CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL PROCESS OF THE EGS

Introduction:

Politics is all pervading phenomenon. All aspects of our social life are, directly or indirectly, influenced by politics. Therefore, to say that the programmes like the EGS, which overhaul the entire socio-economic structure of the villages, are above politics is far from reality. The very beginning of the Scheme has political orientation. Therefore, it is important to take into account the political process that unfolds during the implementation of schemes like the EGS.

In order to understand and study the political undercurrents of the EGS, it is proposed to investigate its impact on the areas of elections, factionalism, interactions of classes and agrarian economy, etc. The task is not easy as politics works in a very subtle manner in the schemes of poverty alleviation and rural development.

The political aspect and political influence, in this regard, can be understood in two major parts. In the first part it can be seen how the democratic process of interest aggregation, articulation and feedback on the part of the
leaders and political participation of masses, in general, operates. The second part deals with how the interests of politically influentials at different levels are protected by the rulers through decision-making and use of power by them at the level of actual implementation of such schemes.

In a democratic set-up a legitimate function of representatives of the people is to take the initiative in solving the problems of the people and protect their interests. With the adoption of democratic decentrization the representatives of the people at the grass-root level have to perform an important role in this regard.

Role of the Politicians in the EGS:

To understand the role of political functionaries like Panch, Sarpanch at grass-root level in the EGS; some questions were addressed to the respondents. These questions were asked with the hope that the political leaders at the village level take an initiative in providing the EGS works in their villages to the workers. It is also presumed that the workers take the help of the leaders to solve their difficulties in getting wages, amenities, etc.

The respondents were asked a question, who advised you to demand work under the EGS: The Sarpanch, Uparpanch,
Panch (in Marathi), other village leaders, voluntary organizations? The response of many of them was that there was no need to inform and advise them to join the EGS works. In a small area of the village they came to know easily about the opening of the EGS work in their villages. Further, they stated that they had a previous experience of working in the EGS. Again a question was put to them whether they complained about the cut in the EGS wages. If so to whom? The responses of the workers are shown in Tables 6.1 and 6.2.

Table No.6.1

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>SC</td>
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Table No. 6.2

Persons Approached for redressal of complaints.

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<th>Leader</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Others</th>
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<td>SC</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>300</td>
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</table>

It can be revealed from the above table (6.1) and (6.2) that less than one fifth (18.7%) respondents only complained about the cut in the EGS wages. Out of the 56 respondents who complained 10 could not tell to whom they approached for such complaints. From the remaining 46 respondents only 3 reported that they had approached village leaders in this regard. Probably the EGS workers are not sure about the help forthcoming from the local leader to solve their difficulties or they are not aware of the legitimate functions of their representatives for which again the latter are to be blamed for not creating such awareness among the workers.
Participation of the People:

The EGS being important part of the village life as an employment generation scheme on the one hand and asset creation instrument on the other hand, the villagers are expected to participate in the decision making and show their sense of involvement in the functioning of the EGS. In order to understand the state of affairs in this regard a question was asked to the workers whether Gram Sabha is organized to discuss issues regarding the EGS? 98 per cent have answered negatively, which means in majority of villages no Gram Sabha is held, which again is not in conformity with the democratic process.

It is a matter of common experience that the rural development projects have their impact on the politics of the rural life. Especially those who are politically strong try to exploit these projects for their own benefits. The impact of the EGS, in this regard, can be of two types. Firstly, the important decisions with regard to the EGS works are influenced by the politicians. Secondly, the working of the scheme also affects the issues such as factionalism, elections, etc. at the village level.

Politics in the Shift in the EGS Sites:

The vital area of such impact is shift in the sites of
percolation tanks, roads, forestry etc. On the basis of information sought about such shifts for the personal benefits of the political influentialers we tried to know the reactions of the respondents. Therefore, a question was put to them whether such shifts took place in their villages.

74.9% workers have said that they did not have any knowledge about the shift in the sites of the EGS works.

Further to the question who took the decisions to change the sites, they could not answer. This indicates the lack of awareness on the part of workers regarding the issues which, directly or indirectly influence their interests. This is precisely, the area in which the local influentialers and vested interests operate in alliance with bureaucrats.

**Factionalism and the EGS:**

Factionalism has become the characteristic of a village in India. In order to understand the impact of EGS on factionalism the respondents were asked what is the impact of factionalism in the village due to a large gathering of workers on EGS works?

89.3% reported that the scheme has no impact on factionalism. It is because according to them there are no factions in their villages.
Village Elections and the EGS:

Similarly about the impact of the EGS on the elections we wanted to know whether the EGS workers exercise their strength, to further their cause, by voting the same candidates in the elections. However, to our question do the EGS workers vote for the same candidates, almost all respondents replied negatively.

EGS and Alliance between the Bureaucrats and Politicians:

'It is said that there is an alliance between the EGS officers and the village leaders. Have you experienced it?'

11 per cent respondents replied affirmatively whereas 48 per cent said that they did not know.

On the basis of these responses of the workers and their reactions in the informal discussion, the following observations can be made in regard to the issues under consideration.

1) It is the legitimate function of the Sarpanch and the members of the Panchayats to see to it that the people in their villages get maximum benefits from the different Government schemes of their interest. However, the data reveal that they show very little interest and they think that it is the bounden duty of the Government officials to provide
work and related matters.

Our observation is that it is not merely indifference on the part of local leaders in regard to the encouragement for taking up the EGS works in their villages but it is their unwillingness also which is the crux of the matter. Perhaps they feel that it might be against their interests. For instance at village Siddhanathwadgaon the Sarpanch was simply not interested in meeting the investigator. Of course, it is not the general situation. There are different experiences in different places. In some villages we observed that the local leaders take interests in the EGS works, which help their villagers in number of ways. For example, at village Chorwaghalgaon, Adgaon, Chitampimpalgaon, Manjri the respondents described how the help of the Sarpanch pushed the works under EGS. At village Devlai the Sarpanch took initiative for the approach road. He moved the officials. He also organized transporation of the workers to the work sites. The two MLAs we interviewed also took efforts to take up the works in their areas.

2) The participation of the villagers is not encouraged or taken up while planning the EGS works or while deciding which works are to be taken up. The Gram Sabha is scarcely organized for this purpose like others.

3) The EGS workers do not have faith in the leaders so
that their grievances about wages can be settled by them. Therefore, for a cut in the wages they either quarrel with the officials or keep silent. It has been observed during the discussion with workers that they do not complain because of the fear of losing the job. The irony of the fact is that the Sarpanch is treated as the custodian of the rightful claims of the wages of the workers as per the existing rules of the EGS as the rules demand wage payment in the presence of the leaders.

4) One of the objectives of the EGS is to build productive assets in the rural areas. Hence, the decisions on the largely selection of the EGS sites are/influenced by the politicians to further their economic interests at the cost of the state exchequer.

However, the point is that the workers are not in the know of the complicated decision making process about the selection of the sites for percolation tanks, roads, nala banding, or social forestry. Therefore, to our question in this regard, they could not answer pinpointedly. However, during informal discussion we were told at village Shivur, Pal, Muddleh Wadgaon, Siddhanath Wadgaon that the politics definitely played its role in the finalization of site for the EGS works.

5) About the factionalism the villagers regarded factionalism as something bad for the village. Therefore, they thought it not proper to accept it or to comment on the factionalism in their villages.
6) So far as the correlation between EGS and voting is concerned, it can be said that the later is the outcome of a number of factors. Hence, it is not possible to establish any direct co-relationship between the two.

7) In an informal discussion the respondents agreed that there is a nexus between the village leaders and the Government officials. But their difficulty is that they are unable to understand the intricacies of the matter, because such things take place secretly and out of village.

It has been observed during the survey that it is very difficult to understand the complications of political process of the EGS through the responses of the EGS workers. No doubt they have their perception and limitations at the same time. Therefore, indepth interviews with other components of the scheme were held.

The Views Expressed in the Indepth Interviews:

While explaining the background and evolution of the Scheme, in his interview, V.S. Page made his position very clear. According to him, as EGS is based on the consent of all and safeguards the interests of all concerned sections of the village society, there is very little scope for politics to enter into its operation. Personally he himself took every care, to keep the EGS above party politics.
He claimed that this was the position in the initial period. However, he agreed, that recently the political forces started working around it. He blamed opposition parties for organizing rural workers under EGS for their political ends.

We interviewed a large number of functionaries of the EGS at different levels. After talking to them, discussing and debating with them, we tried to understand and analyse the political process of the Scheme, through the incidents, the interactions, the actors involved in this process. We have arrived at the following conclusions.

1. **Selection of Worksites:**

   The politicians bring pressure in the selection of the sites especially for percolation tanks. Many a time the sites which they suggest, are technically unsuitable or less suitable. At a village in Gangapur taluka, a leader of a workers organization in an interview told that a proposed percolation tank site, benefitting 12 small farmers, was changed to benefit 2 high caste landlords. It was also reported in this regard that the Ex-MP and MLA had exerted influence to change the site. As a result the labour organization proceeded to the court of law against this shift. The matter is still pending with the court. Similar cases of either politically chosen sites or shifts in the percolation tank sites have been reported from villages like Pal,
Chichadgaon, Hanmantgaon, Shivur, Siddhanathwadgaon, Mudeshwadgaon. Procedure demands that the sites of the percolation tank should be selected from the Master Plan of the Irrigation. There are certain norms to be followed in this selection such as the availability of the workers, the existence of catchment area, water storage capacity, particular soil strata and even distribution works etc. But in practice the soil testing is not always done. The local influentials take advantage of it. They approach the Deputy Engineer or the Junior Engineer to make the necessary changes according to their own wishes. Some respondents said that the lower level officials yield to the pressure easily. Sometimes even the higher level officers are also pressurised by the politicians operating above the district level.

There are survey divisions of the EGS works of irrigation and roads. An officer of one such division and also one retired Executive Engineer narrated cases in which the percolation tank sites favourable to Sarpanch, relatives of MLA, ZP Chairman were forced to be sanctioned by this division owing to the political pressures. Even though the sites were not feasible the politicians got them approved from higher authorities to effect the changes.

The story is not different in respect of road works. According to some respondents manipulation of road works is easier than that of irrigation works. Here the officials
are more susceptible for the change in the work sites. One Deputy Engineer informed us that in Vaijapur Taluka 4 to 5 roads in one village were constructed where one was sufficient. Such incidents lead to wastage of money, material and labour.

2. Land Acquisition and Payment of Compensation:

The political influence also works in the acquisition of lands for the EGS works. The farmer-politicians pressurise the overseers or the Deputy Engineers to save their fertile irrigated land from acquisition for roads or for percolation tanks. Sometimes they are eager to forgo their barren land for percolation tank to get good compensation, which is paid at higher rates. They also manage to get compensation paid earlier than their less influential and poor farmers by using their political clout.

3. Blackmailing and Misappropriation of the EGS Funds:

Another way of interference and influencing the lower level officials used by the politicians and local leaders is the blackmailing of the officers. It was reported that a Sarpanch demanded his share of money to put his signature on the EGS muster for wage payment. In an incident reported at one place a worker had signed the muster, at the instigation of the Sarpanch in English at one time and put his
thumb impression on the muster roll at another time. After a few days he registered a complaint to the higher officer that the concerned Junior Engineer received wage payment due to him by putting his false signature in English. He further stated in his complaint that he was illiterate. The Sarpanch was the witness. It was revealed after the enquiry that the complainant was a matriculate. The villagers and the officials during the discussion narrated numerous incidents in which in order to extract money from the lower level officials at the implementation level, the politicians make use of allegations, false complaints, etc. against the Deputy Engineers, Junior Engineers and other officials of the implementing agencies. At one place a Sarpanch forced the EGS officials to include the name of his wife in the muster. Later on he demanded money from the official. When the official refused to give the money a complaint was lodged against him for entering false names including the name of the wife of the Sarpanch and receiving wages against these names. One pretty senior Deputy Engineer brought to our notice that the politicians compelled the EGS functionaries to include false names of those who were out of village, who worked at other sites and even those who were dead.

Recently a number of small newspapers have come up in the countryside. These newspapers are managed by the lower level politicians. They indulge in blackmailing the
Government officials engaged in the EGS. Their modus operandi is simple. The EGS officers are approached for donations to the newspaper or for advertisements. If they fail to oblige they are threatened to expose the malpractices and irregularities on the EGS works under their supervision. One senior officer of B & C Department showed one such small newspaper containing a news item about the high level corruption in the transfer of Superintending Engineers, Executive Engineers. Involved in the scandal was the Minister of Irrigation also.

Again the Maroti Fund, the Felicitation Fund, the Election Fund are the opportunities for the politicians to approach the EGS officers for money, reported some respondents. They belong to political parties - ruling as well as opposition. They are occupants of party posts or local level non-official posts or central or state level, legislature or ministerial posts. The contractors submit their inflated bills and with the help of influential politicians get them passed. It has been told by the Executive Engineer that in one case the leader of the Shivsena as well as another leader belonging to the Congress Party, ex-MP approached him to pass a bill of the contractor for transporting metal on the EGS site for Rs. 72000, which in reality was just for Rs. 12000/- worth of work done.

Of course, all such cases of misappropriations of the
EGS fund, manipulation of fake registers and numerous corrupt practices are very difficult to substantiate with evidence.

Irregularities and Manipulation:

There are normally two or three groups in the villages. The leaders of one group insists upon the EGS officials to include as many people of his group on the EGS works as possible. He also sees that the persons from rival group should not be engaged in the on going works in the village or in its vicinity.

It was also observed that the political pressure is exerted in minor matters viz. hiring of bullock carts, pair of bullocks or tractor of the village influentials on the EGS works for carrying water at the sites, carrying out soil, digging material etc. The politicians also exert pressure on the officials on the sites to engage their relatives on the works like child care, providing drinking water on the sites.

While taking up the EGS works and suspending or stopping them under the pretext of non-availability of workers for farming operations, the local politicians try to force the concerned officers either to take up particular works or to stop the work even if it is in full swing.
Politics Through Contract Works:

Some parts of the EGS works such as gorge filling of the percolation tanks, stone work of approach roads etc. are undertaken by the contractors. As per the EGS rules, as far as possible such contract works should be given to the labour co-operative societies of the EGS workers. Interestingly, the politicians, the village level or above, form this kind of society and get it registered as labour co-operative in order to take advantage of this provision and procure EGS works. They take up the gorge filling works, transportation of metal from quarry to the work sites etc. on contract. The real EGS workers remain as workers only. There is nothing wrong in anybody taking initiative in forming the labour co-operatives. But here one finds skillful exploitation of facility by the local influential to further their interests under the garb of labour co-operative. This affects adversely the very purpose of providing the works to the labour co-operatives.

It was reported during the discussion with the implementing officers that the politicians also bring pressure on the officers to increase the proposition of contract work under the EGS. It is a strange phenomenon that the politicians indulge in EGS corruption on the one hand and also criticise the scheme for its corrupt practices on the other. According to a labour leader this is their trick to abuse the scheme and bring pressure on the Government
to wind it up for ever or at least to dilute its implementation.

High Level Corruption in the EGS:

There are a number of committees to monitor and evaluate the scheme. The purpose behind their formation is to safeguard the interests of the beneficiaries. For this purpose they are empowered to recommend the Government departments punishment to the extent of suspension from the services, to the officers of the implementing agencies involved in the serious irregularities. But in practice the chairman and the members of these committees themselves indulge in demanding money from the implementing officers, threatening and humiliating the high level officers and taking false complaints from the workers for this purpose. Such instances, in respect of legislative committee on the EGS especially, were brought to our notice by the interviewees - the officers at a number of places during the field work. For example, it was reported that such incidents of black-mailing the officers by the EGS committee members were taken place in the districts of Sholapur, Latur, Aurangabad, Sangli etc. As a result of this kind of politicking, it was also observed from the discussion with the officers of the implementing agencies, that in a number of cases the punishment against the wrongdoers are withdrawn after offering money to the committee members. Thus it can be said that blackmailing of sincere officers and encouragement
to the corrupt officers are the methods used by these committees. This is the reason why lot of politics is played in the formation of the EGS committees. The net results of the large scale politicisation of the Scheme can be stated as following:

(1) The percolation tanks on such manipulated sites go waste.
(2) The poor quality of tanks lead to their damage.
(3) A large number of them are left incomplete.
(4) The roads usually, which are not straight due to the change taken place, are poorly constructed, left incomplete and too many of them are not properly maintained.
(5) The social forestry works, horticulture or nalla bunding etc. works are allotted on the soils of the influentials.

The hypotheses that the vital decisions regarding the EGS works are largely influenced by the interest of the local politicians, is comfortably proved from the above mentioned observations. The incidents of play of political influence in the execution of the scheme are many more as if its implementation implies political cost which is inevitable. However, the respondent workers know very little about the politicking in the scheme.

Changing Class Relationship:

The Indian village society is composed of different classes. In the introductory chapter we have dealt with, at length, the layers of farmers within the broader class of peasantry.
In the absence of the EGS works the rural poor, by and large, were engaged in agriculture. However, with the introduction of the EGS they are engaged in the combination of agricultural occupations. Obviously the scheme cannot function without its impact on the relationship between the different classes in the rural areas.

In our sample of 300 respondents almost all are marginal farmers, small farmers and landless agricultural workers, who are below poverty line. Therefore, they constitute one class—a class of rural poor. As against this there exists in rural Maharashtra, a class of rich and middle farmers who provide employment to the needy people on their farms during cultivation and harvesting seasons. However, this kind of employment is seasonal and naturally the condition of the post in the rural areas become precarious in the absence of gainful employment during lean period. On this background the EGS has emerged to provide to the needy people throughout the year. Obviously, more the EGS work less it is in the interest of the rich and middle farmers, as the people prefer the EGS works, when available, to farm works in the field of local farmers.

There has always been controversy over the clash of interests due to the implementation of the EGS. The cultivators argue that because of the EGS works, they find it difficult to get workers on their farms, whereas the leaders of the organization of workers as well as opposition parties charge
that in order to protect the interests of the rich farmers the EGS works are not taken up on a large scale even though there is demand of such works. This is the nature of the controversy.

Therefore, the policy makers, time and again, try to convince the rich peasantry that the EGS would not adversely affect the regular agricultural operations. How to reconcile the increasing demand for works from the rural people on the one hand and the resistance of vested interests like the rich and the middle level farmers on the other, is a dilemma before the policy makers.

There are certain conditions laid down by the Government in regard to undertake the EGS works (See Chapter IV). According to the Government Circular, new works can be started only when surplus workers are available after fulfilling the needs of the agricultural operations. The District Collector is empowered to look into the situation of agriculture in the district and accord the permission for starting new works. He has also power to suspend the on going works if he feels that a labour force is not available for seasonal agricultural operations due to the EGS (see Chapter IV).

... Table
Table No. 6.3
Perception of respondents about availability of labourers for Agricultural Work.

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Table No. 6.4
Respondents reaction about the more or less wage payments by the farmers.

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Responses of the Respondents:

To ascertain the exact position in this regard the workers were asked whether they agree with the statement that the sufficient labour force is not available for agriculture when the EGS works are in progress. 68.4% per cent respondents supported the contention (See Table No.6.3).

They were further asked, do the farmers pay more wages during the season? Bulk of them (89.3%) answered negatively (See Table No.6.4).

Thus these findings show that there is no shortage of workers for agriculture despite on going EGS works in the agricultural season. Secondly, because of the heavy demand of the workers the farmers are not prepared to pay more the EGS workers. It means the workers have no attraction for the farm works. The main reason, according to the workers, for not attending the farm works, while the EGS works are in progress, is the low rate of wages and not the paucity of workers.

To ascertain their dependability, despite existence of the EGS, on the local farmers for employment, they were asked whether they still require to work with them (the farmers). 70.3 per cent answered in affirmative see Table No.6.5.
Table No. 6.5

Need of working with the farmers

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This response indicates that dependence of rural poor on agriculturists has not declined much, because the EGS, as a source of alternative employment, has not come up to the expectations. For various reasons the EGS works are stopped, for example, during the rainy season the EGS operations at many places come to standstill. Sometimes due to the paucity of funds the EGS works are discontinued. Naturally the scheme fails to provide work for the needy people in the villages throughout the year. As a result of these constraints the rural workers have to go in search of work and to depend upon the local farmers for employment on their farm at low wage rates.

This situation speaks abundantly about the limitation of the scheme as well as the policy makers' will power to implement it for the benefits of the large sections of the rural poor.
The Reactions of different Components:

The important questions involved in the impact of the EGS on the conflicting relations among various classes in rural Maharashtra, include i) the question of non-availability of the workers for seasonal farming operations, ii) the impact on agricultural sector in terms of productivity, iii) ultimately who actually suffers due to loss, if any? viz. the rich farmers with irrigated lands, the middle farmers with irrigated land, the middle farmers with dry land or the small and the marginal farmers? and finally iv) why do the workers find the EGS works more attractive?

An attempt has been made in this study to find out answers to these questions from the various components viz. the village leaders, the farmers, the bureaucrats and the leaders of the workers organizations. The village leaders and farmers from Majri, Muddeshwadgaon, Janefal, Haumantaon, Chichadgaon, Nandgaon, Karmad, Palshi Adgaon, Pal and many others visited expressed reservations about the implementation of the EGS. In their opinion the scheme ultimately results into shortage of farm workers. The main argument of this powerful section of the rural society is that they do not get sufficient workers for agricultural operations which are seasonal in nature. Secondly, they told that the traditional system of engaging 'Saldars', Mahenedars (Marathi) - the system of employing a person annual basis - has also
been on the verge of extinction. Now a days, they feel that people prefer to work on EGS projects to attach to landlords for fixed period. In many places it has led to such a situation that a cultivator himself has to undertake minor farming activities as well as extra activities like grazing, animal cleaning, collecting cowdung etc. It is beyond the control of an ordinary farmer to manage all these works by himself. One rich farmer respondent pointed out that as a result of this there is a growing tendency on the part of the rich farmers to shift their investments from agriculture to more lucrative investments in the non-agricultural occupations in urban areas.

The bureaucrats have also stated that there is a shortage of farm labourers when the EGS works are in progress during the season. However, the leaders of workers organizations have expressed their disagreement with this viewpoint. According to them shortage of farm workers is not merely due to the EGS but there are a number of reasons for this. One of the important reason explained by one leader is inadequate wages paid by the farmers to the labourers. He said "pay them proper wages and you will get workers". Supporting the EGS, he argued, that EGS is a must because the agriculture, especially the small farmers and even medium farmers with dry farming, cannot absorb village manpower fully. Therefore, the scheme like EGS, is required to absorb this surplus man power
in gainful employment. The contention of this component is that the labourer, free to join any work. In fact if he is provided adequate farm work within the village near his house, he has no reason to go in search for employment elsewhere. The real issue involved is that the capitalist farmers find it difficult, though not impossible, to exploit the workers at less than subsistence wages by engaging them on the work throughout the day and extract any type of work from them.

On the other hand the landlords complain that the workers sit idle and do not attend farming activities. They have become very choosy. Hence, before accepting any work they ensure that it is not very difficult or hard and/consuming and at the same time paying more. And this is quite understandable.

When we probed further about the impact of the EGS on the agricultural activities, we were told that all categories of farmers viz. the rich farmers with irrigated land, the middle farmers with irrigated land and farmers with dry farming, are facing the problem of shortage of agricultural labour due to EGS. But the reasons for and intensity of this state of affairs/different for different categories of farmers. For example the dryland farmers are unable to pay them according to the high expectations of the labourers. Naturally, they are the worst suffers. They have to cultivate land with
the help of their own family members. The rich farmers, with irrigated land and inputs such as fertilizer, pesticides, insecticides and modern cropping pattern, also face difficulty. But they are prepared to pay the labourer high wages. Still sometimes they do not get sufficient workers but some how they manage their farming work.

From the discussion with number of components of the scheme the inference can be drawn that the workers find EGS works more attractive. They have fixed hours of work. They are fairly regular as compared to the farm works. They provide regular source of income. These are some of the reasons advanced by the workers for their preference to the EGS works. In addition to these advantages, there are a few amenities and facilities which are not available on private farm works is also an important point. The payments on the EGS works are periodical and as per the measurement and are normally more than the farm wages. The workers also feel that the EGS works are impersonal. In contrast works on private farm are less paying, hard, uncertain and many a times the labourers experience humiliation and bad treatment by the landlords. When they had no alternative they tolerated it, but now as there is an alternative in the form of the EGS, they do not feel so much dependent on the local farmers for employment.

Thus the controversy goes on. The relationship between
different classes in the rural set up has started changing due to the introduction of the EGS. According to the rich and the middle level farmers, it is deteriorating. From the point of view of workers, the EGS has given some kind/alternative and confidence among the helpless landless labourers. Of course, the EGS has not helped them to overcome all their problems. Even today, despite the EGS, they have to depend upon the rich and the influentials in village set-up but one thing is certain and that is their dependence has been reduced considerably, if not totally vanished.

As a result of this controversy, agriculture is put to loss in number of ways. Many a time standing crops are spoiled due to the shortage of workers during the harvest season. The family labour is utterly inadequate to cope up with the urgency of the farm activities which are necessary to be completed in a specific period. Therefore, agriculture according to farming sections has become a nonviable activity.

Benefits of the EGS:

The twin objectives of the EGS are providing employment to rural people and creating productive assets from the works undertaken in the scheme for the village. Naturally the question arises who are the beneficiaries of the scheme and the assets created thereunder? Being a poverty alleviation programme, the EGS is expected to give benefits to the lower
strata of the society. How far this has been achieved is to be ascertained.

We tried to get reactions of the various components involved in the EGS. The main assets of the EGS include (i) percolation tanks, (ii) nalla bundings, (iii) contour bundings, (iv) approach roads, (v) afforestation etc. Our hypothesis is that the assets created as a result of the implementation of the scheme benefit the economically better off sections of rural populace - who already possess some assets and not the bulk of the population below poverty line.

Workers' response to our question to what extent the people are benefited by the percolation tanks, 85 per cent of the respondents answered that they have not benefited in any way by the percolation tanks of the EGS. Secondly, 52.7 per cent stated that the bunding works were undertaken on their land. But added that such works were undertaken long back i.e. between 5 and 15 years in the past. Neither the Government nor the cultivators took care to maintain these bunds. The bunds have been swept away in most of the cases. Therefore, so far as productivity part is concerned they have not been of much use.

The EGS is criticised as the scheme in which "the destitutes put hard work, the Government finances and the rich farmers are benefited". This statement was brought to the notice of the respondents and they were asked to what extent
did they agree with it. 74 per cent of the respondents expressed their full agreement with this statement. 21.7 per cent felt that the statement is partially true which indicates that a large sections of the respondents (94.7%) believe that the beneficiaries of the assets are not the workers or the poor landless people but the rich farmers and the influentials in the rural areas.

Reactions of the Interviewees:

This is one side of the picture. In order to understand the other side of it we tried to know the reactions of other components. In all villagers from Maharwadi we experienced a sense of gratitude among the small farmers belonging to backward castes towards the scheme and individual personnel implementing the percolation tank work in the village. As a result of the percolation tank the water level of the wells in the catchment area of the village increased and the irrigated farming became possible giving benefits of cash crops to the cultivators. At a village Lasur also a farmer found getting advantage of the increased water level in the well in his small farm due to nearby percolation tank constructed under the EGS. One Executive Engineer explained, in detail, how the villagers from Phulambri circle - where percolation tanks were constructed under the EGS on large scale - have increased their agricultural production. The small and marginal farmers, were required to migrate in the off season as
well as during the harvest season also in search of employment on the sugar factories before the introduction of the EGS. They are now in a position to cultivate their own lands, due to availability of water due to percolation tanks. The proportion of migrants has reduced considerably from that area. The general benefits of the percolation tanks include (i) increased crop yield, (ii) multiple cropping which was not possible earlier, (iii) encouragement to cash crops cultivation like sugarcane, (iv) encouragement for horticulture, (v) in many villages use of stored water in the percolation tanks for drinking, (vi) it also attaches some other incidental benefits. As a result those who were unwilling to part their land for the construction of percolation tanks themselves not only give their consent but also take initiative to give their land for this purpose.

Foodgrains and the EGS:

The distinguishing feature of the EGS and the major point of attraction for the workers was the provision of foodgrains as part of wages. As per this provision part of the wages due to the workers were to be paid in the form of foodgrains. Especially in the drought period, it is claimed, that the heavy enrollment for the EGS was largely due to this provision. Recently the Government has discontinued the supply of wheat for the EGS works. It is said that this is one of the reasons for the declining attendance on the EGS
works. Considering the important place of the foodgrains in the implementation of the EGS, we asked a few questions to the EGS workers in this regard.

To the question, did you get foodgrains on the EGS works in the past, 81.7 per cent of the workers replied affirmatively. However, from their replies it was clear that they had not received the foodgrains on all the works and at all the times. We noted that they had to recollect on what works, in the past few years, they were provided foodgrains.

As far as the difficulties in obtaining foodgrains are concerned, 64 per cent of the respondents found no difficulties in getting the foodgrains. However, the major hurdles in their way in this regard, stated by them, are as follows - (i) far-a-way fair price shops. For example the workers from village Ovhar, in Aurangabad Taluka, were required to collect grains from the fair price shops in Aurangabad cantonment which is at distance from their village. (ii) Non-availability of foodgrains in the fair price shops. Many a time the stock necessary to the need of the workers was not available in the shops.

There was hot discussion on the floor of the house in 1990 about the cancellation of foodgrains coupons due to the non-availability of the stock in the fair price shops for distribution of the EGS workers. The opposition criticised the Government for taking away the facility of supply of wheat
on the EGS works. The opposition also charged the Government for winding up the Scheme.

We discussed this issue of irregular supply of foodgrains to the EGS workers, at length, with different sections of the people associated with the EGS in different capacities.

The Joint Secretary to the Department of Planning, Government of Maharashtra in his interview blamed the Central Government for cutting the supply of foodgrains quota. One of the reasons for discontinuation of the foodgrains was the dwindling surplus stock with the Central Government besides withdrawal of the World Bank assistance under Food for Work Programme to this Scheme.

Apart from these obvious reasons one more important factor for stopping of food supply was the pressure of rich farmers on the Government of India in this context.

In an article in the 'Economic and Political Weekly' it has been pointed out that, when Rao Birendra Singh was the Minister of Food and Agriculture in 1978, there was heavy pressure of the rich peasants on the Government, the Food and Agriculture Minister in particular, to protect their interests. As a result the Scheme was discontinued. This indicates strong political undercurrents against the well entrenched labour beneficial practices in the EGS. The labour organizations in our survey also opined that the fluctuations
in regard to the policy of supplying foodgrains to the works such as the EGS had political overtones.

One more point to be noted in this context is the fear of decline in the prices of foodgrains if the wages were paid in kind on the various work programmes of the Government. It was not only the interests of the rich peasantry but the interests of the shopkeepers which was also concerned in the politics of foodgrains supply. The shopkeepers, running the fair-price shops in rural areas, also developed vested interests in taking the EGS works so that the workers would be provided with the coupons for foodgrains and they would purchase from these fair price shops. Secondly, it has been told by many respondents that there was regular practice on the part of the shopkeepers to purchase coupons at low price and sell the equivalent quantity of foodgrains against them in the open market at higher price.

In spite of these malpractices in the utilization of coupons and number of difficulties in getting the foodgrains, the workers were strongly in favour of this scheme and suggested its continuation in more efficient manner as they felt it to be more useful than any other facility on the EGS.

Awareness of the EGS Workers:

The EGS is a labour intensive programme in the rural area. Therefore, one of our objectives in this study was to
understand general and political level of consciousness of rural workers as a result of the introduction and implementation of this scheme.

Our hypothesis in this regard was that the scheme has failed to create enough awareness among the rural masses. In order to test this hypothesis a few questions were asked to the respondents. An attempt has been made, through these questions, to know i) their knowledge about various aspects of the EGS and the related matters, ii) their perception of political process and their political interests and iii) level of their participation.

Knowledge About the Scheme: In order to verify their knowledge and the awareness about the preliminary things related to the scheme, the workers were asked two questions viz. i) Is your family registered as a below poverty line family as per 1982 BPL family survey? ii) If not, why?

53 per cent of the respondents answered in affirmative and 47 per cent expressed their ignorance about the need for any kind of registration as BPL family. In fact almost all of them were in the category of BPL on the basis of land holding criteria (94%) and income criteria (99%). This shows that a large number of workers are not aware of the BPL survey conducted in 1982. The reasons for non-registration and lack of seriousness on their part in this regard cover-
1) the lack of knowledge about the BPL survey (24%), ii) casual approach as 26% expressed such simple reasons such as they were out of village or were not feeling well etc.

However, to our query whether they have filled in pro-forma related to family census in 1984, 83 per cent are found to have filled in this form which means there is increase in this registration over BPL registration. But it is difficult to say whether the rise is due to increasing consciousness among the workers or the changes in the methodology and/or persons involved in conducting the survey.

Regarding their understanding and association with the scheme, they were asked whether they have filled in the registration form for the demand of the EGS works? and whether they have been provided with the Identity Cards after registration? 63.3 per cent of the respondents have stated that they are registered EGS workers whereas 36 per cent told that they have not registered. 56 per cent have got issued Identity Cards and 43.3 did not get these cards. However, our observation is that most of them did not know the implications and benefits of the registration and identity cards. As per the EGS regulations only registered workers are eligible for employment allowance. Further, the Identity Card carries information such as quantum of the work done, wages paid etc.
There are a number of questions from the questionnaire on which only replies of the respondents may not help us to understand the level of awareness about the overall process of the working of the scheme. They were required to be probed further by discussing with them. Thus the questions such as - i) who advised you to demand the works under the EGS, the local components or the Government components? ii) What difficulties do you face in order to get the works? iii) Are there any shifts of the sites of the percolation tanks, roads, forestry etc. in your opinion? iv) Who took the decisions to change the sites? - the local component or the official component? - could not be understood and, therefore, not replied by many of them. The same is the case with the rate of wages, the knowledge of the minimum wage, the informations about the wage payment on the muster sheets etc. Hence, most of them also could not answer the questions such as i) At what rate do you get wages under the EGS? ii) Do you get wages as shown against your name in the muster? iii) Do you know what is the minimum wage as per the law for the agricultural workers? Despite clarity in the questions in the questionnaire, they failed to answer these questions due to their ignorance and, therefore, statistical generalizations may not be accurate. Discussions with them in this regard reveal that the respondents are not paid wages according to the prevailing wage rates and revised rates. It is due to their ignorance, especially, ignorance about the technicalities such as
measurement of work done, muster entries etc. rural folk is largely exploited by the functionaries. Not that they do not know this exploitation. However, they are helpless due to their ignorance and illiteracy. The political elites do not come to their rescue but they also act in this process of exploitation – sometimes deliberately.

About the non receipt of the unemployment allowance almost 97 per cent were unaware of the existence of such allowance. Therefore, they could not give reasons for its non-payment.

**Lack of Political Education:** There is always a large gathering of workers on the EGS work sites. Work place is regarded as one of the important agents of political socialization. A frequent large gathering provides ample opportunity for the exchange of thoughts and views. It is also easy to mobilize people politically, who possess by and large, identical interests and move through identical socio-economic situation. Exchanges and narrations of their experiences to each other are politically very significant. Naturally one of the objectives of this study was to ascertain the political impact of the scheme for the rural masses, their participation in the politics, factionalism and groupism in the village political life etc.

As far as factionalism is concerned 89.9 per cent have responded that there was no impact in the large number of
villages we visited. The respondents' reaction was that factionalism is very much there in other villages but not in their village. Perhaps the very concept of factionalism has negative connotation; something undesirable and they did not want to associate with it.

In order to know whether any co-relation exists between the EGS and the voting pattern in the village, they were asked whether they (the EGS workers) vote for one and the same candidates? Their answer was in negative. They argued that how would all the workers vote for the same candidates? Further, in response to the question whether there was any workers' organization in their village, most of them told that their village was free from any kind of trade unionism. There was no question of either membership of the organization or any help from such organizations which were the questions of our further query.

All the responses of the workers to various questions pertaining to their general awareness about the scheme and its political impact indicate the following points - (1) Even though a large number of them are associated with the EGS quite a long period, they have very little understanding of its mechanism, rules and regulations and amenities etc.; due to lack of information, ignorance and poverty have made them heavily dependent on the state initiative like EGS.
Secondly, though EGS is state sponsored scheme, in which political decision makers play very important role, does not have direct political impact on the village political life. Whatever small political influence noticed, are its wide effects and not the major outcome directly filtering through operational part of the scheme. To sum up, it can be said that the EGS has failed as an additional opportunity for interest articulation and political participation for the rural areas.

Reactions of Interviewees:

There are two sets of arguments with regard to the awareness of the workers. Some Government officers like Executive Engineers, Deputy Engineers, Agriculture Officers, Forest Officers argued that the workers know their interests well. They have become smart and clever enough on the work sites. Before the Junior Engineer completes the measurement of the work done, the latter are ready with the calculations of approximate wages to be received in the light of quantum of work produced by them. Gone are the days, said the interviewees, when practices of underpayment of wages could work.

The Alliance Between the EGS and Political Leaders:

Various kinds of irregularities take place in the EGS works. There is a lot of criticism about the corruption, financial irregularities, embezzlement in the implementation
of the scheme. If it is true then the question arises, who are responsible for this situation and who support them? Our hypothesis is that 'unless there is an alliance between the bureaucrats and the political leaders, there is no scope for the irregularities and corruption.' The officials at the lower level feel safe if they are under the umbrella of the local level political influentials. The local leaders consider it necessary to have a control over local level functionaries in this scheme to safeguard their own interests. But what do the ordinary workers feel about it? To the question, 'is there alliance between the village leaders and the officials?', 48 per cent respondents replied that they are not in a position to answer because the encounter between the officials and the leaders take place not in their presence. 11 per cent expressed the existence of such alliance, whereas for 41 per cent respondents there is no such alliance between the officials and the political leaders. Our observation is that the respondents are hesitant to accept the nexus between the bureaucrats and the politicians due to fear.

Reactions of the Interviewees:

We also discussed this issue with the EGS officers, the political leaders and village leaders. According to a few interviewees there exists mutual give and take between the local leaders and the lower level functionaries for simple reason that the persons on the spot - the muster assistants,
the agricultural assistants, the Junior Engineers are suscep-
tible to the pressure tactics of local bullies as well as
over a period time they develop their own interests and engage
in all sorts of mal-practices.

The routine works such as engaging bullock carts for
water supply, maintaining muster, or taking measurements of
works done by the workers could hardly be controlled and
supervised by high level officials. Naturally, the men on
the spot have free hand in all such matters. Further it has
also been found that this nexus is not limited to local level
only. Some bureaucrats admitted that the same prevails at
all levels. The MLAs and the Divisional and District level
officers, the Non-officials and the officers of the Zilla
Parishads as well as the implementing officers of the Govern-
ment Departments, the party bosses of various parties are
also in alliance. A chain of middleman, such as contractors
are instrumental in carrying these links. However, these
observations cannot be substantiated with proofs beyond
doubts due to inherent secrecy maintained by all of them in
such matters. Yet in general, it can be said that the alliance
between the functionaries and the non-officials, political
leaders has remained a regular practice of the scheme.

Attitude of Bureaucrats:

Success of failures of any scheme depends upon the
perception of the bureaucrats about the scheme, in case of the EGS their attitudes towards the EGS works, beneficiaries etc. In order to understand this aspect - by extracting the information from the workers, who are constantly on the spot, two questions were raised viz. 1) How frequently do the EGS officers visit the work sites? 86 per cent told us that, officers do visit frequently. 2) To a question, 'do they talk to the workers to know latters' difficulties?' 54 per cent replied in affirmation.

These responses indicate that according to the workers bureaucrats have positive approach towards the scheme. However, the reactions of the other components of the scheme are quite different.

**Reactions of Other Components:**

According to MLA from Aurangabad East the officers do not take much interest in the EGS works. They work under the scheme because they have been asked by the Government to do it. They have no enthusiasm in undertaking these works. A Sarpanch of Muddeshwadgaon citing the poor quality of five kilometer approach road under the EGS, blamed indifferent attitudes and negligence of the officials concerned. The reactions of the majority of such non-officials is similar.

In order to understand the reasons behind the lack of interest and such indifferent attitudes, further probing of
the officials during the discussion, it was revealed that the officials are sandwiched between the regular departmental authorities and that of revenue authorities. They are fed up with the erratic behaviour of the workers which includes irregularity of attendance, lack of punctuality resulting into explanations to them by the controlling authorities and the members of the EGS committee and district level committee. A few Junior Engineers in Vaijapur and Gangapur expressed their feeling saying, "Scrap the EGS, sooner the better."

**Amenities:**

One of the unique features of the EGS is that a few amenities are provided to male and female workers. The amenities include supply of implements, drinking water, the first-aid box, cradle for the children, shades for rest during the recess etc. Further the women are also entitled for a few maternity benefits (for details see Chapter IV).

The EGS workers mainly come from the poorest sections of the society. Hence these amenities are justified as functional necessity of the workers. The implementing agencies i.e. the Governments such as the B and C, the Irrigation, Forest etc. and the local self-government such as Zilla Parishad are responsible for providing the amenities. However, in reality the situation is quite different. The amenities provided in the rules are not either actually provided to the workers or whenever
provided they are not adequate. To begin with, on the all 20 sites of the on going works we visited, no where we could find all amenities provided fully. But the workers were not very keen about this aspect. The experience is that some amenities are provided at some places which are absent at other places. The EGS committee seems to be keen about the provision of amenities to the beneficiaries and has pointed out in a number of cases want of amenities or their inadequacy. Whenever the EGS committee visits the work sites all efforts are made at least to present better show of these amenities but this failed to camouflage the reality and the committee pointed out the disparity between rules and reality in this regard.

The EGS and Workers' Organization:

The emergence of the EGS, according to some sections, is the outcome of organized demands of workers' organizations for provision of works on a large scale. Naturally when the large scale works are taken up it is expected the workers' organizations become active to consolidate their strength. To what extent the message of these organizations has reached the workers?

They were asked whether there was an organization of workers in their village? Were they members of it? To these questions most of them answered negatively. The participation of workers' strike and other agitations was also not evident.
Reactions of the Interviewees:

A few leaders of workers' organizations at work sites were asked about inactivity of workers' organizations in the field of EGS works. But they refused to accept this proposition and stated that the workers' organizations are very active in the field. In support of their argument they cited examples of agitations of workers and methods like 'morcha', 'dharna' adopted by them in the areas under this study to get the problem of the workers solved. According to them a large number of workers gave response to them for strike. However, the interesting part of the picture is that the workers were not knowing the details, such as name of the organization, membership and other details about the organization matters, even the names of their leaders. This not only indicates the lack of awareness on the part of the workers about the organization but shows the limitations of organizing rural labour.

When we approached the EGS officers to know their view points about organization of workers, they stated that in some pockets they came across the activities of some unions. Especially in Gangapur the officers faced troubles from different organizations. But overall view was that they are not much influential in the field.

It has been our observation that there are two approaches
of looking at the EGS by the organization leaders. According to first, the EGS has proved the best channel, instrument and forum to organize workers, to educate them and consolidate their strength. This is because in a diffused society like ours, it is on the EGS work sites that thousands of workers from different strata of the village society, are available without much efforts. This strength of workers can be used, and it has been used in the past, for organizing them. They are educated about their rights, about their interests and efforts are made to make them bold, vocal and articulate.

The Shet Majur Sanghtana and Bharatiya Kisan Mazdoor Sabha, Shramik Sangh, (in Marathi) the CPI are some of the workers' organizations which have been active in a few districts such as Ahmednagar, Thane, Dhule etc. The performance of the EGS is comparatively better in these districts as compared to others. Of these Shet Majur Sanghatna, Yuwak Kranti Dal (in Marathi), CPI are active in Aurangabad district so far activities of the EGS are concerned. According to other approach, explained by Aurangabad based worker of Yuwak Kranti Dal, the EGS works provide employment to the needy in the countryside. However, it has not solved the basic problems of poverty and unemployment. Especially the basic question of socio-economic transformation cannot be effectively tackled through the schemes like EGS. As against this the organizations are entangled in the procuring little benefits of the scheme and fail to concentrate their energies on the radical
programmes leading to socio-economic transformation and providing support base for political purpose.

**Conclusion:**

To sum up the general findings on the political implications of the scheme on the basis of the survey of workers and interviews of other components following broad conclusions emerge.

1) The EGS ensures the right to work to the ruralites. The measure in itself is revolutionary. But if we take various legal implications of this right, including the payment of unemployment allowance, and consider its enforcement, we can conclude that this right is not experienced by the beneficiaries in reality.

2) Our observation of the workers as well as the statistical data we have collected indicate that there has not been substantial rise in the standard of living of the workers.

3) The politicians at all levels, leaders belonging to all parties, factions including those of village set-up exercise their political influence to safeguard their own personal interests and to further their political objectives through the EGS. They view EGS as one more instrument of power in addition to already existing devices like the cooperatives, Panchayat Raj institutions, educational institutions etc. However, the scheme has not been used directly to influence
the voters in the election at any level.

4) One of the impacts of the scheme on the inter-relationship among the different classes in the rural Maharashtra, as has been observed in this survey, is that the classes are at war with one another. The situation of already strained relations among them has gone from bad to worse.

5) The EGS has created large number of assets over a period of 20 years. This survey has pointed out that rich peasants are the real beneficiaries of these assets. It has been revealed that the benefits have not reached the small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers.

6) Foodgrains have been the main attraction of the EGS works for the workers. However, there is neither steady and consistent policy nor the determination of the Government to the principle of payment of wages in kind of foodgrains to the EGS workers. Contrary to this, it is revealed that there has been a lot of pressure politics working behind any decision either of the Centre or the State with regard to the supply of foodgrains. Added to this are the large number of irregularities and malpractices which lead to make it a meaningless facility.

7) About the general awareness of the Scheme it can be said that despite the existence of the scheme for a long time the workers, who are closely associated with it have hardly any awareness about the scheme.
8) There is a nexus between the politicians and the EGS functionaries which has discredited the scheme. There is sufficient support to this contention from the responses of the villagers, politicians, and a few officers also, even though it is not possible to substantiate or statistically prove it.

9) It has also been revealed from this survey that the Scheme is badly affected by the indifference, apathy on the part of bureaucrats who are at the helm of the officers. The Officers of course have certain reasons for their alienation from the EGS.

10) Certain amenities are provided to the EGS works with the purpose to equip them to work more and in a better way. However, the absence of these amenities is a matter of rule and not exception.

11) To our surprise even though EGS has a potential for organization of workers, they are not conscious about the workers' union.
CHAPTER VI: NOTES AND REFERENCES:

1. A. The EGS workers and the Official at village Devlai work site provided this information on 9-1-1990
   B. Indepth interview of the MLA, Gangapur at village Manjri on 10-12-1989 and the MLA, Aurangabad East on 21-5-1990 at Aurangabad.


3. Indepth interview of the leader of the Workers' Organization and the CPI, Aurangabad on 18-6-1990.

4. The interview of the Senior Officer from Vaialpur on 20-12-1989.

5. Indepth interview of the Deputy Engineer (B & C) Sub-Division, Vaialpur on 19-12-1989.

6. This incident took place on the EGS work of Vishnupuri project in Nanded district, reported by a responsible Officer in his interview on 20-12-1989 at Vaialpur.

7. Interview of the Deputy Engineer at Vaialpur on 19-12-1989.

8. Ibid.

9. Indepth interview of a Senior Officer from B & C Department at Aurangabad on 1.1.1990.

10. Ibid.


12. The CPI leader and two leaders of the Lal Nishan Party we interviewed, criticised the double standard used by the rich peasantry to condemn this scheme.

13. Many interviewees brought this to our notice. Even the Collector, during his visit, said that there are such reports. However, there is nothing on record.

14. Criticism of Opposition Party MLAs,
    Indian Express 17th March, 1990,
    Lokmat daily (Marathi) 12th and 13th March, 1990.
15. The rich farmers from Manjri, Muddeshwadgaon, Janefal, Hanmantgaon, Nanndgaon, Chinchadgaon, Palashi, Adgaon, Karmad, Pal etc. pointed out this in their interviews.

16. Interview of the rich farmer from the village Beloli on 22-12-1989.

17. A leader of the 'Lal Nishan Party' from Ahemadnagar in his interview at Ahemadnagar on 15-10-1989 argued this.


19. In-depth interviews of small farmers belonging to backward classes from the village Maharwadi Taluka, Aurangabad on 8-3-1991.

20. Interview of small farmer at Lasur (between Vaijapur and Deenwada) on 13-12-1989.

21. Indian Express March 17, 1989. Also Lokmat daily (in Marathi), 12.3.90 and 13.3.1990


24. As per the Guidelines of the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) a family with an annual income upto Rs.3500 (if cultivator) the land-holding upto 1.5 acres is counted as Below Poverty Line family.


27. It is observed that a number of the EGS functionaries have such feeling about the scheme. A Junior Engineer (Irrigation) at Vaijapur expressed it in his interview on 21.12.1989.

28. Almost all reports of the EGS Legislative Committee pointed out absence of amenities and facilities provided to the EGS workers.
29. The labour leaders of Lal Nishan CPI, the Bhartiya Kisan Majur Sabha etc. have made this claim in their interviews.


31. Interview of the Deputy Engineer ( B & C), Gangapur on 13-12-1989.