industrial activity, which has established the contractual co-existence of industries. Thus, both the increasing industrial activity backed by foreign capital on the one hand and increasing disparities in the countryside on the other, which has progressively resulted in the impoverishment of lower-middle-class peasantry in the plains, have forced the non-Tribals to look for alternative lands. This alternative source was available in the forests in the tribal areas. This process, therefore, resulted in the de-peasant nation of the tribal communities in Andhra Pradesh, in particular, and India in general.[16]

The focus of the study is on the causes and impact of land alienation, leading to political movements in the scheduled areas. It tries to investigate the reasons for land evictions and the resultant political movements in the tribal areas, which underline the underdevelopment and pauperisation of these communities. The major objective of the study is hence to portray the factors that have a crucial bearing on the process of land alienation in scheduled tribal areas. In addition, an attempt has also been made to understand the impact of the implementation of the Transfer Regulations since the 1930s as an instrument to counter the rapid de-peasant nation process occurring in the tribal communities of these areas.

The Politics of Development

The Constitution of India gives more importance to the problems and aspirations of the people and top priority to the scheduled tribes. The constitution contains many special provisions for the scheduled tribes like the fifth scheduled for non-frontier tribes and the sixth schedule for frontier tribes. Besides, there are various articles like Article 46 which aims to prevent exploitation of all sorts and protect, with special care, the interests of the scheduled tribes; Articles 330 and 332 speak about proportional representation in parliament and the legislative assembly; Article 19(5) aims to restrict movement and settlement and the acquisition of property in the scheduled areas; Article 14(4) makes provision for reservation in general, and Article 29 provides provision for the protection of their language, dialects and culture. The Indian government has introduced various welfare measures for upliftment through protective measures concerning language and culture, particularly protection from exploitation from non-tribal, mobilisation means reservations extended in different fields and development approaches welfare programmes to these people.[17]

The scheduled tribes constitute 8.6 per cent of the total population of the country as per the 2011 census conducted by the government of India. They can be divided into two categories, the frontier tribes and the non-frontier tribes. The frontier tribes constitute 11 per cent of the tribal population, and the non-frontier tribes constitute 89 per cent of the total tribal population. However, since independence adopted the five-year plans to develop the Indian economy, the plan allocations for tribal development have invariably fallen short of their demographic size. The people were neglected until the Third Plan and less than one per cent was allocated to tribal development. Various schemes were introduced like the Tribal Sub Plan. In fact, the welfare schemes have not been able to bring any substantial changes in the tribal way of life. The government has sponsored projects of national development which has led to alienation from their land. The plan allocation is mostly towards infrastructure.

The government of India emphasises the importance of the integration of tribes into mainstream society and at the same time, the preservation of their culture and traditions. The Indian state policies are based on an integrated approach. The Indian Constitution contains three kinds of provisions: protective (cultural and legal), reservation of seats (in electoral politics and employment) and developmental though the constitutional provisions. But all such constitutional provisions and integration approaches are not able to improve the quality of life of the tribes. They continue to suffer from all sorts of diseases, poverty, hunger, displacement, and they are lagging behind in many developmental aspects. The 2011 census reveals that the literacy rate among the scheduled tribes is 58.96 per cent as compared to 72.99 per cent for the general population. As per the Planning Commission report, the percentage of the population below the poverty line in rural areas among the scheduled tribes is 47.4 per cent in comparison to 33.8 per cent in the whole of India. [18]

Some of the non-tribal academics, without looking at the budget provision for the development of Tribals, criticise the primitive, savage, uncivilised and backward ways as being the basic hindrances towards social alienation. Their approach towards the underdevelopment of Tribals is linked with the culture and diseases of the Tribals. The post-colonial state needs minerals, land and forest resources for economic growth. The primitive (crude) capitalist class is invading the rich areas, which basically belong to the Tribals, in the name of development. So, the tribal peoples are alienated from their land, forest resources and livelihood. So, the neo-liberal concept of development has forced the Tribals into further deterioration. Here the basic question arises: for whom is this development? Data shows that the population is declining in the scheduled areas due to displacement and development.[19]

The government of India introduced many development programmes for growth. That is why special multi-purpose development projects were introduced in the scheduled areas. India's first prime minister always focused on rapid industrialisation. The development largely equated to economic growth and was measured against major industries. Nehru famously claimed that big dams, as the temples of modern India, would eradicate poverty, hunger and unemployment, but this violated constitutional rights. The painful thing is that such a process of development created much suffering and pain for the Adivasi communities, and the owners of the natural resources became labourers on their own land. Thus, the ruling class adopted the method of economic growth rather than development. Their focus on the need for progress rather than concern for the sustainability of development has created more inequality in society, i.e. the poor became poorer, and the rich became richer.[20] Development should mean to satisfy the basic needs and aspirations of the people without destroying the natural resources on which everything depends. The revolutionary changes occurred in our society due to Nehru's views on tribal development. According to him, "in the tribal people, I have found many qualities which I miss in the people of plains, cities and other parts of India. It was these very qualities that attracted me." Then came his panchsheel policy for tribal welfare.[21] The panchsheel relates to five pillars of tribal development, but Nehru himself violated the principles, and thus, the corporate development model was simply imposed on them. The state is more capitalist than socialist after 68 years of independence. Many policies enacted by the central government have displaced thousands and lakhs of people. At the same time, the Indian state has never been concerned about rehabilitation, but more concerned about the capitalist class. Nehru formed large-scale industries, such as technology industries established among the Adivasis of Bharat. The market system penetrated in the scheduled areas and non-Tribals entered tribal areas. Many Tribals are now alienated from their culture and traditions. They were always neglected, and as a result, their constitutional rights have been violated.

While thought must be given, and many experiments must be made, as to how to bring about a synthesis between people's sovereignty and state sovereignty, the issues that currently affect the lives of the people in the present case, particularly the indigenous and tribal peoples, require urgent attention. After 68 years of independence, remarkable changes have occurred in the life of the Adivasis. The investment will bring meagre changes due to hurdles facing the capitalist system. Despite the changes in the tribal way of life, the majority are suffering for the advantage of the minority. Unless and until the state will solve those problems faced by the Adivasi society, the capitalist economy will progress.

India is a diverse country, and since the pre-colonial period, many outsiders have invaded and colonised the Adivasi community. After India got independence, many political parties formed a government, and they ruled and ruined indigenous people. Before the Indira Gandhi regime, the country was guided by socialist models of development where the role of the state was clearly concerned with welfare, and social justice was its fundamental mandate. The process of globalisation has invaded India as well since the introduction of the New Economic policy of the 1990s, which is a reversal of the welfare and socialist essence of the constitution to a great extent. It has ushered in an era of corporate, especially transnational, control of resources where the state is handing over natural resources to industries on the pretext that the state has failed to deliver. In other words, the industry has been given the creative right to frame the educational, health, social, industrial, environmental and legal policies, all leading up to the extremely urgent need for privatisation.

Conflicts over rights of land and other natural resources are arising out of changes in the context of the New Economic Policies (NEP) in India. The changes in the NEP have led to a shift in ownership and control over the resources, means and methods and the extent of exploitation. These changes are a direct influence of the industrial sector to adopt a free-market-oriented approach. The paradigms of economic development have been removed from community needs and rights, particularly the Adivasis and the Dalits. It is true that the scheduled areas are a repository of rich natural resources. Traditional agriculture, the indigenous knowledge system, livelihoods, land, forest, and water have been brutally overridden by these capitalist forces. Experiences of all these communities have been shown to be similar in that the state has transferred control of the resources from communities, and even from itself to industries and private institutions. The resources were exploited, not because there was an urgent and immediate need for their utilisation, and there was no long-term plan for the utilisation of these resources. Commercialisation and commodification of resources became the primary concern without ensuring that the resources were available and sustained for optional usage and for the benefit of the majority. Observations have further verified that the resources conserved for millions of years were exploited, and this has led to aggravated poverty and unemployment, while the corporate sector and the rich class have prospered enormously. This extreme exploitation has created anti-social elements, violence and political disturbances. Some of the scheduled areas in India have been witness to such destruction, mainly where mining projects, dams and sanctuaries were built. In the case of the Polavaram Project which is an under construction multipurpose national project situated on the Godavari river in the west Godavari district and east Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh where most of the targeted displaced people are not willing to leave their habitat. These Tribals have never moved out of their habitat before. So, they panic in such a situation. A total of 276 habitations (147 revenue villages and 129 hamlets) spread over nine mandalas in three districts face displacement among the affected population of Polavaram. Among the projected displacement, 61.11 per cent are from tribal populations.

Anthropologists often describe the Tribals as savage, uncivilised, primitive, or backward. The traditional description of primitive societies as being non-acquisitive, and not using money or machines, is no longer entirely accepted. Various aspects of the debate concerning class formation in society on the basis of economic determination between rich and poor have resulted in an upsurge of tribal movements. The rich class is destroying the poor class. Harmonious relations among the people have been disturbed because the state is protecting the rich corporate people. Many neo-social movements are emerging for social justice.

The Development of Marginalised People

The ruling class in the Indian political process since independence has adopted a policy of development through modernisation. However, the national economy is largely in favour of economic growth, profit and surplus. Such a policy has used the Tribals for growth, not development. Once upon a time, they were the lords of their resources, but due to modernisation, they have been alienated from their lands for various purposes and alienated from their resources without proper rehabilitation or compensation from the state or the corporate class.

The introduction of communication and transportation was expected to bring advantages to the tribal people. However, a world has been produced in which a few plains people are exploiting a large part of the tribal resources and depriving them of the local resources they once enjoyed. Similarly, modernisation is threatening the cohesion of tribal communities.

The state should introduce welfare programmes and poverty alleviation programmes through investing lakhs and crores of rupees to bring them back from these extreme conditions. Exploitation has to be handled on a very high priority basis. Proper steps should be taken for the rehabilitation of these people. Unless such a programme of rehabilitation is taken up, the multiple effects of the prevailing conditions may continue to do much greater damage to the socio-economic fabric of the community compared with the benefits which might accrue from development programmes. The government assumes these people are a financial burden and obstacles to the economy. Though many development programmes have been introduced by the state, Tribals are left out from real development processes. Furthermore, the introduction of community development programmes in plain areas has improved socio-economic conditions. The tribal societies, however, could not reap the full benefits of the programmes and catch up with the fast progressing plains people because of their traditional economic and cultural drawbacks. The age-old differences in the social and economic life of the Tribals and the non-Tribals could not be eradicated. Even after the implementation of multiple developmental programmes, the Tribals could not narrow the gap and catch up with the plains people, as their pace of progress is not fast enough. The introduction of numerous development programmes and their haphazard implementation confused the ignorant tribals, necessitating a radical reorientation of the tribal development programme to suit the needs of the tribals.

Capitalist society uses extremely unskilled backward tribal people. This is the dynamics of modern development. That is why the Adivasis are excluded from economic paradigms but included in terms of voting in politics. The tribals are demanding land, water and forest for their survival. The shortcomings of the developments can be seen through the status of the tribals in developmental aspects like poverty, health, and educational status. In the name of development, exploitation has led to various social and tribal movements.

After analysing various paths of development and their impact on tribals, certain natural questions have been raised. What agenda is there for the betterment of the tribal people living here? Can we think of a prosperous and peaceful state ignoring the condition of these people? If not, what kind of measures, acts, and regulations can improve their living conditions? What is our responsibility towards alleviating their lot?

There have been many tribal uprisings from a wide variety of starting points. For example, class-based struggles against hegemonies, new assertions from forcibly displaced communities, destruction of the environment and natural resources, tribal uprisings for safeguarding lifestyles, strident defence of cultures, regional identities and nationalities, they all constitute a broad range of popular awakenings, protests and form the social basis of democracy from the early liberal defence of institutional spaces to the more radical assertion of civil liberties and democratic rights. Most of these struggles and demands are directed against the state, which is under attack from both global and parochial pressures.

However, the state response to the tribal movements during the present period has been clearly repressive and represents a subversion of constitutionality. Arrests and illegal confinement of thousands of tribal people seem to have been the reality pursued by the law-enforcing agencies in the specific context of tribal India. Repressive measures include the massive destruction of tribal houses and property, pouring kerosene on grain, the demolition and burning of huts and houses, all carried out by enforcing agencies which was also quotes in the national newspaper the Hindu, dated: 8th march 2015, besides an order was released to enquire the matter at the fullest.

The state repression of the tribal movement and resistance paints a picture of an obnoxious mode of exploitation reinforced by the state and the dominant classes. At the same time, the process also indicates an intense need of the tribal communities in India to assert and organise themselves on par with other millions of oppressed people. The Tribals were able to express resistance and put up sporadic retaliation which is a testimony to their courage and is an apt characterisation of the development system practised by the state in spite of its apparent objectives of welfare, constitutionality and so-called socialism.

The resistance offered by the various movements and other tribal forces has had an impact on the state and dominant classes. It has resulted in certain modifications of the position of the tribals, while the state with all its repressive machinery was compelled to adopt transitory liberal strategies of welfare. Tribes, on the other hand, organised their efforts relentlessly to fight the injustice affecting their lives and to demand the constitutionally and socially valid recognition of their identity and existence.

The existing hiatus between Tribals and non-Tribals must be bridged to achieve integration. The modus operandi for this Herculean task is the fruitful exploitation of natural resources to the advantage of local Tribals. Linking every corner of the tribal areas through a network of communication facilities will dispel the ethno-concentration of non-tribal communities. A much-needed process of cultural exchange between the Tribals and non-Tribals must be initiated. Hence, what is needed is an Accommodative Democracy that accepts the great diversity of human situations yet provides coherence to them through an active political process, opens up new and creative spaces within the framework of civil society, and at the same time, restructures the state to realise these ends.

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CHAPTER TWO

DEMOCRATIC DECENTRALISATION IN INDIA: THE DILEMMA OF INDIA'S DEMOCRACY

The economic constitution of India should be such that no one under it should suffer from want of food and clothing. Everybody should be able to get sufficient work to enable him to make ends meet (Mahatma Gandhi).[1] Tribals have been an integral part of our country from prehistoric times. Our folklore has accorded an honourable place to them. They were valuable, trusted and the most dependable allies of Lord Rama in his campaign against Ravana. The "Ramayana" and later, the "Mahabharata" carry laudatory references to persons like Guha (the tribal chieftain who for some time played host to Rama during his exile). Who can forget the total devotion of Shaberi who tasted the berries first and fed only good ones to Rama? Such was her innocence and complete devotion. If we, for a moment, accept that Lord Rama had indeed existed, in all probability his army of "Monkeys and Bears" was in fact made up of two groups of tribals. What stands out is their valour, great strength, fearlessness, selflessness and total loyalty to their Lord. In the Mahabharata, we have the classic example of Eklavya, who mastered the art of archery just by worshipping the statue of the great teacher, Dronacharya. When the teacher saw a challenger to his favourite disciple, Arjuna, he demanded Eklavya's right thumb as his "Guru Dakshina". The "forest lad" unhesitatingly complied with the demand, even when he knew that from now on, he would never wield the bow. Such was his sense of honour.

Such was the respect and admiration which our literature and tradition had long accorded to our forest dwellers. Their admirable traits include love for nature (in total harmony with the elements) and fierce loyalty as regards their customs and traditions. Long before environmental protection became the buzzword, it was the forest dwellers be it in Uttarakhand or the Bishnois in Rajasthan—who was fiercely protective about their natural environment. At a time when the institution of the family is threatened by the onslaught of the forces of modernisation, the tribals continue to give great importance to family ties and respect for elders and womenfolk.

Their system of justice has stood the test of time. It has been documented that one of the "severest" penalties that tribal communities in the Northeast impose for wrongdoing is to ostracise the guilty person for some time socially. The shame and disgrace associated with the punishment serve as a strong deterrent for repeating such crimes. Also, one hardly comes across instances of tribals invading village and town settlements for material considerations. Rather, in our rapid quest for "development", we have encroached upon lands, which for millennia had been providing them with sustenance, and played havoc with their simple way of life. In the process, we have introduced them to vices like alcoholism, tobacco and drug addiction and driven them into the clutches of moneylenders by creating demands for items which they never needed. No wonder the tribals have a distrust of outsiders who are generally perceived as exploiters and encroachers. The tribal struggles regarding their inalienable rights over forest lands is a manifestation of their desire to lead independent lives. In governance, centralisation means the concentration of power in a single authority whereas decentralisation refers to the distribution of powers among different organs of the state. In the centralised institution structure, a top-down approach has been adopted, whereas in the case of decentralisation, and a bottom-up approach is adopted in the context of development plans and policies.

India is a federal republic with a strong centre with regard to policy formulation and implementation. Sometimes in the State List, and in most cases in the Concurrent List, the Union prevails over the states. Central institutions and ministries such as the Planning Commission (now scrapped and reframed as NITI Ayog *the National Institution for Transforming India*) the Finance Commission and the Ministry of Rural Development play a crucial role in policy formulation and its implementation. Hence the centre has the upper hand in overall governance. Among all these institutions, so far, the Planning Commission, which was set up in 1950 as a national advisory body to provide expertise in framing national developmental plans, has been crucial in policy formulation. For the overall governance in a federal structure, the Constitution of India assures the distribution of powers and responsibilities between the centre and the states. The distribution of powers and responsibilities is provided in the Seventh Schedule as List-I (Union List), List-II (State List) and List-III (Concurrent List) in the Indian Constitution. The Union List and State List are domains of the centre and the states respectively, though, in certain circumstances, the centre prevails over the State List. Constitutionally, it is in the case of the Concurrent List that a power relation is to be mutually shared between the centre and the states. Moreover, there is a growing conflict in how these relations are shared, policies formulated and implemented, and the roles played by the centre and the states. This power relation that the Constitution guarantees is targeted towards the development of the nation-state. Part XI of the Constitution institutionalises various legislative and administrative relations between the Union and the states, and economic and social developmental plans come under Entry 20 of the Concurrent List. Various factors, since independence, have given rise to a centralised planning and administrative model and have accelerated the Union's development as a powerful entity over the states. With regard to development, India has adopted a socialist model, i.e., a mixed economy, under the influence of the Nehruvian ideal. The constitutional debate, with the support of Dr B.R. Ambedkar, Jawaharlal Nehru and others, proposed exclusive central policies to meet the immediate socio-economic and political crisis that arose after India's independence. Moreover, the centre, as an established institution of hierarchy, has ignored the states to a significant extent and, in numerous cases, tried to balance the growing conflict through other means such as evolving institutions like Local Self-Government.

As such conflicts arose and significantly challenged the established hierarchy, in order to seek a new means to analyse the failure rates of various social welfare policies, India established the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee (1957), the Ashok Mehta Committee (1977) and then the Sarkaria Commission (1983). After the observations and recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission, the Union government passed the 73rd amendment of the Indian Constitution and gave constitutional status to the Local Self-Government (LSG) in 1992. Through such an amendment, the Union government directs the state governments to transfer 29 department powers to the LSG. Although the constitutional amendments were enacted at the centre, it is at the level of the state where the authority for expenditure assignment and the devolution of functions to panchayats is fundamentally vested. No devolution of functions is expected from the centre to the states. Even after passing the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, the transfer of funds, functions and functionaries has been nominal in most states, with notable exceptions such as Kerala. However, despite the constitutional mandate, the growth of self-governing local bodies as the third tier of governance in the country has been uneven, halting and slow. The Second Administrative Reform Commission observed that there is no clear delineation of the roles of the states and the local government. This leads to undue interference by the state. Not only this, but there is also no clear functional delineation among the various tiers of local government. Due to a lack of real and meaningful devolution of funds, functions and functionaries, the local governments are unable to take power effectively to frame regulations, take decisions and enforce their will within their legitimate sphere of action. The committee also recommended the transfer of public servants who are entrusted with the discharge of responsibilities under the local governments' control, subject to the protection of their service conditions.[1] The National Commission to Review the working of the Constitution (NCRWC) was concerned with the poor devolution of functions to local bodies and recommended the amendment in Article 243G,[2] as "Powers, authority and responsibilities of Panchayats, subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the Legislature of a state shall, by law, vest a Panchayat at the appropriate level with such powers and authority as are necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self-government in respect of all functions which can be performed at the local level including the functions in respect of the matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule."[3]

Such a step was taken to decentralise the institution and to involve the rural people in the developmental process to serve the needs of the local areas. One of the basic functions of the Panchayati Raj institutions is to implement various poverty alleviation programmes. As a result, the power confined to federal units of India, rather than to states weakened which later led to the weak centre state relations related to the implementation of the Panchayati Raj institutional system. The effects of such change have been numerous. On the one hand, it destabilised federal-state power, while on the other, it weakened the state's authority. Through this process, the Union government has attempted to de-institutionalise the existing institutional structure in the states and has also minimised the role of the states. In this process, the Union government is undermining the role of the states and entering directly in the district level administration of the local self-governance system. For instance, the District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA) directly receive funds from the Union government and implement various centrally sponsored development schemes in the local areas. It reflects how the central government tries to keep direct contact and control over the implementation of various programmes at the district level. Hence, this process of development shifted from the notional decentralisation model to an implicit centralisation model who aim was to make the institution more people friendly besides generating good results of political participation.

This study seeks to explore the impact of such transfers of powers and responsibilities by the centre directly to the localised governance system. The process through which such transfers have impacted upon the centre-state coordination and their shared mutual relationships will be a case in point with a focus on the implementation of rural poverty alleviation programmes implemented by the centre directly upon the localised system undermining the state's mediatory role which had been added to stop the leakages while implanting these welfare measures. The literature review that follows gives a critical exploration of these issues.

Since it acquired independence, the major challenge for the state is to provide employment for the vast unskilled labour in rural areas, especially the tribal population. The Constitution of India has indirectly highlighted the unemployment issue in the Directive Principles of State Policy (part IV). Article 39 of the Indian Constitution says that the state must? ensure "the right to adequate means of livelihood for all citizens, men and women equally" and according to Article 41 "the state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the Right to Work".

In this context, the "Right to Work" has been used as an election manifesto by the United Progressive Alliance (UPA-1) during the 2004 elections. According to the manifesto, "the UPA government will immediately enact a National Employment Guarantee Act which will provide a legal guarantee for at least 100 days of employment in every year at the minimum wage to every rural household in creating public work programmes." As a result, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act came into being, on September 7, 2005.

The Act came into effect on 2nd February 2006 and was implemented as the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS). Its basic objective is to provide 100 days of work for the rural poor in India to enhance their livelihood security.

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005 (NREGA) guarantees 100 days of employment in a financial year to any rural household whose adult members are willing to do unskilled manual work. The Act has come into force with effect from February 2006 in 200 districts initially and later on extended to all the rural districts of India from the financial year 2008-09.[4]

Philosophical and Theoretical Ideas

Mahatma Gandhi was the leading theorist of the socio-economic and political reconstruction of self-sufficient India. He was the first to express the right to work as a basic policy goal of independent India. His political and economic philosophy was mainly based on Sarvodaya, the self-sufficient village republic, the right to work and the dignity of labour, decentralised planning and development, village autonomy and local self-governance. Later on, Gandhiji's ideal visions of self-sufficient village republics were not fully realised by the makers of modern India. Pandit Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, was known as the architect of the economic policy of independent India, but his ideas and policy remain untouched by the self-sufficient village republic. His policies concentrated on big industries, steel plants, big multipurpose dams and mega power projects and his policies did not affect the village republic.[5] However, the Gandhian ideas such as the right to work, local self-government and other principles are reflected in the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP), part IV of the Indian Constitution but these are non-justiciable and were initially enforceable only as per the convenience of the state (Article 37).[6] In the second industrial policy followed by the second five-year plan, preference was given to heavy industry, and small and cottage industries, plus self-sufficient, autonomous village republics were kept detached.[7] Later on, during the early 1970s, certain government programmes for rural development followed and the 73rd Constitutional amendment Act in the year 1993 was a stepping stone in realising decentralised and participatory development through the institution of local self-government as a part of Gandhian ideals. Twelve years later, a historical Act came in the form of the NREGA with the aim of realising Gandhiji's dream: "No one in rural India should suffer from want of food and clothing, and everybody should be able to get sufficient work.[8]

Democratic decentralisation is a way to realise democratic values at the bottom level of a broad political environment. It is a way for people to participate effectively, and it helps to test democracy through local democratic institutions. The aim of democratic decentralisation is to provide a wider scope for more public participation in the democratic process. So, in the aspect of people's participation, democratic decentralisation can be considered as the backbone of democracy.[9]

The principal notion of any decentralisation scheme is decentring the administrative, political or fiscal power with a view to improving the status of the people. Decentralisation promotes people's participation by creating a new institutional base beyond the centre and in this way, ensures the further deepening of democracy.[10]

The idea of decentralisation is like a way of practising democratic principles and their application to political organisation. Democracy, as a form of political organisation, is not only meant for the partnership of people in the exercise of the sovereign power of the state but is also meant for people's participation in the day-to-day governmental activities.[11]

Decentralisation is broadly accepted as a key component of good governance and development. The main rationale behind decentralisation is to bring government closer to the people so that the people can get more benefit from the government and, in return, will be more willing to accept the government's authority. Decentralised governance is based more upon efficiency and accountability than centralised governance with more people's participation at the grass-roots level.[12] Decentralisation refers to the transfer of authority to any individual organisation or agency at a lower level, to plan, make decisions and manage public functions from a higher level of government.[13] There are two objectives related to decentralisation, one is managerial, and another is political.[14] The managerial objective refers to the objectives related to the provision of services, and the organisation and management of development programmes and projects. With decentralisation as a political theme, the objective political deals with the distribution of power among various levels in the political and administrative hierarchy and also power distribution between different interest groups at each level of the hierarchical system. Both managerial and political objectives are mandatory for the proper functioning of decentralised governance. [15]

Likewise, explicit and implicit objectives are also related to decentralisation. Explicit objectives are those which are clearly stated in public policy documents or declarations related to decentralisation. For example, an explicit objective would be public participation, giving power to the people, bringing government closer to the people and improving access to government services. So, an explicit objective is mainly related to the managerial objective. On the other hand, implicit objectives are those views that are expressed by particular individuals or interest groups but are not stated publicly; hence implicit objectives are mainly related to the political objective.[16]

There is great diversity on the empirical grounds of decentralisation, but there is a lot in common in the theoretical definitions. Usually, decentralisation is broken down into three different but related processes.[17] They are cited below for a better understanding of the concept of decentralisation. Decentralisation is based upon the redistribution of decision-making authority and financial and management responsibilities among different levels of the central government. It can merely shift responsibilities from central government officials in the capital city to those working in regions or districts, or it can create strong field administration or local administrative capacity under the supervision of central government ministries.[18]

Delegation refers to a situation in which the central government transfers responsibility for decision-making and the administration of public functions to local governments. In this instance, local governments are not fully controlled by the central government but are accountable to them.[19] The delegation also involves decision-making authority along with the managerial and operational responsibility of communities and their organisation, in order to carry out development projects.[20]

Devolution happens when the central government transfers its authority for decision-making, finance and administrative management to quasi-autonomous units of local government.[21]

Devolution usually transfers the responsibilities for service to municipalities that elect their own mayors and councils, raise their own revenues, and have the independent authority to make investment decisions. In a devolved system, local governments have clear and legally recognised geographical boundaries over which they exercise authority and for which they perform a public function. It gives more bases for political decentralisation.[22]

Democratic Decentralisation

The democratic notion finds a broader scope in the concept of democratic decentralisation. The prime aim of democratic decentralisation is to widen the area of democracy by granting more rights and independence to the people for effective participation at a local level. The concept of democratic decentralisation is the synthesis of two words, i.e., “democratic” and “decentralisation”. The word democracy emphasises democratic values along with a larger and closer association of people with their own governmental affairs. The word decentralisation entails the transfer or distribution of authority and power from the top levels of government to the lower levels.[23] Thus democratic decentralisations are just an extension of the democratic principle and the people’s rights to self-determination and to manage their own affairs in a local area without any undue interference.[24]

Iqbal Narain stated: “Democratic decentralisation, as a political concept, aims at widening the area of people’s participation, authority and autonomy through the dispersion of powers from top to bottom levels in all the triple dimensions: political decision-making, financial control and management and administrative operations to be exercised by people’s representative organisations with least interference and control from higher levels.”[25]

The democratic decentralisation framework provides freedom and authority to the people. It strengthens their participation in the decision-making, planning, implementation and evaluation process of welfare programmes and projects in their locality. This, in turn, leads to better implementation and fulfilment of the programme's objectives.

In the context of developing countries, democratic decentralisation has been conceptualised from two different perspectives, as institutional and instrumental. From an instrumental perspective, it is viewed as a tool of ensuring participatory development, by empowering the local communities, and from an institutional perspective, it is seen as an institution of self-government.[26] The aim of decentralisation is to bring the government closer to the people. It provides an alternative centre with greater autonomy and contributes to the capacity building of local government. Decentralisation supports community resolution by providing more autonomy to sub-regions. It promotes the decision-making actions of local stakeholders. It acts as a coordinator between the government and local communities. Decentralisation consists of representation from the popular majority, local, poor, political, religious ethnic and tribal groups.[27] People-centred developments, i.e., participatory development, is promoted by decentralisation. People know their problems best, they have the solution to their own problems through the use of local knowledge, local resources and indigenous technology. People have the capacity to solve their problems through self-help groups, mutual cooperation and participation. Due to decentralisation, local self-government acts like a government of the people and for the people at the bottom level.

The main objective of decentralisation is efficient and accountable local government with the effective participation of people in local government affairs and also in the local development process. From the local development perspective, there are four specific objectives of decentralisation.[28]

The first objective is to manage local-specific development swiftly. Through decentralisation planning, local-specific development can be better managed by local bodies, for example, community roads, local water supply and other development processes managed through cooperative people's participation.

The second objective is to improve efficiency in the implementation of the programme. Through decentralisation by administrative efficiency and with people's cooperation, local development programmes can be effectively implemented at a local level.

The third objective is to reach distant locations. This can be achieved effectively and more equitably to a wider group of people through decentralisation.

The fourth objective is to increase the responsiveness of local administration according to people's needs: the actions of local development functionaries can be best monitored by the local people.

Regular feedback and effective control by the local people help to make the local administration more responsive.[29]

Development is generally treated as a multidimensional process of progress and growth. It refers to the gradual change in social, political and economic conditions. It is basically not just only about changes but a continuous process of progress, a change for the better.[30] Progressive change is the root of the development process, so it should be shared with the community or society, and all the members of a community should benefit from the development process.[31] Development should flow side by side with values and people's capacity, and also should make sense to them.[32] Development for society must, therefore, be culturally, socially, economically, technologically and environmentally suitable.[33] Development should be based on equity and justice. The fruit of the development process should be in reaching equally to all the people. According to Gunnar Myrdal, development means the upward movement of the entire social system.[34] It includes both economic and non-economic factors such as health facilities, the distribution of power, and more generally, economic, social and political stratification in society. Development is related to the institution, the attitudes and the policy which aim for gradual change in all those factors.[35] Development must be understood as the upward movement of the entire social system, and there is circular causation between conditions and changes, with growing effects in a society.[36]

Real human development concerns both qualitative and quantitative changes in human life; it is more complex and beyond economic factors alone and is meant for the all-round development of human beings.[37] It has been maintained that "development is not a commodity to be weighed or measured by gross national product statistics. It is a process of change that enables people to take charge of their own destinies and realise their full potential."[38] In order to bring real development for the people, it must be shared by the people, and it can be made possible by involving them in the development process. True development can be achieved by people and cannot be done to people.[39] For development by the people, democratic participation is a basic need in decision-making and sharing the benefits of development equally. Human relationships and cooperation are the keys to development at national and community levels. Power relations, gender relations and ethnic relations play a major role in the shaping of genuine development.[40] So, in local and community development, there should be cooperative relationships and effective participation of the members.

The concept of development gained importance during the period of the 1950s and the 1960s. During this period, most Asian and African countries gained their political independence. During the colonial rule, their resources were drained for the development of the colonial ruling countries rather than the benefits of their own. So, it can be considered as one of the reasons for their underdevelopment. After their independence, they started their own suitable development programmes and projects to overcome their underdevelopment situation. In this process, India also adopted several development initiatives under its five-year plans.[41]

However, due to a lack of effectiveness and failure of development in the 1950s and 1960s, a group of ten of the world's development experts met at Cocoyoc in Mexico in 1974 and set up a new agenda for alternative development. In this declaration, they made a basic distinction between the inner limit and the outer limit of development. The inner limit includes fundamental human needs like food, shelter, health and human rights and the outer limit covers the aspects of environment and population. These two aspects of development are interlinked with human development and the environment and natural surroundings.[42] Rural development is a subset of the broader term of development.[43] Rural development, in general, refers to the socio-economic and political development of the rural community and also to the simultaneous development of the rural environment and infrastructure. It is a developmental process meant for the wellbeing of rural people.

In the words of Katar Singh, rural development indicates the overall development of rural areas with a view to improving the quality of life of rural people. More explicitly it includes the development of agriculture and allied activities, village and cottage industries, crafts, the socio-economic infrastructure, community services and facilities and above all, human resources in rural areas.[44]

Copp has defined rural development as "a process aimed at improving the wellbeing and self-realisation of people living outside urbanised areas through collective effort."[45] So rural development, as a process, requires the involvement of the people, the community and the government to fulfil the basic and desired interests of rural people. Rural development, as a strategy, is designed to improve the socio-economic conditions of a specific group of people, mainly the rural poor.[46]

Rural development is based on three elements-the basic necessities of life, self-respect and freedom. The basic necessities of life include food, clothing, shelter, basic literacy, primary health care and security of life and property. Self-respect means the dignity and honour of an individual. Freedom includes the social, economic and political freedom of an individual.[47]

In India, rural development is assigned to the Concurrent List. After independence, there was a need for rural development, so in 1952, the idea of a community development programme was made to focus on this area, and it was launched on 2 October 1952 in 55 areas. The main idea was the development of agriculture and related activities such as irrigation, rural communication, education, rural health and supplementary employment in rural areas, housing, welfare and training. After that, several development initiatives for rural development were adopted by the government in different five-year plans for rural development.

People's participation

People's participation is an integral part of democratic theory. According to Michel Pimbert and Tom Wakeford, "Democracy without citizens' deliberation and participation is ultimately an empty and meaningless concept."[48] The relationship between participation and social and human development has been around since the time of the ancient Greeks. In politics, Aristotle defined a citizen as someone who is entitled to participate in an office involving deliberation or decision for the ultimate aim of making the city self-sufficient. He saw participation as a tool to reach the telos (the ultimate object or aim).[49] The modern theory of participation was rationally expressed by Jean Jacques Rousseau in his social contract theory. He visualised a notion of democracy in which equal citizens come together to make decisions in an independent, deliberative manner to formulate a policy in which benefits and burdens are equally shared by all citizens. In Rousseau's view, participation was more than a process of decision-making. Participation was a process by which an individual developed empathy for another's point of view and learned to take account of the public interest in order to gain cooperation. In the participation process, the individual learned how to make a public citizen and create feelings of community and belonging among individuals. Rousseau's participation notion was closely linked with the development of civic life.[50] From the perspective of Elitist theory, the mass of society is politically incompetent, inexperienced and apathetic in governmental affairs, so society requires the dominant elite to maintain public order and make decisions regarding public policy. Elitist status is acquired through political skill, the exercising of power, organisational ability, charismatic leadership, and a key position in social and political institutions, the control of economic resources, and so on. This gap between the elite and the masses in governmental affairs keeps the mass of society distant from participating in the decision-making process. So, it can be said that people's participation in the present democratic process is to counter the elite theory of participation in the decision-making process.[51] The Marxist view on participation can be interpreted as a bridge between the strong radicalism of the participant culture of direct democracy and the conservatism of elite decision-making forms. Marx saw three phases of participation in democracy. The first phase is with the revelation that political activity is the universal duty of every citizen. The second concerns the movement towards a zeal for participation derived from a perceived duty to redress the imbalance between the power-holding elite and the mass of society, and the third is with the involvement of the masses moving away from the socio-political concerns of individual welfare and towards heightening the movement for changes in the power structures to revolutionary proportions.[52]

The liberal view of Democracy sees citizenship as the principal prerequisite of the democratic system, with the citizen being an active participant in the processes of decision-making around public policy. This is based upon the principles that citizens should be considered to be the best judge of their own interests, as they are capable of making social and political decisions, and that they hold the key to political influence through the medium of participation, discussion, voting, and through the movement towards political equality.[53] Radical democracy favours decentralisation and participation for the wide circulation of political power. In this form of democracy, people are seen as having a basic right to participate in the making of any decisions that affect their lives, and democracy is seen as simply being the collective process for the participatory activities of the people.[54] The advocates of participatory democracy want full participation by the citizens in the policymaking in all organisations. They are not in support of the limited participation of citizens, confined only to electoral access and to political leaders at periodic elections. Their demand is for the full participation of the individual rather than partial participation. According to them, partial participation is like pseudo participation.[55]

Democratic participation refers to the activities that are meant to influence the behaviour of those empowered to make decisions for the common citizen.[56] The inability to participate represents a rigorous deprivation in a society where participation is regarded as a value.[57] Sidney Verba defined democratic participation as "the process by which citizens influence or control those who make major decisions affecting them".[58] In this sense, participation acts as the collective democratic control by the people over the decision-makers regarding their actions.

Horald Laswell's view, "Who participates, about what and how"[59] is a statement which gives emphasis to the participant, the purpose of participation, and the activities of the participant in the participation process. Participation depends on space and time. In a changing context, people want to participate in new issues and in a new way.[60] Voting, picketing, and political activities in the electoral process are not only acts of participation; participation goes beyond these activities.[61] Participation is not limited to any governmental level. Democratic participation reaches beyond the citizen and the government, and it is the interrelation and interaction activities between the individual and authority in every part of society such as family, organisations and any other non-governmental organisations to which an individual belongs.[62] Participation involves a voice in the decision-making process that affects all of the citizens' activities. It has been seen that many non-governmental organisations are the prime actors in the political process, so non-governmental participation is as important as governmental participation. Participation activities refer to the interaction between people and the decision-makers, so both the players in a participation process are important. Participation activities give scope and a platform to the common people to take part in the decision-making process, express their views and influence the decision-maker as regards the outcomes.[63]

In a democratic setup, a decision cannot be imposed on citizens in an autocratic manner. People have the right to take a collective decision for a better life for themselves. A plan by the people is based upon their knowledge and ability through their active participation. Hence, it gives better results than plans made by others. The democratic environment in a locality allows local decision-making bodies to make decisions about development projects in the local area. In a local development project, people have to be consulted on issues, and they have the choice to accept the project which benefits them and reject those which adversely affect the community. A top-down model of development views people as objects of development, whereas a model of development with people's participation within a decentralised arrangement is considered as participatory development.[64]

According to Graves (1972), citizen participation is described as a device to make the government responsive to the needs of all people, particularly those who are left out of the formal government decision-making process.[65] Thus, in the context of this definition, people's participation in the process under which the government is responsible for bringing the common citizen, who is traditionally left behind in the decision-making process, back into the participation circle and it gives them scope in the governmental decision-making process.

According to Burke (1968), citizen participation seems to be the ultimate voice in community decision-making.[66] In this definition, Burke gives importance to citizen engagement only in the decision-making process but not in the implementation and evaluation process. The use of words such as "ultimate voice" gives a unique value to citizen participation in decision-making.

Mongulof (1970) defined citizen participation as an act or a series of acts by which the people, i.e., the governed, have the opportunity to influence the distribution of benefits or losses which may be vested upon them.[67] This definition by Mongulof gives scope to the people in the participation activities or processes for sharing the benefits as well as bearing the losses from development activity. It gives an opportunity to the common citizen to decide their destiny.

Palmer and German (1974) describe citizen participation as any activity or action which enables individuals, old and young, rich and poor, to have an input into the decision-making process and to play a role in improving the quality of life in the environment.[68] This definition gives wider scope to include all sections of people in a society in the input activities, in the decision-making process and to play a major role for improving the quality of life in the environment. In a democratic system, participation is considered as a significant value in society. The common people have some autonomy and control of their own destiny.[69] So in the participation activities, people can decide their own pathway to fix their own destiny with the help of mutual understanding and discussion with their fellow beings. These cooperative participation activities influence the decision-maker in the decision-making process, and this people's participatory decision-making may bring fruitful outcomes, and it leads to reaching the goal and helps them to achieve their own destiny.

Participation is often thought as a means to some other end. It is a way in which a goal can be set for society.[70] Participation helps people to fix their own agenda with mutual understanding with other members in a group or in society. The people who take part in the participation process have the chance to gain benefits, and those who are not participating are unable to gain benefit and fail to fix their agenda because these groups of people keep themselves apart from the participation process. A lack of participation can be considered as a lack of full membership in a community or society.

In a democratic society, the state government acts as a welfare agency for people's development. Individual lives are influenced by government welfare activities. Government acts for the betterment of the people.[71] As it is individuals who decide their final destiny, then public participation and involvement are mandatory for their better future and development. As the government moves more and more towards the betterment of society and of people, government welfare activities slowly move towards becoming a highly specialised agency. These specialised agencies control the expertise and information necessary for decision-making related to a particular programme. These agencies may require new perspectives and a new means of public control. So, the government acts in a new way and also requires a new mode of public participation.[72]

In this modern era of an indirect democratic system, a citizen's needs cannot be fully reflected in policymaking since their participation is basically limited to their elected representatives. Democratic principles should not be limited to the political institution and electoral processes such as political parties, elections etc. It creates a gap between the elected representatives and their electorate. Hence, in order to maintain effective communication with their elected representatives at the local level, the periodical participation of the citizens is necessary. Effective democracy is built through periodic interaction because such interactions increase public awareness and help to monitor and evaluate the activities of their elected officials on a continual basis.[73]

In the traditional theory of democracy, people elect their leaders for their government and usually elected members to make important decisions, and the bureaucracy holds the responsibility to implement those decisions. But nowadays, it can be seen that the government's executive branch is making several decisions. Bureaucracy is also used to make decisions in numerous cases.[74] As the size and scope of government have grown, decisions previously made by elected members in a political process have been delegated to technical experts in large bureaucracies. Managerial views slowly entered into the decision-making process with the principle of systematic decision-making and techniques for maximising benefits. In an age when elected representatives regret their incapacity to control the bureaucracies, the role of the bureaucracy in decision-making is a major challenge to democratic theory. When major decisions are delegated to unelected bureaucrats, it creates a question mark about the expression of the people's will in these decisions. There are possibilities of a conflict between the bureaucrats' interest and the people's interest. So, people's participation in decision-making is significant in a democratic system where they are the ones who make the final decision about their interests.[75]

There is also a question mark about the people's participation in technical decisions, but in all cases, the technical agencies' decisions are not technical in the true sense. Experts cannot take fully informed decisions without considering the value of a society and the interests of the people. The experts may have technical knowledge but may not have local or traditional knowledge. So, the people's participation is necessary for shaping a better decision.[76] Public participation promotes making sustainable decisions by providing participants with the required information, and it communicates with them about how their input affects the decision.[77]

According to The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), "Participation means that people are closely involved in the economic, social, cultural and political processes that affect their lives."[78] Participation is generally referred to when the common people play a role in governmental decisions. For democracy to succeed, it is essential that people must participate in the developmental planning process, and to ensure this, democratic institutions must encourage people's active involvement and participation. For development ethics, people's participation is an important component of a good society.[79]

The common people are involved not only as of the beneficiaries of development but also as agents of their own destiny who build their own model of development. Participation offers non-elite people an opportunity to shape goals independent of their social position, allows them to become problem solvers in their social environment, and gives them an opportunity to participate in decision-making. Development ethicists insist that non-elite participation in the decision-making process enables people to be mobilised and gives them control over their social destiny.[80]

Participation is a voluntary activity of the people. It cannot be imposed on the people from above, it is based on a bottom-up approach rather than a top-down approach, and it depends upon the willingness of the people. People's participation in a development context can be understood in four senses.[81] Participation in decision-making, in implementation, in benefit sharing and in monitoring and evaluation. Participation in the development aspect, as referred to by most political scientists, is participation in decision-making, whereas administrators are likely to focus on the implementation stage. On the other hand, economists give priority to benefit sharing in the participation process, but nobody has been very concerned about evaluation and so this has been neglected.[82]

Decision-making is one of the important aspects of the political process at all levels-national, state and local. Local-level decision-making is more people-centric than the other two levels; local people directly participate in the local political platform with their local representatives. Participation of the poor and marginalised sections of society in the decision-making process is possible when it is focused at the village level.[83]

Decision-making is generally based upon the generation of ideas, the formulation and assessment of options, and making a choice about them. Decision-making also includes the formulation of plans and selecting the right plan for effective results. There are three different types of decisions, namely, initial decisions, ongoing decisions, and operational decisions.[84] The initial decision starts with the identification of the local needs, then an assessment of the means to address the needs through a project or programme. This stage of the decision-making process can be described as project identification. In this early stage, issues and questions such as whether the project should start or not, where it should be located, the ways in which it should be financed and staffed, how the individuals and groups should take part in the project, are raised by the local folk and discussed among them[85] Ongoing decisions are taken after the initial decision has been made. Here, people who did not participate in the initial decision have the chance to participate in the ongoing decisions once the project has started in the locality. However, there is some evidence that participation in ongoing decisions, which occur after initial decisions have been made, could be more critical to project success than participation in initial decisions.[86] Operational decisions are related to certain local organisations which are related to the project such as voluntary associations, traditional cooperative associations, women's clubs etc. and their influence over the local project.[87] David A. Crocker explained different forms of participation in group decision-making: Nominal Participation: in nominal participation, someone participates in group decision-making when that person is a member of a group but does not attend its meetings. Some people, of course, are not even members.[88] Some are members but are unable to attend, due to other responsibilities, or are unwilling to attend.[89] Passive participation: in passive participation, the people, as members of a group, attend the group's official meetings, but passively listen to reports about the decisions that others have already made. Here the elite tells the non-elite what the elite is going to do or has done, and the non-elite masses listen in the meetings and hardly ask a question or make any comments.[90] Consultative participation: in consultative participation, the non-elite participate and give information and their opinions which includes input, preferences and proposals. In this participation, the non-elite have no control over the decision. In the end, the elite are the ones who decide. The elite has to listen to the non-elite but has no obligation to do so. It can be said that the people attend meetings only to give information and opinions and the decision is then up to the elite group.[91]

Petitionary participation: petitionary participation means the non-elite give a petition to the authorities to make certain decisions and do certain things, generally to remedy a grievance. Even if it is the power of the elite to decide, the non-elite have a right to be heard, and the elite has a duty to receive, listen and consider, if not to heed. It is just like the consultative participation model normally used in a traditional decision-making process.[92] Participatory implementations: In the participatory implementation, the elite decides the goals and the main means, and the non-elite implement the goals and make only tactical decisions. In this mode, the non-elite do more than listen, comment and express opinions, but the overall plan and strategies belong to the elite.[93]

Participation in Bargaining: participation in bargaining is a deal and negotiation between the elite and the non-elite. In this negotiation process, the elite and the non-elite look for gains and losses but it is the elite who influences the final deal. Due to asymmetrical power relations, the non-elite has less influence in the final outcome. The elite may settle for some loss in return for future gain, but somehow it gives bargaining power to the non-elite.[94]

Deliberative participation: in this, the non-elite, sometimes only among themselves and sometimes with the elite, deliberately participate together for the common good for which the majority agreed. It includes the scrutiny and formation of values, including the relative importance of various processes and opportunities.[95]

Participation implementation

After participation in decision-making, the next step is implementation. In the implementation stage of a project, people can participate in three principal ways, such as resource contribution, administration and coordination, and programme enlistment activities.[96] Resource contribution can take a variety of forms like the provision of labour, cash, material goods and information. It is also important who is contributing, and how their contributions are made, whether they participate voluntarily, are paid to do so or are forced. Generally, the local, rural, poor people contribute voluntary or remunerated labour for their local development context such as by digging wells, constructing roads etc.[97]

The people's participation in project administration and coordination is a second way to take part in the project implementation stage. In this step, people can participate either as locally hired contractors or as members of various advisory or decision-making boards. The local people can also be members of voluntary associations which are playing a role in coordinating their activities with those of the project.[98] Benefit-sharing is seen as the main intention of a new development strategy. In participatory development, benefit, as the fruit of development, should be equally shared and distributed among the people of the community. Voluntary and willing participation is only possible if people will get benefits from the development process. Participation in benefit sharing can be categorised into three kinds of benefit such as material, social and personal benefits.[99] Material benefits are mostly private goods and benefits like an increase in consumption, income or assets. Social benefits are principally public goods, meant for the whole society like schools, health clinics, a water system, better houses, and good roads. As rural development should bring more social benefit for the rural people, it will lead to better improvements for them. Personal benefits are usually greatly desired, though not often attained on an individual basis, coming rather to members of groups or sectors, as these acquire more social and political power through the operation of a project.[100]

Evaluation is meant to judge the effective and ineffective outcomes of a project or programme after its implementation. Evaluation is generally considered as feedback which provides a remedial measure for the formulation and implementation of plans in future programmes or projects. There are mainly two processes of evaluation, ongoing evaluation and post evaluation. Ongoing evaluation is the continual analysis during project implementation of the effects of the project's outputs and their impact on development. Post evaluation is analysis after the completion of the project of its effects and impact. In order to identify problems and constraints in implementation, people's participation is necessary to provide information related to the project's progress.[101]

People's participation is a people-centric activity and strengthens their motivation for their development. Thus, it has certain beneficial aspects. There seems to be a number of ways in which people tend to benefit through participation. Of course, not all the individuals or the stakeholders are aware of them in the same way, but benefits that accrue through the participation of the people tend to heighten the nature of participation. Below are cited some of the benefits of people's participation with examples of how they are helpful.

People critically see an effective way to solve problems. In the decision-making process, people choose alternatives by seeing the past success and failure of the programme and make it more effective with limited resources and in a given time period.[102] People's participation is an essential part of the decision-making process in managing cost and delay. If decision-making is good and genuine, it leads to better implementation of a programme. While on the other hand, if the decision-making process is quick and unilateral, it may lead to the slower implementation of a programme and may also result in the failure of the implementation of the programme. Bilateral participation in decision-making may be costly and time-consuming, but ultimately, it gives better implementation results. Quick and unilateral decision-making neglects mass participation and although it is less costly and time-consuming, it may result in faulty implementation.[103]

The choice seems to be very hard when it comes down to choosing between quick and unilateral decision-making and bilateral decision-making. Each has its own set of merits and demerits. The only thing that can be employed to choose between the two is having an assessment of the reality on the ground and choosing one of them as better fitting the needs of the situation.

Increased ease of implementation is important because participating in decision-making gives ownership of the decisions to the people and enables them to see their decisions being fulfilled. It not only gives scope for political support for implementation but also groups and individuals work wholeheartedly to make the implementation of the decision fruitful.[104] When more people from the grass-roots level are involved in the process, it becomes easier. A mechanism for people participation creates a consciousness among the people. A people's participation programme helps to build long-term commitment among different parties. This builds understanding between the parties, reduces political controversies and gives legitimacy to government decisions.[105] The people's participation in decision-making, planning, implementation, benefit sharing and in the evaluation of a local development programme creates a healthy attachment of the people in the developmental process. They consider it their own development programme and they participate in it wholeheartedly. When people start to believe that the programme is meant for them, they give it their complete support. The sense of ownership also garners a spirit among the people to work in a mature manner.

Democratic Decentralisation and Participatory Development

Decentralisation is promoted in a participatory democratic system.[106] Decentralisation and people's participation are interrelated with each other. Decentralisation is a means for effective citizen participation at a local level in the context of political participation and developmental participation because it provides scope for participation by bringing the government closer to the people. In the same way, people's participation is mandatory for the success of decentralisation. Decentralisation demands active participation from the grass-roots level. Moreover, it can be said that for any programme to be a successful one, there must be the participation of the locals or the stakeholders, which has been one of the criteria of decentralisation.

Decentralisation plays a key role in the participatory development process. It widens the scope for more representation in development programmes from the popular majority, the local poor, and political, religious, ethnic and tribal groups.[107] Participatory development helps local communities to evaluate their conditions and plan and implement projects. They are the beneficiaries and main actors in the development process. They make the decisions, identify the problems, find solutions and are in control during all stages and aspects of project operations.[108] The activities of participatory development bring about dialogue and coalition, thereby building and manifesting democratic self-governance.[109] Participatory development is based upon the interaction and collaboration of the local people. In the aspect of project operations, they look into their local situation, consider and take into account their local cultural, environmental, economic, political, social and traditional characteristics. Moreover, it helps to increase the life span of projects and actually benefits the people. In this participatory development process, the local governmental and non-governmental agencies help people by providing information, creating knowledge and resources.[110]

Jean Jacques Rousseau described sovereignty as the general will in action, which resides in the community as a whole and not through the elected representatives.[111] In this context, a participatory, decentralised development process helps to build national sovereignty by empowering communities to manage their own development and thereby decide their own destiny. The institution and the people will be closer and more loyal to those at the national level when they function as contributors to local fulfilment. National sovereignty is reinforced by the integration (involving mutually beneficial, information-sharing partnerships) of the people and institutions that operate within that country.[112]

The indigenous and tribal people are mostly isolated from and neglected by the mainstream modern society. In general, they are not touched by the development process. In the participation process, their voice is neglected, and the main aim of the participatory process is to integrate the traditionally neglected group in the mainstream development process. The basic necessity for indigenous people's participation is to safeguard their interests in the development process. These participatory approaches recognise the right of indigenous people to participate actively in planning their own futures. It has been seen that, in many cases, their resources have been exploited for the benefit of other groups in society. So, in participatory development, the participation of the indigenous people has a significant value.[113] In India, under the Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas Act (PESA) 1996, special status is given to the tribal people in the scheduled fifth areas for their effective participation in the Gram Sabha. In this Act, the tribal people of their locality have the right to participate and have a voice in their social, cultural, economic and developmental aspects.

The basic principles of the Directive Principles of State Policy and Fundamental Rights of the Indian Constitution are also a motivating factor for the formulation of the MGNREGA. Article 39(A) states that "The state shall secure that the operation of the legal system promotes justice, on the basis of equal opportunity, and shall, in particular, provide free legal aid, by suitable legislation or schemes or in any other way, to ensure that opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or other disabilities".[114] Article 41 explains that "The state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance, in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want". Article 21 "Right to life and liberty" is also responsible for the formulation of the MGNREGA.[115]

For any research to be carried out, a preliminary review of existing literature is an important aspect of research activity. It provides background knowledge of the research topic. A literature review is a critical and in-depth study of all published books, articles, reports and other publications. In this study, the literature review is based upon the fundamental theme of this research topic, that is, the implementation of the MGNREGS and its impact on the socio-economic status of the Tribals. Thus, the study has multi-disciplinary relevance and is intended to review the concepts and essential studies from social science literature. K. R. Venugopal, in his article, "The Reluctant Guarantee" (2007), traces a comparative account of the Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA). The author treats the NREGA as a means of making the voices of the poor heard and to expand their rights. According to the author, rural unemployment is the crux of the problem of poverty. The aims and objectives have been described in detail. All the crucial provisions in the NREGA undermine the proclaimed guarantee, and it would be futile to pretend that this Act would "change the geography of poverty". Finally, he suggests all the poor-friendly provisions to defend and expand the rights of the poor and provide them with an employment guarantee that truly promotes a genuine right to work for the rural poor.[116]

Bela Bhatia and Jean Dreze (2006) in their article, "Employment Guarantee in Jharkhand: Ground Realities" explain various aspects of the implementation of the NREGA on the basis of a field investigation. This article is based upon a field survey of the Palamu and Lathar Blocks of Jharkhand state. The authors found some problems in the implementation of the NREGA in the survey areas. The authors found that due to a lack of awareness among the people of those areas, the NREGA programme is not being implemented according to its guidelines. In the study areas, the authors also found that there is a huge gap between the Programme Officer at the block level, the Gram Rozgar Sevaks at the Panchayat Level, the Supervisors and the Engineers. They have also found that, at the worksites, there is a lack of workplace facilities.[117]

"NREGA: Where are the Panchayats?" published in the Panchayati Raj update explained that the NREGA is one of the greatest experiments of democratic decentralisation. The implementation of the NREGA is designed in a democratic and decentralised manner. Except for Kerala, in almost all states, many sarpanches and Panchayat members are still illiterate and do not even know about the essential provisions of the highly complex legislation of the NREGA. The NREGA is claimed to be the programme of the people, by the people and for the people, but in the actual process of its implementation, Panchayats have no control over the whole process, and the Gram Sabha still remains inactive. The NREGA regime has made the District collector and Mandal Development Officers more powerful, and they undermine the PRI (Panchayat Raj Institutions), making them irrelevant. In the end, this Article suggests the active involvement of all the stakeholders in the Panchayati Raj system, in the implementation process of the NREGA and other welfare schemes to make local democracy successful.[118] The study of the NREGA in Orissa by Sri Parshuram Rai, Director of the Centre for Environment and Food Security (CEFS), a Delhi based NGO, has focused on the serious flaws and failures that bedevilled its implementation in the state. The study has basically been done on the KBK region, which comprises six districts namely, Koraput, Nawarangpur, Rayagada, Kalahandi, Nuapada and Bolangir. This region is well known for starvation, child selling, malnutrition etc. It found that there was neither any impact of the NREGA on the livelihood security of its poor nor any let-up in the level of distress migration of Adivasis and Dalits from this region in search of livelihood in other parts of the country. The survey team found the manipulation of records in muster rolls, job cards etc. Transparency has been undermined, as has the nexus between poverty and corruption, and the absence of a social audit is notable. The role of the Panchayats has been dominated by bureaucrats. This study highlighted a scam worth Rs 500 crore in NREGA. This study blamed the government of Orissa at a national level. After this report, the audit was carried out by the Auditor General of the government of India. An inquiry has been made by NIRD etc. into the corruption that has been highlighted. Recently, a CBI (Central Bureau of Investigation) inquiry has been going on by order of the Supreme Court of India on the basis of the above study.

In another study, Jean Dreze focused on the reasons why the NREGA in Orissa appeared to be particularly vulnerable to corruption. He described ten loopholes, such as faulty design, erratic maintenance, and incomplete distribution of job cards, adjustments in the muster rolls and job cards,the lack of transparency in muster rolls, rigid monitoring and information systems (MIS), the continued power of contractors, the vulnerability of locals, obscure work measurements, and general vulnerabilities like shortages of staff, dormant Gram Sabhas, ritualistic vigilance procedures, and a lack of grievance procedures. The report also describes the percentage (PC) system at each level of implementation. He alleged that nearly 32 per cent of the NREGA fund that was to be spent to provide jobs for needy people was going into the pockets of officials and contractors through the PC system.

Namita Gupta, in her article "An Analysis of NREGA: A Case Study of Punjab (District Mohali)", has described that the MGNREGA fosters the conditions for inclusive growth ranging from basic wage security and recharging the rural economy to a transformative empowerment process of democracy.

The MGNREGA, as such, will impact highly on the socio-economic conditions of rural areas. The reason being that it will regenerate the rural economy, without which sustainable aggregate growth is not possible. The NREGA may mobilise the existing surplus labour in the countryside, which will have an impact on generating more economic growth. This will likely change the balance of class forces in the countryside. In her article, "Right to Work and recent legislation in India", the author Jayanti Ghosh has analysed various articles in regard to the UN Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Right to Work. In this article, she also analysed the NREGA Act, implementation issues and the financing of the NREGA. The author has especially focused on the Right to Work. Rishabh Khosla, in his article "Caste, Politics and Public Good Distribution in India:

Evidence from NREGS in Andhra Pradesh", attempts to measure the effect of caste reservation policies on the provision of public goods and services in Gram Panchayats in Andhra Pradesh through the NREGS. In this article, the author has narrated the history of the PR system, the background to the NREGS in Andhra Pradesh and caste politics in AP. He finds that caste plays a dominating role in fund distribution, providing job cards and employment in the NREGS. Finally, he commented that the NREGS in Andhra Pradesh is estranged from politics.

K.S. Gopal, in his article "NREGA Social Audit: Myth and Reality", has talked about the commercial reality in regard to the social audits of the NREGS in Andhra Pradesh. In his opinion, many important aspects of the implementation of the NREGS were ignored during the audit. Finally, in his article, he stated that the social audit process has a long way to go before it can claim to have contributed to transparency, empowerment and good governance.

Kamala Sankaran, in the article "NREGS Wages: Ensuring Decent Work", has made observations about wages under the NREGS. According to the author's view, the minimum wage rate under the NREGA must be flexible in nature, and it should be based on regional and geographical variations.

The article "NREGA Wage Payments: Can We Bank on the Banks?" has described the situation that the government of India has shifted from cash payment of wages under the renamed Mahatma Gandhi Employment Guarantee Scheme to settlement through bank accounts. This has been done in order to prevent the defrauding of workers and to give them greater control over their wages. On this issue, a survey was conducted by the authors Anindita Adhikari and Kartika Bhatia in December 2008 in Uttar Pradesh and Jharkhand. The majority of the people preferred their NREGA wages to be paid through banks or post offices rather than in cash. But even in bank records, many fraudulent accounts were found, there was no transparency, and problems in the banking system etc. were identified. According to the opinion of the authors? the best protection against embezzlement is the empowerment of the NREGS workers. As they learn to defend their rights under the NREGA, they can manage their own bank accounts, and even build collective organisations.

The crooks who are always there in the system are likely to find it much harder to manipulate the system due to the implementation of the modern technological tools and it has been more transparent due to the effective administrative reforms within the Indian states from the federal level. The NREGA and the local context of the Death of Tapas Soren have analysed how a tribal of Birakhap in Jharkhand committed suicide due to the pressure of bribes by local officials for work done under the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act. This death exposed the existing corruption in the NREGA scheme.

Iqbal Narain, in his article "The Idea of Democratic Decentralisation" (1960), explained that democratic decentralisation is the medium of people's participation and he called it the backbone of democracy. In this article, he differentiated between administrative decentralisation and democratic decentralisation and stated that democratic decentralisation is wider than administrative decentralisation. It gives more scope for people's participation in their own projects for local wellbeing. Furthermore, he mentioned that democratic decentralisation places more emphasis on people's participation and administrative decentralisation places more emphasis on efficiency.[119]

Sweta Mishra, in her book "Democratic Decentralisation in India" (1994), stated that the suggestion of the Balwantrai Mehta Committee is designed to provide effective decentralisation and, perhaps, it may be regarded as the real beginning of democratic decentralisation in India. She said that "decentralisation is an ideological principle associated with the objective of self-reliance, democratic decision-making, popular participation in government and accountability of public officials to the citizens". In the context of decentralised development, democratic decentralisation involves the establishment of machinery for planning, economic growth, and mobilising and allocating resources to expand national income. It entails arousing people's aspirations and allowing and encouraging people to meet their own aspirations. It naturally involves the achievement of progressive political, economic and social objectives. So, in India, democratic decentralisation is meant to achieve political development and economic modernisation.[120]

S.N. Mishra, in his book "Participative Management and Rural Development" (1992), has discussed the different dimensions of people's participation in development programmes and stressed the elimination of poverty from rural areas by making people politically conscious, socially viable and mentally articulate. The author stated that unless the community comes forward and is ready to solve its own problems through community efforts, no substantive changes can be expected. It is often said that managing welfare programmes is not an easy task and may not bear fruit unless there is community participation. In brief, it can be said that through participation, social issues can be dealt with. Voluntary organisations are expected to play a vital role in mobilising people's participation in development.[121]

Pradeep Narayanan, in his article "Empowerment through participation: how effective is this approach?" (2003), has explored the deficiencies of the participatory approach. This essay examines the concept of participation and describes how issues of power can be a constraint for achieving authentic participation. Participation and employment are means and ends for each other and promoting participation require the dismantling of existing power relations. Here he has mentioned that the aim of the participatory approach is to give a voice to excluded sections whose opinions are ignored or not heard. The author argues that, through Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), the project leader aims to facilitate the empowerment of local people so that they can engage and solve their own development problems. Through participation, local people are empowered to take part in the modernisation process. The author gives the example of decentralised planning at the grass-roots level in Indian institutions like the Gram Sabha that promote the participation of the village community in local-level policymaking. Here, the author finds two problems of social norms and customs, which make women and those who are socially and economically excluded, disinterested in participation and not empowered to contribute to real participation in local self-governance.[122]

Pankaj Kumar Singhal in his article titled "Theories of Participation: a developmental standpoint" in the book "Democratic Decentralisation and Panchayati Raj in India" categorised the aspects of participation as genuine participation and pseudo participation. Pseudo participation is categorised as domestication and assistencialism. Domestication involves informing, therapy and manipulation. Assistencialism includes placation and consultation. On the other hand, genuine participation is categorised as cooperation and community control. Cooperation refers to participation and the delegation of power, and on the other hand, community control means empowerment. According to the author, pseudo participation is the people's participation in development in which the control of the project and decision-making power rests with planners, administrators and the community's elite. On the other hand, when bureaucracy, the local elite and the people are working cooperatively throughout the decision-making process and when the people are empowered to take control over the actions, only then can it be considered as genuine participation.[123]

Angsuman Basu, in his article "People's participation essential for rural development" (1989), explained that, since independence, the beneficiaries of various development programmes have been kept continuously as the receiver of the end result of the development programme without making them feel that the programmes are of the people, by the people and for the people. The lack of people's participation is responsible for the under-fulfilment of the objectives of rural development in the past years. The author clarifies people's participation to mean that the policies and programmes of a plan should enlist not only the support of the masses but also their whole-hearted participation at both the stages of formulation and implementation. The inclusion of people's participation in decision-making, in implementation, in benefit sharing and in monitoring and evaluation is essential for the success of a development programme. The deliberative and willing participation of the people is possible when they will benefit from the participation. The author makes a case for deliberative action by the political leaders and bureaucrats to educate the people and to bring them into the participation process.[124]

V. M. Sirsikar, in his article "Political role of Panchayati Raj" (1966), described the Panchayat Raj institution as an agency of the political development process at a local level. The role of the Zilla Parishads is to bring about socio-economic changes that could indirectly contribute to political development. The author stated that the Panchayat Raj institution is a major device for dispersing power and for stimulating political development.[125]

Rajat Kumar Kujur, in his article "Underdevelopment and Naxal Movement" (2006), explained the poverty, underdevelopment and displacement of the tribal people, and the growth of Naxalism in Sambalpur, Bolangir, Phulbani, Deogarh, Jharsuguda, Anugul and Malkangiri. He argued that development without people's participation has always been seen as a reason for political unrest. Different development projects and the industrial growth in these areas might have benefitted only the agriculturalists and industrialists but not the rural tribal people. The ongoing development process in these areas has not reached the rural masses. State-sponsored developmental projects in Odisha seem to be divorced from the people's participation in decision-making. Here the author stated that, in Koraput, the government development programme never reached the people for whom it was really made. The author explained that the Maoist movement, in the name of revolution, has led to a scenario where the Naxals have control over 400 villages in Koraput, where they collect taxes and have established a parallel administration. The Naxal group in these areas has opposed any construction works because they believe that the ignorant Tribals will become close to the government and oppose the Maoists.[126]

Jean Dreze, in his article in the book "The Oxford companion to politics in India" (2011), stated that under the NREGA, it is the enforceable obligation of the state to provide a hundred days of guaranteed employment to rural household job cardholders and the Act also gives bargaining power to the labourers. The author highlights the positive aspects of the Act and explains that the NREGA is a means to protect rural households from poverty and hunger, and it can help to slow down or distract migration to urban areas. Further, the employment of women under this Act gives them some economic independence. The Act also provides an opportunity to create useful assets in rural areas, and it can help to strengthen rural democratic institutions and revitalise the institution of local governance including the Gram Panchayat and the Gram Sabha.[127]

Kaustav Banarjee and Partha Saha, in their article "The NREGA, the Maoists and the development woes of the Indian state" (2010) examined the issue of development and the Maoists through a case study of the NREGA in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Odisha. They stated that there are broadly two opinions regarding Maoism in the Indian context, where one sees chronic socio-economic underdevelopment being its root cause, and the other sees it purely as a law and order problem. This study enquires in detail about the working of the NREGA in such areas and the effect it has had on Maoism and vice versa. The authors stated that democratic decentralisation and sustainable community development are the twin plans on which the NREGA is premised. The article highlights the issues of the impact of assessment, employment and wages, the impact on crop cultivation, and on migration. As impediments to the implementation of the NREGA, the authors explained that a lack of awareness and wage payment was the main crux of the problem. In response to Naxal, the authors explained that the Maoists are blocking road construction, however not the other kinds of development work, especially land developments on SC/ST land, small irrigation facilities and afforestation.[128] Idhya Das and Pramod Pradhan, in their article, "Illusion of Change" (2007), have explained that the NREGA implementation in Odisha is in most of the tribal districts, namely Kandhamal, Koraput, Rayagada and Nawarangpur, and has created great hopes, but the reality on the ground is different. The authors argued that the Odisha government had taken several positive and constructive steps for the better implementation of the NREGA. Odisha has also been projected as the first state in the implementation of the NREGA, showing a total expenditure of more than Rs.700 crores, a fund utilisation of 82.39 per cent surpassing all the major states in the percentage of expenditure against available funds. But still, rural people are not getting the real benefit of the NREGA programme. They are not receiving regular wages, or job cards with contractors, and there is no proper social audit process. Finally, the co-author stated that this programme has failed to fulfil its basic objectives in these tribal districts.

Mihir Shah, in the article "Employment Guarantee, Civil Society and Indian Democracy", (year) has explained that only through a strong civil society, empowering people at a grass-roots level and through a democratic system can the NREGA become fruitful and achieve its aims.

A case study of the Andhra Pradesh Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme was launched in 2006 by the government of Andhra Pradesh and NGOs. The study found that the results of the NREGS in Andhra Pradesh have stood out as a counterpoint to results elsewhere in items like high expenditure and leakages in money reaching the poor. In Andhra Pradesh, money has been returned from erring officials to the poor, and all information is publicly available on a regular basis. Such achievement has only been seen because of the social audit system. According to the report, more than eleven per cent of the scheduled tribes had employment between April 2007 and March 2008. This study has found that Andhra Pradesh is still only able to provide employment for about 45 days in a year, which is less than half of the entitlement.

Origin of the Research Problem

The MGNREGS came into effect all over the country in rural areas. The basic aim of the scheme is to give 100 days' guarantee of work with minimum wages. Some states have implemented this scheme effectively, whereas, in some, problems like the issue of corruption, a lack of transparency and caste barriers have come to light. To get a job under this scheme, a rural poor adult person has to ask for work through an application to the Gram Panchayat (GP). Within 15 days he has to get a job card and work. He should receive his payment as per the guidelines. In this process, corruption has been prevailing from the grass-roots to the highest level. Also, the upper caste section of society is dominating and benefiting, thereby excluding the Tribals. Delays in getting job cards and payment and a lack of transparency in the muster roll have led to a major lacuna in this scheme. There have also been widespread cases of defrauding the workers in the cash payment of wages. Some institutions are working positively in implementing such schemes, whereas others are acting adversely. Given this, the study intends to address the following questions: A) How is the implementation of the MGNREGS being conducted differently in different places even by the same institutions? B) How are the backward sections of society, basically the scheduled tribes, benefitting from such a scheme? C) What are the problems that arise for a job cardholder, the elected representatives and the bureaucrats in implementing such a scheme?

Interdisciplinary Relevance

Starvation, child selling and malnutrition have been major issues in India since its independence. After the intervention of the Supreme Court of India, the government of India brought in an Act, namely the MGNREGA, for the betterment of the livelihood of rural people. In these circumstances, this study will highlight the impact of the MGNREGS on the economic, cultural and social conditions of rural people, mainly the tribal people in India.

This study will focus on the economic conditions of the Tribals, their lifestyle, income etc. The Act has been targeted to generate large-scale employment. It tried to build a hunger-free Indian society. The MGNREGA, by providing jobs, tries to bring change in social status mainly among the scheduled tribes in society. It tries to stop migration, meaning people will remain in their location and promote their indigenous cultural activities. The MGNREGA in both states has been implemented with the same institutional setup. In Andhra Pradesh, the scheme is working smoothly. Whereas in Odisha, the scheme has some loopholes. Recently the Supreme Court of India has given the order for a CBI inquiry. At this juncture, this study has a significant value for the socio-economic upliftment of the tribal community. This study also helps to bring them into the mainstream of society by bringing out the lacunae in the implementation and policy itself, examining the working of institutions under the MGNREGA in the tribal community of Andhra Pradesh and Odisha and assessing its impact on and drawbacks for the socio-economic conditions of the tribal people.

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(b) The implementation of schemes for economic development and social justice as may be entrusted to them including those in relation to the matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule.

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Chapter Three

Development and Poverty Programmes in India

Introduction

The alleviation of rural poverty has been one of the primary objectives in the development policy of India. From the inception of planning, the policies of the government have continued for the rapid economic growth and uplifting of the rural poor by offering more productive employment and enhancing income. The major theme of the entire rural poverty alleviation programme is to rejuvenate the economic and social life of rural areas. This has been a major challenge for policymakers since independence. The rural poverty alleviation programmes have been designed and redesigned according to the demands of the time by successive governments. Various developmental approaches (the Growth to Distribution model and latterly the inclusive and sustainable growth model) have been adopted in different plans to tackle rural poverty. Rural poverty has become a major challenge not only for India but also for the world in the 21st Century. For this reason, the United Nations organised a world summit on Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995 to reduce by half the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015.

The Indian Constitution and Poverty

Poverty was at the heart of the social policy and political agenda of the Indian National Congress (INC) during the freedom struggle. The emphasis on poverty was mentioned in a letter by Jawaharlal Nehru in 1936 as "We cannot fight to get rid of poverty under the present system, i.e. the political and economic system. If we could get rid of it, then the problem is a simple one, and even the need for Swaraj is not very apparent."[1] Even on the eve of independence, the first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said in his famous *Tryst with Destiny* speech, "The future beckons to us. Whither do we go and what shall be our endeavour?

To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man, to the peasants and the workers of India, to fight and end poverty and ignorance and diseases, to build up a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation, and to create social, political and economic institutions which will ensure justice and fullness of life to every man and woman."[2]

The word "poverty" has not been mentioned in the Indian Constitution. But as India gained independence under the moral and Inspirational leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Gandhian philosophy such as the social and economic development of village life, has been incorporated into the Directive Principles of State Policy, part IV of the Indian Constitution. Social and economic development comes under the Concurrent List. Article 41 states the right to work, to education and to public assistance in certain cases. "The state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want" and Article 47 "the duty of the state to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and to improve public health" has been followed by the planners, by forming various welfare programmes, in general, and rural poverty alleviation programmes in particular. The alleviation of rural poverty comes under the Concurrent List of the Indian Constitution in the Seventh Schedule as "economic and social planning". It means both the central and the state governments can prepare policies in the context of economic and social planning. But the central government plays a major role in the financing as well as the formulation of policy with regard to rural poverty, due to the strong nature of the centre in resources, as well as in the legislative domain in the federal structure of India.

The Definition of Poverty

Poverty means the inability of an individual to secure a normative minimum level of living. It has been determined by the prevailing standards of what is needed for health, the nurturing of children, social participation and the maintenance of social respect.[3] Poverty has been defined in terms of income or consumption below a norm which has been commonly known as nutritional norms by the Planning Commission. Poverty is multidimensional in nature. This dimension is only about the economic aspects (income, consumption), whereas other dimensions like social (health, education) were not taken into account until the eighth Five-Year Plan. As Amartya Sen has pointed out, education and health will not only improve human welfare directly, and they will also contribute to economic growth over a longer period and, furthermore, will improve the ability of the poor to participate more actively in the growth process.[4] Policies to improve the health or educational status of the poor, thus came to be viewed as supplementary or ancillary to the major target of raising the spending power of the poor, rather than as a condition for a sustainable poverty reduction strategy.

The main determinants of poverty are (i) a lack of income and purchasing power attributable not to a lack of employment but to a lack of productive employment and considerable underemployment, (ii) a continuous increase in food prices, especially food grains which account for 70-80 per cent of the food basket, and (iii) the inadequacy of the social infrastructure, affecting the quality of life of the people and their employability.[5]

The Planning Commission of India has analysed poverty in terms of the ability to access a minimum nutrition level which is expressed in terms of a norm of daily energy intake in calories, required for the health of those in work. It was suggested in Dandekar and Rath's[6] pioneering paper of 1971 and accepted by the Planning Commission after the report of the Task Force on the Projection of Minimum Needs and Effective Consumption, which was set up in 1979. It was also accepted by the Indian Council of Medical Research after considering the population structure by age and gender. Consequently, all persons unable to access an average of 2100 calories per day through their expenditure were to be considered as poor.[7] The government of India has accepted the nutritional norms in respect of measuring poverty which has narrowly included the sense of hunger and endemic malnourishment. Since then, in India, poverty studies have been based on the "poverty line". Various poverty estimations in India reveal that the majority of poor people are living in rural areas in contrast to urban areas. So, this study is basically concentrated on rural poverty.

The Poverty Line in India

A common method which is used to measure poverty is based on income or consumption levels. A person is considered as poor if his or her consumption or income level falls below some minimum level which is necessary to meet basic needs. This minimum level is usually called the "poverty line".

The Planning Commission of India is the key agency for the estimation of poverty. It estimates the incidence of poverty at national and state levels, separately in rural and urban areas. The incidence of poverty is measured by the poverty ratio, which is the ratio of the number of poor to the total population, expressed as a percentage. It is also known as a head-count ratio. The methodology for the estimation of poverty used by the Planning Commission has been based on the recommendations of the Working Group/Task Force/Expert Groups consisting of eminent experts in the field. The Planning Commission has constituted these groups from time to time, to revisit the methodological issues related to the measurement of poverty, so as to make the estimates more relevant to the contemporary economic situation.[8]

The term "Below Poverty Line" (BPL) is an economic benchmark and poverty threshold used by the government of India to indicate economic disadvantage and to identify individuals and households in need of government assistance and aid. It is determined using various parameters which vary from state to state. The Ministry of Rural Development of the government of India carries out the BPL survey across the country. A BPL census was started in India in 1992. It was the decision of the central government that the BPL census must be carried out once every five years. Accordingly, the second census was carried out across the country in 1997. Similarly, the third BPL census was carried out in 2002. Due to some errors in methodology, the 2002 BPL Census was challenged in the Supreme Court and has not been implemented in many states, including Orissa.

For the first time in 1962, the Working Group of the Planning Commission delineated the methodology for poverty estimation. However, it has been widely debated by academics, experts, policy planners, etc. over the years. So, the Planning Commission has constituted a Task Force/Expert Group from time to time to review the methodology. These include the Task Force under the chairmanship of Dr Y. K. Alagh in 1977, the Expert Groups under the chairmanship of Prof. D. T. Lakdawala in 1989 and Prof. S.D. Tendulkar in 2005.[9]

Since January 2011, the methodology used by the Planning Commission to estimate poverty is based on the recommendations of the Expert Group under the chairmanship of Professor Suresh D. Tendulkar. The recommendations of this committee state that the poverty line is fixed at Rs 27 per day in rural areas and Rs 33 per day in urban areas. This became a much-debated idea politically and academically, as it did not reflect the changing times and aspirations of the people of India. So, in June 2012, a new expert committee under the chairmanship of Dr C. Rangarajan was appointed. The basic thrust of this expert committee was to review alternative methods of poverty estimation, which may be in use in other countries, including their procedural aspects and indicate, whether, on this basis, a particular method can be evolved for the empirical estimation of poverty across the states in India, including procedures for updating it over time. The other task of the committee was to recommend how the estimates of poverty, as evolved above, should be linked to eligibility and entitlements for schemes and programmes under the government of India. In June 2014, this committee submitted its report. As per the recommendations of the committee, a new poverty line was worked out to be a monthly per capita consumption expenditure of Rs 972 in rural areas and Rs 1,407 in urban areas in 2011-12. For a family of five, this translates into a monthly consumption expenditure of Rs 4,860 in rural areas and Rs 7,035 in urban areas.[10]

These BPL surveys are being conducted periodically at an interval of five years, basically at the beginning of the five-year plan period. This survey has been conducted by the Ministry of Rural Development in association with state and union territories. The objective of the BPL list census is to identify those rural households living Below the Poverty Line. On the basis of the BPL, assistance has been provided to the poor under various programmes of the Ministry such as IAY, NSAP, SGSY, TSC, MGNREGS etc.[11] Such a survey has been carried out in 1992, 1997, 2002, and the latest in 2011. But the 1997 BPL survey has still been used for various poverty alleviation programmes due to the Supreme Court's intervention in response to a writ petition about the 2002 BPL census. Rural poverty in Orissa, as evident in the 1997 BPL survey, seems much higher than the poverty estimates given by the Planning Commission in 1999-2000. However, it is difficult to compare these statistics as the methodologies adopted in both surveys are different.[12]

The Status of Rural Poverty in India

There is a general perception that India is a poor country because of its low per capita income. According to Dreze and Sen, there is neither a simple and direct link between a low GNP and poverty, nor do the GNP levels help us to understand why particular demographic and social categories, e.g. women, or pre-school-age children, or female children, or landless agricultural labourers, figure disproportionately among the poor. These characteristics of poverty reflect the structural aspects of particular societies partly and partly policy priorities.[13]

It has been observed that the estimation of poverty or the number of poor in the country is a controversial issue. Various committees use different methodologies for the estimation of poverty. This has been shown in Table 4.1. This shows that, in the year 2009-10, there was 38.2

per cent poverty according to the Rangarajan committee, but 29.8 per cent according to the Tendulkar committee. In 2011-12, there was 21.9 per cent poverty according to the Tendulkar committee and 29.5 per cent according to the Rangar

Table 3.1: Poverty Estimates in the Years 2009-10 & 2011-12ajan committee.

		Poverty Ratio	
	Rural	Urban	Total
	Expert Group (Rangarajan)		
2009-10	39.6	35.1	38.2
2011-12	30.9	26.4	29.5
Reduction % Points	8.7	8.7	8.7
Expert Group (Tendulkar)			
2009-10	33.8	20.9	29.8
2011-12	25.7	13.7	21.9
Reduction % Points	8.1	7.2	7.9

Source: *Planning Commission, the Report of the Expert Group to Review the methodology for the measurement of poverty, the government of India, June 2014.*
Note: The estimates of poverty ratio for the years 2009-10 and 2011-12 derived from the Expert Groups, Rangarajan methodology and Tendulkar methodology, are summarised in the Table.

Five-Year Plans and Approaches to Rural Poverty- A Review

At the time of independence, the socio-economic scenario of India was predominated by a rural economy with a feudal structure. High rates of poverty, low literacy rates and rigid social structures were widespread. In view of such socio-economic conditions, the basic objective of planning was economic development with social justice.

Broadly speaking, all the rural poverty alleviation programmes are part of rural development which implies both the economic betterment of the people as well as greater social transformation. The major themes of rural development according to Dreze and Sen, *Hunger and Public Action*, Oxford University Press, 1991,[14] are to increase the participation of the people in the rural development process, the decentralisation of planning, better enforcement of land reforms and greater access to credit and contributions in order to provide rural people with better prospects of economic development. Programmes like health care facilities, education, drinking water, energy supply, sanitation and housing, waged employment etc. are part of rural development which are essential for the social and economic development of rural people.[15]

National planning is a process of setting national targets and preparing programmes and policies that will help achieve those targets. The policies and programmes are prepared with the aim of ensuring the optimal use of national resources, both financial and material. These policies are based on an understanding of the response of the economy to these interventions. This exercise has become more complex over time for several reasons. First, the setting of targets is not just a technocratic process. It must reflect the aspirations of an increasingly aware public and an active civil society to command the broadest possible social and political support. Secondly, the strategies outlined by the plan must reflect the growing complexity and maturity of the economy, including its growing integration with the rest of the world, and the changing role of the public and private sectors. Finally, strategic plans are only as good as our ability to implement them, and therefore implementation capability is very important.

Development planning in India is aimed at bringing the weaker sections of society into the mainstream of development. The government of India and state governments have brought out specific programmes for the poorer sections of society since the inception of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. This is the vital instrument to realise the social objectives enshrined in our Constitution. It is the method to meet challenges which have emerged, either because of new political and economic developments in the country and the world or as a consequence of progress already achieved. So, a development plan in the form of a Five-Year Plan (FYP) plays an important role in the development of the nation and the alleviation of rural poverty. So, the first five-year plan (1951-56) describes planning as “Economic planning has to be viewed as an integral part of a wider process aiming not merely at the development of resources in a narrow technical sense but at the development of human faculties and the building of an institutional framework adequate to the needs and aspiration of the people.”[16] So, through this plan, an attempt was made to strike a balance between the prevailing socio-economic conditions and the building of a model society founded by the Indian Constitution related to the protection of the weaker sections of society. The first development, i.e. The Community Development Plan (CDP), was implemented nationwide with the objective of socio-economic change primarily in the life of the rural population. It was the first instrument to tackle poverty in independent India. The activities which were carried out under this were agriculture and allied activities, irrigation, communication, education, health, supplementary employment, housing, training and social welfare. To facilitate the implementation of the programme, a new institutional structure was set up. Each community project consisted of three development blocks and each block comprised of hundreds of villages. The development blocks were stratified into groups of five villages, and each group was under the supervision of a village-level officer. The basic thrust of the programme was to motivate the community to participate in the development programme. The institution of the Panchayati Raj was also introduced to support the implementation of the CDP. These programmes also continued in the subsequent plans. But, in reality, this failed to generate the desired result, due to over-dependency on the government but also on government funding. So, this failed to achieve the desired results in terms of improving the lives of the rural poor. Major land reform policies like the abolition of intermediary institutions and systems of landholding like those in Zamindary, Jagirdari, etc., were initiated during this plan. This plan had more emphasis on industrial growth to deal with the socio-economic conditions of the country at that time. It was assumed that such industrial growth would generate employment and consequently would impact positively on the alleviation of poverty.[17]

The Second Five-Year Plan (1956-61) was heavily influenced by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis' model of development. The strategy of development in this plan was in two economic sectors, like the production of capital goods and consumer goods. While continuing the previous industrialisation, this plan emphasised massive industrial development with a focus on the balanced regional development of industrial and agricultural growth. Such steps were initiated on the basis of the socio-economic conditions and with the socialist approach of the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Industrial development was prioritised to increase employment. But the success of this plan was not as much as expected due to the serious balance of payment crisis and the acute food deficit. Such problems were accompanied by financial inflation and the rapid growth of the population. During this plan, the emphasis was placed on the balanced development of regional growth and not directly on attacking poverty.[17] Unemployment had become a major issue even after the emphasis on the generation of employment from the last two plans. During the third five-year plan (1961-66), comprehensive rural work was initiated to generate additional employment opportunities while utilising the large rural labour force to accelerate the process of economic growth. But the performance of the Third Plan was below expectations. Such a result was due to the poor harvest and the wars with China and Pakistan in

1962 and 1965. During this plan, the government focused more on national defence rather than the priority of development, due to concerns of national security. The last three plans were focused on two strategies of the growth model, i.e. a) economic growth with balanced regional development and b) institutional changes. Such steps were initiated by the planners with the assumption that such a planned growth model with regional balance would enable the share of development to trickle down to the masses. But such an approach did not create the expected results. The empirical evidence revealed that the fruits of development had not percolated down to the masses and the needs of a large number of deprived and deserving communities remained unmet. It was realised that this growth model had not met the challenge of the socio-economic turmoil in the country. So, in 1962, the Planning Commission changed its approach from a development model to a distribution model, and this was reflected in the paper entitled “Perspectives of Development: 1961-1976: The Implication of Planning for a Minimum Level of Living”. For the first time, the planners recognised the distribution model of development. Some schemes, like the public distribution of food grains at reasonable prices, the Small Farmer Development Agency (SFDA) and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers (MFAL), were introduced in the late 1960s and early 1970s to target small and marginal farmers. Was equal importance given to the growth of agricultural production.[18] During the 1960s, targeted poverty alleviation was initiated due to the failure of the government to reach the poor and disadvantaged sections of society with the fruits of the development. The targeted poverty alleviation programmes are basically supply-side interventions on the part of the state in response to the needs of the poor and disadvantaged. But, in reality, such interventions had not reached the intended beneficiaries as they were not demand-driven. The problems were further compounded by unbalanced information, a lack of transparency, non-accountability and the non-participatory nature of the functioning of these programmes.[19]

The fourth plan (1969-74) emphasised growth with stability because of the socio-economic and political scenario of the previous plan. The strategy of cooperative development played a central role in this plan. This plan reflected the shift of importance from industry to agriculture. Both agricultural cooperatives, on the one hand, and consumer cooperatives, on the other, occupied the central position. The agricultural growth was largely dependent on intensive agriculture and a substantial increase in credit, contributions and services. The basic focus was put on institutionalising the services which the farmers required for agricultural growth. Some steps were also initiated, like the institutionalisation of a cooperative society and the establishment of agricultural industries.[20]

The four five-year plans described above reveal the emphasis that was placed on high rates of growth as the principal means to alleviate malnourishment, unemployment, illiteracy and other manifestations of poverty. It reflects that, after independence, the members of the Indian planning department had emphasised economic growth as a means to alleviate the various manifestations of poverty. To reduce the inequalities of income and wealth, major political strategies like land reform, public ownership, control of key sectors and progressive taxation were initiated. By the end of the Third Plan, it was felt that growth rate alone was not sufficient to remove poverty. So, the planners decided to shift their approach to a distribution model and to undertake specific measures to remove rural poverty. But there was no mention of a minimum standard of living or basic needs in the fourth five-year plan. This was because of political instability and natural calamities, such as the death of Nehru, India's military engagement with China and Pakistan and droughts. Major steps towards a distribution model, like the abolition of the Zamindari System, the Privy Purse and the nationalisation of the banks, were initiated after the insertion of the word "socialism" in the preamble through the 42nd Constitutional Amendment of the Indian Constitution in 1976. So, the fifth five-year plan (1974-79) has defined the poverty line and a minimum standard of living. At the time of defining the poverty line, the various dimensions of poverty, like material deprivation and a low standard of living, including an indicator of poor health and deprivation in relation to education and culture, were also taken into consideration. But material deprivation was taken most seriously in defining the poverty line. So, the government of India accepted nutritional norms as the means of measuring poverty. Since then, in India, poverty studies have been based on the "poverty line".

Thus, poverty alleviation programmes became an integral part of the fifth and subsequent plans. The government had recognised, on the eve of the fifth five-year plan, with the evidence of empirical research that acute poverty has prevailed among the waged labourers, scheduled tribes and scheduled castes and those people inhabiting the deprived regions. During this plan, the development strategy was derived basically from the idea of poverty reduction through the process of growth, as proposed by Prof. Sukhamoy Chakraborty who suggested that "just a high rate of economic growth is not enough but growth should happen in a manner which increases income much more for the lowest 30 per cent of the population".[20] A number of targeted income and employment generation programmes were introduced as a component of the development strategy of the fifth five-year plan with the objective of ameliorating the living conditions of the disadvantaged. During this plan, the strategy of a direct attack on poverty was adopted. To achieve this, a three-pronged approach was adopted, i.e. i) the creation of an income-generating asset base for the rural poor ii) the generation of opportunities for waged employment and iii) area development programmes in regions which were deprived because they had dry land, or were rain-fed, drought-prone, tribal, hilly and desert areas.

To support the industrial development needed to attract large scales of labour, the government also introduced the Rural Industrialisation (RIP) and Rural Artisans (RAP) Plans. In these plans, the notion of poverty that was used by the planners and policymakers was income and commodity-centric, and poverty was conceived simply in terms of the lowness of income or calorie consumption. This strategy of a model of growth with redistribution and the direct attack on poverty continued both in the sixth five-year plan (1980-85) and seventh plan (1985-90). Till the eighties (the Sixth Five-Year Plan), the social sector, such as universal elementary education, health care for all, rural housing, nutrition and health of women and children, free medical care for the poor, did not assume much significance, due to the preoccupation of the planners with the strategy of growth and income poverty. Both the sixth and seventh plans can be seen as being influenced by the slogan "Garibi Hato" (Remove Poverty) created by the then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi.[21] The problem of rural poverty was brought into a sharper focus during the Sixth Plan. The Seventh Plan, too, emphasised growth with social justice. By realising the poverty situation in India, a sustainable strategy of poverty alleviation was adopted. It was based on increasing the productive employment opportunities in the process of growth itself. It was even realised that the process of growth bypasses some sections of the population. So, specific poverty alleviation programmes for the generation of a certain minimum level of income for the rural poor were formulated. Emphasis was placed on increasing people's participation in the rural development process, the decentralisation of planning, better enforcement of land reforms and greater access to credit and contributions to provide rural people with better prospects for economic development. Improvements in health, education, drinking water, energy supply, sanitation and housing, coupled with attitudinal changes, also facilitated their social development. The strategy of a direct attack on poverty was implemented through special employment programmes, area development programmes and land reforms. During the period of this plan, special focus was placed on the role of the Panchayati Raj institutions and voluntary organisations in the implementation of these programmes.[22]

The eighth Five-Year Plan (1992-97) was prepared in the context of widespread changes in the international, socio-economic order. During this period, centralised economies were opened up to free-market forces and competition. This plan also reflects the adoption of economic reforms and structural adjustments without sacrificing the imperatives of development. It was a landmark in the development strategy when poverty came to be recognised as not simply “a state of low income or consumption” but as the lack of freedom for a person to choose and live the valued life he/she wants. This was due to the impact on the planning of the Nobel Laureate, Amartya Sen’s work, “Development as Freedom”. The policy experts recognised that poverty is multifaceted in nature. It includes the state of health, the level of education, demographic characteristics, and the socio-cultural environment, which determines the access to development opportunities. It reflects that the “capability approach” was adopted in the Eighth Plan. The notion of “capability” as implied by Prof. Sen rests on the assessment of wellbeing and freedom to pursue wellbeing. The capability of a person basically reflects a person’s freedom to choose between different ways of living. Some of the basic capabilities which are crucial to living a life with dignity are being free from hunger, illiteracy and ill-health. When a person fails to realise these basic capabilities, then he may be considered as poor, since the lack of these capabilities constrains and cripples the person, not only in accessing economic opportunities but also in the enjoyment of other fundamental freedoms, which are equally important to live a life with dignity. Poverty could be conceived of as a “capability failure”[23] So, the policymakers and the planners introduced the poverty alleviation strategy with special programmes for building up the capabilities of the poor and the disadvantaged. Accordingly, the eighth Five-Year Plan document reflects human and social policies as crucial components of the strategy for ensuring “development with social justice”. A number of empirical studies during the late eighties had revealed the decline of poverty, but the conditions of some sections of society like women, children, the elderly and those with disability remained vulnerable, despite their inclusion in the development policy.[24] So, the elimination of poverty continues to be a major concern for development planning. The main instrument for achieving this objective was the expansion of employment opportunities and the augmentation of productivity and income levels of both the underemployed and the employed poor. This plan reflects adherence to an employment-oriented growth strategy. Some short-term employment strategies were also adopted through the existing special employment programmes, namely the IRDP and JRY. These were adopted to provide employment for the unemployed and underemployed, particularly among poor and vulnerable sections of society. A huge amount was allocated to the outlay for rural development just as in the previous two plans. But in this plan, resources were utilised more for building up rural infrastructure. Rural infrastructure was an essential pre-requisite for a more sustained system of employment and development. This plan also emphasised, like previous plans, the greater participation of the people in various Panchayati Raj institutions, cooperatives and other self-managed institutions. Such a step was initiated to reduce the dependence on the present development administration for delivery. It also brought certain changes in the broad strategy for rural development to protect poor and vulnerable sections of society from some of the burdens of structural adjustment. The midterm evaluation of the plan had reflected that the achievements had not been commensurate with the resources spent on them. In the case of the IRDP, the overdue payments of about half the beneficiaries had raised doubts about their ability to come out of the debt syndrome. This was due to the reluctance of the banks to raise the credit limit and a low level of assistance. Even in Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY), the employment provided in the lean season and the supplementary incomes were critical for the survival of many poor families. No steps were initiated for the maintenance of assets which were created by this. Such lacunae in the programmes forced the planning experts to integrate the various anti-poverty programmes with the sectoral programmes in a specified area, so as to ensure a sustainable increase in the employment and income of the rural poor and the infrastructural and environmental development of the area. A certain degree of flexibility was added into various programmes to leave the choice to the people at the local level based on their needs and priorities. In this regard, steps were initiated in various programmes like the JRY to channel funds directly to the village. Such initiatives during the Eighth Plan reflect the centralised model of development. Emphasis was given to the district plan, considering a district as a unit of planning. The plan recommended preparing a district plan, taking into account the physical and human strengths of that area with the needs of the people and the funds available. The Zilla Parisad and District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA) were vested with the responsibility of implementation and planning the district plan.[25]

The theme of sustainable development prevailed in the Ninth Five-Year Plan (1997-2002) as it had in the previous one.[26] It placed emphasis on agriculture and rural development with a view to generating adequate productive employment and the eradication of poverty. This plan also prioritised the issue of ensuring basic needs like food, nutritional security, safe drinking water, primary health care facilities, universal primary education, shelter etc. for all, particularly the vulnerable sections of society. It also promoted ensuring environmental sustainability of the development process through the social mobilisation and participation of people at all levels, including the Panchayati Raj institutions, cooperatives and self-help groups along with the empowerment of women and socially disadvantaged groups such as the SCs, the STs, other backward classes (OBC) and minorities, and strengthening efforts to build self-reliance. Such steps were initiated while realising that high growth of income by itself is not enough to improve the quality of life of the poor. The orientation of the plan was to provide more opportunities for involving the poor in the economic process, working towards strengthening the productive potential of the economy. It was acknowledged that poverty could only be effectively eradicated when the poor start was contributing to growth through their active involvement in the growth process. Implementation of the programmes should be increasingly based on approaches and methods which involve the poor themselves in the processes of poverty eradication and economic growth.[27]

Additional employment and income were generated for the sustenance of the poor and to alleviate their poverty. This plan also paid attention to the role of non-monetary policies and institutional arrangements. Such attention was paid with a realisation that spending money is not the only way of ameliorating the conditions of the poor. This plan emphasised the integration of rural poverty alleviation with area development programmes within a developmental plan at the district level. Various programmes were reformulated for achieving not only the short-term objective of providing temporary employment but also in building up the productive capacity of individuals/areas. Such steps consequently led to greater employment on a more sustainable basis. During this plan, an attempt was initiated to bring all rural poverty alleviation programmes like the DPAP and the DDP, the EAS and the Integrated Wasteland Development (IWDP) under a single ministry.[28] The Ninth Plan recognised the need to redesign and rationalise rural poverty alleviation programmes like the Integrated Rural Development Plan (IRDP) and its several sub-schemes were merged into a single self-employment scheme, i.e. the Swarnajayanati Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY).

To ensure growth with social justice and equality, the emphasis was placed on the participation of public and private sectors as well as all the tiers of government. In the context of the democratisation of the institutions and people's participation, assistance was provided to the states under the scheme to strengthen the planning machinery at state and district levels. In this regard, new guidelines were formulated for the various programmes keeping in view the enactment of the 73rd and 74thAmendment Acts. Through these Acts, the direction was given to states to set up and strengthen the Panchayati Raj institutions. Additional central assistance was also provided, with the flexibility for states in various schemes to achieve the objective of improving the quality of life.[29] In this, the PRIs, the voluntary organisations and community-based Self-Help groups were closely involved.[30] The thrust of the plan was the strengthening of the policy process from below. The plan highlighted the responsibility of the Panchayati Raj institutions to formulate and implement various programmes for economic development and social justice through the District Planning Committee. The plan noted that a village plan would be prepared as discussed in the Gram Sabha meetings. Consequently, this plan would be incorporated into the intermediate level plans and finally merged into a district plan. In this way, development planning would begin from below, reflecting people's aspirations within the constraints of the available physical and financial resources. The voluntary organisations were also given the responsibility to help the poor to form self-help groups (SHGs) with the objective of improving their economic status through concerted action. In this way, the PRIs, the voluntary organisations and the community would work together to bring about greater development at the local level, and consequently, poverty levels would be reduced. It was also expected that funds would be devolved to the Panchayats by states from their consolidated funds. In the same manner, allocations made by the central government under centrally sponsored schemes had been utilised by the PRI.[31]

The tenth Five-Year Plan (2002-2007) was formulated under the influence of the vision of the then Prime Minister of India, like, for example, the creation of 100 million employment opportunities over the next ten years and the results of the Ninth Plan. The end of the Ninth Plan resulted in a decline in employment generation due to lower central allocations in the JRY and an increase in the cost of creating employment. In regard to the IAY, the evaluation showed high levels of leakage, corruption and limitation of coverage due to resources. The percentage of the population in poverty had continued to decline but not as expected. The vision had been to reduce the poverty rate by nearly 7 percentage points over the period of the Tenth Plan through a proper sectoral and regional focus. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was also projected to increase by 8 per cent. The enlargement of self and waged employment programmes and their effective delivery became imperative during this plan. The approach of being group-based rather than an individual beneficiary was continued in this plan.[32] The basic thrust of the plan was based on the three-pronged strategy of the attainment of equity and social justice, along with high rates of growth.

This plan was formulated in the context of abject poverty and alarming gaps in social attainments, even after five decades of planning. It was produced to redefine the strategy of development and the role of both central and state governments. To achieve these targets, initiatives were introduced to reformulate policies and restructure institutions, bearing in mind the changes in the Indian economy and the rest of the world. Also, in this regard, the government's role was both expanded and restricted, especially in social and infrastructure areas. A state-wide break-up of the broad developmental approach was adopted, including targets for growth rates and social development with consistent national targets for ensuring the effective, balanced development of all states.

The growth-oriented approach had been reinforced by focusing on specific sectors which provide greater opportunities to participate in the growth process. The various dimensions of poverty relating to health, education and other basic services had been progressively internalised in the planning process.[33] The planners realised that successful implementation of development programmes requires adequate funds, an appropriate policy framework, systems for the formulation of suitable plans and effective delivery machinery. But the report on poverty reflected that fund availability was no panacea for tackling poverty, deprivation and low human development in India. Weak governance was the cause of poor service delivery, excessive regulation and uncoordinated and wasteful public expenditure. They were the key factors impinging on growth and development. So, initiatives were taken to reform governance in both the formulation and implementation aspects, and this was one of the cornerstones of the Tenth Plan. It became clear during this plan that a notion prevailed that bureaucracy was wooden, disinterested in public welfare and corrupt. Ineffective Panchayat Raj Institutions were also a factor in the poor delivery of basic services. To tackle all such hurdles and for effective service delivery, institutional reform was initiated.[34] Steps were taken to radically restructure an over-centralised system of governance through the decentralisation of power from the centre to the states, from the states to the districts, and to areas within the districts and to villages. This was done to empower the people, promote public participation and increase efficiency.[35]

The growth strategy was continued to create gainful employment opportunities and deal with policy constraints. The agricultural sector was prioritised to lead to the widest spread of benefits, especially for the rural poor. This sector was also assumed as critical for the sustainability of the development process. Investments in agriculture, area development programmes and afforestation provided avenues for employment and income.[36] Other sectors like construction, tourism, transport, small-scale industries (SSI), retail, IT and communication-enabled services, and a range of other new services were also addressed to create more employment opportunities.[37] Rural infrastructures was prioritised to support not only agriculture but all rural economic activities. Such a strategy was adopted with the realisation that the growth rate of rural incomes and a reduction in rural poverty were strongly influenced by the provision of rural road connectivity. [38] In order to achieve the objectives of food and nutritional security for the people, the previous plans of the state for poverty alleviation were continued with special programmes for providing employment to those living below the poverty line and ensuring access, for the targeted poor, to subsidised food grains. This plan also focused sharply on the problem of the labour force in the informal sector.[39]

In order to achieve effective participation, an emphasis was given to the role of the PR Institutions in the planning, implementation and monitoring of waged employment programmes. Steps were initiated to involve rural communities in the layout and design of houses under Indira Awas Yojana (IAY).[40] The Sampoorna Gramin Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) was replaced by the JRY and Employment Assurance Scheme. The SGSY was reformulated with a focus on social mobilisation and group formation.[41] The plan's vision was to ensure shelter for all by the end of the Eleventh Plan. The allocation was enhanced by the central and state governments for basic provisions like education, health, sanitation and other facilities which promote the capacity building and wellbeing of the poor. Special programmes were initiated for the welfare of the SCs, STs, disabled and other vulnerable groups.[42]

The review of the tenth five-year plan provides evidence of the transformation of policy with the emergence of a vibrant society, media and the evolution of a more dynamic and sensible judiciary. During this plan, the judiciary had taken a proactive role which is evidenced by the directives of the Supreme Court and other judiciary bodies to the central government and various state governments for the allocation of adequate resources, to ensure the people's participation in implementing and monitoring poverty alleviation programmes, the use of excess food stocks to run a food for work (FFW) scheme in drought-affected states and to serve cooked mid-day meals to primary school children. The MGNREGA and free education for children aged 6 to 14, as a fundamental right, are evident in this plan.[43]

The basic theme of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2007-2012) was "towards faster and more inclusive growth". Such a theme was adopted given the outcomes of the tenth five-year plan. It reflected the strength of our economy and the dynamism of the private sector in many areas, however, at the same time the plan failed to achieve in the context of inclusiveness, particularly in the mid-nineties. The benefits of growth had not reached everybody, as many people were still unable to access basic services such as health, education, clean drinking water and sanitation facilities. The agricultural crisis was due to the lack of importance placed on the agricultural sector. The impact of the Tenth Plan demonstrated a decline in poverty but only at a modest pace. Such a situation after the Tenth Plan led to widespread distress, migration, a debt trap, low farm income, and an increase in vulnerability. In such an environment, the Eleventh Five-Year Plan intended to put the economy on a sustainable growth trajectory with a growth rate of approximately ten per cent. It planned for productive employment at a faster pace with robust agricultural growth at 4 per cent by the end of this plan period. So, investment in the agricultural sector was increased. Agricultural growth was viewed as a source of direct employment, and a means to increase agricultural income. The vision of the Plan was to reduce poverty and bridge the various divisions that continued to fragment society. In this regard, steps were initiated to ensure access to basic physical infrastructure, as well as health and education services for all.[44] Both the tenth and eleventh five-year plans were influenced by the national common minimum programme of the UPA government. The strategy of rapid growth with inclusiveness was adopted to raise the income of the masses and improve their living conditions by providing basic facilities for all. In this regard, it was assumed that the rapid growth would be able to generate the resources which are consequently necessary to provide basic facilities like health, education, drinking water etc. for sustainable long-term growth. Another strategy, inclusiveness, was adopted to bridge divides and avoid the exclusion or marginalisation of large segments of the population.[45]

To support the growth strategy and ensure inclusiveness, this plan encouraged growth in the private sector, while ensuring a substantial increase in the allocation of public resources for Plan programmes in critical areas. During this plan, a focus was given to outcomes rather than outlays, including a disaggregated measure to examine their impact on different groups and genders in different programmes.[46] This plan also focused on improving women's socio-economic status by mainstreaming gender equity concerns in all sectoral policies and programmes. Special efforts had to be made to ensure that the benefits of government schemes accrue in appropriate proportions to women and girls.[47]

Not only was there an increase in the allocation to the agricultural and infrastructure sectors, but also rural poverty alleviation was visible in the eleventh five-year plan. The total outlay of budget allocation for rural development was Rs 74, 270 crores which accounted for 31 per cent of the total central budget plan provision in 2009-10. Rural development programmes covered employment programmes, such as the MGNREGA and the Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana, housing via the Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY), sanitation via the Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC) and provision of drinking water via the National Rural Drinking Water programme that was aimed at providing healthy and pure water for drinking.[48] During this plan, a certain change was visualised in order to achieve the plan's goal. The MGNREGS was expanded and spread throughout the country. The basic approach is a bottom-up, people-centred, demand-driven, self-selecting and rights-based design. But some lacunae, like a lack of awareness among people and the Panchayati Raj institutions, delays in wage payments and rigid bureaucratic procedures were revealed.[49] So, major reforms like an effective social audit system, people's active participation and PRI were initiated to support effective implementation and ensure adequate funding with a special focus on the SCs and STs.[50] Similarly, in the IRDP, there was a shift away from supporting individuals towards the formation of Self-Help Groups (SHGs) and organisations of the poor at the grass-roots level through a process of social mobilisation. This was redesigned as the National Rural Livelihoods Mission (NRLM) based on lessons learned from the implementation of the SGSY.[51] In the case of the Indira Awaas Yojana, the amount of financial assistance was increased to Rs 45,000 and Rs 48,500 in plain and hilly areas respectively. It was targeted to provide homestead sites by 2012 for anyone who had neither land nor a house site.[52] With a recognition of the infrastructure's role in poverty removal, a multi-pronged strategy like the Bharat Nirman was initiated. The basic objective was to address the gaps in rural infrastructure and it covered irrigation, road connectivity, housing, water supply, electrification, telephony etc. The other programmes like the Sarva Shikshya Abhiyan (SSA) and the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) were introduced for elementary education and primary health services respectively. Such initiatives reflect the vision of the government to support rural development and rural poverty alleviation. At the same time, the Backward Regions Fund was implemented to address the problem of regional imbalance and maintain the growth momentum.[53]

The thrust of the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012-17) is "Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth". It commenced due to the global economic crisis. During this plan, steps were initiated to bring the economy back to rapid growth, while ensuring both inclusive and sustainable growth, as it had slowed down to 6.2 per cent during 2011-12. In this context, a two-pronged strategy was adopted with the initial focus of bringing the imbalanced economy under control and reversing the slowdown, while also pushing for structural reforms in many areas critical for maintaining medium-term growth. Steps were proposed to emphasise not only the agricultural sector but also the infrastructure and manufacturing sectors. This plan was targeted to achieve 8 per cent growth and also sustainable, inclusive growth. Such a strategy was adopted to bring down the shared benefit of growth for the SCs, the STs, the OBCs, minorities and other disadvantaged groups.[54] The aim of the plan was to catalyse a growth process which has the structural characteristics needed to promote inclusiveness. A reduction of poverty is the key element in the inclusive growth model. The Twelfth Plan aims to accelerate agricultural growth further to 4 per cent. This plan also emphasises the participation of all stakeholders.[55] The adoption of a participation approach can be traced through the preparation of the Plan. The Planning Commission consulted the central government, state governments, local representatives, citizens, civil society organisations, and other stakeholders much more widely than ever before.[56] During this plan, various flagship developments were implemented, i.e. the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), the Indira Awas Yojana (IAY), the National Social Assistance Plan (NSAP), the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY), the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM), Integrated Child Development Schemes (ICDS), Mid-Day Meal (MDM), the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURAM), Accelerated Irrigation Benefit (AIBP) and other water resources, the Rajiv Gandhi Drinking Water Mission (RGDWM) and the Total Sanitation Campaign and the Rashtriya Vikas Yojana.[57]

A number of changes have been instituted in the architecture of the implementation of the Twelfth Plan to overcome the syndrome of universalisation without quality. This plan acknowledged the top-down approach in the formulation, implementation and the lack of a proper mechanism for the effective articulation of the needs and aspirations of the locals, especially the most vulnerable which are the basic causes behind the relative lack of the plan's success.[58] The results of the Eleventh Plan also reflected the reality of the poor in the implementation of the Centrally Sponsored Schemes. This plan emphasised reform, both in its formulation, for example, the flexibility in the design of the scheme to reflect the reality on the ground across states, and in the implementation of the flagship, schemes to achieve its targets. In this regard, steps like social mobilisation, capacity building, the strengthening of local institutions, building deeper partnerships with civil society organisations and the community were also initiated to determine the needs and aspirations of the people. A multifaceted approach towards the implementation of the policies has been adopted while relying on the professionalisation of public service delivery, Total Quantity Management, and innovation in the use of IT and other technologies to improve monitoring and supervision and to bring greater accountability.[59] The PRI has remained weak in its capacity to plan or implement effectively even after a massive transfer of funds to the PRI after the enactment of the MGNREGA. So, to avoid such a situation, additional funds have been deployed for the Rajiv Gandhi Panchayat Sashaktikaran Abhiyan to strengthen the human resource and systems capacities of the PRIs under the Twelfth Plan.[60]

The Twelfth Plan has proposed to restructure the CSSs and provide flexibility in the light of the recommendations of the B. K. Chaturvedi committee for improving their outcomes. This plan also emphasised the need for proper consultation with various stakeholders at the time of the formulation of schemes. Steps have been initiated to have learning and feedback mechanisms in place, to ensure effective implementation. Such a structure was expected to help in the diagnosis of issues during implementation and to identify and rectify problems using the flexibility components of the scheme.[61]

The most significant rural development initiative of the Eleventh Plan period was the implementation of the MGNREGS. The report of the Ministry of Rural Development reflects that, in the year 2011-12, nearly 5 crores (50 million) families were provided with over 211 crores (2,110 million) person-days of work under the scheme. The success in water harvesting and the ability to minimise distress migration highlight the success of the initiative. The formulation of the MGNREGA provided the opportunity to strengthen the Panchayati Raj Institution. Advanced information technology has been used to get rid of inefficiencies and corruption. This has been able to increase the wages of rural workers according to the data of the Ministry of Statistics and implementation. As per the NSSO data on landholding labour, the MGNREGA has impacted on raising the incomes of small and marginal farmers, mainly in tribal areas. The tightening of the labour market post-MGNREGA is not only a positive indicator of poverty alleviation but has also had a positive impact on agricultural productivity as revealed by various studies conducted by the Indian Institute of Science (IISC), Bangalore, the Indian Institute of Forest Management (IIFM), Bhopal, the Administrative Staff College of India (ASCI), Hyderabad etc. During this plan, steps have been taken to enlarge the worklist, not only for strengthening the synergy between the MGNREGA and agriculture, but also to fulfil the demand of the states for greater location-specific flexibility without compromising on the fundamental features of the Act or its architecture. Steps have been initiated to expand the list of works in response to the need to improve the ecological balance in rural India and provide a cleaner, healthier environment for people. The programmes focus on the creation of durable assets. As per the guidelines, the Gram Panchayat has been given the responsibility to determine the works in order of priority with a special mention that no contractors/labour-displacing machinery is to be used. New guidelines have been prepared to strengthen the demand-driven character of the MGNREGA and ensure more participation of the people and the Panchayati Raj Institution. Various roles have evolved, like District Officers, Block Officers and village level workers (VLW) and there is a social audit system for effective implementation, better vigilance and grievance redressal.[62]

The National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM) emerged as the centrepiece of India's battle against rural poverty during the Twelfth Plan. It had been designed to overcome the limitations of the SGSY. It was planned to be implemented in a phased manner for intensive implementation, keeping in mind the need to ensure the quality of outcomes and to avoid wasting resources. The key components of the Mission are the building of institutions for the poor; the promotion of financial inclusion; the diversification and strengthening of livelihoods; the promotion of convergence and partnerships between institutions of the poor and the government and non-governmental agencies; the promotion of skills; and placement support and support for livelihoods and social innovations. The major focus of the NRLM is to train the rural poor youth for both self-employment in micro-enterprises and job placement at entry-level in high growth sectors like textiles, construction, hospitality, retail, security, automobile, health, services and so on. This Mission targets support for one crore (million) young people and aims to nurture 30 lakhs (3 million) entrepreneurs from among the poor to enable them to set up micro-enterprises in this plan.[63] The Indira Awas Yojana has been passed through various reforms in both approach and institution, to ensure greater accessibility for the poorest in rural India. A permanent waiting list has been proposed to be displayed in all Gram Panchayats, in order to bring transparency in the selection of beneficiaries. The committee's report, constituted by the Ministry of Rural Development, for the formulation of Concrete Bankable Schemes for Rural Housing (2011) revealed that, although credit flow to the housing sector witnessed a growth of about 30 per cent over the last five years, lending to rural areas grew by only about 10 per cent. The quality of housing has also suffered due to inadequate financial support. In this context, the Twelfth Plan proposed to increase the unit of assistance for house construction under the IAY to Rs 65,000 in plain areas and to Rs 70,000 in hilly/difficult areas, with an increase each year to absorb the rising costs of material and labour. Steps have been taken within the guidelines to ensure a smoother transfer of funds from the centre to the state and, consequently, from the state to the DRDA of concerned Districts. In order to achieve the effective implementation and improve the quality of shelter, steps have been developed for the active participation of local stakeholders, such as the people, the Panchayati Raj and the NGOs.[64]

The critical review above of various five-year plans reflects the shift from a growth model to a redistribution model and, consequently, to an inclusive and sustainable growth model that has been adopted for the nation's development in general, and the alleviation of rural poverty in particular. The first shift in the development strategy was adopted during the 1960s when it was realised that a growth model as the principal means to alleviate poverty was not sufficient. So, various policies and programmes were redesigned, and new policies of income and asset redistribution with active state interventions were formulated. But this strategy was not enough to achieve poverty alleviation, as was recognised during the early nineties. So, by the end of the eighties, the focus was again shifted to growth, and the government accepted the policy of liberalisation. The adoption of the liberalisation policy reflected the faster growth in the economy. But the benefits of such growth had not been able to reach the poor, and this resulted in a heightened degree of social unrest, mostly in the countryside. Given this fact, an inclusive and sustainable approach towards growth was adopted towards the end of the nineties. The approach of the policies in rural poverty alleviation programmes has been changed from supply-driven to demand-driven, top-down to bottom-up etc. This change in approach applies not only to the policies and programmes but also reflects a different institutional approach towards the alleviation of poverty.

The Major Rural Poverty Alleviation Programmes- A Review

Several rural poverty alleviation programmes have been formulated and implemented regarding the alleviation of rural poverty, according to the demands and strategy of development. Presently, there are three major, centrally sponsored, flagship programmes, the Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana, the IAY and the MGNREGS, which have been implemented as the centrepiece of work to alleviate poverty.

The Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY) was launched on 1st April 1999, as a single self-employment programme with the merging of the IRDP and allied programmes including the Million Wells Scheme (MWS). It was formulated in view of the strengths and weaknesses of the above programmes. Its aim is to bring poor families up above the poverty line by supporting income-generating activities through the combination of bank credit and government subsidy.[65] It is conceived as a holistic approach to micro-enterprise development in rural areas with an emphasis on organising the rural poor into self-help groups, capacity-building, planning of activity clusters, infrastructure support, technology, credit and marketing linkages. It seeks to promote a network of agencies, namely, the District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs), Line Departments (to generate revenue by manufacturing and selling), banks, NGOs and Panchayati Raj institutions (PRIs). This scheme placed emphasis on social mobilisation and group formation rather than on individual beneficiaries as with the IRDP. It safeguards the weaker sections. It insists that 50 per cent of the self-help groups must be formed exclusively by women and that 50 per cent of the benefits should flow to the SCs and STs. There is also a provision of three per cent for disabled beneficiaries. However, the DRDAs are responsible for administering the programme. The SHG approach helps the poor to build their self-confidence through community action. Interactions in group meetings and collective decision-making enable them to identify and prioritise their needs and resources. This process would ultimately lead to the strengthening and socio-economic empowerment of the rural poor as well as improve their collective bargaining power. It is based on a cluster approach.[66]

The success of this depends upon the choice of activities. The choice of activities is based on local resources and aptitude, as well as people's skill and market demand. The selection of activities is based on a participative approach in which the Block SGSY committee plays an important role. Experience over the years and Evaluation Studies have shown that investments in land-based activities have resulted in income generation on a more sustainable basis. So, the Block SGSY committee gives priority to farm activities. As per the guidelines, the next priority is to give essential skills to support rural artisans. The unemployed youth are also involved in the programme through training. At the time of the selection of activities, the Block SGSY committee generally follows the report of the NABARD as well any other survey carried out by various banks, industrial/technical organisations etc., and consults with local Khadi and Village Industries, as well as with the District Manager of the District Industry Centre. The block committee interacts with the Sarpanches, the SHGs, the landless labour force, the educated unemployed, the rural poor and the artisan class to explore various strategies to enable the poor to rise above the poverty line by providing credit, technology, upskilling and marketing. In this process, the committee identifies about eight to ten activities. After that, the lists of activities are placed before the general body of the Panchayat Samiti and are later forwarded by the BDO to the district committee. The district SGSY committee scrutinises the proposals further with the relevant Line Department officials. The committee has the responsibility for fixing the unit cost and other techno-economic parameters. This committee is also empowered to add or delete any activities on the list of selected key activities with due justification. Consequently, the DRDA prepares a directory of selected key activities in the Districts which will be consolidated at the state level.

Institutional Arrangements

The Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana is implemented by the District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA) through the Panchayat Samitis and with the active involvement of other Panchayati Raj institutions, the banks, Line Departments and the NGOs.

SWAROZGARIS: The beneficiaries in the Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana are known as Swarozgaris. They can be either individuals or groups. This programme lays emphasis on the group approach rather than individual beneficiaries. Under this approach, the rural poor are organised into self-help groups (SHGs). The BPL census is the basis for the identification of families for assistance under the SGSY.

Self-Help Groups (SHGs): This basically focuses on the organisation of the poor at the grass-roots level through a process of social mobilisation for poverty eradication. This social mobilisation enables the poor to build their organisations (SHGs). In the SHGs, they participate fully and directly in decisions of all issues related to poverty eradication. These SHGs are informal groups. The groups can also register under the Societies

Registration Act, the State Cooperative Act or as a partnership firm. Social mobilisation and community organisation present a process-oriented approach which is different from a target-oriented approach.

District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA): The DRDA play an important role in initiating and sustaining the process of social mobilisation for poverty eradication through the formation, development and strengthening of the SHGs. The DRDA coordinate the implementation of the programmes. Their involvement is critical in the organisation of the SHGs and their capacity building, as well as in terms of coordination with the technical institutions for technology and training, the banks for planning and credit mobilisation, the Line Departments for infrastructure and technical follow-up and also in coordinating the marketing activities.

The Panchayat Raj Institution (PRI): the Gram Panchayat plays a crucial role in the SGSY. As per the rules, the list of BPL families is approved by the Gram Sabha. The guidelines of the SGSY also reflect the fact that the identification of key activities is designed by three-member committees, including the Sarpanch. The Gram Panchayat also keeps a vigilant eye on the performance and repayment of the loans by the Swarozgaris. At the block level, the Panchayat Samiti approves the key activities. It also reviews the report of the block SGSY committee, particularly the recovery performance. At the district level, the Zilla Parisad reviews the performance of the SGSY in its general meetings.

Banks: the SGSY is a credit-cum-subsidy. Credit is a key component and subsidy is only a minor and enabling component of the programme. In regard to credit and subsidy, the banks play a very critical role in the implementation of the programme. Banks are consulted at each stage of the implementation like the identification of key activities, clusters, the formation of self-help groups, the identification of individual beneficiaries and the planning stage of all key activities of the programmes. The banks also have the final say in the selection of Swarozgaris. The programme has mentioned the banks as the mechanisms for post-credit monitoring as well as loan recovery.

The Line Department**:** The Line Department plays a vital role in the implementation and monitoring of the activities of the respective sectors. Its responsibility starts with the identification of key activities and the preparation of project reports and continues with the creation of the infrastructure and the provision of technical assistance to the Swarozgaris. It also verifies the requirements of and the quality of training for the Swarozgaris. The Line Department assists the DRDA in ensuring the ability of the programme and Swarozgaris to derive the expected levels of income.

NGOs: The programme reflects the active participation of the NGOs. They also play a crucial role in the formation and capacity building of the SHGs and in monitoring the progress of the Swarozgaris. The service of the NGOs can also be utilised for the provision of technical support and for quality control of the products, wherever feasible.

The block-level SGSY committee: The guidelines of the programme reflect the formation of a block-level SGSY committee in each block. The block-level committee meets regularly between the 5^{th} and 10^{th} of every month. The composition of the committee is as follows: the Project Director of the DRDA as Chairperson, the Block Development Officer as the Convenor and the members are the Project Officer (Self-employment), the Branch Manager of all the implementing bank branches in the Block, one NGO representative and the block level or Sub-Division Level officers of the departments concerned. The basic functions of the committee are the selection of key activities, the villages, the number of Swarozgaris; the distribution of the work among the bank branches; monitoring the performance of different agencies coordination issues in respect of infrastructure, credit, technology and marketing; a review of the income being earned by the Swarozgaris; the recovery performance and progress of the Swarozgaris in crossing the poverty line; and the preparation of a monthly progress report of the programme.

The district-level SGSY committee: district committees are formed under the chairmanship of the District Collector or Chief Executive Officer in each district. This committee meets every month to review the progress of the SGSY and suggests corrective actions, where necessary. The composition of the District SGSY committee includes a lead bank officer as Convener, and the members include the DDM of the NABARD, the LDO of the RBI, the district level coordinators of the implementing banks, the Heads of the relevant district level line departments, the General Manager, the DIC, the District KVIB officer, the Project Director, the DRDA and two or three NGO representatives. The various functions of the district SGSY committee include a review of the SGSY Plan, to monitor and review the overall progress in physical and financial terms, sorting out inter-agency differences and to prepare items for consideration by the state-level committee, to monitor the recovery position, bank-wise and block-wise, and to initiate corrective measures, wherever necessary.

The state-level SGSY Committee: The Department of Rural Development at the state level is responsible for planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating the programme at the state level. As per the guidelines, a state-level SGSY committee has been set up to oversee the implementation and performance of the programme. The composition of the committee is as follows: the Chief-Secretary or Development Commissioner as Chairperson, the Secretary in charge of Rural Development as Member Secretary, and then the members are the Secretary of the Institute of Finance, the Planning Secretary in charge of Women's Development, the Secretary in charge of Welfare of the SC/STs, a representative of NABARD (Local Head of Regional Office), a representative of the RBI, a representative of the relevant implementing banks at state headquarters, a representative of the government of India (not below the rank of Deputy Secretary), the Director of the State Institute for Rural Development (SIRD) and the Convener of the State Level Bankers Committee (SLBC). The basic functions of the committees are to provide leadership and guidance in the planning, implementation and monitoring of the programme, to review, monitor and evaluate district-wise progress and to review the involvement of the NGO in the SGSY.

The central level coordination committee (CLCC): The Department of Rural Development under the Ministry of Rural Development of the government of India has overall responsibility for policy formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the programme. The Ministry also releases its share of funds for the programme. The guidelines say that the formation of the CLCC is to assist the Department. Generally, this committee meets once every six months. The committee comprises of the Secretary for the Ministry of Rural Development as Chairperson together with the Joint-Secretary for the Department of Rural Development, and the other members are the Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture & Cooperation, the Secretary of the Department of Expenditure, the Special Secretary of the Banking Division, Ministry of Finance, the Secretary of the Department of Women and Child Development, the Secretary of the Department of Small-Scale & Agro-related Industries, the Secretary of the Department of Science & Technology, the Secretary of the Ministry of Welfare, the Managing Director of NABARD, the Adviser (Rural Development) to the Planning Commission, the Additional Secretary of the Ministry of Rural Development, the State Secretaries of Rural Development, the Managing Directors of all commercial sector banks, the Director-General of CAPART, the Director-General of NIRD, and the Chairman of the Indian Banks Association. The functions of the CLCC include to review and ensure the effective implementation of the programmes; to review connections between support services for the SGSY; to review the progress of these programmes in physical, financial and qualitative terms, including credit assistance; to consider concurrent evaluation reports; to provide a forum for a continuous dialogue with the state governments and the bankers, and to review the credit arrangements and recommend changes and improvements as and when necessary.

The Funding Pattern

The Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY) is a centrally sponsored scheme. The financial allocation has been shared between the centre and the states in the ratio of 75:25. The central allocation is based on the incidence of poverty in the States and additional parameters like absorption capacity (based on past trends of the utilisation of SGSY funds), and special requirements have also been taken into consideration during the course of the year. The central share has been transferred directly to the DRDAs. Devolution to the blocks may be decided by the Governing Body of the DRDA based on the level of poverty and other local factors.[67]

Restructuring the SGSY: The National Rural Livelihood Mission

The SGSY has been restructured during 2010 as the National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM) based on the weaknesses and strengths of the implementation of the programme. The objectives of the NRLM are the implementation of programmes with greater emphasis on federations of SHGs. This programme also provides flexibility to the states for designing specific action plans for the alleviation of poverty through a demand-driven strategy and the introduction of an interest-based subsidy to encourage the repayment of loans and multiple doses of credit. The programmes also focus on training and capacity building efforts through the setting up of skill training institutes in each district and the introduction of mechanisms of social audit for better monitoring. The vision is to create a platform that enables industries and their associations to integrate better micro-enterprises set up by SHGs/federations into the larger macro-economic environment in the country. Steps are underway to facilitate marketing links so that SHG products are able to access global markets.[68]

The IAY is a flagship scheme of the Ministry of Rural Development as part of a larger strategy of rural poverty eradication. This programme was formulated in order to reduce poverty and to provide the dignity of an address to poor households, enabling them to access different rural development programmes. Consequently, this scheme became a part of the national vision of “shelter for all”. The objective of this approach is to achieve adequate shelter for all, especially the deprived urban and rural poor through an enabling approach leading to the development of improved access to basic facilities such as infrastructure, safe drinking water, sanitation, electricity etc. A home contributes significantly to the wellbeing and is essential for a person's social and economic development. It supports livelihoods and promotes social integration.[69]

Public housing started with the rehabilitation of refugees immediately after the partition of India. In 1957, a formal village housing scheme was launched as a part of community development. The housing programmes were enlarged, and the construction of houses was taken up as a major activity under the National Rural Employment Guarantee (NREGP) in 1980 and the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee (RLEGP) in 1983. During the seventh five-year plan, the IAY was launched as a sub-scheme of the RLEGP and, from April 1989, as a sub-scheme of the JRY. In the Eighth Plan, the IAY was detached from the JRY and became an independent scheme on 1st January 1996.[70]

Target Group-the thrust of the programme is to provide financial assistance to rural BPL families (either houseless or having inadequate housing facilities) for the construction of a safe and durable shelter. The beneficiaries are to be identified by the community identified by certain criteria as suggested by the guidelines of the IAY.[71] Under the IAY, since 1985, nearly 285 lakh houses have been constructed with an expenditure of about Rs 84,234 crore. The twelfth five-year plan has been proposed to provide assistance under the IAY to households in order of priority, to be determined on the basis of the other indicators of deprivation identified by the Socio-Economic and Caste Census.[72]

Funding Pattern-as it is a flagship of the central government, the financial share ratio between the centre and the State is 75:25, excluding the component for the provision of house sites. But in the north-eastern states, the ratio is 90:10. The cost of providing house sites is shared between the centre and the State as 50:50, but the full cost will be provided by the government of India in respect of Union Territories.[73] Since 2005-06, the allocation of funds has been based on the criteria of the housing shortage (75%) and poverty ratio (25%). Before that, it was considered equally, and the guidelines assume that the same criteria would be followed by the Districts for reallocating the funds to blocks. Generally, funds are routed by the DRDA. The announcement by the then Prime Minister on 15 August 2005, to construct 15 lakh houses per annum as part of the IAY scheme, comes under the Bharat Nirman. But from the years 2005-2009, no separate provision for any additional funding was allocated. The share of the government of India in the IAY has been transferred directly to Districts on the basis of the consolidated proposal. As is usual in the programmes, the state government releases its share to the districts within 15 days of the release of the central share.[74]

The funds (the central share as well as the state share) at the district level shall be kept in a nationalised bank in an exclusive and separate Savings Bank account by the Zilla Parishad/DRDA. The DRDA follows the accounting procedures prescribed by the Ministry of Rural Development. As per the government of India, all the funds are audited by the CAG.[75]

Sixty per cent of the funds provided under IAY is meant for the benefit of those in SCs and STs and 15 per cent of the funds for those among the minorities, whereas at least 3 per cent of beneficiaries are from among persons with disabilities. 4 per cent is used for administrative expenditure, out of which only 0.5 per cent is retained at the state level and the balance is distributed to the districts as per the guidelines.[76]

Payments to beneficiaries, as per the guidelines, are transferred only through her/his Bank/Post Office account, except in cases where prior permission to pay in cash has been given by the empowered committee.[77] The subsidy is authorised either in the name of the female member of the household or jointly in the names of both spouses.[78] As per the recent guidelines of 2013, the total allocation, including money from the centre and the state, for the construction of new houses in plain areas is Rs 70,000 per unit, whereas, in hilly States and difficult areas including the IAP district, the total allocation is Rs 75,000.[79] Does this now happen through mobile phones?

Implementing Agencies: the Zilla Parisad is responsible for implementing the IAY with the DRDA's coordination at the district level and the Gram Panchayat at local level.[80]

Empowered committee—as per the guidelines of the IAY, an empowered committee is chaired by a Secretary or an Additional Secretary of Rural Development with other members like a Joint Secretary (Rural Housing), Adviser (Planning Commission), a representative of HUDCO, a representative of Knowledge Network, representatives of two eminent NGOs from the field of building construction, Awaas Yojana (IAY), a representative of the Ministry of Rural Development, a Secretary dealing with rural housing in the state concerned, and a representative of IFD.

The basic functions of the committee are as follows: to approve the State's criteria for the determination of difficult areas; to decide on targets for the completion and construction of new houses; to approve any alternative formula adopted by the States for the district-wide allocation; to decide on any reallocation of funds; to sanction special projects for the

5 per cent allocation; to clear special projects for subsidy-linked schemes availing bank loans; to permit cash payments temporarily in exceptional cases; to permit the transfer of the central share by a state agency in a single instalment to difficult areas; to approve new construction technologies proposed by state governments which have not been approved by any technical body; to issue clarifications in matters where there are genuine difficulties in operationalising the guidelines.[81]

Selection of Beneficiaries-at the time of the selection of beneficiaries among the BPL families by the Gram Panchayat, the first priority will be given to families of scavengers, including rehabilitated labourers. Thereafter, the beneficiaries will be chosen on the following basis:

Women in difficult circumstances, including widows, those divorced or deserted; women who are victims of atrocities and those whose husbands have been missing for at least three years; families headed by women; the disabled (minimum of 40 per cent); transgender persons; the widows and the next-of-kin of members of the defence/paramilitary/police forces killed in action (even if not BPL); households with a single girl child; households where a member is suffering from Leprosy or Cancer; people living with HIV (PLHIV), and other homeless BPL families. Such a selection of beneficiaries as per the priority list has been stated in the guidelines to ensure coverage of the most vulnerable people. The above-suggested priority needs to be followed for SCs, STs, persons with disabilities, minorities and others. There is flexibility in the guidelines with regard to deciding the proportion of houses to be taken up following the habitation approach and scattered individual beneficiaries.[82]

Construction of houses-the guidelines state that the construction of houses should be carried out by the beneficiary himself/herself without the involvement of any contractor or any government department/agencies. But the government agencies can provide technical assistance or arrange for a coordinated supply of material such as cement, steel or bricks or prefabricated components as needed. But, in extraordinary situations, reputable agencies can be involved in the construction of houses in the case of very old beneficiaries, above sixty years of age, and persons with disabilities. Such involvement is only possible after a written request. The guidelines have specified that the work should be completed within two years from the date of the sanction of the first instalment. In case of delay, it should be completed within three years as per the guidelines. After the completion of the work, the Zilla Parisad ensures the completion of the construction of each house. Usually, a board should be displayed indicating the IAY logo, the year of construction, the name of the beneficiary etc.[83]

The Role of Self-Help groups, NGOs and Panchayati Raj institutions—The IAY programmes recognise the role of the SHGs and NGOs. Both facilitate all the services related to rural housing like the provision of design and architecture, housing finance, and the supervision of construction. The government recognises the supportive role of the NGOs for the Panchayati Raj Institution, in tracking demand and monitoring the implementation of schemes.[84] Panchayati Raj institutions are central to effective housing development in rural areas. The PRIs play a key role in tracking need and monitoring implementation at a local level. The Gram Panchayat (GP) plays a crucial role in the implementation of the scheme, from the selection of the beneficiaries to completion of the work. The GP selects the beneficiaries as per the prescribed guidelines, finalises the five-year priority list, the annual selection list of beneficiaries and facilitates the access of materials required for construction at reasonable rates. It monitors the programme at every stage of construction and discusses this in monthly meetings. The GP plays a proactive role in the conduct of a social audit for the programme. Various committees like the Special Functional committee or the Task Force are constituted by the GP, with the elected head as chairperson, and volunteers from SHGs, representatives of NGOs/Civil Society Organisations and local officials as its members for better coordination of the different activities under the IAY.[85]

The Panchayat Samiti, which is at the intermediate level of the Panchayati Raj Institution, provides the technical assistance required, especially relating to building materials and construction technologies. It is the custodian of publications and electronic materials on different aspects of construction and proactively disseminates their contents. The grievance redressal mechanism for beneficiaries has been evolved at this level. It always plays a proactive role in getting the houses completed without delay.[86]

The upper level of the Panchayati Raj Institution, i.e. the Zilla Parisad plays a coordinating role in the overall implementation of the programme in the district. It also ensures that the different provisions of the guidelines are adhered to in practice. It has responsibility for monitoring the progress of the scheme and ensuring a smooth flow of funds.[87] Like at the Panchayat Samiti level, the grievance redressal mechanism has been constituted in the Zilla Parisad as per the guidelines. Both the grievance redressal mechanisms deal with issues like irregularities in the selection of beneficiaries, the release of instalments, non-provision of support services, non-provision of convergence schemes and a refusal to agree to the choice of design/construction technology made by the beneficiary.[88]

Monitoring-the programme has been monitored at all levels and with a special emphasis on the quality and timely completion of the construction. New technology has been used for updates related to the progress of the work on the ground. All the data related to beneficiaries, the progress of construction and the release of funds, including photographs and inspection reports, have been placed on the software, Awaas Soft. The IAY provision reflects the fact that the National Level Monitors and Area Officers have the responsibility to visit the IAY houses during field visits as much as possible. The officers at the block level and district level have the responsibility to inspect the construction of 10 per cent and 20 per cent of the houses at each stage of construction from a random list generated by Awaas Soft. Not only the Panchayat Raj Institutions, but the state government has the responsibility to put in place a system of quality monitoring to guide and assist the beneficiary in achieving a satisfactory quality. The Management Information System has been set up to facilitate governance of the IAY. The System is designed for all stakeholders of the IAY, including the beneficiary.[89] The MGNREGA, The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) was notified on 7 September 2005 as the latest initiative to combat poverty. It visualises the regeneration of the rural economy by creating productive assets like water harvesting tanks, watershed development and the planting of trees for soil and moisture conservation. This Act was implemented all over India except in Jammu and Kashmir. The Act came into force on 2nd February 2006 and was implemented in a phased manner. The MGNREGA is a village level activity which is implemented through the Panchayati Raj institutions. People's participation in the basic principle for the implementation of the MGNREGA. It is not merely an Act; it is a historic Act which is based on the right to work and demand-driven programmes rather than on an allocation basis. The Act came into existence as per Article 41 which explains that the state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want. Article 21 "Right to life and liberty" is also responsible for the formulation of the MGNREGA.[90]

The MGNREGS is the flagship of the government of India that directly touches the lives of the poor and promotes inclusive growth. The basic aim of it is to enhance the livelihood security of households in rural areas of the country by providing at least one hundred days of guaranteed, waged employment in a financial year to every household. It resulted in the creation of productive assets of prescribed quality and durability. The Act ensures social inclusion and strengthens the PRI.[91] The MGNREGS is centrally sponsored, where the central government shoulders the major part of the financial burden, and the implementation resides with the state government. At the time of the formulation of the Act and Scheme, the previous successes and failures of programmes like the NREP, the RLEGP, the JRY, the EAS, the JSGY, the SGRY, and the NFFWP were seriously considered. The programme is one of universal targeting to remove the bureaucratic discretion, which has been the major source of corruption, delay and leakage. This scheme came into force to address the crucial issues of unemployment and rural poverty with key features of decentralised planning and implementation and effective people's participation, with more importance given to women and the weaker sections of society. This programme is a paradigm shift from supply-based to demand-based by the workers. In the year 2006, the SGRY and the NFFWP were merged with the MGNREGS.[92]

The basic objective is to provide for the enhancement of livelihood security of the rural households of the country by providing at least one hundred days of guaranteed, waged employment in every financial year to every household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work.[93] Thus, the NREGA fosters conditions for inclusive growth ranging from basic wage security and recharging the rural economy to a transformative empowerment process of democracy.[94] The major goal of the programme is to enhance the livelihood security of the rural poor by generating waged employment opportunities in works that develop the infrastructure base of the area concerned, rejuvenating the resource base of the area concerned, creating a productive rural asset base, stimulating the local economy by providing a safety net to the rural poor, ensuring the empowerment of women, and strengthening grass-roots democratic institutions etc.[95] This scheme has been implemented in a phased manner. In the first phase, it was introduced in 200 of the most backward districts of the country. In the second phase (the Year 2007-2008), it was implemented in an additional 130 districts. In the third phase, the Act was notified in the remaining 285 rural districts of India from the 1st April 2008.[96] On the 2nd October 2009, it was renamed as the Act MGNREGA.[97]

The MGNREGS, as per the guidelines, implements the Act through various procedures, such as applications for registration, issuing job cards, applications for work, work allotment, registrations of households, the nature of work, wage material ratios, facilities on the worksite, time-bound employment, payment etc. The key features include provisions like a social audit, special provision for persons with disability and vulnerability groups, vulnerable tribal groups etc.

The rights-based MGNREGS emphasises the participation of people in the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the programme. The system of a social audit is a democratic participation approach in the context of evaluation in the MGNREGS. It is a process by which the people, the final beneficiaries of any scheme, policy or law, are empowered to audit such schemes, programmes, policies and laws. This is an ongoing process by which the potential beneficiaries and other stakeholders of an activity or project are involved in the planning, monitoring and evaluation of that activity or project.[98] In the context of the MGNREGA, the basic objective of a social audit is to ensure public accountability in the implementation of projects. In the case of the MGNREGS, a social audit can be taken up in any of the four stages, such as in the planning stage, the preparation stage, the implementation stage and after the completion of the work.[99]

The Gram Sabha will do the social audit regularly, once every six months. For this, the Gram Sabha will elect from itself a social audit committee of workers from the same Gram Panchayat who have worked in current or previous works under the MGNREGA as per the provision. In the social audit committee, at least one-third of members should be women.[100] The MGNREGA[101] is a complex plot of many actors and authorities.[102] It is based upon a decentralised framework, so from top to bottom, specific institutions are associated with the MGNREGA at specific levels. At the central level, the Central Employment Guarantee Council has been set up under the chairmanship of the Union Minister of Rural Development. The Central Employment Guarantee Council has been assigned specific roles and responsibilities. It has set up a central evaluation and monitoring system. The Council advises the central government on all matters regarding the implementation of the Act. It reviews the monitoring and redressal mechanisms from time to time and recommends required improvements. It has the responsibility for the widest circulation of information regarding the scheme. The Council monitors the implementation of the Act and prepares annual reports of the implementation of this the Act to be laid before Parliament.[103] At the state level, the scheme is to be monitored by a State Employment Guarantee Council. The state council is essentially an advisory body for the state government. For instance, the state council is expected to advise the state government regarding the schedule of rates, unemployment allowances and monitoring arrangements. Other responsibilities of the state council include preparing a list of preferred works to be taken up on a priority basis, conducting an evaluation of the scheme and preparing an annual report to be laid before the state legislature.[104] At the district level, the supervision of the scheme is the responsibility of the District Coordinator. The District Coordinator is expected to coordinate the work of the officers. The responsibilities of the District Coordinator include conducting regular inspections of the works in the District, sanctioning works that are not within the jurisdiction of officers, assisting the District Panchayats and preparing an annual report for the state council.[105] At the block level, the Officer, acts as the coordinator for the MGNREGS. The primary responsibility of the Programme Officer (PO) is to ensure that every applicant is provided with unskilled manual work in accordance with the provision of the scheme within 15 days. Alongside this, the Officer is assigned with a specific responsibility and functions: to prepare a plan for the Block by consolidating the project proposals prepared by the Gram Panchayats and other implementing agencies; to match the demand for employment with the employment opportunities available in the block; to receive applications for work and issue a dated receipt to the applicant; to notify applicants to report for work, (this responsibility is shared with the Gram Panchayat); to ensure quick and fair payment of wages to all labourers employed under the NREGS; to sanction and distribute the unemployment allowance; to sanction projects to be taken up by the Gram Panchayats, as by other implementing agencies within the jurisdiction of the officer; to monitor the projects taken up by the Gram Panchayats and implementing agencies; to ensure that regular social audits of all works are carried out by the Gram Sabha; to deal promptly, within seven days, with any complaint that may arise in connection with the implementation of the scheme; to prepare an annual report on the implementation of the MGNREGS in the Block.[106]

The Gram Panchayat

The Gram Panchayat is the main agency which implements the scheme. It has the authority to select, design and implement 50 per cent of works. It prepares a development plan and maintains a list of possible works to be taken up under the MGNREGS, taking into account the recommendations of the Gram Sabha. It registers the names of those who are willing to work and issues them with job cards. The Gram Panchayat receives applications for work and issues a dated receipt to the applicant. It allocates work opportunities to the applicants and asks them to report for work. It implements works that have been sanctioned by the programme officer. It also makes all relevant documents available to the Gram Sabha for the purpose of social audits. It keeps a copy of the muster rolls available for public scrutiny at the Panchayat office and prepares an annual report on the implementation of the scheme.[107]

The Gram Sabha is the authority at ground level who implements the MGNREGS. In the Gram Sabha meetings, the wage seekers have their say about their problems and demands for work. The Gram Sabha is expected to monitor the work of the Gram Panchayat and also to participate in the planning process. In particular, the Gram Sabha will discuss and prioritise the works to be taken up, conduct regular social audits of all works carried out in the Panchayat and verified all the reverent documents.[108]

Summing up, the critical analysis of the SGSY, the IAY and the MGNREGS above reveals the strategy for and the institutional approach towards the reduction of rural poverty. The guidelines of various programmes show the dominance of the central government in the context of the planning, monitoring, evaluation and allocation of the budget in the aforementioned three programmes. It has been observed that a major share has been transferred directly, bypassing the state from the central government to district institutions like the DRDA. This is reflected in the notion of decentralisation, as the Union government is attempting to keep direct contact with the district administration. Such a process may be described as the implicit control of the central government. Even the report of the Second Commission of Centre-State Relations in 2010 reflects such a view.[109] This chapter critically examines the various approaches of the development models and poverty alleviation programmes through an analysis of various five-year plans. It reveals the Union government's hegemony towards the formulation of the various poverty alleviation programmes. It also demonstrates the changes in policy towards poverty within the political context. Poverty has been used as a voting issue in politics. The shift of the government institutions also reflects the centralisation of the various institutions. This situation has come about because of the lack of power in local self-government. This chapter also narrates the process of the transfer of power from the centre to local self-government.

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Chapter Four

Taking Account of the Social Dimension and the Role of the State

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005 (NREGA) guarantees 100 days of employment in a financial year to any rural household whose adult members are willing to do unskilled manual work. This Act has been implemented by the government of India under the Ministry of Rural Development. It is a flagship programme of the government that directly touches the lives of the poor and promotes inclusive growth. NREGA is the first international law that guarantees waged employment on an unprecedented scale. The primary objective of the Act is augmenting waged employment. On 2 October 2009, it was renamed as the MGNREGA.[1]

The Act came into force on 2 February 2006 and was implemented in a phased manner. In Phase I, it was introduced in 200 of the most backward districts of the country. It was implemented in an additional 130 districts in Phase II (2007-2008). The Act was notified in the remaining 285 rural districts of India from 1 April 2008 in Phase III.[2]

The Act is an important step towards the realisation of the right to work. It is also expected to enhance livelihoods on a sustained basis by developing the economic and social infrastructure in rural areas. The choice of work seeks to address the causes of chronic poverty such as drought, deforestation and soil erosion. Effectively implemented, the employment guaranteed under the Act has the potential to transform the geography of poverty.[3]

NREGA is the most significant act in the history of Indian polity in many ways, such as the grass-roots level participation of every citizen and beneficiary through the democratic process, a multi-layered social audit and transparency mechanism through the involvement of civil society, comprehensive planning at village level towards sustainable and equitable development, etc. An important salient feature of the Act is to improve the quality of life of rural households who are vulnerable to migration in search of daily waged employment by channelling the waged workforce towards developmental activities at the village level itself.

The scheme, which was initially in progress in the first phase of 200 districts during its cognitive stage, has generated a lot of enthusiasm among social scientists and NGOs and led them to initiate several surveys of their own. The surveys, as in the case of any other scheme, are centred on the end results such as targeting all the needy beneficiaries, and the implementation of the Act in spirit and to the letter. The scheme is gigantic in nature and, in the process of implementation and achieving the desired output, and there are many issues which are straddling the implementing agencies right from the District to the Gram Panchayat.

MGNREGS is the first programme in India which gives a legal guarantee for a minimum of 100 days of work in a financial year under a public work programme (PWP). A public work programme includes “all the activities which entail payment of wages (in cash or kind) by the state or by an agent acting on behalf of the state in return for a provision of labour in order to enhance employment, produce an asset (either physical or social) with the overall objective of promoting social protection for participants”. The Act especially focuses on the involvement of SC/ ST households in rural India.

MGNREGS has evolved as a major employment programme through its track record in designing and executing schemes providing employment. It can be seen as an improvement over its predecessors. The employment envisaged under the scheme is defined as a Constitutional right, so the state offers a guaranteed 100 days of employment each year to one unemployed work-seeker from any rural household. It provides common people with rights to seek employment in a legal framework and approaches development through the socio-economic empowerment of the poor and marginalised. As this programme has legal sanctions, if anybody does not get work within 15 days of applying for a job, he/she has every right to receive compensation for work and payment should be made within 15 days of the completion of the work. The basic objectives of the programme are to strengthen the livelihood resources, enhance the purchasing power of rural households and increase the capacity to alleviate hunger.

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) came into being on 7 September 2005. It was enacted in order to address the crucial issues of unemployment and poverty in rural India. The NREGA guarantees one hundred days of unskilled employment to each household every financial year at an equal rate for both male and female workers. Through the NREGA, it is important not to create durable assets in the rural areas of the country.

The MGNREGA is a village level activity which is implemented through the Panchayati Raj institutions. Participation is the basic principle for the implementation of MGNREGA. It is not merely an Act; it is a historic Act which is based on the right to work and demand-driven programmes rather than on the basis of allocation. For the enactment of this historical Act, several factors remain in the background. These can be categorised as philosophical and theoretical ideas, constitutional promises, the political context, agricultural and rural economy problems, social problems and existing prior employment programmes.[4]

To regain lost political power, the Indian National Congress party started its pro-poor campaigning in the 2004 general elections to regain its pro-poor image. Realising the electoral importance of rural constituencies that still dominate the Indian parliament and to dismiss their negative perceptions about economic reforms, the party promised in its election manifesto the intention to bring suitable schemes and policies for the development of rural areas and rural poor people.[5] The aim of this manifesto was to gain poor rural support in the election. After coming to power with coalition support and to keep the commitment, the United Progressive Alliance (UPA-1) launched the NREGS programme. MGNREGS and other pro-poor programmes launched by congress during UPA-1 led to success in the 2009 general election.[6] Agriculture is considered as the backbone of the Indian economy. The agricultural sector still provides a livelihood for the majority of the population, and 56.5 per cent of the total workforce depends upon agriculture. The condition of Indian agriculture became much worse during the reform period of the Indian economy. The growth rate in agriculture has declined from 3.08 per cent in the 1980s to 2.57 per cent in the reform periods (1992-93 to 2004-2005). The sectoral contribution of agriculture in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has decreased, but there was no important decline in the number of the workforce dependent upon agriculture for their livelihood. This indicates a relative decline in labour productivity in agriculture compared to other sectors. It has been noted that, due to an increasing dependency on agriculture and a decline in productivity, the level of disguised unemployment in the agricultural sector has increased.[7]

Increasing debt and rising suicide rates among farmers shows that agriculture is in distress. As per the report of the Expert Group (Government of India 2009a) on agricultural debt in 2007, based on the NSSO Situation Assembly survey of farmers in 2003, 48.6 per cent of farmers in India were in debt. The percentage of indebted farmers varied across states but was high in Andhra Pradesh (82%), Tamil Nadu (74.5%) and Haryana (53.1%). It was relatively low in the poor states of Bihar

(33%), Uttar Pradesh (40.3%) and Odisha (47.8%). The average of all of India's debt was 12,585 rupees, but this varied across the states. It was high in Punjab (41,576 rupees), Andhra Pradesh (23,965 rupees), Kerala (33,907 rupees) and in some other states. The suicide rate has increased among farmers in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Punjab with a high incidence of debt.[8]

Rural India contains the largest portion of the population (70%) as well as an estimated labour force of 467 million in 2004-2005; 348 million (71.4%) lived in rural areas, and the majority of them (56.5%) earned their livelihoods from agriculture. This shows a low level of diversification of occupation in the rural areas.

The declining productivity of agriculture, the surplus of farmers, the increasing disguised unemployment and the homogenous occupation in the rural economy have caused large scale inter-state migration from rural to urban areas. The forced migrants from the rural areas are unable to get regular employment, and they become casual labourers in the cities. The labourer's low income and high living costs in urban areas resulted in poor living conditions.[9] To tackle those highlighted issues, NREGA provided guaranteed rural employment by assuring 100 days of guaranteed work.

During the reform period, India faced a series of social and political movements such as public riots, backward class mobilisation for job reservation, Dalit and backward class assertions, farmers' unrest, a people's movement against land acquisition for industrialisation, Naxalism, unemployment, etc. So, it can be said that the NREGA addressed such issues and problems. The path of India's anti-poverty programme keeps on changing from time to time. The land-based approach of 1970 changed to employment-based programmes in 1998. Public works based employment programmes have been seen as more effective, such as programmes like the[10] National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) 1980-1989, the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) 1983-1989, the JRY 1989-1999, the Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) 1993-1999, the Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY) 1999-2002, the Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) since September 2001,s and the National Food for Work Programme (NFFWP) since 14 November 2004.

Those entire programmes were centrally sponsored, where the central government bore the major part of the financial burden, and implementation resides with the state government. There are some problems in the successful implementation of these programmes, for example, they were formulated and implemented by the bureaucracy in a centralised manner without community participation, they were supply-driven schemes, there was a poor mechanism of social accountability and corruption, inadequate employment generation and employment generation was not linked to providing a minimum livelihood security, minimum wages and workers amenities were not part of the entitlement, the low participation of women, and employment opportunities were inflexible to workers' demands.[11]

Looking into the problems of implementation of prior programmes, the NREGA came into force to address the crucial issues of unemployment and rural poverty with the features of decentralised planning and implementation, and effective people's participation with more importance given to women and the weaker sections of society. This programme is a paradigm shift from a supply-based programme to a demand-based programme based on the demand for workers. In 2006, the SGRY and the NFFWP merged with the MGNREGA[12] to improve the social and economic status of rural people with the principle of sustainable development and democratic decentralisation. The MGNREGA is essentially based upon three objectives:

To provide a legal guarantee of 100 days of waged employment in a financial year to every rural household; to create useful, durable infrastructure in the rural areas and thereby strengthen the rural livelihood resource base, providing employment; and to ensure a minimum guaranteed wage to both male and female workers on completion of the required amount of work. The MGNREGA is based upon certain basic features designed for better implementation and better outcomes. Certain basic features, such as applications for work, household registration, job cards, etc., are clearly mentioned in the MGNREGA guidelines.

Under the MGNREGA, a household is defined as the members of a family who are related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and who normally reside together and share meals or hold a common ration card. However, the MGNREGA guidelines state that every nuclear family comprising a mother, a father and their children should be treated as separate households. Interested households should register in the Gram Panchayat office by proving the details of adult members of the family on an application form.

For registration, details may be given on plain paper to the local Gram Panchayat. This should contain the names of the adult members of the household, who are willing to do unskilled manual work. The application should contain details such as sex, age and community status. For registration, an individual may also appear personally and make an oral request for registration. After this, there is provision for the detailed verification of applications. In spite of all these methods of registration, a Gram Sabha shall be convened when the Act commences in a district. The purpose of the Gram Sabha will be to explain the provisions of the Act, mobilise applications for registration, and conduct verification. Moreover, a door-to-door survey may also be undertaken by the Gram Panchayat to identify persons willing to register under the Act. After all of this, the process of verification should be completed by the competent authority as early as possible, and in any case, not later than a fortnight after the receipt of the application in the Gram Panchayat. After verification, the Gram Panchayat will enter all particulars in the Gram Panchayat register, and every registered household will be assigned a unique registration number.

A job card is a legal document by which the registered household demands work. It has information regarding the household registration numbers and the age and sex of the adult members of the households who are willing to work. The job card should be issued within 15 days of application for registration. It is given to the households free of cost including a photograph by the Gram Panchayat. The job card contains the details of the employment sought, employment provided, and waged employment allowances paid to various members of the households etc. The job card shall be valid for a period of five years and will have provision for the addition or deletion of members eligible for work.[13]

Application for work should generally be submitted to the Gram Panchayat. In addition, workers also have the option of submitting an application directly to the Programme Officer at the block level, but this should be treated as an alternative option only.[14] Both have the duty to accept valid applications and to issue a dated receipt to the applicant. Anyone who applies for work at any time is entitled to get employment for as many days as he or she desires but with a limit of up to 100 days for each household.[15]

Under the MGNREGS, specific work has been undertaken. Briefly, this includes,[16] water conservation and water harvesting; drought proofing including afforestation; irrigation canals including micro and minor irrigation work; provision of irrigation facilities; horticulture plantation and land development facilities to land owned by households belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, or to those families living below the poverty line or to the beneficiaries of the land reforms Indira Awas Yojana of the government of India or to the small farmers or marginal farmers as defined in the agriculture debt waiver and debt relief scheme of 2008.

Works also include the renewal of traditional water bodies, including the designing of tanks; land development flood control and protection works including the creation of drainage in waterlogged areas; rural connectivity to provide all-weather access; road construction which also includes the construction of culverts where necessary within the villages; the construction of Bharat Nirman Rajiv Gandhi Seva Kendra as village knowledge resource centres and the Gram Panchayat at its level, and any other work which may be notified by the central government in consultation with the state government.[17]

The ratio of wage costs to material costs, as set out in the Act, should be no less than the minimum norm of 60:40. This ratio should be applied preferably at the Gram Panchayat, block and district levels. Unskilled wage costs may be more than 60 per cent, but material costs cannot exceed 40 per cent. In this programme, no contractor or machinery is allowed.[18] Equal importance has been given to both male and female workers under the MGNREGA. At least one-third of the beneficiaries shall be women who have registered and requested work under the scheme. Equal wages shall be paid to both men and women workers. There should be no discrimination on the basis of gender in the workplace.[19] As far as possible, work shall be provided within a radius of five kilometres of the village where the applicant resides at the time of applying for a job. In the case where the worksite is beyond the radius of five kilometres, there is provision for 10 per cent extra wages to cover transport expenses and living allowance.[20]

The Gram Panchayat/Programme Officer shall be responsible for providing waged employment to the applicant within 15 days of receipt of the job application. If the Gram Panchayat is unable to provide employment within 15 days, it will be the responsibility of the Programme Officer to do so.

Wages are to be paid according to the Minimum Wages Act of 1948 for agricultural labourers in the state unless the centre notifies a wage rate, which will not be less than Rs.60 per day. There will be equal wages for both men and women workers. Wages are to be paid according to piece-rate or daily rate.[21] Payment has to be made on a weekly basis and not go beyond 15 days. On 13 February 2014, the wage rate for Odisha was notified as Rs.164.[22] The wage rate was raised to Rs.174 per day during the 2013-2014 period.[23] For the benefit and safety of the workers, facilities such as safe drinking water, shade and a first aid box with adequate material for the emergency treatment of minor injuries and other health hazards connected with the work should be available at the worksite. Under the MGNREGA provision, in any case, where the number of children below the age of six years accompanying the women working on-site is five or more, one female worker should be appointed to look after the children. The person who is appointed to take care of the children is permitted the same minimum wage as other labourers.[24]

Unemployment allowances are meant for any worker who is unable to get a job within the appropriate timescale after giving an application for work. If a worker who has applied for work under the MGNREGA is not provided employment within 15 days from the date on which work is requested, an employment allowance shall be payable by the state government according to the rate prescribed in the Act. This entitlement comes into effect as soon as the Act is notified in a particular district or area. The Programme Officer shall be responsible for the quick payment of unemployment allowances throughout the Block. Unemployment wages must be no less than one-quarter of the wage rate for the first 30 days and not less than half after that.[25] In the case of accident or injury during the working hours at the worksite, under the MGNREGA, there is a specific provision for treatment for the injured person to be provided free of charge. If hospitalisation is required, he or she is entitled to accommodation, treatment, medicines and a daily allowance that is not less than half of the wage rate. There are similar provisions for children who may be accompanying labourers employed under the scheme. In case of death or permanent disability, an extra payment of Rs.25,000 is to be paid to the victim or his or her family.[26]

The rights-based MGNREGS aims to emphasise people's participation in the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the programme. A social audit is, more or less, the means of evaluation in the MGNREGS. A social audit is a process by which the people, the final beneficiaries of any scheme, programme, policy or law, are empowered to audit such schemes, programmes, policies and laws. It is an ongoing process by which the potential beneficiaries and other stakeholders of an activity or project are involved from the planning stage to the monitoring and evaluation of that activity or project.[27] In the context of the MGNREGA, the basic objective of a social audit is to ensure public accountability in the implementation of projects, laws and policies.[28] A social audit can be done at any point in time during the planning and implementation of a scheme or programme. In the case of the MGNREGS, a social audit can be taken up in any of the four stages, such as in the planning stage, preparation stage, implementation stage and after the completion of work.[29] The Gram Sabha will do the social audit regularly once every six months. For this, the Gram Sabha will elect from itself a social audit committee of workers from the same Gram Panchayat who have worked in current or previous works under the MGNREGA. In the social audit committee, at least one-third of the members should be women.[30]

The MGNREGA creates new potentialities and possibilities in the local area. It promises a lot for the workers who were unemployed, underemployed or seasonally employed. Agriculture is the main source of livelihood for the majority of people in the country, and the individuals engaged in agriculture suffer the most from seasonal unemployment. It strengthens the socio-economic and political conditions of the rural folk. Rural livelihood is greatly affected by the positive aspects of this programme.

The MGNREGA is based upon the principle of democratic decentralisation. It gives importance to decentralised institutions for successful planning and implementation of the scheme. The involvement of rural people in every decision, such as in the selection of works and worksites, the participation of people in the planning and implementation of projects and their participation in a social audit help to build the confidence of the people. It strengthens the democratic decentralisation process at a local level by integrating the Gram Sabha in the entire planning and decision-making process. It also introduces transparency and accountability in the grass-roots democratic process through social audits.[31]

The MGNREGA is a programme which is meant for both waged employment and rural development by constructing durable assets in the rural locality. So, importance has been given to natural resource management such as afforestation, drought proofing, floodproofing, water conservation etc. The Act has become an important means for the renewal of India's depleting natural resource base. Such assets created through the MGNREGA have a positive impact on rural livelihoods.[32] The lack of job opportunity in rural areas is the reason for rural migration to urban areas in search of jobs. When people find out that they cannot sustain their livelihood in their native places, they tend to migrate to urban areas in search of job opportunities. But with the advent of the MGNREGA, the provision of employment has minimised the need for migration. When people find employment in their own vicinity, they do not need to migrate to other places in search of a livelihood. By securing livelihoods and providing job opportunities within the villages, the MGNREGA prevents migration.[33]

The positive impact of the MGNREGA on the transformation of rural economic and social relations at many levels has also been seen. It promotes the empowerment of women by providing equal wages and reserving 33 per cent of the participation for women and providing wages directly to the women beneficiaries. Participation of women in the Gram Sabha improves their social status and social contact with other members of the village. It raises the status of rural living by preventing migration, increasing their income status and improving food consumption. Besides these impacts of the MGNREGA in rural localities, there is a positive impact on improved health such as safe drinking water facilities, drainage systems, the construction of childcare centres etc. The MGNREGA also causes an improvement in rural education, for example, through improved economic conditions, which will encourage parents to send their children to school.[34]

Institutions and the MGNREGA

The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act is a complex plot of many actors and authorities.[35] The MGNREGA is based upon a decentralised framework so from top to bottom, specific institutions are associated with the MGNREGA at their own specific level. At a central level, the Central Employment Guarantee Council has been set up under the chairmanship of the Union Minister of Rural Development. The Central Employment Guarantee Council has been assigned specific roles and responsibilities. It has to set up a central evaluation and monitoring system. The council advises the central government on all matters regarding the implementation of the Act. It reviews the monitoring and redressal mechanism from time to time and recommends required improvements. It has the responsibility for the widest circulation of information regarding the scheme. The Council monitors the implementation of this Act and prepares annual reports of the implementation of this Act to be laid before parliament.[36]

At the state level, this scheme is to be monitored by a State Employment Guarantee Council. The state council is essentially an advisory body for the state government. For instance, the state council is expected to advise the state government regarding the schedule of rates, unemployment allowances and monitoring arrangements. Other responsibilities of the state council include preparing a list of preferred works to be taken up on a priority basis, conducting an evaluation of the scheme and preparing an annual report to be laid out before the state legislature.[37]

At the district level, the supervision of the scheme is the responsibility of the District Coordinator. The District Coordinator is expected to coordinate the work of the officers. The responsibility of the District Coordinator includes conducting regular inspections of the works in the

District, sanctioning works that are not within the jurisdiction of officers, assisting the District Panchayats and preparing an annual report for the state council.[38]

At the block level, the Officer acts as the coordinator for the MGNREGS. The primary responsibility of the Programme Officer is to ensure that every applicant is provided with unskilled manual work in accordance with the provision of the scheme within 15 days.[39] Along with this, the Officer is assigned a specific responsibility and functions. To prepare a plan for the Block by consolidating the project proposals prepared by the Gram Panchayats and other implementing agencies[40] to match the demand for employment with the employment opportunities available in the block[41] to receive applications for work and issue a dated receipt to the applicant; to notify applicants to report for work-this responsibility is shared with the Gram Panchayat[42] to ensure quick and fair payment of wages to all labourers employed under the NREGS; to sanction and distribute the unemployment allowance[43] to sanction projects to be taken up by the Gram Panchayats, as by other implementing agencies within the jurisdiction of the officer; to monitor the projects taken up by the Gram Panchayats and implementing agencies[44] to ensure that regular social audits of all works are carried out by the Gram Sabha; to deal promptly, within seven days, with any complaint that may arise in connection with the implementation of the scheme; and to prepare an annual report on the implementation of the MGNREGS in the Block.[45]

The Gram Panchayat is the nodal agency for the implementation of the scheme. It has the authority to select, design and implement 50 per cent of the works. It prepares a development plan and maintains a supply of possible works to be taken up under MGNREGS, taking into account the recommendations of the Gram Sabha. It registers the names of those who are willing to work and issues them with job cards. The Gram Panchayat receives applications for work and issues a dated receipt to the applicant. It allocates work opportunities among the applicants and asks them to report for work. It implements works that have been sanctioned by the programmes officer. It also makes all relevant documents available to the Gram Sabha for the purpose of social audits. It keeps a copy of the muster rolls available for public scrutiny at the Panchayat office and prepares an annual report on the implementation of the scheme.[46]

The Gram Sabha is the ground level authority to implement the MGNREGS. In the Gram Sabha meeting, the wage seekers have their say about their problems and make their demands for works. The Gram Sabha is expected to monitor the work of the Gram Panchayat and also to participate in the planning process. In particular, the Gram Sabha will discuss and prioritise the works to be taken up, conduct regular social audits of all works carried out in the Panchayat and verify all the relevant documents.[47]

Planning is important for the successful implementation of the MGNREGS. The main indicator for the success of the programme is the timely generation of employment within 15 days while making sure that the design and selection of works are such that good quality assets are developed in the rural area.[48]

The Gram Sabha should be held on 2nd October each year for the identification and recommendation of works. The Gram Panchayat has to forward the development plan with its priorities to the Programme Officer by 15 October each year. The Programme Officer will ensure that the Gram Panchayat approves and consolidates all Gram Sabha recommendations into the village supply projects. The process of scrutiny, referral back to the Gram Panchayat if necessary, and consolidation and submission to intermediate Panchayats will be completed by the PO by 15 November. The intermediate Panchayat will approve the Block plan within 15 days of the submission by the PO, and the PO will submit the Block plan to the District Programme Coordinator (DPC) by 30 November. The DPC will submit the block-wise projects and the Labour Budget based on it to the District Panchayat by 15 December. The District Panchayat will approve the block-wise projects and the Labour Budget by 31 December. The District Programme Coordinator will forward the Labour Budget to the state government which will forward it with a recommendation to the Ministry of Rural Development by 31 January.

The MGNREGA is a rights-based programme, meant for rural employment and sustainable rural development with the use of local resources and local labour-power. The participation of rural people is an important mechanism for the successful implementation of this welfare programme in all stages, such as participation in decision-making for the selection of works and work sites, participation in the implementation of the project and participation in evaluation after the completion of the work. In the MGNREGA, the entire participation activities take place with the collaboration of the beneficiaries, the people, the elected representatives and local government officials. Gram Panchayat and Gram Sabha provide a platform for these participatory activities. The Act empowers common people to play an active role in the implementation of the employment guarantee scheme through Gram Sabhas, participatory planning and other means. The NREGA is the act which is more inclusive in nature as it gives the privilege of participation in the decision-making and implementation process to disadvantaged groups, low-status groups, minority groups and poor groups.

The MGNREGA is a unique Act which gives importance to the decentralised institutions that are the Panchayati Raj. Experience of the failure of previous rural development programmes due to their highly centralised and bureaucratic features and the lack of people's participation led the policymakers in this programme to give more importance to Panchayati Raj institutions for its effective implementation.

In the context of the MGNREGA, Panchayati Raj institutions are the principal authorities for the planning and implementation of the scheme. The Act of MGNREGA has created the legal framework to enable the political executive to structure effective decentralisation. Under the guidelines of the MGNREGA, PRIs are the key stakeholders in the implementation and planning of the programme. In this Act, the role of the Gram Panchayat is significant, and it requires that at least 50 per cent of the work in terms of cost has to be implemented through the Gram Panchayat. It is the responsibility of the GP to provide employment opportunities to the applicants who are willing to work under the MGNREGS.[49] Section 17 of the Act explains the role of the Gram Sabha. The Gram Sabha shall supervise the implementation of works within the Gram Panchayat. The Gram Sabha shall conduct regular social audits of all the projects under the scheme taken up within the Gram Panchayat. The Gram Panchayat shall provide and display all relevant documents such as muster rolls, bills, vouchers, measurement books, copies of sanctions order books and other connected account books and papers to the Gram Sabha for the purpose of conducting the social audit.[50]

In Odisha, the MGNREGA was introduced in three phases. Nineteen districts were taken up in the first phase, five districts in the second phase and remaining six districts were covered as third phase districts in April 2008. Two keen institutions, namely the MGNREGS Odisha Society and the Odisha Society for Social Audit Accountability (OSSAAT), have been constituted to deal with the MGNREGS exclusively.[51]

In the Indian context, self-governing local bodies are described as institutions of democratic decentralisation and are named Panchayati Raj institutions.[52] The major purpose of the democratic decentralisation system in India is to involve the local people in the decision-making process and attain rural development through their participation at the local level.[53] Of late, there have been numerous rural development programmes designed by the government of India, which aimed to alleviate poverty on a massive scale. But certain loopholes in policies and programmes were the key factors in the failure of such developmental programmes. Hence, the concept of decentralisation was adopted to ensure that the rural development process can be a successful one if all the local people are involved in the decision-making process. Thus, it can be said that the Panchayati Raj in India is based upon two aspects, the wider political participation of the people in local government institutions and the direct involvement of the common people in the local development process. It is meant to both strengthen local democratic political institutions as well as ensure the effective implementation of development programmes at a local level. The Panchayati Raj system has a long history in India; it has existed in the country since the Vedic period. The Panchayats are considered to be the oldest administrative institutions in the country. In the Vedic age, the villages were looked after by a person who was known as the Gramini. The Mauryan and Gupta rulers provided the Panchayats with a systematic base for their effective administrative functions. During the Mughal period, the village was considered as a basic unit of administration. Every village was led by a headman, and the villagers were controlled by him. During the Mughal administration, Panchayats used to perform works relating to administrative, social and economic development. During the British period, India witnessed massive changes in the Panchayati Raj system where it advanced to a certain level. In the year 1800, the first attempt was made by the British government to establish local self-government in India.[54] This seemed to have provided a formalised structure to the local self-government. After that, a number of acts of legislation were made during the British period for local self-government.

The emergence of the Panchayati Raj after independence was deeply rooted in Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of the Gram Swaraj. The idea is based upon the self-sufficient village republic. The Congress government has made a determined effort to promote the creation of Panchayats to make them effective units of local government. The provision of the Panchayati Raj is included in the Directive Principles of State Policy under Article 40. The Article reads that "The state shall take steps to organise the village Panchayat and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of local government."[55] After Independence, India adopted several development initiatives such as a five-year planning process for its development. India is considered as a country of villages since the majority of people live in villages and a special focus is also given to the development of rural areas. For the development of villages, the community development programme was launched in the country in the year 1952. The community development programme was based upon democratic decentralisation and the strategy under this programme focused on the people's participation in the development process. This community development programme had the idealistic vision of the overall development of the rural community of the country, but the programme did not succeed to the desired extent. One of the main reasons for the failure of the community development programme was the lack of effective people's participation. The main reason for the lack of people's participation was a lack of motivation among the people and a highly bureaucratic influence. So, from 1956-57, the Balwantrai Mehta committee was appointed by the government of India to look into the theme of democratic decentralisation.[56] The Balwantrai Mehta committee submitted its report in late 1957 and suggested the democratic decentralisation that is the Panchayati Raj. The committee considered that popular interest among the people could be a strength when the machinery of development works under the elected representatives of people[57]; thus, the committee recommended the devolution of development and the decentralisation of the machinery of administration with an adequate delegation of powers to the Panchayati Raj institutions. It suggested a three-tier structure of local self-government and recommended the setting up of elected and organically linked democratic bodies at three levels, namely the village, block and district levels, and the assigning of all planning and development activities to these bodies. The committee suggested the transfer of legitimate power and responsibility to the local self-government institutions and that adequate resources should be transferred to the local government bodies to enable them to discharge those assigned responsibilities. A social and economic development programme formulated through the network of planning should be channelled through these local democratic institutions.[58] The notion behind the establishment of the Panchayati Raj is that of self-governing democratic institutions for the rural people. Through the institution of the Panchayati Raj, village people should actively participate in village development activities related to agriculture, public health, irrigation, communication, education, etc. The Panchayati Raj gives decision-making power related to development activities to the rural people. With their local elected representatives, the village people decide the local policies and carry out the development initiatives according to the requirements of the village community. The Janata Party government appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Ashok Mehta in 1977. The committee recommended a two-tier Panchayati Raj system instead of a three-tier system. The two-tier system consists of the Zilla Parishad and the Mandal Panchayat and it did not favour the village Panchayats.[59] The committee recommended that the state should transfer all development functions related to a district to the Zilla Parishad. It recommended four-year terms for Panchayati Raj institutions and the direct participation of political parties in the Panchayati Raj election. The committee also recommended the representation of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the Panchayati Raj election according to their proportion in their population.[60] Pertaining to the fact that the scheduled caste and the populations of scheduled tribes were considered to be socially and economically backward, as compared to the other developmental sections of society, such a view was the criterion to ensure that people from socially underprivileged groups can come to the forefront and get the benefits. The Dr G. V. K. Rao committee was appointed in the year 1985 to look into different aspects of the Panchayati Raj institutions and rural development and its implementation. The committee gave primary importance to district level institutions in rural development. The committee recommended that the Panchayati Raj institutions should be activated and that the required support should be provided to deal with people's problems. The Panchayat election should be held regularly and three-tier systems should be continued. The Panchayati Raj institutions at the district level and lower level should be allocated the work of planning, implementing and monitoring rural development programmes. The Block Development Officer should play the main role in the rural development process.[61]

In 1986, the Rajiv Gandhi government appointed a committee, under the chairmanship of L. M. Singhvi, for the purpose of the renewal of the Panchayati Raj institutions in order to deepen democracy and development. The committee gave its recommendation for constitutional reorganisation, protection and preservation of the Panchayati Raj institutions. It gave recommendations for free and fair elections in the Panchayati Raj bodies and the non-involvement of political parties in the elections. In this committee, importance was given to the Gram Sabha, and it was considered as the base of direct democracy. Panchayati Raj institutions were viewed as units of self-government and meant for the people's participation in planning and development. The committee also recommended more financial resources to go to village Panchayats.[62] With the recommendations of various committees, several attempts were taken by the government to form an effective Panchayati Raj system. In 1989, the late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi introduced the 64th Amendment Bill to provide constitutional status to the local self-governments, but the bill was defeated in the Rajya Sabha, and after that, the Panchayati Raj movement lost momentum and Rajiv Gandhi also lost the general election. In 1989, another Amendment Bill came in for the constitutional status of the Panchayati Raj, but this bill could not become an Act due to the dissolution of the Lok Sabha. Finally, the government, under Prime

Minister Narsimha Rao, introduced the Constitutional Amendment Bill in the Lok Sabha in September 1991 and it was passed by the Lok Sabha on 22 December 1992, and by the Rajya Sabha on 23 December. Later on, it was approved by the 17 state assemblies and received the assent of the President of India in April 1993.[63]

The 73rd Amendment Act

The 73rd Constitutional Amendment is the most significant milestone in the evaluation of the Panchayati Raj in India, and it provides a constitutional status for the Panchayati Raj institutions. This amendment is widely related to the subject of the Panchayati Raj and democratic decentralisation in rural India. This Act is intended to give more power to the people to participate in the local governmental process. This Act also moves the emphasis from more economic growth to growth with equity and justice and from a greater government initiative to greater people's involvement and participation in the village development process. This amendment created a broader environment for participation and institutionalised local people's participation through the Gram Sabha.[64] This Act is based upon the more inclusive nature of the Panchayati Raj system and constitutes certain important features such as a universal three-tier system of Panchayati Raj institutions such as the Gram Panchayat at village level;[65] the Intermediate Panchayat Samiti at the block level and the Zilla Parishad at district level; direct election at the Gram Panchayat level and indirect election at Block and district level for Panchayati Raj institutions; a five-year term for Panchayati Raj bodies; the reservation of seats for scheduled caste and scheduled tribe members, and one third of seats for women. The 73rd amendment suggested that the establishment of the Gram Sabha in each village should be mandatory. This amendment also gives more scope for marginalised sections and women to take part effectively in the political and decision-making process at a local level.[66]

Panchayats Extension to the Scheduled Areas Act, (PESA Act, 1996)

The Provisions of the Panchayat Extension to the Scheduled Areas Act 1996 is meant for the fifth scheduled tribal areas excluding the north-eastern tribal district of the country. PESA came into force for the protection and promotion of the various socio-cultural and political rights of the tribal communities living in the scheduled areas. The PESA Act has talked about special powers and functions of the Gram Sabha in the scheduled areas. The power and functions can be classified into certain categories such as development functions, a consultative role, recommendatory functions and the statutory powers of the Gram Sabha.[67] Under development functions, the Gram Sabha has to approve the plans, programmes and projects for social and economic development before they are taken up for implementation by the Gram Panchayat. The Gram Sabha has to select the beneficiaries of different poverty alleviation and other programmes. The Gram Sabha also has the power to exercise control over institutions and functionaries in all social sectors and the control over local plans and resources for such plans, including tribal sub-plans in the area. All such powers and functions give a special status to the Gram Sabah in the context of the implementation of projects for the social and economic development of tribal people.[68] The Gram Sabha has its consultative functions regarding the acquisition of land for development projects in the scheduled area. The Gram Sabha or the Panchayats at the appropriate level should be consulted regarding the resettlement of persons affected by such development projects in the scheduled areas.[69] The prior recommendation of the Gram Sabha or the Panchayats at the appropriate level is mandatory for granting a licence or mining lease for minor minerals in the scheduled areas and for granting concessions for the exploitation of minor minerals by auction.[70] The Gram Sabha or the Panchayats at the appropriate level in the scheduled areas are endowed with certain statutory powers which include: the power to enforce prohibition or to regulate or restrict the sale and consumption of any intoxicant; the ownership of minor forest products; the power to prevent the alienation of land in the scheduled areas and to take proper action to restore any unlawfully alienated land from a scheduled tribe; the power to manage village markets and the power to exercise control over money lending to the scheduled tribes. [71]

The Panchayati Raj as a Development Institution

Panchayats are playing a major role in planning and implementing various development programmes at the local level. Thus, the Panchayats are considered as institutions of development. An effective Panchayati Raj system can bring about rapid and integrated development through people’s participation. In all the recent development programmes like the SGSY, the SGRY, the MGNREGA etc., sufficient provision has been made for their implementation through the Panchayati Raj institutions. For the success of development programmes and the economic prosperity of the locality, both the Panchayats and the local people should act effectively. People should work for the better implementation of development programmes. People must be encouraged to participate in the programmes meant for their development. Planning must be done at the Panchayat level through the participation of the people and not be imposed on them from above. People should be given the right to know and question the Panchayat representatives about the selection of beneficiaries and the progress of works, the money spent, the kind of labour engaged, etc.

The 73rd Constitutional Amendment places an emphasis on the Gram Sabha, and it is considered as the foundation of grass-roots democracy. Article 243 (A) of the constitution reads “A Gram Sabha may exercise such powers and perform such functions at the village level as the legislature of a state may by law provide”. This provision suggests that the state legislature should assign statutory power to the Gram Sabha in order to strengthen it and ensure its effective functioning. Generally, the Gram Sabha is the meeting of villagers. The Odisha Gram Panchayat Act states that all the voters of all the revenue villages under a Gram Panchayat are the members of the Gram Sabha and the meetings of the members are known as Gram Sabha meetings. In the Gram Sabha, people participate in the democratic process, thus the Gram Sabha is the centre of democratic power in the local governance system and the centre of development and planning activity and its aim is to ensure that the people have a role in the planning and decisions regarding the development of their own village. Democratic decentralisation, i.e. the Panchayati Raj in India, is not the governance of elected representatives or representative democracy; it is the governance process of direct democracy with the full active participation of the people. The Gram Sabha provides the platform for the direct participation of the people. In the Gram Sabha, people collectively take part in decision-making in order to govern their own affairs. According to the guidelines, Gram Sabha meetings are to be held mandatorily during February and June every year. Gram Sabha meetings are also held on 26 June, 1 May, 15 August and 2 October. As well as all these meetings, there is also the provision for how the Gram Sabha meetings are to be convened. The Quorum of Gram Sabha is 1/10 of the total electorate out of which 1/3 should be women. In the case where there is no quorum, the Sarpanch or the President of the meetings shall adjourn the meeting to another date. The Sarpanch, or in his absence the Naib Sarpanch, shall preside over every meeting of the Gram Sabha. When both are absent, the members shall choose someone from among themselves to preside over the meetings.

The Functions of the Gram Sabha

The Gram Sabha seems to play an important role in the functioning of the day-to-day affairs of the village. The central aim when the Gram Sabha was formed was to ensure that the common and the local people participate in the day-to-day affairs that affect them. It fulfils the following crucial functions: before the execution of any work by the Gram Panchayat, the project along with the estimated cost shall be approved by the Gram Sabha. Here the role of the Gram Sabha seems to be quite significant in nature. If the cost is in any way rejected by the Gram Sabha, then the project ceases to start. The Gram Sabha will approve the budget and will also certify the utilisation of the grants received by the Gram Panchayat. The Gram Sabha will take decisions on the levy of taxes, rates, rents and fees and the enhancement of rates. The Gram Sabha organises community service and the implementation of the agricultural production plan. The Gram Sabha also considers all such matters as may be referred to it by the Gram Panchayat for its decision. Here, we can also infer that the Gram Panchayat is heavily reliant on the Gram Sabha for initiating further actions.

People's participation is mandatory for a successful democratic setup and development. In India, democratic decentralisation through the Panchayat Raj institutions came into force for the democratic participation and effective development of the villages. The lack of effective people's participation has been seen as the cause of the failure of earlier community development programmes, so different committees suggested democratic decentralisation and effective people's participation in the local development programmes. The 73rd amendment has constitutionalised the Panchayat Raj and recommended the functioning of a three-tier Panchayat Raj system. Through PESA 9, the Panchayat Raj Extension Scheduled Area Act, special attention has been given to the effective functioning of the Gram Panchayats in the scheduled fifth tribal areas and the Gram Sabha has been endowed with the authority and power to deal with the local development process. In India, the Panchayat Raj is based upon a three-tier structure and deals with local governance and development activities.

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Chapter Five

Democratic Decentralisation and the Socio-Economic Impact on Adivasis in India

The success of a development programme depends upon the effective participation of all sections of society. It will bring equity in development. In the context of gender, both males and females should take part equally in the development programme. Traditionally it has been the view that women are supposed to remain within the four walls of the house and be engaged in housewife activities. The differences between men and women are deeply rooted in traditional customs, beliefs and attitudes, and they restrict women mostly to the sphere of the family. In Indian society, gender discrimination has been seen in the areas of education, employment, ownership of property and resources. Experience in participatory development has made it clear that unless specific steps are taken to ensure the equal participation of men and women, women are often excluded. As a result, projects fail to benefit from women's contributions and fail to meet the particular needs and interests of women. Under the MGNREGA, there are provisions such as providing employment for women in such a way that at least one third of the beneficiaries shall be women who have registered and requested work under this scheme. An equal wage for both males and females and childcare facilities in the workplace for children below the age of six are also helpful in encouraging greater women's participation. That the work is within five kilometres of the home and participation in the management, monitoring and social audit of the programme also promote effective women's participation.

Odisha is one of the 29 states of India located in the eastern part of the country. It is situated from 17 degrees 49 N to 22 degrees 34 N latitude and from 81 degrees 27 E to 87 degrees 29 E longitude on the eastern coast of India. The area of the state is 155,707 square kilometres, compared with the country's total area of 3,287,263 square kilometres. The state constitutes 4.73 per cent of the total land area of the country, and it ranks tenth in respect of area among all the states. Odisha is situated in the north-eastern part of the Indian peninsula. It is bounded by the Bay of Bengal on the east, West Bengal on the north-east, Jharkhand on the north, Chhattisgarh on the west and Andhra Pradesh on the south. Odisha can be divided into five parts, namely, the coastal plains, the middle mountainous country, the rolling upland, the river valleys and the subdued plateaus.[1] On 1 April 1936, Odisha became a separate province. Now Bhubaneswar is the capital city of the state of Odisha. There are 21 parliamentary and 147 assembly constituencies in the state.[2] There are, at present, 30 districts, 314 blocks and 317 Tahsils in Odisha which have a definite administrative setup for the smooth running of the administration.[3] As per the census of 2011, the total population of Odisha is 41,947,358. Out of this, the rural population of Odisha is 34,951,234 and the urban population is 6,996,124. The rural population of Odisha constitutes 83.32 per cent of the total population whereas the urban population constitutes 16.68 per cent. The literacy rate in Odisha, as per the provisional population total of the 2011 census, is 73.45 per cent. In rural areas, the literacy rate is 70.78 per cent, whereas in urban areas it is 86.45 per cent. The sex ratio in Odisha is 978.[4] Odisha occupies a distinctive position among the Indian states and Union territories for having a rich and colourful tribal culture. The majority of the tribal people live close to nature, mainly in the hilly and forest regions of the state. Their primitive? cultural and traditional lifestyle gives them a unique position in the demographic profile of Odisha. Their economy is largely subsistence-oriented, non-stratified and non-specialised.[5] The socio-economic, political and living conditions of the majority of tribes in Odisha are still in a backward condition in comparison with the modern growth and development of the state. Out of 573 tribal communities in India, Odisha has 62 tribal groups. Out of the 62 tribes, the major tribes are Kondh, Saura, Gond, Santal, Paraja, Gadaba, Koya, Oraon, Bhuiji, Bonda, and Juang. The total tribal population of Odisha according to the 2011 census is 9,590,756. From this total population, 8,994,967 live in rural areas and 595,789 live in urban areas. The sex ratio among the schedule tribes of Odisha is 1,029. The percentage of scheduled tribes to the total population of Odisha is 22.8.[6] Malkangiri is one of the thirty districts of Odisha, full of natural beauty and rich tribal culture. It is situated between 81°24’ and 82°25’ east longitude and 17°49’ and 18°44’ north latitude in the extreme southern part of Odisha. It is surrounded by the Koraput district in the North, Khammam and East Godavari of Andhra Pradesh in the South, the Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh in the east and the Bastar district of Chhattisgarh state in the west. Almost the whole of the district is covered by jungle and it is divided into two distinct physical divisions. The eastern part is covered with steep ghats, plateaus and valleys, sparsely inhabited by primitive? tribes, most notably the Bondas, Koyas, Porajas and Didayis.[7]

Before 1936, Malkangiri was a part of the Madras presidency. In 1936, Koraput district was freed from the Madras presidency and then merged into Odisha and Malkangiri as a Tahsil was included in Koraput district. In 1962, Malkangiri came into existence as a sub-division. Later, on the special occasion of Gandhi Jayanti on 2 October 1962, during the period of chief minister Biju Patnaik, Malkangiri became a separate district in the Revenue and Excise Department of the Odisha government according to notification number 49137/R dated 01.10.1992.[8] The Malkangiri district consists of one sub-division and comes under the Nabarangpur parliamentary constituency. There are two state assembly constituencies, Malkangiri and Chitrakonda. The district's headquarters is situated in Malkangiri town. The district consists of seven blocks namely Kalimela, Khairput, Korukonda, Kudumulguma, Malkangiri, Mathili and Podia and seven tahsils namely Chitrakonda, Kalimela, Khairput, Kudumulguma, Malkangiri, Mathili and Motu.[9] The total population of the district is 613,192. Out of the total population, 563,664 (84.8%) live in rural areas, and 49,528 (8.1%) live in urban areas. Out of the total population, the male population is 303,624 and the female population is 309,568. The density of population is 106 per square kilometre. The scheduled tribe population of the district is 354,614. Out of the total scheduled tribe population, 346,465 live in rural areas and 8,149 live in urban areas. Out of the total ST population, 171,717 are males and 182,897 are females. The sex ratio among the scheduled tribe population is 1,065. The percentage of the scheduled tribe population is 57.8 per cent which is the highest of all districts.[10]

This chapter also presents the socio-economic conditions of tribals in AP and a profile of the two selected districts of Adilabad and Khammam. It provides a background to the in-depth study of land alienation in four taluks in these districts in the next chapter. Since Independence, many development schemes and protective measures have been attempted by the central and state governments for the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh. However, this chapter shows that the conditions of the majority of the tribals have deteriorated. While exploitation and backwardness are found in many communities and social groups in India, among tribes, it has resulted in social alienation. The existence of a distinct culture and lifestyle makes the problems of Tribals different from those of other deprived groups in India.

Andhra Pradesh is one of the largest states occupying fourth place in the Indian Union covering an area of 160,205 km[11] (61,855 sq. miles). The tribal agency part of the state roughly covers 2 968 3 sq. km. Khammam district has the highest tribal population in Andhra Pradesh. The district lies between 16^0 45’ and 18^0 35’ north latitude and between $79^0$47’ and 80^0 47’ east longitude[12]. It is bound in the north by the states of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, in the south by the Krishna district, in the east by the East Godavari and West Godavari districts and in the west by the Nalgonda and Warangal districts. The district extends over an area of 16,027 sq.km. According to the 1991 census, the district has 12 taluks namely 1) Nugur 2) Bhadrachalam 3) Bhoorgampadu 4) Mangooru 5) Sudimala 6) Yellandu 7) Kothagudem 8) Aswaraopet 9) Sathupally 10) Madira 11) Khammam 12) Thirumapalem. Important rivers which flow through this district are the Godavari, the Sabari, the Kinnerasani, the Munner, the Palen, the Akher and the Wyra. The predominant soils are black cotton and sandy loam.[13]

In addition, 48.7 per cent of the district is covered by forests in which there are two logging divisions, one teak plantation division and a school of forestry at Yellandu, imparting training in forestry to the foresters and forest guards drawn from the entire state. Timber, firewood and bamboo are the main items marketed. In fact, the district is self-sufficient in wood for the numerous industries located in the district such as the Singareni collieries, the Bhadrachalam paper mills, Ferro alloys and the Tobacco barns. The surplus forest produces in this district is being sent to the less forested zones of neighbouring districts. The district is also one of the main centres for the production of beedi leaves. This minor forest produce is allowed to be collected by the Girijan Cooperative Corporation for the welfare of tribals.[14] The tribals of AP belong mainly to the Gond, Koya, Chenchu, Konda Reddys and Lambada Tribes. They form a socially dominant section among the rest who belong to the Bhil, Koya, Kolam etc. tribes and are much fewer in number. Their mother tongue is Gondi or Lambada. Tribal life exhibits a unique symbiosis of man and nature, their culture being an outcome of living with nature and learning from it. Traditionally, some tribes formed a priestly class who performed rituals and were the medicine men and storytellers of the tribe. They enjoyed social prominence together with the tribal chiefs. Tribal spiritual life was rich with creative mythologies and religious stories. Each member of the class, even today, possesses the house deities of the tribe through the village priest called the “Devari” and the class priest (Kalotra) and a village seer (Bhaktal). There is discrimination among the tribes on the basis of gender. Women traditionally had an important position within the family and society. The Gonds even today have their distinct folk dances and music. However, they also celebrate the main “Hindu” festivals of Holi, Diwali, Dussehra, Sankranthi, Ugadi, etc.[15] All the 60 respondents in this study belong to scheduled tribes. Out of them, 47 (78.33%) are males and 13 (21.66%) are females. 27 (45%) are illiterate and 33 (55%) are literate. From the total respondents, 35 (58.33%) belongs to a joint family and 25 (41.66%) belong to a nuclear family. In the context of land-holding status, 7 (11.66%) have no land of their own and 53 (88.33%) have land. In the context of their living conditions, 16 (26.66%) have huts for living and 44 (73.33%) have tiled houses. As for the main source of income of the respondents, 14 (23.33%) depend upon agriculture and agricultural activities. Labour work is the main source of income for 6 (10%) respondents, and 40 (66.66%) depend on both agriculture and forest products for their main source of income. Besides these main sources of income, they also engage in other activities for their livelihood. Other socio-economic factors such as age, income level and details of the other socio-economic status are explained in this chapter in relation to their participation in MGNREGA.[16] In 2001 in India, 8.2 per cent of the population belonged to tribes. In Andhra Pradesh, 6.6 per cent of the population were tribes. In the state, the tribes are in two groups. One group lives across the hilly tract of the Deccan Plateau and by the rivers Godavari and Krishna. The second group is presently along with the extended areas between the river Krishna and Godavari. According to the ST order Act 1976, there are 33 types of tribes in eight districts and another 50 lakh nomads survive. Overall, the tribal population in Coastal Andhra is 5.96 per cent, in Rayalaseema 2.86 per cent and in Telengana it is 8.87 per cent. The prominent tribes are *Khonds, Kholamis, Nayakpods, Koyas, Konda Doras, Valmikis, Bhagats, Savaras, Jatayus, Godabas, Yanadis* and *Chenchus*. A total of 76 per cent of tribal people belong to Sugali (4.4%), Koya (11.3%), Yanadi (9.2%), Yerukula (8.7%), Gonda (5%) and the remaining 24 per cent of the population belong to small tribes. Nomadic tribals are *Pichukaguntulu, Balasanta, Saradakandru, Veeramustivaru, Bhavaneelu, Birannalavaru, Golla Suddulu, Pasaralu, Jangamulu* and *Kommuvaru* etc. They do not have scripts for their language. They follow their customs and traditions strictly. A total of 92.5 per cent of their population lives in rural areas. Their livelihood is based on occupations like the making of toys, baskets, mats, cosmetics and the collection of leaves, honey etc. The lifestyle of tribes has been changing gradually after the government began to make contributions to the tribes.[17] The reservation of places for tribals in education, employment and in legislative assemblies and local bodies is changing their lifestyle.

Andhra Pradesh (AP) is one of the relatively larger states in India. It accounts for 8.4 per cent of India's total geographical area and 7.1 per cent of its population, and ranks fourth geographically and fifth, population-wise, among Indian states. The density of population in the state is at 308 per square km and is lower than the 382 per square km at an all-India level. The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes account for 16.2 per cent and 6.6 per cent of the total population of the state respectively. Religious Minorities account for about one-tenth of the state population. The rural population in the state is predominantly agricultural with more than three-quarters of its workforce being engaged directly in the agricultural sector.[18] The ST population is between 25 per cent and 50 per cent, as per the Census in 2011. The study began with the socio-economic profile of the respondents. The socio-economic status reflects the opinion of the respondents. It is only about the respondents, and at the same time, it reflects the socio-economic condition of the tribal job cardholders. The survey has included religion, education status, land, type of house, occupation, nature of work, etc.[19]

Table 5.1: Religion

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Hindu	Christian
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	26 (52%)	24 (48%)
	Chinatakani	45 (90%)	5 (10%)
	Total	71 (71%)	29 (42%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	50 (100%)	0
	Midthur	50 (100%)	0
	Total	100 (100%)	0
Total		171 (85.5%)	29 (14.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	50 (100%)	0
	Kalimela	50 (100%)	0
	Total	100 (100%)	0
Puri	Puri Sadar	50 (100%)	0
	Gopa	50 (100%)	0
	Total	100 (100%)	0
Total		100 (100%)	0
Grand Total		371 (92.8%)	29 (7.2%)

Table 5.1 reflects the religion of the respondents. Among the respondents, the majority belong to the Hindu community, whereas only 7.2 per cent of the respondents belong to the Christian community. All the respondents belong to the scheduled tribe community as per the methodology. All the Christian community among the scheduled tribe respondents belong to Andhra Pradesh, essentially from the Khammam district and the majority, i.e. 48 per cent belong to Tenkulapalle Mandal. No single respondent from the Kurnool district of the Andhra Pradesh, or from the districts of Malkanagiri and Puri of Odisha, identified as Christian.

Table 5.2: Mother Tongue

Name of the District District	Name of the Block Block	Odiya	Telugu	Tribal Language
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	0	1 (2%)	49 (98%)
	Chinatakani	0	0	50 (100%)
	Total	0	1 (1%)	99 (99%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	1 (2%)	37 (74%)	12 (24%)
	Midthur	2 (4%)	38 (76%)	10 (20%)
	Total	3 (3%)	75 (75%)	22 (22%)
Total		3 (1.5%)	76 (38%)	121 (60.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	4 (8%)	8 (16%)	38 (76%)
	Kalimela	39 (78%)	3 (6%)	8 (16%)
	Total	43 (43%)	11 (11%)	46 (46%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	50 (100%)	0	0
	Gopa	50 (100%)	0	0
	Total	100 (100%)	0	0
Total		143 (71.5%)	11 (5.5%)	46 (23%)
Grand Total		146 (36.5%)	87 (21.8%)	167 (41.8%)

The opinion of 41.8 per cent of respondents is that their Mother tongue is a tribal language, whereas 36.5 per cent said Odiya and 21.8 per cent Telugu. The percentage of the respondents reflects the migration of people from Odisha to Andhra Pradesh and vice versa. However, the analysis of the percentage of respondents reflects that the majority of respondents in

Andhra Pradesh identify their mother tongue as a tribal language, i.e. 60.5 per cent, whereas in Odisha it is Odiya at 71.5 per cent. In regard to the second most common mother tongue, in Andhra Pradesh, it is Telugu, whereas in Odisha, the tribal language is the second most common mother tongue.

Age is an important factor for participation in the development programme, especially when the development programme is based on the labour force. It is a general view that younger people have more working capacity than older people. In the context of the MGNREGA, it is both an employment and rural infrastructure development programme, so the labour force is mandatory in order to participate in the MGNREGA.

Table 5.3 – Age Groups

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Age 19-25	Age 26-35	Age 36-50	Age Above 50
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	2 (4%)	15 (30%)	18 (36%)	15 (30%)
	Chinatakani	2 (4%)	14 (28%)	24 (48%)	10 (20%)
	Total	4 (4%)	29 (29%)	42 (42%)	25 (25%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	13 (26%)	16 (32%)	15 (30%)	6 (12%)
	Midthur	6 (12%)	22 (44%)	17 (34%)	5 (10%)
	Total	19 (19%)	38 (38%)	32 (32%)	11 (11%)
Total		23 (11.5%)	67 (33.5%)	74 (37%)	36 (18%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	2 (4%)	19 (38%)	15 (30%)	14 (28%)
	Kalimela	0	11 (22%)	26 (52%)	13 (26%)
	Total	2 (2%)	30 (30%)	41 (41%)	27(27%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	2 (4%)	6 (12%)	39 (78%)	3 (6%)
	Gopa	4 (8%)	6 (12%)	36 (72%)	4 (8%)
	Total	6 (6%)	12 (12%)	75 (75%)	7 (7%)
Total		8 (4%)	42 (21%)	116 (58%)	34 (17%)
Grand Total		31 (7.8%)	109 (27.2%)	190 (47.5%)	70 (17.5%)

The majority (47.5%) of respondents are from the age group 36 to 50, and the second-highest number (27.2%) belong to the age group 26 to 35. A total of 17.5 per cent of respondents belong to the age group above 50 whereas only 7.8 per cent belong to the younger generation of those in the age group 19 to 25. This reflects that the majority of the respondents belong to the age group 36-50, whereas the lowest number of respondents belong to the age group 19-25. This also implies that the younger generation is much less interested in MGNREGS work but other groups like the age group 36-50 are compelled to work for the MGNREGS.

Comparing Odisha and Andhra Pradesh, from the respondents of the age group 26-50, 58 per cent belong to Odisha whereas 37 per cent are from Andhra Pradesh. But it is the reverse in the case of the age group of 25-35, i.e. 38 per cent are from Andhra Pradesh whereas 21 per cent belong to Odisha. In the younger generation age group (19-25), the majority are from Andhra Pradesh in comparison to Odisha. A total of 11.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and only 4 per cent from Odisha state are in the age group 19-25. And 18 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 17 per cent from Odisha belong to the age group above 50.

Table 5.4: Sex

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Male	Female
Khammm	Tenkulapalle	41(82%)	9 (18%)
	Chinatakani	41(82%)	9 (18%)
	Total	82 (82%)	18 (18%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	45 (90%)	5 (10%)
	Midthur	42 (84%)	8 (16%)
	Total	87 (87%)	13 (13%)
Total		169 (84.5%)	31 (15.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	41 (82%)	9 (18%)
	Kalimela	45 (90%)	5 (10%)
	Total	86 (86%)	14 (14%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	45 (90%)	5 (10%)
	Gopa	46 (92%)	4 (12%)
	Total	91 (91%)	9 (9%)
Total		177 (88.5%)	23 (11.5%)
Grand Total		346 (86.5%)	54 (13.5%)

Among the respondents, 86.5 per cent are male, whereas 13.5 per cent are female. This reflects the male dominance among those who receive the job card in the MGNREGS. A total of 84.5 per cent are males, whereas 15.5 per cent are females in Andhra Pradesh. Looking at the comparison of male respondents between Odisha and Andhra Pradesh, 84.5 per cent are from Andhra Pradesh and 88.5 per cent are from Odisha. This reflects that male dominance is greater in Odisha in comparison with Andhra Pradesh.

Education is a secondary component for participation in the development programme. The MGNREGA is essentially based on physical work in the rural locality. So, it is generally seen that less educated and illiterate people work under the MGNREGA. In the general context, these people are unable to engage in any other work due to a lack of skilled knowledge and the MGNREGA is mainly based upon unskilled manual work, so it gives wider scope for this category of people.

Table 5.5: Literacy

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Illiterate	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Intermediate	Graduation
Khammam	Tenkulapally le	44 (88%)	3 (6%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	0	1 (2%)
	Chinnatakanii	38 (76%)	7 (14%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)
	Total	82 (82%)	10 (10%)	2 (2%)	3 (3%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	38 (76%)	4 (8%)	1 (2%)	7 (14%)	0	0
	Midthur	42 (84%)	3 (6%)	1 (2%)	4 (8%)	0	0
	Total	80 (80%)	7 (7%)	2 (2%)	11 (22%)	0	0
Total		162 (81%)	17 (8.5%)	4 (2%)	14 (7%)	1 (0.5%)	2 (1%)
Malkanagi ri	K. Gumma	46 (92%)	4 (8%)	0	0	0	0
	Kalimela	37 (74%)	7 (14%)	5 (10%)	1 (2%)	0	0
	Total	87 (87%)	11(11%)	5 (5%)	1 (1%)	0	0
Puri	Puri Sadar	8 (16%)	15 (30%)	13 (26 %)	14 (28%)	0	0
	Gopa	8 (16%)	18 (36%)	14 (28%)	10 (20%)	0	0
	Total	16 (16%)	33 (33%)	27 (27%)	24 (24%)	0	0
Total		99 (49.5%)	44 (22%)	32 (16%) %)	25 (12.5%) %)	0	0
Grand Total		261 (65.2	61 (15.2	36 (9%)	39 (9.8%)	1 (0.2%)	2 (0.5%)

In analysing the educational aspect, the majority, i.e. 65.2 per cent, are illiterate. A total of 15.2 per cent of respondents belong to a primary educational background and 9 per cent belong to the Middle school group, whereas 9.8 per cent are from a secondary educational background. A total of 0.2 per cent belong to the intermediate group whereas 0.5 per cent are graduates. The educational background also reflects the awareness about the MGNREGS. The majority of the job cardholders of the scheduled tribe community reflect an illiterate educational background. The primary education respondents reflect the educational background of those in the 1st to 5th class, and in the middle, those from the 6th and 7th classes, whereas secondary is from 8th to 10th class. Only 0.7 per cent have been in higher education. The majority of the job cardholders are illiterate. When comparing the numbers belonging to the educational group of illiterates in the two states, 81 per cent of respondents are from Andhra Pradesh whereas 49.5 per cent are from Odisha. In Odisha, no single respondent belongs to the intermediate or graduation group, whereas from the state of Andhra Pradesh 0.5 per cent are from the intermediate group and 1 per cent are graduates.

The act of living together and sharing a common roof, shelter and food is the traditional joint family character of Indian villages. But due to complex living conditions, joint families are fragmented into nuclear families. So, in tribal society, too, the joint family structure has transformed into that of the nuclear family. Although they are living as a nuclear family, they have maintained good relations and cooperation with their kith and kin.

Table 5.6: Marital Status

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Married	Unmarried	Widowed	Divorced
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	35 (70%)	2 (4%)	13 (26%)	0
	Chinatakani	40 (80%)	1 (2%)	9 (18%)	0
	Total	75 (75%)	3 (3%)	22 (22%)	0
Kurnool	Tuggali	43 (86%)	3 (6%)	4 (8%)	0
	Midthur	40 (80%)	1 (2%)	9 (18%)	0
	Total	83 (83%)	4 (4%)	13 (13%)	0
Total		158 (79%)	7 (3.5%)	35 (17.5%)	0

Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	44 (88%)	0	6 (12%)	0
	Kalimela	45 (90%)	1 (2%)	3 (6%)	1 (2%)
	Total	89 (89%)	1 (1%)	9 (9%)	1 (1%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	45 (90%)	0	3 (6%)	2 (4%)
	Gopa	46 (92%)	0	3 (6%)	1 (2%)
	Total	91 (91%)	0	6 (6%)	3 (3%)
Total		180 (90%)	1 (0.5%)	15 (7.5%)	4 (2%)
Grand Total		338 (84.5%)	8 (2%)	50 (12.5%)	4 (1%)

The majority of the respondents, 84.5 per cent, are married, whereas 12.5 per cent are from the widowed community. Only 2 per cent are unmarried whereas 1 per cent belong to the group of divorcees. This reflects the fact that the majority of job cardholders are married. From both the states, the majority are from the married category—from Andhra Pradesh 79 per cent and 90 per cent from Odisha. But in the case of the widowed category, 17.5 per cent are from Andhra Pradesh and 7.5 per cent from Odisha. Nobody is found from Andhra Pradesh in the divorced category and 2 per cent from Odisha. In the case of the unmarried category, 3.5 per cent are from Andhra Pradesh and 0.5 per cent belong to Odisha. This reflects that a much lower number of unmarried respondents are part of the MGNREGS, whereas the majority of the MGNREGS are married.

Table 5.7: Occupation

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Cultivator	Agricultural Labour	Non-Agricultural Waged Worker	Self-Employed	Construction Worker
Khammam	Tenkulapalle e	43 (86%)	5 (10%)	2 (4%)	0	0
	Chinatakani	44 (88%)	1 (2%)	5 (10%)	0	0
	Total	87 (87%)	6 (6%)	7 (7%)	0	0
Kurnool	Tuggali	0	13 (26%)	32 (64%)	5 (10%)	0
	Midthur	0	34 (68%)	12 (24%)	4 (8%)	0
Total		0	47 (47%)	44 (44%)	9 (9%)	0

Total		87 (43.5%)	53 (26.5%)	51 (25.5%)	9 (4.5%)	0
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	41 (82%)	1 (2%)	8 (16%)	0	0
	Kalimela	23 (46%)	11 (22%)	14 (28%)	0	2 (4%)
	Total	64 (64%)	12 (12%)	22 (22%)	0	2 (2%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	0	45 (90%)	5 (10%)	0	0
	Gopa	0	46 (92%)	4 (8%)	0	0
	Total	0	91 (91%)	9 (9%)	0	0
Total		64 (32%)	103 (51.5%)	31 (15.5%)	0	2 (1%)
Grand Total		151 (37.8%	156 (39%)	82 (20.5%)	9 (2.2%)	2 (0.5%)

The majority of the respondents, i.e. 39 per cent, are agricultural labourers, whereas 37.8 per cent are from the cultivator community. A total of 20.5 per cent belong to the non-agricultural wage workers, whereas only 2.2 per cent are self-employed and 0.5 per cent are construction workers. Between Odisha and Andhra Pradesh, the majority of the respondents, i.e. 43.5 per cent, belong to the group of cultivators from Andhra Pradesh, whereas 51.5 per cent from Odisha's respondents are agricultural labourers. This reflects that different occupations are adopted among the majority of the states. None of the respondents from Andhra Pradesh are construction workers whereas 1 per cent of respondents belong to Odisha. In the category of self-employment, only 4.5 per cent belong to Andhra Pradesh whereas no respondent belongs to Odisha. Among the respondents, from the occupation category of cultivators, 43.5 per cent are from Andhra Pradesh and 32 per cent from Odisha. In the occupation category of agricultural labourers, 26.5 per cent are from Andhra Pradesh and 51.5 per cent of respondents belong to Odisha. This reflects that more respondents depend upon agricultural labour in Odisha, whereas 43.5 per cent depend upon cultivation. In comparing the districts, no respondents from Kurnool and Puri districts belong to the occupation of cultivators. From Odisha, in the Puri district, more respondents are dependent on agricultural labour compared with Malkanagiri, while in the context of cultivators, 64 per cent of respondents from Malkanagiri are dependent on cultivators compared with 32 per cent in the Puri district. The same is true in the case of Andhra Pradesh, where 87 per cent of respondents depend on agriculture in Khammam, but no respondent from Kurnool district does. However, 47 per cent of respondents from Kurnool depend on agriculture in comparison with 6 per cent from Khammam.

Table 5.8: Nature of Employment

Name of District	Name of the Block	Regular	Regular Part-time	Casual Fulltime	Casual Part-time
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	0	48 (96%)	0	2 (4%)
	Chinatakani	5 (10%)	44 (88%)	0	1 (2%)
	Total	5 (5%)	92 (92%)	0	3 (3%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	4 (8%)	45 (90%)	0	1 (2%)
	Midthur	3 (6%)	43 (86%)	1 (2%)	3 (6%)
	Total	7 (7%)	88 (88%)	1 (1%)	4 (4%)
Total		12 (6%)	180 (90%)	1 (0.5%)	7 (3.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	22 (44%)	28 (56%)	0	0
	Kalimela	40 (80%)	6 (12%)	4 (8%)	0
	Total	62 (62%)	34 (34%)	4 (4%)	0
Puri	Puri Sadar	50 (100%)	0	0	0
	Gopa	50 (100%)	0	0	0
	Total	100 (100%)	0	0	0
Total		162 (81%)	34 (17%)	4 (2%)	0
Grand Total		174 (43.5%)	214 (53.5%)	5 (1.2%)	7 (1.8%)

As most of the respondents depend on agricultural labour, 53.5 per cent are regular part-time employed. Due to the lack of employment, the respondents have regular? part-time jobs. Only 43.5 per cent have a regular job. 1.8 per cent have casual part-time jobs in comparison to 1.2 per cent with a casual full-time job. In comparing states, 90 per cent have regular part-time jobs in Andhra Pradesh in comparison with 81 per cent with a regular job in Odisha. In the case of casual full-time work, the totals are 0.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh in comparison with 2 per cent from Odisha. But in the case of casual part-time work, 3.5 per cent belong to Andhra Pradesh with no respondent from Odisha. In comparing the districts of Odisha, there was no respondent from Puri in comparison with 34 per cent from Malkanagiri. In the case of Andhra Pradesh, 92 per cent of respondents were from Khammam, whereas 88 per cent belong to the Kurnool district. In the context of a regular job, 5 per cent of respondents were from the Khammam district in comparison with 7 per cent in the Kurnool district. In the case of Odisha, 62 per cent of Malkanagiri and 100 per cent of respondents from the Puri district have a regular job. In the case of casual part-time work, 3.5 per cent belong to Andhra Pradesh whereas no single respondent came from Odisha. In the context of a casual full-time job, no respondent belonged to Khammam in comparison to 1 per cent from the Kurnool district. This is the same in the case of Odisha, where 4 per cent belong to the Malkanagiri district in comparison to no respondent belonging to the district of Puri.

The land is the immovable property of a person. In India's villages, a person depends upon the land for food. Access to land is crucial for a sustainable livelihood and the food security of a vast majority of India's rural population. For tribal people, access to land and forests is their main source of livelihood.

Table 5.9: Land Holdings

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Landless	Sharecropper	Own Cultivation
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	7 (14%)	14 (28%)	29 (58%)
	Chinatakani	6 (12%)	1 (2%)	43 (86%)
	Total	13 (13%)	15 (15%)	72 (72%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	50 (100%)	0	0
	Midthur	50 (100%)	0	0
	Total	100 (100%)	0	0
Total		113 (56.5%)	15 (7.5%)	72 (36%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	9 (18%)	17 (34%)	24 (48%)
	Kalimela	27 (54%)	9 (18%)	14 (28%)
	Total	36 (36%)	26 (26%)	38 (38%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	50 (100%)	0	0
	Gopa	50 (100%)	0	0
	Total	100 (100%)	0	0
Total		136 (68%)	26 (13%)	38 (19%)
Grand Total		249 (62.2%)	41 (10.2%)	110 (27.5%)

A total of 62.2 per cent of all respondents are landless, whereas 27.5 per cent belong to the group of cultivators and 10.2 per cent are sharecroppers. This reflects that the majority of the respondents are landless. In comparing the states, 56.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 68 per cent from Odisha are landless. This reflects that the majority of respondents who are landless belong to Odisha. The same is true in the case of sharecroppers. A total of 13 per cent of respondents in this category belong to Odisha in comparison with 7.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh. But this is the reverse in the case of those who are their own cultivators. A total of 36 per cent belong to Andhra Pradesh whereas 19 per cent belong to Odisha. In comparing the districts, no-one from Kurnool and Puri belong to the sharecroppers and own cultivator groups. It reflects that the districts from both Andhra Pradesh and Odisha, with a lower scheduled tribe population, have fewer lands. All respondents from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh and Puri in Odisha belong to the landless group. In comparing the landless groups, 13 per cent belong to the Khammam district of Andhra Pradesh and 36 per cent to the Malkanagiri district of Odisha. This reflects that more respondents belong to the landless group from Odisha in comparison to Andhra Pradesh. In the case of sharecroppers, 26 per cent belong to the Malkanagiri district of Odisha, whereas 15 per cent belong to the Khammam district of Andhra Pradesh. This is reversed in the case of own cultivators, where 72 per cent belong to the Khammam district, whereas 38 per cent belong to the Malkanagiri district of Odisha. This reflects that more respondents belong to the landholdings group from Andhra Pradesh in comparison with Odisha. Out of the total respondents, 37.8 per cent are landholders.

Table 5.10: Types of Land

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Dry	Wet	No Land
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	43 (86%)	0	7 (14%)
	Chinatakani	44 (88%)	0	6 (12%)
	Total	87 (87%)	0	13 (13%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	0	0	50 (100%)
	Midthur	0	0	50 (100%)
	Total	0	0	100 (100%)
Total		87 (43.5%)	0	113 (56.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	32 (64%)	9 (18%)	9 (18%)
	Kalimela	12 (24%)	11(22%)	27 (54%)
	Total	44 (44%)	20 (20%)	36 (36%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	0	0	50 (100%)
	Gopa	0	0	50 (100%)
	Total	0	0	100 (100%)
Total		44 (22%)	20 (10%)	136 (68%)
Grand Total		131 (32.8%)	20 (5%)	249 (62.2%)

Out of the 37.8 per cent respondents who have access to land, 32.8 per cent belong to the dry land group, whereas 5 per cent are from the category of wetlands. But none belong to the wetland category from Andhra Pradesh. No respondents belonging to the dry land holdings are from the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh and the Puri district of

Odisha. In the case of wetlands, no respondent belongs to the Khammam and Kurnool districts of Andhra Pradesh and the Puri district of Odisha. A total of 20 per cent of respondents belong to the Malkanagiri district of Odisha. In comparing the dry land category, 22 per cent belong to Odisha, whereas 43.5 per cent belong to Andhra Pradesh. And 87 per cent belong to the Khammam district of Andhra Pradesh whereas 44 per cent came from the Malkanagiri district of Odisha.

Table 5.11: Types of House

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Hut	Tiled Roof	Pacca House	Rent
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	44 (88%)	0	4 (8%)	2 (4%)
	Chinatakani	24 (48%)	0	26 (52%)	0
	Total	68 (68%)	0	30 (30%)	2 (2%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	47 (94%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)
	Midthur	45 (90%)	0	5 (10%)	0
	Total	92 (92%)	1 (1%)	6 (6%)	1 (1%)
Total		160 (80%)	1 (0.5%)	36 (18%)	3 (1.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	22 (44%)	4 (8%)	24 (48%)	0
	Kalimela	13 (26%)	17 (34%)	20 (40%)	0
	Total	35 (35%)	21 (21%)	44 (44%)	0
Puri	Puri Sadar	0	0	20 (40%)	30 (60%)
	Gopa	0	0	22 (44%)	28 (56%)
	Total	0	0	42 (42%)	58 (58%)
Total		35 (17.5%)	21 (10.5%)	86 (43%)	58 (29%)
Grand Total		195 (48.8%)	22 (5.5%)	122 (30.5%)	61 (15.2%)

In the context of the type of house, 48.8 per cent of respondents live in huts, 30.5 per cent in Pacca houses, 15.2 per cent in rented houses and 5.5 per cent in tiled-roof houses due to the massive economic crunches that these lateral household are facing. In comparing the states, 80 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh have huts, whereas 43 per cent have Pacca houses in Odisha. When comparing the respondents with huts, 80 per cent are from Andhra Pradesh, whereas 17.5 per cent are from Odisha. In the case of a tiled roof, 10.5 per cent are from Odisha and 0.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh. In the context of Pacca houses, 43 per cent of respondents are from Odisha in comparison with 18 per cent from Andhra Pradesh. The same is the case for rented houses where 29 per cent of them belong to Odisha and 1.5 per cent belong to Andhra Pradesh. In Odisha, no respondent from the Malkanagiri district lives in a rented house, none from the Puri district live in huts or houses with a tiled roof, and no respondent from Khammam had a tiled roof.

The MGNREGA is a landmark piece of legislation in the history of social security legislation in India after independence. Enacted after a successful struggle for a comprehensive employment guarantee law, this legislation is a partial victory towards a fully-fledged right to employment. Though the MGNREGA is well-thought-out legislation and a powerful tool in the hands of the common people to secure a basic livelihood, its poor execution deprives them of their basic rights. The study reveals that, despite numerous problems, the MGNREGA is a programme that has begun to make a difference especially in the lives of women. For example, women have started asserting their voices in family matters and what money should be spent on. Although awareness still continues to be a stiff challenge, women in the area of our study have become pro-active learners and participants in the schemes. Furthermore, the scheme is popular among the workers, who routinely ask if more work could be made available to them under the MGNERGA, as they would like to do more. Clearly, there is a massive demand for MGNREGA work, and the administration should respond to it by increasing the scale of employment. Both executive leaders and lawmakers should take due care that the scheme reaches the people who deserve it. Changes should be made at ground level in the system. Due care should be taken for the effective implementation of the scheme.

Nevertheless, the NREGA has been an effective wage-earning opportunity for the poor women who used to migrate along with their children to nearby villages and towns in search of waged employment. The NREGA has also proved to be a boon for SHGs, as many were not able to repay loans borrowed from the bank because some people did not have many opportunities to earn money. The Act has also brought improvements in the health status of the women workers. It has further ensured a strong social safety net for vulnerable rural women. The empowerment of women happens to be the most visible impact of NREGA. The provision of equal wages for men and women in the Act, the opportunity to share information during the course of employment in NREGA worksites, the opportunity and necessity of interacting with bank/post office/government officials, have all, in a fundamental way, empowered the rural tribal women by enhancing their confidence levels and ensuring some degree of financial independence for them.

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CHAPTER SIX

PROCEDURES OF EXCLUSION AND ADVERSE INCLUSION

This chapter deals with the awareness and participation of the respondents in the MGNREGS. It also analyses the facilities, the hurdles faced by job cardholders during the process of participation and receiving job cards. It describes the basic status of job cardholders regarding the rules and regulations, unemployment allowances, first aid facilities and workplace facilities. People's participation is the key element in the success of various programmes. The success of a development programme depends upon the effective participation of all sections of society. It will bring equity in development. In the context of gender and participation, both males and females should equally have to take part in the development programme. Traditionally it has been seen that women are supposed to remain within the four walls of the house, thus being engaged in housewife activities. The differences between men and women are deeply rooted in traditional customs, beliefs and attitudes and women are mostly fixed in the family sphere. In Indian society, gender discrimination has been seen in the spheres of education, employment, ownership of property and resources. Experience in participatory development has made clear that unless specific steps are taken to ensure the equal participation of men and women, women are often excluded. As a result, projects fail to benefit from women's contributions and fail to meet the particular needs and interests of women. Looking into this context of the provision under MGNREGA gives some information about the traditionally neglected women in rural India. Under MGNREGA, there are provisions such as providing employment priorities to women in such a way that at least one third of the beneficiaries shall be women who have registered and requested work under this scheme. Equal wages for both males and females and childcare facilities for children below the age of six in the workplace also help more women to participate. Being able to work within five kilometres from home, and participation in management, monitoring and social audits of the programme allows for effective participation of women.

Education is an important component regarding participation in the development programme. MGNREGA is essentially based on physical work in the rural locality. So, it is generally seen that less educated and illiterate people work under MGNREGA. In a general context, these people are unable to engage in any other work due to a lack of skilled knowledge and MGNREGA is mainly based upon unskilled manual work, so gives a wider scope for this category of people.

The successful implementation of the MGNREGA in the locality depends on there being awareness among the workers regarding provisions of the scheme. The MGNREGA demands such awareness regarding its provisions among the beneficiaries of the scheme, concerning the application for a job card, a demand for work, 100 days of work per household per year, unemployment allowances for not getting work, extra wages for travelling beyond 5km to a workplace, the time limit for getting work and payment, and the provision of workplace facilities during working hours.

Political awareness is an important aspect of the political participation of an individual. Awareness boosts the participation level of people in a political system. In a general sense, political awareness means knowledge and consciousness about the political system, leaders and representatives, together with rules and regulations. Political participation is the association of individuals and groups at different levels in the political system. It deals with activities by which members of a society share the selection of rulers, and participate directly or indirectly in policy-oriented decisions in the political system.[1] Political participation in the true sense of democracy is about taking part in the processes of the formulation, passage and implementation of public policies.[2] So it can be said that political participation is a voluntary activity of an individual connected with a political system. It is related to the political activities of an individual, such as voting, political campaigning, and participating in decision-making activities.

According to Sidney Verba and Noryan H. Nie, "Political participation refers to those legal activities of private citizens which are more or less directly aimed at infusing the selection of government personnel and/or action they take."[3] This definition explains that political participation, as citizens' lawful activities, is related to the selection of government personnel and their actions.

According to Samuel P. Huntington and John N. Nelson, "Political participation is simply an activity by private citizens designed to influence government decision-making and action."[4] This definition widens the scope of political participation and gives importance to citizens' participation in influencing governmental decision-making and governmental actions.

Political participation has importance from both the individual's and society's points of view. An individual determines the larger interests of society and protects his/her own interests through his/her participation.[5] In relation to the local governance, an individual's political awareness and participation are more significant because local government is directly related to the people's lives in a locality. In the Indian context, local self-government is meant to bring about effective citizen participation and the socio-economic development of the people and the locality. The Gram Panchayat is the first institution to implement several development programmes and projects. Elected representatives and local government officials implement the programme with the help and consideration of the people. So political awareness and effective participation lead to better implementation of a development programme.

The Gram Sabha is the ground level authority for people's participation in decision-making and planning in different development programmes. The main function of the Gram Sabha is the approval of the plans, programmes and projects for social and economic development before such plans, programmes and projects are taken up for implementation by the Gram Panchayat. The role of the Gram Sabha is the identification and selection of beneficiaries under the poverty alleviation scheme or another such programme. In the case of the MGNREGA, the Gram Panchayat and the Gram Sabha are the major authorities for the selection of work and its implementation. In the Gram Sabha meeting, people participate with their elected representatives and local level officials, so active people's participation in the Gram Sabha is necessary for the effective implementation of work under the MGNREGA and other development programmes.[6]

Table 6.1: Awareness of the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	42 (84%)	8 (16%)
	Chinatakani	45 (90%)	5 (10%)
	Total	87 (87%)	13 (13%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	28 (56%)	22 (44%)
	Midthur	30 (60%)	20 (40%)
	Total	58 (58%)	42 (42%)
Total		145 (72.5%)	55 (27.5%)

Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	49 (98%)	1 (2%)
	Kalimela	49 (98%)	1 (2%)
	Total	98 (98%)	2 (2%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	29 (58%)	21 (42%)
	Gopa	32 (64%)	18 (36%)
	Total	61 (61%)	39 (39%)
Total		159 (79.5%)	41 (20.5%)
Grand Total		304 (76%)	96 (24%)

Our field studies showed that a total of 76 per cent of respondents are aware of the MGNREGS, whereas 24 per cent are not. This shows that more people are aware of the MGNREGS,72.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 79.5 per cent from Odisha. while 27.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 20.5 per cent from Odisha are not aware of the MGNREGS. And 87 per cent from Khammam and 58 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh are aware of the MGNRES, whereas 98 per cent from Malkanagiri and 61 per cent from Puri districts are aware of it. This shows that the highest tribal population is more aware of the scheme. However, this is the reverse in the case of those who are less aware, Overall, 13 per cent from the district of Khammam and 42 per cent of respondents from the Kurnool district, compared with 2 per cent from the Malkanagiri district and 39 per cent from the district of Puri belong to the group who view themselves as being less aware of the MGNREGS.

Awareness of the people is an essential condition for the successful implementation of the MGNREGA. It is a demand-driven programme based on a bottom-up planning process. The effectiveness of this programme depends on people’s awareness of the provisions of the programme. Beneficiaries are expected to know the essential provisions, rules and regulations related to this programme.

In order to raise their awareness, workers have to be informed about the MGNREGA and its provisions by conducting meetings in the locality. The role of the Gram Panchayat is more important in the circulation of information regarding the provisions of the MGNREGA. Pamphlets, banners, short plays and social media like newspapers, T.V., radio and other means are used to create awareness of the MGNREGA among the workers. In the case of a tribal society, public meetings are a more suitable means of information than other means, because most of the people are illiterate. In this case, the role of NGOs is also important in spreading information.

Table 6.2: Source of Information about the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Panchayat	Functionaries	Friend
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	48 (96%)
	Chinatakani	4 (8%)	2 (4%)	44 (88%)
	Total	5 (5%)	3 (3%)	92 (92%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	6 (12%)	5 (10%)	39 (78%)
	Midthur	2 (4%)	21 (42%)	27 (54%)
	Total	8 (8%)	26 (26%)	66 (66%)
Total		13 (6.5%)	29 (14.5%)	158 (79%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	50 (100%)	0	0
	Kalimela	50 (100%)	0	0
	Total	100 (100%)	0	0
Puri	Puri Sadar	50 (100%)	0	0
	Gopa	50 (100%)	0	0
	Total	100 (100%)	0	0
Total		200 (100%)	0	0
Grand Total		213 (53.2%)	29 (7.2%)	158 (39.5%)

A total of 53.2 per cent of respondents are of the view that the Panchayat is the information source about the MGNREGS and 7.2 per cent of respondents hold the view that MGNREGS functionaries are the source of information, whereas 39.5 per cent are of the view that friends are the source of information about MGNREGS. All the respondents from Odisha think that they used to get information from the Panchayat about the MGNREGS, whereas only 6.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh are of this view. And 14.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh say that functionaries and 79 per cent say that friends are the source of information about the MGNREGS. The majority, i.e. 79 per cent, of respondents are of the view that friends are the source of information whereas 14.5 per cent of respondents say that functionaries are the source of information about the MGNREGS. And 6.5 per cent of the respondents are of the view that the Panchayat is the information source regarding the MGNREGS.

The successful implementation of MGNREGA in the locality depends on awareness among the workers regarding provisions of the scheme, applications for job cards, the demand for work, 100 days' work per household per year, unemployment allowances for not getting work, extra wages for travelling further than 5 km from the workplace, the time limit for getting work and payment, and the provisions at the workplace during working hours.

Table 6.3: Awareness of the Rules and Regulations of the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Chinatakani	2 (4%)	48 (96%)
	Total	17 (17%)	83 (83%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	9 (18%)	41 (82%)
	Midthur	5 (10%)	45 (90%)
	Total	14 (14%)	86 (86%)
Total		31 (15.5%)	169 (84.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	21 (52%)	29 (58%)
	Kalimela	4 (8%)	46 (92%)
	Total	25 (25%)	75 (75%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	8 (16%)	42 (84%)
	Gopa	5 (10%)	45 (90%)
	Total	13 (13%)	87 (87%)
Total		38 (19%)	162 (81%)
Grand Total		69 (17.2%)	331 (82.8%)

A total of 82.8 per cent of respondents claimed to be? unaware of the rules and regulations of the MGNREGS, whereas only 17.2 per cent are aware of them. When comparing both states, 15.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh compared with 19 per cent of respondents from Odisha are aware of the rules and regulations. In contrast, 86 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh, and 81 per cent of respondents from Odisha are not aware of the rules and regulations of the MGNREGS. A greater number of respondents from Odisha are aware of the rules and regulations. When comparing the districts, 17 per cent from Khamman and 14 per cent from the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, 25 per cent from Malkangiri and 13 per cent from the Puri district of Odisha are aware of the rules and regulations about MGNREGS. This reflects the fact that those districts with a high population of scheduled tribe members are more aware of the rules and regulations about the MGNREGS in comparison to those districts with the lowest tribal numbers. This is the same in the case of the districts of Odisha, as 25 per cent from Malkanagiri and 13 per cent from Puri are aware of the rules and regulations of the MGNREGS.

Table 6.4: Ways of Getting a Job Card

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Panchayat Secretary	Sarpanch	Block Office	Middleman
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	7 (14%)	38 (76%)	0	5 (10%)
	Chinatakani	3 (6%)	46 (92%)	0	1 (2%)
	Total	10 (10%)	84 (84%)	0	6 (6%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	7 (14%)	23 (46%)	9 (18%)	11 (22%)
	Midthur	3 (6%)	40 (80%)	6 (12%)	1 (2%)
	Total	10 (10%)	63 (63%)	15 (15%)	12 (12%)
Total		20 (10%)	147 (73.5%)	15 (7.5%)	18 (9%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	47 (94%)	0	3 (6%)	0
	Kalimela	42 (84%)	3 (6%)	5 (10%)	0
	Total	89 (89%)	3 (3%)	8 (8%)	0
Puri	Puri Sadar	20 (40%)	14 (28%)	5 (10%)	11 (22%)
	Gopa	9 (18%)	15 (30%)	11 (22%)	15 (30%)
	Total	29 (29%)	29 (29%)	16 (16%)	26 (26%)
Total		118 (59%)	32 (16%)	24 (12%)	26 (13%)
Grand Total		138 (34.5%)	179 (44.8%)	39 (9.8%)	44 (11%)

A total of 44.8 per cent of respondents belong to the category of those getting job cards from the Sarpanch and 34.5 per cent of respondents from the Panchayat Secretary. And 11 per cent are of the view that they get their job card from a middleman, whereas 9.8 per cent are of the opinion that they get them from the block office. The majority of the respondents from Andhra Pradesh, 73.5 per cent, view the Sarpanch as the source of getting job cards, whereas 16 per cent of respondents see the source as the Panchayat Secretary. When comparing the states, 10 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 59 per cent from Odisha think that the Panchayat Secretary is the source of getting job cards. In the category of those who view the Sarpanch as the source of getting a job card, 73.5 per cent are from Andhra Pradesh and 16 per cent are from Odisha, whereas 7.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 12 per cent from Odisha expressed the view that the block office is the source of getting a job card. A total of 9 and 13 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively think that a middleman is a source of getting a job card. No respondents from the district of Malkanagiri are of the view that a middleman provides job cards.

People's participation in decision-making and planning is an important component in a participatory development process. The involvement of the common person in decision-making helps for better implementation of a development project. Participation in the decision-making process helps to influence the decision-makers' actions and leads to the formulation of people-centric decisions. The local people know the local problems and issues and have traditional ideas and thus little knowledge to solve their problem by using local resources. So, the people's participation in the decision-making and planning strengthens their will-power to be actively involved in the development programme and it gives scope for them to express their democratic rights. In the context of local self-governance in India, the aim of the Panchayati Raj institution is to involve people in the process of decision-making, implementation and evaluation in development programmes. The Gram Sabha is the ground-level authority for people's involvement in decision-making and planning activities. In the context of the MGNREGA, the job cardholders have to participate in the decision-making and planning processes. They have to collectively decide the type of work and workplace, and the beneficiaries in a Gram Sabha meeting or a special NREGA meeting. In the decision-making and planning process, the elected representatives and government officials join with the people and collectively take decisions and formulate the plan.

Table 6.5: Problems faced in getting a Job Card

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Chinatakani	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Total	27 (27%)	73 (73%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	19 (38%)	31 (62%)
	Midthur	14 (28%)	36 (76%)
	Total	33 (33%)	67 (67%)
Total		60 (30%)	140 (70%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	18 (36%)	32 (64%)
	Kalimela	17 (34%)	33 (66%)
	Total	35 (35%)	65 (65%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	14 (28%)	36 (72%)
	Gopa	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Total	29 (29%)	71 (71%)
Total		64 (32%)	136 (68%)
Grand Total		124 (31%)	276 (69%)

A total of 69 per cent of respondents agree that there are problems arising in getting a job card, whereas 31 per cent of respondents do not. This reflects that the greater population of scheduled tribe people are not facing problems in getting a job card. A total of 30 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 32 per cent from Odisha are facing problems in receiving job cards, whereas 70 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 68 per cent of respondents from Odisha are not facing problems in getting a job card. And 27 per cent from Khammam and 33 per cent from the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh and 35 per cent of respondents from the Malkanagiri district and 29 per cent from the Puri district of Odisha are facing problems in getting job cards. Whereas, 73 per cent from the Khammam district and 67 per cent from the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, 65 per cent from the Malkanagiri district and 71 per cent from the Puri district of Odisha are not facing problems in getting job cards.

There are some factors which create hindrances for the participation of people in the MGNREGS, such as a delay in payment, a lower wage rate, lack of the government official's support, hard work in the field and rigid work hours. These create obstacles for effective participation in this programme.

Table 6.6: Types of Problems in getting a Job Card

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Delay	Shortage of job cards	Asking for money	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	9 (18%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	38 (76%)
	Chinatakani	5 (10%)	7 (14%)	3 (6%)	35 (70%)
	Total	14 (14%)	9 (9%)	4 (4%)	73 (73%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	13 (26%)	3 (6%)	3 (6%)	31 (62%)
	Midthur	10 (20%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)	36 (72%)
	Total	23 (23%)	5 (5%)	5 (5%)	67 (67%)
Total		37 (18.5%)	14 (7%)	9 (4.5%)	140 (70%)

Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	14 (28%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)	32 (64%)
	Kalimela	2 (4%)	13 (26%)	2 (4%)	33 (66%)
	Total	16 (16%)	15 (15%)	4 (4%)	65 (65%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	11 (22%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	36 (72%)
	Gopa	13 (26%)	0	2 (4%)	35 (70%)
	Total	24 (24%)	1 (1%)	4 (4%)	71 (71%)
Total		40 (20%)	16 (8%)	8 (4%)	136 (68%)
Grand Total		77 (19.2%)	30 (7.5%)	17 (4.2%)	276 (69%)

A total of 31 per cent of respondents are facing problems in getting job cards. Among these respondents, 19.2 per cent are facing problems due to delay, 7.5 per cent due to a shortage of job cards, 4.2 per cent due to being asked for money in getting job cards, and 4.2 per cent due to corruption in getting job cards. A total of 18.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 20 per cent of respondents from Odisha are facing problems due to delays in getting a job card. And 8 per cent from Odisha and 7 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh are facing problems due to the shortage of job cards. A total of 4.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 4 per cent from Odisha are facing problems in getting job cards due to corruption. Comparing the districts, 14 per cent from Khammam and 23 per cent from the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, 16 per cent from Malkanagiri and 24 per cent from the Puri district of Odisha view delay as the major problem in getting job cards. Only 9 per cent of respondents from the Khammam district and 5 per cent from the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, 15 per cent from Malkanagiri and 1 per cent of respondents from Puri in Odisha agreed that they faced problems due to the shortage of job cards. And 4 per cent of respondents from Khammam and 5 per cent from Kurnool, 4 per cent of respondents from Malkanagiri and 4 per cent from Puri are of the opinion that corruption is the major reason for facing problems in getting job cards.

Table 6.7: Awareness of the Issuing Authority of a Job Card

Name of the	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	11 (22%)	39 (78%)
	Chinatakani	26 (52%)	24 (48%)
	Total	37 (37%)	63 (63%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	6 (12%)	44 (88%)
	Midthur	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Total	18 (18%)	82 (82%)
Total		55 (27.5%)	145 (72.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	19 (38%)	31 (62%)
	Kalimela	31 (62%)	19 (38%)
	Total	50 (50%)	50 (50%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	8 (16%)	42 (84%)
	Gopa	16 (32%)	34 (64%)
	Total	24 (24%)	76 (76%)
Total		74 (74%)	126 (63%)
Grand Total		129 (32.3%)	271 (67.8%)

A total of 67.8 per cent of respondents are not aware of the issuing authority for a job card, whereas 32.3 per cent respondents are aware of it. This reflects the fact that more respondents are unaware of the issuing authority than are aware of it. In comparing both states, 27.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 24 per cent from Odisha claimed that they are aware of the issuing authority of the job cards. A total of 72.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 63 per cent from Odisha are unaware about the issuing authority of job cards in the context of the MGNREGS. In comparing the districts between the states, of those who are aware of the issuing authority of job cards, 37 per cent are from Khammam, and 18 per cent are from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh, whereas 50 per cent are from Malkanagiri and 24 per cent of respondents from the Puri district of Odisha. In terms of the districts of Andhra Pradesh, 63 per cent from Khammam and 82 per cent from Kurnool belong to the view that they are not aware of the issuing authority, while in the districts of Odisha the numbers are 50 per cent from Malkanagiri and 76 per cent from Puri.

The level of general awareness plays a prominent role in the process of a people-oriented development programme. Awareness influences the effectiveness of people's participation in the development programme and leads to the successful implementation of the development project.

Table 6.8: Knowledge of the Issuing Authority of the Job Card

Name of District	Name of the Block	Panchayat Secretary	Sarpanch	BDO	Gram Sathi	No Idea
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	0	0	11 (22%)	0	39 (78%)
	Chinatakani	0	0	26 (52%)	0	24 (48%)
	Total	0	0	37 (37%)	0	63 (63%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	3 (6%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	44 (88%)
	Midthur	6 (12%)	6 (12%)	0	0	38 (76%)
	Total	9 (9%)	7 (7%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	82 (82%)
Total		9 (4.5%)	7 (3.5%)	38 (19%)	1 (0.5%)	145 (72.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	5 (10%)	10 (20%)	4 (8%)	0	31 (62%)
	Kalimela	30 (60%)	1 (2%)	0	0	19 (38%)
	Total	35 (35%)	11 (11%)	4 (4%)	0	50 (50%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	2 (4%)	6 (12%)	0	0	42 (84%)
	Gopa	13 (26%)	3 (6%)	0	0	34 (68%)
	Total	15 (15%)	9 (9%)	0	0	76 (76%)
Total		50 (25%)	20 (10%)	4 (2%)	0	126 (63%)
Grand Total		59 (14.8%)	27 (6.8%)	42 (10.5%)	1 (0.2%)	271 (67.8%)

Of the 32.3 per cent of respondents who are aware of the issuing authority of a job card, 14.8 per cent of respondents say it is the Panchayat secretary, 10.5 per cent say the BDO, 6.8 per cent respondents think it is the Sarpanch and 0.2 per cent say the Gram Sathi. All the respondents who are aware of the issuing authority are of the view that it is the BDO who is the issuing authority of a job card. Only 15 per cent say the Panchayat Secretary whereas 9 per cent say the Sarpanch is the issuing authority of a job card. From the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, 9 per cent say the Panchayat Secretary, for 7 per cent it is the Sarpanch, whereas it is the BDO and also the Gram Sathi for 1 per cent of respondents, regarding the issuing authority for a job card in the context of the MGNREGS. In the case of the Malkanagiri district of Odisha, 35 per cent of respondents hold the view that it is the Panchayat Secretary, 11 per cent the Sarpanch and 4 per cent view the BDO as the job card issuing authority. In the case of the Puri district of Odisha, 15 per cent view the Panchayat Secretary, and 9 per cent view the Sarpanch as the issuing authority for job cards.

Table 6.9: Have you made an Approach for a Job Card?

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	3 (6%)	47 (94%)
	Chinatakani	4 (8%)	46 (92%)
	Total	7 (7%)	93 (93%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	35 (70%)	15 (30%)
	Midthur	27 (54%)	23 (46%)
	Total	62 (62%)	38 (38%)
Total		69 (34.5%)	131 (65.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	9 (18%)	41 (82%)
	Kalimela	18 (36%)	32 (64%)
	Total	27 (27%)	73 (73%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	35 (70%)	15 (30%)
	Gopa	31 (62%)	19 (38%)
	Total	66 (66%)	34 (34%)
Total		93 (46.5%)	107 (53.5%)
Grand Total		162 (40.5%)	238 (59.5%)

A total of 40.5 per cent of people stated in response to this question that they have made an approach for job cards, whereas 59.5 per cent of respondents say that they have not made an approach for job cards. This reflects that most of the people are not making an approach for job cards, but at the same time, a huge percentage of people are making an approach for job cards. In comparing the states, 46.5 per cent of respondents from Odisha and 34.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh are of the opinion that they have made an approach for job cards, whereas 65.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 53.3 per cent of respondents from Odisha said that they are not approaching anybody for job cards. In comparison, more respondents apply for job cards in Andhra Pradesh than in Odisha. Of all the people that have applied for a job card in the MGNREGS programme in Andhra Pradesh, 7 per cent are from Khammam and 62 per cent from Kurnool. In Odisha, the numbers are 27 per cent from Malkanagiri and 66 per cent of the respondents from the Puri district. The rest of the population are not interested in applying for a job card. This tells us that states with a lower tribal population apply more frequently for a job card than states with a higher tribal population.

Table 6.10: Did you receive a Job Card Free of Charge?

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	44 (88%)	6 (12%)
	Chinatakani	47 (94%)	3 (6%)
	Total	91 (91%)	9 (9%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	32 (64%)	18 (36%)
	Midthur	32 (64%)	18 (36%)
	Total	64 (64%)	36 (36%)
Total		155 (77.5%)	45 (22.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	32 (64%)	18 (36%)
	Kalimela	39 (78%)	11 (22%)
	Total	71 (71%)	29 (29%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	40 (80%)	10 (20%)
	Gopa	41 (82%)	9 (18%)
	Total	81 (81%)	19 (19%)
Total		152 (76%)	48 (24%)
Grand Total		307 (76.8%)	93 (23.2%)

A total of 76.8 per cent of respondents obtained a job card for free, and the rest did not. Therefore, most of the people got a job card for free. In comparison, 77.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 76 per cent of respondents from Odisha received a job card free of charge, while the rest of the population in the respective states did not. So, more people have obtained a job card for free in Andhra Pradesh than in Odisha. The percentages for the various districts in Andhra Pradesh and Odisha are as follows: 91 per cent from Khammam and 64 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh, in contrast to 71 per cent from Malkanagiri and 81 per cent from Puri in Odisha, receive a job card for free. Only 9 per cent from

Khammam but 36 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh along with 29 per cent from Malkangiri and 19 per cent from Puri in Odisha do not receive a job card for free. This shows that districts with a higher scheduled tribe population are obtaining a job card for free in comparison to others.

Table 6.11: Whom did you pay for a Job Card?

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Sarpanch	Panchayat Secretary	Wad Member	Gram Sathi	Block Office	No Idea
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	1 (2%)	5 (10%)	0	0	0	44 (88%)
	Chinatakani	0	3 (6%)	0	0	0	47 (94%)
	Total	1 (1%)	8 (8%)	0	0	0	91 (91%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	6 (12%)	8 (16%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	32 (64%)
	Midthur	7 (14%)	6 (12%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	3 (6%)	32 (64%)
	Total	13 (13%)	14 (14%)	3 (3%)	2 (2%)	4 (4%)	64 (64%)
Total		14 (7%)	22 (11%)	3 (1.5%)	2 (1%)	4 (2%)	155 (77.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	2 (4%)	11 (22%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	32 (64%)
	Kalimela	5 (10%)	5 (10%)	1 (2%)	0	0	39 (78%)
	Total	7 (7%)	16 (16%)	3 (3%)	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	71 (71%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	7 (14%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	0	0	40 (80%)
	Gopa	0	4 (8%)	3 (6%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	41 (82%)
	Total	7 (7%)	6 (6%)	4 (4%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	81 (81%)
Total		14 (7%)	22 (11%)	7 (3.5%)	3 (1.5%)	2 (1%)	152 (76%)
Grand Total		28 (7%)	44 (11%)	10 (2.5%)	5 (1.2%)	6 (1.5%)	307 (76.8%)

Out of 23.2 per cent of respondents who are not getting job card for free, 11 per cent have paid the Panchayat, 7 per cent the Sarpanch, 2.5 per cent a ward member, while 1.5 per cent of respondents paid the block office and 1.2 per cent respondents the Gram Sathi. This reflects that the majority of the respondents are paying the Panchayat Secretary for getting job cards. In comparing the states, equal numbers of respondents are paying the Panchayat Secretary for getting job cards from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha. Only 7 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha are getting job cards after paying the Sarpanch. Moreover, 1.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 3.5 from Odisha have paid a ward member for a job card. Of the respondents who paid the Gram Sathi for a job card, 1 per cent were from Andhra Pradesh while 1.5 per cent were from Odisha. Among the respondents who paid the Block office for a job card, 2 per cent were from Andhra Pradesh while 1 per cent were from Odisha.

Table 6.12: Do you have a photo on your Job Card?

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	46 (92%)	4 (8%)
	Chinatakani	46 (92%)	4 (8%)
	Total	92 (92%)	8 (8%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	42 (84%)	8 (16%)
	Midthur	37 (74%)	13 (26%)
	Total	79 (79%)	21 (21%)
Total		171 (85.5%)	29 (14.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	43 (86%)	7 (14%)
	Kalimela	39 (78%)	11 (22%)
	Total	82 (82%)	18 (18%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	37 (74%)	13 (26%)
	Gopa	39 (78%)	11 (22%)
	Total	76 (76%)	24 (24%)
Total		158 (79%)	42 (21%)
Grand Total		329 (82.2%)	71 (17.8%)

A total of 82.2 per cent of respondents have a photo on their job card, the rest (17.8%) do not. This implies that the majority of respondents have photos on their job cards. A total of 85.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 79 per cent from Odisha have photos on their job cards. This implies that more respondents from Andhra Pradesh have photos on their cards in comparison to the respondents from Odisha. And 92 per cent from Khammam and 79 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh, while 82 per cent from Malkangiri and 76 per cent from Puri in Odisha, have photos on their MGNREGS job cards. This implies that more respondents from Andhra Pradesh have a photo on their job card than those from Odisha. This also reflects that places with a higher scheduled tribal population have photos on their job cards in comparison to places with a lower tribal population. This equates to 8 per cent of people from Khammam (Andhra), 21 per cent of people from Kurnool (Andhra) and 18 per cent of people from Odisha.

Table 6.13: Number of persons on a Job Card

Name of the District	Name of the Block	1	2	3	4
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	9 (18%)	21 (42%)	10 (20%)	10 (20%)
	Chinatakani	6 (12%)	29 (58%)	5 (10%)	10 (20%)
	Total	15 (15%)	50 (50%)	15 (15%)	20 (20%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	16 (32%)	34 (68%)	0	0
	Midthur	19 (38%)	27 (54%)	3 (6%)	1 (2%)
	Total	35 (35%)	61 (61%)	3 (3%)	1 (1%)
Total		50 (25%)	111 (55.5%)	18 (9%)	21 (10.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	4 (8%)	23 (46%)	17 (34%)	6 (12%)
	Kalimela	6 (12%)	24 (48%)	16 (32%)	4 (8%)
	Total	10 (10%)	47 (47%)	33 (33%)	10 (10%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	6 (12%)	27 (54%)	11 (22%)	6 (12%)
	Gopa	4 (8%)	33 (66%)	9 (18%)	4 (8%)
	Total	10 (10%)	60 (60%)	20 (20%)	10 (10%)
Total		20 (10%)	107 (53.5%)	53 (26.5%)	20 (10%)
Grand Total		70 (17.5%)	218 (54.5%)	71 (17.8%)	41 (10.2%)

A total of 54.5 per cent of respondents, which is the majority, are of the view that the number of people on a job card is two, 17.8 per cent three people, 17.5 per cent a single person, whereas 10.2 per cent of respondents want four people on a job card. The majority of the people want two people on a job card. 55.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh want two people on a job card, whereas 53.5 per cent of respondents from Odisha support the idea. From Andhra Pradesh, 9 per cent of people, and 26.5 per cent people from Odisha, want three people on one job card. In comparison, 10.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh want four people on a card, whereas 10 per cent of respondents from Odisha support this idea.

Table 6.14: Lease basis of the Job Card

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	1 (2%)	49 (98%)
	Chinatakani	1 (2%)	49 (98%)
	Total	2 (2%)	98 (98%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	5 (10%)	45 (90%)
	Midthur	9 (18%)	41 (82%)
	Total	14 (14%)	86 (86%)
Total		16 (8%)	184 (92%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	2 (4%)	48 (96%)
	Kalimela	3 (6%)	47 (94%)
	Total	5 (10%)	95 (95%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	6 (12%)	44 (88%)
	Gopa	4 (8%)	46 (92%)
	Total	10 (10%)	90 (90%)
Total		15 (7.5%)	185 (92.5%)
Grand Total		31 (7.8%)	369 (92.2%)

A total of 7.8 per cent of respondents are of the opinion that they have been given their card on a lease basis, whereas 92.2 per cent are of the view that they have not been given their card on a lease basis. In comparing the two states, 8 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh, and 7.5 per cent of respondents from Odisha, is of the view that they have been given their job card on a lease basis. This shows that almost equal numbers of respondents from both states are of the opinion that they have been given their job card on a lease basis. Overall, 92 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 92.5 per cent of respondents from Odisha believe they have not been given their job card on a lease basis. Only 2 per cent of respondents from Khammam but 14 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh along with 10 per cent from Malkanagiri and 10 per cent from Puri in Odisha think they have been given their job card on a lease basis. A total of 98 per cent from Khammam and 86 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh along with 95 per cent from Malkanagiri and 90 per cent from Puri in Odisha have not? been given their job card on a lease basis.

Table 6.15: Are Wages and Days Mentioned on the Job Card?

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	46 (92%)	4 (8%)
	Chinatakani	42 (84%)	8 (16%)
	Total	88 (88%)	12 (12%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	39 (78%)	11 (22%)
	Midthur	42 (84%)	8 (16%)
	Total	81 (81%)	19 (19%)
Total		169 (84.5%)	31 (15.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	45 (90%)	5 (10%)
	Kalimela	39 (78%)	11 (22%)
	Total	84 (42%)	16 (8%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	38 (76%)	12 (24%)
	Gopa	41 (82%)	9 (18%)
	Total	79 (79%)	21 (21%)
Total		163 (81.5%)	37 (18.5%)
Grand Total		329 (82.2%)	71 (17.8%)

A total of 82.2 per cent of respondents have wages and days mentioned on job cards, whereas 17.8 per cent of respondents do not. In total, 84.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh along with 81.5 per cent of respondents from Odisha have their wages and days mentioned on the job card, whereas 15.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh, in comparison to 18.5 per cent from Odisha, has no mention of wages and days on their job cards. A total of 88 per cent from Khammam and 81 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh, 42 per cent from Malkanagiri and 79 per cent respondents from Puri in Odisha, have wages and days mentioned on their job cards. And 12 per cent from Khammam and 19 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh in comparison to 8 per cent from Malkanagiri and 21 per cent from Puri in Odisha have no mention of wages and days on their job card.

Table 6.16: Wrong Data on the Job Card

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No	N/A
Khammm	Tenkulapalle	2 (4%)	39 (78%)	9 (18%)
	Chinatakani	2 (4%)	35 (70%)	13 (26%)
	Total	4 (4%)	74 (74%)	22 (22%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	7 (14%)	18 (36%)	25 (50%)
	Midthur	2 (4%)	16 (32%)	32 (64%)
	Total	9 (9%)	34 (34%)	57 (57%)
Total		13 (6.5%)	108 (54%)	79 (39.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	2 (4%)	19 (38%)	29 (58%)
	Kalimela	4 (8%)	32 (64%)	14 (28%)
	Total	6 (6%)	51 (51%)	43 (43%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	5 (10%)	17 (34%)	28 (56%)
	Gopa	0	37 (74%)	13 (26%)
	Total	5 (5%)	54 (54%)	41 (41%)
Total		11 (5.5%)	105 (52.5%)	84 (42%)
Grand Total		24 (6%)	213 (53.2%)	163 (40.8%)

Six per cent of respondents are of the view that wrong data is mentioned on job cards, whereas 53.2 per cent of respondents say that the data on their job card is correct. Only 6.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 5.5 per cent of respondents from Odisha are of the opinion that some wrong data was entered on job cards whereas 54 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 52.5 per cent from Odisha believe that the data on their job card is correct.

Table 6.17: Complaints Regarding the Wrong Data on a Job Card

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	2 (4%)	39 (78%)
	Chinatakani	2 (4%)	35 (70%)
	Total	4 (4%)	74 (74%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	3 (6%)	22 (44%)
	Midthur	1 (2%)	17 (32%)
	Total	4 (4%)	39 (34%)
Total		8 (4%)	113 (56.5%)

Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	2 (4%)	19 (38%)
	Kalimela	2 (4%)	34 (68%)
	Total	4 (4%)	53 (51%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	2 (4%)	20 (40%)
	Gopa	0	37 (74%)
	Total	2 (2%)	57 (54%)
Total		6 (3%)	110 (55%)
Grand Total		14 (3.5%)	223 (55.8%)

A total of 3.5 per cent of respondents complained about wrong data on job cards, whereas 55.8 per cent respondents have not. Four per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 3 per cent from Odisha have complaints regarding wrong data on job cards. A further 56.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 55 per cent of respondents from Odisha have not complained about the wrong data on job cards. Four per cent from Khammam and 4 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh and 4 per cent from Malkanagiri and 2 per cent from Puri in Odisha were making complaints about the wrong data on their job cards. In total, 74 per cent from Khammam and 34 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh and 51 per cent from Malkanagiri and 54 per cent from Puri in Odisha are not complaining about the wrong data on their job cards.

Table 6.18: Received Work under the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	47 (94%)	3 (6%)
	Chinatakani	48 (96%)	2 (4%)
	Total	95 (95%)	5 (5%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	49 (98%)	1 (2%)
	Midthur	47 (94%)	3 (6%)
	Total	96 (96%)	4 (4%)
Total		191 (95.5%)	9 (4.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	44 (88%)	6 (12%)
	Kalimela	43 (86%)	7 (14%)
	Total	87 (87%)	13 (13%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	39 (78%)	11 (22%)
	Gopa	45 (90%)	5 (10%)
	Total	84 (84%)	16 (16%)
Total		171 (85.5%)	29 (14.5%)
Grand Total		362 (90.5%)	38 (9.5%)

In total, 90.5 per cent of respondents have received work under the MGNREGS, whereas 9.5 per cent of respondents are not getting any work under the MGNREGS. A total of 95.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 85.5 per cent of respondents from Odisha are getting work under the MGNREGS. Only 4.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 14.5 per cent of respondents from Odisha are not getting work under the MGNREGS. In total, 95 and 96 per cent from the Khammam and Kurnool districts respectively, of Andhra Pradesh state, and 87 and 84 per cent from the Malkanagiri and Puri districts of Odisha respectively, have received work under the MGNREGS. Five per cent from Khammam and 4 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh, and 13 per cent from Malkanagiri and 16 per cent from the Puri district of Odisha are not receiving work under the MGNREGS.

Table 6.19: Number of Days Work under the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	1-30	31-60	61-90	Above 90	No Work
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	15 (30%)	22 (44%)	3 (6%)	7 (14%)	3 (6%)
	Chinatakani	10 (20%)	14 (28%)	15 (30%)	9 (18%)	2 (4%)
	Total	25 (25%)	36 (36%)	18 (18%)	16 (16%)	5 (5%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	12 (24%)	36 (72%)	1 (2%)	0	1 (2%)
	Midthur	8 (16%)	35 (70%)	4 (8%)	0	3 (6%)
	Total	20 (20%)	71 (71%)	5 (5%)	0	4 (4%)
Total		45 (22.5%)	107 (53.5%)	23 (11.5%)	16 (8%)	9 (4.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	15 (30%)	15 (30%)	11 (22%)	3 (6%)	6 (12%)
	Kalimela	12 (24%)	16 (32%)	10 (20%)	5 (10%)	7 (14%)
	Total	27 (27%)	31 (31%)	21 (21%)	8 (8%)	13 (13%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	35 (70%)	4 (8%)	0	0	11 (22%)
	Gopa	39 (78%)	6 (12%)	0	0	5 (10%)
	Total	74 (74%)	10 (10%)	0	0	16 (16%)
Total		101 (50.5%)	41 (20.5%)	21 (10.5%)	8 (4%)	29 (14.5%)
Grand Total		146 (36.5%)	148 (37%)	44 (11%)	24 (6%)	38 (9.5%)

In total, 37 per cent of respondents are getting work for 31-60 days, whereas 36.5 per cent get work for 1-30 days. At the same time, 11 per cent of respondents get work for 61-90 days, whereas 6 per cent get work for more than 90 days. In comparing the different states, 30 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh, whereas 50.5 per cent of respondents from Odisha get work for 1-30 days, whereas 53.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 20.5 per cent of respondents from Odisha get work for 31-60 days. A total of 11.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 10.5 per cent from Odisha get work for 61-90 days. 8 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 4 per cent from Odisha get work for more than 90 days. Nobody from the Kurnool district and Puri is getting work above 90 days. The results show that only 6 per cent of respondents are getting work for above 90 days. Nobody got work for more than 100 days, which is in line with the rules of the MGNREGS

Table 6.20: Have you made an Approach for Work under the MGNREGS?

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Chinatakani	14 (28%)	36 (72%)
	Total	29 (29%)	71 (71%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	26 (52%)	24 (48%)
	Midthur	30 (60%)	20 (40%)
	Total	56 (56%)	44 (44%)
Total		85 (42.5%)	115 (57.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	18 (36%)	32 (64%)
	Kalimela	33 (66%)	17 (34%)
	Total	51 (51%)	49 (49%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Gopa	11 (22%)	39 (78%)
	Total	23 (23%)	77 (77%)
Total		74 (37%)	126 (63%)
Grand Total		159 (39.8%)	241 (60.2%)

A total of 39.8 per cent of respondents have made an approach for work under the MGNREGS, whereas 60.2 per cent of respondents have not made an approach for work under the MGNREGS. A total of 42.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh whereas 37 per cent respondents from Odisha are asking for work under the MGNREGS. And 29 per cent of respondents from Khammam and 56 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra

Pradesh along with 51 per cent of respondents from Malkanagiri and 23 per cent from the Puri district of Odisha have made an approach for work.

Table 6.21: Whom Have You Approached for Work under the MGNREGS?

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Sarpanch	Panchayat Secretary	Ward Member	Gram Sathi	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	10 (20%)	5 (10%)	0	0	35 (70%)
	Chinatakani	3 (6%)	8 (16%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	36 (72%)
	Total	13 (13%)	13 (13%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	71 (71%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	15 (30%)	6 (12%)	5 (10%)	0	24 (48%)
	Midthur	21 (42%)	9 (18%)	0	0	20 (40%)
	Total	36 (36%)	15 (15%)	5 (5%)	0	44 (44%)
Total		49 (24.5%)	28 (14%)	6 (3%)	2 (1%)	115 (57.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	8 (16%)	8 (16%)	2 (4%)	0	32 (64%)
	Kalimela	21 (42%)	10 (20%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	17 (34%)
	Total	29 (29%)	18 (18%)	3 (3%)	1 (1%)	49 (49%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	4 (8%)	5 (10%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	38 (76%)
	Gopa	4 (8%)	7 (14%)	0	0	39 (78%)
	Total	8 (8%)	12 (12%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	77 (77%)
Total		37 (18.5%)	30 (15%)	4 (2%)	3 (1.5%)	126 (63%)
Grand Total		86 (21.5%)	58 (14.5%)	10 (2.5%)	5 (1.2%)	241 (60.2%)

A total of 21.5 per cent of respondents have approached the Sarpanches, 14.5 per cent the Panchayat Secretary, 2.5 per cent a ward member and 1.2 per cent have approached the Gram Sathi for work under the MGNREGS. Out of the 21.5 per cent respondents, 24.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 18.5 per cent from Odisha have approached the Sarpanch for work under the MGNREGS. Out of the 14.5 per cent of respondents, 14 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 15 per cent from Odisha have approached the Panchayat Secretary for work under the MGNREGS. Out of 2.5 per cent respondents, 3 per cent from Andhra Pradesh, in comparison to 2 per cent from Odisha, have approached a ward member for work under the MGNREGS. Among the remaining 1.2 per cent of respondents, 1 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 1.5 per cent from Odisha have approached the Gram Sathi for work under the MGNREGS.

Table 6.22: After how many days of Complaints did you receive work?

Name of the District	Name of the Block	15-30 Days	Above 30 Days	No Work	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	5 (10%)	10 (20%)	0	35 (70%)
	Chinatakani	8 (16%)	4 (8%)	2 (4%)	36 (72%)
	Total	13 (13%)	14 (14%)	2 (2%)	71 (71%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	6 (12%)	20 (40%)	0	24 (48%)
	Midthur	9 (18%)	21 (42%)	0	20 (40%)
	Total	15 (15%)	41 (41%)	0	44 (44%)
Total		28 (14%)	55 (27.5%)	2 (1%)	115 (57.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	8 (16%)	10 (20%)	0	32 (64%)
	Kalimela	10 (20%)	22 (44%)	1 (2%)	17 (34%)
	Total	18 (18%)	32 (32%)	1 (1%)	49 (49%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	5 (10%)	5 (10%)	2 (4%)	38 (76%)
	Gopa	7 (14%)	4 (8%)	0	39 (78%)
Total		12 (12%)	9 (9%)	2 (2%)	77 (77%)
Total		30 (15%)	41 (20.5%)	3 (1.5%)	126 (63%)
Grand Total		58 (14.5%)	96 (24%)	5 (1.2%)	241 (60.2%)

A total of 24 per cent of respondents received work after complaining for more than 30 days. In total, 14.5 per cent of respondents got a job after 15-30 days of complaining. Only 1.2 per cent have not got any work even after complaining. A total of 14 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 15 per cent from Odisha got work after 15-30 days, whereas 27.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 20.5 per cent from Odisha got work after more than 30 days. Only 1 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 1.5 per cent from Odisha have not got any work after complaining.

Table 6.23: Unemployment Allowances

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	3 (6%)	47 (94%)
	Chinatakani	2 (4%)	48 (96%)
	Total	5 (5%)	95 (95%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	1 (2%)	49 (98%)
	Midthur	3 (6%)	47 (94%)
	Total	4 (4%)	96 (96%)
Total		9 (4.5%)	191 (95.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	6 (12%)	44 (88%)
	Kalimela	7 (14%)	43 (86%)
	Total	13 (13%)	87 (87%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	11 (22%)	39 (78%)
	Gopa	5 (10%)	45 (90%)
	Total	16 (16%)	84 (84%)
Total		29 (14.5%)	171 (85.5%)
Grand Total		38 (9.5%)	362 (90.5%)

With regard to the unemployment allowances, in the Khammam district of Andhra Pradesh, 94 per cent of respondents from the Tenkulapalle block and 96 per cent from Chintakani are not getting unemployment allowances. In total, 95 per cent of people are not getting unemployment allowances. At the same time in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, 98 per cent from the Tuggali block and 94 per cent from the Midthur block are not getting unemployment allowances. In total, 95.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh are not getting unemployment allowances. In the case of Odisha, in the Malkanagiri district, 88 per cent of respondents from K. Gumma and 86 per cent from Kalimela are not getting unemployment allowances whereas, in the Puri district, 78 per cent from Puri Sadar and 90 per cent from the Gopa block are not getting unemployment allowances. The total number of respondents not getting unemployment allowances is 90.5 per cent. In comparison, more Andhra Pradesh respondents are not getting unemployment allowances compared with Odisha respondents.

Table 6.24: Awareness of MGNREGS work

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	35 (70%)	15 (30%)
	Chinatakani	38 (76%)	12 (24%)
	Total	73 (73%)	27 (27%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	36 (72%)	14 (28%)
	Midthur	33 (66%)	17 (34%)
	Total	69 (69%)	31 (31%)
Total		142 (71%)	58 (29%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	37 (74%)	13 (26%)
	Kalimela	24 (48%)	26 (52%)
	Total	61 (61%)	39 (39%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	35 (70%)	15 (30%)
	Gopa	37 (74%)	13 (26%)
	Total	72 (72%)	28 (28%)
Total		133 (66.5%)	67 (33.5%)
Grand Total		275 (68.8%)	125 (31.2%)

Overall, a total of 68.8 per cent of respondents are aware of the MGNREGS work in comparison with 31.2 per cent who are unaware of the work. In the Khammam district, 73 per cent are aware whereas 27 per cent are unaware of the programme. In total, 69 per cent of respondents are aware of the programme, compared to 31 per cent who are unaware of the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh. In Odisha, 61 per cent are aware of the programme whereas 39 per cent are not aware of the MGNREGS work in Malkanagiri district. At the same time, 72 per cent are aware whereas 28 per cent are unaware of the MGNREGS work in the Puri district. Comparing the states, we find that more respondents are aware in Andhra Pradesh in comparison with Odisha. In comparing the districts, those districts with lower tribal populations are more aware of the MGNREGS work than the ones with greater tribal populations.

Table 6.25: Work during the last six years under the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Land Development	Minor Irrigation	Drain Repair	Road Building	School Building	Ponds	Mango Farms	Water conservation	Not Applicable
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	15 (30%)	10 (20%)	4 (8%)	6 (12%)	0	0	0	0	15 (30%)
	Chinatakani	12 (24%)	11 (22%)	4 (8%)	0	0	6 (12%)	5 (10%)	0	12 (24%)
	Total	27 (27%)	21 (21%)	8 (8%)	6 (6%)	0	6 (6%)	5 (5%)	0	27 (27%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	4 (8%)	2 (4%)	7 (14%)	9 (18%)	11 (22%)	0	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	14 (28%)
	Midthur	7 (14%)	0	0	0	12 (24%)	0	8 (16%)	6 (12%)	17 (34%)
	Total	11 (11%)	2 (2%)	7 (7%)	9 (9%)	23 (23%)	0	9 (9%)	8 (8%)	31 (31%)
Total	38 (19%)	23 (11.5%)	15 (7.5%)	15 (7.5%)	23 (11.5%)	6 (3%)	14 (7%)	8 (4%)	58 (29%)	

Malkaangiri	K. Gumma	14 (28%)	6 (12%)	0	3 (6%)	6 (12%)	0	6 (12%)	2 (4%)	13 (26%)
	Kalimela	6 (12%)	3 (6%)	2 (4%)	10 (20%)	0	0	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	26 (52%)
	Total	20 (20%)	9 (9%)	2 (2%)	13 (13%)	6 (6%)	0	7 (7%)	4 (4%)	39 (39%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	15 (30%)	13 (26%)	1 (2%)	0	0	0	6 (12%)	0	15 (30%)
	Gopa	4 (8%)	1 (2%)	4 (8%)	3 (6%)	5 (10%)	0	16 (32%)	4 (8%)	13 (26%)
	Total	19 (19%)	14 (14%)	5 (5%)	3 (3%)	5 (5%)	0	22 (22%)	4 (4%)	28 (28%)
Total	39 (19.5%)	23 (11.5%)	7 (3.5%)	16 (8%)	11 (5.5%)	0	29 (14.5%)	8 (4%)	67 (33.5%)	
Grand Total	77 (19.2%)	46 (11.5%)	22 (5.5%)	31 (7.8%)	34 (8.5%)	6 (1.5%)	43 (10.8%)	16 (4%)	125 (31.2%)	

The majority of the respondents (19.2%) think that land development is the main work which has been carried out under the MGNREGS during the last six years, whereas 11.5 per cent think minor irrigation, 5.5 per cent drain repair, 7.8 per cent road construction, 8.5 per cent think work on school buildings, 1.5 per cent of respondents work on ponds, 10.8 per cent work on mango farms and 4 per cent work on water conservation. More respondents from Odisha think that development was the basic work in comparison with respondents from Andhra Pradesh.

After the implementation of a development project, the next step is evaluation. In the MGNREGS, a social audit acts as the evaluation process**.** A social audit can be described as the checking and verification of the implementation of a programme/scheme and its results by the community with the active involvement of the primary stakeholders. A social audit can be done at any point in time during the planning and implementation of a scheme or programme. In the case of the MGNREGS, a social audit can be taken up during the planning stage, the preparation stage, the implementation stage and after the completion of the work. In this study, importance has been given to the implementation stage and after the completion of the work stage. The implementation stage involves ensuring that wages are paid properly and to the right people. The stage after the completion of the work stage includes ensuring that the quality of work is in line with the estimated cost. A social audit can be taken at any point of time during the implementation stage and also after the implementation to assess the end results. A social audit helps in generating awareness, monitoring the implementation and impact of the processes, the redressal of grievances and any follow-up of corrective actions. In the social audit, the following aspects are discussed: muster roll, workplace facilities, wage payments, and quality of work.

Table 6.26: Opinion regarding whether work is regular and timely

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Chinatakani	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Total	27 (27%)	73 (73%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	22 (44%)	28 (56%)
	Midthur	20 (40%)	30 (60%)
	Total	42 (42%)	58 (58%)
Total		69 (34.5%)	131 (65.5%)

Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	13 (26%)	37 (74%)
	Kalimela	11 (22%)	39 (78%)
	Total	24 (24%)	76 (76%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	20 (40%)	30 (60%)
	Gopa	22 (44%)	28 (56%)
	Total	42 (42%)	58 (58%)
Total		66 (33%)	134 (67%)
Grand Total		135 (33.75%)	265 (66.25%)

A total of 66.25 per cent of respondents are not getting regular and timely work compared to 33.75 per cent who do. In comparing the states, 67 per cent from Odisha and 65.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh are not getting regular and timely work. In comparing the districts of Andhra Pradesh, 73 per cent from Khammam and 58 per cent from Kurnool are not getting regular and timely work whereas in Odisha 76 per cent from Malkanagiri, and 58 per cent from the Puri district are not getting regular and timely work. This shows that the places with a larger tribal population are not getting regular and timely work in comparison with other districts.

Table 6.27: Opinion regarding whether wages are regular

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Regular	Irregular
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	4 (8%)	46 (92%)
	Chinatakani	2 (4%)	48 (96%)
	Total	6 (6%)	94 (94%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	3 (6%)	47 (94%)
	Midthur	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Total	18 (18%)	82 (82%)
Total		24 (12%)	176 (88%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	37 (74%)	13 (26%)
	Kalimela	25 (50%)	25 (50%)
	Total	62 (62%)	38 (38%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	8 (16%)	42 (84%)
	Gopa	8 (16%)	42 (84%)
	Total	16 (16%)	84 (84%)
Total		78 (39%)	122 (61%)
Grand Total		102 (25.5%)	298 (74.5%)

In total, 74.5 per cent of all respondents are getting wages irregularly, whereas 25.5 per cent are getting regular work payments. A total of 94 per cent from Khammam and 82 per cent from Kurnool along with 38 per cent and 84 per cent from the district of Puri are also getting wages irregularly. In comparing the block of Khammam in Andhra Pradesh, 8 per cent from Tenkulapalle and 4 per cent from Chinatakani are getting regular wages, whereas the figure is 6 per cent from Tuggali and 30 per cent from Midthur in the Kurnool district who are getting regular wages. Comparing the blocks of Odisha, 74 per cent from the Maithili block and 50 per cent from K. Gumma and 16 per cent from Puri Sadar and 16 per cent from Gopa are getting regular wages. This shows that respondents in Odisha are getting more regular wages than the respondents in Andhra Pradesh.

Table 6.28: How many days after application did you get work?

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Weekly	15	One Month	Two Months	More than three Months
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	0	1 (2%)	0	46 (92%)	3 (6%)
	Chinatakani	0	0	0	48 (96%)	2 (4%)
	Total	0	1 (1%)	0	94 (94%)	5 (5%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	3 (6%)	40 (80%)	7 (14%)	0	0
	Midthur	16 (32%)	31 (62%)	3 (6%)	0	0
	Total	19 (19%)	71 (71%)	10 (10%)	0	0
Total		19 (9.5%)	72 (36%)	10 (5%)	94 (47%)	5 (2.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	31 (62%)	4 (8%)	11 (22%)	3 (6%)	1 (2%)
	Kalimela	9 (18%)	1 (2%)	34 (68%)	3 (6%)	3 (6%)
	Total	40 (40%)	5 (5%)	45 (45%)	6 (6%)	4 (4%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	17 (34%)	17 (34%)	5 (10%)	5 (10%)	6 (12%)
	Gopa	13 (26%)	18 (36%)	7 (14%)	7 (14%)	5 (10%)
	Total	30 (30%)	35 (35%)	12 (12%)	12 (12%)	11 (11%)
Total		70 (35%)	40 (20%)	57 (28.5%)	18 (9%)	15 (7.5%)
Grand Total		89 (22.2%)	112 (28%)	67 (16.8%)	112 (28%)	20 (5%)

In total, 28 per cent of respondents get work after two months, while 22.2 per cent do so after a week. And 28 per cent of respondents get work after 15 days whereas 16.8 per cent get work one month after application. The majority get work after two months or 15 days. In the Khammam district, 1 per cent are getting work after 15 days, and 94 per cent after two months, whereas 5 per cent are getting work after more than three months. In the Kurnool district, all the respondents get work within two months. A total of 71 per cent get work in 15 days whereas 19 per cent get work within a week after application. And 47 per cent get work after two months, 36 per cent after 15 days whereas 9.5 per cent say weekly, 5 per cent one month and 2.5 per cent are getting work more than three months after the application. In Andhra Pradesh, 71 per cent are getting work 15 days after submitting the application, 19 per cent after a week and 10 per cent after a month. The statistics in Odisha show that 28.5 per cent of them get work after a month, 20 per cent after 15 days and 9 per cent after two months of submitting the application.

In the Malkanagiri district of Odisha, 45 per cent of people state that they got work after a month, 40 per cent say after a week, 5 per cent after 15 days while 6 per cent say after two months and 4 per cent after three months after submission of the application. Regarding the number of days for getting work after submission of the application in the Puri district, 12 per cent of the respondents said it was after a month, 30 per cent after a week, 35 per cent after 15 days, 12 per cent after two months and 11 per cent after three months.

Table 6.29: Process of receiving wages

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Cash	Account Transfer
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	11 (22%)	39 (78%)
	Chinatakani	9 (18%)	41 (82%)
	Total	20 (20%)	80 (80%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	18 (36%)	32 (64%)
	Midthur	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Total	33 (33%)	67 (67%)
Total		53 (26.5%)	147 (73.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	13 (26%)	37 (74%)
	Kalimela	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Total	25 (25%)	75 (75%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	17 (34%)	33 (66%)
	Gopa	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Total	32 (32%)	68 (68%)
Total		57 (28.5%)	143 (71.5%)
Grand Total		110 (27.5%)	290 (72.5%)

Regarding whether they are getting wages either through an account transfer (bank or post office) or as cash, 72.5 per cent of the respondents said account transfer, whereas only 27.5 per cent said cash. Among the states, 73.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 71.5 per cent from Odisha are getting wages through account transfer. Comparing the districts of Andhra Pradesh, 80 per cent from Khammam and 67 per cent from Kurnool say account transfer is the means of getting wages. In the case of Odisha, 75 per cent from Malkanagiri and 68 per cent from Puri are getting wages through account transfer. Though the MGNREGS rules state that all wages should be transferred to their account, still 27.5 per cent is being paid in the form of cash. This data clearly implies that corruption and illegal practices are still existing, more in Odisha compared to Andhra Pradesh.

Table 6.30: Corruption in regard to the Opening of an Account

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	7 (14%)	43 (86%)
	Chinatakani	6 (12%)	44 (88%)
	Total	13 (13%)	87 (87%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	5 (10%)	45 (90%)
	Midthur	5 (10%)	45 (90%)
	Total	10 (10%)	90 (90%)
Total		23 (11.5%)	177 (88.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	11 (22%)	39 (78%)
	Kalimela	20 (40%)	30 (60%)
	Total	31 (31%)	69 (69%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	33 (66%)	17 (34%)
	Gopa	29 (58%)	21 (42%)
	Total	62 (62%)	38 (38%)
Total		93 (93%)	107 (53.5%)
Grand Total		116 (29%)	284 (71%)

When asked for their view on whether corruption is practised in the opening of a bank or post office account, 29 per cent of respondents say yes, whereas 71 per cent say no. When comparing the states, only 11.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh but 93 per cent from Odisha say that corruption practices exist.

Table 6.31: Awareness of the MGNREGS work in the Village

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	40 (80%)	10 (20%)
	Chinatakani	43 (86%)	7 (14%)
	Total	83 (83%)	17 (17%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	45 (90%)	5 (10%)
	Midthur	48 (96%)	2 (4%)
	Total	93 (93%)	7 (7%)
Total		176 (88%)	24 (12%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	36 (72%)	14 (28%)
	Kalimela	39 (78%)	11 (22%)
	Total	75 (75%)	25 (25%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	45 (90%)	5 (10%)
	Gopa	37 (74%)	13 (26%)
	Total	82 (82%)	18 (18%)
Total		157 (78.5%)	43 (21.5%)
Grand Total		333 (83.2%)	67 (16.8%)

Overall, 83.2 per cent are aware, and 16.8 per cent are unaware of the MGNREGS work in their village. When comparing the states, 88 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 78.5 per cent from Odisha are aware of the work. In Andhra Pradesh, 83 per cent from Khammam and 93 per cent from Kurnool stated that they are aware of the MGNREGS work in their village. In comparing the districts of Odisha, 82 per cent from Malkanagiri and 75 per cent of Puri are aware of the MGNREGS work in their village. This implies that more respondents in Andhra Pradesh are aware in comparison with Odisha. This data implies that the percentage of work awareness is higher in districts with more tribals.

Gram Sabha is the ground-level authority for people's participation in decision-making and planning in different development programmes. The main function of the Gram Sabha is the approval of the plans, programmes and projects for socio-economic development. The role of the Gram Sabha is the identification and selection of beneficiaries under poverty alleviation or other such programmes. In the case of the MGNREGA, the Gram Panchayat and the Gram Sabha are the major authorities for the selection of work and its implementation. In the Gram Sabha meeting, people meet with their elected representatives and local level officials, so active people's participation in the Gram Sabha is necessary for the effective implementation of work under the MGNREGA and other development programmes.

Table 6.32: Are the workplaces chosen by the Gram Sabha?

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	18 (36%)	32 (64%)
	Chinatakani	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Total	33 (33%)	67 (67%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	28 (56%)	22 (44%)
	Midthur	25 (50%)	25 (50%)
	Total	53 (53%)	47 (47%)
Total		86 (43%)	114 (57%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	21 (42%)	29 (59.5%)
	Kalimela	19 (39.5%)	31 (62%)
	Total	40 (40%)	60 (60%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	28 (56%)	22 (44%)
	Gopa	22 (44%)	28 (46%)
	Total	50 (50%)	50 (50%)
Total		90 (45%)	110 (55%)
Grand Total		176 (44%)	224 (56%)

A total of 56 per cent of respondents think that the Gram Sabha does not decide on the MGNREGS works, whereas only 44 per cent think that it does decide. While comparing both the states, 43 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 45 per cent from Odisha think that the Gram Sabha chooses the work. This implies that more respondents from Odisha are of the view that workplaces are chosen by the Gram Sabha. In the districts of Andhra Pradesh, 33 per cent from Khammam in comparison to 53 per cent of respondents from Kurnool are of the view that the workplaces have been chosen by the Gram Sabha. In comparing the districts of Odisha, 40 per cent from Malkanagiri and 50 per cent from Odisha hold the view that workplaces are chosen by the Gram Sabha. This implies that more respondents from the tribal population are of the view that the Gram Sabha never decides the workplaces in comparison to those areas with more tribals.

Table 6.33: If the Gram Sabha does not decide on the workplace, who does?

District	Name of the Block	Sarpanch	Panchayat Secretary	Block Office/APO	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	5 (10%)	3 (6%)	10 (20%)	32 (64%)
	Chinatakani	4 (8%)	3 (6%)	8 (16%)	35 (70%)
	Total	9 (9%)	6 (6%)	18 (18%)	67 (67%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	8 (16%)	10 (20%)	10 (20%)	22 (44%)
	Midthur	7 (14%)	8 (16%)	10 (20%)	25 (50%)
	Total	15 (15%)	18 (18%)	20 (20%)	47 (47%)
Total		24 (12%)	24 (12%)	38 (19%)	114 (57%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	6 (12%)	7 (14%)	8 (16%)	29 (59.5%)
	Kalimela	4 (8%)	6 (12%)	9 (18%)	31 (62%)
	Total	10 (10%)	13 (13%)	17 (17%)	60 (60%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	8 (16%)	6 (12%)	14 (28%)	22 (44%)
	Gopa	6 (12%)	6 (12%)	10 (20%)	28 (46%)
	Total	14 (14%)	12 (12%)	24 (24%)	50 (50%)
Total		24 (12%)	25 (12.5%)	41 (20.5%)	110 (55%)
Grand Total		48 (12%)	49 (12.25%)	79 (19.75%)	224 (56%)

Among the 56 per cent who think that the Gram Sabha does not decide on the workplaces, 19.75 per cent responded that it is the block office of the APO, 12 per cent the Sarpanch and 12.25 per cent the Panchayat secretary. And 12 per cent from Odisha and also Andhra Pradesh think that the Sarpanch decides on the workplaces. Also, 12 per cent from Odisha and 12.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh think that the Panchayat Secretary decides on the workplaces, and 20.5 per cent from Odisha and 19 per cent from Andhra Pradesh think that the block office decides on the workplaces. This implies that after the Gram Sabha, the block office decides on more workplaces compared to the Sarpanch and the Panchayat Secretary.

Table 6.34: The Role of the Gram Panchayat in the Planning and Implementation of the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Social Audit	Decides work	Monitor	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	5 (10%)	3 (6%)	10 (20%)	32 (64%)
	Chinatakani	4 (8%)	3 (6%)	8 (16%)	35 (70%)
	Total	9 (9%)	6 (6%)	18 (18%)	67 (67%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	8 (16%)	10 (20%)	10 (20%)	22 (44%)
	Midthur	7 (14%)	8 (16%)	10 (20%)	25 (50%)
	Total	15 (15%)	18 (18%)	20 (20%)	47 (47%)
Total		24 (12%)	24 (12%)	38 (19%)	114 (57%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	6 (12%)	7 (14%)	8 (16%)	29 (59.5%)
	Kalimela	4 (8%)	6 (12%)	9 (18%)	31 (62%)
	Total	10 (10%)	13 (13%)	17 (17%)	60 (60%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	8 (16%)	6 (12%)	14 (28%)	22 (44%)
	Gopa	6 (12%)	6 (12%)	10 (20%)	28 (46%)
	Total	14 (14%)	12 (12%)	24 (24%)	50 (50%)
Total		24 (12%)	25 (12.5%)	41 (20.5%)	110 (55%)
Grand Total		48 (12%)	49 (12.25%)	79 (19.75%)	224 (56%)

The table above shows the role of the Gram Panchayat in the Planning and Implementation of the MGNREGS. It clearly indicates that out of the total respondents, 12 per cent think that the Gram Panchayat has a minimal role in planning and implementing the MGNREGA through the social audit. On the other hand, 19.75 per cent of respondents said that the Gram Panchayat monitors the MGNREGA related activities. But it is quite disheartening that out of the total respondents from the two states, 56 per cent of respondents had no view, in fact, they did not answer the question about the role of the Gram Panchayat in the MGNREGA. But if we look at the data and their responses, they are different from the district. Out of the total respondents from Khammam, 10 per cent said that the Gram Panchayat monitors the MGNREGA work by conducting a social audit, 6 per cent said that the Gram Panchayat decides the work and payment, 18 per cent said that the Panchayat is engaged in monitoring the MGNREGA work, but the majority said nothing in this regard. In the case of Kurnool, 12 per cent said that the Panchayat conducts the social audit for the assessment of MGNREGA works and 47 per cent failed to respond to the query. In both the Puri and Malkanagiri districts, out of the total respondents, 12 per cent said that the Panchayat conducts social auditing to assess the work of the MGNREGA, 12.5 per cent said that it decides the work and payment to the people and 20.5 per cent said that it monitors the MGNREGA works, and 50 per cent were hesitant to respond to the question of the Panchayat's role.

Table 6.35: Reasons why people have no idea about MGNREGS Activity

Name of the District	Name of the Block	No Time	No one will listen to poor people	Staying Outside	No Interest	Not Applicable
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	14 (28%)	16 (32%)	11 (22%)	0	9 (18%)
	Chinatakani	16 (32%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	8 (16%)	24 (48%)
	Total	30 (30%)	17 (17%)	12 (12%)	8 (8%)	33 (33%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	11 (22%)	0	10 (20%)	12 (24%)	17 (34%)
	Midthur	9 (9%)	14 (28%)	5 (10%)	6 (12%)	16 (32%)
	Total	20 (20%)	14 (14%)	15 (15%)	18 (18%)	33 (33%)
Total		50 (25%)	31 (15.5%)	27 (13.5%)	26 (13%)	66 (33%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	1 (2%)	6 (12%)	7 (14%)	4 (8%)	32 (64%)
	Kalimela	0	15 (30%)	2 (4%)	5 (10%)	28 (56%)
	Total	1 (1%)	21 (21%)	9 (9%)	9 (9%)	60 (60%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	17 (34%)	18 (36%)	0	9 (18%)	6 (12%)
	Gopa	12 (24%)	13 (26%)	5 (10%)	6 (12%)	14 (28%)
	Total	29 (29%)	31 (31%)	5 (5%)	15 (15%)	20 (20%)
Total		30 (15%)	52 (26%)	14 (7%)	24 (12%)	80 (40%)
Grand Total		80 (20%)	83 (20.8%)	41 (10.2%)	50 (12.5%)	146 (36.5%)

The data in the above table was about trying to explore the people's ideas about the MGNREGA programme. The literacy level of the people in the two states is dissimilar, so the response is also quite different.

Of the two districts of AP, 25 per cent said that they have no time, so they have no idea with regard to the MGNREGA. Similarly, 15.5 per cent said that they were very poor, 13.5 per cent said that they stay outside the village, 13 per cent said they have no interest in knowing about the MGNREGA, 33 per cent did not give any response, and the others are unaware of the MGNREGA programme. The case of Orissa in this regard is disappointing, as the statistics show. Fifteen per cent have no time to know about the MGNREGA activities, 26 per cent said since they are poor, no one would listen to them in this regard, 7 per cent are staying outside the village hence have no idea about the activities, 12 per cent said that they have no interest in indulging themselves in MGNREGA activities and the majority of them declined to respond to the query.

The overall picture of the two states does not fulfil the ambitions and framework of the MGNREGA. Twenty per cent said that they do not have the time to get to know about the MGNREGA activities, 20.8 per cent said that they are poor so nobody will listen to them, 10.2 per cent said that they are unaware since they stay outside the village, 12.5 per cent have no interest in knowing about the MGNREGA activities and 36.5 per cent refused to say anything in this regard. To conclude, the overall picture of the states with regard to the MGNREGA activities is disappointing and is not fulfilling the aspirations of the MGNREGA.

Table 6.36: Awareness of the Funds received in the last few years under the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No interest	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	3 (6%)	6 (12%)	41 (82%)
	Chinatakani	10 (20%)	14 (28%)	26 (52%)
	Total	13 (13%)	20 (20%)	67 (67%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	5 (10%)	12 (24%)	33 (66%)
	Midthur	6 (12%)	10 (20%)	34 (68%)
	Total	11 (11%)	22 (22%)	67 (67%)
Total		24 (12%)	42 (21%)	134 (67%)

Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	12 (24%)	20 (40%)	18 (36%)
	Kalimela	10 (20%)	18 (36%)	22 (44%)
	Total	22 (22%)	38 (38%)	40 (40%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	1 (2%)	5 (10%)	44 (88%)
	Gopa	4 (8%)	10 (20%)	36 (72%)
	Total	5 (5%)	15 (15%)	80 (80%)
Total		27 (13.5%)	53 (26.5%)	120 (60%)
Grand Total		51 (12.75%)	95 (23.75%)	254 (63.5%)

The table above gives the numbers of respondents who are aware of the funds received by the Panchayat under the MGNREGA. From both states, 12.75 per cent said that they are aware of the funds, while 63.5 per cent said that they are unaware of them. On the other hand, 23.75 per cent said that they do not have any interest in knowing about fund allocation. Comparing the data from both the states reveals that 12 per cent from AP and 13.5 per cent of respondents from Odisha are aware of the fund allocation. So, there is some positive response in AP and Odisha?, but 67 and 60 per cent from AP and Odisha do not have any knowledge about the fund allocation.

In total, 21 and 23.75 per cent from AP and Telangana, respectively, claim not to have any interest in knowing about the fund allocation. So, it is quite apparent that the common people have limited scope to know about the fund allocation to the Panchayat.

Table 6.37: Facilities available in the workplaces of the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Drinking Water	Not Aware	No Facilities
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	3 (6%)	6 (12%)	41 (82%)
	Chinatakani	10 (20%)	14 (28%)	26 (52%)
	Total	13 (13%)	20 (20%)	67 (67%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	5 (10%)	12 (24%)	33 (66%)
	Midthur	6 (12%)	10 (20%)	34 (68%)
	Total	11 (11%)	22 (22%)	67 (67%)
Total		24 (12%)	42 (21%)	134 (67%)

Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	12 (24%)	20 (40%)	18 (36%)
	Kalimela	10 (20%)	18 (36%)	22 (44%)
	Total	22 (22%)	38 (38%)	40 (40%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	1 (2%)	5 (10%)	44 (88%)
	Gopa	4 (8%)	10 (20%)	36 (72%)
	Total	5 (5%)	15 (15%)	80 (80%)
Total		27 (13.5%)	53 (26.5%)	120 (60%)
Grand Total		51 (12.75%)	95 (23.75%)	254 (63.5%)

The important provision of the MGNREG act is to provide basic facilities for the labourers in the workplace. Therefore, the respondents were asked whether this provision was being fulfilled or not. The responses are as follows:

In total, 12.75 per cent from both states said that there is drinking water available, 63.5 per cent responded negatively, and 23.75 per cent were unaware. But if we look at the state-wise data, Odisha is doing better in regard to providing facilities for the labourers. As per the data, 13.5 per cent gave a positive opinion, 23.7 per cent said that they were not aware of the provision, whereas the majority responded that there was no such facility available at the workplace. In comparison, in AP, 12 per cent were of the view that drinking water was available at the workplace, 67 per cent said that there were no such facilities available and only 21 per cent said that they are unaware in this regard. To sum up, it is clear from the data that both states are violating the spirit and principle of the MGNREG Act. Drawing inference from the above table, it can be said that the respective states must stop this gross violation of the provisions and should give strict directions to the Gram Panchayats to follow the guidelines.

Table 6.38: Awareness of accident benefits in the workplaces of the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	3 (6%)	47 (94%)
	Chinatakani	10 (20%)	40 (80%)
	Total	13 (13%)	87 (87%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	5 (10%)	45 (90%)
	Midthur	6 (12%)	44 (88%)
	Total	11 (11%)	89 (89%)
Total		24 (12%)	176 (88%)

Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Kalimela	10 (20%)	40 (80%)
	Total	22 (22%)	78 (78%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	1 (2%)	49 (98%)
	Gopa	4 (8%)	46 (92%)
	Total	5 (5%)	95 (95%)
Total		27 (13.5%)	173 (86.5%)
Grand Total		51 (12.75%)	349 (87.25%)

In any workplace or any organisation, accident benefit is recognised by constitutional provision. Similarly, in the preamble of the awareness about accident benefits in the workplaces of the MGNREGS, there is also a provision to provide accident benefits in case of a mishap. In this regard, the people's response was recorded from both states and they bore no resemblance to each other. A very minimal segment (12.75%) are aware of the provisions, but a large segment (87.25%) is unaware of the accident benefits.

When data is compared by block, the K. Gumma block of the Malkanagiri district registered the highest positive response (24%). On the contrary, Tenkulapalle in the Khammam district has the least (6%) positive response regarding awareness about accident benefits. In the case of AP, 11 per cent said that they are aware, and 88 per cent said that they are unaware. But the case of Odisha gives us interesting facts. In both districts of Odisha, 13.5 per cent mentioned that they are aware of the issues in terms of accident benefits, whereas 86.5 per cent stated they are unaware of this matter. So, in the end, what can be drawn from the data is that the achievements in this regard are far from reality. Much of the work, in terms of creating awareness, is yet to be done by the states.

Table 6.39: Opinion with regard to the distance from workplaces in the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Within 5km K.M	No Idea	More than 5km
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	45 (90%)	2 (4%)	3 (6%)
	Chinatakani	43 (86%)	2 (4%)	5 (10%)
	Total	88 (88%)	4 (4%)	8 (8%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	36 (72%)	1 (2%)	13 (26%)
	Midthur	40 (80%)	4 (8%)	6 (12%)
	Total	76 (76%)	5 (10%)	19 (19%)
Total		164 (82%)	9 (4.5%)	27 (13.5%)

Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	38 (76%)	3 (6%)	9 (18%)
	Kalimela	35 (70%)	8 (16%)	7 (4%)
	Total	73 (73%)	11 (11%)	16 (16%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	30 (60%)	6 (12%)	14 (28%)
	Gopa	28 (56%)	8 (16%)	14 (28%)
	Total	58 (58%)	14 (14%)	28 (28%)
Total		131 (65.5%)	25 (12.5%)	44 (22%)
Grand Total		295 (73.75%)	34 (8.5%)	71 (17.75%)

Another important aspect of the MGNREGS Act is to provide a work facility within 5km of where people live. To test the reality of this, the respondents' opinions regarding the distance from the workplace was collected. This turned out to be interesting.

From both states, 73.75 per cent thought that their workplace was within the 5 km radius, whereas 17.75 per cent said that the workplace was more than 5km away. However, only 8.5 per cent gave a negative response, in that they do not have any idea about the distance from their workplace nor that they are supposed to be working within the 5km radius.

In the districts of AP, 82 per cent thought that they were working within a radius of 5 km and 13.5 per cent thought that the distance was more than the 5km radius. In the case of Odisha's districts, 65.5 per cent replied positively, and 22 per cent negatively. If closely examined, the data reveals that the majority responded positively that their workplace was within a 5km radius, which means both the states are following the prescribed guidelines of the MGNREGA manual.

After implementation, the next step of a development project is evaluation. In the MGNREGS, social audit acts as an evaluation process. A social audit can be described as the checking and verification of the programme/scheme implementation and its results by the community with the active involvement of the primary stakeholders.[2] A social audit can be done at any point of time during the planning and implementation of a scheme or programme. In the case of the MGNREGS, it can be taken up in the planning stage, preparation stage, implementation stage and after the completion of the work. In this study, importance has been given to the implementation stage and after the completion of the work stage. The implementation stage includes ensuring that wages are paid correctly, properly and to the right people, and the next stage includes ensuring that the quality of work is according to the estimated cost. A social audit can be taken at any point of time during the implementation and also after the implementation phase to assess the end results. A social audit helps in generating awareness, monitoring the implementation, measuring the impact of the processes, the redressal of grievances and follow-up of corrective actions. In the social audit, aspects such as muster roll, workplace facilities, wage payments, quality of works etc. are discussed.[3]

Table 6.40: Awareness of the Social Audit

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	32 (64%)	18 (36%)
	Chinatakani	35 (70%)	15 (30%)
	Total	67 (67%)	33 (33%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	22 (44%)	28 (56%)
	Midthur	25 (50%)	25 (50%)
	Total	47 (47%)	53 (53%)
Total		114 (57%)	86 (43%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	29 (58%)	21 (42%)
	Kalimela	31 (62%)	19 (38%)
	Total	60 (60%)	40 (40%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	22 (44%)	28 (56%)
	Gopa	28 (46%)	22 (44%)
	Total	50 (50%)	50 (50%)
Total		110 (55%)	90 (45%)
Grand Total		224 (56%)	176 (44%)

A social audit is very important to assess the progress and implementation of any developmental programme. By the same token, the MGNREGA also placed social audit as an important form of evaluation for the assessment and implementation of the work. The data compiled in this regard shows that the majority of the population (72.5%) are aware of the social audit programme, whereas 27.5 per cent are not aware of the social audit programme. Out of the four districts of the two states, Khammam registered the highest percentage (67%) of awareness of the social audit. Likewise, Kurnool registered the highest negative percentage (53%), of the population not having any knowledge or idea of social auditing.[4]

Table 6.41: Awareness of the presence of the Social Audit in your village

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	28 (56%)	22 (44%)
	Chinatakani	30 (60%)	20 (40%)
	Total	58 (58%)	42 (42%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	17 (34%)	33 (66%)
	Midthur	19 (38%)	31 (62%)
	Total	36 (36%)	64 (64%)
Total		94 (47%)	106 (53%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	19 (38%)	31 (62%)
	Kalimela	21 (42%)	29 (58%)
	Total	40 (40%)	60 (60%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	16 (32%)	34 (68%)
	Gopa	18 (36%)	32 (64%)
	Total	34 (34%)	66 (66%)
Total		74 (37%)	126 (63%)
Grand Total		168 (42%)	232 (58%)

When the respondents of the two states were asked about their awareness of the social audit in their respective Panchayats, the response in both the states was quite amazing. The data of the two states as a whole depicts that 42 per cent were aware of the social audit in their Panchayat, whereas 58 per cent revealed that they were not aware and had no idea in this regard. But if we go by district, the levels of awareness are in contrast to one another. The Khammam district reveals that 58 per cent of its respondents are aware of the social audit programme in their respective Panchayats.[5] Kurnool has 47 per cent of its respondents who are aware. On the other hand, the situations in the Malkanagiri district and in Puri are 40 and 37 per cent respectively. Those who are unaware of the social auditing constitute 42 per cent, 64 per cent, 60 per cent and 63 per cent respectively. It is very important on the part of the government to create awareness among the people so that they can participate in the auditing programme, which will be a valuable asset. Without participation from those at the grass-roots level, the auditing programme is meaningless.

The benefit of the people is the main aim of a development programme. In the participatory development process, the benefit should be shared equally with community members. The major benefits are 100 days' employment opportunity for rural households, which can partly eradicate poverty and unemployment and the empowerment of women provided by equal wages under this programme. MGNREGS is an opportunity to create useful assets for rural development.

Table 6.42: Awareness of the frequency of a Social Audit in your village

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Once	Twice
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	18 (36%)	10 (20%)
	Chinatakani	12 (24%)	18 (36%)
	Total	30 (30%)	28 (28%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	8 (16%)	9 (18%)
	Midthur	7 (14%)	12 (24%)
	Total	15 (15%)	21 (21%)
Total		45 (22.5%)	49 (24.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	11 (22%)	8 (16%)
	Kalimela	12 (24%)	9 (18%)
	Total	23 (23%)	17 (17%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	7 (14%)	9 (18%)
	Gopa	8 (16%)	10 (20%)
	Total	15 (15%)	19 (19%)
Total		38 (19%)	36 (18%)
Grand Total		83 (20.75%)	85 (21.25%)

In addition to the above question, a supplementary question was asked to the respondents to find out about the frequency of social auditing that occurs every year in their respective Panchayats. The interaction with the respondents from both the states revealed: 20.75 per cent said the social audit used to be held once in a year, whereas 21.25 per cent responded twice in a year. The data of the two blocks of the Khammam district showed that 30 per cent were of the view that the social audit is held once in a year and 28 per cent replied that the social audit is held twice in a year. Likewise, the data of Kurnool reveals that 15 per cent were of the view that the social auditing is held once in a year, whereas 21 per cent stated that the social audit is held twice a year. Coming to the data of Odisha, it reveals that in the Malkanagiri district 23 per cent said that a social audit is held once a year, whereas 17 per cent said that it is held twice a year. In the case of Puri, it shows that 19 per cent mentioned that the social audit is usually held once a year, and 18 per cent were of the view that it is held twice a year. To sum up, the actual frequency of the social audit is twice a year. So, it is a clear indication that people are not fully aware of the social audit programme. In some of the cases, it was found that the social audit did not take place, or if it had taken place, it would have been in a closed room, not in a public space. So, it can be said that due to this, people are unaware of the programme. It is mandatory to publicise the notification before the social audit takes place, but in reality, in both states, no such information is furnished by the authority concerned; therefore, the level of awareness is lower, which ultimately results in the dysfunction of the programmes.

In addition, it was observed during the interaction with the respondents how far the social audit programme is being managed in a fair manner when it takes place. The kind of feedback received was stunning. The majority of the population are not getting any information about the conduct of the social audit programme. The location is supposed to be disclosed, but the officials only give information about the location at the last moment, which is why people are turned off the social auditing programme. The role of the elected representatives, mainly the Sarpanch of the respective Gram Panchayat, is very important in the context of collective participation of the people in village development aspects. Both Sarpanchs from Mecca and Bhejaguda Panchayat hold almost similar opinions. The Sarpanch of Bhejaguda Gram Panchayat is of the opinion that the majority of the voters cast their vote in the Panchayat election. The people speak to him personally regarding their problems.[6] They attend the Gram Sabha and Pallisabha meetings in fewer numbers and the people who attend those meetings of the Gram Panchayat participate in discussions and raise their concerns regarding their problems, but most people are not involved in such processes.

References

1 *The Participation Source Book,* (Washington, D.C: The World Bank, 1996), 239.

2 Samir Dasgupta, *Political Sociology* (New Delhi: Dorling Kindersley, 2011), 71.

3 George Moyser, "Political Participation," in *Understanding Democratic politics an Introduction*, ed. Roland Axtmann (London: Sage Publication, 2003), 175.

4 Dasgupta, *Political Sociology*, 72.

5 Dasgupta, *Political Sociology*, 72.

6 A.N. Panda, *Political Participation of Tribals* (New Delhi, Abhijeet Publication, 2010), 197.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE IMPACT OF THE MGNREGA: A STUDY OF THE OVERALL QUALITY OF LIFE OF ADIVASIS AS REGARDS SOCIO-ECONOMIC EXPENDITURE: THE PERCEPTION OF RESPONDENTS

This chapter reflects the perception of respondents on the impact of the MGNREGS regarding socio-economic expenditure. It includes expenditures like festivals, births, deaths, marriages, education, electricity bills, phone bills, etc. This will reflect the impact of the MGNREGS on the income and expenditure of the job cardholders and will highlight their socio-economic status.

The MGNREGA aims to provide income and livelihood security for the poor and marginalised sections of people in rural societies by providing 100 days of guaranteed work. This programme is meant to solve crucial issues such as poverty, unemployment, and distress migration.[1] It is a significant tool of empowerment for rural people as labourers by engaging them in the planning and implementation process. As previous chapters showed, participation in the MGNREGA has a positive impact on socio-economic and rural livelihoods of the beneficiaries. In this study, the impacts of the MGNREGA are measured in terms of improvement in the quality of life, such as an improvement in income level, food habits, clothing, education and housing. The improvement in the quality of life is measured as: no change, change to some extent or change to a large extent.[2]

The MGNREGA creates new potentialities and possibilities in the local areas studied. It promises a lot for the workers who were unemployed, underemployed or seasonally employed. Agriculture is the main source of livelihood for the majority of people in the country, and the individuals engaged in agriculture suffer mostly from seasonal unemployment. MGNREGA strengthens the socio-economic and political condition of the rural folk. Rural livelihoods are greatly affected by the positive aspects of this programme.[3]

Mahatma Gandhi was a leading theorist of the socio-economic and political reconstruction of self-sufficient India. He was the first to express the right to work as a basic policy goal of independent India.[4] His political and economic philosophy was mainly based upon Sarvodaya, a self-reliant village republic, the right to work and the dignity of labour, decentralised planning and development, village autonomy and local self-governance.[5] Later on, Gandhiji's ideal visions of self-sufficient village republics were not fully realised by the makers of modern India. Pandit Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, was known as the architect of the economic policy of independent India,[6] but his ideas and policy did not improve the self-sufficient village republic. Since his policies concentrated on big industries, steel plants, multipurpose big dams and mega power projects, they did not affect the village republic.[7]

However, the Gandhian ideas such as the right to work, local self-government and other principles were reflected in the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) part IV of the Indian Constitution, but these are enforceable only as per the convenience of the state (Article 37),[8] and were initially seen as completely non-justiciable. In the second industrial policy, followed by the second five-year plan, preference was given to heavy industry and small and cottage industries and self-sufficient, autonomous village republics were kept apart. [9]

Later on, during the early 1970s, certain government programmes meant for rural development and the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act of 1993[10] were stepping stones towards realising decentralised and participatory development through the institutes of local self-government as part of the Gandhian ideas.[11] Twelve years later, a historical act came in the form of the NREGA with the aim of realising Gandhiji's dream that "No one in rural India should suffer from want of food and clothing and everybody should be able to get sufficient work.[12]

The basic synergies between the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) and the Fundamental Rights of the Indian Constitution,[13] s gradually developed during an activist phase of Indian constitutional law in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, in the context of 'public interest litigation', or what Professor Upendra Baxi called 'social action litigation', provided also a boost for the later formulation of the MGNREGA. Part IV under DPSP Article39(A),[14] states: "The state shall secure that the operation of the legal system promotes justice, on a basis of equal opportunity, and shall, in particular, provide free legal aid, by suitable legislation or schemes or in any other way, to ensure that opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or other disabilities".[15] Article 41 explains that "the state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disability, and in other cases of undeserved want". Article 21 "Right to life and liberty", which has been massively expanded in its reach for broader rights protection in recent years, is also responsible for the formulation of the MGNREGA.[16]

Strengthening Democracy

The MGNREGA is based upon the principle of democratic decentralisation. It gives importance to decentralised institutions for their successful planning and implementation. The involvement of rural people in every decision, such as in the selection of work and workplaces, the participation of people in the planning and implementation of projects and their participation in social audits help to build the confidence of the people. It strengthens the democratic decentralisation process at the local level by integrating the Gram Sabha into the entire planning and decision-making process. It also introduces transparency and accountability into the grass-roots democratic processes through social audits.[17]

The MGNREGA is a programme which is meant for both waged employment and rural development by constructing durable assets in the rural locality. So, importance has been given to natural resource management such as afforestation, drought proofing, floodproofing, and water conservation. The Act has become an important means for the renewal of India's depleting natural resource base. Such assets created through the MGNREGA have had a positive impact on rural livelihoods.[18]

Lack of job opportunity in rural areas has been the reason for rural migration to urban areas to search for a job (Dhar, 2014, pp. 191-208). When people find out that they cannot sustain their livelihood in their native places, they tend to migrate to urban areas in search of job opportunities. But with the advent of MGNREGA, the provision of employment has minimised the need for such distress migration. When people find employment in their vicinity, they do not need to migrate to other places in search of a livelihood. By securing livelihoods and providing job opportunities at the village level, MGNREGA prevents migration.[19]

It can also be seen, as shown above, that there is a positive impact of MGNREGA on the transformation of rural economic and social relations at many levels. It promotes women's empowerment by providing equal wages and reserving 33 per cent participation for women beneficiaries and providing income directly to the women beneficiaries.[20] Participation of the women in Gram Sabha improves their social status and social contact with other members in the village. It raises the rural living status by preventing migration, increasing their income status and improvement in food consumption.[21]

Besides this positive impact of MGNREGA in rural localities, there is a positive impact on improved health status such as safe drinking water facilities, drainage systems, construction of childcare centres, etc. MGNREGA also improves educational status as improved economic conditions will encourage parents to send their children to school.[22] However, questions arise about whether local people will use their new resources wisely.

Table 7.1: Increase in Social Expenditure (Festivals)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Festivals		
		Yes	No	Cannot Remember
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	49 (98%)	0	1 (2%)
	Chinatakani	48 (96%)	2 (4%)	0
	Total	97 (97%)	2 (2%)	1 (1%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	50 (100%)	0	0
	Midthur	50 (100%)	0	0
	Total	100 (100%)	0	0
Total		197 (98.5%)	2 (1%)	1 (0.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	46 (92%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)
	Kalimela	34 (68%)	0	16 (32%)
	Total	80 (80%)	2 (2%)	18 (18%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	14 (28%)	31 (62%)	5 (10%)
	Gopa	12 (24%)	34 (68%)	4 (8%)
	Total	26 (26%)	65 (65%)	9 (9%)
Total		106 (53%)	67 (33.5%)	27 (13.5%)
Grand Total		303 (75.8%)	69 (17.2%)	28 (7%)

A total of 75.8 per cent of the respondents are of the opinion that after the MGNREGS, expenditure related to festivals has increased, whereas 17.2 per cent of the respondents are of a negative view. Only 7 per cent did not remember or could not quantify the amount of expenditure. While comparing both the states, 98.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 53 per cent from Odisha speak of an increase in expenditure. A total of 33.5 per cent from Odisha and only 1 per cent from Andhra Pradesh are of the view that there is no increase in the expenditure for festivals. In total, 13.5 per cent from Odisha and 0.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh do not remember the expenditure for festivals. In Andhra Pradesh, 97 per cent from Khammam and all from Kurnool speak of an increase in expenditure. Only 2 per cent from Khammam spoke of no increase in the expenditure for the festival, and 80 per cent from Malkanagiri and 26 per cent from Puri districts hold the view that expenditure has increased.

Table 7.2: Increase in Social Expenditure (Birth)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Birth		
		Yes	No	Cannot Remember
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	1 (2%)	49 (98%)	0
	Chinatakani	0	50 (100%)	0
	Total	1 (1%)	99 (99%)	0
Kurnool	Tuggali	5 (10%)	44 (88%)	1 (2%)
	Midthur	4 (8%)	46 (92%)	0
	Total	9 (9%)	90 (90%)	1 (1%)
Total		10 (5%)	189 (94.5%)	1 (0.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	34 (68%)	14 (28%)	2 (4%)
	Kalimela	25 (50%)	9 (18%)	16 (32%)
	Total	59 (59%)	23 (23%)	18 (18%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	0	0	50 (50%)
	Gopa	0	0	50 (50%)
	Total	0	0	100 (100%)
Total		59 (29.5%)	23 (11.5%)	118 (59%)
Grand Total		69 (17.2%)	212 (53%	119 (29.8%)

In total, 53 per cent are of the opinion that there has been no increase in expenditure in the case of a birth, whereas 17.2 per cent are of the opinion that there has been an increase in birth expenditure and 29.8 per cent of them do not remember or were not sure? The majority, i.e. 94.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 29.5 per cent from Odisha, denied any increase in birth expenditure. None of the respondents from Puri and Khammam districts remembers the expenditure. Only 1 per cent from Khammam and 9 from the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh are of the view that there has been an increase in birth expenditure. The same is the case for 59 per cent of respondents from the Malkanagiri district of Odisha.

Ninety per cent from the districts of Kurnool and 99 per cent from Khammam in Andhra Pradesh and 23 per cent from Malkanagiri in Odisha think that there has been no increase in birth expenditure. Only 1 per cent from the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, everyone from Puri and 18 per cent from Malkanagiri in Odisha are of the view that there has been no increase in birth expenditure.

Table 7.3: Increase in Social Expenditure (Marriage)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Marriage		
		Yes	No	Cannot Remember
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	0	50 (100%)	0
	Chinatakani	8 (16%)	42 (84%)	0
	Total	8 (8%)	92 (92%)	0
Kurnool	Tuggali	20 (40%)	30 (60%)	0
	Midthur	17 (34%)	33 (66%)	0
	Total	37 (37%)	63 (63%)	0
Total		45 (22.5%)	155 (77.5%)	0
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	34 (68%)	14 (28%)	2 (4%)
	Kalimela	25 (50%)	9 (18%)	16 (32%)
	Total	59 (59%)	23 (23%)	18 (18%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	44 (88%)	1 (2%)	5 (10%)
	Gopa	46 (92%)	0	4 (8%)
Total		90 (90%)	1 (1%)	9 (9%)
Total		149 (74.5%)	24 (12%)	27 (13.5%)
Grand Total		194 (48.5%)	179 (44.8%)	27 (6.8%)

The picture is slightly different in relation to expenditure on marriages. In total, 48.5 per cent have seen an increase in marriage expenditure and 44.8 per cent have not. Also, 6.8 per cent of respondents do not remember an increase in marriage expenditure. This reflects an increase in the expenditure to some extent and also a change in drinking habits, after the inception of the MGNREGS. In Odisha, 74.5 per cent have seen an increase in marriage expenditure and 77.5 per cent have not. Also, 13.5 per cent of the respondents do not remember the marriage expenditure.

A total of 22.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 74.5 per cent from Odisha have seen an increase in marriage expenditure. Furthermore, 77.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 12 per cent from Odisha have not seen any increase. This indicates that an increase in marriage expenditure is basically found in Odisha, after the implementation of the MGNREGS. In total, 90 per cent and 59 per cent from Puri and Malkanagiri districts, respectively, have seen an increase in marriage expenditure. Only 1 per cent from Puri and 23 per cent from Malkanagiri districts have not seen any increase in marriage expenditure. Eight per cent from Khammam and 37 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh have seen an increase in marriage expenditure. In total, 92 per cent from the Khammam district and 63 per cent from the Kurnool district have seen no increase in marriage expenditure.

Table 7.4: Increase in Social Expenditure (Death)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Death		
		Yes	No	Cannot Remember
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	0	50 (100%)	0
	Chinatakani	1 (2%)	49 (98%)	0
	Total	1 (1%)	99 (99%)	0
Kurnool	Tuggali	1 (2%)	49 (98%)	0
	Midthur	2 (4%)	48 (96%)	0
	Total	3 (3%)	97 (97%)	0
Total		4 (2%)	196 (98%)	0
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	34 (68%)	14 (28%)	2 (4%)
	Kalimela	26 (52%)	8 (16%)	16 (32%)
	Total	60 (60%)	22 (22%)	18 (18%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	0	0	50 (50%)
	Gopa	0	0	50 (50%)
	Total	0	0	100 (100%)
Total		60 (30%)	22 (11%)	118 (59%)
Grand Total		64 (16%)	219 (54.5%)	118 (29.5%)

But in the case of death, expenditure is the reverse. A total of 54.5 per cent of respondents have seen no increase in death ceremony expenditure, 16 per cent the opposite and 29.5 per cent do not remember. In Odisha, 11 per cent see no increase, 30 per cent see an increase and 59 per cent do not remember the death ceremony expenditure or found no difference? From Andhra Pradesh, there is no one that does not remember the death expenditure and 2 per cent have seen an increase.

Table 7.5: Increase in Social Expenditure (Illness)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Illness		
		Yes	No	Not Remember
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	2 (4%)	48 (96%)	0
	Chinatakani	1 (2%)	49 (98%)	0
	Total	3 (3%)	97 (97%)	0
Kurnool	Tuggali	5 (10%)	45 (90%)	0
	Midthur	8 (16%)	42 (84%)	0
	Total	13 (13%)	87 (87%)	0
Total		16 (8%)	184 (92%)	0
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	44 (88%)	3 (6%)	3 (6%)
	Kalimela	33 (66%)	1 (2%)	16 (32%)
	Total	77 (77%)	4 (4%)	19 (19%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	50 (50%)	0	0
	Gopa	50 (50%)	0	0
	Total	100 (100%)	0	0
Total		177 (88.5%)	4 (2%)	19 (9.5%)
Grand Total		193 (48.2%)	188 (47%)	19 (4.8%)

The data reflect, however, an increase in the expenditure on illness. Of the total respondents from both states, 48.2 per cent say there is an increase in expenditure, 47 per cent are of the opinion that there is no increase in expenditure for illness and 4.8 per cent cannot remember. In this regard, 8 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 88.5 per cent from Odisha have seen an increase. Meanwhile, 92 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 2 per cent from Odisha speak of no increase. All members of the Puri district and 77 per cent of respondents from Malkanagiri have seen an increase in the expenditure for illness. 87 per cent from Kurnool and 97 per cent from Khammam districts speak of no increase in expenditure for illness. This data reflects a positive impact in terms of the massive increase in expenditure for illness from Odisha in comparison to Andhra Pradesh, which in addition to that also reflects the excessive expenditure burden on them.

Table 7.6: Increase in Social Expenditure (Food)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Food		
		Yes	No	Not Remember
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	49 (98%)	1 (2%)	0
	Chinatakani	47 (94%)	3 (6%)	0
	Total	96 (96%)	4 (4%)	0
Kurnool	Tuggali	44 (88%)	6 (12%)	0
	Midthur	42 (84%)	8 (16%)	0
	Total	86 (86%)	14 (14%)	0
Total		182 (91%)	18 (9%)	0
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	41 (82%)	6 (12%)	3 (6%)
	Kalimela	33 (66%)	1 (2%)	16 (32%)
	Total	74 (74%)	7 (7%)	19 (19%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	50 (100%)	0	0
	Gopa	50 (100%)	0	0
	Total	100 (100%)	0	0
Total		174 (87%)	7 (3.5%)	19 (9.5%)
Grand Total		356 (89%)	25 (6.2%)	19 (4.8%)

The statistics regarding food expenditure in the states of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh show that more resources are now spent on food and would indicate a higher degree of food security. Overall, 89 per cent of them have seen an increase, 6.2 per cent speak of no increase, and only 4.8 per cent do not remember. This reflects the positive impact on food expenditure after the implementation of the MGNREGS. In total, 91 per cent from AP and 87 per cent from Odisha speak of an increase and 9 per cent from AP and 3.5 per cent from Odisha speak of no increase. A total of 9.5 per cent from Odisha, of which 19 per cent belong to the Malkanagiri district, do not remember. Totals of 96 per cent and 86 per cent from Khammam and Kurnool districts, respectively, of AP, and 74 per cent of Malkanagiri and all from Puri districts have a positive view on food expenditure. With regard to the view of no impact, the figures correspond as follows: 4 per cent from Khammam, 14 per cent from Kurnool and 7 per cent from Malkanagiri.

Table 7.7: Increase in Social Expenditure (Clothing)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Clothing/Dress		
		Yes	No	Not Remember
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	49 (98%)	1 (2%)	0
	Chinatakani	47 (94%)	3 (6%)	0
	Total	96 (96%)	4 (4%)	0
Kurnool	Tuggali	35 (70%)	15 (30%)	0
	Midthur	37 (74%)	13 (26%)	0
	Total	72 (72%)	28 (28%)	0
Total		168 (84%)	32 (16%)	0
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	35 (70%)	12 (24%)	3 (6%)
	Kalimela	30 (60%)	4 (8%)	16 (32%)
	Total	65 (65%)	16 (16%)	19 (19%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	19 (38%)	31 (62%)	0
	Gopa	21 (42%)	29 (58%)	0
	Total	40 (40%)	60 (60%)	0
Total		105 (52.5%)	76 (38%)	19 (9.5%)
Grand Total		273 (68.2%)	108 (27%)	19 (4.8%)

The statistics regarding clothing/dress expenditure in the states of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh also confirm an increase in expenditure. Overall, 68.2 per cent of them view an increase, 27 per cent speak of no increase, and only 4.8 per cent do not remember. This reflects the positive impact on clothing/dress expenditure after the implementation of the MGNREGS. A total of 84 per cent from AP and 52.5 per cent from Odisha speak of an increase.

In total, 16 per cent from AP and 38 per cent from Odisha speak of no increase. Nine per cent from Odisha, of which 19 per cent belong to the Malkanagiri district, do not remember. A total of 96 per cent and 72 per cent from Khammam and Kurnool districts, respectively, of AP, and 65 per cent of Malkanagiri and 40 per cent from Puri districts have a positive view on clothing/dress expenditure.

Table 7.8: Increase in Social Expenditure (Cell phones)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Cell Phone		
		Yes	No	Not Remember
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	21 (42%)	29 (58%)	0
	Chinatakani	28 (56%)	22 (44%)	0
	Total	49 (49%)	51 (51%)	0
Kurnool	Tuggali	34 (68%)	16 (32%)	0
	Midthur	20 (40%)	30 (60%)	0
	Total	54 (54%)	46 (46%)	0
Total		103 (51.5%)	97 (48.5%)	0
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	14 (28%)	31 (62%)	5 (10%)
	Kalimela	13 (26%)	18 (36%)	19 (38%)
	Total	27 (27%)	49 (49%)	24 (24%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	0	0	50 (100%)
	Gopa	0	0	50 (100%)
	Total	0	0	100 (100%)
Total		27 (13.5%)	49 (24.5%)	124 (62%)
Grand Total		130 (32.5%)	146 (36.5%)	124 (31%)

A cell phone has become a necessary asset in the 21st Century. The statistics regarding cell phone expenditure in the states of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh indicate a significant growth of such expenditure and observed that, there has been recent rapid development in this particular item of expenditure in 2017 and 2018. Overall, 32.5 per cent of them have seen an increase, 36 per cent speak of no increase, and only 31 per cent do not remember. A total of 51.5 per cent from AP and 13.5 per cent from Odisha speak of an increase and 48.5 per cent from AP and 24.5 per cent from Odisha speak of no increase. No one from the Puri district of Odisha can remember or finds any difference?

Totals of 49 per cent and 54 per cent from Khammam and Kurnool districts, respectively, of AP, and 27 per cent of Malkanagiri and none from Puri district have a positive view on cell phone expenditure. With regard to the view of no impact, the district figures correspond as follows: 51 per cent from Khammam, 46 per cent from Kurnool and 49 per cent from Malkanagiri. This shows that the areas with the highest scheduled tribe population have seen the highest impact on cell phone expenditure.

Table 7.9: Increase in Social Expenditure (Computers)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Computer		
		Yes	No	Not Remember
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	0	50 (100%)	0
	Chinatakani	0	50 (100%)	0
	Total	0	100 (100%)	0
Kurnool	Tuggali	1 (2%)	49 (98%)	0
	Midthur	2 (4%)	48 (96%)	0
	Total	3 (3%)	97 (97%)	0
Total		3 (1.5%)	197 (98.5%)	0
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	4 (8%)	42 (84%)	4 (8%)
	Kalimela	1 (2%)	27 (54%)	22 (44%)
	Total	5 (5%)	69 (69%)	26 (26%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	0	0	50 (100%)
	Gopa	0	0	50 (100%)
	Total	0	0	100 (100%)
Total		5 (2.5%)	69 (34.5%)	126 (63%)
Grand Total		8 (2%)	266 (66.5%)	126 (31.5%)

While cellphones have become more common, the use of computers is still rare among villagers. The following are the statistics regarding computer expenditure in the states of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh. Overall, 2 per cent of them view an increase, 66.5 per cent speak of no increase and only 31.5 per cent do not remember. This reflects some minor impact of the MGNREGS on the lifestyle, social and economic aspects of the scheduled tribe population. Only 1.5 per cent from AP and 2.5 per cent from Odisha speak of an impact. With regard to the view of no impact, the district figures correspond as follows: 100 per cent from Khammam, 97 per cent from Kurnool and 69 per cent from Malkanagiri.

Table 7.10: Increase in Social Expenditure (Own vehicle)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Own Vehicle		
		Yes	No	Not Remember
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	28 (56%)	22 (44%)	0
	Chinatakani	39 (78%)	11 (22%)	0
	Total	67 (67%)	33 (33%)	0
Kurnool	Tuggali	25 (50%)	25 (50%)	0
	Midthur	26 (52%)	24 (48%)	0
	Total	51 (51%)	49 (49%)	0
Total		118 (59%)	82 (41%)	0
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	4 (8%)	42 (84%)	4 (8%)
	Kalimela	3 (6%)	25 (50%)	22 (44%)
	Total	7 (7%)	67 (67%)	26 (26%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	46 (92%)	4 (8%)	0
	Gopa	49 (98%)	1 (2%)	0
	Total	95 (95%)	5 (5%)	0
Total		102 (51%)	72 (36%)	26 (13%)
Grand Total		220 (55%)	154 (38.5%)	26 (6.5%)

The statistics regarding own vehicle expenditure, including bicycles, in the states of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh also indicate a trend of growth. Overall, 55 per cent of them have seen an increase, 38.5 per cent speak of no increase, and only 6.5 per cent do not remember. This reflects an impact on own vehicle expenditure after the implementation of the MGNREGS. According to them, in the tribal belt, the bicycle is the major means of transport. This shows that, after the implementation of the MGNREGS, they are able to buy a bicycle for transport. Overall, 59 per cent from AP and 51 per cent from Odisha speak of a positive impact and 41 per cent from AP and 36 per cent from Odisha speak of no impact. This reflects a positive impact regarding own vehicle expenditure after the implementation of the MGNREGS.

Table 7.11: Increase in Social Expenditure (Education)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Education		
		Yes	No	Not Remember
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	16 (32%)	34 (68%)	0
	Chinatakani	12 (24%)	38 (76%)	0
	Total	28 (28%)	72 (72%)	0
Kurnool	Tuggali	1 (2%)	49 (98%)	0
	Midthur	2 (4%)	48 (96%)	0
	Total	3 (3%)	97 (97%)	0
Total		31 (15.5%)	169 (84.5%)	0
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	1 (2%)	44 (88%)	5 (10%)
	Kalimela	1 (2%)	25 (50%)	24 (48%)
	Total	2 (2%)	69 (69%)	29 (29%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	4 (8%)	0	46 (92%)
	Gopa	1 (2%)	0	49 (98%)
	Total	5 (5%)	0	95 (95%)
Total		7 (3.5%)	69 (34.5%)	124 (64%)
Grand Total		38 (9.5%)	238 (59.5%)	124 (31%)

The status of education in every society reflects developments from socio-economic aspects. Education brings awareness among the community and various development policies and programmes of the government. As the tribal community is far away from mainstream society, less impact on education has been seen in the survey results. Education appears to come lower down in the rankings of priority for expenditures. A total of 59.5 per cent of the respondents speak of no impact on an increase in education-related expenditure. Only 9.5 per cent strongly express a view of a positive impact on expenditure after the implementation of the MGNREGS. However, 31 per cent of them do not remember. These are overall figures from both the states. By state, 15.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and only 3.5 per cent from Odisha have seen a positive impact on expenditure related to education after the implementation of the MGNREGS. This impact is highest in areas with a high tribal population. The same is true by district: 28 per cent from Khammam, 28 per cent from Kurnool of Andhra Pradesh; 8 per cent from Malkanagiri and 5 per cent from the Puri district of Odisha. This study also shows that the impact on education-related expenditure is more in Andhra Pradesh compared to Odisha.

Table 7.12: Opinion regarding an increase in income due to the MGNREGS

Name of the district District	Name of the Block	Yes	No	No Idea
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	10 (20%)	13 (26%)	5 (10%)
	Chinatakani	12 (24%)	15 (30%)	3 (6%)
	Total	22 (22%)	28 (28%)	8 (8%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	5 (10%)	8 (16%)	4 (8%)
	Midthur	9 (18%)	7 (14%)	3 (6%)
	Total	14 (14%)	15 (15%)	7 (7%)
Total		36 (18%)	43 (21.5%)	15 (7.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	7 (14%)	10 (20%)	2 (4%)
	Kalimela	9 (18%)	11 (22%)	1 (2%)
	Total	16 (16%)	21 (21%)	3 (3%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	5 (10%)	8 (16%)	3 (6%)
	Gopa	6 (12%)	9 (18%)	3 (6%)
	Total	11 (11%)	17 (17%)	6 (6%)
Total		27 (13.5%)	38 (19%)	9 (4.5%)
Grand Total		63 (15.75%)	81 (20.25%)	24 (6%)

The primary objective of the MGNREGA programme was to strengthen the economic and livelihood conditions of the rural population. It has been witnessed that the rural masses are suffering from economic depression; their conditions are pathetic compared with their urban counterparts. The majority of them are living below the poverty line. Therefore, their response was recorded with regard to whether the MGNREGA programme had helped to some extent in increasing their income which was mostly moderate. The conditions in both states have seemingly increased after the implementation of the programme. As the facts indicate, 15.75 per cent said that their income position had increased after the implementation of the programme. On the contrary, 20.25 per cent viewed that their income position has not changed so far, even after the implementation of the MGNREGA programme. However, only 6 per cent indicated that they do not have any idea whether their income has increased or not after the commencement of the MGNREGA programme. If we look at the data individually, it seems poles apart. The two blocks of the Khammam district, namely Tenkullapale and Chinatakani, show that

20 per cent and 24 per cent respectively stated that their income status has increased after working under the MGNREGA programme. The two blocks registered 26 and 30 per cent, respectively, as the respondents mentioned that even after the implementation of the MGNREG Act, nothing has changed in their income position. Similarly, the status of the two blocks of Kurnool district registered 10 per cent and 18 per cent respectively as they mentioned that their income had changed a bit. The percentage of the population who viewed that the programme has gained much attention to generating rural income, but their status remained the same is 16 and 14 per cent respectively. A similar response was found in Odisha's case. In the Malkanagiri district, 16 per cent thought that their income has increased after the implementation of the programme, whereas 21 per cent said the economic conditions have remained the same as before. On the other hand, the response of Puri district is disheartening, since out of the total population, only 11 per cent mentioned that their income status changed due to this programme. At the same time, 19 per cent said they had remained the same as before because, after the implementation of the programme, their conditions did not improve. To sum up, income generation in most parts of the districts in the study remained the same, as the economic conditions did not improve much. A very minimal segment of the population has realised that after the implementation of the programme, their economic condition has changed little in comparison to their economic condition before the commencement of the acts.

Table 7.13: Opinion regarding money earned from the MGNREGS in the last year

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Less Than Five Thousand	Five Thousand and above	Do Not Remember
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	34 (68%)	14 (28%)	2 (4%)
	Chinatakani	42 (84%)	3 (6%)	5 (10%)
	Total	76 (76%)	17 (17%)	7 (7%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	15 (30%)	30 (60%)	5 (10%)
	Midthur	14 (28%)	30 (60%)	6 (12%)
	Total	29 (29%)	60 (60%)	11 (11%)
Total		105 (52.5%)	77 (38.5%)	18 (9%)

Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	30 (60%)	13 (26%)	7 (14%)
	Kalimela	29 (58%)	12 (24%)	9 (18%)
	Total	59 (59%)	25 (25%)	16 (16%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	50 (50%)	0	0
	Gopa	42 (84%)	0	8 (16%)
	Total	92 (92%)	0	8 (8%)
Total		151 (75.5%)	25 (12.5%)	24 (12%)
Grand Total		256 (64%)	102 (25.5%)	42 (10.5%)

In total, 64 per cent of respondents stated that they earned less than five thousand last year from the MGNREGS, 25.5 per cent above five thousand and 10.5 per cent do not remember.

Comparing both states, 29 and 75.5 per cent of respondents from AP and Odisha respectively say that they have earned less than five thousand rupees last year. Those who earned above this amount are 60 and 12.5 per cent from AP and Odisha. None from Puri agree with this.

In comparing the districts of Andhra Pradesh, 76 per cent from Khammam, whereas 29 per cent from Kurnool, belong to the view that they earned less than five thousand from the MGNREGS last year. In the case of Odisha, 59 per cent from Malkanagiri and 92 per cent from Puri are of the opinion that they earned less than five thousand from the MGNREGS for the last year. In the category of earning five thousand and above, the figures were 17 per cent from Khammam and 60 per cent of respondents from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh, whereas only 25 per cent from the Malkanagiri district of Odisha. This implies that more respondents from Odisha are of the opinion that less than five thousand is the amount of money earned from the MGNREGS for the last year in comparison to the respondents from Andhra Pradesh. Overall, this seems to indicate a more positive experience in terms of earnings from the MGNREGA in Andhra Pradesh.

Table 7.14: Opinion regarding increased fuel expenditure after the implementation of the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	23 (46%)	27 (54%)
	Chinatakani	23 (46%)	27 (54%)
	Total	46 (46%)	54 (54%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	19 (38%)	31 (62%)
	Midthur	43 (86%)	7 (14%)
	Total	62 (62%)	38 (38%)
Total		108 (54%)	92 (46%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	24 (48%)	26 (52%)
	Kalimela	27 (54%)	23 (46%)
	Total	51 (51%)	49 (49%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	22 (44%)	28 (56%)
	Gopa	23 (46%)	27 (54%)
	Total	45 (45%)	55 (55%)
Total		96 (48%)	104 (52%)
Grand Total		204 (51%)	196 (49%)

A total of 51 per cent of respondents belong to the category of those having seen an increase in expenditure in regard to cooking fuel after the MGNREGS, whereas 49 per cent of respondents have not seen an increase in expenditure in regard to cooking fuel after the MGNREGS. In comparing the states, 54 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 48 per cent from Odisha have seen an increase in expenditure in regard to cooking fuel after the MGNREGS. Only 2 per cent of calculated respondents think that they increase their expenditure on cooking fuel after the successful implementation of the MGNREGS. This shows little impact of the MGNREGS on the expenditure on cooking fuel. In comparison, slightly more impact of the MGNREGS on expenditure on cooking fuel has been observed in Andhra Pradesh than in Odisha. In comparing the districts of Andhra Pradesh, 46 per cent from Khammam and 62 per cent from Kurnool and 51 per cent from Malkanagiri and 45 per cent from Puri are of the opinion that the MGNREGS has a positive impact on expenditure in regard to cooking fuel. This implies that respondents from districts with a higher tribal population have seen a more positive impact on expenditure on cooking fuel after the MGNREGS.

Table 7.15: Opinion regarding increased expenditure on Alcohol after the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	8 (16%)	42 (84%)
	Chinatakani	10 (20%)	40 (80%)
	Total	18 (18%)	82 (82%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	4 (8%)	46 (92%)
	Midthur	6 (12%)	44 (88%)
	Total	10 (10%)	90 (90%)
Total		28 (14%)	172 (86%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	17 (34%)	33 (66%)
	Kalimela	22 (44%)	28 (56%)
	Total	39 (39%)	61 (61%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Gopa	14 (28%)	36 (72%)
	Total	26 (26%)	74 (74%)
Total		65 (32.5%)	135 (67.5%)
Grand Total		93 (23.25%)	307 (76.75%)

A total of 23.25 per cent of respondents are of the view that expenditure with regard to alcohol has increased. Significantly, the majority try to avoid the question or give a negative response on the impact in this regard. A total of 14 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 32.5 per cent of respondents from Odisha spoke of increasing alcohol expenditure. This implies that, compared to Andhra Pradesh, the number of respondents see the impact of alcohol on their expenditure. Comparing districts, 18 per cent from Khammam, 10 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh, 39 per cent from Malkanagiri and 26 per cent from Puri in Odisha have seen an increase in expenditure on alcohol. This reflects that those districts with more tribals have a greater expenditure and the impact is greater. The contested positions regarding alcohol consumption, however, seem to blur the overall picture.

Table 7.16: Opinion regarding increased expenditure on Loan Repayment after the MGNREGA

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	14 (28%)	36 (72%)
	Chinatakani	7 (14%)	43 (66%)
	Total	21 (21%)	79 (79%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	11 (22%)	39 (78%)
	Midthur	5 (10%)	45 (90%)
	Total	16 (16%)	84 (84%)
Total		37 (18.5%)	163 (81.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	20 (40%)	30 (60%)
	Kalimela	28 (56%)	22 (44%)
	Total	48 (48%)	52 (52%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Gopa	8 (16%)	42 (84%)
	Total	20 (20%)	80 (80%)
Total		68 (34%)	132 (66%)
Grand Total		105 (26.2%)	295 (73.8%)

In total, 26.2 per cent of respondents saw a positive impact on expenditure with regard to loan repayment after the MGNREGS and 73.8 respondents saw no impact. Overall, 18.5 per cent respondents from Andhra Pradesh and 34 per cent respondents from Odisha spoke of an impact on expenditure. This implies that, compared to Andhra Pradesh, a greater number of respondents from Odisha have seen a positive impact regarding their expenditure. By district, 21 per cent from Khammam, 16 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh, 48 per cent from Malkanagiri and 20 per cent from Puri in Odisha have seen a positive impact. This reflects that those districts with more tribals have a greater expenditure and the impact is greater. Overall, it shows that there is a positive impact on loan repayment after the implementation of the MGNREGS.

Table 7.17: Opinion regarding increased expenditure on Electric Bills after the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	30 (60%)	20 (40%)
	Chinatakani	29 (58%)	21 (42%)
	Total	59 (59%)	41 (41%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	7 (14%)	43 (86%)
	Midthur	9 (18%)	41 (82%)
	Total	16 (16%)	84 (84%)
Total		75 (37.5%)	125 (62.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Kalimela	10 (20%)	40 (80%)
	Total	22 (22%)	78 (78%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	5 (10%)	45 (90%)
	Gopa	5 (10%)	45 (90%)
	Total	10 (10%)	90 (90%)
Total		32 (16%)	168 (84%)
Grand Total		107 (26.8%)	293 (73.2%)

A total of 26.8 per cent of respondents have a positive opinion that their electricity bill expenditure has increased whereas 73.2 per cent say no. By state, 37.5 and 16 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively spoke of an impact of the MGNREGS on increased electricity expenditure. This implies that the impact is greater in Andhra Pradesh. By district, the figures state that 59 per cent from Khammam, 16 per cent from Kurnool, 22 per cent from Malkanagiri and 10 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on expenditure on electricity bills. This implies that the MGNREGS has impacted more on those districts with a greater tribal population and also the impacts of the MGNREGA scheme was clearly evident on the tribal people who were mostly beneficiaries of this centrally sponsored scheme.

Table 7.18: Opinion regarding increased expenditure on Agricultural Equipment after the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	8 (16%)	42 (84%)
	Chinatakani	7 (14%)	43 (86%)
	Total	15 (15%)	85 (85%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	6 (12%)	44 (88%)
	Midthur	9 (18%)	41 (82%)
	Total	15 (15%)	85 (85%)
Total		30 (15%)	170 (85%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	7 (14%)	43 (86%)
	Kalimela	19 (38%)	31 (62%)
	Total	26 (26%)	74 (74%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	5 (10%)	45 (90%)
	Gopa	11 (22%)	39 (78%)
	Total	16 (16%)	84 (84%)
Total		42 (21%)	158 (79%)
Grand Total		72 (18%)	328 (82%)

Overall, 18 per cent of respondents have a positive opinion that their agricultural equipment and seeds expenditure has increased whereas 82 per cent say that it has not. By district, the figures state that 15 per cent from Khammam and Kurnool, 26 per cent from Malkanagiri and 16 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on bills concerning agricultural equipment and seeds. This implies that the impact is greater in Odisha. This also implies that the MGNREGS has impacted more on those districts with a greater tribal population.

Table 7.19: Opinion regarding increased expenditure on Household Assets after the MGNREGA

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	10 (20%)	40 (80%)
	Chinatakani	9 (18%)	41 (82%)
	Total	19 (19%)	81 (81%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	8 (16%)	42 (84%)
	Midthur	11 (22%)	39 (78%)
	Total	19 (19%)	81 (81%)
Total		38 (19%)	162 (81%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	4 (8%)	46 (92%)
	Kalimela	10 (20%)	40 (80%)
	Total	14 (14%)	86 (86%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	11 (22%)	39 (78%)
	Gopa	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Total	26 (26%)	74 (74%)
Total		40 (20%)	160 (80%)
Grand Total		78 (19.5%)	322 (80.5%)

Overall, 19.5 per cent of respondents have a positive opinion that their Household Assets' expenditure has increased whereas 80.5 per cent say that it has not. By state, 19 and 20 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively spoke of the impact of the MGNREGS on increased Household Assets' expenditure. On the other hand, 81 and 80 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha spoke of a negative impact. This implies that the impact is more in Odisha. By district, the figures state that 19 per cent from Khammam and Kurnool, 14 per cent from Malkanagiri and 26 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact on Household Assets' expenditure after the MGNREGS. The impact on expenditure on household assets, so far, is very little in the tribal population.

Table 7.20: Opinion regarding increased expenditure on Recreation after the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	14 (28%)	36 (72%)
	Chinatakani	10 (20%)	40 (80%)
	Total	24 (24%)	76 (76%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	14 (28%)	36 (72%)
	Midthur	18 (36%)	32 (64%)
	Total	32 (32%)	68 (68%)
Total		56 (28%)	144 (72%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	8 (16%)	42 (84%)
	Kalimela	16 (32%)	34 (68%)
	Total	24 (24%)	76 (76%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	18 (36%)	32 (64%)
	Gopa	17 (34%)	33 (66%)
	Total	35 (35%)	65 (65%)
Total		59 (29.5%)	141 (70.5%)
Grand Total		115 (28.8%)	285 (71.2%)

A total of 28.8 per cent of respondents have a positive opinion that their recreation expenditure has increased. By state, 28 and 29.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively spoke of the impact of the MGNREGS on increased recreation expenditure. This implies that the impact is more in Odisha. By district, the figures state that 24 per cent from Khammam, 32 per cent from Kurnool, 24 per cent from Malkanagiri and 35 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on recreation expenditure. This implies that the MGNREGS has had less impact on those districts with a greater tribal population, with regard to recreation expenditure.

Table 7.21: Opinion regarding increased expenditure on House Maintenance after the MGRENS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	13 (26%)	37 (74%)
	Chinatakani	13 (26%)	37 (74%)
	Total	26 (26%)	74 (74%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Midthur	13 (26%)	37 (74%)
	Total	28 (28%)	72 (72%)
Total		54 (27%)	146 (73%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	6 (12%)	44 (88%)
	Kalimela	17 (34%)	33 (66%)
	Total	23 (23%)	77 (77%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	18 (36%)	32 (64%)
	Gopa	16 (32%)	34 (68%)
	Total	34 (34%)	66 (66%)
Total		57 (28.5%)	143 (71.5%)
Grand Total		111 (27.8%)	289 (72.2%)

Overall, 27.8 per cent of respondents have a positive opinion that their house maintenance expenditure has increased whereas 71.5 per cent say that it has not. This shows that the MGNREGS had a very low impact on house maintenance. By state, 27 and 28.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively spoke of the impact of the MGNREGS on increased house maintenance expenditure. This implies that the impact is greater in Odisha. By district, the figures state that 26 per cent from Khammam, 28 per cent from Kurnool, 23 per cent from Malkanagiri and 34 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on house maintenance expenditure. This implies that the MGNREGS has had more impact on those districts with less tribal population, with regard to house maintenance expenditure.

Table 7.22 Opinion regarding increased expenditure on Rice from the PDS after the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	30 (60%)	20 (40%)
	Chinatakani	33 (66%)	17 (34%)
	Total	63 (63%)	37 (37%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	24 (48%)	26 (52%)
	Midthur	33 (66%)	17 (34%)
	Total	57 (57%)	43 (43%)
Total		120 (60%)	80 (40%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	34 (68%)	16 (32%)
	Kalimela	20 (40%)	30 (60%)
	Total	54 (54%)	46 (46%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	24 (48%)	26 (52%)
	Gopa	32 (64%)	18 (36%)
	Total	56 (56%)	44 (44%)
Total		110 (55%)	90 (45%)
Grand Total		230 (57.5%)	170 (42.5%)

A total of 57.5 per cent of respondents have a positive opinion that their expenditure on rice from the public distribution system after the implementation of the MGNREGS has increased. Due to an increase in income, many tribals are now unable to access the PDS. This reflects the changing standards of income levels once members of a family start to earn, which may lift the family above the BPL threshold. By state, 60 and 55 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively spoke of the impact of the MGNREGS on increased expenditure on rice from the public distribution system. This implies that the impact is greater in Andhra Pradesh. By district, the figures state that 63 per cent from Khammam, 57 per cent from Kurnool, 54 per cent from Malkanagiri and 56 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on expenditure on rice from the public distribution system. This implies that the MGNREGS has had more impact on those districts with a greater tribal population, with regard to expenditure on rice from the public distribution system.

Table 7.23: Opinion regarding increased expenditure on Outside Rice after the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	20 (40%)	30 (60%)
	Chinatakani	17 (34%)	33 (66%)
	Total	37 (37%)	63 (63%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	26 (52%)	24 (48%)
	Midthur	17 (34%)	33 (66%)
	Total	43 (43%)	57 (57%)
Total		80 (40%)	120 (60%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	16 (32%)	34 (68%)
	Kalimela	30 (60%)	20 (40%)
	Total	46 (46%)	54 (54%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	26 (52%)	24 (48%)
	Gopa	18 (36%)	32 (64%)
	Total	44 (44%)	56 (56%)
Total		90 (45%)	110 (55%)
Grand Total		170 (42.5%)	230 (57.5%)

A total of 42.5 per cent of respondents have a positive opinion that their expenditure on outside rice after the inception of MGNREGS has increased. This shows that those tribals who are unable to access the PDS are now able to buy rice from outside. This reflects the positive impact on the income of the tribal population. By state, 40 and 45 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively spoke of the impact of the MGNREGS on increased expenditure on outside rice after the inception of the MGNREGS. This implies that the impact is greater in Odisha. By district, the figures state that 37 per cent from Khammam, 43 per cent from Kurnool, 46 per cent from Malkanagiri and 44 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on expenditure on outside rice after the inception of the MGNREGS which can also be studied further analyzing the data in previous table 7.22.

Table 7.24: Opinion regarding increased expenditure on Vegetables after the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	37 (74%)	13 (26%)
	Chinatakani	29 (58%)	21 (42%)
	Total	66 (66%)	34 (34%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	38 (76%)	12 (24%)
	Midthur	37 (74%)	13 (26%)
	Total	75 (75%)	25 (25%)
Total		141 (70.5%)	59 (29.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	10 (20%)	40 (80%)
	Kalimela	22 (44%)	28 (56%)
	Total	32 (32%)	68 (68%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	30 (60%)	20 (40%)
	Gopa	26 (52%)	24 (48%)
	Total	56 (56%)	44 (44%)
Total		88 (44%)	112 (56%)
Grand Total		229 (57.2%)	171 (42.8%)

A total of 57.2 per cent of respondents have a positive opinion that their vegetable expenditure has increased, whereas 42.8 per cent say it has not. This shows the positive impact on vegetable expenditure after the inception of the MGNREGS and also on the living standards and health of the tribal population. By state, 70.5 and 44 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively spoke of the impact of the MGNREGS on increased vegetable expenditure. This implies that the impact is greater in Andhra Pradesh. By district, the figures state that 66 per cent from Khammam, 75 per cent from Kurnool, 32 per cent from Malkanagiri and 56 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on vegetable expenditure. This implies that the MGNREGS has impacted more on those districts with a greater tribal population.

Table 7.25: Opinion regarding increased expenditure on Chicken/Mutton after the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	14 (28%)	36 (72%)
	Chinatakani	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Total	26 (26%)	74 (74%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	11 (22%)	39 (78%)
	Midthur	11 (22%)	39 (78%)
	Total	22 (22%)	78 (78%)
Total		48 (24%)	152 (76%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	13 (26%)	37 (74%)
	Kalimela	17 (34%)	33 (66%)
	Total	30 (30%)	70 (70%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	16 (32%)	34 (68%)
	Gopa	18 (36%)	32 (64%)
	Total	34 (34%)	66 (66%)
Total		64 (32%)	136 (68%)
Grand Total		112 (28%)	288 (72%)

A total of 28 per cent of respondents have a positive opinion that their chicken/mutton expenditure has increased. This shows the positive impact on chicken/mutton expenditure after the inception of the MGNREGS. By state, 24 and 32 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively spoke of the impact of the MGNREGS on increased chicken/mutton expenditure. This implies that the impact is greater in Odisha. By district, the figures state that 26 per cent from Khammam, 22 per cent from Kurnool, 30 per cent from Malkanagiri and 34 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on chicken/mutton expenditure.

Table 7.26: Opinion regarding increased expenditure on Grocery/ Provisions after the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	28 (56%)	22 (44%)
	Chinatakani	26 (52%)	24 (48%)
	Total	54 (54%)	46 (46%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	32 (64%)	18 (36%)
	Midthur	26 (52%)	24 (48%)
	Total	58 (58%)	42 (42%)
Total		112 (56%)	88 (44%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	29 (58%)	21 (42%)
	Kalimela	29 (58%)	21 (42%)
	Total	58 (58%)	42 (42%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	23 (46%)	27 (54%)
	Gopa	28 (56%)	22 (44%)
	Total	51 (51%)	49 (49%)
Total		109 (54.5%)	91 (45.5%)
Grand Total		221 (55.2%)	179 (44.8%)

A total of 55.2 per cent of respondents have a positive opinion that their grocery expenditure has increased. This shows the positive impact on grocery expenditure after the inception of the MGNREGS and also on the living standards and health of the tribal population. By state, 56 and 54.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively spoke of the impact of the MGNREGS on increased grocery expenditure. This implies that the impact is greater in Andhra Pradesh. By district, the figures state that 54 per cent from Khammam, 58 per cent from Kurnool, 58 per cent from Malkanagiri and 51 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on grocery expenditure.

Table 7.27: Opinion regarding increased expenditure on Cable TV after the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Chinatakani	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Total	30 (30%)	70 (70%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	14 (28%)	36 (72%)
	Midthur	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Total	26 (26%)	74 (74%)
Total		56 (28%)	144 (72%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	18 (36%)	32 (64%)
	Kalimela	7 (14%)	43 (86%)
	Total	25 (25%)	75 (75%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Gopa	20 (40%)	30 (60%)
	Total	32 (32%)	68 (68%)
Total		57 (28.5%)	143 (71.5%)
Grand Total		113 (28.2%)	287 (71.8%)

A total of 28.2 per cent of respondents have a positive opinion that their cable TV expenditure has increased. This shows the positive impact on cable TV expenditure after the inception of the MGNREGS, as it reflects their participation in entertainment. By state, 28 and 28.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively spoke of the impact of the MGNREGS on increased cable TV expenditure. This implies that the impact is equal in both states. By district, the figures state that 30 per cent from Khammam, 25 per cent from Kurnool, 25 per cent from Malkanagiri and 32 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on cable TV expenditure.

Table 7.28: Opinion regarding Children attending school

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	21 (42%)	29 (58%)
	Chinatakani	20 (40%)	30 (60%)
	Total	41 (41%)	59 (59%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	14 (28%)	36 (72%)
	Midthur	37 (74%)	13 (26%)
	Total	51 (51%)	49 (49%)
Total		92 (46%)	108 (54%)

Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	25 (50%)	25 (50%)
	Kalimela	31 (62%)	19 (38%)
	Total	56 (56%)	44 (44%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	24 (48%)	26 (52%)
	Gopa	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Total	36 (36%)	64 (64%)
Total		92 (46%)	108 (54%)
Grand Total		184 (46%)	216 (54%)

A total of 46 per cent of respondents have seen a positive impact of the MGNREGS on children attending school. This shows the positive impact on children's education after the inception of the MGNREGS. Education brings about awareness. By state, 46 per cent of respondents from both Andhra Pradesh and Odisha spoke of the impact of the MGNREGS on children attending school. This implies that the impact is equal in both states. By district, the figures state that 41 per cent from Khammam, 51 per cent from Kurnool, 56 per cent from Malkanagiri and 36 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on children attending school. This also reflects the abolition of child labour, which helps more children to attend school regularly and for longer.

Table 7.29: Impact of the MGNREGS on children's education

Name of the District	Name of the Block	No Drop Out	Opting for Higher Education	No Idea	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	14 (28%)	2 (4%)	5 (10%)	29 (58%)
	Chinatakani	12 (24%)	1 (2%)	7 (14%)	30 (60%)
	Total	26 (26%)	3 (3%)	12 (12%)	59 (59%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	10 (20%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)	36 (72%)
	Midthur	18 (36%)	3 (6%)	16 (32%)	13 (26%)
	Total	28 (28%)	5 (5%)	18 (18%)	49 (49%)
Total		54 (27%)	8 (4%)	30 (15%)	108 (54%)

Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	15 (30%)	2 (4%)	8 (16%)	25 (50%)
	Kalimela	13 (26%)	5 (10%)	13 (26%)	19 (38%)
	Total	28 (28%)	7 (7%)	21 (21%)	44 (44%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	16 (32%)	3 (6%)	5 (10%)	26 (52%)
	Gopa	8 (16%)	1 (2%)	3 (6%)	38 (76%)
	Total	24 (24%)	4 (4%)	8 (8%)	64 (64%)
Total		52 (26%)	11 (5.5%)	29 (14.5%)	108 (54%)
Grand Total		106 (26.5%)	19 (4.75%)	59 (14.75%)	216 (54%)

A total of 46 per cent of respondents have seen a positive impact of the MGNREGS on children's education, whereas 14.75 per cent of respondents say they have not. Among those 46 per cent of respondents, 26.5 per cent of them said that there was nobody dropping out of school and 4.75 per cent said that they opted for higher education. This shows that the number of those dropping out has been reduced through the MGNREGS.

This further shows the positive impact on children's education after the inception of the MGNREGS. By state, 27 per cent and 26 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively spoke of the positive impact of the MGNREGS on children attending school. This implies that there has been a greater impact in Andhra Pradesh. By district, the figures state that 26 per cent from Khammam, 28 per cent from Kurnool, 28 per cent from Malkanagiri and 24 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on children attending school.

As regards those opting for higher education, there had been a greater impact in Odisha. Three per cent from Khammam, 5 per cent from Kurnool, 7 per cent from Malkanagiri and 4 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on children opting for higher education. This implies that MGNREGA has impacted especially on the number of dropouts in Andhra Pradesh and the number of children opting for higher education in Odisha.

Table 7.30: Response regarding a savings account in a bank/ Post office

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Before	After	No Account
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	14 (28%)	29 (58%)	7 (14%)
	Chinatakani	12 (24%)	30 (60%)	8 (16%)
	Total	26 (26%)	59 (59%)	15 (15%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	10 (20%)	36 (72%)	4 (8%)
	Midthur	18 (36%)	13 (26%)	19 (38%)
	Total	28 (28%)	49 (49%)	23 (23%)
Total		54 (27%)	108 (54%)	38 (19%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	15 (30%)	25 (50%)	10 (20%)
	Kalimela	13 (26%)	19 (38%)	18 (36%)
	Total	28 (28%)	44 (44%)	28 (28%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	16 (32%)	26 (52%)	8 (16%)
	Gopa	8 (16%)	38 (76%)	4 (8%)
	Total	24 (24%)	64 (64%)	12 (12%)
Total		52 (26%)	108 (54%)	40 (20%)
Grand Total		106 (26.5%)	216 (54%)	78 (19.5%)

A total of 54 per cent of respondents have opened a savings account in a bank/post office after the implementation of the MGNREGA, 26.5 per cent of respondents already had an account and 19.5 per cent of them have not yet opened an account. The increasing number of savings accounts, which has more than doubled since the implementation of the programme, reflects the standard of the economic conditions of the tribals and also reflects the recent nation-wide increases of using mobile phones as wallets by state, 54 per cent of respondents from both Andhra Pradesh and Odisha spoke of opening savings accounts. This implies that the impact is equal in both states. By district, the figures state that 59 per cent from Khammam, 49 per cent from Kurnool, 44 per cent from Malkanagiri and 64 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on the number of savings accounts opened. This implies that the MGNREGS has impacted on those districts with a greater tribal population, in both states.

With the rise of the standard in terms of living which is mostly higher in cities, rather than in rural areas, the rate of expenditure is also comparatively higher these areas. Overall, 27 per cent and 26 per cent from AP and Odisha respectively spoke of having a savings account before the MGNREGS. By district, the figures state that 26 per cent from Khammam, 28 per cent from Kurnool, 28 per cent from Malkanagiri and 24 per cent from Puri responded positively about previously having a savings account. A total of 19 per cent and 20 per cent from AP and Odisha respectively reported not having a savings account before the MGNREGS. By district, the figures state that 15 per cent from Khammam, 23 per cent from Kurnool, 28 per cent from Malkanagiri and 12 per cent from Puri responded about previously not having a savings account. This implies that districts with a high tribal population have fewer savings accounts compared to those districts with fewer tribals.

Table 7.31: Opinion regarding an increased amount of savings in SHG after the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	30 (60%)	20 (40%)
	Chinatakani	33 (66%)	17 (34%)
	Total	63 (63%)	37 (37%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	24 (48%)	26 (52%)
	Midthur	33 (66%)	17 (34%)
	Total	57 (57%)	43 (43%)
Total		120 (60%)	80 (40%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	34 (68%)	16 (32%)
	Kalimela	20 (40%)	30 (60%)
	Total	54 (54%)	46 (46%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	24 (48%)	26 (52%)
	Gopa	32 (64%)	18 (36%)
	Total	56 (56%)	44 (44%)
Total		110 (55%)	90 (45%)
Grand Total		230(57.5%)	170 (42.5%)

A total of 57.5 per cent of respondents have a positive opinion that their amount of savings in SHG has increased, whereas 42.5 per cent say it has not increased after the MGNREGS. This shows the positive impact on the amount of savings in SHG after the inception of the MGNREGS. As their income has increased, in the same way, their savings have also increased. By state, 60 and 55 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively spoke of the impact of the MGNREGS on increased savings in SHG. By district, the figures state that 63 per cent from Khammam, 57 per cent from Kurnool, 54 per cent from Malkanagiri and 56 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on increased savings in SHG. This implies that the MGNREGS has impacted on those districts with a greater tribal population in Andhra Pradesh, while the opposite is true in Odisha. The increased savings reflect the better economic conditions of the people. So, the MGNREGS has had a positive impact on savings, which reflects the better living standards of the tribal population.

Table 7.32: Opinion regarding increased savings amounts in Private Chit Funds after the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Chinatakani	15 (30%)	35 (70%)
	Total	30 (30%)	70 (70%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	14 (28%)	36 (72%)
	Midthur	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Total	26 (26%)	74 (74%)
Total		56 (28%)	144 (72%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	18 (36%)	32 (64%)
	Kalimela	7 (14%)	43 (86%)
	Total	25 (25%)	75 (75%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	12 (24%)	38 (76%)
	Gopa	20 (40%)	30 (60%)
	Total	32 (32%)	68 (68%)
Total		57 (28.5%)	143 (71.5%)
Grand Total		113 (28.2%)	287 (71.8%)

A total of 28.2 per cent of respondents have a positive opinion that savings amounts in private chit funds have increased after the MGNREGS, whereas 71.8 per cent say they have not. This shows some positive impact on savings amounts in private chit funds after the inception of the MGNREGS. By state, 28 and 28.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively spoke of the positive impact of the MGNREGS on increased savings in private chit funds. This reflects the equal impact of the MGNREGS on the savings amounts in private chit funds after the MGNREGS. By district, the figures state that 30 per cent from Khammam, 26 per cent from Kurnool, 25 per cent from Malkanagiri and 32 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on increased savings in private chit funds. This implies that the MGNREGS has impacted on those districts with a greater tribal population in Andhra Pradesh, while the opposite is true in Odisha. Overall, 72 and 71.5 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively spoke of no impact of the MGNREGS on increased savings in private chit funds.

Table 7.33: Opinion regarding increased savings accounts in Bank/ Post Office as a Fixed Deposit after the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	After	No Account	Before	No Idea
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	12 (24%)	29 (58%)	2 (4%)	7 (14%)
	Chinatakani	11 (22%)	30 (60%)	1 (2%)	8 (16%)
	Total	23 (26%)	59 (59%)	3 (3%)	15 (15%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	8 (16%)	36 (72%)	2 (4%)	4 (8%)
	Midthur	15 (30%)	13 (26%)	3 (6%)	19 (38%)
	Total	23 (23%)	49 (49%)	5 (5%)	23 (23%)
Total		46 (23%)	108 (54%)	8 (4%)	38 (19%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	13 (26%)	25 (50%)	2 (4%)	10 (20%)
	Kalimela	8 (16%)	19 (38%)	5 (10%)	18 (36%)
	Total	21 (21%)	44 (44%)	7 (7%)	28 (28%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	13 (26%)	26 (52%)	3 (6%)	8 (16%)
	Gopa	7 (14%)	38 (76%)	1 (2%)	4 (8%)
	Total	20 (20%)	64 (64%)	4 (4%)	12 (12%)
Total		41 (20.5%)	108 (54%)	11 (5.5%)	40 (20%)
Grand Total		87 (21.75%)	216 (54%)	19 (4.75%)	78 (19.5%)

A total of 21.75 per cent of the respondents have opened a savings account in a bank/post office after the implementation of the MGNREGA; overall, 4.75 per cent of respondents already had an account, 54 per cent of them have not yet opened an account and 19.5 per cent have no idea. This shows the positive impact on the amount of savings in a Bank/ Post Office as a Fixed Deposit after the inception of the MGNREGS. By district, the figures state that 26 per cent from Khammam, 23 per cent from Kurnool, 21 per cent from Malkanagiri and 20 per cent from Puri responded positively about the impact of the MGNREGS on opening a fixed deposit account after the MGNREGS. This implies that the MGNREGS has impacted on those districts with greater tribal population. This also indicates the increase in the income level of the tribal people after the implementation of the MGNREGS. By district, the figures state that 3 per cent from Khammam, 5 per cent from Kurnool, 6 per cent from Malkanagiri and 4 per cent from Puri had an account before the implementation of the MGNREGS. This implies that the MGNREGS has had an impact on those districts with a greater tribal population in Andhra

Pradesh, while the opposite is true in Odisha. By district, the figures state that 59 per cent from Khammam, 49 per cent from Kurnool, 44 per cent from Malkanagiri and 64 per cent from Puri had no account before the implementation of the MGNREGS. This tells us that there are more accounts in those districts with a greater tribal population.

Table 7.34: Access to an MBBS Doctor (Bachelor of Medicine and Surgery)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	After	Before	No Idea	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	22 (44%)	14 (28%)	8 (16%)	6 (12%)
	Chinatakani	20 (40%)	12 (24%)	14 (28%)	4 (8%)
	Total	42 (42%)	26 (26%)	22 (22%)	10 (10%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	24 (48%)	16 (32%)	6 (12%)	4 (8%)
	Midthur	23 (46%)	11 (22%)	9 (18%)	7 (14%)
	Total	47 (47%)	27 (27%)	15 (15%)	11 (11%)
Total		89 (44.5%)	53 (26.5%)	37 (18.5%)	21 (10.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	21 (42%)	12 (24%)	7 (14%)	10 (20%)
	Kalimela	19 (38%)	8 (16%)	13 (26%)	10 (20%)
	Total	40 (40%)	20 (20%)	20 (20%)	20 (20%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	23 (46%)	10 (20%)	12 (24%)	5 (10%)
	Gopa	21 (42%)	10 (20%)	14 (28%)	5 (10%)
	Total	44 (44%)	20 (20%)	26 (26%)	10 (10%)
Total		84 (42%)	40 (20%)	46 (23%)	30 (15%)
Grand Total		173 (43.25%)	93 (23.25%)	83 (20.75%)	51 (12.75%)

A total of 43.25 per cent of respondents have said that they have access to an MBBS doctor, whereas 23.25 per cent said they do not and 20.75 per cent gave no response. This shows the positive impact of the MGNREGS on available medical facilities for the tribals. By state, 44 and 42 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively have access to an MBBS doctor. This implies that the impact is greater in Andhra Pradesh. By district, the figures state that 42 per cent from Khammam, 47 per cent from Kurnool, 40 per cent from Malkanagiri and 44 per cent from Puri have access to an MBSS doctor. This implies that the MGNREGS has had an impact on those districts with a greater tribal population. Overall, 26.5 and 20 per cent of respondents from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha respectively thought that they had access to an MBBS doctor before the implementation of the MGNREGS. This implies that more respondents from Andhra Pradesh are able to access a doctor in comparison to Odisha.

Table 7.35: Access to Private School

Name of the District	Name of the Block	After	Before	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	5 (10%)	4 (8%)	41 (82%)
	Chinatakani	4 (8%)	2 (4%)	44 (88%)
	Total	9 (9%)	6 (6%)	85 (85%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	10 (20%)	8 (16%)	32 (64%)
	Midthur	7 (14%)	5 (10%)	38 (76%)
	Total	17 (17%)	13 (13%)	70 (70%)
Total		26 (13%)	19 (9.5%)	155 (77.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	4 (8%)	3 (6%)	43 (86%)
	Kalimela	3 (6%)	3 (6%)	44 (88%)
	Total	7 (7%)	6 (6%)	87 (87%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	12 (24%)	10 (20%)	28 (56%)
	Gopa	10 (20%)	8 (16%)	32 (64%)
	Total	22 (22%)	18 (18%)	60 (60%)
Total		29 (14.5%)	24 (12%)	147 (73.5%)
Grand Total		55 (13.75%)	43 (10.75%)	302 (75.5%)

A total of 43.25 per cent of respondents have said that they have access to private school education after the implementation of the MGNREGS, whereas 23.25 per cent said that they had access to private school education before the implementation of MGNREGS. This shows the positive impact of the MGNREGS on the accessibility of private school education. By district, the figures state that 9 per cent from Khammam, 17 per cent from Kurnool, 7 per cent from Malkanagiri and 22 per cent from Puri have access to private school education after the implementation of the MGNREGS. This implies that the MGNREGS has had an impact on those districts with a greater tribal population. Overall, 9.5 per cent from AP and 12 per cent from Odisha had access before implementation. This implies that Odisha has more access. By district, the figures state that 6 per cent from Khammam, 13 per cent from Kurnool, 6 per cent from Malkanagiri and 18 per cent from Puri had access to private school education before the implementation of the MGNREGS.

Table 7.36: Access to Tiffin Centres

Name of the District	Name of the Block	After	Before	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	15 (30%)	8 (16%)	27 (54%)
	Chinatakani	13 (26%)	7 (14%)	30 (60%)
	Total	28 (26%)	15 (15%)	57 (57%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	18 (36%)	9 (18%)	23 (46%)
	Midthur	17 (34%)	8 (16%)	25 (50%)
	Total	35 (35%)	17 (17%)	48 (48%)
Total		63 (31.5%)	32 (16%)	105 (52.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	20 (40%)	10 (20%)	20 (40%)
	Kalimela	22 (44%)	12 (24%)	16 (32%)
	Total	42 (42%)	22 (22%)	36 (36%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	25 (50%)	15 (30%)	10 (20%)
	Gopa	28 (56%)	13 (26%)	9 (18%)
	Total	53 (53%)	28 (28%)	19 (19%)
Total		95 (47.5%)	50 (25%)	55 (27.5%)
Grand Total		158 (39.5%)	82 (20.5%)	160 (40%)

In total, 39.5 per cent of respondents have said that they have access to Tiffin Centres where they can easily have their meals or load tiffins during the working hours of the scheme, it was also acknowledged by the majority of respondents that after the implementation of the MGNREGS, whereas 20.5 per cent said that they had access before the implementation of the MGNREGS. This shows the positive impact of the MGNREGS on accessibility to Tiffin Centres after the implementation of the MGNREGS. A total of 31.5 and 47.5 per cent from AP and Odisha think that they had access to Tiffin Centres after the implementation of the MGNREGS. It reflects that respondents from Odisha have accessed more Tiffin Centres in comparison to those in Andhra Pradesh. By district, the figures state that 26 per cent from Khammam, 35 per cent from Kurnool, 42 per cent from Malkanagiri and 53 per cent from Puri have access to Tiffin Centres after the implementation of the MGNREGS. Overall, 16 per cent from AP and 25 per cent from Odisha had access before implementation. This implies that Odisha has more access. By district, the figures state that 15 per cent from Khammam, 17 per cent from Kurnool, 22 per cent from Malkanagiri and 28 per cent from Puri had access to Tiffin Centres before the implementation of the MGNREGS. 40 per cent are unable to respond in this regard. A total of 52.5 per cent from AP and 27.5 per cent from Odisha are unable to answer in this regard. This shows a positive impact on the pattern of food consumption among the tribal people after the implementation of the MGNREGS. The MGNREGS has not only had an impact on the economic conditions, but also on the living standards of the tribal people.

Table 7.37: Access to a Xerox/ Stationery shop

Name of the District	Name of the Block	After	Before	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	6 (12%)	4 (8%)	40 (80%)
	Chinatakani	4 (8%)	3 (6%)	43 (86%)
	Total	10 (10%)	7 (7%)	83 (83%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	10 (20%)	8 (16%)	32 (64%)
	Midthur	12 (24%)	9 (18%)	29 (58%)
	Total	22 (22%)	17 (17%)	61 (61%)
Total		32 (16%)	24 (12%)	144 (72%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	5 (10%)	2 (4%)	43 (86%)
	Kalimela	3 (6%)	1 (2%)	46 (92%)
	Total	8 (8%)	3 (3%)	89 (89%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	12 (24%)	8 (16%)	30 (60%)
	Gopa	11 (22%)	5 (10%)	34 (68%)
	Total	23 (23%)	13 (13%)	64 (64%)
Total		31 (15.5%)	16 (8%)	153 (76.5%)
Grand Total		63 (15.75%)	40 (10%)	297 (74.25%)

A total of 15.75 per cent of respondents have said that they have access to a Xerox/ stationery shop after the implementation of the MGNREGS, whereas 10 per cent said that they had access before the implementation of the MGNREGS. This shows the positive impact of the MGNREGS on accessibility to Xerox/ stationery shops after the implementation of the MGNREGS. Overall, 16 and 15.5 per cent from AP and Odisha think that they had equal access to a Xerox/ stationery shop after the implementation of the MGNREGS. It reflects that both states have had access to more Xerox/ stationery provision. By district, the figures state that 10 per cent from Khammam, 22 per cent from Kurnool, 8 per cent from Malkanagiri and 23 per cent from Puri have access to a Xerox/ stationery shop after the implementation of the MGNREGS. This shows that districts with a lower tribal population have more access to stationery shops. Overall, 16 per cent from AP and 8 per cent from Odisha had access before MGNREGS implementation. This implies that Andhra Pradesh has more access. By district, the figures state that 7 per cent from Khammam, 17 per cent from Kurnool, 3 per cent from Malkanagiri and 13 per cent from Puri had access to stationery shops before the implementation of the MGNREGS. This reflects the positive impact of the MGNREGS on access to stationery and Xerox shops.

Table 7.38: Access to a Grinding Machine

Name of the District	Name of the Block	After	Before	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	8 (16%)	4 (8%)	38 (76%)
	Chinatakani	7 (14%)	3 (6%)	40 (80%)
	Total	15 (15%)	7 (7%)	78 (78%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	12 (24%)	5 (10%)	33 (66%)
	Midthur	11 (22%)	2 (4%)	37 (74%)
	Total	23 (23%)	7 (7%)	70 (70%)
Total		38 (19%)	14 (7%)	148 (74%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	7 (14%)	2 (4%)	41 (82%)
	Kalimela	6 (12%)	1 (2%)	43 (86%)
	Total	13 (13%)	3 (3%)	84 (84%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	14 (28%)	6 (12%)	30 (60%)
	Gopa	13 (26%)	5 (10%)	32 (64%)
	Total	27 (27%)	11 (11%)	62 (62%)
Total		40 (20%)	14 (7%)	146 (73%)
Grand Total		78 (19.5%)	28 (7%)	294 (73.5%)

Following the process of globalisation, the culture of consumerism has accelerated rapidly. It has been witnessed that the rural population in India is increasingly exploring products for their household requirements, but it also been reported that due to the shortage of finance, many households in rural areas have not been able to access basic requirements and labour-saving devices such a grinder. Therefore, an effort was made to assess whether the implementation of the MGNREGA helped families, and especially women, to buy these products or whether their condition has remained the same. On this premise, we asked them whether they have this new product available in their home or not. A total of 19.5 per cent of respondents have said that they have access to a grinding machine after the implementation of the MGNREGS whereas 7 per cent said that they had access before the implementation of the MGNREGS. By district, the figures state that 19 per cent from Khammam and 19 per cent from Kurnool have access to a grinding machine after the implementation of the

MGNREGS. Only 7 per cent said that they had it before the implementation of the Act. The major portion of the population revealed that they still do not have a grinding machine at their home. Overall, 73 per cent said that they do not use the facility. The reason behind this may be that the income generated from the MGNREGA work is not sufficient to maintain the daily needs of their family, which is why they are unable to save money to purchase the products. In rural areas, it is not uncommon that one takes any items to be ground to a specialist service provider.

Table 7.39: Access to Rice Mills

Name of the District	Name of the Block	After	Before	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	5 (10%)	2 (4%)	43 (86%)
	Chinatakani	7 (14%)	3 (6%)	40 (80%)
	Total	12 (12%)	5 (5%)	83 (83%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	8 (16%)	6 (12%)	36 (72%)
	Midthur	10 (20%)	7 (14%)	33 (66%)
	Total	18 (18%)	13 (13%)	69 (69%)
Total		30 (15%)	18 (9%)	152 (76%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	4 (8%)	2 (4%)	44 (88%)
	Kalimela	5 (10%)	3 (6%)	42 (84%)
	Total	9 (9%)	5 (5%)	86 (86%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	12 (24%)	8 (16%)	30 (30%)
	Gopa	13 (26%)	10 (20%)	27 (54%)
	Total	25 (25%)	18 (18%)	57 (57%)
Total		34 (17%)	23 (11.5%)	143 (71.2%)
Grand Total		64 (16%)	41 (10.25%)	195 (48.75%)

A total of 16 per cent of respondents have said that they have access to rice mills after the implementation of the MGNREGS, whereas 10.25 per cent said that they had access before the implementation of the MGNREGS in order to crush the paddy and process the rice. 48.75 per cent said that they had access neither before nor after the implementation of the MGNREGA programme. By district, the figures state that 15 per cent from Khammam and 15 per cent from Kurnool had access to rice mills after the implementation of the MGNREGS. In Odisha, 17 and 11.5 per cent had access to mills after and before, respectively, the implementation of the MGNREGS. The number of those who have accessed rice mills after the implementation of the MGNREGA is higher than those who used to access them even before the MGNREG Act. So, it can be derived that, after the execution of the MGNREGA, people are able to increase their income and through this, they are able to access modern amenities such as rice mills and grinding machines, which further indicates the success rate of the MGNREGA.

Table 7.40: Access to Movies

Name of the District	Name of the Block	After	Before	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	8 (16%)	6 (12%)	36 (72%)
	Chinatakani	10 (20%)	5 (10%)	35 (70%)
	Total	18 (18%)	11 (11%)	71 (71%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	12 (24%)	8 (16%)	30 (60%)
	Midthur	14 (28%)	10 (20%)	26 (52%)
	Total	26 (26%)	18 (18%)	56 (56%)
Total		44 (22%)	29 (14.5%)	127 (63.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	6 (12%)	4 (8%)	40 (80%)
	Kalimela	7 (14%)	5 (10%)	38 (76%)
	Total	13 (13%)	9 (9%)	78 (78%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	12 (24%)	10 (20%)	28 (56%)
	Gopa	14 (28%)	11 (22%)	25 (50%)
	Total	26 (26%)	21 (21%)	53 (26.5%)
Total		39 (78%)	30 (15%)	131 (65.5%)
Grand Total		83 (20.75%)	59 (14.75%)	258 (64.5%)

The table describes the data regarding access to movies, as it was important to know how the people who have worked under the MGNREGA spend their money on recreational activities out of the income generated through the MGNREGA. The picture of the two states is interesting, because the rural masses of these states are becoming increasingly attached to watching movies during different festivals. So, it was found that 20.75 per cent of the population access movies as a part of their recreational activities during their respective festivals, and to do this they spend their own money, generated from work through the MGNREGA. Out of the total respondents, 14.75 per cent of the population used to watch movies previously, before the execution of the programme, so it does not matter for them. A large portion of the population is still unable to afford such expenses from their own pocket, which is their hard-earned income, so in that case, they are not able to watch movies. Given that people in the two states are fond of movies, especially during their respective festivals, the data reveals that in both the Khammam and Kurnool districts of Andhra Pradesh, 26 per cent of respondents accessed movies after the enactment of the MGNREGA, whereas 18 per cent said that they used to access them even before the enactment of MGNREGA. In the case of Odisha, 26 per cent accessed movies after the implementation of the Act, whereas 21 per cent were watching even before the Act. So, the data clearly indicates that the amount of access is greater after the commencement of the Act, because the labour rate has increased and so they now have resources to enjoy such recreation.

After analysing the various responses of the respondents, both elected representatives and bureaucrats, it can be concluded that local self-government has not been transferred properly. The 73rd amendment act has not been implemented in its true spirit. Such powers are subject to transfer, to implement and involve the local people in the development process. Such powers are constitutionally guaranteed to the local self-government in rural areas, not only for the effective implementation of various poverty alleviation programmes but also for the empowerment of the local people. But this study reflects a lack of awareness from the representatives about their role, conflict among the bureaucrats, strict procedures for various rural poverty alleviation programmes, which have all led to them not being able to implement the programmes as successfully as may be hoped for. In this regard, certain programmes like the SGSY, the MGNREGS, the IAY and the MOKUDIA programmes have been studied.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

A MULTIDIMENSIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ON LIVELIHOOD CHANGES

This chapter focuses on fieldwork which has been carried out in the Khammam and Kurnool districts of Andhra Pradesh and in the Malkanagiri and Puri districts of Odisha. It tries to find out the role of various institutions in the process of implementing rural poverty alleviation programmes. It attempts to understand the institutionalisation process of centralisation and decentralisation, the nature of policy related to poverty formulation, and the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of various poverty alleviation programmes in Odisha and Andhra Pradesh. This chapter also examines the perception of the Tribals in the devolution of the three Fs (Functions, Functionaries and Funds) and the impact of the MGNREGA Act on tribal livelihoods.[1]

Poverty has been a major challenge for the planner from the period of independence. So, various development programmes have been formulated with a strategy to alleviate rural poverty. During the fifth Five-Year Plan, the focus was on tackling poverty directly.[2] The basic aim of rural poverty alleviation programmes was and remains to eliminate poverty in rural areas. In this regard, various programmes related to poverty have been formulated not only targeting the poor, but also various specific aspects of poverty.[3]. So, all the rural poverty alleviation programmes can be divided into self-employment programmes, waged employment, and housing programmes. At the time of the interviews, different perceptions of the Sarpanch in regard to the orientation or aim of the rural poverty alleviation programmes were noticed.[4] Various reports of the Planning Commission reflect the increase in the allocation of financial resources towards rural poverty alleviation programmes that have not seen results on the ground.[5] A total of 25.7 per cent of people still live in poverty as per the Tendulkar methodology.[6] When the government changes, the change in name, strategy or approach and in the role of institutions have been noted in the context of rural poverty alleviation programmes. But still, the percentage of poverty reflects the relative success of programmes or strategies.[7] In this context, questions were asked at the time of interviews to know the perception of grass-roots bureaucrats about the basic reasons for the existence of poverty after 67 years of independence. The rural poverty alleviation programmes have been formulated on the basis of local needs.[8] By focusing on these local needs, the alleviation of poverty programmes can expect the participation and involvement of the people.[9] From the beginning of the Balwantrai Mehta committee, many evaluation reports and committees on various rural poverty alleviation programmes suggested more of a focus on local needs and placed an emphasis on the participatory approach at the time of the formulation and implementation of various programmes towards the alleviation of rural poverty.[10] This chapter mainly deals with the negative and positive impact of the MGNREGS on labour rates, insurance etc. It also tries to find out the perception of respondents about what impact the absence of the MGNREGS would have on the livelihood, social and economic status of tribal respondents.

Table 8 .1 Impact of the MGNREGS on the Agricultural Labour Rate

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	38 (76%)	8 (16%)	4 (8%)
	Chinatakani	32 (64%)	6 (12%)	12 (24%)
	Total	70 (70%)	14 (14%)	16 (16%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	35 (70%)	10 (20%)	5 (10%)
	Midthur	30 (60%)	12 (24%)	8 (16%)
	Total	65 (65%)	22 (22%)	13 (13%)
Total		135 (67.5%)	36 (18%)	29 (14.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	41 (82%)	5 (10%)	4 (8%)
	Kalimela	38 (76%)	4 (8%)	8 (16%)
	Total	79 (79%)	9 (9%)	12 (12%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	37 (74%)	4 (8%)	9 (18%)
	Gopa	35 (70%)	5 (10%)	10 (20%)
	Total	72 (72%)	9 (9%)	19 (19%)
Total		151 (75.5%)	18 (9%)	31 (15.5%)
Grand Total		286 (71.5%)	54 (13.5%)	60 (15%)

There is a distinction between the waged labour rate and the agricultural labour rate. After the enactment of the Act, the waged labour rate increased and the agricultural labour rate did not keep pace. Now it depends on the respective owner of a farm how he/she takes care of the matter. But in the case of the MGNREGA, the labour rate is fixed and supposedly uniform all over India. In order to know whether this is a fact, we asked whether the agricultural labour rate has changed or not. From the data one can imagine that the response is varied in nature, that means the agricultural labour rate is fluctuating from time to time and according to the state. The data shows that there is no uniform response from the respondents. So, 71.5 per cent said that the rate increased after the enactment of the MGNREGS Act because it changed the payment structure of waged labour. However, 13.5 per cent said that no changes have been witnessed since the enactment of the legislation. But the data of the two states varies in nature, as the figures in the two districts of AP show that 67. 5 per cent of respondents mentioned that the labour rate has changed and only 18 per cent said that no change has been made since the Act. The data from the two districts of Odisha shows that 72 per cent thought that the rate has changed so far, after the implementation of the Act. On the other hand, only 9 per cent said that no changes in the labour rate have been made so far. After the rules of minimum wages were made by the NREGA, the agricultural labour rate also increased.

Table 8.2: Impact of the MGNREGS on Waged Labour

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	42 (84%)	4 (8%)	4 (8%)
	Chinatakani	40 (80%)	3 (6%)	7 (14%)
	Total	82 (82%)	7 (7%)	11 (11%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	40 (80%)	2 (4%)	8 (16%)
	Midthur	38 (76%)	4 (8%)	8 (16%)
	Total	78 (78%)	6 (6%)	16 (16%)
Total		160 (80%)	13 (6.5%)	27 (13.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	45 (90%)	2 (4%)	3 (6%)
	Kalimela	44 (88%)	2 (4%)	4 (8%)
	Total	89 (89%)	4 (4%)	7 (7%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	48 (96%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)
	Gopa	46 (92%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)
	Total	94 (94%)	3 (3%)	3 (3%)
Total		183 (91.5%)	7 (3.5%)	10 (5%)
Grand Total		343 (85.75%)	20 (5%)	37 (9.25%)

As is shown in the above table, after the commencement of the Act, people used to access modern amenities, due to the rise of the labour rate. So, to draw out the facts, the question was asked of the respondents whether there were any changes in labour rate after the implementation of the MGNREGA. The table reflects that almost all respondents of the selected districts gave the same response. This is because the labour rate has increased from the previous labour rate. A total of 85.75 per cent said that the labour rate has increased after the execution of the MGNREGA. The earlier labour rate was low and varied according to the respective state. But the good thing is that, after the enactment of this landmark piece of legislation, the minimum? labour rate become uniform all over India. Only 5 per cent of the people were of the negative view that the labour rate, even today, fluctuates according to the state. But these cases are very rare because the transaction procedures involve the bank and in current period of times it is mostly done by the bank transfer, in which the wages are credited into the beneficiary accounts through a proper mechanism which also involves of Aadhar seeding with the bank account. The interesting fact revealed was that earlier, there was gender discrimination in terms of the labour rate; thankfully after the enactment of the Act, women workers received the same wages as their male counterparts. To conclude, we can confirm that the labour rate has increased after the execution of the MGNREGA.

Table: 8.3: Impact of the MGNREGS on construction work

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	32 (62%)	8 (16%)	10 (20%)
	Chinatakani	35 (70%)	5 (10%)	10 (20%)
	Total	67 (67%)	13 (13%)	20 (20%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	42 (84%)	4 (8%)	4 (8%)
	Midthur	45 (90%)	2 (4%)	3 (6%)
	Total	87 (87%)	6 (6%)	7 (7%)
Total		154 (77%)	19 (9.5%)	27 (13.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	28 (56%)	12 (24%)	10 (20%)
	Kalimela	26 (52%)	14 (28%)	10 (20%)
	Total	54 (54%)	26 (26%)	20 (20%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	44 (88%)	2 (4%)	4 (8%)
	Gopa	43 (86%)	1 (2%)	6 (12%)
	Total	87 (87%)	3 (3%)	10 (10%)
Total		141 (70.5%)	29 (14.5%)	30 (15%)
Grand Total		295 (73.75%)	48 (12%)	57 (14.25%)

An effort has been made through this study to know whether the wage rate has changed in the unorganised sector, that is in all unincorporated private enterprises owned by individuals, especially in construction work after the operation of the Act. The situation in construction work is horrible as a result of irregular payment, low wages, gender discrimination and the vulnerable conditions and lack of bargaining power of the workers. So, in order to know whether this has changed, the data was gathered and it explicitly says that 73.75 per cent reportedly said that the influence and impact of the MGNREGA are present in construction work and after the commencement of the Act, the wage rate on construction sites has increased. In contrast, 12 per cent said that the situation has not yet changed, as they are still receiving wages unequal to those under the MGNREGA payment structure. A total of 14.25 per cent of respondents had no view about it. In both Khammam and Kurnool, 77 per cent of people thought that the labour rate in the construction sector changed after the Act. On the other hand, 9.5 per cent of the population answered negatively that nothing has changed. In the Malkanagiri and Puri districts, 87 per cent felt that the labour rate on construction sites has been changed after the Act, whereas 14.5 per cent said that nothing has changed so far.

Table 8.4: Impact of the MGNREGS on the Collection of Non-timber Forest Products (NTFPs)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	25 (50%)	15 (30%)	10 (20%)
	Chinatakani	22 (44%)	8 (16%)	20 (40%)
	Total	47 (47%)	23 (23%)	30 (30%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	5 (10%)	10 (20%)	35 (70%)
	Midthur	4 (8%)	8 (16%)	38 (76%)
	Total	9 (9%)	18 (18%)	73 (73%)
Total		56 (28%)	41 (20.5%)	103 (51.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	30 (60%)	8 (16%)	12 (24%)
	Kalimela	28 (56%)	4 (8%)	18 (36%)
	Total	58 (58%)	12 (12%)	30 (30%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	0	0	50 (100%)
	Gopa	0	0	50 (100%)
	Total	0	0	100 (100%)
Total		58 (29%)	12 (6%)	130 (65%)
Grand Total		114 (28.5%)	53 (13.25%)	233 (58.25%)

This table describes the impact of the MGNREGS on the collection of NTFP produce from the forest. The table indicates that 28.5 per cent of people collect it, whereas 13.25 per cent said that they do not. A large section of the people in the study area did not respond to the query. If we look at the data by district, 58 per cent in the Malkanagiri district and 47 per cent of the Khammam district people collect NTFP from the forest. So, if we look at the data of these two districts, it can be inferred that both districts registered the highest percentage in terms of NTFP collection. The inference is that, even after the execution of the MGNREGA programme, people still depend on forest produce. In these two districts, the response was that income from the MGNREGA is not sufficient to maintain the livelihood of their family, so they have to go to the forest and collect NTFP and sell the same in the market for their daily household requirements. When it was asked why they collect the NTFP from the forest, they said that the MGNREGA provides only 100 days of work, and the rest of the time they starve if they depend completely on the MGNREGA, therefore they visit the forest to collect the NTFP for their daily provisions.

Table 8.5: Impact of the MGNREGS on Life Insurance (LIC & Others)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	After	Before	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	12 (24%)	4 (8%)	34 (68%)
	Chinatakani	10 (20%)	3 (6%)	37 (74%)
	Total	22 (22%)	7 (7%)	71 (71%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	18 (36%)	8 (16%)	24 (48%)
	Midthur	15 (30%)	8 (16%)	27 (54%)
	Total	33 (33%)	16 (16%)	51 (51%)
Total		55 (27.5%)	23 (11.5%)	122 (61%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	10 (20%)	6 (12%)	34 (17%)
	Kalimela	8 (16%)	2 (4%)	40 (20%)
	Total	18 (18%)	8 (8%)	74 (74%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	20 (40%)	7 (14%)	23 (46%)
	Gopa	18 (36%)	6 (12%)	26 (52%)
	Total	38 (38%)	13 (13%)	49 (49%)
Total		56 (28%)	21 (10.5%)	123 (61.5%)
Grand Total		111 (27.75%)	44 (11%)	245 (61.25%)

Nowadays, rural people are a little more aware and conscious of their future income and savings than earlier. Data was collected from the people regarding this matter, after the implementation of the MGNREGA. Overall, 27.75 per cent of them were able to save their money in banks and insurance companies. Only 11 per cent were able to save before the implementation of the programme. Since rural masses largely live in poverty, there is no possibility for them to save their money. A total of 61.25 per cent of people do not have any saving accounts in any bank including the Life Insurance company (LIC). By district, 38 per cent of people in Puri have savings in different banks/LIC and 33 per cent in Kurnool. This is followed by Khammam and Malkanagiri. Odisha is in a better position than AP. The data was collected in terms of two parameters: the percentage of the population saving before and those after the enactment of the MGNREGA. If we look at the data, the saving rates of the people in the study area is lower before the execution of the MGNREGA than after the execution of the Act. So, at this juncture, one outcome of the MGNREGA is that, after the implementation of this programme, people started saving in different banks/LIC according to their preference.

Table 8.6: Impact of the MGNREGS on Asset Insurance (Cattle & Others)

Name of the District	Name of the Block	After	Before	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	6 (12%)	0	44 (88%)
	Chinatakani	4 (8%)	0	46 (92%)
	Total	10 (10%)	0	90 (90%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	8 (16%)	3 (6%)	39 (78%)
	Midthur	5 (10%)	2 (4%)	43 (86%)
	Total	13 (13%)	5 (5%)	82 (82%)
Total		23 (11.5%)	5 (2.5%)	172 (86%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	4 (8%)	0	46 (92%)
	Kalimela	3 (6%)	0	47 (94%)
	Total	7 (7%)	0	93 (93%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	6 (12%)	1 (2%)	43 (86%)
	Gopa	4 (8%)	0	46 (92%)
	Total	10 (10%)	1 (1%)	89 (89%)
Total		17 (8.5%)	1 (0.5%)	182 (91%)
Grand Total		40 (10%)	6 (1.5%)	354 (88.5%)

The above table describes the impact of the MGNREGA on livestock and other assets. “Other assets” refers to properties owned. The point here is to find out the positive impact of the MGNREGA on assets insurance. The data indicates that after the execution of the programme, 10 per cent of people have been able to own livestock and other assets, whereas only 1.5 per cent of people had these assets before. On the other hand, very large segments of the population have not had this status before or after. In the Khammam and Kurnool districts, 11.5 per cent of the people are enjoying the status of having livestock and other assets after the implementation of the Act, and only 2.5 per cent had it before. Similarly, in Malkanagiri and Puri, 8.5 per cent of people owned livestock and other material assets after the MGNREGA programme, and less than 1 per cent had that status before. So, it can be concluded that after the enactment of the MGNREGA programme, there has been a lot of positive impact in terms of income generation, and owning material assets and livestock. Therefore, the programme has changed the lifestyle of the rural masses, to a greater or lesser degree.

Table 8.7: Impact of the MGNREGS on Improving Social Status

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Somewhat	Satisfactory	Not Satisfactory
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	33 (66%)	7 (14%)	10 (20%)
	Chinatakani	35 (70%)	8 (16%)	7 (14%)
	Total	68 (68%)	15 (15%)	17 (17%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	26 (52%)	10 (20%)	14 (28%)
	Midthur	28 (56%)	13 (26%)	9 (18%)
	Total	54 (54%)	23 (23%)	23 (23%)
Total		122 (61%)	38 (19%)	40 (20%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	18 (36%)	7 (14%)	25 (50%)
	Kalimela	15 (30%)	9 (18%)	26 (52%)
	Total	33 (33%)	16 (16%)	51 (51%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	22 (44%)	13 (26%)	15 (30%)
	Gopa	24 (48%)	16 (32%)	10 (20%)
	Total	46 (46%)	29 (29%)	25 (25%)
Total		79 (39.5%)	45 (22.5%)	76 (38%)
Grand Total		201 (50.25%)	83 (20.75%)	116 (29%)

A total of 50.25 per cent of respondents are of the view that their social status has improved due to the MGNREGS, whereas 20.75 per cent of respondents gave the response of satisfactory and 29 per cent said there had been no improvement in social status due to the impact of the MGNREGS. This reflects the generally improving economic status, as 61 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 39.5 per cent from Odisha have seen an increase in social status. It implies that Andhra Pradesh is moving towards increasing the social status of the people. A total of 68 per cent from Khammam, 54 per cent from Kurnool, 33 per cent from Malkanagiri and 46 per cent from Puri have given the response of satisfactory. In Andhra Pradesh, the majority of the respondents from the highest tribal districts are somewhat satisfied in comparison with the lowest tribal districts, but this is the reverse in the case of Odisha. Overall, 19 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 22.5 per cent from Odisha are satisfied. It reflects that more respondents are satisfied in Andhra Pradesh in comparison with Odisha. A total of 15 per cent of respondents from the Khammam district and 23 per cent from the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, and 16 per cent of respondents from Malkanagiri and 29 per cent from Puri in Odisha are satisfied with their increasing social status after the implementation of the MGNREGS. It reflects that a greater number of respondents from the lowest tribal districts are of the view that social status is increasing compared to the highest tribal districts, in both states after the implementation of the MGNREGS. A total of 29 per cent of respondents thought that their social status has not improved even after the implementation of the MGNREGS. In this category, 20 per cent are from Andhra Pradesh and 38 per cent from Odisha. This reflects that more respondents from Odisha are dissatisfied with the improvement in social status in comparison with Andhra Pradesh. Among the respondents who gave the response of unsatisfactory, 17 per cent of these are from Khammam and 23 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh, whereas 51 per cent are from the Malkanagiri district and 25 per cent from the Puri district of Odisha. This reflects that in Andhra Pradesh, the lowest tribal districts are more dissatisfied in comparison with the highest tribal districts, but it is the reverse in the case of Odisha.

Table 8.8: Impact of the MGNREGS on the Condition of Poor People

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Satisfactory	Somewhat satisfactory	Not Satisfactory
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	10 (20%)	28 (56%)	12 (24%)
	Chinatakani	12 (24%)	30 (60%)	8 (16%)
	Total	22 (22%)	58 (58%)	20 (20%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	8 (16%)	33 (66%)	9 (18%)
	Midthur	6 (12%)	34 (68%)	10 (20%)
	Total	14 (14%)	67 (67%)	19 (19%)
Total		36 (18%)	125 (62.25%)	39 (19.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	6 (12%)	35 (70%)	9 (18%)
	Kalimela	4 (8%)	36 (72%)	10 (20%)
	Total	10 (10%)	71 (71%)	19 (19%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	3 (6%)	27 (54%)	20 (40%)
	Gopa	1 (2%)	34 (68%)	15 (30%)
	Total	4 (4%)	61 (61%)	35 (35%)
Total		14 (7%)	132 (66%)	54 (27%)
Grand Total		50 (12.5%)	257 (64.25%)	93 (23.25%)

A total of 64.25 per cent of respondents are somewhat satisfied with the improvement in the conditions of poor people in comparison to the 12.5 per cent who are satisfied and 23.25 per cent who are not satisfied with the condition of poor people after the implementation of the MGNREGS. It shows that the majority of the respondents are somewhat satisfied. In comparison to dissatisfied and satisfied, the majority belong to the dissatisfied group after the implementation of the MGNREGS. This reflects that the majority are dissatisfied in comparison with those who are satisfied with the condition of the poor after the implementation of the MGNREGS. In the category of satisfied, 18 per cent belong to Andhra Pradesh, whereas 7 per cent belong to Odisha. This reflects that the majority of AP respondents are satisfied in comparison with Odisha. Overall, 22 per cent of respondents from Khammam and 14 per cent of respondents from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh and 10 per cent from Malkanagiri and 4 per cent from Puri in Odisha are satisfied with the conditions of poor people after the implementation of the MGNREGS. This implies that the majority of respondents from the districts with the highest tribal population are satisfied. In the case of somewhat satisfied, 62.25 per cent are from Andhra Pradesh, whereas 66 per cent are from Odisha. This implies that the majority of respondents from Odisha are somewhat satisfied. A total of 58 per cent of the respondents from Khammam and 67 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh and 71 per cent from Malkanagiri and 61 per cent from Puri in Odisha are somewhat satisfied with the conditions of poor people after the implementation of the MGNREGS. It implies that districts with a lower tribal population are somewhat more satisfied compared to those with a high tribal population. The reverse is true in Odisha. A total of 19.5 per cent of respondents from AP and 27 per cent from Odisha are dissatisfied with the conditions of the poor after the implementation. This reflects the fact that the majority of respondents who are dissatisfied are in Odisha. By district, the figures are as follows: Khammam 20 per cent, Kurnool 19 per cent, Malkanagiri 19 per cent and Puri 35 per cent. Thus, major levels of dissatisfaction are seen in those districts with more tribals in AP. Such an opinion shows that the MGNREGS has had a positive impact on the conditions of some poor people, but not all.

Hindrances in the MGNREGS

Table 8.9: Basic Problems Faced by Job Cardholders in the MGNREGS

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Work Allotment	Delay in Wage	Work Timing	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	3 (6%)	32 (64%)	1 (2%)	14 (28%)
	Chinatakani	4 (8%)	34 (68%)	0	12 (24%)
	Total	7 (7%)	66 (66%)	1 (1%)	26 (26%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	3 (6%)	36 (72%)	1 (2%)	10 (20%)
	Midthur	3 (6%)	38 (76%)	1 (2%)	8 (16%)
	Total	6 (6%)	74 (74%)	2 (2%)	18 (18%)
Total		13 (6.5%)	140 (70%)	3 (1.5%)	44 (22%)

Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	3 (6%)	28 (56%)	1 (2%)	18 (36%)
	Kalimela	8 (16%)	24 (48%)	2 (4%)	16 (32%)
	Total	11 (11%)	52 (52%)	3 (3%)	34 (34%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	5 (10%)	31 (62%)	2 (4%)	12 (24%)
	Gopa	5 (10%)	34 (68%)	1 (2%)	10 (20%)
	Total	10 (10%)	65 (65%)	3 (3%)	22 (22%)
Total		21 (10.5%)	117 (58.5%)	6 (3%)	56 (28%)
Grand Total		34 (8.5%)	257 (64.25%)	9 (2.25%)	100 (25%)

A total of 64.25 per cent of respondents think that the delay in wage payments is a big hindrance faced by the job cardholders in the MGNREGS, whereas 8.5 per cent respondents think that the allotment of work is the biggest problem faced by the job cardholders in the MGNREGS and 2.25 per cent of respondents think that it is about work timing. At the same time, 25 per cent of respondents are silent on the issue of the basic problems faced by job cardholders in MGNREGS. A total of 10.5 per cent of respondents from Odisha and 6.5 per cent from Andhra Pradesh view a problem in the allotment of work. This reflects that more respondents from AP think that work allotment is a hindrance. Overall, 70 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 58.5 per cent from Odisha think that a delay in wages is the basic problem faced by the job cardholders in the MGNREGS. In the case of a delay in wages faced by the job cardholders in the MGNREGS, the district figures are as follows: 66 per cent from Khammam and 74 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh; 52 per cent from Malkanagiri and 65 per cent from Puri in Odisha. Only 7 per cent from Khammam and 6 per cent from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh and 11 per cent from Malkanagiri and 10 per cent from Puri in Odisha think that work allotment is the basic problem faced by the job cardholders in the MGNREGS.

Problems of the Absence of the MGNREGS

Table 8.10: Distress Migration

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	40 (80%)	6 (12%)	4 (8%)
	Chinatakani	36 (72%)	8 (16%)	6 (12%)
	Total	76 (76%)	14 (14%)	10 (10%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	36 (72%)	4 (8%)	10 (20%)
	Midthur	34 (68%)	5 (10%)	11 (22%)
	Total	70 (70%)	9 (9%)	21 (21%)
Total		146 (73%)	23 (11.5%)	31 (15.5%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	45 (90%)	2 (4%)	3 (6%)
	Kalimela	42 (84%)	4 (8%)	4 (8%)
	Total	87 (87%)	6 (6%)	7 (7%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	38 (76%)	0	12 (24%)
	Gopa	35 (70%)	0	15 (30%)
	Total	73 (73%)	0	27 (27%)
Total		160 (80%)	6 (3%)	34 (17%)
Grand Total		306 (76.5%)	29 (7.25%)	65 (16.25%)

Migration has been significantly reshaping and challenging the traditional social and economic structures of rural communities in India. The livelihood activities of rural families are no longer confined to farming and are increasingly being diversified through rural-to-urban migration. With the development of trade and industry and the awareness produced by the mass media, the rural poor are shifting towards the urban areas in order to improve their living standards and to search for better livelihood opportunities. The lack of employment opportunities in rural areas and better employment prospects and infrastructure facilities in urban areas motivates people to migrate to urban areas from rural areas. In order to know the extent of this, we asked whether any of the family members migrated to other cities in search of work. The data reveals that 76.5 per cent said that such migration has been taking place among their family members in search of livelihood, whereas only 7.5 per cent said that migration is not taking place among members of their family. The migration is caused by distress in the case of Odisha. The data of the two districts of Odisha namely, Malkanagiri and Puri, reveals that 80 per cent of the total respondents have migrated, which is a really sorry state of affairs. In Malkanagiri, 87 per cent of the population in the rural areas has migrated in the last few years. This shows the situation of the area before the implementation of the MGNREGA. In the Puri district of Odisha, the situation is that 73 per cent of people have migrated to different cities in search of a livelihood to maintain their family. If we compare the data of both the Khammam and Kurnool districts, it demonstrates that 73 per cent of their population migrated to different cities and states, to search for a livelihood. In the Khammam district, the data demonstrates that 73 per cent migrated due to conditions of distress, while in the Kurnool district, 70 per cent migrated. It is quite evident from the table that the rate of migration is high in these districts. However, after the implementation of the MGNREGA, the extent of rural migration in these areas decreased, because the amount of the work they are getting away from their hometown during the migration is equal to the amount from the MGNREGA work. Therefore, the level of migration has decreased. Another distinction made by the respondents is that, even if they migrated to work outside their home, they are not getting the basic facilities that the MGNREGA provides. A few people opted to leave during the quiet seasons. So, to conclude, after the implementation of the programme, the rate of migration has decreased in many parts, because the programme gives an opportunity to work in the native village and provides equal wages to those outside the hometown.

Table 8.11: Decrease in Labour Rates

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	40 (80%)	8 (16%)	2 (4%)
	Chinatakani	45 (90%)	2 (4%)	3 (6%)
	Total	85 (85%)	10 (10%)	5 (5%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	45 (90%)	2 (4%)	3 (6%)
	Midthur	48 (96%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)
	Total	93 (93%)	3 (3%)	4 (4%)
Total		178 (89%)	13 (6.5%)	9 (4.5%)

Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	42 (84%)	5 (10%)	3 (6%)
	Kalimela	45 (90%)	3 (6%)	2 (4%)
	Total	87 (87%)	8 (8%)	5 (5%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	46 (92%)	4 (8%)	0
	Gopa	48 (96%)	2 (4%)	0
	Total	94 (94%)	6 (6%)	0
Total		181 (90.5%)	14 (7%)	5 (2.5%)
Grand Total		359 (89.75%)	27 (6.75%)	14 (3.5%)

It has been witnessed that the labour rate in the unorganised sector has decreased over a period of time. Those who work in the unorganised sector have therefore been relieved by the implementation of the MGNREGA. The labour rate was suddenly increased up to 150 rupees after the revolutionary legislation. So, it is quite apparent that more workers will engage in MGNREGA work. The data shows that 89.75 per cent said that without the MGNREGA, the labour rate will be decreased; in fact, the MGNREGA is the reason for the rise in the labour rate in other sectors. However, only a meagre figure (6.75 per cent) said that the labour rate will not see an impact in the absence of the MGNREGA. Only 3.5 per cent refused to comment at all on the matter. The district comparison shows that, in both Khammam and Kurnool, 89 per cent thought that without the MGNREGA, there will be a huge gap in the labour rate. The other sectors, like construction work and agricultural labour, are now paying the same rate as the MGNREGA. If there was an absence of the MGNREGA, then the labour rate would fall immediately. On the other hand, 3 per cent said that there will be no changes in the labour rate, even in the absence of the MGNREGA. The data from Malkanagiri and Puri shows that 90.5 per cent said the labour rate will decrease in the absence of the MGNREGA. However, 7 per cent said that the absence of the MGNREGA will not impact on the labour rate. So, it is clear that the major portion of the population in the study areas feels that the absence of the MGNREGA would cost them because other sectors raise the wages. A major portion of the rural masses are attracted towards the MGNREGA work due to the facilities, and if they are diverted, then ultimately people go to work in other sectors. To take advantage of this, the contractor decreased the labour rate.

Table: 8.12 Work Shortage in the Village/ Panchayat

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	35 (70%)	8 (16%)	7 (14%)
	Chinatakani	38 (76%)	7 (14%)	5 (10%)
	Total	73 (73%)	15 (15%)	12 (12%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	41 (82%)	6 (12%)	3 (6%)
	Midthur	42 (84%)	7 (14%)	1 (2%)
	Total	83 (83%)	13 (13%)	4 (4%)
Total		156 (78%)	28 (14%)	16 (8%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	44 (88%)	4 (8%)	2 (4%)
	Kalimela	46 (92%)	3 (6%)	1 (2%)
	Total	90 (90%)	7 (7%)	3 (3%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	40 (80%)	8 (16%)	2 (4%)
	Gopa	42 (84%)	4 (8%)	4 (8%)
	Total	82 (82%)	12 (12%)	6 (6%)
Total		172 (86%)	19 (9.5%)	9 (4.5%)
Grand Total		328 (82%)	47 (11.75%)	25 (6.25%)

There has been a widely held notion that due to inadequate work opportunities, the rural population generally migrates to different cities to search for work. Due to the shortage of work in rural areas, people are living below the poverty line. After the implementation of the programme, there was hope among the rural people that this programme would provide 100 days of employment with good wages. Therefore, in order to know the facts of the situation, we asked, in the absence of the MGNREGA, will there be a shortage of work? The response was quite interesting as 82 per cent said that there will be a shortage of work if the programme is weakened. In contrast, 11.75 per cent thought that there will be no shortage of work. As they mentioned, there are other opportunities in rural areas even if the MGNREGA work will not be there. But the individual data of the two districts namely, Khammam and Kurnool, demonstrates that 78 per cent responded there will be a shortage of work if the MGNREGA programme work is not there. As they pointed out, at least people are getting up to 100 days' work due to the execution of the MGNREGA. If the programme were to vanish, there would be a scarcity of work and people would face huge problems in terms of income. In contrast to this, 14 per cent were of the view that, even if the programme were to close, they do have other opportunities to work. In the case of Odisha's Malkanagiri and Puri districts, 86 per cent of respondents thought that there would definitely be a work shortage without the

MGNREGA. On the other hand, 9.5 per cent said that there will be no impact on the shortage of work, even if the MGNREGA were not there. It is quite clear that, as of now, the majority of rural people are depending on the MGNREGA work. People are getting work in their village. The programme provides up to 100 days of work, which is guaranteed.

Table 8.13: No Food Security

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	21 (42%)	15 (30%)	14 (24%)
	Chinatakani	23 (46%)	18 (36%)	9 (18%)
	Total	44 (44%)	33 (33%)	23 (23%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	25 (50%)	15 (30%)	10 (20%)
	Midthur	25 (50%)	12 (24%)	13 (26%)
	Total	50 (50%)	27 (27%)	23 (23%)
Total		94 (47%)	60 (30%)	46 (23%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	28 (56%)	12 (24%)	10 (20%)
	Kalimela	30 (60%)	8 (16%)	12 (24%)
	Total	58 (58%)	20 (20%)	22 (22%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	32 (64%)	8 (16%)	10 (20%)
	Gopa	32 (64%)	12 (24%)	6 (12%)
	Total	64 (64%)	20 (20%)	16 (16%)
Total		122 (61%)	40 (20%)	38 (19%)
Grand Total		216 (54%)	100 (25%)	84 (21%)

The table describes the situation about food security, if the MGNREGA work were to stop, as it has been witnessed in many studies that the rural population is now dependant on the MGNREGA work, which give the rural population an opportunity to generate income. If we look at the data, it demonstrates indeed that without the MGNREGA, there is no food security. It clearly describes that 54 per cent of the people said that there will be no food security if the MGNREGA work was not there. Further, they mentioned that many rural households completely depend upon the income from the MGNREGA work. They wait until the weekend so that they get the money from the bank/post office with which they buy their household requirements. On the other hand, 25 per cent said that their food security will not be harmed, because of the MGNREGA work. Many respondents were of the view that earlier, there was another programme called the NFWP (National Food for Work Programme), though that programme is no longer operating now, but people still manage their livelihood from different sources. Likewise, even if the MGNREGA programme were to stop functioning, they will manage their livelihood from alternative sources. But the response is quite different in this regard in the four districts. There is a distinction between each district as the response of the Khammam district says that 44 per cent of the people, those who depend on the income from the MGNREGA, said that maintaining their family will be tough if the programme stops because they buy food from the income of the MGNREGA. In contrast to this, 33 per cent said that if it stops, they look forward to there being alternative sources. Therefore, it is clear that even though the people from these areas depend on the MGNREGA, they have alternative sources to generate income. However, the data from Kurnool shows that 50 per cent of the respondents were of the view that their family survives because of the income from the MGNREGA. If the government stops running this programme, their family will be in a pathetic condition. As they mentioned, the MGNREGA helps them to generate income, so it is very necessary to run the programme. Whereas 27 per cent said that if the programme stops functioning, there will be no hampering of their income, they said that the MGNREGA is not the only income-generating programme. There are other programmes which have been implemented by the Panchayat. Besides this, the data from Malkanagiri demonstrates that 58 per cent thought that there will be food insecurity if the MGNREGA programme stops running, whereas 20 per cent thought that if the MGNREGA stops, nothing will happen to their livelihood. The response from the Puri district is significant, as the data shows that 64 per cent of the population considered that, at present, only the MGNREGA programme is running successfully, and it has the potential to release the payment for the labour successfully. Therefore, the rural population heavily depends on this programme for their daily livelihood. So, if the MGNREGA programme stops running, many households will not be able to feed their family properly. Additionally, 20 per cent hold the view that if the MGNREGA programme stops running, their livelihood may not be in trouble, as there are other sources of income to maintain their family.

Therefore, if we look at the data of the four districts, it is obvious that the majority of the respondents mentioned that the programme has to run for a long time if the livelihood conditions of the rural family are to be improved. Particularly in Odisha, the situation is divergent, as it has been witnessed that the extent of migration is high because of inadequate work opportunities. As of now, the MGNREGA is the only programme which has been providing work on a large scale. Hence, it is not possible, on the part of the rural masses, that they will be able to adequately feed their family without the MGNREGA work.

Table 8.14: Education

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	10 (20%)	8 (16%)	32 (64%)
	Chinatakani	12 (24%)	9 (18%)	29 (58%)
	Total	22 (22%)	17 (17%)	61 (61%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	14 (28%)	15 (30%)	21 (42%)
	Midthur	14 (28%)	18 (36%)	18 (36%)
	Total	28 (28%)	33 (33%)	39 (39%)
Total		50 (25%)	50 (25%)	100 (50%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	8 (16%)	6 (12%)	36 (72%)
	Kalimela	10 (20%)	7 (14%)	33 (66%)
	Total	18 (18%)	13 (13%)	69 (69%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	14 (28%)	10 (20%)	26 (52%)
	Gopa	16 (32%)	14 (28%)	20 (40%)
	Total	30 (30%)	24 (24%)	46 (46%)
Total		48 (24%)	37 (18.5%)	115 (57.5%)
Grand Total		98 (24.5%)	87 (21.75%)	215 (53.75%)

The table above explores how the MGNREGA programmes helped parents to send their children to school. In many parts of India, especially in rural areas, due to the financial conditions, parents are not agreeing to send their children to school. Instead, they force the children to support them in their work. Sometimes students drop out of school due to the unstable financial conditions. The financial obligation obstructs the children from going to school and deprives them of their rights. Thus, it was decided that it is necessary to know whether, after the implementation of the Act, it has helped parents to support the cause of their children. The overall response from the four districts provides the information that 24.5 per cent of the respondents viewed that the MGNREGA helps them to some extent to send their children to school. Further, 21.75 per cent made the negative statement that the MGNREGA does not help them to send their children to school at any point. However, large sections of the population gave no response. In Khammam and Kurnool, the data shows that 25 per cent of parents were able to send their children to school just because of the programme, whereas 25 per cent said that, even after the implementation of the programme, they are unable to send their children to school, as they mentioned that the income they are getting from the MGNREGA is inadequate. The other data, from Malkanagiri and Puri, explicitly demonstrates that 24 per cent of parents are able to send their children to school due to the landmark legislation, as it provides some amount of income from the MGNREGA. On the other hand, 18.5 per cent said that the programme did not help them to send their children to school.

Many respondents from these areas mentioned that they managed to send their children to school because of the MGNREGA programme. They save some of their income to take care of their children's education. Earlier they were not able to manage to send their children because of their low income. On the other hand, it was also mentioned by some of the respondents that the income from the MGNREGA is not sufficient to help towards the cost of their children's education. The expenditure on education nowadays has increased, and in comparison, the income they are getting from the MGNREGA is very low. Thus, they are not able to save their income from the programme.

Table 8.15: Savings

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	12 (24%)	18 (36%)	20 (40%)
	Chinatakani	14 (28%)	17 (34%)	19 (38%)
	Total	26 (26%)	35 (35%)	39 (39%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	18 (36%)	14 (28%)	18 (36%)
	Midthur	16 (32%)	15 (30%)	19 (38%)
	Total	34 (34%)	29 (29%)	37 (37%)
Total		60 (30%)	64 (32%)	76 (38%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	10 (20%)	10 (20%)	30 (60%)
	Kalimela	12 (24%)	14 (28%)	24 (48%)
	Total	22 (22%)	24 (24%)	54 (54%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	15 (30%)	18 (36%)	17 (34%)
	Gopa	13 (26%)	20 (40%)	17 (34%)
	Total	28 (28%)	38 (38%)	34 (34%)
Total		50 (25%)	62 (31%)	88 (44%)
Grand Total		110 (27.5%)	126 (31.5%)	164 (41%)

This table explores the respondents' saving pattern of their income from the MGNREGA works. The overall picture clarifies that 27.5 per cent of respondents were able to save some money, whereas 31.5 per cent said that they were unable to save, due to their household expenditure. In Khammam and Kurnool, 30 per cent of respondents said that they were able to save some money out of the total income from the MGNREGA.

On the other hand, 29 per cent mentioned that they are unable to save, as expenditure has increased. Similarly, in the case of Malkanagiri and Puri, 25 and 31 per cent respectively thought the same as in Khammam and Kurnool. So, it is clear that the MGNREGA income is largely not sufficient to meet their expenses and also to save.

Table 8.16: Lack of Bargaining Power

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Yes	No	NA
Khammam	Tenkulapalle	25 (50%)	14 (28%)	11 (22%)
	Chinatakani	27 (54%)	12 (24%)	11 (22%)
	Total	52 (52%)	26 (26%)	22 (22%)
Kurnool	Tuggali	30 (60%)	10 (20%)	10 (20%)
	Midthur	34 (68%)	8 (16%)	8 (16%)
	Total	64 (64%)	18 (18%)	18 (18%)
Total		116 (58%)	44 (22%)	40 (20%)
Malkanagiri	K. Gumma	28 (56%)	12 (24%)	10 (20%)
	Kalimela	30 (60%)	13 (26%)	7 (14%)
	Total	58 (58%)	25 (25%)	17 (17%)
Puri	Puri Sadar	32 (64%)	11 (22%)	7 (14%)
	Gopa	34 (68%)	11 (22%)	5 (10%)
	Total	66 (66%)	22 (22%)	12 (12%)
Total		124 (62%)	47 (23.5%)	29 (14.5%)
Grand Total		240 (60%)	91 (22.75%)	69 (17.25%)

A total of 60 per cent of respondents are of the view that there would be a decrease in bargaining power in the absence of the MGNREGS, whereas 22.75 per cent speak of there being no impact of the MGNREGS on bargaining power in the context of labour rates. Overall, 17.25 per cent of respondents gave no response on this issue. In comparison, 58 per cent from Andhra Pradesh and 62 per cent of respondents from Odisha see a positive impact. When comparing the districts, 52 per cent from Khammam, 64 per cent from Kurnool, 58 per cent from Malkanagiri and 66 per cent from Puri have the perception that, in the absence of the MGNREGS, there will be a decrease in bargaining power in the context of labour rates. The above critical analysis of the SGSY, the IAY and the MGNREGS reflects the strategy and institutional approach towards the reduction of rural poverty. The guidelines of various programmes show the dominance of the central government in the context of the planning, monitoring, evaluation and allocation of the budget in the above three programmes. It has been noticed that major shares have been directly transferred, bypassing the respective state, from the central government to district institutions like the DRDA. This reflects the notion of decentralisation and implementation of the various efforts that are meant to stop leakages if case there are various intermediaries. The Union government is attempting to keep direct contact with the district administrations. Such a process may be called the implicit control of the central government. Even the report of the Second Commission of Centre-State relations in 2010 reflects such a view. This chapter critically examines the various approaches of the development model and poverty alleviation programmes by analysing various five-year plans. It reflects the Union government's hegemony towards the formulation of various poverty alleviation programmes. It also reflects the change in policy towards poverty with the political context. Poverty has been used in politics as a source of votes. The shift of the institution also reflects the centralisation of the various institutions. Such a conclusion has come to light due to the lack of sufficient power within local self-government. This chapter also narrates the process of the transfer of power from the centre directly to local self-government.

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CHAPTER NINE

FINDINGS, OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter draws the conclusion that after twenty years of democratic decentralisation of institutions through the 73rd and 74th Amendments in 1993, various institutions are still centralised in nature. A real bottom-to-top approach in the formulation and implementation of policies has not been realised on the ground. In this regard, attempts have been made through the formulation and implementation of various rural poverty alleviation programmes, like the Swarnajayanti Grama Swarojgara Yojana (SGSY), the Mahathma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), the Indira Awash Yojana (IAY) and the MoKudia that are meant to wipe out the poverty rate at national level basis and have been launched at the central government of the union of India to provide the affordable housing for the poor, and most of these centrally sponsored schemes of rural poverty alleviation programmes are Centrally Sponsored Schemes in nature. In the process of implementation of these schemes, central government transfers the financial resources directly to the district administration, bypassing the respective state administration. This process reflects the implicit nature of centralisation in Indian federalism and is designed to avoid leakages?

In the name of development planning, constitutional provision and maintaining national unity and integrity, the centre has become exclusive and the states are becoming increasingly shared. Acts such as the anti-terror act and initiatives in the name of national security and national development of the centre are indicative of the centre taking action in matters that also lie within the competence of the states. The influence of the centre has been increasing. In this situation, federalism, which is the basic structure of the Constitution, is at stake. In this context, the Sarkaria Commission made comments about the pervasive trend towards greater centralisation of power over the years due to the pressure of powerful socio-economic forces.

To diffuse the threat of centrifugal forces, to increase popular involvement all along the line, to broaden the base of our democratic polity, to promote administrative efficiency and improve the health and stability of inter-governmental relations, the decentralisation of real power to local institutions is required, as recommended by the Sarkaria Commission. With such recommendations and acknowledging the democratic deficit, the Constitution was amended in 1992. This amendment gave constitutional status to the three-tier system of governance at the level of the Panchayat and Municipalities (73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts). It not only revolutionised decentralised governance in the country, but has also brought a fresh balance in centre-state relations. Not only the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission, but also the socio-economic and political conditions forced the country to bring forward an amendment for the decentralisation of democratic institutions. Such a step was initiated to re-balance centre-state relations and to address the growing conflict between the centre and state. The economic crisis of 1990-91 promoted an acceleration of the process of liberalisation. During the process of liberalisation, states were expected to perform a larger role, but their access to tax powers and borrowing remained limited. Regional disparities persisted, despite the strategy of planned development and increased fiscal transfers. Consequently, the process of governance restructures led to the shift from a cooperative federal structure to a competitive structure. During this period, with the rise of regional political parties and coalition politics, the states seemed to have the upper hand in many spheres of governance.

Even after twenty years of the passing of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, the transfer of funds, functions and functionaries by the states have been nominal in most states, with notable exceptions such as Kerala as per the Panchayati Raj Devolution Index 2013-14 prepared by the Ministry of Panchayati Raj, the government of India. The Panchayati Raj institutions are not able to function effectively towards achieving their objective of self-government due to a lack of proper devolution. Such an Act not only destabilised federal-state power but also minimised the role of the state. In this process, the Union government is undermining the role of the federal states and entering directly into the administration of local self-governance systems up to district levels. From 2002-03, the centre has been transferring financial resources to the District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA), bypassing the state machinery. At the same time, it would be wrong to assume a lack of the state's involvement in the development process. The state government is involved and plays its role through the state bureaucracy and elected representatives. The involvement of the respective MLA and MP in the Panchayati Raj institutions reflects the political interference in the functioning of the Panchayati Raj institutions. As the Planning Commission transfers funds on the basis of political bias, in the same manner, district funds have been transferred to the respective block or Gram Panchayat with the interference of the local MLA or MPs. The process of inclusion through decentralisation has still resulted in the exclusion of some sections of society. This has been reflected in the dominating role of the MLAs as elected members of the Panchayati Raj institutions. The elected representatives of the Panchayati Raj institutions are accountable to the higher elected members due to the political party and with the hope of sanctioning more financial resources. The above position does not reflect the failure of democratic decentralisation in total, rather the process has resulted in relative success. Such constitutional status to the PRI has become a process towards empowerment, and rising awareness among the people. The elected representatives and various government officials became more accountable due to the involvement of the people in the social audit system, the Gram Sabha. This comparative study has been carried out to find out the impact of the MGNREGA on the socio-economic status of Tribals in Odisha and Andhra Pradesh. As the study was focused on the Tribals, the sample and fieldwork have been selected on the basis of Tribal Districts and Tribal Job Cardholders of the MGNREGS. In total, four hundred samples have been selected from both states. The basic findings and observations have been narrated below.

Socio-Economic Profile of the respondents

From the study, it has been found that majority of the respondents belong to the Hindu religion. In a comparison of the two states, the majority of respondents from Odisha are Hindus compared to Andhra Pradesh. This reflects the following of the old tradition and custom system of the Hindu religion. The majority of the villages had temples at their entrance. In the case of the mother tongue, the majority of job cardholders speak tribal languages. The majority of tribal language-speaking respondents belong to Andhra Pradesh in comparison with Odisha. The respondents still keep the tradition of their mother tongue, i.e. the respective tribal language, even in the era of globalisation. This suggests that they have not been greatly affected by modernised culture.

Regarding the aspect of age, the study reveals that the majority belong to the age group of 36-50 in Andhra Pradesh. This reflects that the majority of the respondents are middle-aged.

Even the MGNREGS provisions speak about equality between the genders. The study reveals that the majority of respondents are male job cardholders due to the fact that there is a presence of the male dominance in most of the Indian societies. This male dominance is found more prevalent in Odisha in comparison with Andhra Pradesh. In the context of the educational background of the respondents, more than half are illiterate, the number being higher in AP. Eighty per cent of the respondents are married, the number being higher in Odisha.

The majority are agricultural labourers, the number being higher in Odisha. This reflects that more respondents from Odisha are dependent on agriculture compared to AP. This also implies that the tribal people of Odisha are more dependent on agriculture for their daily livelihood compared to Andhra Pradesh.

The majority of the respondents are regular part-time workers due to a lack of employment. This reflects their poor economic conditions. In this category, the majority are from Andhra Pradesh in comparison with Odisha. In Odisha, the majority are regular workers.

In both states, the majority of the respondents are landless, more than 60 per cent. This reflects that they do not have land for houses or agriculture. Even after 65 years of independence, the majority of the tribal population belongs to the landless category Even among the tribal job card respondents who own land, the majority of the land they owned is not mostly cultivated. Since dry land is often not suitable for agricultural production, this also implies that they have to depend on rain as the natural resource for agriculture. This explains why horticultural facilities have not been connected for agriculture. So, the respondents face problems. The majority of the respondents live in huts, and the number is higher in AP. In Odisha, the majority live in pacca houses, reflecting their socio-economic conditions. But in reality, those owning Pacca houses are beneficiaries of the Indira Awash Yojana (IAY). This reflects that more tribal populations of Odisha have benefitted from such programmes.

Awareness and Participation in the MGNREGS

The majority of our respondents or of Indians? are aware of the MGNREGS, with the level of awareness greater in Odisha. They get information mostly from Panchayat, then from friends followed by functionaries. Overall, the majority of respondents were found to be unaware of details regarding the rules and regulations of the MGNREGS. Comparatively, the lack of awareness is less in Odisha. Among all the available sources of getting job-the Panchayat, the Panchayat Secretary, the block office and a middleman—the majority see the Panchayat as the source. There are more people in Odisha than Andhra Pradesh who view the Panchayat Secretary as the source. The Sarpanch is the main source of getting a job for the majority of respondents from Andhra Pradesh. According to the rules, no middleman should be involved in the MGNREGS. But a middleman is still the source for many in Odisha, compared to Andhra

A total of 31 per cent of respondents reported facing problems in getting a job card, seen more in Odisha. As per the rules of the MGNREGS, the job cardholders should not face any problem in getting a job card. But, in practice, some people are still facing problems, according to our respondents. Overall, they view delays in getting cards, and later in receiving payments, as the major problem in this whole process. During the field study, it has been found that corruption has been practised in the allocation of job cards. More people from AP have seen corruption in getting a job card. More from Odisha view the shortage of job cards as the problem. The majority of the job cardholders from Odisha do not have any idea about the issuing authority of the job card. The majority (76.8 per cent) are of the view that getting a job card is free of charge, with a greater number in Odisha. Of the job cardholders who are not getting their job card for free, the majority reported that they paid the Panchayat secretary to get the job card. This number is high in AP. A total of 17.8 per cent of respondents said that they do not have a photo on their job card. In this category, the majority of respondents are from Odisha in comparison with Andhra Pradesh.

To deal with the financial crisis, 7.8 per cent of respondents hold the view that a job card is given on a lease basis. Among the respondents with this view, the majority belong to Andhra Pradesh when compared to Odisha.

According to the norms of the MGNREGS, it is compulsory that wages and days should be mentioned on the job card of the holders. However, many people state that no wage and day have been mentioned on their job card. Not only this, wrong data have been noticed on the job card. This is more so in Odisha in comparison with Andhra Pradesh. Many respondents were of the view that they are getting only 31-60 days of work under their job card. As per the rules, they should get a hundred days of work under their job card. To get a job, the majority of job cardholders are approaching the Sarpanch for work. In this category, most respondents are from Andhra Pradesh rather than Odisha. Only 9.5 per cent of respondents are aware of the provision of unemployment allowances in the MGNREGS and among them, the majority are from Odisha compared to Andhra Pradesh. Only 33.75 per cent of respondents think that they are getting timely and regular work. In this category, the majority are from Andhra Pradesh compared to Odisha. In the context of getting regular wages, only 25.5 per cent of respondents belong to this category. Among them, the majority are from Odisha compared to respondents from Andhra Pradesh. A total of 27.5 per cent of respondents were still receiving wages in cash at the time of the interviews (give the year). As per the rules, they should get their wages transferred into their account. Among the respondents receiving wages in cash, the majority are from Odisha when compared to Andhra Pradesh. All these issues in regard to the job card reflect that corruption has been practised in the context of the issuing and use of job cards. This has been noticed more in Andhra Pradesh in comparison with Odisha, according to tribal job cardholders.

In the context of work in the MGNREGS, 44 per cent of respondents think that the Gram Sabha decides the nature of this work. Among this category of respondents, the majority are from Odisha. The main role of the Gram Panchayat is to monitor, according to the opinion of the majority of respondents. In this category, the majority are from Odisha. The majority of respondents are unaware of the role of the Gram Sabha. In this category, the majority belong to Andhra Pradesh. The majority of respondents, i.e. 63.5 per cent, are of the view that no facilities are made available at workplaces, while only 12.75 per cent say that drinking water is available at the workplace. This shows a violation of the basic norms in the implementation of the MGNREGS. The majority of respondents with this view are from Andhra Pradesh.

In the case of the Social Audit, the majority are unaware of the social audit facility. In this category, the majority are from Odisha. The majority are not getting any information about the conduct of the social audit programmes. The location is supposed to be disclosed, but the officials give information about the location at the last moment, or conduct proceedings behind closed doors, which is why most people are either turned off the social auditing programme or are not even aware of it.

The Impact of the MGNREGS on Social and Economic Expenditure

The impact of the MGNREGS on expenditure on food, clothing, cell phones, owning a vehicle, education and festivals has increased more among the respondents from Andhra Pradesh in comparison with those from Odisha, whereas the impact of the MGNREGS on expenditure on birth ceremonies, death ceremonies, marriage ceremonies, health care and computers is more among the respondents from Odisha in comparison with Andhra Pradesh. This reflects that the major increases in social expenditure are among the respondents from Andhra Pradesh compared to

Odisha. One interesting finding is that more expenditure on health care is from Odisha whereas more expenditure on education was observed during the study in Andhra Pradesh. Among the respondents from both states, a huge impact of the MGNREGS can be seen in the case of festivals, marriage ceremonies, health care, food, clothing and owning a bicycle, whereas a minor impact of the MGNREGS is seen on birth ceremonies, death ceremonies, cell phones, computers and education.

According to 15.75 per cent of respondents, their income has increased after the implementation of the MGNREGS. This reflects a minor, but not insignificant impact of the MGNREGS on the income of the job cardholders in tribal areas. Among these respondents, 18 per cent of respondents belong to Andhra Pradesh, while 13.5 per cent belong to Odisha. So, the impact of the MGNREGS on income is lower in Odisha in comparison with Andhra Pradesh.

The increased income of the respondents also has a potentially positive impact on expenditure. The expenditure on items like cooking fuel, rice from the PDS, rice from outside, vegetables, groceries, children's education etc. have increased more among the respondents from both states in comparison to items like alcohol, loan repayment, electricity bills, agricultural equipment, household assets, recreation, house maintenance, non-veg items and cable TV. There is, however, a risk that increases in expenditure will induce new difficulties in securing sustainable livelihoods for tribal people who remain largely marginal, despite some additional income as a result of MGNREGA. In comparing the two states, the majority of respondents from Andhra Pradesh are of the opinion that items like cooking fuel, electricity bills, rice from the PDS, vegetables and children's education have seen increased expenditure and the majority from Odisha think that there has been an increase in expenditure on items like alcohol, loan repayment, rice from outside, groceries, agricultural equipment, household assets, recreation, house maintenance, non-veg items and cable TV. Such evidence indicates that economically marginal households can easily find themselves thrown back into poverty if they get involved in unsustainable expenditure, or waste their resources on alcohol, the most evident example, but also other non-essential items of expenditure. Prudent housekeeping will remain a core necessity.

In the case of saving, the majority of respondents are of the opinion that savings have increased in the SHG compared to savings accounts in the bank/post office, private chit funds or a fixed deposit after the implementation of the MGNREGS. This implies that there is a positive impact of the MGNREGS on the savings of the people and easy access to the SHG, in comparison with a bank or post office. The saving is more in

Andhra Pradesh in comparison with Odisha, according to the respondents.

After the MGNREGS, some job cardholders also have more or better access to an MBSS doctor, private schooling, Tiffin Centres, Xerox machines, a grinding machine, rice mills and movies. In this list, more respondents are able to access an MBBS doctor and Tiffin Centres compared to others. In comparing the respondents in both states, tribal people from Andhra Pradesh have more access to an MBBS doctor in comparison with private schools, Tiffin Centres, Xerox and stationery, a grinding machine, a rice mill and movies than the respondents of Odisha. This reflects that the MGNREGA not only has a positive impact on income but has also increased access to certain facilities among the job cardholders.

After the inception of the MGNREGS, the majority of the respondents are of the opinion that there has been an increase in the wage rates for agricultural labour, non-agricultural labour and construction work. This reflects that the MGNREGS has created a labour shortage which leads to an increase in local wages for various jobs, but it has a negative impact on the rates of collection of NTFP. The labour rate has increased more for agricultural labourers and non-agricultural labourers as per the opinion of respondents from Odisha, but the wage rate for construction work has increased, according to respondents from Andhra Pradesh. The collection of NTFP has decreased since people are busy with MGNREGS work, but there is also much evidence that many families continue to engage in such collection activities to supplement and augment their household income.

The number of families insured has increased after the implementation of the MGNREGS. A total of 27.75 per cent of respondents have seen an increase in the number of life insurances and 10 per cent in asset insurance. A higher number from Odisha have a positive view of life insurance and more from Andhra Pradesh regarding asset insurance.

More respondents from both states gave the view “somewhat” when referring to an increase in social status, followed by “non-satisfactory” and then “satisfactory”. More respondents from Andhra Pradesh view this as somewhat satisfactory. In Odisha, a greater number of respondents are satisfied and non-satisfied in the area of an improving social status after the implementation of the MGNREGS.

With regard to improved conditions of the rural poor, we offered the responses of satisfied, non-satisfied and somewhat satisfied. The majority of the respondents from Odisha are non-satisfied. Compared to Andhra Pradesh, more respondents in Odisha are somewhat satisfied. A higher number of people are satisfied in Andhra Pradesh compared to Odisha. This reflects that the MGNREGS has a more positive impact on improving the conditions somewhat among the respondents from Andhra Pradesh in comparison with Odisha.

Hindrances in the MGNREGS

The majority (64.5%) of the job cards holders see a delay in payment of wages as the basic hindrance compared to work allotment and work timing. This is high in Odisha. Also, in the case of work allotment and work timing, the number of respondents was found to be higher in Odisha compared to Andhra Pradesh.

As regards the question of problems in the absence of the MGNREGS, the respondents report problems like distress migration, a decrease in labour rates, work shortages in the village/Gram Panchayat, no food security, problems in accessing education, a negative impact on savings and a lack of bargaining power. Among these problems, the majority of respondents, i.e. 89.75 per cent, speak of a decrease in the labour rate, 82 per cent talk about a shortage of work in the village/Gram Panchayat, 76.5 per cent mention distress migration, 60 per cent talk about a lack of bargaining power, 54 per cent mention no food security, while 27.5 per cent of respondents see a negative impact on savings and 24.5 per cent see a negative impact on access to education. This implies that the absence of the MGNREGS would badly affect labour rates, create a shortage of work in the village, cause a lack of bargaining power, and add to distress migration. In comparing the states, in the case of distress migration, the majority of respondents belong to Odisha in comparison with respondents from Andhra Pradesh. The same is true in the case of decreased labour rates, negative food security and a lack of bargaining power, whereas in the case of a negative impact on access to education and on saving, the majority of respondents are from Andhra Pradesh. Overall the study found some continuing corrupt practices, a lack of people's participation and a general lack of awareness of the MGNREGS. This has positively impacted on socio-economic expenditure. The basic problem as highlighted by the job cardholders remains delays in payment of wages. It can be concluded that only through people's active participation is the proper implementation of the MGNREGS possible, or else it will have less impact. However, it cannot be concluded that there is zero impact of the MGNREGS on the socio-economic status of Tribals, but the impact is not as much as expected. The MGNREGS is able to combat migration. A proper and active social audit can be used as a better tool to generate more impact on the condition of Tribals.

Democracy itself carries the principle of people's participation. In a modern democratic state, public participation is not only confined to periodical electoral activities, but is also the citizen's daily participation in governmental activities which affect the citizen's life. In a democratic welfare state like India, the state is the welfare agency of the people. The government takes several initiatives and implements numerous public policies for the betterment and development of its citizens. Development is a twofold process: it needs the collaborative efforts of both government and public support, so in order to gain public support, the people's direct and active participation and cooperation in the development process is an important aspect.

In the local development process, people's participation is a tool by which people-centric development can be possible. For effective people's participation in their local development process, there should be freedom and power for the people. For this to happen, power and authority should be delegated to the local people through a decentralisation framework. Democratic decentralisation is the best means to realise public participation at a basic level and it also strengthens democratic values and democratic participation in the locality. Democratic decentralisation provides the platform for effective people's participation. Democratic decentralisation in India can be viewed as an instrument for strengthening grass-roots democracy and the socio-economic development of the rural people. The principle of democratic decentralisation is realised in a locality through the Panchayati Raj system, in principle, though not always fully in practice. The feature of Panchayati Raj has existed in the form of the traditional village Panchayat in India since time immemorial, and there was also the gradual development of the Panchayat in different time periods. After India got independence, a special focus was given to strengthening the village Panchayat for its effective functioning.

India realised the importance of democratic decentralisation through the Panchayati Raj after the failure of community development programmes. In 1952, the community development programme came into effect for the development of rural areas. It was meant to facilitate the development of agricultural and related activities in the villages. This development programme came into force with great hope, but it was observed that the programme was not successful. The major reason behind the failure of this programme was the influence of an overbearing bureaucratic structure and a lack of people's participation. Hence later on, for the implementation of other rural development programmes, importance has been given to people's partnerships and their effective participation. It was suggested that if the development programme is implemented under the local democratic elected body, there will be better results. So different committees, like the Balwantrai Mehta committee, the Ashok Meheta committee and others suggested effective democratic decentralisation through public participation and the delegation of power and authority to local government bodies. Generally, the present decentralisation in India is based upon a three-tier system, i.e. the Zilla Parishad at a district level, the Intermediate Panchayat at a block level and the Gram Panchayat at a village level. All three of these institutions have been vested with specified powers and responsibilities for the effective functioning of the Panchayati Raj. In India, democratic decentralisation came in to give effective people's participation in their local affairs. However, its practical reality is somehow different. Until now, village people are often not conscious of their rights and are not acquainted with the participation process. Their participation is only confined to the periodical Panchayat elections and the major management of village affairs, mainly the local development activities managed by the elite local political representatives and local officials. In the tribal regions, the PESA Act of 1996 came into force for the effective participation of tribal people in their development issues, but it has been seen that they are not participating in their development process effectively, due to a lack of awareness, backwardness and a lack of governmental efforts.

People's participation is a basic necessity for the effectiveness of democratic decentralisation. People's participation, here, affects both the political and development participation of the people. So, in this study, the respondents' political participation is also taken into consideration. In the field study, it was found that the respondents know about the Gram Panchayat and their elected representatives, i.e. their ward member and the Sarpanch. This is perhaps due to their close connection with the representative and the small geographical area. In the last Panchayat election, everyone voted. But the respondents' participation in the Gram Sabha meetings gives a different picture. Most of them are not attending Gram Sabha meetings regularly and they informed us that it was due to a lack of information and sometimes because of other work that they are unable to attend the meetings. This indicates gaps in effective grassroots participation.

In the context of local development, the MGNREGA came into force to address the crucial issue of unemployment and poverty, and is intended to create a sustainable, durable village infrastructure with the use of the labour force in rural India. It is based upon the principles of democratic decentralisation and people's participation. The Gram Panchayat is the prime institution to implement this Act at the local level. There is the provision for people's participation in decision-making, planning, implementation and the evaluation process of this programme. This Act is based upon several provisions and the people have to know about those provisions for the success of this programme. But on the ground, we found, the reality is somewhat different. In this field study, the majority are of the opinion that they came to know about the MGNREGA from the Gram Panchayat and elected representatives. Most of them do not know about the major provisions of this Act. It can be said that, due to their lack of awareness, illiteracy, low educational status and a lack of communication, they are mostly unaware of the provisions.

The participation of the beneficiaries in the decision-making and planning process of the MGNREGA is mandatory according to the guidelines, but is not effective on the ground. Although they sometimes attend the meetings, only a few take part in the decision-making process and the majority only attend the meetings and have nothing to do with the decision-making process. The final decision regarding the selection of work, the workplace etc. depends upon the official staff and elected representatives. Also, women are generally not attending these meetings. Their participation level is low due to their domestic work. In the implementation process, the beneficiaries only contribute their labour force, and the Gram Sabha from the village keeps the record of attendance and other related information during the work. In the workplace, basic facilities of the MGNREGA are not available, except for drinking water. The assets created in the locality under the MGNREGA are often also not durable.

As for participation in benefit sharing, it has been seen that the entire body of respondents received some material benefits, often only a little increase in their income through the payment of wages. In the context of social benefit, the construction of roads, plantations etc. benefitted the whole village community. In the case of personal benefits, only a few got this, i.e. through land development and by having a small pond on their own land. It has been found that the personal benefit goes to those who own the land, and it is found that the Ward members and influential persons of the villages are getting most of the personal benefits due to their influence in the MGNREGA planning.

In the MGNREGA, the Social Audit is intended as the means of evaluation. The job cardholder has to participate in the Social Audit. In the Social Audit, issues related to muster roll, workplace facilities, wage payments and the quality of work. are discussed. But most of the respondents are unaware of the Social Audit. The Social Audit is also not periodical, as should be the case according to the guidelines. A few have only just heard about the Social Audit and some just attended the meetings once or twice, but their participation in the meeting is ineffective.

From the fieldwork, it has been found that there are a few factors which encourage the respondents to participate in the MGNREGA like work in the locality, development work benefitting the people, the Gram Panchayat support and community efforts. The respondents have different opinions regarding the motivation factors, but all respondents agreed that work in their own locality motivates them to participate in the MGNREGA.

There are a few factors which act as constraints or obstacles for the respondents to participate in the MGNREGA, even when they are willing to work. The major obstacles are a delay in payment, a lower wage rate, hard work in the field and the rigid timing of work. Among these, the main problem is the delay in payment. All respondents think that their payment is always delayed by two to three months. The Gram Sabha and the G.R.S (Gram Rojgar Sevak) told us that all the job cardholders have accounts in the Post Office, so their payment is delayed.

In the context of the impact of the MGNREGA on the beneficiary's life, indicators such as the impact on income levels, food habits, clothing, children's education and housing conditions are taken into consideration and the scale of "no change", "change to some extent", and "change to a large extent" is applied. It is found that there is only a little change, i.e. minimal change in the quality of people's life. repetition

In conclusion, it can be pointed out that the Public Distribution Scheme (PDS) scheme no doubt ameliorates the poverty prevalent among the tribals who constitute the most prominent section of the socially excluded groups of the population. But the present study exposes a loophole in the PDS scheme. It points out the inefficiency and rampant corruption involved in its implementation. Government officials and the owners of fair price shops allegedly indulge in corruption. They violate the rules and deprive the intended beneficiaries of their dues on many occasions. The poor tribals have to depend on the whims of the distributor. Lack of education and illiteracy also further complicate the problem. The victims do not get organised and most of the time they are unaware of the rate and quantity of the products. They are even unaware of the rules and regulations relating to the obtaining of cards.

In view of the findings, one can suggest that education and awareness of the targeted group are very much essential for the proper implementation of the PDS scheme, which co-exists with the MGNREGA The tribal respondents also have expressed a desire to be more aware and they expect the distributors to make them aware of the PDS scheme. We can conclude, finally, by saying that awareness on the part of the targeted groups, and transparency on the part of the officials is absolutely essential for the effective implementation of the PDS scheme.

The contentious issue of centralisation in the federal structure has been in the limelight in the country since independence. The one-size-fits-all approach, often inherent in central planning, has the potential to create needless tensions and undermine the harmony needed for a national effort. Dr B. R. Ambedkar had said with foresight that it is “unreasonable to centralise powers where central control and uniformity is not clearly essential or is impracticable”. To resolve the conflict between the centre and the state, various steps have been initiated like the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts. But such steps have not been able to resolve the conflict, rather they led to the process of implicit centralisation. The centre has been encroaching on the states’ purview through various acts, amendments, policies and programmes. The implicit central control has led to more conflicts rather than resolving the issues between the centre on one side and the states on the other. While realising the seriousness of this issue, the new government has initiated schemes for better cooperation between the centre and the states and brought reforms in overall governance with the inception of new institutions like the NITI Aayog. This institution has evolved to foster cooperative federalism through structured support initiatives and mechanisms with the states on a continuous basis, recognising that strong states make a strong nation. This institution came into existence to create a harmonious atmosphere with proper consultation with the state governments towards the formulation of policies and a model of national development.

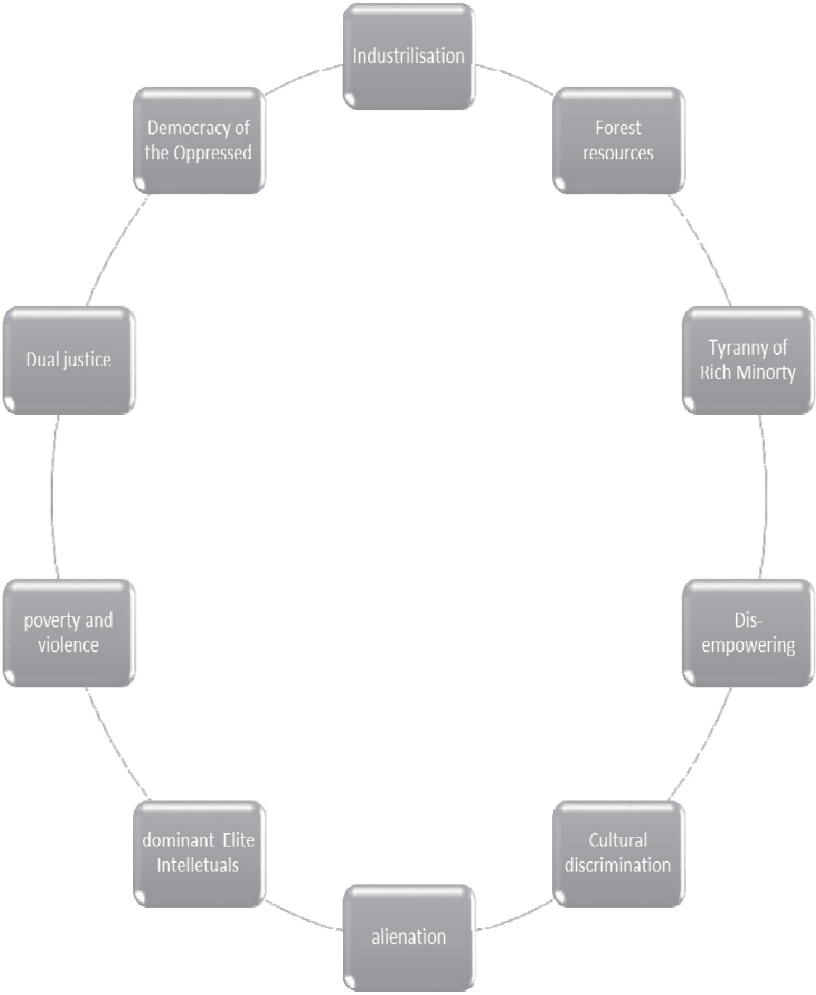
The National Institution for Transforming India Aayog (NITI Aayog) came into existence on 1st January 2015, replacing the Planning Commission of India to provide a critical directional and strategic input into the development process. The governing council includes State Chief Ministers, Lt. Governors of Union Territories and other members, with the Prime Minister of India as the Chairperson. The basic function is to recommend a national agenda, including strategic and technical advice on policy and economic matters. Working towards a bottom-up approach and democratic decentralisation, the responsibility of the NITI Aayog is to develop mechanisms for village level plans and aggregate these progressively at higher levels of government. It will ensure that special attention is given to those sections of society that may be at risk of not benefiting adequately from economic progress. At the same time, it will monitor and evaluate the implementation of programmes and focus on upgrading technology and building capacity. The basic objective of the

NITI Aayog is to accomplish an administration paradigm in which the government is an “enabler” rather than a “provider of first and last resort”. Working towards better coordination between the centre and the state, it will ensure the decisive role of the state in determining the architecture of economic growth and development.

At the inauguration of the NITI Aayog, the Prime Minister of India said, “It will plan to move away from ‘one size fits all’ schemes, forging a better match between the schemes and the needs of the states”. Noting that India cannot advance without all its states advancing in tandem, the Prime Minister said the idea was to bring up all states together in the spirit of ‘Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas’ (Progress for All Together).

The Niti Ayoga is a policy thinktank for central as well as state governments. National policies will be prepared in order to consult the states while making policies and deciding on the allocation of funds. Final policies will be a result of that process. The new National Institution for Transforming India (NITI) will act more like a think tank or forum and execute programmes by taking the states along with them. This is in sharp contrast to the defunct Planning Commission which imposed five-year plans and allocated resources while running roughshod over the requests of the various states.

In the first meeting of the NITI Aayog, the Prime Minister advised the “Team India” to forge a model of cooperative, competitive federalism whereby the centre and the states can come together to resolve differences and chart a common course to progress and prosperity. In his opinion, the biggest challenge is still poverty. He suggested adopting a strategy for the elimination rather than the alleviation of poverty. Such a step will create harmony between the different institutions in the federal structure in India. As per the objective of the NITI Aayog institution, it will not only provide a model of cooperative, competitive federalism to ensure the decisive role of the state in determining the architecture of economic growth and development but will also integrate the villages institutionally into the development process. But the impact has to be reflected in reality on the ground. The cooperation and coordination of all institutions and the empowerment of PRIs can only confirm the arrangements as envisaged by the founding fathers. At the same time, they will lead to the development of the country with an inclusive nature. The analysis of the these various distribution cycles as claimed by the Rupavath, Ramdas (2018) through his theory of vicious circles, which states and represents the different types of cycles that are representing the various types of oppressions on the society from primary to secondary level and from elite class to the ordinary classes in the society. He tries to define the various phases of oppression in the society that are there dominant due to the various reasons and mostly ruin the middle-class people at various junctures of the life. The author draws a conclusion through his designed vicious circle which reflects the different phases of oppression from time to time. The vicious circle which states that how the oppression is carried out in the society can be further understood by analyzing the below figure.



Rupavath Vicious Circle Democracy of the Oppressed

The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act is a landmark legislation in the history of social security legislation in India after the post-Independence period. Enacted after a successful struggle for a comprehensive employment guarantee law, this Act is partially successful towards securing a full-fledged right to employment. MGNREGA is a well thought out legislation, a powerful tool in the hands of India’s various tribal communities, the Adivasis, to get their basic livelihood. But its poor execution still risks depriving many families of their basic rights. The study found that despite many difficulties, this programme has begun to make a difference in the lives particularly of tribal women. For example, women have started asserting their voices in family matters and regarding the nature of spending money. The study also shows that awareness still continues to be a big challenge, while women in the study area have become pro-active learners and participants in the scheme. This Act is popular among the tribal regions, whose people frequently ask if more work could be made available to them under the Act. Clearly, there is a massive demand for MGNREGA work, and Maoist violence is declining in tribal-dominated regions of India where the scheme has made impacts. The Indian government should respond to the continuing challenges by increasing the scale of employment and self-employment on small scales the government of India should take due care that the scheme reaches the indigenous /Adivasi people who deserve it. Change should be made at the bottom levels in the system. One explanation offered here is that local people are simply not consulted or considered sufficiently well as stakeholders when it comes to planning development provisions. Only through more attention to a perspective from below, it is argued at this final point, can poverty and hunger be removed from India’s society as a whole and from tribal societies in particular.

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