CHAPTER- 4
SITUATING ELEMENTS OF PARTICIPATION IN THE
PROCESS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Introduction:

The agents of service delivery involved in implementation of these schemes are positively accountable to the Panchayati Raj Institutions. This makes the people participants in the efficient implementation of the schemes. The aim of both, the formulation of the schemes as well as the purpose of the study, is that the citizens should not receive benefits from the state just as beneficiaries but question, resent and if possible provide solution to the impediment coming in the way of the implementation process. If the people are satisfied with the implementation, then what are the reasons for this success story? If it is otherwise, then why aren’t the citizens able to demand for it as their right? The picture that presents itself after the probe is not one dimensional, in the sense that it’s not just the bureaucrats or the caste factor or poverty or illiteracy alone that prevents or enhances such a situation. It is a combination of various factors.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Schemes selected for the study have been analyzed with a rights based approach. Therefore, the implementation of schemes (NREGS, MDM and Angaanwaadi under ICDS) has not been questioned at the ground level on who benefits and who does not; or how many availed the benefits and how many could not? To understand the implementation process interviews were held with bureaucrats as well as the beneficiaries. The bureaucrats were mainly probed about the process of implementation of schemes because the question on results was promptly followed by huge pile of data on the number of beneficiaries, their break up on caste and gender quotient. Delving into the data set was digressing from the aim of assessing the participation of the marginalized groups and the role of local development actors in it. What follows now in this chapter is a recapitulation of the process of implementation of three schemes as explained by the bureaucrats followed by the response of the people towards the schemes.

Once this exercise is over, an effort is made to analyze the schemes vis-à-vis Scott’s thesis of ‘pernicious’ combination of four elements in the state initiated social engineering.
National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme:

Process of implementation

An important issue probed through the interviews was clarity of process and rules related to the schemes among the bureaucrats. Clarity of process and rules involving decisions and interaction with the people are important for performance and is also linked to the efficiency of the bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is often associated with red tape and a common man is always perplexed with the rules and procedures with which he is either unacquainted or which involves unnecessary running around. The implementation of three schemes selected for the study has been researched at the village level where the population is mostly illiterate.

Status of NREGA in Karnataka:¹

Out of three districts surveyed NREGA was found to be in various stages of implementation. This scheme was introduced all over the country in three phases. Raichur district was included in phase I (2006-07). At the time of survey NREGA had been started for two years. For the other two districts, Uttar Kannada and Kolar, the scheme was introduced on 1st April 2008 in phase III (2008-09). It had been only five months at the time of survey that the scheme had been introduced.

Raichur District: Raichur and Manvi Bolek office

The implementation process mainly involved the NREGA workers and the Program Officer.² The Gram Panchayat and the Gram Sabha were important for the identification of the works to be carried out under NREGA. The Executive Officer (EO), Taluk Panchayat was the program offices as well as the Drawing Officer of the scheme. The details of the scheme i.e. registration, job cards, work demanded and provided etc are checked by the PEO. It took about a year before the actual work under NREGA could be started. This was because the process of selection and

¹ The fieldwork in Karnataka was taken up in the months of September-October, 2008. Raichur district (Raichur, Manvi blocks) was first to be covered, followed by Uttar Kannada (Sirsi and Karwar Blocks) and finally Kolar (Mulbagal and Bangarapet blocks).
² For NREGS, the officers to be interviewed were EO Taluk panchayat, Panchayat Extension Officer (PEO) at the block level and Grama Panchayat secretary & Bill collector at the panchayat office (in Ballatgi, Toran Dinni, Baiododdi and Singanodi). The post of Rozgar Sevak had not been filled at the time.
estimation of projects involved a number of steps. Due to lack of understanding at the Grama Panchayat level among the elected members and Secretary there was a lot of delay and distortion.

According to the Block Development Officer (Raichur block), works are identified by the Gram sabha under the direction of Gram Panchayat Members. The list of registered families, work demanded and provided is prepared by the Grama Panchayat secretary. These works are then certified by technical persons from the concerned departments such as forest, PWD etc. After that the taluka ‘technical committee’ approves the technically and economically viable works. They then have to be given the technical sanction from the district committee after which it is sent back to Gram Panchayats for implementation.

Shortage of staff has been a major impediment in the implementation. None of the four Grama Panchayats have technical or administrative assistant deputed. Only facilitator was the Bill collector. One Grama Panchayat secretary was incharge of two to three panchayats. A unanimous need was for qualified and trained secretary along with a technical person to facilitate estimation, work execution, writing measurement books etc. There should also be a strong grievance redressal mechanism at the Block Level according to the panchayat level NREGA officials.

_Uttar Kannada District: Sirsi and Karwar Blocks_

It was informed by the EO Taluk Panchayat, Karwar, Uttar Kannada had been included in phase 3 of NREGS. NREGA replaced SGRY scheme which closed on 31/3/08. Scheme was launched in the district on 1/04/08. Out of 11 taluks of Uttar Kannada, work had begun only in Kumta Taluk (16 types of works).

As the EO Taluk Panchayat informed, in Sirsi the process of enrolment, registration, job card making etc were almost complete. About 6000 labourers had been registered. First year annual plan for the year had been 08-09 ready. Work under NREGS was scheduled to start in Itaguli village from 26/09/08 in Sirsi taluk. After which works would be taken up in all the 27 Grama Panchayats of Sirsi. All the procedures were complete in Karwar but the work hadn’t started. No additional staff had been placed in the block or Grama Panchayats. That would be required only after the work begun. Few grama sabha meetings had been held particularly for dissemination of information on various aspects of the scheme. Eight types of works had been
approved under NREGA such as water conservation, drought proofing, flood protection, land development including individual land development etc.

A budget of 8 crore 42 lakhs had been allotted only for Sirsi for the year 2008/09. But according to the EO it was difficult to achieve even 25% of the target because of limitation in the kind of work sanctioned for the scheme.

EO would be the program officer.

Wage was initially fixed at Rs.74. But the wage for private labour is quite high in Uttar Kannada district, around Rs.150. So there has been poor response from the people even increased wages of Rs. 82.

Posts of computer assistants, village development assistants have been outsourced to NGOs working in these areas.

Kolar District: Bangarapet and Mulbagal blocks

NREGS was introduced on 1/4/2008 in this district. Process of registration and job cards going on. Payments as a rule have to be made only through bank. Wages were upgraded from 74 to 82 so that would be the wage amount to be paid for he works. Grama sabha meetings specially for this purpose have been held in all GPs to inform people about the scheme. Information has also been disseminated through pamphlets\(^3\). Work would start by end of November 08. More than 50% cards have been given to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. EO is the Program officer of NREGS Appointment of the technical staff (computer operators) would be done through outsourcing to NGOs (eg SAMRIDHI). Assistant Engineer and Junior Engineer would estimate the work and wage. One problem is with wages which is fixed at Rs. 82 only where as in private it is more than Rs. 150.

Status of NREGA in Kerala:

Out of three districts surveyed in Kerala NREG scheme was again in various stages of implementation. Panchayati Raj Institutions are at the centre of planning and implementation of the scheme. Waynad district was included in phase I (2006-07). At the time of survey NREGA had been started for two years. Idukki district was

\(^3\) One such pamphlet is attached in the Appendix no 6.
included among the 130 districts chosen for implementation in phase II. Third district, Alappuzha was included in phase III.

The officials interviewed to understand the process of implementation were BDO, Grama Panchayat secretary, CDS and ADS members, overseer, supervisor (NREGA). For the purpose of implementation various ward level coordination societies are formed in the Panchayat. These societies are known as Area Development Society (ADS). They consist of volunteers from the respective wards of the village, Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes promoters etc. their responsibility is make a group of 20-30 families (known as the neighbourhood groups under Kudumbasree) in lookout for work, to inform and initiate the process of registration and application for work. Job cards are provided by the panchayat through the information provided by the ADS volunteers and distributed in the grama sabha meetings. The various ADS are assimilated into Community Development Society (CDS) which works at the panchayat level. For eg if there are 17 wards in a village then there are 17 ADS which are consolidated with the ADS of other villages into CDS whose chairperson is Panchayat level secretary.

*Waynad District: Vythri and Sulthanbathery blocks*

Two districts were included in the phase I of NREGS implementation in Kerala. One was Waynad (the other was Palakkad). Kaniambetta panchayat in Vythri block was the first panchayat in Kerala to start the NREGS work in January 2007.

Visited NREGS work site in Palpetta colony in Vythri panchayat village, where 11 people were working. There was muster roll, NREGS board, workers out turn list was with the supervisor (called mate) who was one amongst the workers but was more educated (SSLC pass)⁴. Next day there was ADS meeting under the Kudumbashree program where the members had gathered to discuss about the work to be taken up and the payment which was outstanding. It was told by the CDS chairperson and Grama Panchayat president that there is shortage of Executive Assistant engineers in Waynad. So to overcome the approval crisis they initiate 8 to 10 works of less than Rs.50000 simultaneously. This amount can be sanctioned by the president and the

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⁴ The mate, Lily Baby (age 38, Roman Catholic) is responsible for the upkeep of the NREGS site such as medical kit, shed etc.
overseer without waiting for the approval of engineers. So with this innovation they have been able to utilize a sum of more than Rs 20 lakhs for the year 2008 (till July).5

Idukki District: Peermade and Thodupuzha blocks

Peermade taluk is primarily a plantation area with several coffee, tea and spice estates. Some years ago the plantation were closed and now the workers (mostly Scheduled Castes) are unemployed. NREGS is quite successful in this area because the plantation workers are mostly unemployed.

The procedure for the registration, job card making and placing demand for work is quite transparent. ADS president or secretary regulates the demand so that the work is provided on immediate basis. Muster roll is maintained by the ADS which is verified by the overseer or Junior Engineer after completion of work. It takes 7 to 14 days for verification and payment process to complete. After that the money is transferred to the individual bank account of the labourers. Grama Panchayat secretary is the registering and payment authority. Generally officials above the panchayat level are not involved in the NREGS work. In order to promote transparency, it is mandatory that the estimates are summed up in the local dialect so as to be understood by ordinary people. At the beginning of every work, the nature of work, expected outturn and the likely wages are explained to the workers' groups.

Technical Sanction for the works to be undertaken is given not by individual engineers. There is a Technical Committee of engineers which includes a government engineer (Executive Engineer rank), a retired engineer and preferably an engineer working in an academic institution. This further enhances transparency in the issue of Technical Sanction.

Alappuzha District: Mavellikara and Ambalappuzha Blocks

NREGS was introduced in this district in phase III of implementation on 1/4/2008. No work under the scheme had been taken up till the time of survey (in July 2008). However, process of registration and distribution of job cards had been completed.

5 This information was provided by the Kaniambetta Grama Panchayat president, Moyin Kadavan. He has been panchayat member for 25 years and has served four terms as president. Pilot project of NREGS started in this panchayat in January 2007 when he was the president.

6 This information was provided by Peermade Grama Panchayat secretary, S. Laneendran (education: B.com, caste: Ezhava)

7 As informed by NREGS overseer, Sobhana P.K. in Peermade Grama Panchayat.
Payments as a rule had to be made only through bank. Grama sabha meetings especially for this purpose had been held in all GPs to inform people about the scheme. Wage has been fixed at Rs 125. According to the BDOs of both the taluks, wages are very low considering that the labourers engaged in private works are paid between Rs. 250-300/day. Keeping the tradition of involving the people in the implementation of the scheme Kudumbasree has been given a vital position. The ADS would be delegated the task of organizing public works under the scheme. Muster Rolls and other records would be maintained by the ADS, implements provided to labourers and the transparency and monitoring requirements would also be carried out by them. As told by the Purrakad Grama Panchayat president, ADS is a group of the poor (families below poverty line) and is generally a woman's group (under Kudumbasree), so there would be better sensitivity and community participation in the implementation process.

**Status of NREGA in Bihar:**

Bihar has the highest number of NREGS districts and is the most densely covered state in the country under the scheme. Out of the total 200 NREGA districts selected for the implementation of the scheme all over India in phase I, 23 districts were selected from Bihar itself. The State Government decided to implement Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme on the pattern of NREGS in the rest of the districts through its own resources. So that made Bihar 100% rural employment guarantee covered state. All the three districts Gaya, Katihar and Patna were included in the phase-I of the implementation of the scheme.

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8 The officials interviewed for the scheme were BDO (who in most cases was the Program Officer of the scheme), Program Officer (only at Maner block in Patna) at the block level and Rozgar Sevak at the panchayat level. Interviews with the officials in Bihar were held at different time schedule. The meeting with officials in Katihar district was done in the month of May 2008. The officials in Gaya were interviewed in the month of August 2008. Interview with BDO, PO and BEO, Maner Block, Patna was done in the month of January 2009. There have been no technical assistants appointed at the panchayat office. Post of Grama Panchayat secretary was non existent. There was no record of any monthly progress report at any of the panchayat offices. In most of the panchayats either there was no panchayat building or if it did exist, it was locked.
BDO⁹ of Maner Block, Patna was quite candid about the disappointing performance of NREGS in Bihar. According to him three factors would never let the scheme become a success. One reason is the association of labourers with the land owners for generations. The land is so fertile that there is no lean phase in agriculture any time of the year. During the flood season NREGS is helpless as any other scheme. So the worker would at no point of time wish to alter their commitment to the landowners. Second reason was the negative attitude of the upper caste towards NREGS. It was a general notion that work in NREGS might take away the labourers from the field. So they resort to negative propaganda for the scheme. Third was the inherent delay in the scheme in assessment and then payment. The labourers are used to being paid daily wages and also some grains. They are too poor to even think about bank account, savings and better life. In addition to that who would go to the bank, pay Rs 10 to get the form filled up and lose half a day of work to withdraw the money. PO¹⁰ added to the above inputs that the labourers working on construction sites get Rs 150 to 200 per day so they are generally not inclined towards working in NREGS for low wages (Rs 82). According to the BDO of Manihari Block, Katihar, the scheme is not functioning properly due to severe scarcity of staff.¹¹ There is no PO in most of the blocks in Katihar. The post of Rozgar Sevak is also lying vacant. So the implementation of the scheme is entirely upon the whims of Mukhia and his men. Any officer cannot do anything till an official complaint is lodged. BDO, Korha block, Katihar told that the state government has taken an initiative to check corruption on the part of the Grama Panchayat presidents. Technically grama sabha is responsible for selection of beneficiaries and allocation of works. But the block office holds Grama Vikas Shivirs (literal translation can be Village Development Camps) on every Wednesday of the month where forms are provided and job cards are made. The applications for work are immediately given to the mukhia who has to be present in the shivir. He, however, mentioned that people are not very keen on working for

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⁹ BDO took charge of Maner block on 16/7/07.
¹⁰ PO had joined in Maner block after training in Naubatpur from 8th October to 6th November 2008. There had been no PO before her. The scheme started in this block from 06-07.
¹¹ BDO, Manihari is the Circle Officer, Program Officer, CDPO and Executive Officer Nagar Panchayat. He took charge of the block on 13th April 2007. Since then he has been officiating as all of the above.
¹² BDO Korha took his charge in this block on 25th April 2007. Earlier he was in Basantpur block of Supaul district.
NREGS works due to less and delayed wages. BDO, Gaya Sadar also pointed out the same lacuna. About the schemes, he explained that there is an acute shortage of staff. He added that the problem with this area is that people do not want to come out and ask what is there for them (like various schemes etc.). There is a social set up in the villages according to which everyone lives their lives.

**People’s response to NREGS:**

**Karnataka:**

Response of the people in the two blocks of Raichur, hinted towards a mixed outcome the districts. Raichur was one of the five districts chosen in phase I of the implementation of the scheme. People reported about many aspects which hindered the scheme becoming a success in the district.

a. *Less wages:* The daily wages for the male agricultural labourer is around Rs. 100 to 125 but for NREGS it is only Rs. 76, which has been upgraded to Rs. 82 from the month of August.

b. *Lack of information* about the scheme among the people because of lack of initiative on the part of Grama Panchayat members.

c. *Evidence of corruption.* Most of the the labourers just come and sit at the work site, they are paid Rs. 30-40 for nothing and rest of the money is shared by the people incharge of NREGA account.

d. *Need for capacity building* of the Grama Panchayat members. Cause of corruption lies in the Grama Panchayats members being either illiterate or in control of the local MLA or Party members. There are 36 panchayats in Manvi and 31 in Raichur block. Out of which 10 to 12% are reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The tribal population (mostly consisting of Valmikis) are well educated and economically well off. But the same cannot be said about the Scheduled Castes. Majority population is uneducated or minimally illiterate. They lack the desire to educate their children and mostly involve them in the agriculture labour. Handling such

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13 For e.g., he is currently the BDO, PO (NREGS) and till a month ago he was CDPO-in charge also.
14 Bidar, Chitradurga, Devangere, Gulbarga and Richur.
large sum of money as involved in NREGA becomes a problem if any such person is elected in the Grama Panchayats. This year an amount of Rs. 50 lakhs has been sanctioned for NREGA work. Minimum qualification for the Grama Panchayat secretary is SSLC. So often they become vulnerable to the MLA or local party officials.

e. *Gender issue:* Since the money paid is equal and the amount of work women are required to do is less, men resent being a part of the scheme. In one of the panchayats in Manvi block, about 1000 people had gathered demanding work under NREGA. Out of them majority were women. Work was provided to them immediately.

f. *Lack of staff* is another problem in the scheme being a success. Grama Panchayats secretary is incharge of 2 to 3 panchayats. Only one engineer is posted in the block to measure the works done. No separate provision of Program Officer has been made. The staff under NREGA scheme consists of only EO, Assistant Engineer, Grama Panchayats secretary, Bill collector and a computer operator.

g. *Unemployment allowance:* Out of nine districted covered under NREGS, claim for unemployment allowance was reported in Raichur. In Ballatgi village people reported of claiming unemployment allowance. However, the Grama Panchayat secretary completely denied it.

**Kerala:**

Kerala with its multi stage implementation of NREGS presents itself as a very interesting case. Waynad district was included in phase I, Iddukki in phase II and Alapuzha in phase III. Response of the people brought out four aspects of the scheme.

a. *Less wage/ delayed payment:* Men are particularly not interested in NREG works because of the low wages. Compared to the daily wage for unskilled in the ginger or tea plantation in Kerala, the wages at Ra 125 were quite low to work for it. The amount of labour required was same as any other daily wage requirement and the payment was not satisfactory. Along with it, the
payment made was quite late, generally within 15 days but sometimes later than that too. Complaining about the delay made no sense because since NREG is a government work and the payment process had to follow a course. One of the respondents\textsuperscript{15} claimed NREG to be a failure on this account. He gave a possible explanation for the same. According to him, such national level schemes are made keeping north Indian wage-labour conditions in mind. The situation in Kerala is very different from that of Bihar. So how can the scheme be successful here!

b. \textit{Women dominated work:} The job card is issued for all the members of the family above 18 years of age, who are willing to work. This clause of the scheme is well utilized by the women in Kerala. They actively participate in NREGS work for three reasons: first, it is not any private work but ‘panchayat’ work which is near to their home; second they earn extra ten to twelve thousand rupees in a year; third and most important, the money is transferred in their bank account which enables them to get larger loans for their SHGs.\textsuperscript{16}

c. \textit{Involvement of SHGs:} As explained in the process of implementation, the Area Development Society (ADS) is absolutely a Kudumbashree venture. Any complain related to NREGS is routed through ADS. So it acts as two way channel of grievance redressal as well as information disseminator. So generally there is no need to approach the officials or panchayat members.

d. \textit{Non involvement of Scheduled Tribes:} Primitive tribes do not participate in NREGS work. They prefer to collect herbs, honey, gooseberry etc from the forest. The tribal development societies pay them quite well for such items. In another interaction in Idukki district in Kerala, it was suggested that the scheme is a failure amongst the tribal villages. The population of some villages consists of primitive tribes (Mannan, Hindu Ullada, Panniyas, Kattunaiyakas) who have been resettled by the panchayat. Alcoholism is a

\textsuperscript{15} Lalitha Rajan, (age 44, caste Cheruma), working on NREGS site, Palpatta Colony, Ward no 13 Kaniambetta village.

\textsuperscript{16} Though it was mentioned by many but one of the respondents Annama, Secretary Dhanya (SHG), put it very clearly.
major problem in these tribes. They earn daily and spend on toddy and other forms of drugs. It was also reported by few Tribal Development officers that there is a tendency among men to sell the land and house provided by the panchayat and again demand for it. The money so earned is spent on toddy. They prefer to send their children to schools where they get money, clothes slippers etc rather than sending them to the anganwaadis. They are not particularly interested in NREG work because the payment is made between 7 to 14 days, where as they are accustomed to getting more wages in the ginger plantation works that to daily.

Bihar:

a. No information about the scheme: Respondents in Bihar in general and in Katihar and Gaya in particular, had no idea about what the scheme actually is. Some of the impressions about the scheme were: government’s policy of giving money after getting a card made; trick of politicians to make the labourers leave the work on the agricultural fields; menial job of mud work for the lower castes. Some respondents were amused to be informed that they would get unemployment allowance if they do not get work within is days of filling application. For them a system can fail if at all it works. One can get allowance for failure of the system in providing work, where there is no system at all what can anyone do!!!(Kaono system kaam kare tab to uske na kaam karne par bhugtan hoega... Kaono system-e na hoega, to kathi kar lijiega\textsuperscript{17}). The members of Grama Sabha (implementing agency) had no idea about the procedural aspects of the registration for job card and job, implementation of the schemes, entitlement of the workers, and responsibility of the implementing agencies.

b. No one’s work: Once I explained about the scheme and the works included in it (mostly kutcha-mud work) and wages according to the work done, response was that the lower castes would rather work on the fields and get money and grains, where as in this work there was no certainty of getting money. That is to say, they are more confident to get money from the

\textsuperscript{17} Sahja Devi, Panch, Kanhaulai village, sadisopur panchayat.
traditional land holders but not from government. (Jaon khet main hum Mujdoori karenge uhan kum se kum malik ko to jaante hain. Is kaam mein kaon afsar ke peeche bhagenge ?? upper se roj ka roj paisa bhi nahi milega!! I know the owner of the field where I work...Who will I run after for this work?)

c. The question of accountability: On being asked ‘Which authority or agency is good for solving your problems/complaints related to NREGA?’ The answer was mostly: None. To the question, Why? One of the respondents quipped “ek ta rakas upper se nyota” (it’s like inviting demon to your house for a feast). Questioning anyone would mean inviting wrath of the mukhia, his people or the officers upon yourself. In addition to it the SC/ST respondents are mostly daily wage labourers. Taking an effort to question the people concerned would mean loss of a day’s income. Even if they take an effort, nothing would happen. One of the respondents, in Gokulpur korhar village put it very straight: “jab khoon, aphan aur be-izzati ke kono shikayat na karait baa ta e sab ke bare mein ke boli” (when no one complains about murder, abduction, rape, who will complain about non-payment). So no one has ever made any official complaint about money being charged for the photographs and job cards, fraud in payment, wrong entries made in the job cards, mukhia keeping the job cards with himself etc.

d. Swindle in job card/ Use of machines for the work: Some of them said that it is a scheme in which mud digging work would only be done and they would be paid for it. Some had the idea that having a job card would automatically entitle them to have money. This was reported in one of the panchayats in Patna were the mukhia held the job cards, paid some money to the card holders and got the work done by machine. Awareness among beneficiaries was understood on the extent of their knowledge about the process of job application, registration for job card, application for job and various entitlements like, availability of job within fifteen days of application,

18 Pakku Murmu, (age 24, caste Santhal), Simaria village, Korha block, Katihar.
19 Kabutri Devi (age 35, caste Paswan), Gokulpur-kurhar village, Bihta Block, Patna.
minimum wages, worksites facilities, unemployment allowances, etc. Awareness among the SC/ST respondents was minimal.

e. **No women participation:** Women are ready to work under NREGA. However, discrimination is two fold: being a woman and being a dalit. Being a woman the participation under NREGS is quite low. The reasons being:

- Lack of information and understanding about scheme. There is no awareness about the wage, unemployment wage etc.
- Cards being with mukhia. Some who have NREGA card do not know what has been filled in (the details of work done, payments etc). They have never worked but the card has all the details.
- Men more inclined to work.
- Lack of facilities such as shade, crèche, medical aid etc on the field.
- Being a dalit, hesitation in participation comes mainly from the fear of harassment. They are reluctant to work under NREGS as it is 'no one's work'

**a. Mid Day Meal (MDM):**

**Karnataka:**

Mid Day Meal programme started in Arikehsi School in Devdurga Taluk in the year 2001-02 as a pilot project\textsuperscript{20}. After that it has been implemented in the state in various stages with multiple objectives of improving enrolment and attendance, improving retention rate, improving child health by increasing nutrition level and improving learning levels of children.

In stage-1 the programme of providing hot cooked meal was introduced in seven north eastern districts of the state during 2002-03. It was followed by stage-II when

\textsuperscript{20} This information was provided by Assistant director, Mid Day Meal Scheme, Raichur Taluk Panchayat. He also provided relevant information on the ration, appointment of cooks, formation of SDMC, remuneration to the cooks etc.
this scheme was extended to the other 20 districts under the title Akshara Dasoha during the year 2003-04. The scheme of providing free food grains for 3 kg per child per month to children of class 1 to 5 of Government Aided Schools on the basis of 80% of attendance in a month under NP-NSPE continued during 2002-03 & 2003-04. In Stage-III the scheme was extended to classes 1 to 5 in Govt. Aided Schools with effect from 1-9-2004. In Stage-IV the programme was extended to VI and VII Standards in Government / Government Aided Schools in the State from 01-10-2004. The programme of providing hot cooked meal has been transferred to zilla panchayat from 01-04-2005. In the year 2007-08 classes 8th, 9th and 10th have also been included in the scheme by the state government.

Officials involved in the service delivery

The officials involved in the service delivery with whom the interviews were held included the EO Taluk panchayat who was the drawing officer of the scheme. Assistant director MDM and Block Education Officer (BEO) were incharge of the MDM at the Block level. BEO is responsible for supervision of MDM, inspection of cleanliness in cooking meals, cleanliness of cooks, collection of demands from schools and forwarding it to the Assistant Director, MDM one month in advance. From there the consolidated demand goes to the taluk panchayat who forward it to the district. In case of any conflict or problem, meetings with SDMC and parents are held. He is assisted by Cluster Resource Persons, Block Resource Persons and Education Coordinators. Duties of Assistant Director, MDM are: checking stock, utilizing material, leasing indent, inspection, coordination between EO and BEO.

To understand the process of the implementation of the scheme interaction was held with Headmaster, teachers and SDMC president of at least one of the primary school of the villages covered. Under the process following issues were probed into.

Frequency of meals provided: MDM provided every day in the school (including 2nd October, 15th August, 26th January), except on Sundays. It has been very effective in the rural areas for the poor who were mainly Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
Children suffered before this scheme. Teachers are not involved so classroom teaching is not disrupted.

Appointment, remuneration and caste of cooks:

There is provision of appointing maximum four cooks in one school depending on the strength of the students. For 25 students 1 cook (kitchen centre is classified as: A centre); between 26-70, 2 cooks (B centre); 71 to 300, 3 cooks(C centre); 300 and more, 4 cooks(D centre). Head cook should be 7th std pass, no education required for others. Head cook has to make all entries in the staff book, bring vegetables, take daily attendance, and get grains from the store. The other assistants cook the food. One post is reserved for Scheduled Castes, one for OBC, one for minorities and one is for general. If Scheduled Castes candidates do not have essential educational qualification then the preference is given to OBC then to the others.

Remuneration to the cooks (September 08 onwards): Head cook, Rs.800, others Rs. 650, 500, 400 respectively.

State government has set a pre requisite on whose basis applications are invited by the SDMC for appointment of cooks. The requirements are 7th std pass (only in case of head cook), preference to be given to widow, poor, Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes, backward and local resident of the area.

In the appointment priority has to be given to Scheduled Castes women.
Demand for the grain requirement from the schools should reach the BEO office by 25th of every month. All the demands (from all schools) are consolidated and a consolidated indent is made by the BEO office and forwarded to the Asst. Director MDM from where it reaches the KSFC. The required materials reach the Taluk Gown from KSFC from where the required quantity reaches the schools directly once in a month.

*Food allocation:* From std 1st to 5th for one student: Rice 100gm, Dal (toor): 20g, oil: 3 gm, Salt: 2gm, Vegetable etc 50 paisa/student/day. From std 6th to 7th for one student: Rice 150gm, Dal (toor): 20g, Oil: 3 gm, Salt: 2gm, Vegetable etc 50 paisa/student/day. From std 8th to 10th for one student: Rice 160gm, Dal (toor): 25g,

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21 The chart was drawn by the Assistant director, Mid Day Meal Scheme, Bangarapet who was also BEO at that time.
Oil: 6 gm, Salt: 4gm, contingency for vegetables etc 50 paisa/student/day till classes 1st to 8th and 70 paisa/student/day for high school students for all working days. Conversion charge for vegetables and money for the salary of the cooks are transferred directly to the joint account of the SDMC president and Head cook.

Preparation and Monitoring of the MDM is jointly by the Head cook, SDMC president and the Head Master. There is a government order for non-involvement of teachers in the preparation of food. So class room procedure is not disrupted in any way. However, two teachers are required to taste and certify the food every day. Inspection of MDM is done by the Assistant Director every 15 days.

Menu: 5 days rice and sambar. 6th day some different item.

Village Education Committee (known as School Development and Management Committee) School Development and Management Committee (SDMC) is responsible for the appointment of cooks and executing MDM. SDMC is generally a 9 member committee responsible for preparation of meals, selection of cooks etc. There is a four member committee for selecting cooks for the school. It has Grama Panchayat President, SDMC President, Head Master and Grama Panchayat Secretary. They select cooks according to the norms set by the government.

Notes from the field:

Government Higher Primary School (GHPS), Singanodi. It has 9 classrooms, 11 teachers (female 7 male 4) and three cooks. The cooks are members of Stree Shakti Sangha. Head cook belongs to Backward caste, the assistant cooks are from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and are widows. SDMC has 9 members. President is from Scheduled Tribes and Vice President is from Lingayat Community.

Government Higher Primary School (GHPS) Wadwati village. It has one headmaster and 9 assistant teachers out of which 7 are female and 2 males. There are 5 classrooms. Three cooks prepare the MDM. The headcook is ST, 2 helpers comes from backward caste and Scheduled Tribes. The president of SDMC is from Scheduled Tribes and Vice President from Scheduled Castes.
GHPS, Toran Dinni. It has 10 classrooms, 7 teachers (all males). There are three cooks: One headcook (Lingayat) and 2 helpers (one SC and one ST). SDMC has 9 members, President is from Naiyaka community (ST) and VP is from Lingayat community.

GHPS, Ballatagi. There are 11 classrooms and 11 teachers (Male - 5, Female 6). There are 3 cooks; and one Headcook (OBC) and 2 helpers (one OBC and one Muslim). SDMC has 9 members. President is from Scheduled Tribes, vice President belongs to Scheduled Castes.

GHPS, Devraysamudra. The school has 10 classrooms and 10 teachers. There are two cooks, Headcook (is from dhobi community) and one helper (from Bajantri community). SDMC has 9 members was formed 2 years ago. It has 3 SC members, president is from Balajiga caste and vice-president is Brahmin.

Government Lower Primary School (GLPS), Balla. The school has two classrooms, one headmaster and two teachers. There are 3 cooks (one Head cook from general castes and 2 assistant cooks from SC). The SDMC was formed 4 years ago. It has 7 members. President is from Scheduled Castes and there is no vice-President.

GHPS, Hunsanahalli. It has 8 classrooms and 7 teachers (all females) and a Headmaster. The school was built in 1934 and the MDM started in 2003. SDMC has 9 members. Its president is a SC. SDMC was formed 3 years ago (i.e. in 2005). The food is cooked by a Vokkaliga caste head cook (female), the 2 assistant cooks who do the chopping and cleaning are from Scheduled Castes (Adi-Karnataka). It was reported by the SDMC president and the residents that there had been major issue of caste when the food was proposed to be cooked by the SC cooks. The general caste children would no eat in the school. Now they have appointed a general caste cook there is no problem. The respondents also complained about the quality of food (watery dal, starchy rice, stale vegetables) and said that the SDMC president does not take an effort to solve these issues. He cannot be removed because he has party support.

GHPS, Yellesundra. The school has 4 classrooms, 2 teachers (both males) and one headmaster. There are three cooks. Head-cook is from Vokkaliga community and the assistants are from Scheduled Castes (one) and Scheduled Tribes (one). SDMC was formed in 2002. It has 9 members the president belongs to Vokkaliga community and
Vice President belongs to Naiyaka (ST) community. Caste difference exists while selecting the head cook. Gowda and Aachari children go back home when the food was cooked by SC cook. Now they have the meal in school.

GLPS, Hankon. There are four teachers and one headmistress. There are two cooks one Headcook SC (Mahar) and one assistant (OBC). MDM started here in 2004-05. There was a lot of problem regarding the meals being cooked by a SC cook. According to the Headmistress, parents of upper caste children were called. There was an insistence from the government officials also to have as SC cook. A number of meetings were held and gradually the problem has dissolved. Still some of the Konkan Maratha children go back home during lunch time. But nothing can be done about it. The SDMC was formed in June 2008. It has 9 members. The President belongs to Mahar community (SC) and Vice President belongs to Gunigi community (OBC). MDM has not been successful in pulling the children to the school. In 2004 there were 117 children in the school but now there are only 60. There is an inclination of upper caste parents towards private school. The children in this school are mostly from Scheduled Castes.

GHPS, Sirwada. There are 8 classrooms, 9 teachers and one Headmistress. There are two cooks one SC and one OBC. SDMC was formed in 2005. The president is of Scheduled Caste and Vice President is from general Caste.

GLPS, Badangod. There are three classrooms, two teachers and one Headmistress. There are two cooks; one head cook (scheduled tribe) and one assistant cook (general caste). MDM started in this school on July 2003. SDMC was formed in 2006. There are 9 members. The President is from general caste and Vice President is from Bhovi-Vaddav community (SC). This cook and helper have been in the school since the MDM started. They were selected by the panchayat then. However, if now there is a change then the SDMC and headmistress would select a cook according to the norms set by the government.

Model Higher Primary School (MHPS), Banvasi. The school has 12 classrooms, 12 teachers, one headmaster. MDM started in 2003-04. There are four cooks: one head cook (Brahmin), 3 assistant cooks (one OBC, one ST and one Brahmin). SDMC was formed in 2005. It has 9 members president is from Lingayat community and UP is Brahmin. Out of 9 members, one is SC and one is Scheduled Tribes
Challenges:

- Caste factor: other than some of the instances mentioned above, in GHPS, Kolgibees village, Sirsi there was opposition from the villagers on the appointment of a Scheduled Caste cook. Officers had to intervene to resolve the tension. For weeks together some of the officers had to eat the meals in the school to convince the villagers. Even now 100% children do not take meal in the school.

- Distribution of grains and pulses and Fuel to the schools: Distribution of grains, gas supply etc to the remote hilly regions and other flood affected areas (eg Banvasi village remains flooded between July to September due to overflowing Varda river).

- Politics of SDMC: With the selection of new SDMC, cooks are also changed so the process of selection has to begin all over again.

Kerala:

The scheme of Mid Day Meals to poor pupils in Lower Primary Schools was introduced in Kerala during 1961-62. It was a welfare scheme and was enjoyed by poor and needy pupils. Thereafter, Kanji Feeding was introduced 1-12-1984 and lower primary schools of Government and aided schools in 222 fishermen villages and tribal belts were brought under the scheme. Subsequently the programme was extended to all L.P. Schools of Government and Aided in the state from 31-12-1985. During 1987-88 the area of feeding was widened and the programme was extended to all Upper Primary Schools and Upper Primary sections in High Schools from 1987-88. It was introduced as a People's Programme. Feeding committees were constituted in every feeding centre consisting of the Headmaster of the school, PTA President, a representative of teachers and a nominee of local body. One of the members would be chosen as the President of the committee. The committee was aided to administer the scheme of supplying mid day meal in schools. The committee was to conduct the supply of MDM popularly known as Noon Meals in schools with the assistance of local people and Government.
The food grains were rice and green gram. The ration paid per pupil per day was 60 grams of rice coupled with green gram of 30 grams. Boiled rice with green gram, or Rice and Sambhar, Kanji and are served as Noon Meal. The scheme is implemented through the heads of schools. The food materials for feeding were made available on credit basis through the Civil Supplies Corporation. The Heads of schools are to collect the feeding materials from the nearest Maveli store on production of indents duly passed by the Assistant Education Officer concerned.

Since the introduction of the NP-NSPE (National Programme National Support to Primary Education) by Government of India, on the 15th of August 1995, the noon feeding scheme of the State has been brought under the NP-NSPE. The entire cost of MDM is met jointly by the Central and State Government.

Officials involved in the service delivery:

The officials involved at the District level are Deputy Director (Education) and supervisors of Noon Meal Programme for supervision and inspection. The inspection report of the Noon Meal Supervisors is reviewed by Assistant Educational Officer and the Director of Public Instruction. Annual verification of records is also conducted by the supervisors. The Assistant Educational Officers are the immediate controlling and inspecting officers at the block level.

The Director of Public Instruction is the Nodal Officer of the MDM Scheme in Kerala. State level Management, Monitoring & Evaluation of the scheme is done by the State level Steering cum Monitoring Committee with Secretary to Government (General Education) as the chairman and the Director of Public Instruction as the Member Secretary & Convener. District level Steering cum Monitoring committee is headed by the District collector and Deputy Director Education as secretary. At block level, Block Panchayat President is the Chairman and the Assistant Educational Officer is the Secretary. A school level committee is constituted with PTA President as Chairman and the Headmaster of the school as the Member Secretary for effective Implementation of the Programme in schools. Headmaster is in charge of procuring food materials (rice, pulses etc) from the outlets of Civil Supplies Corporation. Condiments, oil, fuel etc are procured locally by the school committee. Civil Supplies Corporation is the State Nodal Transport Agency for supplying food grains to schools.
Frequency of meals provided: MDM provided every day in the school except on Sundays. It has been more than four decades that the noon meal scheme has been running in the state. It a part of the teaching-learning process in the school for a long time. However, teachers were found to be involved in the serving of the meals. So this might have effect on the classroom teaching. Though it was denied by the Principal of the school.

Appointment, remuneration and caste of cooks: The cooks are not appointed on the basis of any specific qualification or training. It depends on the availability factor of the interested persons. The PTA selects the cook from among those available in the locality. The villages covered in Idukki and Wayanad were quite remote. So availability was more in consideration. The remuneration to the cook is not linked to the number of students as prescribed. It is the decision of the PTA and the Headmaster. Preference is given to the Scheduled Castes/ Scheduled Tribes women coming from poor families.

Role and effectiveness of the Village Education Committee (known as PTA):

For the implementation of the programme in schools, a committee is constituted with PTA President as President and Headmaster as the Member Secretary. Other members of the committee are one member from Grama Panchayat, two teachers (preferably women), one member from mother PTA, and two representatives from parents of students preferably belonging to SC/Scheduled Tribes community.

Procurement of Grain: The Principal of the school is incharge of the procurement process. PTA president is also involved in the process.
Notes from the field:

Government Lower Primary School (GLPS), Mazhuvazhi Oomenchandy Tribal Colony, Kanjikuzhy village: the school has three rooms and one kitchen with asbestos shed. Children get Rice-Dal/ Sambhar and sometimes green gram (dry) with rice for the meal. The high secondary school is far from this settlement so many children have discontinued their studies. The reason for dropout is also financial need of the family.

Government Lower Primary School, Kaniyambetta village: This is one of the four LP schools in this village. Meals are provided regularly. It mostly consists of sambhar and rice. As told by the Panchayat president, tribes such as Panniya and kattunayaka are not keen on getting education for their children. They do send them but inclination towards education is completely missing. Recently District Education Committees started a ‘starting and continuing’ scheme for the tribal students. They have identified 53 such dropout. Other than teaching, such students are provided breakfast in the school. However, out of 53 only 22 students have taken up studies again.

GLPS, Chulliode, ward no 14, Nenmeni village: There are total of six teachers and a Scheduled Castes cook. The children have the meals regularly and never has there been any caste problem regarding the meals.
GLPS, Thottapally, Purakkad village: There are four teachers and one cook from Thivara caste. The PTA has 5 members. President is from Scheduled Castes, Vice President from OBC and three other members who are parents.

GLPS, ward no. 18, Thekkakara village: there are five teachers and one cook from Ezhava caste. She has been here for a long time and there has been no need to change the cook. PTA has 13 members. President is a Christian and Vice President is from Ezhava caste.

Kannamangalam North Lower Primary School: there are four teachers and one cook from Scheduled Caste (Pulaya). PTA has ten members out of which 3 are from Scheduled Castes. The president is from Ezhava caste.

**Bihar:**

Mid-day meal scheme was initiated in the state of Bihar in September 2003. In its initial phase, the programme was launched in ten districts between September 2003 and December 2004. From January 2005, the scheme entered its second phase under which, it was introduced in the entire state.

As per the directions issued by the Supreme Court, mid-day meal should be provided for minimum 200 days.

*Procurement of Grain:*

In most of the schools, the headmaster and the teachers had to go and procure rice from the block office. The Principals were mostly unaware of the process of grain procurement. They rather complained of absence of the allocation officer in the block. Inspite of allotting prior dates, the officer on duty to deliver the rice was usually unavailable. Class room teaching was affected due to involvement of teachers in the cooking process. However, this happened only when there was of grain available. After interactions with the headmaster of the schools, non-allocation of rice from the block office to the schools emerged as one of the major problems of the mid-day meal scheme.
However at the block offices there was complete denial of the non-availability of either the funds or grains. BEEO, Korha block, Katihar informed that there is a Block Resource person who is in touch with the school authorities and with the BEO. So there is no problem of funds or grain. It is actually the conniving relationship of the VSS president and the headmaster that creates this problem. Similar situation was reported by the BDO, Bodh Gaya.

Cooking arrangements

MDM is cooked in the open (generally the veranda) in most of the schools. A permanent room for cooking was found only in one school in the district. The officials pointed at corruption at the panchayat for such a laxity. According to them there is no paucity of funds. It might get delayed in reaching the school but even then it is never utilized.

Remuneration and caste of cooks

There were no fixed criteria for the appointment or remuneration given to the cooks. It was supposed to be the responsibility of the VSS (Vidayalaya Shiksha Samiti) and the Headmaster. There was resentment from among the villagers if the cook belonged to Scheduled Castes.

Lack of records

This was a major complaint of the officials related to the school. There is no proper record of the number of students or days when meals have been provided. It was suggested by the officials to remove teachers from handling the grains and preparation of food.

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22 According to the BEEO there are 129 schools (Primary school-51, Middle school-34, New Primary school- 44)) in Korha block. Mid Day Meal is provided for 22 days in a month and 220 days in a year. Bringing children to the school is a problem because parents involve them in household/farm work. The menu for the meals is different every day: Monday: Egg Curry, Tuesday: Meetha Chawal, Wednesday: Soyabeen Rice, Thursday: Rice Ladoo, Friday: Rajma Chawal, Saturday: Vegetable-dal-pulao. However, egg had to be removed from the menu due to objection from the people.
Village Education Committee (known as Vidyalaya Siksha Samiti):

In many schools the committee only exists on paper. There is hardly any information about any such committee to the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes. The president/Vice President is selected on the basis of his/her position in the village or contribution to the school (such as donation of land or money etc). There is no role of panchayat or any officer in the selection of the VSS. Except for some of the schools, even the headmastes did not know about the number of members that should be in the VSS. BEEO Maner block\textsuperscript{23}, Patna informed about the constitution of the VSS. It was formed of 14 members (1 headmaster+ 13 representatives from the village.). There were 9 elected members, 2 nominated and 3 were the providers of land for the school who were normally the permanent members. BEEO, Korha told that out of 129 schools in the block, there were 62-63 VSS functioning.

Menu: Different preparation of vegetables along with Rice and Dal should be provided to the students on all working days. There is provision of giving them egg curry on one day. However, the situation at the ground was quite different. The children were given Khichiddi or Rice- Dal- Chokha (potato mesh) if at all they were provided with the meals.

Notes from the field:

i) Mangarpal: Visited 2 schools. First was a primary school for girls (Rajkiya Prathmik Kanya Vidyalaya). The school has 2 classrooms and one office. There is no constructed kitchen and the food is cooked in open space on a makeshift stove of bricks. There is only one cook, OBC (Savji) who gets Rs.1000/- month. There are three lady teachers, 2 stay in the village and one commutes from Patna city daily. There is no VSS and the meals have been stopped for past two months due to lack of funds.

\textsuperscript{23} BEEO joined Maner block on 9th December 2008. Mid Day Meal Scheme started in this block in January 2005.
The other school visited was a Middle school (from class 1-8th) Rajkiya Utkramit Madhya Vidyalaya. It has 4 rooms and one office. A temporary shade has been built as kitchen. There is one cook from Yadav community who is a widow with 6 children to take care of. The school has a VSS where President belongs to Dhobi caste (SC) and secretary belongs to Yadav community.

(ii) Sherpur Jhuggi Jhopdi Primary school: The school has seven rooms and one office. The meals are provided on all week days. There is one cook, who belongs to Paswan community (SC). Due to this reason children do not have food in the school. (account by the children). There is no VSS since 2007. There were three types of responses related to the MDM provided in the school.

According to the teacher meals are provided 4-6 days in week. Sometimes due to lack of funds meals have to be stopped but otherwise it is regular. There has never been any complain about a SC cook. All children sit in a row and have food. However, once they have food, children run away from the school.

SC families are also very positive about the MDM. They are happy that children get to eat well at least once.

Children of upper caste families mostly go to private schools. However, one Bhumihar family (Upper caste) that I met sends children to the government school. This family has migrated to this village because their village got submerged in Ganga waters while the river changed its course. Family has only one earning member who is a truck driver and mostly stays out of the village. Theirs is a joint family and the younger daughter- in law is an “ASHA” worker. There are around 60 more families that have migrated to this village. They do not have any agricultural land, they own only the land on which their house has been built. Children are enrolled in the government school but they are hardly taught anything there so a private tuition has been arranged for them. They do not have meal in the school. The premises are dirty and food is cooked by a ‘dusadh’ (SC). But they bring the food from school daily and give it to their dog or cow. Children told very excitedly that their dog is becoming fat on the school meals that they get for it daily.

(iii) Gokhulpur Kurhar does not have a school. There is one primary school in Gokhulpur Matiya but it is hardly functional (no proper school building, only one teacher who would be transferred soon, most of the children come to this middle
school in Kurhar. The school visited in Kurhar was a primary school upgraded only last year. So it is called Utkramit Madhya Vidyalaya. The school has 10 classrooms and 8 teachers. Mid day meal is provided regularly but there is no kitchen. Food is cooked in a temporary shed. Cook belongs to Kanu community (OBC).

Students from three villages come to this school. According to the teachers and the VSS secretary there is no discrimination among students or any caste issue regarding the MDM cook. But in the Dusadh tola, women informed that the Yadav, Rajput and Bhumihar children do not eat food in the school. Teachers do not teach at all and call the children often by their caste names. Almost all the elders in the Dusadh and Musahar tola are illiterate and poor so neither do they know what the children are being taught nor can they afford any private school or tuition. VSS has SC member but no one can say anything against the headmaster or the secretary (both are upper caste men). Secretary told that there are SC members in the samiti but could not remember any name. The president, Krishna Devi, is from Lohar community. She hardly comes to visit the school. Headmaster and secretary are the authorized signatories of the MDM fund.

(iv) Rajkiya Madhya Vidyalaya, Kanahuli: The school has 10 classrooms and 8 teachers. Mid day meal is provided regularly but there is no kitchen. Food is cooked in a temporary shed. Cook belongs to Kanu community (OBC). There is no VSS in the school due to lack of interest by the parents, as told by the acting headmistress.

(v) Government Primary School Sheetalpur, Simaria: There are three rooms and one office. There is a constructed kitchen but the headmaster stays in the room, so the food is cooked in a temporary shed. Food was being cooked during the visit to the school. There are two female cooks. Head cook belongs to Shershahwaadi caste and the helper is Ravidas (SC). The reason for not having a SC head cook is again the caste issue. The menu as told by the headmaster was quite elaborate (Monday: Egg Curry, Tuesday: Meetha Chawal, Wednesday: Soyabean Rice, Thursday: Chawal Ladoo, Friday: Rajma Chawal, Saturday: Sabji-dal-pulao). But the cook and children told that the meals consisted of Dal, Rice and Potato mesh (Chokha) only. VSS was constituted only 4-5 months ago. The president is SC (Mandal caste), Secretary is female from Shershahwaadi muslim caste and there are two more member who are ward members and one of them is a member of traditional caste panchayat also. There are no parents in the committee.
(vi) Primary School in Bhangia Tola Musapur. The population around the school is of Paswaan and Bhangi caste, so the tola is called Bhangia Tola. School has 6 rooms (including one office room). There are three teachers and two cooks (Husband-wife) belonging to sonar caste (OBC). Frequency of meals provided depends on the availability of funds. Food was being served during the visit. Children were given Rice-Dal and Soyabean-Potato for the meal. Various constraints were cited by the headmaster - (1) children run away after having meal due to lack of boundary wall in the school (ii) Parents call the children for work once the meal is over (iii) lack of staff so teaching gets affected (iv) there is no road leading to the school so the school area is practically water logged from July to September and hardly any child comes to the school during that period. There is no VSS in the school and monitoring is done by husband of Mukhia (mukhia-pati) once in 3 months. (Details of headmaster).

(vii) Kanya Prathmik Vidyalaya, Kumaripur. The school caters to 3 tolas - Nishad tola, Bhuin Tola and Kalisthan. It has 5 rooms, one office and temporary kitchen (asbestos shed). There are two female works one ST and one OBC. VSS was formed on 10.09.2007. It has 15 members out of which 7 are OBC, 3 muslims 2 SC, 2 ST and one headmistress (ST). Secretary of VSS is female from Dhanuk community (SC). The land for school was donated by her family. There are two female cooks, OBC, appointed in 2004. Food is provided for 18-20 days in a month. School has mata Samiti (Mother's Committee) also. It consists of 4 groups (5 members each) from all tolas. The caste constitution of every group has one Muslim, one SC, one ST and 2 OBC. The Samiti monitors the food even contributes in bringing grains and vegetables to the school.

(vii) Primary School (Naya Prathmik Vidyalaya) in Simartalla, Dilarpur. This school started in January 2007. It runs in the community hall of the village. All the 5 classes (from 1st to 5th) are supposed to be taught in there. There are only 2 teachers (including the headmaster). There is no mid day meal or Vidyalaya Siksha Samiti in the school.

(viii) Chakhand: Visited 2 schools, Primary School Hasanpur has 3 rooms and one office room, 3 teachers, kitchen is constructed, one female cook who is a widow, belongs to Kahar community (OBC). There is no VSS, and the meals have not been provided from January 2008 due to problem in transportation of grains. The truck owners have refused to deliver grains to block due to some payment problem.
Another school, Adarsh Madhya Vidyalaya, Chakhand Bazar, is also facing the same problem of transportation so MDM has not been provided from January onwards. There is VSS in the school, president belong to Sonar Community (OBC) and Secretary from general caste. Out of 15 members 3 are from Scheduled Castes. There are 4 groups of Mata Samiti. They contribute in the cooking, turn wise. So there is no regular cook appointed in the school.

(ix) Atiya: There are two schools in Atiya. One primary school in Harisdaspur. But there are no teachers and the school building is in a dilapidated state so hardly children attend classes there. Another school, Middle school in Khajbatti, has maximum number of students from Atiya. Meals have not been provided to the children for about 6-months. VSS does not exist. There are four cooks, all females: 2 from Kahar Community, one Kushwaha, and one Paswaan.

(x) Visited Rajkiya Prathmik Vidyalaya Hathyar. No SDM, no VSS, 6 rooms, 7 teachers, one cook (Female, Paswan Caste). People reported that teachers do not come to the school. Even if they come, they just work fake attendance and go back.

**Constraints:** As it is evident from the above account, the major constraints that cripple the effective implementation of Mid Day Meal Scheme are lack of information (for both school authorities and parents), lack of staff, corruption and Caste discrimination.

**Angaanwaadi (ICDS)**

**Kerala:**

The ICDS scheme is a major childhood and educational programme in Kerala that attempts to reach out to millions of children from vulnerable and remote areas. The first ICDS project in Kerala was set up in 1975 at Vengara Block in Malappuram district. Presently, there is one Anganwadi Centre for every 1000 population in rural and urban projects and one for every 700 population in Tribal area in Kerala. The
State has 163 projects with 32268 Anganwadi Centres catering to the needs of 40.37 lakh children in the pre-school age group (0-6 years). 24

At the state level Directorate of Social Welfare which has a Director of IAS rank. At the block level there is ICDS Project Office. Child Development Project Officers (CDPO) are incharge of that office. At the project level there are Supervisors incharge of various circles in different panchayats. At the unit level there are Anganwadi Centres managed by Anganwadi teacher and Anganwadi helper.

Schemes implemented through ICDS: Various schemes are implemented through ICDS. They are primarily targeted for women and children. Schemes for children are: Supplementary Nutrition Programme (SNP), Immunisation, Pre-School Education, Health Check-up, Referral Service, Early Detection and Early Intervention of Childhood Disabilities (EDEICD), State Plan of Action for the Child in Kerala (SPAC), Balika Samridhi Yojana (BSY). Schemes for women are: Kishori Sakthi Yojana (KSY), National Nutrition Mission (NNM), Nutrition Programme for Adolescent Girls (NPAG), Integrated Women Empowerment Programme (IWEP) or SWAYAMSIDHHA, Take Home Ration Scheme (THRS).

In the 9th Plan when the ‘People’s Plan’ was introduced in the State, as part of the ‘Panchayath Raj System’, with effect from 01-04-98 all the feeding programmes in ICDS have been transferred to Local Self Governments (LSG). The LSG are providing noon-meal with rice and green gram to Pre-School children. On the other hand the LSG are empowered to plan and implement their own food items for SNP based on local needs without affecting the nutritive value. The funds for feeding programme is included in the Service Sector under Plan Scheme of LSG. In rural areas the expenditure in this regard is being shared between the Grama Panchayaths and Block Panchayaths in the ratio of 2:1. In urban areas the entire cost is met by the Urban Local Bodies. As stated above, since there is no stipulated % of funds to meet the SNP food expenditure in the 9th Plan the Government took care to give added thrust on SNP in the 10th Plan. During the 10th plan the State Govt. have issued directions to the Local Bodies that the fund required for Supplementary Nutrition should be set apart as first priority and then only various mandatory allocations be made.

The Pre-school Education in ICDS is in mother tongue. Thematic approach is the method adopted as informed by the anganwadi teachers, children are not taught reading, writing and arithmetic. The focus is mainly on capability development—both mental and physical. The children are given adequate exposure to objects and ideas, to express the ideas comprehended etc. This is achieved by way of stories, conversation, songs etc.

*Constraints faced by the officials during implementation:*

Inaccessibility to locations affected by floods or near jungle was a constraint faced by the ICDS officials.

Another major constraint faced was lack of inclination of the tribals to send their children to the anganwadi. They keep the children at home and directly send them to the schools where the children are given clothes as well as annual scholarship to continue studies.

Infrastructure was also a problem faced by the anganwaadis. However, sanction of more anganwadis and paucity of funds were cited as main reasons for such a lapse. As told by the supervisor, ICDS, Idukki-Kanjikuzhi Panchayat, the anganwaadi's started in Kerala in 1975 and all the districts and blocks were covered by 1983. There are many teachers and helpers who have been taking care of their respective anganwaadis for 25-26 years. The timing of the anganwaadi is usually 9 am to 3.30 pm so that the family members can pursue their work. There is no limit on the children attending anganwaadis but the number generally ranges from 20-25. In areas where the population is more, new anganwaadi have been started. This has led to shortage of staff, funds and building space. However, with the efforts of panchayat and ICDS these constraints would soon be overcome.

*Notes from the field:*

Kacherikunnu Anganwadi; Peermade Village has teacher (Nair) and Helper (Pulaya, SC). The G.P. has provided the house and the grains are also provided by the GP Honorarium paid to the teacher is 1600 and to the helper - 1050. About 30 students attend the anganwaadi daily. The timing is from 9 am to 4 pm.

The anganwaadi in IHDP colony in Kunjikuzhy village does not have its own building. There is a permanent teacher posted in the anganwaadi but the helper is temporary, without any training, only 6 months of Service experience. The tribal
community hall is used as Anganwaadi. The Panchayat has no land or funds to provide for the anganwaadi.

The anganwaadi in Valliamattom panchayat village started on November 25, 1981. It has a teacher and helper belonging to Malaaryan tribe. 21 children between the age group of 3 to 6 attend the school. G.P. has provided the land and building. Salary and fund for food and nourishment are provided by the ICDS department.

Anganwaadi in Chundale village, Vythri block has been functioning for last 10 years. Panchayat has provided land and constructed building one of the anganwaadi built in the tea plantation area belonged to the estate but now its maintenance is looked after by the G.P. The population in the estate is is mostly of the SCs who have migrated as labourers from karnataka Tamil Nadu long ago. But they have not been given caste certificate by the tehsildar. So, none amongst them is eligible to apply for the post of Anganwaadi teacher or helper. The posts are currently held by a general caste Hindu and Gihava ladies. There is however no discrimination in the treatment of children who attend the anganwaadi. The timing of Anganwaadi is from 8 am to 3.30 pm.

The Chulliode Anganwaadi in ward no. 14 of Nenmeni Village has been functioning since last 25 years. The teacher was appointed 10 years ago and the helper has been working for last 3 months. The population around the anganwadi is of Panniya, Kuruchi and Kuruma tribes. The Kuruchi and Kuruma have been socially and educationally superior to the Panniyas. According to the teacher of the anganwaadi, the schemes are mostly utilized by the former. Panniya usually do not send their children to anganwaadi, but to the school where they get money for admission and education. Out of 22 children enrolled only 2-3 Panniyas tribe attend.

Earlier there was only one Anganwaadi centre in this colony now there are 34. Otherwise there are 48 Anganwaadi centres in this village (21 earlier + 28 new ones). This has facilitated pre-nursery education but there has been major lack of funds due to which facilities are not provided properly. For eg., the building of this anganwaadi was constructed one year earlier, but there is no constructed toilet, no pucca floor or even toys. Such situation deters parents to send their children do the anganwaadi more.

The Pilakau Anganwaadi in the ward no.5 of Noolpuzha village has been functioning for last 26 years. The teacher has been here for 25 years and helper for 18 years. Both
of them have seen 2 generations graduate from this anganwaadi. This anganwaadi caters to Oorali tribe, settled in Pilakau Oorali colony (established in 1978) and general castes in the village. The situation of this colony is very grim. There is no electricity, no roads for the colony. Panchayat cannot build roads without the permission of forest department. So the development work keeps getting delayed.

Karnataka:

The Integrated Child Development Services Scheme was started in Karnataka on 2nd October 1975 with a pilot project at T.Narasipura in Mysore District with just 100 Anganwadi Centres. Since then, the programme has been expanded to cover all the revenue taluks and 10 urban areas in the state. At present 185 projects are in operation covering all the 175 taluks and 10 urban areas. Since then, the programme has been expanded to cover all the 176 revenue taluks and 10 urban areas in the state. Presently, 185 ICDS projects with 54260 AWCs and 405 mini anganwadis are operational in the state. The timing of anganwaadi is from 9:30 am to 2:30 pm.

EO of Raichur Taluk had been the Deputy Director Incharge of the ICDS. His job was district supervision with a chain of officials under him: CDPO, Supervisors, anganwaadi teachers and helpers worked towards making this scheme reach the people.

As told by the CDPO, Mulbagal, a selection procedure of the anganwaadi workers is followed before their appointment. The guidelines are being followed from 16/08/07. The candidate should be SSLC pass (or fail, priority is given to SSLC pass candidates). They should be local resident of that village. Then the percentage of population is calculated. If Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes population is 40% then the candidate from that category is preferred. In case of minorities (muslims, christians) the population criterion is of 23%. If such women are unwilling to work or do not fulfill the education criterion then general caste candidates are considered. A block level committee headed by Deputy Director ICDS, CDPO (who is the member-secretary of the committee), Taluk Panchayat President, Social Welfare Officer, Taluk

25 http://www.dwcd.kar.nic.in/dwcd_english/prg_child.html
26 CDPO joined Mulbagal block in 2006. the scheme started in this block on 1/6/1985
Medical Officer and Executive Officer Taluk Panchayat select the Anganwaadi worker.

Constraints faced by the officials during implementation:

Lack of Staff/ Overworked. Among the constraints faced, lack of staff especially at the supervisor level is the most difficult to handle. Supervisor of Chandrabanda circle, Raichur district is supposed to manage 20 centres but she is in charge of another circle, Yaple Dinni Circle, So she has to attend a total of 46 centers. Her duties include meeting with CDPO once a month, meeting with anganwaadi teachers once a week and visit to every anganwaadi centre once a month. It is practically impossible to do all at once. She joined as supervisor 15 years ago but this situation has not improved as yet. On the other hand, supervisor of Dasankoppa circle attends to 23 anganwaadis. So she is able to visit them once in a month. Rest of the duties such as meetings inspection etc. remains the same.

As told by the CDPO, Mulbagal, there is acute shortage of staff at the supervisor level. For eg, in Mulbagal block there are 15 circles and 369 centres. Posts of 14 supervisors have been sanctioned. However, currently 6 are working ans 8 posts ae lying vacant. So the supervisors tare practically managinh 3 circles each, which is a lot of work pressure.

Another constraint was of too much work load. As told by the anganwaadi teachers they are given too much of work with too little pay. They have to coordinate meeting with the Deputy Director (as and when called), meeting with the CDPO once every week, attend ward salha meeting for repairing works of general awareness about schemes, conduct 2 mothers' meeting every month, shivirs for (immunization, information on child growth, education, etc.), attend Bal Vikas Samiti, etc. Other than this they have to maintain birth and death records, sometime work for election duty also.

According to the CDPO Karwar the staff is overworked at every level. For example, since his posting in 2005, other than the ICDS project, he has been the drawing and dispersing officer for 3 state aided schemes (women development cooperative Programme, state project Street Shakti, Disabled Welfare Programme). He is also the nodal officer for Total Sanitation Programme (TSC) looking after 23 panchayats.
CDPO (Sirsi) joined the office 6 months ago and has been supervising development programmes of the department as well as programmes of social welfare department.

_Connectivity._ Anganwaadi teacher of Singanodi Thanda is also the ward member of this Panchayat. She is Taluk President of Akhil Bharat Banjara Sangha. She told about various constraints faced by the anganwaadi worker while doing their duty. Major problem is of connectivity which makes it very difficult for the them to reach the village.

Similar problem was quoted by the Assistant CDPO Bangarapet. Due to lack of connectivity (roads, buses) they have to walk down 6 to 7 km to reach the anganwaadi's they have to supervise. For eg. villages like Thopanahalli Doddapanhali, Kannumanhalli are very remote border areas near Tamil Nadu. Similarly Bapur village is the last village on Karnataka - Andhra Pradesh border and is affected by Naxallite problem also. So these areas because difficult to monitor.

_Notes from the field::_

Anganwaadi, Balla Village: There are a total of 12 anganwaadis in Balla Panchayat. There is only one anganwaadi in the village. It has been functioning since 1994. The teacher and helper are there since then. A building had been sanctioned and built in 2000 in the SC area but the anganwaadi functions in the community hall of the village where majority population is of general castes. There is major caste problem in the village and it can be seen in the anganwaadi also. SC families do not send their children here because they are neither taught, given food nor taken care of. Even when pregnant women (SC) go there for the ration they are mostly turned away on the pretext of ration getting over. For last 5-6 years the anganwaadi building in the SC locality is lying vacant. However, the teacher and helper inform that the SC families do not send their children to the anganwaadi and take them along to the fields. Children between age groups 4-6 are also changed in petty labour in agriculture for which they are paid 20-30 Rs. /- day.

Anganwaadi Hunsanahalli, Village: Caste discrimination was reported in the functioning of the anganwaadi too. There are 2 anganwaadis in the village - one in SC colony and one in the general caste colony. Both have Gowda teacher and helper. According to the respondents, the anganwaadi workers do not mix up children of SC and general caste. As a result, SCs residing in general caste area do not send there
children to that anganwaadi and prefer to either keep the children at home or send them to the one that is running in the SC colony.

Anganwaadi Yelesandra Village: There is one anganwaadi in the village that started functioning in 1993. The teacher is SC but helper is Vokkaliga as she cooks the food for the children. The waterman who opens the tap of the main pipeline is also a vokkaliga for the same reason. The respondents complained that both the anganwaadi workers neither visit households nor give any information related to ration or education of children. None of the respondents was a member of mother committee.

Constraints: The children are taught in their mother tongue. However, for the areas neat h border such as Karwar, Singanodi etc the issue of language becomes very controversial. Caste discrimination was another constraint in the functioning of the anganwadis.

Bihar:

ICDS Scheme was launched in India in 1975 in total 33 blocks out of which 3 blocks were selected from Bihar. The World Bank assisted ICDS project was launched in Bihar with effect from Sep. 23, 1993 to accelerate the pace of improvement in nutrition & health status of pre school children primarily in 0-6 years of age group. The ICDS Project is being implemented in 38 districts of bifurcated Bihar. As of now there are 146 projects under World Bank Assisted ICDS project in Bihar. Under general ICDS Scheme there are 248 projects in Bihar. Out of 533 blocks in Bihar, there are 394 ICDS block level projects in Bihar & only 139 blocks remain to be covered under ICDS program.27

Constraints faced by the officials during implementation:

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27http://bihardevelopment.org/catchall.php?link_1_id=9&link_2_id=44&writeup_link_level=link_3&writeup_link_id=191
Unawareness: According to CDPO, Gaya Sadar\textsuperscript{28}, people are quite reluctant in bringing children to the anganwaadis. Be it cleanliness, vaccination or nutrition, people, irrespective of caste, are absolutely non-participative. There is lack of family planning, and awareness about any facility being provided by the government. All this is due to lack of education and poverty. Anganwaadi is associated only with ration and food being provided. They have strange notions regarding anganwadis. For e.g. they resent when children are given khichdi or ICDS nutrition powder on the pretext that having khichdi would make their child catch cough and cold and the nutrition power upsets the child’s stomach. The CDPO added that same child, if he/she has one day old chappati (basi roti) with salt it would not upset the stomach but powder would do so.

Strange notions: There is another notion that was told by the CDPO, Bodh Gaya block. Weighing the child would make the child week. This was reported by the anganwadis sahaiksa also. Other than that scars due to certain vaccines make them all the more wary of these provisions. This ignorance is so widespread that it will take decades to make them accept these provisions.

There is a problem of motivation among the sevikas and sahaikas: it was told by CDPO, Maner block\textsuperscript{29} that if the anganwaadi is run by an upper caste sevika, the lower caste people are very reluctant to send their children there. Salary is also very less. Though it is not salary but an honorarium get how do you expect the poor sevika/sahaika to take care of the responsibilities of anganwaadis, extra duties (data collection etc), conveyance etc in just that amount. The job is absolutely less paying.

Lack of Staff and infrastructure: This problem has completely crippled the implementation of the scheme. According CDPO, Maner there are 208 centres in Maner block out of which 196 are functioning but only 13 have a building. Out of 9 posts of supervisors 8 are lying vacant. It is similar situation in Korha block Katihar where out 209 centres only 32 have a building. A monthly rent of Rs 200 is given which is too little for a good rented room. There are 9 sanctioned posts of supervisors, all of which are vacant.

\textsuperscript{28} CDPO had joined recently (in June 2008) after her training. So she was not able to tell much about her area (Gaya rural). However, Lady Supervisor of Gaya Grameen circle was there in the office who mostly informed about the scheme.

\textsuperscript{29} CDPO joined Maner block on 26/9/07. Earlier she was posted in Kahalgaon, Bhagalpur. The anganwadis started in his block in 1985-86.
Notes from the field:

Anganwadi Gokhulpur Korhar: The anganwaadi is in the dusadh tola. The majority population nearby is of the Dusadh (paswaan) and Musahars. Sevika is Paswaan and Sahaika is Musahar. There were around 25 children at the time of visit. But gradually the number doubled. As told by sevika, children had just been distributed “sattu”, the ICDS nutrition powder (90 gm to each child) which they had taken home. All the children were back in 20 minutes. Children were mostly from Dusadh and Musahr community. This angaanwaadi works in the extended hut of sevika for which she got Rs 25/month till 2007. For 2007-08 she received Rs 1000 from CDPO office but signed the receipt of Rs 1200 (the rent is Rs 100/ month). The allotment of anganwaadi building has been sanctioned in the yadav tola (on the other side of the road) for the musahari and dusadh tola children. But because no initiative has been taken for the construction of the building, Sevika has been running the classes in her house only. According to her, once the building is constructed on the other side of the road (yadav locality) it would be difficult for the children of this tola to attend the anganwaadi (both because of distance and the fear of being driven away).

Discrimination: As reported by the sevika, 3 angaanwaadis in this panchayat (Gokhulpur, Kurhar, Khedarpura) have been getting ‘sattu’ (nutrition powder provided by ICDS) instead of routine Khichdi being given to the children between age group 3-6. All these centres are in the musahari tolas. This could be a coincidence also. Because as reported by the sevika, there were 150 anganwaadis running from 97-98, recently 28 new centers were started. Out of these, 60 have provision of sattu.

90 gm of sattu have to be provided to children (3-6 yrs), nursing mothers and pregnant women. This sattu can be provided in form of laddos or as powder. Yadavs (women and children) ask for powder and not laddoo because latter are prepared by the untouchable Dusadh.

Heera Tola Anganwaadi, Sherpurpur Village:

Here again there was no aganwaadi building. Children come to teacher’s house. There were 9 children at the time of visit, none of them clean or properly dressed. Seating arrangement was on the floor in the veranda of the house. The teacher is known as Sevika and helper is known as Sahaika.
Sevika’s husband was quite inquisitive about the study and was mostly answering all the questions. On being requested repeatedly to talk to us, sevika replied that one should understand that she was in her in-laws house and she should not be talkative. In addition to it, her husband knew more about the schemes. I had to make it clear to her that I had to know whatever she knew; it is no government checking. So she should speak out about her aganwaadi, what all things are lacking, what are the day to problems that she focus, is there any thing about the faces, is there anything about the funds, people, building, ration quality, grams penchant, caste issues, anything what so-ever she would like us know. If she doesn’t tell us how would we have any idea about how anganwaadi in this village functions. School teacher kusum Devi was with us. She made her more comfortable. Then she talked a bit, I with her husband correcting her all the time. This anganwadi instated recently in 2007. She had been the sevika since than. Sahaika is from Hajam caste(Barber). All this work in the anganwaadi is quite irritating, as she told. Majority population in this area is of Kanu community. They don’t send their children and she herself has 4 small children to take care of (3rd, 2nd, UKG, Nursery). (Aap hi bataiye na apna chhota bachha log ko chdd ke hum kitna bhag sake hain? How can she run around collecting children when she herself has small kids). Then there is one more reason of less attendance. There is a crèche run by missionaries in the village. They provide free education; there is assurance of children getting admission in school after the pre-nursery. They charge Rs 10 for the crèche but still parents prefer it over the anganwaadi. Now no one can force them to bring the children to anganwaadi!

She also informed that women don’t let their child weighed. They say that if you weigh my child he will lose weight (Taulave par hamar ladika kamjorho jait).

Anganwaadi, Mangarpal: The panchayat is divided into various tolas and there are 4 anganwaadi centers in the panchayat. Visited 3 centers which were all closed because the sevika had gone for a month long training in Dujra, Patna. Sahaikas belong to the same tola but were not present in the anganwaadi. Could not get any information about the centers except one where the husband of Sevika informed about the training (from 6th May 08 to 6th June 08) and, also that the fund for ration had finished on 20th May and only when Sevika is back, the meals would start in the centre. With no meal and barely literate Sahaika, it was not possible to hold classes.
with such small children. Parents of children who attended the anganwaadi complained that children are not taught properly and are given watery *khichdi* for food, that too not everyday.

Anganwadi: Rajak tola(G.P:Kandi, Village:Bitho)

This anganwaadi started functioning since 1990. Though this tola has majority of Scheduled Castes especially Rajak community (washermen) yet the sevika and sahaika are from backward caste (sevika- kushwaha, sahaika- vishwakarma). People are completely dissatisfied with the anganwaadi. There is no food; no proper place for the children to sit, anganwaadi functions in sevika’s house, there’s nothing there which can hold back children. People nearby were agitated at the apathy of the teacher and helper towards the children. According to them, if the children do not get any thing better in the anganwadis, at least they can prepare the material for agarbatti, *(job anganwaadi mien kkuchcho hai hi nahi to i bachcha sab ghare mein rah key, kam se kam do tho agarbattie bane legal)* Sevika and sahaika have the other side of the story. There is always a shortage of funds. Be it salary of the money for ration-every thing as irregular. For e.g. past 20 days, no meal has been provided to the children due to lack of funds. There is no initiative from the CDPO officer to make anganwadis better. There are no toys carpets or even a room in the name of anganwaadi. Sevika has been running it in her own house. She has no other option because there has been no money for rent from CDPO office for past 1½ years. So with just Rs 1100/- what all things can she manage-home, work, ration, commuting. Sahaika of the Muslim tola had similar story to tell. She comes over to this anganwaadi when she heard of the visit. She is illiterate and was widowed at a young age. With her hard work and dedication she has brought up her children, and wants the same for the children of her anganmwaadi too. But she can not do anything alone. The meals at anganwaadi are very infrequent due to problem of funds (which is handled by sevika. There is lack of family planning and people do not listen to the nurse and ANMS who visit the anganwaadi They are very reluctant to give their children vaccines and other medicines that are provided in the anganwaadi. This scheme is a boon if utilized properly but ignorance has made.
Constraints: Caste problem, delay in provision of food grains, unclear guidelines to the anganwaadi workers and lack of information among the people.

Implementation of schemes: How has the vision of redistribution been realised?

As elaborated in the conceptual chapter, there are four views regarding a ‘just society’. The egalitarian liberals (Rawls, Dworkin) favour the welfare state and a scheme of civil liberties together with some social and economic rights, such as rights to welfare, education, health care etc. Within the liberal tradition, Rawls distinguishes two positions. One is ‘formal equality of opportunity’, and the other is ‘fair equality of opportunity’. Former, forbids legal and conventional impediments to educational and other occupational positions on the grounds of race, ethnicity, gender, religion and other characteristics unrelated to a person’s qualifications to successfully execute the performance demands of (permissible) social positions. Where as the latter, adds to these same prohibitions on discriminations positive requirements that society provides adequate and fair educational opportunity for all, as well as health care needed for citizens to take advantage of opportunity. On the other hand, Libertarians (Nozick, Hayek), favour a scheme of civil rights along with private property rights and defend the market economy asserting that redistributive policies are an infringement on people’s rights and a denial of people’s dignity which is crucial to treating people as equals (Nozick,1974:334). To this viewpoint, Kymlicka opines that redistribution will feel like an assault on dignity only if we believe it is morally wrong. If believe instead that redistribution is a required part of treating people as equals, then it will serve to promote, rather than attack, people’s sense of equal dignity.

Do the three schemes provide formal and fair equality of opportunity? One aims to provide right to employment, the other two aim for right to education and right to food and health respectively. The justice aimed for relates more to the procedural one where in if the rights are withheld then the concerned person might approach legal help. Is the substantive part not being forgotten? The social, education and political condition of the states is not a mystery. How would a daily wage labourer, working for most of the year on the field of the landlord file a case against him if any of his
rights are violated? He security provided by the state to him is only for 100 days at the rate of ten thousand to twelve thousand per year. What about his chances of survival? In Kerala the normal wage is much higher than the NREGS wage. So why would the scheme be appreciated if proposed in lieu of other works. The point is that if welfare measures are being planned the aim should be a holistic development and not just piecemeal solution.

Coming back to what Fraser opines. Redistribution paradigm can be considered on four aspects. The redistribution paradigm focuses on injustices it sees as socioeconomic and presumes to be ingrained in the economic structure of society. So it suggests the remedy for injustice as economic restructuring or redistribution. This involves redistributing income and/or wealth, reorganizing the division of labor for the collectivities that suffer injustice, collectivities defined economically by a distinctive relation to the market or the means of production. Finally this paradigm accepts group differences. From this perspective, one should strive to abolish, not recognize, group differences.

But this premise would lead to disadvantage of those sections that can not assert their rights. So the requirement is of effective implementation and monitoring of the programs meant for such groups. This premise leads us to analyze the implementation of the schemes in the states.

*Evaluation of schemes and their implementation on Scott's thesis:*

Scott's thesis about state intervention has four major elements. Let us consider the first element. According to him, the state-initiated social engineering denotes a 'pernicious' combination of four elements which are predicted for a full-fledged disaster. Out of these four, the first element is the administrative ordering of nature and society-the transformative state. They undermine the concept of citizenship and the provision of social welfare just as they might undermine a policy of rounding up undesirable minorities.

What can be understood from state simplification is reducing the clauses of maybe a rule or policy to a bare minimum so that it can be interpreted in as less diverse ways as possible. In short a linear interpretation of the provision. In short, a measure or a metric that 'would allow it to "translate" what it knew into a common standard
necessary for a synoptic view which the pre modern state lacked. NREGS is a perfect example of such a simplification. Poor, illiterate class of citizens needs work to earn a living to sustain their family at a bare minimum. (So work is provided to them on the lines of an emperor called Mohammad Bin Tughlak who, as the story goes, to provide work to his subjects during drought, started a country wide project of digging trenches and later filling them and paying the people for it. He failed miserably as an emperor). The scheme is a fall back net for unemployed, unskilled poor sections of the society for whom 100 days of work is guaranteed, as a right, on basic minimum wage of not less than Rs. 60 per day. The clauses look perfect but in a country like India where regional diversity is accompanied by several other differences within the state, how can an umbrella policy be expected to bring about social welfare (as quoted previously, no two regions are same as to feel secure that what might be sauce for the goose could turn out to be the same for the gander).

The report card of previous wage employment programmes talks about a number of drawbacks, such as ineffective targeting, leakages and poor quality asset creation. Without learning from the past experiences and ensuring accountability and transparency in the implementation processes, the NREGS could end up being a fiscal burden on the state.

Does the scheme provide answers to the following questions?

- What about the flaws of targeting such as difference in wage, quality of work, asset generation?
- Is there a clear separation of functions across tiers of government?
- What are the measures to prevent the leakages in the system, such as job card information, number of applications, beneficiary lists, number of days of employment generated, unemployment allowance paid, and number of complaints received as well as the action taken, with special reference to Bihar?
- Has there been any capacity building measure taken up before taking up such an ambitious project?
• Is NREGS attractive enough to so stop migration of labour class? Poor do want to stay with their family. But earning a few more rupees is a greater motivation for them to stay back and work for NREGS.

• If an illiterate daily wage labourer does not get work on demand, where would he complain about it, without losing a days work?

Regarding the Mid Day Meal Scheme and Anganwadis, again the simplification is made on the process by which the scheme had been implemented in the southern states. In Karnataka and Kerala the scheme had been running. The socio-political situation in Bihar is very different from the other two states. The scheme is ideal in its formulation but the strategy for implementation should be different. Secondly if the monitoring is not strong the lapses are too great to be ignored and eventually result in failure to make any change in the condition of the deprived sections of the society.

Next chapter discusses the participation of the people in the grama panchayats.