Chapter Seven: Conclusion

Public policy implementation has become one of the most significant function of democratic polity like India. With growth and increase in the size of India’s economy there has been much more focus on the role of State towards developmental functions and the rising inequity has caused need for public policy towards social protection programmes. The case of MGNREGA as one of the largest social protection programme introduced various innovative and new features in design and implementation of public policy and the findings of this research in earlier chapters have been focussed towards analysing those features and challenge of bridging the gap between the goals of the policy and its implementation. The objective of this research has been to analyse the MGNREGA from a policy perspective and it has been focused in terms of the framework of formulation, implementation and challenges of policy. Key findings of this research has been summarised in this final chapter and on the basis of the key findings an attempt has been made in form of policy suggestions for making the public policy implementation more effective and result oriented.

Need of public policy for public work employment programme:

- Right to work and livelihood are embedded in India’s constitution. Article 39(a) reads: “The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing that- the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means to livelihood,” and Article 41 states, “The State shall within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work to public assistance in cases of unemployment... and in other cases of undeserving
"want." The formulation of MGNREGA has been primarily based within this broad guiding feature of the constitution. The International Forum for Development (IFD), which was held in New York in 2004 focussed on the impact of the neo liberal policies on the developing countries and came up with some important conclusions regarding policy prescriptions. The conclusions were directly related to public policy issues in developing countries. These conclusions were:

- Employment must be placed at the center of policy discussion and not be viewed as residue outcome of economic growth or economic policies.
- The only sustainable solution for poverty eradication is employment creation.
- The gender dimension of employment are also critical empowerment of women plays an important role in the process of egalitarian development.
- There is a need to integrate economic and social policies. For this purpose, it is essential to create institutional mechanisms that mediate between economic growth and social development. Safety nets will not suffice.
- For latecomers to development, it is essential to develop capabilities at a micro level and institutions at a meso level.
- It is necessary to redefine the economic role of the state in this age of markets and globalization. Yet, the role of the state is critical if development is to bring about an improvement in the living conditions of people.
- The rules of the game in the world economy, particularly in the sphere of trade but also elsewhere, are unfair. We need fair rules. Indeed, we may need affirmative action for the developing countries in general and the least developed countries in particular.

Countries that are latecomers to industrialization need policy space in the pursuit of national development objectives. Indeed, countries and people have a right to be wrong so that they can learn from mistakes.

The above policy suggestions of IFD and policy debate on growth with equity clearly leads one to the conclusion that employment-centric development strategy is crucial to the welfare of the large section of population in developing countries who have been left out of the mainstream development process. In the case of India, rural sections of the country have been the most marginalized economically and socially. One such step is to provide employment opportunities to people who have been left out of the market based economic system. Enactment of MGNREGA as a policy designed on rights based entitlements has been one of the most ambitious policy in realm of public works programme introduced ever to improve the conditions of least privileged sections of the society. The reach and positive impacts of the MGNREGS has been phenomenal in terms of various aspects of public policy. As highlighted in chapter four of this study, the MGNREGS has been instrumental in creating historical job opportunity for crores of families across the nation. The multiplier impact of MGNREGS in terms of stemming of distress migration, increasing natural resource base, financial inclusion of the poor, inclusion of women and the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in programme implementation has been unprecedented in terms of any public policy that has ever been enacted. The provisions of participatory planning, decentralisation, transparency and accountability, grievance redressal, and management information system (MIS) has been built in the design of the MGNREGS as one of the most striking and innovative key features ever formulated in any public policy. The success of MGNREGS has been highlighted in various studies and there
is no denying the fact that as one of the most revolutionary social security programme the MGNREGS has worked and impacted the development debate in the policy realm more than any other scheme or programme. The various evaluation studies of MGNREGS discussed in chapter four and five in detail clearly suggest that as far as outcome of the MGNREGS is concerned there are substantial positive gains of the programme on various parameters. The observation and findings of the field study undertaken during this research also substantiate the claims of benefit of the MGNREGS to a large extent. The policy of MGNREGA as designed has been unique to make some of the most historical gains in India’s strive towards poverty reduction strategies.

First and foremost contribution is related to the elimination of contractor system in public work programme. This achievement is by no means a revolutionary step and has led to the belief that it is possible to design public policy in a manner so that the middle-man or the contractor is eliminated in service delivery.

Secondly, the design of the MGNREGS has been unique in a sense that it has been first of kind social protection programme that has led to increase the ‘bargaining capacity’ of the poor. Before the introduction of the MGNREGS, there has been hardly any focus on minimum wages for the weakest section of the rural India. The Minimum Wages Act(MWA) was one of the first acts that were notified in independent India in the year 1948, but the real practise of the MWA for poor agricultural labourer came in discussion and functioning only with the introduction of MGNREGS. The revision of MWA by the state governments has been done primarily due to MGNREGS and this has resulted not only increased wage payments in MGNREGS but also has increase the bargaining power of the poor to get increased wages in free market. The increase of wages for the poor due
to MGNREGS has caused concern from industry and landed class but the social objective and equity related to this benefit outweighs any criticism related to this debate. This has been a historic achievement.

**Challenge of policy implementation**

Despite the major achievements in terms of various outcomes and multiplier impacts the MGNREGA has been often subject to various criticism due to gaps in policy design and its implementation in field. There are often questions raised about the feasibility and efficiency of the MGNREGA in terms of the failure to achieve the objective of ensuring the legal entitlements as mandated in the Act. The key hypothesis of this research has been to see if the introduction of MGNREGA has led a major development challenge for the government in terms of ensuring public service delivery. As highlighted in chapter five and six the findings and observations from the field as well as the evaluation of the major features of the MGNREGA suggest that the hypothesis has been correct. The physical reach of the programme has been phenomenal but the failure in ensuring the legal entitlements in terms of ensuring hundred days of employment has been extremely lagging. The delay in wages, poor quality of works, failure in ensuring transparency mechanism and accountability framework, corruption and lack of capability at PRIs level, all these issues lead one to raise critical questions regarding the capacity of government to deliver or implement the policy as it has been formulated.

Lant Pritchett argues that “India is today a flailing state---a nation-state in which the head, that is the elite institutions at the national (and in some states) level remain sound and functional but that this head is no longer reliably connected via nerves and sinews to its
He further elaborates his point by suggesting that “I propose to label the inability to maintain sufficient control of the administrative apparatus in order to effectively deliver services through the government in spite of democracy and strong capability at the state level a “flailing” state.” The argument put forward by Pritchett is echoed in more familiar terms by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in following words, “the government, at every level, is today not adequately equipped... to meet the aspirations of the people. To be able to do so, we require the reform of government and of public institutions ... No objective in this development agenda can be met if we do not reform the instrument in our hand with which we have to work, namely the government and public institutions.”

The challenge of implementation of MGNREGA as per the provisions inbuilt in the policy has been the major concern of the governments both at the centre and at the state level. The act was designed to provide hundred days of employment for a household in a year but this goal has not been achieved in the manner it was expected. The findings of this research in the field as well as the data and evaluations of the scheme on national level suggest that less than fifteen percent of households working in the scheme could get hundred days of employment. The findings of this research suggest that although the policy was designed to make legal entitlements mandatory in form of rights of people, however, the implementation process has been more of a top down state driven programme rather than making it based on a demand driven rights based programme. The main reason for this has been lack of institutional capacity of implementing agencies as well as lack of awareness and capability among poor and vulnerable households in demanding their legal

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3 Dr. Manmohan Singh’s address to the Nation, June 24, 2004. PTI.
entitlements. The experience of MGNREGA clearly suggests that it worked because there was a political will to make it backed by a legal enactment.

The Act engages with rights based processes that challenge existing systems and relationships of the various institutions of the governance related to fulfil the legal obligations of the Act. There has been various innovations tried at every level from the Ministry upto the grass root gram panchayats to resolve the dilemma of weakens and systematic constrains in making the legal entitlements work as per the provisions of the Act. The innovations tried in form of fund devolutions, wage rate revision and rationalisation of the schedule of rates(SORs), opening of bank accounts of labours and payments through accounts only were few of the most significant policy measures that were introduced during the implementation process. There have been various other measures like preparation of labour budget, empowerment of gram panchayat in implementation of the scheme, the transparency efforts by using information technology to track every data on a comprehensive MIS and efforts to create a beginning of accountability framework by introduction of social audits, notification of grievance redressal rules, all these have been significant attempts made to find solutions to the challenge of ensuring legal entitlements. These policy innovations introduced with MGNREGA has been radical in transforming the manner in which the government programmes have been implemented earlier, however, the outcomes of the MGNREGA in terms of achieving the successful result on various parameters of entitlements clearly demonstrate the fact that there has been lack of institutional capability of the State and its implementing agencies in meeting the challenge that has been posed by introduction of the legal provisions in the Act. How could the State have worked in more effective manner? Could the policy design and the implementation processes have been made more effective?
There are no simple and straight answers, however, on the basis of the field research and findings discussed in detail in earlier chapters of this research, an attempt is made in following sections to outline some of the major policy suggestions.

**Policy Suggestions:**

A. **Making the formulation of public policy process more inclusive and participatory:**

Identifying policy issues and giving them a shape of policy proposals requires a systematic analysis of the problem and methods that would be applied to achieve the desired outcome.

The case of MGNREGA clearly suggests that although the policy agenda and its formulation is influenced by various organisations, however, it is largely driven by the Centre and more so by the leader of the political party in power. The MGNREGA implementation depended heavily on the institutional capabilities of State governments but there were no valuable consultations done in policy formulation with the state governments. No assessment or capability study was undertaken, neither any proper consultation was done to understand the weakness of institutions and their capacities to bear the burden of service delivery at grass-root level. Thus it is clear that the pre policy consultation regime is quite weak. In a federal polity like India where the implementation of a policy is depended on the capability and institutional arrangements of the state governments this needs to be strengthened in formulation of any public policy so that the state governments can not only voice their concern but also get time to prepare their institutional capacity in desired manner. This integration of consultation process between the centre and the state governments in pre policy formulation phase is essential but apart from this one major need is to have independent knowledge centres that can work as source of important feedback and consultant organisations to help formulation of public
policy. Till now the public policy formulation in India is largely sole discretion of highly valued but over burdened bureaucracy in form of Indian Administrative Service (IAS). The officers of IAS are the one who provide the major input in preparing the various drafts and finalisation of the draft of any policy. It is widely believed that due to their knowledge of the subject and wide experience of government system they would work best to prepare any policy guideline, however, it often limits the scope of diversification of knowledge that is essential in formulation of a public policy. There exist no institutional arrangement in bureaucracy to have knowledge input from professional and academic research organisations. It is suggested that there is a great need for universities and the other professional institutions to have course and research related to public policy. Public policy has yet to find its place in universities as a discipline. It would be worth to not only set up dedicated public policy leaning centre but also strengthen the existing institutions to undertake research and provide valuable knowledge inputs that would greatly enhance the formulation of public policy process.

B. Realistic time frame and flexibility in policy framework:

A public policy that is related to public work programme in rural India in which the demand of work and project execution is largely depended upon not only the diverse geographical, socio-economic conditions but also the seasonal cycle of agriculture has an impact on the timing and nature of the projects. Thus it must be rolled out in a realistic phased manner and should have in built provisions that are corresponding to the regional diversity. A developed district like Gaziabad and a backward district like Sonbhadra can not have same set of guidelines and similar policy framework. There must be enough flexibility for state governments to adopt realistic project objective according to the needs
and diversity of the districts. The MGNREGA was implemented in a top down approach with the centre driving the programme without any consultation with state governments. There has been an imbalance between centralisation for higher level co-ordination and decentralisation for local decision-making and execution of works; inadequate post-project maintenance arrangements often undermined the efficacy of the projects. This was largely attributed to the failure to ensure there would be an authority with a sufficient stake in the projects and in their continuing effectiveness (that is lack of community participation and ineffective local government); the projects and programmes have been over ambitious. This was a result of the lack of appreciation of the time it takes to build the necessary individual and institutional capacities at various levels; there has been a lack of clearly defined and executed training programmes that link medium to a long-term development plan. The top down approach and rolling out of the policy without having realistic framework required for building the capacities of the implementing agencies results into lack of ownership of the policy at cutting edge of the implementation.

The hasten approach resulted into lack of long term development planning. This led to several constrains in implementation and thus most of the projects and provisions related to the Act were highly politicised at local level. the budget allocations were arbitrary; and very little sustainable employment was created. The short-term nature of the programme implementation approach did not allow for the necessary dissemination of improved methods of labour-intensive construction or organisation. Adequate research and development were also not possible. The duration of the programme was simply insufficient to allow the methods of construction used to become more efficient.

Project objectives must be specific instead of general; not overly complex; measurable, tangible and verifiable; realistic and attainable; established within resource bounds;
consistent with available and anticipated resources; consistent with organisational plans, procedures and policies. The objectives of the project must be made known to all project personnel and all managers, at every level of the organisation. If this information is not communicated accurately, then it is quite probable that upper management, project managers and functional managers will all have different interpretation of the ultimate objective, a situation that invites conflicts to occur. Objectives are most frequently re-established during the definition phase of project development. If resources are unavailable, alternatives must be considered. Once the total project objective is set, sub-objectives are defined in order that cost and performance may be tracked. If project objectives are not suited to the project, there are no guidelines to measure progress upon.

Programme approach could not be taken for this initiative owing to its short duration. From its inception phase onwards, the emphasis was placed on implementing projects as soon as possible, resulting in a general lack of planning. The short-term nature of the programme did not allow for the necessary dissemination of improved methods of labour-intensive construction or organisation. Adequate research and development were also not possible. The duration of the programme was simply insufficient to allow the methods of construction used to become more efficient. In future, a programme approach must be followed to ensure that general consensus is reached on the principles of labour-intensive construction. Thus it is essential that a realistic time frame should be adopted for rolling out the programme.

C. Building Institutional Capacity:
A rights based programme creates altogether a new set of framework for service delivery by the implementing agencies and it requires not only sufficient human resource that is dedicated to the policy implementation but it also requires training and basic infrastructure facilities to ensure an enabling environment for implementing agencies to deliver the legal entitlements as per the provision of the Act. The MGNREGA experience clearly suggests that the weakness of the institutions in terms of staff, training, and basic physical infrastructure like panchayat bhavan severely affected the policy outcome. Thus, it is suggested that before rolling out the implementation phase the government must ensure that there is a sufficient human resource and other institutional capacities are in built in a time bound manner. The experience of MGNREGA also clearly points out that our PRIs structure is still not strong enough to enforce a legal guarantee. A policy that is largely based on institutional capacities of PRIs is not going to succeed properly because of lack of various technical as well as financial resources at panchayat level. The allocation of role and responsibility to gram panchyats must be done in proportion to their capacity. It would be better to first strengthen the institutional capacity in terms of gram panchayat office/secretariat and technical personnel on panchayats and than assign the responsibility of delivery not the vice-versa.

D. Enabling environment for poor to exercise rights:

The rights based regime can policy can succeed only when the poor and targets beneficiaries are provided a proper enabling environment to exercise their rights. This requires an orientation towards creating various formal and informal mechanisms within as well as outside the government structure. The government must ensure awareness and empowerment of poor and weak by not only undertaking the information campaign about
the provisions of the Act but it must also create institutional structures to capture the need and demand of the primary stake holders. The capability of people to exercise their right is the key to make any rights based policy effective and the constrain of capability must be overcome by creating labour groups, engaging civil society network to provide a strong plateform to empower and organise the historically disadvantageous groups towards learning and enforcing their rights. There must be an effective grievance redressal rule notification and a dedicated official structure from bottom to top to address the grievance in timely and effective manner. There must be standard set of procedures adopted to create a partnership with the demand side of the policy. The poor skills of the poor in terms of literacy and other lack of means to raise their grievance must be taken into account while making a policy and thus capacity building of the poor to enable him to demand his rights is also needed. The use of mass media in terms of interactive plateform to make the awareness about the provisions and use of information technology is something that is important for a rights based policy. The experience of use of electronic voting machine(EVMs) replacing paper ballot has something to learn. The Election Commission of India(ECI) not undertook massive campaign to educate people on how to use EVMs and now people are easily using it. Again, the conduct of elections suggest one that an enabling environment is must for any successful policy. Today the conduct of election in India is a role model for world and the poorest of poor participate in the whole process because there is an enabling environment for him to let him exercise his right to vote. Similarly we need to create institutional environment by not only undertaking awareness campaign but also create structures for poor to exercise his rights in the manner it is desired as per the policy.

E. Financial provisions for implementation:
The funding mechanism of a policy and fund devolution to implementing agency is extremely important aspect of the implementation of a policy. The experience of the MGNREGA clearly suggest that traditional mode of a financial year may not work in an effective manner as while the financial year is close on March 31st of the year and it is expected of the government agencies to utilise the entire allocation by 31st March where as in MGNREGA the maximum need of work is after the harvesting season in February/March and as there is lean agriculture season the need for employment in MGNREGA is much more. But the funding pattern and devolution based on usual government financial budget year creates a shortage go fund availability with the implementing agencies leading to a challenge in meeting the demand for providing work. Apart from the aspect of innovation in financial budgeting pattern it is also required to devise proper mechanism for sufficient and smooth fund flow for the implementing agencies. The experience of MGNREGA suggests that the government could not create the corpus fund necessary at each level to meet the demands so it is suggested that implementation mechanism must have proper provisions for funding. The timely release of funds has also been a major issue and thus it is suggested that the fund transfer should be done smoothly by making the procedure simple, easy and transparent. As more and more schemes and policies in social sector are becoming dependent on PRIs at grass-root level, it is suggested the central government should think now about getting away with the multiple or two tranche release of funds in a financial year and the state governments should be provided the entire allocation up front in the beginning of the year. This would reduce the time lag in transfer of the funds as for every instalment the state government has to collect information from all the districts and that takes a lot of time in bigger states like Uttar Pradesh where number of districts is seventy five now. The use of IT enabled fund transfer is good innovation but it would be not effective unless the structures at gram
panchayat level is enabled with IT. Thus any move towards IT enabled fund transfer should also be focused towards strengthening the IT infrastructure at gram panchayat level.

F. Improving the design of public work programme:

(i) The MGNREGA has worked quite effectively in terms of battle against poverty, however, the design of such a large public employment programme should be not only to provide employment opportunities for manual labour but it should also make provisions for improving the skill set of such a large populace that is engaged in the programme. There must be innovation in the design of the programme to incorporate provisions for not only improving the skill of manual labour but also to include job opportunity for the large number of rural poor are other wise engaged in traditional crafts. As of now there is no scope of work for a potter or a handicraft worker or a weaver. A programme of such magnitude and scale should create provisions for incorporating such skills that are there but because of lack of proper opportunity the people who are engaged in such village based craft are living in state of vulnerability and persistent poverty.

(ii) The sustainability of such rights based policy is depended on various other provisions related to overall development issues of poor in rural India. Thus, the programme design should be adopted towards creating an integration of other significant issue and programmes in field of literacy, primary education, primary health care and nutrition.

(iii) The policy that is targeted towards creating social safety net must be also focussed on the poorest of the poor households. A blanket open ended policy that does not focus on poorest households and backward regions is not a very successful attempt to address the variation of inter regional as well as inter-
group inequities based on historical factors. An attempt should be made to make special provisions for tribal and most poor social groups like ‘mushers’ in Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh or ‘sharáia’, kols and kabutra’ in Bundelkhand region. There must be more number of employment days provided for such groups and such backward regions.

(iv) There must be a proper study of various prevailing schedule of rates and the way manual labour is engaged and based on the proper study the schedule of rates should be devised to work as per the need and variation of the region. It is important because the concept of schedule of rates has been primarily left in the hands of engineering departments that have been working with a contractor driven approach. The contractor driven approach is based on mechanisation of work rather than based on a realistic humane approach towards engagement of manual labour. Again there must be provisions for creating employment opportunity for disabled, single women or women with infant and young child. There is a provision of crèche but the present guideline does not take into consideration the realistic need of such vulnerable issues.

(v) There is need of standardisation of formats related to preparation of estimates and sanction of work. The public work employment programme can work effectively only if the job opportunities are provided when there is a need, however, the experience suggests that due to limited technical capability at gram pachayat level there has been much delay in preparation of estimates and timely sanction. It has severely affected the quality of the assets. Thus, it would be better to make standardisation about various works that are to undertaken in the scheme and the format for preparation of estimates and its procedure for sanctioning is simplified and standardised.
(vi) The programme design has been improved over the years of implementation to include convergence with various other works, however, there is need to add social infrastructure works as well into the category of works. The number of projects related to the area of improving agriculture productivity and horticulture should also be part of such large scale rural employment programme. As the creation of employment opportunity has been the primary focus so there has been not enough safeguards built in the design to ensure quality of the assets. It is important to have technical supervision and staff that ensure the quality of the works undertaken. There exist no marking or grading of the assets. It would be a good exercise if the panchayats are graded in terms of quality of assets created under MGNREGA and there should be some reward for the panchayat who works better.

There cannot be an all comprehensive and exhaustive list of policy steps to address the design of the Act, however, based on the study done of the various inquiry reports, field experience and interviews of the implementing authorities apart from the above mentioned suggestion there are following suggestions to improve upon the anti corruption framework:

**G. Strengthening the anti corruption framework:**

I. There should be a disclosure form for all functionaries directly or indirectly related to the implementation of the Act to put in public domain the movable and immovable assets holdings of themselves and their immediate family members as in form of property return and this form should be uploaded every year on the website. Those who fail to declare and upload this should not be entrusted in any form with implementation of the Act. At present there is no disclosure by PRI
functionaries and they are responsible for more than fifty percent of the projects implementation.

II. A provision should be made to sign an integrity pact by the supplier firm and the implementing agency that the items procured or at the minimum market price that is quoted and if found otherwise then the person and the firm would be blacklisted forever from doing any business with any government organisation. This should be put on website.

III. There should be a vigilance committee constituted at State level consisting of Chief Secretary as Chairperson and apart from departmental senior most Secretary, the DGP and the Home Secretary should be its member. The committee should review the progress of disciplinary actions against senior district level functionaries and the minutes of the meetings should be put in public domain by uploading it on the website.

IV. Similar vigilance committee should be constituted under the Chairmanship of Divisional Commissioner to follow up the cases for functionaries below district level.

V. The amendment should be made to make a time bound completion of departmental inquiry and the findings of the inquiry officer along with the decisions of the
competent authority should be put on website for public to know what happened in the inquiry.

VI. There should be stringent provisions added for time-bound recovery of loss of public exchequer due to embezzlement or corruption and this should be done through the attachment of the property of the guilty. The officials who is responsible for making recovery if found not acting in time bound manner then the penal interest on the money to be recovered be levied and it should be recovered from the officer who failed to discharged his duty of making time bound recovery of embezzled amount.

VII. Police and judiciary should be sensitised about the provisions of the programme and there effective role in curbing the corruption as fate of any financial embezzlement case is often decided by these two institutions. It is has been found that the FIR registered in such cases hardly is monitored so it is suggested that there should be a specialised monitoring of such FIRs that are filed on the basis of findings related to embezzlement. Again, the litigation by erring officials in judiciary often takes years and there is no proper monitoring of such cases so it is required that all such cases should be put on fast track. The time has come when we should have special fast track courts in each district to decide the cases related to corruption.
Concluding remarks:

Programme formulation has not always been thought through. Very few of them have a justiciable rights regime. Being ad hoc they do not flow from a declared policy. The NREGA experience shows that a rights based regime by itself is no solution. We need to have a rights based regime followed by active awareness building. There is voluminous evaluation of programmes and ostensible efforts are made to set things right but shortcomings like improper targeting, administrative insensitivity and corruption continue to be features even in the new well thought out programmes like the NREGA, at least in some places. The policy making system, political leadership and the administrative authority by itself does not seem to include self correcting mechanisms to any large extent. This would need the mandatory introduction of institutions outside the chain of command as public policy schools, auditors and a voice of the beneficiaries. This would add to the learning loop of public policy making. Civil society institutions, where they are active, can help. But their effectiveness depends on the societal ambience. Not all parts of India have effective civil society institutions. They are weak where they are needed most for chronic poverty alleviation, like in the Hindi heartlands. Creating this necessary countervail has to be built into policy making effort. This may not always happen because those in power are least likely to be inclined to create alternate power nodes. The experience of the NREGA seems to indicate that a growth strategy for poverty reduction in India requires more such public policy interventions that can benefit poorest households, however, mere design excellence including provision of legal rights in legislation is no solution for ensuring the demanding of entitlements. Poor communities need not only rights based entitlements but the state has to support the policy of social
protection programmes with rigorous resources to build institutional frameworks for implementation of the public policy and that would require not only strengthening of the service delivery systems at grass-root level but it would also be important to build in structures and support systems for proper hand holdings of the poor with active support of civil society institutions that can provide right linkages for the socio-economic empowerment needed for the poor to exercise their rights.