Chapter II
REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

METHODOLOGY

2.0 Introduction:

This chapter has been devoted to present a review of relevant literature and to elaborate methodological procedures that have been adopted for the present study. The first section deals with the review of literature and the second with methodology of the present study.

Section –I

2.1 Review of Literature:

This section comprises a review of relevant literature outlining the current issues and debates relating to research on Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) and Sampoorna Gramin Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) and the allied poverty reduction schemes. Given the rapidly changing nature of the field it draws primarily on selected relevant literature published during 1974 to 2007. It also refers to some reports, studies and books published prior to this period which have made an important contribution to issues and debates regarding the present topic. This review outlines the literature mostly by following thematic content. Much more research has been carried out on EGS and the relevant literature on SGRY is relatively scanty.

2.1.1 Review of Relevant Literature on EGS:

EGS, for having a long history of about 35 and odd years and for being novel and revolutionary PEP, is obviously much discussed and studied by Indian and foreign scholars. In general, the studies on EGS have focused on planning, organisation and administration of EGS, its structural and functional aspects, targeting and poverty alleviation potential of the scheme. As Maitreyi Krishnaraj et. el. (2004:1597) have recently commented, “EGS has been the oldest and the largest
public works programme in the developing world. It has been the subject of numerous studies that have highlighted the positive effects of EGS on the rural economy of Maharashtra. The relevant literature produced by many researchers from India and outside, has been organized and presented below into two broad categories- A) Theoretical literature on EGS and B) Empirically grounded literature on EGS.

A) Review of Relevant Theoretical Literature on EGS:

Non empirical studies or studies based on the secondary data have mainly posed theoretical issues in relation to EGS. Although they are not grounded on empirical data, they guide us to explore some varied dimensions and arenas of EGS implementation and performance. Not because EGS is one of the biggest PEP in the world but for being the novel and right based PEP. In general, the theoretical studies on EGS have focused on planning, organisation and administration of EGS, its structural and functional aspects, targeting and poverty alleviation potential of the scheme.

Early studies on EGS were intended to elaborate its structure and function. S. Guha's study in 1975 is one of the first studies on EGS explaining its planning, organization and administration. About the objective and approach to EGS Dantwala (1978) comments, “the public works approach to unemployment would make sense if it is so organized that there will be progressively less and less reliance on it”.

Anuradha Joshi’s study (1998:27) compared Maharashtra EGS with Micro Credit Programmes. She argued that the decline of EGS in post mid 1980s is due to its organizational structure which is not self-expanding or self-replicating in political and advertising terms. EGS involves many departments with ambiguous and sometimes tense relations. It has no ‘owners’ who would promote the story of its success.
Administrative structure of EGS was so novel that many scholars took interest in it. The scholars such as Aruna Bagchi (2005), Anil B. Deolalikar, Gaiha et. el. (2002), explored administrative and structural part of EGS and other poverty reduction scheme implementation.

Mick Moore and Vishal Jadhav (2004:1-17) reviewed EGS from historical and comparative perspective and highlighted distinctive features of EGS and explored socio-economic and political conditions that led EGS to be a large, legalised and pivotal programme of Maharashtra state.

Aruna Bagchi (2005:4531-4537), who had been one of the higher level EGS implementing officer in Maharashtra evaluated aspects and problems of EGS implementation and administration. According to Bagchi, EGS is essentially a sort of safety net type programme that assures livelihood of the rural sections. Implementation of EGS projects, from beginning to end has filled with political interventions. This politicization of EGS has resulted in greater transparency and accountability. But most of all, greater transparency came about from the active involvement of the elected non-officials of the Panchayati Raj Institutions and the ad hoc village leaders. If the EGS was successful in meeting the demand for employment in even the remote corners of the district, it was mainly on account of the “voice” of the non-officials representing those constituencies. But there are several issues of administrative inconsistencies, leakages, the challenge of matching demand and supply and practical problems of site implementation. To keep EGS effective and successful, it needs strong politically charged atmosphere and departmental inputs in terms of planning, budgeting and technical supervision and it should involve local governments and be responsive to the needs of the poorest.
Anil B. Deolalikar, Gaiha et. el. (2002) have related the question of economic growth to poverty reduction. Their cross-country study explains the differences in economic growth and the variation in poverty reduction performance of eight countries. They argue that economic growth is not sufficient for poverty reduction. Institutional and other factors also matter. The impact of institutions (political, social, cultural or administrative institutions) on poverty reduction is thus pervasive. This study examines political economy of poverty reduction and the effects of institutions on poverty reduction and the pathways through which these effects operate. It also discusses the importance of political will commitment to poverty reduction and how such political will is shaped by interest groups and dominant coalitions. The social and cultural institutions do have specific role in poverty reduction. Reforms in public institutions (administrative reforms, decentralization, citizen participation in governance, and improved legal framework) also have concerns to reduce poverty.

The work by Ravaillon, M., Datt, G. and Chaudhuri, S. (1993:251-75) holds that wage rates are important matter of accessibility and effectivity of EGS. Martin Ravallion et. el. observed that the guarantee part of EGS employment went on to decline due to the effect of 1988 wage increase for EGS as well as for agricultural labourers. They sought to seek answers to the three hypothetical questions. The first was, whether the rise in EGS wages increased the wages of agricultural labourers? The second, whether the decline in EGS employment was an effect of budgetary restraint and rationing such that people who needed work could not find it locally? And the third, was the decline in employment the result of a decline in the demand for locally accessible EGS employment? To answer these questions, the authors estimate the desired level of EGS employment using three different approaches and then test for employment
rationing after the wage increase. Their findings are consistent with rationing in all three approaches.

Ravallion, Martin; Datt, Gaurav; Chaudhuri, Shubham (1991:1-30) in their study, have also investigated the effects of the dramatic change in the EGS wage schedule in mid-1988. Three issues are addressed in the study; (a) The connection between EGS employment, wage rates, and the cost of the scheme to the government after the increase in the statutory minimum wage rate; (b) the determinants of EGS employment and changes incurred by the wage increase; and (c) the realistic conditions of the ‘guarantee’ in EGS.

Rinku Murgai and Martin Ravallion (2005:1-40) have assessed the impact of a guaranteed wage policy with special reference to EGS and opined that, guaranteeing a wage rate sufficient for the average rural family to reach the poverty line would bring direct and indirect gains to the poor, though well short of eliminating poverty.

Indira Hirway (2004:1-2) narrates how and why of safety net’s relevance in Indian context. Indian poor are insecure, vulnerable and powerless because they have to face several kinds of risks and also carry inabilities to cope with it. Generating massive wage employment opportunities is important for them to fight vulnerabilities. According to Hirway, EGS and the similar programmes have to set objectives to reduce poverty and not just consider the relief objective. The inclusion of the poorest in the programme and ensuring the guarantee of continuous works are the main areas where these schemes have to concentrate for providing protection to the vulnerable poor.

Dejardin Amelita King (1996:1-22) has observed that ‘the experiences of various public works programmes highlighted that they serve as a safety net for the poor and many of the poor are women. Poor households - those with less income earning options - tend to have the highest and longest participation in public works, and
workers from poor households tend to be women. This is borne out by the substantial share of women workers from poor households and by the fact that the bulk of women's earnings from public works goes to subsistence requirements. Dejardin, further argues that, the Public works programmes are generally meant to address the needs of a particular area or sector, men and women. Ironically, this gender neutrality often comes in the way of reaching women. Gender neutrality works against women when it assumes that women and men are similarly situated and would respond to a programme's strategies in the same way. She has given many examples that prove this assumption to be false. Gender differences with respect to the allocation of labour in domestic work and production and with respect to control and management of resources have a crucial bearing on women's access to direct employment benefits and to future benefits from infrastructure. Unfortunately, she holds, these are often overlooked in programme design, planning and implementation.

Right based or Legal approach to EGS has some groundings of unique MEGS act of 1979 that assured guaranteed employment for the able bodied adult people from the rural sections. Failing to provide employment on demand the government is held liable to provide unemployment allowance. In fact, the creators of the EGS conceived it as a pillar for the construction of a welfare state. V. S. Page had ‘right to work’ vision in framing the idea of EGS since 1949.

Anuradha Joshi (2005) has studied EGS by tracing the history of EGS related legal cases against the state, initiated by state level activist organization named Bandhkam Va Lakudkam Sanghatana which prominently worked in Gadchiroli and Chandrapur. The Sanghatana was formed in 1980, by a politician and a social activist—Sukhdev Babu Uike and Mohan Hirabai Hiralal. Initially the Sanghatana undertook to train EGS workers to monitor and measure
works. Later on it realized the practical and technical hurdles in getting the EGS work done in favour of the rural poor. The delay in getting the EGS work, delay in getting the wages, corruption, no sign of getting unemployment allowance were some of the major hurdles. The Sanghatana then decided to fight a legal battle. Between 1981 and 1987, the six years in which the movement was strong, the Sanghatana filed several legal cases against the state government. The earliest legal action by the Sanghatana was about the payment of unemployment allowance for rural workers who had not been offered work within the stipulated fifteen days of the demand for work. They followed legal-technical procedure to demand the work and demanded required papers as proofs to file petition. After getting such documents and information, the Sanghatana mobilized the poor and filed litigations against the State. The court prolonged the decision for about 22 years and finally wrapped up the litigations by giving judgment without solid explanations. Activist organizations engaged in litigation face the challenges of sustaining member enthusiasm, movement momentum in the context of lengthy legal battles that can take over twenty years.

Emma Allen and Sony Pellissery (2006:1-28) elaborated the legal, right based background of EGS and clarified that despite its impressive design, EGS has been plagued by implementation lapses that have limited its effectiveness. Allen and Pellissery have also discussed the issues of inclusion and exclusion of the actual and potential beneficiaries of EGS and NREGS. Various requirements regarding the eligibility to seek works, political affiliations and the social networks based on caste, class all contribute for such inclusions and exclusions and also affect rights involved in such schemes.

Sony Pellissery (2006:1-28) has also reviewed the role of politics in the implementation of Public Works Programmes (PWPs) and
especially EGS in Rural Maharashtra and argued that the implementation of PWPs is shaped by the power structures in the rural areas and thus dominated by the local elites rather than the implementing officials. Therefore, the rights, especially for the poorest people, are shrouded within the micro politics surrounded by the PWPs. The practicability of the rights thus become relevant in ridging the discrepancy between the ‘ideal/on paper’ and the actual.

PEPs and especially EGS have been also studied with development perspective. Engvist, R. (1995) and Mahendra Dev (2002:1-24) have studied EGS through development policy perspective. Mahendra Dev’s outstanding study has examined the long experience of the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme and drawn lessons for development policy in other Indian states, Asian and African countries. The study indicates that the EGS has provided employment and additional income to some sections of unskilled workers in Maharashtra. It underscores that India needs public works as one of the mechanisms for poverty alleviation. Mahendra Dev notes that, “public works are often criticized, with some justification, for creating unproductive (low productive) assets. It is also argued that these programmes provide only short term relief and supplementary income (current benefits) and are not useful for long term benefits”. However, according to Mahendra Dev, “a case can be made for creating productive assets under wage employment programmes without diluting the primary objective of poverty alleviation. Effective involvement of Panchayats, planning of projects at local level using local priorities, involvement of voluntary organizations, right to information at Panchayat level and, social mobilization etc. can contribute for creation of high productive assets and better maintenance of the created assets. Also, for the effectiveness of the programmes it is important that
projects of these schemes are identified in the framework of planned development of an area”.

Some other scholars have raised issues of wages, wage rates, labour migration and so on that are apparent in the writings of Raghav Gaiha and Katsushi Imai (2005:1-27), Acharya, S., (1990) and Acharya, S. and V. G. Panwalkar, (1988).

Raghav Gaiha and Katsushi Imai (2005:1-27) in their study based on the ICRISAT panel data and a recent household survey in Ahmadnagar analysed various aspects of the scheme like targeting, stabilization benefits, indirect effects, dynamic effects and so on and made conclusive comments “(i) a marked deterioration in the targeting of the EGS over the period 1979-89; (ii) a strong positive effect of the EGS on agricultural wages and of EGS assets on agricultural productivity; and (iii) strong promotional and protective roles with a larger outlay and accurate targeting of the poorest in a Rawlsian variant. In contrast, the analysis, based on the latter, suggests (i) high direct transfer benefits of the EGS to the poor; (ii) the indirect benefit through a positive effect of the EGS on agricultural wages is not so strong; (iii) the income stabilising benefits are substantial, (iv) mild disincentive effects on job-search”.

Some other scholars believe that, anti-poverty schemes in general, do have potential of creating an enabling institutional environment that encourages poor people and also the social actionists and grass root political entrepreneurs to mobilize the rural poor. For example, Anuradha Joshi and Mick Moore, (1999: 14-24) have analysed different dimensions of institutional environment with two contrasting but successful cases- one, Rural Water Supply Programme in Lumbini village from Nepal and second, EGS in Maharashtra. They argued that the rights enshrined in EGS create incentives for jobseekers and their political mobilisations of various kinds at both
local and State levels. This potential of political mobilizations was not the heart warming, easily observable in community level action associated with the Lumbini Project. They argue, political action around EGS is messy, not very clear. EGS rather stimulates mobilization and organization at levels well above the individual village. On the negative side, their mobilization is often temporary and is to a large extent ‘indirect’ initiatives is exercised more by political organizations and individual politicians than the organization of the poor that have any permanent existence, although there are quite a few cases.

These movements pressurized the government on various issues of policy and implementation and suggested the alternatives. However, public action around EGS has declined since 1990s. After 2002 many action groups rebuilt their concentration on EGS and NREGA issues. Yet, a big empty space has been there for all civil society organizations to work on EGS, MREGS and NREGP issues.

Mick Moore and Vishal Jadhav (2006: 1271–1300) have opined that the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme is not one man generated, suddenly enacted scheme. It is rather a massive, slowly evolving public programme, which is deeply institutionalised in the politics, public finances and public administration of a state of Maharashtra. The distinctive feature of the EGS is its high level of ambition. EGS in its early stage was dominated by Maharashtrian political elite and it always was a very ‘political’ programme since a variety of different political and social groups within Maharashtra, each used EGS with their own agendas and purposes. Moore and Jadhav have also traced out the changes in the level of EGS activity and the level of political and bureaucratic energy devoted to the Scheme. The level political activities around EGS have declined in the late 1980s mostly because the Scheme has ceased to be a major
substantive or symbolic asset for the dominant Maratha-led electoral block. EGS activity has physically moved away from its ‘historic heartland’ in the drought affected areas of Maratha-dominated Western Maharashtra that have become wealthier, and have less need for it. Instead, more resources have been shifted to (a) equally un-needy Konkan areas along the Western coastal fringe of the state (especially through the dubious use of EGS funds to subsidise horticulture and well construction) and (b) other more ‘marginal’ and genuinely needy populations and areas of the state. The statistical analysis made by Moore and Jadhav, suggests that the distribution of EGS employment among the districts of Maharashtra has been no less sensitive to local employment needs (i.e. rainfall failures) since the late 1980s than it was in the early and more enthusiastic period. The Scheme still meets genuine needs, they hold, but the poor who benefit from it today have little political voice or visibility.

Vishal Jadhav (2006: 5157-5162) has also attempted to examine how at disparate time frames of 1970s and 1980s and political contexts the elite of Maharashtra managed to maintain their support base and reinforce its legitimacy by supporting a poverty alleviation programme of EGS.

Rohini Nayyar (2002:1-24) in her paper clearly shows that both rural works programmes and labour intensive infrastructure projects are required for poverty reduction at India’s present level of development. She attempted to analyse the role of public works type programmes in poverty alleviation like EGS, JRY and EAS on the one hand, and that of rural infrastructure development on the other, in order to identify the relative merits of these two approaches in the context of poverty alleviation on a sustainable basis in rural India. Public works programmes, on one hand, are needed to address the needs of ‘current poverty’ confined to selected areas characterised by
endemic poverty; and on the other, the infrastructural development projects, which support the creation of ‘productive employment’. In designing public works programmes, she concludes, greater attention should be paid to a closer integration of these with programmes for agrarian and rural development.

Comparing EGS with other parallel programmes on the grounds of providing security is a good idea to judge the poverty alleviation performance on relative terms. Mahendra Dev (1996a) has focused on the dimensions of food security and stressed its relevance in developing countries like India. He has examined the poverty and food security problem with emphasis on PDS in West Bengal and EGS in Maharashtra and argued that the wider reach of the PDS make food security more effective than EGS. He also made it clear that EGS scores over the poverty alleviation programme only if secondary benefits such as asset creation increase in agricultural wages, insurance benefits etc. are considered and adds provision of employment per se may not alleviate poverty because the wage rates under EGS are low. These in turn would not let the workers to cross poverty. Kumudini Dandekar and Manju Sathe (1980:707-713) have compared Employment Guarantee Scheme with Food for Work Programme. Such comparisons are vital in understanding positive and negative dimensions of the schemes in relation one another.

**Governmental Reports:**

A Report of Joint Evaluation Committee on Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra - 1977 was conducted through a quick field visit in two Talukas of Sholapur district. The report did noticed various problems relating to its planning, organisation, implementation, monitoring, reporting and review, provision of works to the work seekers in the various Panchayat Samiti areas, fixation of
wage rates for different categories of works and the periodicity of payment of wages, non-availability of adequate project profiles etc.

Besides the scholarly studies conducted by the academicians and activists, there are various reports prepared by the committees constituted by the government. Government has its mechanisms to evaluate the public policies and the programmes. EGS although has been long sustained scheme, there are very few evaluative studies by the government. Joint Evaluation Report (PEO studies) on EGS in Maharashtra released on June-1980, made serious comments on implementation and performance of the EGS. It had covered three salient areas of investigation, i.e. planning of rural works, the organisation for execution of works and the response of labour and also given some relevant suggestions.

In June 2003, Maharashtra Government decided to revise EGS and constituted a EGS Revision Committee under headship of Dr. Jayant Patil. The committee studied the changing scenario in Maharashtra and suggested some alternatives with recommendations about reconstitution of EGS. Comments of the experts and of Civil Society Organisation were also considered. (Rozgar Hami Punarvilaokan Samiti, Ahwa, (2005:1-82)

EGS, when lauded by the World Bank, has been internationally acknowledged as one of the successful PRPs in the world. International Comparative studies of EGS with the parallel programmes in the developing countries of the world have been made. Stephen Devereux and Colette Solomon,( 2006: 36-37), have examined relevant international experience with rural employment creation programmes related case studies from Argentina, Bangladesh, Indonesia, and South Africa, as well as Indian programmes such as Maharashtra’s long-running Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS), and other programmes from countries as diverse as Botswana,
Cambodia, China, Malawi, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. The scholars argue that the impact and success of programmes are largely a function of good design and implementation. The discussion therefore reviews current debates about basic design choices (such as targeting), prerequisites for effective implementation (e.g. institutional capacity) and available evidence on various kinds of impacts (e.g. on poverty). They specifically focused on the aspects of international experience including impacts of employment creation programmes on agricultural production, labour markets, asset creation, and sustainable poverty reduction; safety net as well as funding, design and implementation issues and gender aspects as well. The study also considers gender aspects those with a pro-poor orientation. The authors note that -- firstly, while the experiences of other countries with employment creation programmes are instructive and informative, each programme is designed and implemented in a particular context, and the impacts of each programme are highly context-specific. There is no guarantee that a programme that was successful (or unsuccessful) in Argentina or South Africa will succeed (or fail) elsewhere. There is ample diversity of the contexts of different countries. This diversity of experiences means that there is no generic blueprint for designing and implementing employment creation programmes; instead, programmes need to be tailored to the specific contexts and objectives in which they are introduced. This also implies that lessons from experiences elsewhere should be drawn with caution.

Savale, Sanjay (2007:13-34) holds that public policies and programmes oriented to development could also be subjects of environmental Sociology since they affect social conditions, social action, social engineering and environment. One can estimate that how public policies and programmes maintain potentialities to control
environmental destruction and to promote enrichment of environment and how far they actually performed to meet their potentialities. It is apparent that the environmental issues in rural society of India do not just concern nature conservation. It is inevitably linked with livelihood security. The very concept of livelihood is intrinsically linked with the diverse and complex strategies of human being towards satisfaction of basic needs of life. The minimum requirement of livelihood security is protection of human life with basic needs and protection in adversities. Rural people in India in general and especially those from the backward regions and sections are most vulnerable to seek livelihood insecurity in endangered environment. The poor out of sheer survival necessity are forced to exploit natural resources in non-sustainable manner and enlarge their vulnerability further.

The non empirical studies reviewed here highlighted many issues regarding EGS as a poverty reduction programme. Its unique features, administrative structure, institutional set up, historical background, performance and labour market concerns, dimensions of mobilization and action around EGS, wages, security and livelihood dimensions, environmental concerns and so on. Some of these studies have also compared the potential of EGS with other international anti poverty programmes.

B) **Review of Relevant Empirically Grounded Literature on EGS:**

This section is an attempt to review empirical studies that deal with the EGS and SGRY as poverty reduction programmes. Economists are dominant in conducting empirical studies, however, scholars from Sociology, Political Science, Government administrators, feminists and actionists have also contributed to these studies.

Dandekar, Kumudini and Sathe, Manju (1980) have assessed EGS after integration of Food for Work programme into it from 1978-79. The wages for the poor have no meaning, they believe, if they cannot satisfy their daily needs of foodgrain. Total income of the EGS workers, was not just improved by 20 percent, due to wheat distribution incorporated after inclusion of Food for Work programme in EGS. Based on their empirical study of interviews of 1544 workers from 56 projects from 12 districts of Maharashtra, the authors have noted: 1) Workers working on EGS site were really belonged to the weaker sections; 2) EGS did good job with regard to income
distribution among weaker sections in rural Maharashtra during 1970-1971 to 1978-1979; 3). The EGS although, could not satisfy the employment needs of the rural poor and subsequently became insufficient to bring them above poverty line, poverty in general in 1978-79 was curbed by EGS.

A study conducted by Abraham, Amerita (1980:1339-1342) has its focus on how EGS works? How is its implementation and administrative set up? The paper quoted few interesting and rare earlier studies on EGS organized by ILO and other institutions during 1978 and 1979. She included the Nasik based study, which is more relevant here, conducted in 1979 which showed that in February 1979 over half of the 118,834 workers employed on EGS sites were on road projects. Road works have a lower ratio of unskilled workers and thus promotes miss targeting. The EGS setup, although showed signs if substantially improved poverty alleviation programme, she holds, “it should be no surprise that given the pattern of land and asset ownership, the long term beneficiaries from such rural public works will be more affluent sections of countryside.”

Vasant Deshpande’s study (1982) titled “Employment Guarantee Scheme - Impact on Poverty and Bondage among Tribals” is based on the evolution of two projects- 1) Study of role of voluntary agencies and especially Bhoomisena from Palghar (Thane) and 2) Study of working of Maharashtra EGS. As Bhoomisena was leading on the front of mobilizations around EGS in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the two projects combined to organize the book. Deshpande’s empirical study of the five projects in the tribal belt of Palghar was based on informal meetings with the villagers of 30 villages. He analysed the socio-economic conditions of the tribal villagers, the implementation aspects of the project and consumption pattern among the tribal workers. Deshpande’s study observed that the EGS and the
act offered for the first time, an opportunity to organize the most unorganized and downtrodden class from the tribal sections. Bhoomisena’s mobilizations, training camps, awareness building action showed the path of emancipation to the tribal poor, who had been landless labourers and who were caught in inhuman practices of bondage.

Shaji Joseph (2006:1597-1604) in his empirical research based paper presents an interesting case of how action groups in Maharashtra, (viz- Maharashtra Rajya Shetmajoor Parishad, Yukrand, Shramik Sanghatana, Kashtakari Sanghatana and the Shramjeevi Sanghatana), engaged with the state in defining the substance of EGS and how a little later this definition of EGS was enlarged by these groups to ensure empowerment of the poor. The potentialities of EGS as a means of addressing various issues of the marginalized sections of society including dalits, women, tribals, landless among others have discussed by evaluating the performance of the action groups and their mobilisations. He has argued that mobilisations of various organizations and action groups influenced the strategy and implementation of the EGS in Maharashtra. Joseph states that thirty (plus) years of EGS has not helped eradicate the negative effects of drought. Every summer and sometimes in the monsoon the state government declares parts of talukas and districts as drought affected. The people’s movement had rethought of ways to ensure that this did not happen.

There are very few field level studies which cover the implementation and administrative realities from EGS worksite. Samuel S. Lieberman, (1985:109-127), is one of the researchers who was the first to invite attention on the field issues of administration like project management; the officials, their role, their field level experiences, pressures, and difficulties; anomalies encountered and
the solutions devised by these implementing officials. His analysis throws light on the basic issues of project implementation viz. How and why delays occur? How land owners and elites get involved in the project? How junior engineers and line officials manages the sites? What difficulties they encounter in managing labour, politicians and different pressures? The central argument based on his findings was, “the discretionary powers enjoyed by field officers as a result of the absence of impracticality of government guidelines for many issues influence the implementation of the project and make officials vulnerable to political pressures.”

Raghav Gaiha’s (2000: 6-7) field research was a comprehensive review of the performance of the EGS. It was based on three sources of data: state and district level data compiled by the Planning Department, Government of Maharashtra, a panel survey of two villages (selected from Sholapur and Akola districts) conducted by ICRISAT, and a survey of two villages (selected from Ahmadnagar district) undertaken specially for this review. It was observed that, the participation in the EGS fell sharply over the period 1980-97. This was partly a result of expansion of farm and non-farm employment opportunities. However, contrary to official explanations emphasizing slackening of demand for the EGS, it is argued here that the decline in participation was also partly a consequence of the nature of projects undertaken and low outlays. In fact, in some of the poorer regions (e.g. tribal villages) the dependence on the EGS continues to be high for those who are able to participate in it. Gaiha observed that the share of the non-poor (including some relatively affluent) rose, as also their share in total EGS earnings. A reduction in direct transfer benefits to the rural poor was significant. The indirect transfer benefit through the positive effect of the EGS on agricultural wages was, however, substantial. Since the EGS peaks during the agricultural slack period,
the income stabilizing benefits were significant too. Some of the conclusive findings he noted include; (i) absence of acute economic disparities, (ii) widespread awareness of the EGS, and (iii) small outlays. As a result, what the poor lost in terms of small outlays was to some extent compensated for by clean and honest implementation of the EGS. Gaiha says in his conclusion that, if a larger EGS outlay is combined with some improvements in its design and implementation, the benefits to the poor would be substantially greater and the risk of costly adjustments to seasonal stress will be considerably smaller.

Gaiha and Imai’s similar empirical study (2005:1-27) based on ICRISAT Panel study that covered the semi-arid tract in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh and another survey conducted specifically for this study in the two villages in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra. Although the study raised some issues of implementation of EGS in Maharashtra, the focus was on assessing the impact of EGS on employment, asset creation, participation and targeting. Their observations based on ICRISAT data reveal that despite the decreased share of the non-poor, which resulted into reduction in the direct transfer of benefits to the poor, EGS continued to benefit the poorer regions during long seasonal slacks. Their Ahmadnagar data, more focused on the aspects of implementation showed high proportion of participations and heavy dependence on EGS. The implementation side was relatively more clean and honest and the scheme awareness was high and outleys were small.

Sony Pellissery (2007:1-17) conducted extensive empirical study in 2003-2004 and in 2006 and assessed the importance of social security measures associated with the Public Works programmes (PWP). She holds that the design of PWP although increasingly being recognized as important social security measure, however, the design of PWPs fail to incorporate the dynamic nature of informal labour
markets in heterogeneous societies like India. The caste-class inequalities, domination of the elite social groups and imperfect labour market in India have deepened the social embeddedness through unequal wages and tied labour. Social security through PWPs is therefore coupled with social structural dimensions of the village set up as well. Non recognition of these dimensions is important lacuna in the generic PWPs. To get rid of it (lacuna) and to control exclusion of the poor from the processes of PWP, will determine the outcome of these well intended social security programmes.

Krishnaraj, M., Pandey Divya, Kanchi Aruna (2004:a:1599) in their article written with a view and objective to see whether EGS requires restructuring for poverty alleviation and gender equality, assessed the concept, design and administrative arrangements of EGS in Maharashtra that linked up with delivering benefits. The article is based on a research project undertaken by the Research Centre for Women’s Studies, SNDT Women’s University for UNIFEM during 2001-03. Their empirical observations relating to the Thane district revealed many weaknesses of EGS implementation. Apart from that, they hold the view that “the weaknesses inherent in EGS administrative mechanism, all the limitations of EGS can be traced to the origin of the scheme as a relief programme and its incomplete transformation as a poverty alleviating tool”.

Sanjay Savale (2006:5133-5139) compared EGS with the Sampoorna Gramin Rozgar Yojana (SGRY), a Central Government programme, and to see whether EGS is better or worse than the SGRY. This study was based on an empirical, exploratory research, conducted in 2002-2003 with a focus on studying the onsite outcomes of 29 separate rural works projects from Nasik district of Maharashtra. The findings reveal that the notions of ‘participatory localism’ largely undermine the apparent advantages of the
alternative approach. The author further suggests that simply re-shaping the EGS to make it more democratic and decentralized, SGRY will not solve any problems. And it will take us further to see that the rural poor have any actually applicable rights. Capacity building of the local PRIs to realise the benefits of the alternative model is very essential.

Ample work has been done on EGS with Economic perspective that mainly focuses on the targeting and poverty alleviating potential of the Employment Guarantee Scheme. These studies primarily looked at employment as an economic opportunity to get rid of poverty. Access to employment, planning, wages, cost benefit analysis, targeting, poverty alleviation, labour conditions, changes in standard of living are the issues that attracted the attention of such studies.

Economic survey based research by Pasquale Scandizzo et. el. (2003:1-42) analyses effects of wages in EGS. In conclusion, of their analysis they stated, the incentive case for rural public works schemes such as the EGS in terms of screening and deterrent arguments needs to be reformulated in a dynamic optimisation framework. It should take into account many dimensions of agricultural wage rates. If an allowance is also made for bands of inertia, dependent on incomes and individual levels of uncertainty, the incentive case for workfare is further weakened.

Similarly Kurulkar R. P. (1989) conducted a small micro-level study that dealt with the problems of employment, wage rates, and levels of living of landless agricultural labour families in the two villages viz. Tembhapuri and Nagapur of a drought prone area of Aurangabad District, Maharashtra. The study attempted to measure the impact of the Employment Guarantee Scheme of the government of Maharashtra on the economic conditions of the landless labourer since the inception of the Scheme in 1972. In spite of lacuna and
constraints identified in the field of implementation, it is concluded that the scheme has many direct and indirect benefits to the landless families and therefore suitable for initiation in other states of the India.

Martin Ravallion (1991: 170) who compared EGS with Bangladesh’s ‘Food For Work’ programme and noted that EGS is relatively better in targeting. However, without sufficient knowledge base of the scheme and better wages attracts the non poor. The process inclusion of the non poor and exclusion of the poor start their operation and thus the leakages and transfer of the benefits to non poor become unavoidable. One way to reach the poor is to enhance the participation by building incentives to the poor in the scheme and discourage the non poor.

Bhende M. J., Waker T. S., Liberman S. S., and Venkatram J. V., (1992: A19-A22), in their paper have analysed the role of EGS in augmenting the wage income of rural households, its importance in terms of targeting the poor from non poor and also its relationship with farm employment. The study based on ICRISAT longitudinal village study data, argues that the scheme succeeded in targeting the poor from non poor. The scheme, on the other hand, was unable to make any significant dent in the prevalence of poverty but helped in reducing the severity of poverty.

Katsushi Imai (2007:1-30) in the study based on ICRISAT data compared EGS with universalism through the village level SAM (Social Accounting Matrix) model. This study reveals that the EGS is mistargeted, i.e., a substantial share of the non-poor also participated. It is neither efficient nor equitable than the latter unless the state government carefully designs the scheme so that the EGS assets, such as irrigation facilities, are made accessible to the poor without undermining their positive effects on agricultural productivity.
Raghav Gaiha (August, 2000b:2-5) in his paper ‘Rural Public Works and the Poor- A Review of the Employment Guarantee Scheme in Maharashtra’, defined targeting policy or targeted intervention. Targeted intervention, he defines, ‘is the short-run intervention which concentrates limited resources to the poor in order to alleviate poverty’. He opined that targeting is not only more cost-effective but also more equitable than is the universalism which transfers resources equally to all members in society. However, it is very difficult to judge empirically whether targeting is more efficient than universalism because targeting the poor involves substantial costs. He argues that although a workfare scheme is potentially a cost-effective poverty alleviation scheme as it attracts only the poor who have an incentive to do unskilled manual works, an investigation of the ICRISAT data in India clarifies that the Employment Guarantee Scheme was mistargeted, i.e., a substantial share of the non-poor also participated. Gaiha (1996, 2000a,b) again points out that the EGS was ‘mistargeted’ and the targeting performance worsened over the years. The disaggregation of the landless reveals that the poorer in this subgroup with low income-generating ability are excluded from the EGS due to the political factors, such as limitations of the design and implementation, and the economic factors, that is, the piece-rate wage system of the scheme. But Ravallion and Datt (1995) and some others believe that EGS as compared to other schemes is definitely better targeted when you take account of its indirect benefits of the EGS assets.

Raghav Gaiha and Katsushi Imai (2005: 1-28) in their article titled, “Review of the Employment Guarantee Scheme in India” synthesise existing studies on EGS to assess its benefits and costs, both as a short term-relief measure and as an intervention with a longer-term developmental role. Although overall participation in the
EGS fell sharply over the period 1980-97, the EGS continues to confer significant transfer and stabilisation benefits in some of the poorer regions. Various aspects of the scheme (e.g. targeting, stabilization benefits, indirect effects, dynamic effects) are then analysed on the basis of the ICRISAT panel data and a household survey in Ahmadnagar. The findings include: (i) a marked deterioration in the targeting of the EGS over the period 1979-89; (ii) a strong positive effect of the EGS on agricultural wages and of EGS assets on agricultural productivity; and (iii) strong promotional and protective roles with a larger outlay and accurate targeting of the poorest in a Rawlsian variant. In contrast, the analysis, based on the latter, suggests (i) high direct transfer benefits of the EGS to the poor; (ii) the indirect benefit through a positive effect of the EGS on agricultural wages is not so strong; (iii) the income stabilising benefits are substantial, (iv) mild disincentive effects on job-search. Gaiha and Imai propose some lessons for the proposed National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme, focusing on an appropriate wage rate to target the poorest better, income stabilization benefits, longterm developmental potential, and political activism among the rural poor.

Sony Pellissery’s (2005:2) paper is a good critique of typical evaluation studies of Anti Poverty Programmes made by the economists. She observes, “often, the implementation of anti-poverty programmes has been evaluated on the basis of their outcomes rather than the process of the implementation. Such methods of evaluation assume that good outcome indicators are the result of good implementation. This evaluation methodology assumes that the programme was ‘prescribed’ as a solution to a problem (the ‘rational’ approach), and better the outcome indicators, more is the problem reduction. However, with the emergence of public choice theories
‘policy process’ has been the key point of inquiry. In developing economies, where the public authorities responsible for designing and implementing redistributive interventions are not sufficiently independent from the interests of the dominant sections of society, the approach to investigate policy process can yield useful results. Such approach also will help us to understand the deficit of theory and practice of social protection programmes.” Her conclusive argument is that “the anti-poverty programmes, at the implementation stage, strengthen the local elites to wield their power and private interests. On the other hand, at the evaluation stage, the outcome indicators are used to bolster the legitimacy of the state. Above all, the ability of the local elites to manufacture the outcome indicators, point to the need of rethinking of evaluation methods”. (Pellissery: 2005)

Anil Deolalikar (1995:50-73) has compared rural public works or wage employment programmes and self employment creation via provision of subsidized credit for purchasing assets, the two main poverty alleviation strategies used in the developing countries, more specifically in India, and argued that both of them are complementary to each other. As far as the wage employment programmes are concerned it is an important source of employment and protection to the poor in their adverse, distressful conditions, however, their true credibility lies on the issue that whether such programmes reduce the incidence. On the basis of empirical evidences of his EGS study undertaken in 1987, Deolalikar had pinpointed many problems and had opined that the outputs of such schemes should enhance growth in agricultural productivity, which is the most sustainable and effective way of rural poverty alleviation in the long run.

Cost benefit analysis is frequently carried out in many of the economic studies on the public works. Pasquale Scandizzo, Raghav Gaiha and Katsushi Imai, (2003:2), assessed the relevance of Real
Option theory in judging the impact of EGS on Rural poor. EGS in Maharashtra has multiple impacts on the rural poor including both direct transfer benefits as well as indirect ones through a positive effect on agricultural wage rates. the value of the EGS scheme and its impact on workers’ behaviour do not depend so much on its effects as an income supplement, but on the enlarged set of opportunities that it provides in the uncertain environment of the local labour market and farm and nonfarm activities. Thus, rather than actual increase of income and employment, the EGS promises potential increases of these variables for given levels of volatility in the regular labour market, or, alternatively, potential decreases in volatility for given levels of income and employment. As in the case of most insurance schemes, these effects, in turn, may change workers’ behavior.

Poverty Line, A World Bank news letter in 1997, remarked that ‘Well designed Public works programme can be self-targeted to the rural poor, and can generate sizable net income gains to participants, but overall the Public works programme in India does not appear to generate sizable net income gains to participants ranging from 7 to 10 percent in the villages studies conducted by the World Bank. The longitudinal household survey based study of EGS was conducted by ICRIST in Shirapur and Kanzara villages of Maharashtra during the six-year period (1979-80 to 1984-85).

How can Poverty alleviation programmes alter the constraints presented by rigid social structures and promote more equitable development? Would the state agencies rationally implement policies if they were insulated from political pressure? Is political conflict inevitably detrimental to effective public policy? Gent attempted to present illustrative answers to these questions and examined these issues around public policy implementation and applied it to the three different poverty alleviation programmes.
Echeverri-Gent (1993:173-205) compared EGS in Maharashtra with Poverty Alleviation Programme in West Bengal with New Deal in America on the premise that policy implementation as the site of tangible exchanges between state and society. Echeverri-Gent applied versions of organizational theory with political economy of public policy implementation with three theoretical perspectives—1) The Rational Process Perspective which stresses that planning and the monitoring of implementation are the most important aspects for improving the correspondence between means and ends, 2) The Conflictual Process Perspective, in contrast, contends that conflict is endemic to implementing agencies and largely determines the course of implementation, and 3) The Organisational Environmental Perspective proposes that exchanges of resources between implementing agencies and their environment, as well as the institutionalized rules that mold these exchanges, are crucial factors shaping implementation.

Echeverri-Gent applied these perspectives to the three cases that involved the implementation of the rural poverty alleviation programmes and concludes that the government agencies while implementing public policies need resources and expertise and to establish mechanisms to ensure responsiveness to societal needs in order to limit the predatory tendencies of the agencies. Government agencies also depend on the cooperation from the other actors and especially powerful actors involved in its implementation. Satisfying their interests is effective for better implementation but poverty alleviation programmes are not meant for that. In contrast, they are designed to promote benefits and participation of the weakest sections. Thus, the paradox of participation comes to play. Poor with lack of political power lag behind in the race of satisfying their interests. The alternative, Echeverri-Gent suggests, is that to enhance
the incentives for political mobilizations and socioeconomic empowerment of the poor.

Politics has been the central issue in assessing the context of PEP implementation and performance. Political mechanisms play central role in almost every department of the PEPs. Echeverri-Gent, J. (1988:1294-1310) with Political Administrative approach evaluated guaranteed employment under EGS in Maharashtra. His empirical observations from the villages in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra revealed the conditions of lacunas, anomalies and leakages in the administration and implementation of EGS. He holds that entitled employment and asset generation underlined under EGS is coupled with some unexpected benefits to the rural poor. These benefits include incentives that shape behavior and politicize the rural poor by inciting them in demanding and other related processes involved in scheme. These opportunities not only shape the behavior but also generate awareness that boosts redistribution, organizing and mobilizing capabilities of the poor and control the patronage and corruption around EGS. But in reality, he finds the causes of uneven development, corruption and elite domination in rural Maharashtra which is deeply rooted in the state’s political economy provides little scope to EGS to alter the dynamics only marginally.

Pellissery Sony (2005:1) has empirically studied political dimensions of ‘right for employment’ of EGS in the villages of Marathwada, Maharashtra. The impressive econometric study minutely covered evaluative political analysis around the EGS in Marathawada villages during 2003 to 2004. She observed domination of local elites over the implementation of EGS works and effectiveness of the right of employment and options to overcome the adversities of the poorest involved in the programme are negated. She holds that, “the power of the local elites, who are capable of preventing some
workers, cajoling the supervising officials and manufacturing the muster rolls of public works programmes, is discounted heavily in the approach of theory of real options. Relying on such outcome variables, which are manufactured by the local elites, can mislead the policy decisions.” It is noted that the non-participants are blocked from the scheme in three ways: 1) they are too poor that they sold off their labour before they could enjoy the possibility of entering the EGS. Their options are foregone, and tied with larger market forces of sugar industry. 2) Informal ownership of the EGS schemes by the local elite, acquired at stages if registering the beneficiaries and project identification, determines who should work in EGS. Some are denied entry into EGS because of their political affiliation. Exercising the choice for participating in EGS activity means incurring heavy costs of changing political affiliation. 3) The way guarantee is designed is biased towards some castes. These castes capture the opportunities of work by negotiating economic and political costs with local elites. The castes against whom the scheme is biased are unable to express their preferences to the state because their intermediaries lack access to the policy making process of the state.

Safety net Perspective is apparent in many of the empirical studies on EGS. Katsushi Imai (2003:1-35) and other’s economic field based research founded on household survey data tested the effectiveness of the Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) in rural India as a social safety net. This research was carried out during the period 1979 to 1984. The two main findings of this research were – Firstly, the EGS has significant promotional and protective roles irrespective of the choice of income poverty lines. This is an important finding in the sense that 1) the EGS was effective in reducing poverty in the long run since poverty reduction is achieved through positive promotional and protective roles and, 2) the EGS served as insurance
for an annual income shortfall. Secondly, they identified other important factors which prevent households from entering poverty and help them escape poverty, such as decrease in illness of household members, land and access to formal and informal borrowings.

Pellissery Sony’s study (2006:1-28) based on data of ethnographic fieldwork of eight months in the region of Marathwada, identifies political constraints that exclude some villages from being included in the Maharashtra’s EGS. She analysed local determinants of exclusion and inclusion in EGS with a political economy approach. She observed even when public works are in place in the villages, the local elite who have informal ownership of these projects could block the entry of some of the poorest households to these programmes. Such local elite in liaison with some ethnic groups could ‘reward’ works to them, and exclude some other groups. Besides, the poorest households, trapped in the tied-labour markets seasonally migrating to different districts, may easily fallout from the benefits of such self-targeting.

Kumudini Dandekar’s study (1983) on EGS focuses on critical evaluation of its women friendly posture. She argues that the EGS was certainly a right step towards reduction of poverty and unemployment with special reference to females. Anurekha Chari (2003) in her unpublished paper based on empirical field research, has argued that, the although EGS provided good access to women in seeking participation (estimating about 40 to 64 percent) the so called gender sensitive aspects of EGS like guaranteed work, work close to the houses and native villages, equal wages for women and men, crèches, drinking water and sanitation facilities at work sites and so on did not make EGS gender sensitive or women friendly due to its poor application. EGS is low in making any significant effect on the status of women for, the assets created under EGS did not empower
the rural women. Major portion of the EGS works are based on agriculture. Since most of the women do not have land ownership they cannot be benefited from EGS assets as well.

Chari’s another paper (2006:5141-5148) analysed women’s mobilization by four activist organizations in Maharashtra during the period between 1969-1975 and 1970’s to late 1980s, around the conception of ‘guaranteed employment’. Many of the earlier studies posed EGS either ‘women friendly’ or ‘programme for women’ but Chari argues that just presence of larger number of women workers on EGS project does not make the scheme women friendly. The women friendly posture of EGS can be analysed by mobilizing potentials and actual mobilizing actions around women in EGS. The mobilizations of four organisations, (namely Maharashtra Rajya Shetmajoor Parishad, Shramik Sanghatana, Mukti Sangharsha and Stree Mukti Sangharsha) not only push EGS towards more women friendly provisions but also raised new gender concerns in the implementation of the scheme.

Sanjay Savale, in his paper (2008:254-279) based on in-depth field work, done in the rural sections of Nasik District, Maharashtra during 2002 to 2006, reviews the role, significance and limitations of such programmes in assuring social justice to rural poor. It also suggests alternative ways to assure social justice in a better manner. Exploring social justice concerns of wage employment programmes he examines the role of state in availing social justice to the rural poor. He also assessed the proprietary of right based wage employment programmes in the light of social justice and their limitations.

The studies conducted by the NGOs and action groups have to explore ground reality in profound manner. NGOs have played an important role in innovating novel approaches and helping to compensate for various kinds of institutional failure, including those
of the government. Kabeer and Murthy (1999) hold that, their coverage is restricted and they do not have the national presence to make a difference to the broader policy environment. In any case, it is difficult to know how any NGO could have a national presence in a country of a billion people. Indeed, ‘markets’ for social welfare play a more significant role than do NGOs, and in the distribution of certain resources, than does the state (Harriss-White, 1999). In any case, the Indian state is noteworthy among the post-colonial states in its near-uninterrupted record on democracy, its presence from the outset within the economy, not only in terms of responsibility for its ‘commanding heights’ but also in an explicit commitment to poverty reduction since late 1960s. This has partly limited the growth and role of NGOs as far as development interventions are concerned, although civil society organisations of various kinds (women’s movements, human rights organisations, trade unions, dalit movements) have flourished.

From Civil Society Organisation’s angle and especially from those who are actually involved in and around EGS mobilizations, conscientisation also contributed to the literature on EGS and rarely on SGRY. This kind of literature is not based on much scientific studies and rather based on their field experiments, observations, mobilising and advocacy works. Works of Kabeer Naila and Murthy, (1999), (Harriss-White, 1999) analysed the role of NGOs and markets in policy implementation and in distributing public resources.

Occasional empirical studies have been conducted by the government. The Joint Evaluation Report (PEO Study No.113: 1980: 1-8) on Maharashtra EGS made by Programme Evaluation Organisation (PEO) of the Planning Commission and the Directorate of Economics and Statistics (DES), was conducted during 1974-1975 to 1976-1978. The study covered three salient areas of investigation, i.e.
planning of rural works, the organisation for execution of works and the response of labour. The study with the main objective of searching methods actually adopted in the field for achieving the prescribed scheme objectives and to assess how far the methods were proving effective in attainment of scheme objectives and to analyse the factors on which the effectiveness depends. It also suggested some alternative actions to the Government, for better implementation, coordination and administration of the scheme. The study is more relevant here because Nashik district was included in the sample of four districts undertaken for the study. The conclusions of the study pointed out that, although there were many limitations and violations of standards given by the EGS guidelines, the response from the landless labourers and female workers was high and the rural poor benefitted by the scheme.

2.1.2 Review of Relevant Literature on SGRY:

As far as the studies on SGRY are concerned, this researcher finds no specially focused empirical researches so far. However, some studies have been done on the antecedents of SGRY, i.e. JRY and EAS. Besides some independent researches, the Programme Evaluation Organization (PEO) at the instance of Planning Commission mainly conducts the studies on EAS and JRY. (A bibliography of the available and accessible works is attached at the end of the thesis).

A) Review of Literature on SGRY

Gaiha, Kaushik and Kulkarni, did extensive evaluative study (1998:928-949) based on the field work carried out by different independent organizations and institutions on Jawahar rozgar Yojana (JRY), the ex-component of SGRY. The survey based evaluation assessed the JRY implementation in 4,406 Gram Panchayats in 886 blocks of 448 districts from all over India. The study evaluates the
aspects like targeting, implementation, performance of Panchayats and empowerment of the poor. The empirical evidence from the study revealed that both the direct and indirect effects i.e. poverty alleviation and human capital development are much weaker than claimed. They also observed that the poor participants comprised less than 50% of the JRY workforce in 11 out of 15 states. Their study made observations based on the findings that include, a) the share of female workers was unsatisfactory, b) the duration of employment generation, work participation was low, i.e. not likely to exceed 25 to 30 days per year, c) the per head wages were low, d) the corruption was rampant, e) Mistargeting of the JRY has linked up with some of its features like, relatively higher wages which can attract the relatively affluent, delays in payment, part payment of wages in kind that discourage the poor and with the poor functioning of Panchayats.

Prahlad Basu’s paper (2003) outlines the profile of poverty and the content of the successive programmes launched in India for its alleviation from 1975 to 2000. The first half of the paper analyses “what is known” of the Indian experience of managing this massive public action programme – how the poverty alleviation programmes were structured in content during these 25 years and also how the delivery, management and monitoring systems were structured. The second half of the paper is devoted to “what we need to know”, analysing the lessons from past experience and highlighting the issues of backward and forward linkages, strengthening systems of monitoring, benchmarking-cum-target setting, control and delivery, which require in-depth consideration. The paper concludes that there is enormous scope for improved inter-agency and intra-agency managerial co-ordination of the different components of the programme and in improving managerial effectiveness of delivering
each programme. This should occur through vastly improved efficiency of State intervention, combined with decentralisation, wherever possible, ensuring people’s involvement and participation through mobilising ‘people power’ – emphasizing the importance of managing both distribution and production aspects of the programme. S. Mahendra Dev in his unpublished short presentation paper compared EGS with JRY. He made some important observations regarding effectiveness and benefits, strengths, weaknesses of the two schemes. Although EGS is well targeted to the poor, provides direct and better transferred benefits and helped to reduce unemployment in addition to enhance agricultural growth, agricultural wage rates, and also generated insurance oriented, pro women posture but it could not sufficiently control poverty in Maharashtra. EGS could not get rid of its outlook of ‘Relief programmers’ and holds many other limitations including improper planning, inadequate project selection and design, lack of technical and organizational supervision, long delays in implementation have affected the productive quality of capital constructed, lack of peoples participation and so on. JRY and EAS on the other hand, found inferior to EGS on many grounds and holds that compared to other anti-poverty programmes, EGS is better public works programme with higher success especially with regard to insurance or stabilization function.

Some Government Reports evaluated the earlier antecedents of SGRY. The fourth chapter of Thirty - fourth report of standing committee on Urban and rural development (2002:1-64), presented to Thirteenth Lok Sabha Ministry of rural development, Government of India, deals with SGRY. This report has commented on EAS and reported the overall Physical Performance under Employment Assurance Scheme during 2001-02. The report indicates very dismal performance i.e. nearly 34% of the targets were achieved, while some
of the States/UTs viz. Chhatisgarh, Mizoram and Lakshadweep showed 206.66%, 106.84% and 268.43% achievement.

As per the approach paper to the Wage Employment Programmes that reveal serious weaknesses.

These may be enumerated on follows:

(i) fudging of muster rolls;

(ii) payment of lower wages as the contractors sometimes hire outside labourers;

(iii) centre norms for earmarking 40% of funds for watershed development and 20% for minor irrigation are not being followed;

(iv) payment of lower wages to women workers; and

(v) norms for reservation of women under Employment Schemes are not followed consistently.

2.1.2 Review of Empirical Literature on SGRY

Raghav Gaiha (2000:71-95) has evaluated the role of Panchayats in PEPs and argues that given the key role of Panchayats in implementing anti-poverty programmes and especially JRY, attention needs to be drawn to some major weaknesses in the new system, initiated by following the 73rd Constitutional (Amendment) Act. These include overburdening of Gram Panchayats with tasks/responsibilities that they are ill equipped to perform, incentive incompatibility between them and line agencies, and limited accountability of Gram Panchayat to the village community. But even if these weaknesses are removed there is no guarantee that the poor will benefit substantially. A strong coalition of the poor, however, could make a difference. Arguing that economic betterment is the key to their empowerment, the positive externalities between Panchayats and other 28 rural organisations need to be strengthened, with the government confining itself to creating an enabling environment for
them to build capacities and grow. He believes, whether the poor benefit from anti-poverty programmes depends ultimately on whether they have the collective strength to affirm their interests.

Rania Antonopoulos (2007) argues that programmes like Public works programs in South Africa and NREGA in India are again getting widespread recognition since in most countries; private-sector investment has not been able to absorb surplus labor and unskilled poor. This paper suggests that, by bringing together public job creation, on the one hand, and unpaid work, on the other, well-designed employment guarantee policies can promote job creation, gender equality, and pro-poor development. As compared to previous employment schemes in India, such as the Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY), and Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY), EGS and NREGS are credible advances on the gender front.

Subbarao K. (1997) viewed public works as safety nets and presents the available cross-country experience on various aspects of the program. She compared Jawahar Rojgar Yojana, (JRY) with the Employment Programme in Bangladesh and discussed the role of public works as a safety net and then presents the available cross-country experience on various aspects of the program. She also discussed cross-country experience with respect to financing wage rate and targeting, duration and timing of employment, share of wages in total cost, cost per job created, and the impact on poverty and incomes. Raghav Gaiha and Vani Kulkarni, (2002) believe that, emphasising decentralisation is essentially a political process, that assumed ideal for the implementation of Poverty alleviation programmes but the nature of the organisational structure of the Panchayats provides very little scope for just distribution of benefits to the rural poor. Yet
another major concern is that the community's imperfections act as an impediment in poverty alleviation. Although there are important informational and administrative advantages of community involvement in the design and implementation of anti-poverty and other related programmes, some limitations must not be overlooked (e.g., "capture" of the Panchayats by a few locally influential persons). This observation is rightly relevant in the context of evaluation of SGRY.

People's participation in development activities, democratic decentralisation has been cherished everywhere. Poverty reduction and village development programmes are not specifically focused on the decentralized, localistic trend. JRY, EAS, SGRY and now NREGS are offshoots of such changing focus. How far decentralization worked in favour of the rural poor is an important but rarely raised issue. Veron Rene, Stuart Corbridge, Williams Glyn and Shrivastava Manoj (2003:1-28) did extensive field work on Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) implemented in Midnapur and Malda Blocks of West Bengal and Vaishali District from Bihar. Democratic decentralisation and participation approach involved in EAS did not work in favour of the rural poor. They argue, ‘the participatory development in a country like India, where civil society is poorly developed, needs to be considered in relation to particular constructions of political society and the local everyday state.’

Some government Evaluation Studies have been conducted on earlier antecedents of SGRY, namely JRY and EAS. The Planning Commission, Government of India has conducted PEO study (No.147) in 1991-1992, on the JRY with a view to assess-

• The extent to which the JRY helped in providing employment to the target group;
• analyse the type of assets created under the yojana including their quality and usefulness;
• comprehend the arrangements for the maintenance of assets created; and
• study the problems encountered in the implementation of the JRY.

For this study, total 20 districts, 40 Gram Panchayats and 600 beneficiaries were selected from the ten states of India. Its main findings are-

1) The proportion of mandays of employment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to the total mandays of employment generated was good (50%) but the women’s share remained low (15 to 25%).

2) More than 50 percent of the available funds were utilised only during the last quarter and major works were being taken up during the terminal quarter.

3) It has been noted that of 40 selected Gram Panchayats, 2 in 1989-90 and 6 in 1990-91 did not utilise the funds at all.

4) The Yojana did not provide employment to the extent expected. On averages it was just number of 11.44 and 15.68 days during 1989-90 and 1990-91, respectively.

5) Quality of the work, supervision and monitoring were inadequate.

Another PEO study on EAS, Based on the multistage sample of 1120 beneficiary households, 112 villages, 56 blocks spread over 28 districts of 14 states observed-

• objectives of generation of sustained and gainful employment, supplementing the income of the rural wage-earning class in agricultural lean seasons and improving the wellbeing of the rural poor through EAS have not been realised.
The EAS was a demand driven scheme, but the method of planning and implementation adopted was “top-down” instead of “bottom-up”.

A large number of villages are using the EAS funds just because such funds are made available to the villagers. In such villages there is no local demand for the type of wage-employment being offered under EAS. As a result, a large proportion of funds goes to either capital intensive works or, to unintended beneficiaries or, both.

2.1.3 Salient Features of the Existing Literature and Gaps in the Literature:

The above review highlights the following salient features of the existing body of literature on PEP’s in general and EGS and SGRY in particular:

1) EGS has been the most attractive subject of research for scholars as compared to other schemes.

2) The process of administration, role of the elites in PEPs, democratic decentralizations, role of Panchayati Raj, local governance, right based approach, participation and politics of implementation are the main issues dealt with by the studies focusing on political dimension of the PEPs.

3) The studies on poverty and poverty reduction schemes are dominated by the economists. Targeting of the schemes, wages, cost benefit analysis, fundings, income gains to the poor are the issues the Economists deal with.

4) There have been very few Sociological studies that specifically deal with the micro social processes and factors indulged with the implementation and performance of the PEPs. Dr. M. S Gore, has correctly pointed out, ‘the task for sociologists interested in social policy include conduct of studies of
‘relationship between structures, levels of technological development and social policy alternatives’. Nonetheless the work of policy-oriented sociologist does not end with policy formulation only; rather it has to be followed up by observation, monitoring implementation of the policy and evaluation of its performance.’ (Dhanagare :2003:13)

5) Many of the available studies rely more on the outcomes of the PEPs, income gains and benefits to the poor. Sony Pellissery’s (2005), rightly says, “Often, the implementation of anti-poverty programmes has been evaluated on the basis of their outcomes rather than the process of the implementation. Such methods of evaluation assume that good outcome indicators are the result of good implementation. This evaluation methodology assumes that the programme was ‘prescribed’ as a solution to a problem (the ‘rational’ approach), and better the outcome indicators, more is the problem reduction. However, with the emergence of public choice theories ‘policy process’ has been the key point of inquiry”. Pellissery strongly emphasises to study the processes of the scheme rather than just to see the outcomes. This is a very important point. Her studies can reveal the efforts to see these micro processes. The SGRY still remains one of the relatively untouched areas of empirical research.

6) There is a distinct lack of studies conducted with a comparative perspective, which evaluate implementation and performance of EGS and SGRY on the basis of empirical data. The only exception may be this researcher's own study conducted in 2003. The scope of this study was however limited. In fact, this small study conducted earlier by this researcher has further strengthened the research interest in this area and is the source
of information, motivation and inspiration for undertaking more comprehensive and systematic research work.

SECTION –II METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

This section is designed to elaborate the methodological procedures for the present study. The research problem, objectives, study area, sample design, tools and techniques of data collection, data collection process, analysis and presentation of data and the organization of the thesis have been dealt with this section.

Thus present study is an attempt to fill the gap observed in the existing literature in terms of a) it is conducted by sociological perspective, b) it focuses on both the implementation and performance of the schemes, c) it focuses on EGS and SGRY and d) it is conducted with comparative perspective.

2.2.1 The Context of the Study:

At present, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) has reached all over India and EGS in Maharashtra is on the decline. SGRY has merged in NREGS in April 1, 2008. We are looking for better alternatives. Right based model of EGS and some ideas of decentralization are incorporated in NREGS. But the whole matter of the decentralization and participation must be carefully tackled. Crook and Sverrisson (2005:133-259), rightly holds that the idea of decentralizing governments in the developing countries, introduced in the mid 1980s assume some innate benefits. First it brings government closer to the governed in both spatial and institutional sense; second, government will become more responsive to the needs of the people; thirdly it will enhance the participation of the community and thus will increase voice and power of the people.
Crook and Sverrisson (2005) have examined the cases from developing countries in their study. Those reveal that the effectivity of decentralisation in bettering the poverty reduction is not always going along with the assumptions. There is no convincing evidence that there is a predictable or general link between decentralisation of the government and the development of more pro poor policies or poverty alleviating outcomes. This uncertainty thus creates space to empirically examine whether decentralisation process introduced in poverty reduction programmes is capable of delivering the positive results in favour of the poor or not. Comparing EGS with decentralisation based SGRY will give us opportunity to explore the relationship between the presence and absence of decentralized decision making and the effectiveness of the PEPs in terms of its implementation and performance.

Both EGS and SGRY are shadowed by newly merged NREGS. But the socio-economic and structural set up of the country did not changed significantly at the grassroots level. As said earlier, there has been rare studies that compared EGS with SGRY, the two largest PEPs (EGS in Maharashtra state and SGRY at national level), by any of the Indian or foreign researcher. The democratic decentralisation, participatory type of SGRY is worth to compare with right based, demand driven and centralized kind of EGS in Maharashtra. The attempt is to explore, whether the different nature of the schemes, really affect the implementation and performance of the schemes or not, is novel idea. Which scheme is better? Where does it work better? Why? to What extent? are the basic questions set out to be answered through the present study.

Both EGS and SGRY are wage employment based PEPs are different in their orientation. Yet they are different in their orientation. Some of their differences are as under:
a) SGRY is central government’s scheme and EGS is Maharashtra State level scheme. EGS is fully Maharashtra State Government while as SGRY is funded by both the Central and the State government with 75:25 share respectively.
b) EGS is demand driven and SGRY, on the other hand, is relied on the allocated funds;
c) EGS is right based and SGRY is not so;
d) SGRY is based on the principal of democratic decentralization and participation of the locals in its management and EGS did not give this opportunity;
e) The organization and implementation structure of both the schemes is different. The administration and implementation of EGS is largely based on traditional - centralized lines, whereas, the novel ideas of democratic decentralized decision making and participatory approach to development are involved in SGRY implementation.
f) Against this backdrop, it is important to note that, a comparative study of these two PEPs would give us an opportunity to examine the effectiveness of widely appreciated principles and ideas, such as democratic decentralized decision making and participatory approach to development, in an effort to reduce rural poverty.

2.2.2 Statement of the Research Problem:
The present study aims at comparative empirical understanding of the implementation and performance of the two leading poverty eradication programmes, namely, EGS and SGRY, in the specific context of Nasik district of Maharashtra State.
2.3.3 Objectives of the Study

The following were the specific objectives set out for the present study.

1) To study the salient features of administration and implementation mechanisms of EGS and SGRY as evident from the scheme documents/design.

2) To empirically examine the grassroots level implementation of EGS and SGRY in the selected sample villages from Nashik district.

3) To evaluate the performance of EGS and SGRY in a comparative perspective:
   a) To compare performances of EGS with SGRY.
   b) To compare the performance of EGS and SGRY in developed, semi developed and less developed areas of the Nashik district.

4. To provide suggestions based on the study, for better implementation of NREGS and its State wise versions.

2.2.4 Research Questions

The following research questions were framed to guide the research and to achieve the objectives set out for the study.

The research questions covering the first objective comprise:

a) How EGS and SGRY get planned and administered according to the scheme guidelines?

b) How are they are different from each other on these lines?

The research questions pertaining to the second objective were as under:

a) Which PEP is more effective in its implementation at the grassroots level?
b) What are the conditions associated with better or poor implementation of the two PEPs at grassroots level?

c) Whether there is variation in implementation of the two PEPs in terms of the difference in the levels of development.

The research questions pertaining to the third objective were:

a) Which PEP is more effective in its performance at the grassroots level?

b) What are the conditions associated with better or poor performance of the two PEPs at the grassroots level?

c) Whether there is variation in the levels of performance of the two PEPs in terms of the levels of development?

2.2.5 Sampling Design:

Nashik district of Maharashtra state was purposively selected for the present study. The sampling design adopted for the present study (for selection of talukas, villages and respondents) is given below.

a) Selection of the Talukas as sample:

There are 15 talukas in Nashik district. They are- Nashik, Sinner, Trimbakeshwar, Peth, Kalwan, Surgana, Igatpuri, Yeola, Nandgaon, Chandwad, Dindori, Devla, Baglan (Satana), Malegaon, and Niphad.

There is considerable variation among these talukas on socioeconomic scale. Therefore, for the purpose of the present study, Nashik and Niphad talukas were categorised as ‘Developed talukas’, Dindori and Sinnar talukas were categorised as ‘Semi-Developed talukas’ and Trimbakeshwar and Peth talukas were categorised as the ‘Less Developed talukas’. Thus, Nashik, Niphad, Dindori, Sinnar, Trimbakeshwar and Peth were purposefully selected talukas (by
purposive sampling technique) representing ‘developed’, ‘semi-developed’ and ‘less developed’ areas of the Nashik district.

Considering the objectives of the present study, and the level of development of different talukas judged on the basis of researcher’s understanding, the six talukas were purposefully selected as a sample. The rationale in selecting the above talukas is as follows-

Developed Talukas- Nashik and Niphad were selected as developed talukas. The reasons why they included in the category are- Nashik is an industrially developed city and headquarter of Nashik district and Niphad is an agriculturally developed taluka.

Semi Developed Talukas- Dindori and Sinnar talukas have mixed signs of development as well as backwardness. Dindori, being semi tribal and partly developed in agriculture, is included in the category. While as, some part of Sinnar is industrially developed but major part of this taluka comes under drought prone areas.

Less developed areas are unambiguously backward and tribal areas of the district. Those include Peth and Trimbakeshwar talukas.

b) Selection of the Villages as sample:

According to the objectives of the present research, two villages from each of the six selected talukas, where public works under EGS and SGRY were in progress were purposefully selected. The 12 sample villages selected from the six talukas for the empirical study comprise Shivangaon, Govardhan, Pimpalgaon Nipani and Marhalgoi (from developed belt), Mahaje, Ozarkhed, Shivade and Ramnagar (from semi developed belt), and Dhadoshi, Nandgaon Kohli, Mangone and Gavandhapada (from less developed belt).

EGS works are not expected to happen in each and every village. All the 12 villages selected under the sample were the villages having EGS worksite in operation. The researcher got this
information from the respective EGS office at the respective tahsils. The SGRY works every village. Thus, the selection of villages was based on the confirmation of ongoing worksites under both the PEPs.

Table 2.1
Sampled talukas and villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development Category</th>
<th>Taluka Name</th>
<th>No. of villages from Taluka</th>
<th>Villages from Developed areas</th>
<th>Villages from Semi Developed areas</th>
<th>Less Developed areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Developed areas</td>
<td>Nashik</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>Shivangaon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Govardhan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Niphad</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>Pimpalgaon Nipani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marhalgoi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi Developed areas</td>
<td>Dindori</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>Mahaje</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ozarkhed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sinnar</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>Shivade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ramnagar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Developed areas</td>
<td>Trimbakeshwar</td>
<td>02</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dhadoshi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peth</td>
<td>02</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nandgaon Kohli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mangone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gavandhapada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, in all 12 villages were selected for the present study. Both EGS and SGRY works being implemented in the 12 selected villages have been considered as cases. In all, 12 cases of EGS and 12 cases of SGRY making the total of 24 cases, forms the empirical basis of the study.

c) Selection of the Respondents:

EGS and SGRY workers actually working on the work sites, the Mukadams supervising those sites, the Sarpanch, the Deputy Sarpanch, the Gram Sevak and the Talathi from the respective villages were the main respondents in the present study.
i) **EGS and SGRY Workers:**

Ten percent of the actual workers working on EGS and SGRY work sites at the time of visit were decided to be selected as respondents for the study by resorting to purposive sampling technique. The researcher had to decide size of sample of workers at each worksite depending upon the situation at the time of visit. For determining actual sample size, the total workers actually present on the day of the first visit by the researcher on each of the worksites was considered.

The data revealed that, the number of workers present on 12 EGS worksites at the time visit was as under: Worksite No. 1- 71, Worksite No. 2- 05, Worksite No. 3- 18, Worksite No. 4- 25, Worksite No. 5- 40, Worksite No. 6- 03, Worksite No. 7- 15, Worksite No. 8-30, Worksite No. 9- 134, Worksite No. 10- 90, Worksite No. 11- 60 and Worksite No. 12- 12. Total = 503. The number of workers present on 12 SGRY worksites at the time visit was as under: Worksite No. 1- 70, Worksite No. 2- 11, Worksite No. 3- 08, Worksite No. 4- 08, Worksite No. 5- 06, Worksite No. 6- 08, Worksite No. 7- 06, Worksite No. 8-03, Worksite No. 9- 08, Worksite No. 10- 60, Worksite No. 11-09 and Worksite No. 12- 25. Total = 222.

Out of 503 workers, 51 (10.13%) workers and out of 222 SGRY workers, 34 (15.31) workers were selected as sample. The aggregate sample size of EGS and SGRY workers taken together comes to (out of 725, 85 workers) 11.72%.

At most care was taken to ensure that respondents represent both men and women, and various groups of workers belonging to different working groups (*gangs*) on the respective work sites. The data from workers were collected from April 25, 2005 to December 7,
2007. The following table shows the workers actually selected as sample at different EGS and SGRY work sites.

Table No. 2.2
Distribution of Workers on the basis of Village Names, Schemes and Talukas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taluka Name</th>
<th>Village Name</th>
<th>Scheme No.</th>
<th>10% of the actual No. of workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>EGS</td>
<td>SGRY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashik</td>
<td>Shivangaon</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Govardhan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niphad</td>
<td>Pimpalgaon Nipani</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marhalgoi</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dindori</td>
<td>Mahaje</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ozarkhed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinnar</td>
<td>Shivade</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ramnagar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trimbakeshwar</td>
<td>Dhadoshi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nandagaon Kohli</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peth</td>
<td>Mangone</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gavandhpada</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) Implementing and Supervisory Staff at the grass roots level:

Besides the EGS and SGRY workers, 12 Sarpanchs; 12 Deputy Sarpanchs; 12 Gram Sevaks; 12 Talathis as implementers cum village authorities and 24 Mukadam as lowest level supervisors were also selected as the respondents who provided information about the implementation and performance of EGS and SGRY schemes in respective villages.

iii) Concerned Higher Level Officials and the Associated Personnel:

In addition to the above categories of respondents, some of the higher level agency implementers, administrative officers, politicians,
social activists and villagers were also the respondents with whom, informal interviews were conducted.

**Table No. 2.3**

**Category and the number of Respondents Selected**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Category of the Respondents</th>
<th>Number of the Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mukadam</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sarpanch</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Deputy Sarpanch</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Gram Sevaks</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Talathi</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Higher Level Agency Officers</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Administrative Officers</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Political Leaders</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Activists/ Persons from NGO</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides discussions with the Taluka Tehsil and DRDA office clerks, other researchers, EGS committee members were also conducted and relevant data have been used to supplement the data from the main respondents.

### 2.2.6 Tools and Techniques of Data Collection

The following tools and techniques of data collection were used for the proposed study.

1) **Interview Schedules:**

Six interview schedules were designed to collect data from different categories of the respondents- in 1) Sarpanch and Deputy Sarpanch, 2) Gram Sevak, 3) Talathi, 4) higher level officials 5) Mukadams and 6) Worker beneficiaries under both the EGS and
SGRY. (see appendix No.-3) Possible parity in asking questions was maintained.

2) Personal Observations:

Personal onsite observations were noted by the researcher to seek minute details of the grassroots level reality and to validate the data secured from other sources. Observing village conditions and EGS work sites, collecting experiences and reactions from the villagers and EGS workers have done to get insights, check and validate the data.

3) Informal Interviews:

Informal interviews were conducted with the administrative personnel, villagers, persons from NGOs, activists and political leaders.

The interviews were conducted with the help of interview schedule because considerable number of the respondents was illiterate. The interview schedules consisted mostly of structured items and some open ended questions derived from the study. Pretesting of the interview schedules was done to determine effectiveness in data collection. After pre testing, questions were modified to clear ambiguities and make them more relevant to the local conditions and situations.

2.2.7 Sources of Data Collection

Both Primary and Secondary data were collected for the present study. Following were the main sources of data.

a) Primary Sources of data:

Workers, Mukadams and villagers concerned with the worksites were the common respondents on both the schemes. But there is difference in the administrative and implementation system of EGS
and SGRY, the sources of primary data were separate for both the PEPs.

**EGS Works:**
1) Agency officers and associated representatives involved in implementation like Engineers, Muster Clerks etc.
2) Sarpanchs, Deputy Sarpanchs
3) Talathi as the lowest or grass roots level representative of the government

**SGRY Works:**
1) DRDA officials and Agency officers
2) Sarpanchs and Deputy Sarpanchs
3) Gram Sevak as the lowest or grass roots level representative of the government
4) Gram Panchayat members

**b) Secondary data:**

The relevant data have been culled out from secondary sources such as books, journal articles, Government documents related with the implementation of the PEPs, Government Regulations, research reports, committee reports and paper cuttings from local newspapers, and EGS office documents and study reports.

Besides using the documents, government guidelines, regulations, acts concerned with EGS and SGRY were used. Human Development Reports, Economic Survey Reports, The World Bank documents, comparative studies on PEPs were also referred to as secondary sources of data.

**2.2.8 Data Collection**

The researcher began the field work from 25 April 2005 and ended around 7 December 2007. In the field work, the researcher encountered many difficulties in collecting the data. Some of the
villages selected were remotely located from the Nashik. The longest village from the Nashik city, where the researcher resides was more than 70 kms away. Going there, searching the sites, and finding the respondent was difficult at times.

Similarly visiting respective Tehsil offices of the six selected talukas, getting the lists of current working sites of EGS and searching for the sites were the first steps to begin with. To reduce biases, articulations and interventions, the researcher started collecting data first from the onsite workers of the EGS. SGRY works, at least second stream SGRY works were almost mandatory to every village. Thus, the villages selected for EGS works became the sampled villages of this study and the SGRY works from the same villages were observed as and when they get started.

Thus, visiting the work sites and collecting data from the workers and Mukadams was the initial step. The forward and backward linkages were then traced out to collect relevant data from the other categories of the respondents. The agency officers and the administrative officers were among the last ones from whom the data were collected. This was purposefully done to avoid probable bias, fabrications in information and pressures.

While selecting the workers as respondents, the researcher had to consider many things. Many groups (gangs) of workers were observed on the sites. These gangs have been generally formed on the basis of the residence or native places of the workers from where they come to the work site. To make sample more representative workers from different groups (gangs), belonging to both male-female categories were selected.

The interview schedules were edited for some time after checking completeness, clarity and consistency in getting data from
the respondents. In the cases, where inconsistency was found, the respondents were contacted again and again for further clarification.

Dealing with the contractors on site was a very tough job. Getting information from them was far more difficult. Avoiding them till the data collection from the worker respondents was done was the only way out. Arrival of somebody on worksite and asking questions about its implementation was not very unusual but still shocking to the contractors. The Mukadams were initially cautious but became cooperative in a due course. Contacting the respondents separately for their interviews was attempted. The workers many a times enjoyed the interviewing. Just asking questions to them was adding to their knowledge of the schemes, the researcher felt.

The official EGS data were mostly collected from the office of Deputy Collector, EGS wing and Commissioner’s office. For SGRY data DRDA, BDO and SGRY offices at the Tehsil level were the centres.

Talathi, Gram Sevaks were not the easily accessible respondents for, they had given responsibility of many villages. Incidences of avoiding the researcher, pressurizing and misleading him were also experienced in about 10% of the villages under the sample. The whole data collection thus was rested on how one poses to them and wins their faith and assures them that the data collected would not make them exposed. The respondents were assured that the secrecy of their names and identities would be maintained.

It was intended to collect the field data within a span of one year i.e. from 2005 to 2006. The researcher could not follow the time schedule of data collection for, three villages (Dhadoshi, Marhalgoi and Pimpalgaon Nipani) did not go for SGRY works despite it was mandatory to complete those works in the financial year.
Collecting data from the workers was difficult task. The questions such as their yearly income, how much they earned from the wages were quite confusing for them.

Collecting data from certain categories like Gram sevak, Mukadam and agency men many a time became a delicate matter. The fear of getting exposed the information about malpractices and irregularities might have bothered them despite the assurance given by the researcher that the data would be used only for the academic research purpose and secrecy would be maintained.

Frequent follow up visits were done as and when the work was going on. It took more than two years to collect data by tracing forward and backward linkages.

2.2.9 Data Processing, Analysis and Interpretations of Data

Code books and code sheets were prepared. The codifiable and quantifiable data were processed on computer by using SPSS software. The frequency tables derived from SPSS outputs have been used to describe variables. The cross-tabled data analysis was used to arrive at inferences. Along with tables, histograms, graphs, charts, maps and photographs were used to present data meaningfully.

2.2.10 Limitations of the Study

The following were some of the limitations of the present study:

1) When the researcher started the study in 2005, NREGS was newly announced. It was limited for the 200 districts from all over the India. NREGS reached to the Nashik district in 2006. It took further time to settle there. So the first limitation of this study was that the NREGS and its Maharashtra version MREGS could not get included in the present study.

2) The most important limitation of this research is that it did not measure the impact of the wages earned by the workers and how the income gain enabled them to cross the poverty line.
This is not an economic study. The performance of their anti-poverty capabilities have been mainly judged on the basis of perceptions of the respondents, from the benefits of wages, employment generation, amenities at worksites and the quality, quantity and usability of the assets generated under the scheme. The empowerment aspects, negotiations, mobilizations around EGS and SGRY were traced, however, to what extent the incidence of poverty has been reduced due to these works has not been determined in the present study.

3) The present study was confined to Nashik district only.

2.2.11 Relevance of the Study

Present research is important in the light of several reasons given below,

i) The evaluative studies on poverty eradication programmes, their implementation and performance constitute an important area of sociological inquiry and this has remained one of the relatively neglected areas of research. The present work is the modest sociological exercise in this direction.

ii) The comparative empirical studies focusing on EGS and SGRY were almost non-existent. The present exploratory study is, therefore, first of its kind in Maharashtra in general and Nashik district in particular.

iii) Most of the objectives and work projects of SGRY are similar to the EGS. However, the organization and implementation structure is different. This research clearly brings out the similarities and differences between EGS and SGRY. This may be considered as an important contribution of the present study.

iv) In the present research, EGS is compared with SGRY and their actual working at the grass roots level is examined in the developed, semi developed and less developed areas in the
Nashik district. This is unique academic contribution of the present study.

v) The study comes out with certain suggestions, which if implementing authorities adopt for making the PEPs, especially the NREGS and MREGS, more effective. These suggestions are likely to result in better performance of the schemes.

### 2.2.12 The Organisation of the Thesis

The present thesis has been organised in following six chapters.

- **Chapter I:** Poverty and Poverty Eradication Programmes in India: An Overview
- **Chapter II:** Review of Literature and Research Methodology
- **Chapter III:** Profile of Nasik District: The Study Area
- **Chapter IV:** Administration and Implementation of EGS and SGRY: A Comparison
- **Chapter V:** EGS and SGRY in Nashik District: Grassroots Level Implementation and Performance in Comparative Perspective
- **Chapter VI:** Findings, Conclusions and Suggestions

In the next chapter we are going to see the profile of Nashik district, the study area.
References:


Allen, Emma and Pellissery, Sony. 2006. Achieving the Employment Guarantee: Coming to Grips with the Sociology of Legal Entitlements in Rural India, Centre of Full Employment and Equity, Working Paper No. 06-13, pp 1-14


Chari, Anurekha. 2003. Is EGS Gender Sensitive? , unpublished Draft Paper based on the research project jointly organised by IDS,
Sussex and Department of Sociology, University of Pune, Pune., pp-1-31


De Silva G. V. S., Mehta Niranjan, Rahman M. A. and, Wignaraja (1979)


------. (Year not mentioned), Public Works Programmes in India, Director, Centre for Economic and Social Studies, Hyderabad, India, unpublished short presentation paper.

Development Studies, Vol. 28, pp


Gaiha, Raghav. 1996. ‘How Dependent are the Rural Poor on the Employment Guarantee Scheme in India’,


------. 2007. Targeting versus Universalism: An Evaluation of Indirect Effects of the Employment Guarantee Scheme in India,
Department of Economics, Royal Holloway, University of London., pp 1-30


------. 2004a. ‘Does EGS Require Restructuring for Poverty Alleviation and Gender Equality? I – Concept, Design and Delivery


Moore, Mick and Jadhav, Vishal. 2004. The Employment Guaranteed Scheme in Comparative and Historical Perspective, a draft paper prepared under joint project on EGS by IDS, Sussex and Department of Sociology, Pune University, Pune. pp-1-48


Asia’, *The World Bank Research Observer*, vol.6, no. 2, pp153-175


Sen, Amartya. 1995. 'The Political Economy of Targeting' Chapter 2 in van de Walle, D. and K. Nead (eds.),


**Government Reports**

Government of India, Programme Evaluation and Organization Study No. 147 conducted in 1991-92


The Planning Commission of Government of India, PEO study, on EAS during 1996-1997, A Document of Government of India