

**Evaluation of Food-for-Work (FFW) Component of
Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY)
in Selected Districts of Maharashtra**

Report Submitted to Planning Commission

**Manoj Panda
Srijit Mishra
Sangita Kamdar
Mallikarjun Tondare**



Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research, Mumbai

April 2005

Contents

List of Tables	iii
List of Figures	iii
Acronyms	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Executive Summary	vi
1 Introduction	1
2 Objectives, Methodology and Selection of Districts	4
2.1 Objectives	4
2.2 Methodology	5
2.3 Selection of Districts	6
3 Survey of Beneficiaries	7
3.1 Individual/Household Characteristics of Beneficiaries Surveyed	9
3.1.1 Gender Distribution	9
3.1.2 Age Distribution	10
3.1.3 Social Group Distribution	10
3.1.4 Distribution by Size of Household	11
3.1.5 Distribution by Educational Status	11
3.1.6 Distribution by Marital Status	12
3.1.7 Distribution by Occupational Status	12
3.1.8 Distribution by Size of Land Owned	13
4 Efficiency and Effectiveness: Planning, Implementation and Monitoring	14
4.1 Planning	14
4.2 Implementation	14
4.2.1 Beneficiaries' Views on Implementation	14
4.2.2 Details of Works in the Districts	15
4.2.3 Details of Zilla Parishad level Works	17
4.2.4 Details of Panchayat Samiti level Works	17
4.2.5 Details of Gram Panchayat level Works	18
4.3 Monitoring	19
5 Allocation, Lifting and Distribution of Foodgrains	20
5.1 Distribution of Foodgrains – Districts	20
5.2 Distribution of Foodgrains – Zilla Parishad level Works	21
5.3 Distribution of Foodgrains – Panchayat Samiti level Works	22
6 Quality, Quantity, Frequency and Timeliness of Foodgrains Distribution	22
6.1 Location of Wage Payment	22
6.2 Periodicity of Wage Payment	23
6.3 Satisfaction on Quality and Norm of Wage Payment	23
6.4 Wage Rate	24
7 Employment and Income of Beneficiaries	26
7.1 Number of Days of Employment	26
7.2 Income	28
7.3 Targeting	30
7.4 Individual Beneficiaries	32
8 Problems in Planning and Implementation and Role of PRIs	33
9 Recommendations	36
References	38
Annexures	39

List of Tables

1	List of Districts, Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayats Surveyed	6
2	Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Districts Under Study	7
3	Number of Schedules and Works Covered in the Districts under Study	7
4	Gender Distribution of Beneficiaries Interviewed (percentage)	9
5	Age Distribution of Beneficiaries Interviewed (percentage)	10
6	Caste Distribution of Beneficiaries Interviewed (percentage)	11
7	Distribution of Beneficiaries Interviewed by Size of Household (percentage)	11
8	Distribution by Educational Status of Beneficiaries Interviewed (percentage)	12
9	Distribution by Marital Status of Beneficiaries Interviewed (percentage)	12
10	Distribution by Occupational Status of Beneficiaries Interviewed (percentage)	13
11	Distribution of Beneficiaries Interviewed by Size of Land Owned (percentage)	13
12	Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondents Responses on Some Aspects of Implementation (percentage)	15
13	Details of the Stream-I Works in the Districts under Study, 2001-02 and 2002-03	16
14	Details of the Stream-II Works in the Districts under Study, 2001-02 and 2002-03	17
15	Details of the Zilla Parishad Works in the Districts under Study, 2001-02 and 2002-03	17
16	Details of High/Low Utilization Panchayat Samitis (PSs) Works in the Districts under Study, 2001-02 and 2002-03	18
17	Details of Gram Panchayat works for High/Low Utilization Panchayat Samitis (PSs) in the Districts under Study, 2001-02 and 2002-03	19
18	Allocation, Lifting and Distribution of Foodgrains in the Districts under Study, 2001-02 and 2002-03	21
19	Allocation, Lifting and Distribution of Foodgrains in Zilla Parishad level Works of the Districts, 2001-02 and 2002-03	21
20	Allocation, Lifting and Distribution of Foodgrains in High/Low Utilization Panchayat Samitis (PSs) of the Districts, 2001-02 and 2002-03	22
21	Percentage of Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondents by Location of Wages Paid	23
22	Percentage of Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondents by Periodicity of Wages Paid	23
23	Percentage of Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondents by Level of Satisfaction of Foodgrains Received	24
24	Percentage of Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondents Satisfied with Present Norm of Wages	24
25	Quantity of Foodgrains Received per Day by Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondents	25
26	Agency wise Wage rate in SGRY (cash component only)	26
27	Percentage Distribution of Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondents by Wage Rate Received (all works; cash component only)	26
28	Agency wise Days of Employment Received by Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondents on SGRY Works	27
29	Percentage of Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondents by Number of Days of Employment Received on SGRY Works	27
30	Average Household Income of Beneficiaries from SGRY and Non-SGRY Sources	28
31	Percentage of Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondents by Household Income from SGRY Works	28
32	Percentage of Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondents by Household Income from Non-SGRY Sources	29
33	Percentage of Below Poverty Line (BPL) Cardholder Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondents by Social Groups	31
34	Number of Individual Asset Beneficiary Respondents by Household Income	32
35	Number of Individual Asset Beneficiary Respondents by Assets Generated	33

List of Figures

1	Map of Maharashtra Highlighting Four Study Districts	2
2	District Poverty Incidence (%) and SGRY Income as a Percentage of Non-SGRY Income	30
3	Poverty Incidence among Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondent Households: Comparison of their BPL Status and Poverty Estimates Based on Reported Income	32

Acronyms

APL	Above Poverty Line
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CPIAL	Consumer Price Index number for Agricultural Labourers
DRDA	District Rural Development Agency
EAS	Employment Assurance Scheme
EGS	Employment Guarantee Scheme
FFW	Food For Work
GP	Gram Panchayat
HDI	Human Development Index
IB	Individual asset Beneficiary
JGSY	Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
PDS	Public Distribution System
PRI	Panchayati Raj Institution
PS	Panchayat Samiti
SC	Scheduled Caste
SGRY	Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana
ST	Scheduled Tribe
WB	Wage employment Beneficiary
ZP	Zilla Parishad

Acknowledgements

We gratefully acknowledge help received from officials at Rural Development Department, Mantralaya, Mumbai, Zilla Parishad/DRDA of selected districts (Satara, Aurangabad, Gadchiroli and Akola) and from the selected Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayats in completing this study. While conducting field survey we took the help of 'Matoshri Baranbai Bahuddeshiya Sanstha' of Gadchiroli in Chamorshi, 'Amhi Amachya Arogyasathi' of Kurkheda in Kurkheda and Satpuda Agriculture Society of Akot in Akola. Raju Muddi helped in conducting fieldwork and subsequently in data entry for Aurangabad and Satara districts. Most important is the time and cooperation (at times during odd hours) of the respondents. Comments received from Rohini Nayyar and R. Radhakrishna on an earlier draft and discussions with Jean Dreze by one of us have been helpful in preparing the report. We thank all of them.

Evaluation of Food-for-Work (FFW) component of Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) in Selected Districts of Maharashtra

Manoj Panda, Srijit Mishra, Sangita Kamdar, Mallikarjun Tondare

Executive Summary

Introduction

The present study is an evaluation of the food-for-work component of Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) in Satara, Aurangabad, Gadchiroli and Akola districts of Maharashtra. SGRY was launched all over the country in 2001 with twin objectives - to provide wage employment and food security and to create durable community, social and economic infrastructure.

The specific objectives of the present study are:

- To assess the efficacy and effectiveness of food for work programme in terms of planning, implementation and monitoring.
- To examine the allocation, off take and distribution of foodgrains at different levels of implementation.
- To assess the quantity, quality, frequency and timeliness of distribution of food grains.
- And, to identify constraints, if any, in implementation of the scheme and suggest remedial measures.

Methodology

The objectives are analysed using primary data collected in March 2004 through a set of structured questionnaire schedules canvassed among wage employment beneficiaries (WBs) and individual asset beneficiaries (IBs) and secondary data collected from District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) and Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) – Zilla Parishads (ZPs), Panchayat Samitis (PSs) and Gram Panchayats (GPs). This data analysis has been supplemented by qualitative observations of the study team during field visits.

In each district, sampling design suggests choosing 28 works (four each from the Zilla Parishad, two Panchayat Samitis and four Gram Panchayats) and canvassing a pre-designed schedule to 140 wage beneficiaries, five from each of the 28 works. In addition,

15 individual beneficiaries, 5 from schemes of Zilla Parishad and 5 each from schemes of the two Panchayat Samitis, are also to be canvassed. In practice, we could choose 28 works in three districts and 22 in Aurangabad. The total number beneficiaries to be canvassed were 620 (155 in each district). We have analysed 526 schedules - 151, 101, 141 and 133 schedules from Satara, Aurangabad, Gadchiroli and Akola respectively. Shortfall in sample coverage is partly because some beneficiaries were outsiders (in the muster roll their address was *bahargaon* indicating that they were migrants and not from villages in the vicinity) and partly because we decided to exclude the same individual in different works and avoid multiple entries from the same family to avoid repetition in basic information for the household.

Characteristics of Beneficiaries

Even though the sample design for the primary survey was not meant to be exactly representative, delineating some characteristics of the sample respondents would be helpful to understand some of the results. The beneficiaries in the sample are predominantly male accounting for 85%. One reason for low female participation among SGRY wage employment beneficiaries could be that males tend to replace females if SGRY wage rate is higher than prevailing market wage rate for similar works in the same season.

Most of the respondents belong to the 21-50 years age group. Nearly half or more wage beneficiary respondents are scheduled castes (SCs)/scheduled tribes (STs) in all districts except Satara. The modal family size of respondents consists of 4-5 members.

Among the wage beneficiary respondents 35% are illiterate, while 20% are matriculates. A few of the wage beneficiary respondents are graduates. In Satara, Aurangabad and Akola, large proportion of wage beneficiary respondents belongs to agricultural labour class. But, in Gadchiroli wage beneficiary respondents are mostly cultivators. About 35% of wage beneficiary respondents are landless in Gadchiroli compared to nearly 70% in the other three districts.

Planning, Implementation and Monitoring

About 2.2% (3 of 138) respondents in Satara and 10.5% (14 of 134) respondents in Gadchiroli mentioned about the involvement of contractors. All wage beneficiary respondents except for 6.7% (9 of 134) in Gadchiroli agreed to muster rolls being maintained in the programmes. However, in an ongoing work we found that the muster

roll was not maintained on a day to day basis and the concerned official told that as the workers are here we will fill everything together after the work is over. All respondents were ignorant about any beneficiary committee being set up after the completion of the work. Most of the respondents denied villagers' involvement in identifying works with felt need, identifying beneficiaries and creating awareness. Larger proportion of respondents (particularly in Akola and Gadchiroli) also said that works were not done on felt need. Some respondents also indicated about non-availability of water, crèche and first aid at the work site.

Compared to 2001-02 (implementation under Employment Assurance Scheme and Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (EAS/JGSY), in 2002-03 (implementation under SGRY) Satara and Aurangabad substantially increased value of food distributed per manday under stream-I of SGRY in 2002-03. Gadchiroli is the only district where there has been a decline in the number of works, mandays generated and total expenditure. In Akola, the number of works and mandays generated increased. Among the four districts, Akola has the lowest share of foodgrains component paid as wages. In Satara and Aurangabad the wage share on stream-II works remains more or less the same for the two years, but the share of foodgrains component paid as wages has increased by nearly 25 percentage points in the latter year. Mandays generated increased in the high utilization districts whereas it decreased in the low utilization districts.

The implementing officials at the village level (*gram sevaks*) do not have copies of the guidelines. They do not seem to have received any specific training in awareness creation, beneficiary selection, record keeping and implementation.

There is a lack of proper coordination among various levels of administration in terms of monitoring and supervision. Continuous meetings and other activities hamper monitoring of works. There was no uniform record keeping, accounting practices and reporting.

Foodgrains utilization

As per sampling design, Satara and Aurangabad are high utilization districts whereas Gadchiroli and Akola are low utilization districts based on the percentage utilization of foodgrains (distribution as per cent of allocation) in 2002-03. However, the utilization rates vary considerably from one year to another. The percentage utilization in Satara is considerably lower in the previous year, 2001-02. In contrast, the low utilization district of

Gadchiroli had much higher percentage utilization in 2001-02. Akola has the lowest utilization in both these years.

Quality, Frequency and Timeliness

Let us now get back to the primary survey. The cash component of the wages was received at the work site in three out of four districts. In Gadchiroli, wages were not paid at the work site. Foodgrains component of wages was distributed at the work site in Akola, at Public Distribution System (PDS) outlets in Gadchiroli and Satara, mostly through the PDS outlet and a few at the work site in Aurangabad.

From wage beneficiary respondents, all in Akola and more than two-thirds in Aurangabad received cash component of wages on a weekly basis, in Satara more than two-fifths received it on a fortnightly basis and in Gadchiroli it was received either on a weekly or a monthly basis and four reported receiving it after 5-6 months. Nearly 80% of wage beneficiary respondents received foodgrains on a weekly basis in Akola and on a fortnightly basis in Satara. In Aurangabad, the weekly and fortnightly foodgrains distribution was equally prevalent. But, about two-thirds of the respondents in Gadchiroli, which has law and order problem, received foodgrains on a monthly basis.

Wage beneficiary respondents received either rice or wheat or both in Satara and Gadchiroli. All the wage beneficiary respondents received both rice and wheat in Akola, while most respondents in Aurangabad received only wheat. The respondents were by and large satisfied with quality of foodgrains received and reported that foodgrains received were either of good quality or of average quality. In Aurangabad, more than 40% of the wage employment beneficiaries reported that they were not satisfied with current norm of wage fixation - minimum 5 kg of foodgrains per day (valued at Rs.26 for SGRY in Maharashtra) and rest in cash.

Wage Rate, Employment and Income

More than 85% of the wage beneficiary respondents received the prescribed minimum of 5 kg of foodgrains per day. About 8% (range 3-12%) of wage beneficiary respondents received wages only in cash and no foodgrains. In Satara, Aurangabad and Gadchiroli, some wage beneficiary respondents received more than 5 kg of foodgrains per day. The maximum quantity of foodgrains received by a wage employment beneficiary respondent was 10 kg in Gadchiroli and Satara, while it was 15 kg in Aurangabad.

Considering all SGRY works, the average cash wage per day was on an average Rs.33 that ranged between Rs.26 in Gadchiroli and Rs.51 in Satara.

Taking all wage beneficiary respondents, the average number of days of employment per beneficiary was 29 and it varied between 20 in Satara district and 49 in Akola district. About 70% of wage beneficiary respondents obtained work less than 30 days. The highest frequency is observed in the range of 16-30 days for Aurangabad and Akola, while it was in the range of 1-15 days for Satara and Gadchiroli.

Average annual household income from SGRY at Rs.2633 ranged between Rs.1911 in Satara and Rs.4001 in Akola. The gain in annual income was less than Rs.1000 for a quarter of the households, between Rs.1000-2000 for a little less than one-third of the households, between Rs.2000-3000 for nearly one-fifth of the households. In Akola and Aurangabad, 15-20% of beneficiaries had gain in annual income of more than Rs.5000. Reported annual average household income of beneficiaries from sources other than SGRY at Rs.11220 varied between Rs.6824 in Aurangabad and Rs.12042 in Akola.

The SGRY income as a proportion of income from sources other than SGRY works out to 24% (14% in Gadchiroli, 18% in Satara, 33% in Akola and 43% in Aurangabad). The income gain in percentage terms in Aurangabad is high due to participation from relatively poorer households in SGRY in this district. The absolute average income earned from SGRY is similar in Satara and Gadchiroli. But, the percentage of income gain is different because the beneficiaries were from relatively poorer households in Satara compared to Gadchiroli.

The maximum percentage of below poverty line (BPL) households in the sample was 62% in Akola. In Gadchiroli, more than 60% of the SC/ST beneficiaries belonged to BPL households. In Satara and Aurangabad, the proportion of BPL households was as low as 35-38%. Due to identification and administrative problems in providing BPL cards to a household, not having a BPL card does not necessarily mean the household is above poverty line. In order to provide an alternative check, we estimated the poverty line for the survey period as Rs.4037 on per person per year basis by updating the official poverty line of the state for 1999-2000. About 85% of the beneficiaries remained below the poverty line on the basis of their stated income from sources other than SGRY.

Individual Beneficiaries

About 38 from 47 individual asset beneficiary respondents interviewed have annual income below Rs.15000. Given a poverty line of Rs.4000 per capita per year all

these are likely to be around or below the poverty line. However, there are deviations. A bank peon in Satara having annual income of Rs.50000 is an individual beneficiary. In some cases individual beneficiary respondents happen to own more than four hectares of land, are not from SC/ST social groups or are close relatives of local representatives indicating failure in targeting both in terms of income as well as social group. Most individual beneficiary respondents (35 out of 47) benefited from open irrigation wells. Some individual beneficiary respondents (5 out of 7) in Gadchiroli benefited from land development whereas some in Akola (7 out of 15) benefited from a dwelling unit each.

Problems in Planning and Implementation

- The average employment available in SGRY is about 30 days per beneficiary. Some wage employment beneficiaries have not got work for more than one week. In particular, Gram Panchayat level works are normally small in nature, generating short-term employment.
- There is lack of people's involvement in identifying beneficiaries and works useful for the village at the planning stage. The respondents also denied knowledge regarding formation of beneficiary committees after completion of works.
- The two major complaints are not receiving foodgrains in time or not receiving cash wages in time.
- The technical personnel have so many activities to do that they hardly have any time for their primary work - helping in planning and monitoring.
- There were no uniform record keeping, accounting practices and reporting. The village level officials (*gram sevaks*) do not have copies of the guidelines and have not been imparted specific training that would help them in awareness creation, beneficiary selection, record keeping and implementation. These make monitoring and supervision a cumbersome and inefficient procedure.
- Wage bill accounts for almost all of the total cost of the works in some cases giving rise to strong suspicion that material and equipment expenses have been clubbed in the wage bill.
- Contractors have been involved in several works contrary to SGRY guidelines. This might be a reflection of insufficient manpower, skill and other resources of implementing departments.

- With regard to individuals who benefited from asset generation, it is observed that some non-BPL and non-SC/ST households have also benefited indicating deviation from SGRY guidelines.
- In some cases, the individual beneficiary spends and then receives the payment (both in cash and kind) in phases. This provision is meant to ensure that actual work is done, but it also means that such benefits can only be availed by those who can spend on their own to begin with. Alternatively, providing assets to beneficiary after completion of work can overburden government machinery, lead to involvement of contractors, and compromise on quality.

Recommendations

- Gram Panchayats need to undertake more works to provide employment for longer periods. This will improve food security on a sustained basis and also reduce out-migration. Allocation should be enhanced accordingly.
- The works to be undertaken are constrained by the final allocation of funds/food at the Zilla Parishad or Panchayat Samiti level. It is only after allocation that works are distributed based on the bargaining power of the local representatives. To do away with rationing and discretion there is a case for greater allocation and better utilization of allocated funds.
- Planning for works is invariably done at the Panchayat Samiti or Zilla Parishad level. There is hardly any people's participation while planning for works at the village level. To adhere to the spirit of decentralization the involvement of people through PRIs should be effective.
- Most wage employment and individual asset beneficiaries are likely to be around or below the poverty line, but there are some deviations indicating failure of targeting both in terms of income and social group. Monitoring procedure need to be strengthened to reduce/eliminate unintended beneficiaries (inclusion error). The *gram sabha* should be involved in planning, implementation and monitoring. Information on works done, amount of expenses under different heads and number of person days of employment should be compulsorily put on the panchayat notice board during as well as after the completion of works.
- Poor maintenance of records is a larger issue. Accurate and uniform maintenance of records is also essential for monitoring and evaluation. Proper training of officials at

Gram Panchayat and Panchayati Samiti level will improve reporting and accounting practices.

- Government of Maharashtra intervenes through Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS). Since objectives of SGRY and EGS are similar, coordination in planning and implementation of SGRY and EGS is needed in Maharashtra. Such coordination and pooling of resources together could help in completing some of the projects (e.g., water conservation activities with capital and labour expenditure being met from EGS and SGRY respectively) which are left incomplete due to lack of sufficient funds.
- Expansion of SGRY to kind of employment guarantee scheme as discussed recently in policy circles would mean removal of any priority for any group among wage employment beneficiaries so that it is open ended without any restrictions. However, priorities for location of the works and individual asset beneficiary programme can continue.
- Given the objective of supplementing the earning opportunity for the poor during lean season and natural calamities, the size of SGRY should be flexible once it is able to more or less cover the labour supply. The size should expand or contract as per need at various levels depending on absorption of labour force by the normal economic activities. Determining the required size at the local level is not an easy task and might require close interaction of government officials, PRIs and local non-governmental organizations (NGOs).
- Timing is crucial for success of SGRY. Demand for regular public works is high during February to June. Unless sufficient food and funds are available during these months, out-migration creating 'footloose' labour with less bargaining power becomes a regular feature.

Evaluation of Food-for-Work (FFW) component of Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) in Selected Districts of Maharashtra

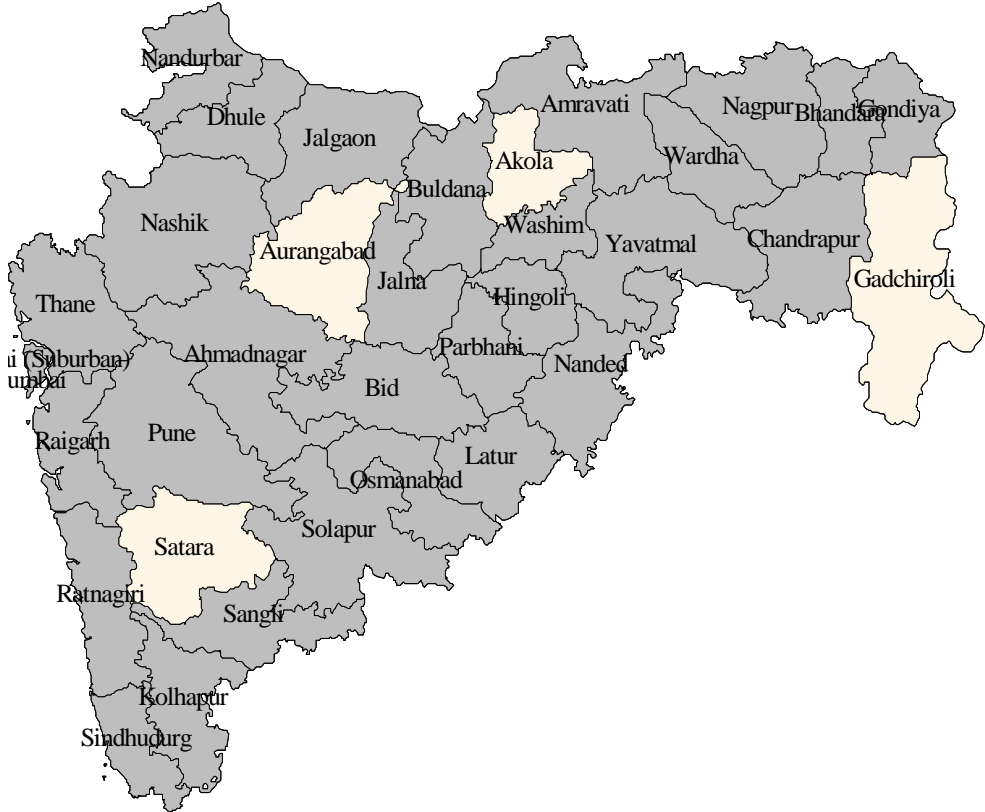
1. Introduction

The present study is an evaluation of the food-for-work (FFW) component of Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) in selected districts of Maharashtra. SGRY was launched all over the country in 2001 combining the then existing Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) and Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY) with twin objectives - to provide wage employment and food security and to create durable community, social and economic infrastructure. Under SGRY, part of the wages is paid in foodgrains and this is entirely borne by the central government. The remaining expenses comprising wages paid in cash and other material costs are to be shared by the centre and state in 75:25 ratio. The programme is implemented through the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) in two streams, each stream accounting for about half the outlay. Stream-I is implemented at the Zilla Parishad (ZP) and Panchayat Samiti (PS) level in a 40:60 ratio whereas stream-II is implemented at the Gram Panchayat (GP) level.

SGRY guidelines emphasise on making special provision for Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), women and other vulnerable sections of the society. In particular, 22.5 per cent of annual allocations (including foodgrains) under stream-I are earmarked for the individual beneficiaries of SC/ST families who are in the below poverty line (BPL) category and 50 per cent of funds allocated to Gram Panchayats under stream-II are to be utilised for creation of infrastructure in SC/ST habitats. Further, 30 per cent of employment opportunities should be reserved for women. Given its emphasis on manual labour intensive work, the programme is self-targeted for the poor group. Another important guideline of SGRY works is that works have to be carried out without using contractors. The total outlay under SGRY is about Rs.10,000 crore per year.

The Planning Commission expressed interest for an evaluation of SGRY in several states in 2004. The Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research (IGIDR) agreed to undertake the evaluation in selected districts of Maharashtra state. The Planning Commission selected four districts of Maharashtra for the study: Satara, Aurangabad, Gadchiroli and Akola (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Map of Maharashtra Highlighting Four Study Districts



Note: Not to scale.
Source: Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs, India, 2001 (CensusInfo 1.0, Census 2001).

The per capita income of Maharashtra is about a third higher than the national average and turns out to be the second highest among the major Indian states. As much as a quarter of the industrial GDP of India originates from Maharashtra. Despite its high-income level and industrialisation, the extent of poverty in Maharashtra has remained close to the

national average. Incidence of poverty in Maharashtra has fallen at about the same rate as all-India level. The state is, however, regarded as a pioneering state for generating employment in public works on a large scale.

The Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) of Maharashtra was conceived as a major poverty alleviation measure in 1972 to provide manual employment to all those who registered for it. This was later turned into a kind of statutory entitlement with the enactment of Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Act that came into force in 1979. The act had a provision of a monetary compensation of Rs.2 per day if the State Government failed to provide employment within two weeks. The Maharashtra EGS has been cited as a major programme in the debate on wage employment generation type poverty reduction programmes.¹ It was considered as a success story in the 1980s despite its limited size compared to the need and non-implementation of the compensation clause. Doubling of wages in 1988 without adequate budgetary support led to fall in employment by one-third (Ravallion, Datt and Chaudhuri 1993). Indeed, one major point in the debate on EGS and similar other scheme has centred around the level of the 'right' wage rate - the minimum at which the very poor group might be offering work or a higher wage rate that could be considered 'decent' and lift the beneficiaries above the poverty line. One major advantage cited by advocates of EGS or FFW programmes is the self selection nature in the sense that it would normally attract participation from the poor group who would otherwise not get sufficient employment opportunities in the normal economic activities. But if such a wage rate happens to be very low, it might go against the objective of lifting the poor above the poverty line. A higher wage rate, on the other hand, could defeat the self-selection objective as it might attract people who are employed in normal economic activities and increase the error in targeting. Rationing available volume of employment would mean that poorest of the poor would have to compete with those around or above the poverty line with the latter having greater chances of selection.

The partial payment of the wages in kind has been justified on grounds that such payments directly help to enhance food security of the participants insuring the recipients against fall in their purchasing power due to price rise or unavailability of foodgrains. To the extent

¹ Some contributions to the debate are: Acharya 1990, Barrett, Holden and Clay 2004, Basu 1981, Dandekar and Sathe 1980, Dev 1996, Dreze 1991, Gaiha and Imai 2000, Ganesh-Kumar et al 2004, Hirway and Terhal

the programmes are meant to protect the poor households against seasonal vulnerability in food security, timing, frequency and quantity of deliveries of foodgrains becomes crucial aspects in programme evaluation. At the same time, the poor would not prefer full payment of wages in kind as they need to buy non-food items from the market. Moreover, wages in kind increase transaction costs for the funding agency.

While creation of some durable assets in rural areas is a major objective of employment programmes, some authors have recognized a trade-off between the short run relief objective and the long run rehabilitation and development objective (Barrett, Holden and Clay 2004). Thus, while employment creation is the immediate urgent need in a relief work, creation and maintenance of productive assets like roads, school buildings, soil and water conservation structures needs more careful planning as per need of the locality. Involvement of local community in identification and maintenance is generally required for success of such programmes.

The objectives of providing employment and creating durable infrastructure under SGRY or its predecessor EAS/JGSY are modelled on the lines of the EGS and other similar programmes. Some studies of EAS/JGSY or SGRY have pointed out irregularities in the form of fudging muster rolls, prevalence of corruption, non-availability of work in the lean season, involvement of contractors and absence of provision for maintenance of infrastructure created.²

2. Objectives, Methodology and Selection of Districts

2.1 Objectives

The present study has limited scope and does not deal with all aspects relevant for evaluation of the SGRY programme. It is confined to the Food-for Work component and the specific objectives are:

1. To assess the efficacy and effectiveness of food for work programme in terms of planning, implementation and monitoring.
2. To examine the allocation, off take and distribution of foodgrains at different levels of implementation.

1994, Nayyar 2002, Panda 1981, Ravallion, Datt and Chaudhuri 1993, Krishnaraj, Pandey and Kanchi 2004, and Subbarao 1989.

² See, for example, Planning Commission 2000, Policy and Development Initiatives 2000, and Sen 2003.

3. To assess the quantity, quality, frequency and timeliness of distribution of foodgrains.
4. And, to identify constraints, if any, in implementation of the scheme and suggest remedial measures.

2.2 Methodology

The first two objectives would depend on secondary data collected from District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) and different levels of PRIs like Zilla Parishads, Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayats in the districts under study. In addition, observations made during field visits by the study team would also be of help. The last two objectives would be based on schedules canvassed among beneficiaries, that is, those who received wage employment for works under SGRY schemes and individuals who benefited through some asset creation.³

Based on foodgrains utilization for 2002-03, Planning Commission selected two high utilization and two low utilization districts. Put in descending order of utilization the districts are Satara, Aurangabad, Gadchiroli and Akola. For conducting fieldwork in Maharashtra the task was divided between two groups – one focusing on the high utilization and the other on the low utilization districts. Within each district, two Panchayat Samitis were chosen during field visits such that one is high utilization and another is low utilization based on 2002-03 data. Table 1 gives the Panchayat Samitis with high and low utilization and Annexure 1 gives the 2002-03 utilization for each district across Panchayat Samitis. Again as per Planning Commission guidelines, two Gram Panchayats were chosen from each Panchayat Samiti except for Aurangabad district where three Gram Panchayats have been chosen in each Panchayat Samiti for logistic reasons.

³ The relevant questionnaire schedule provided by Planning Commission is attached as Annexure 3. It was translated to Marathi by us and is attached as Annexure 4. These are not included in the electronic version.

Table 1: List of Districts, Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayats Surveyed		
District	Panchayat Samitis	Gram Panchayat
Satara	Khandala (High Utilisation)	Ahire Ajanuj
	Khatav (Low Utilisation)	Katagun Pusegaon
Aurangabad	Aurangabad (High Utilisation)	Dudhad Karmad Shendra(K)
	Phulambri (Low Utilisation)	Kingaon Marsavali Phulambri
Gadchiroli	Kurkheda (High Utilisation)	Chikhali Kurkheda
	Chamorshi (Low Utilisation)	Adyal Talodhi(M)
Akola	Akot (High Utilisation)	Jaulke Panaj
	Patur (Low Utilisation)	Charangaon Khanapur
Note: Districts are arranged in descending order of foodgrains utilization for 2002-03. The two Panchayat Samitis in each district are also arranged in descending order of foodgrains utilization for 2002-03. Gram Panchayats for a given Panchayat Samiti and district are arranged alphabetically.		

2.3 Selection of Districts

The four districts are spread across Maharashtra. Satara is in the relatively prosperous region of Western Maharashtra, Aurangabad is in Marathwada, Gadchiroli is in Eastern Vidarbha and Akola is in Western Vidarbha (see Figure 1). Some characteristics of the districts under study are given in Table 2. Relative to the state average and other districts under study, Satara has higher sex ratio, lower urban population, higher proportion of cultivators, and lower proportion of households below poverty line. Aurangabad has lower sex ratio, higher gender gap in literacy. Gadchiroli has very low density, low urban population, more than half the population is SC/ST, high urban-rural gap in literacy, more than four-fifth of workers are either cultivators or agricultural labourers, more than half the households are below poverty line and very low human development index (HDI). Akola has high literacy rate, low urban-rural as well as gender gap in literacy and high proportion of agricultural labourers.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Maharashtra
Population, 2001 ('000)	2796.9	2920.5	970.0	1629.3	96752.2
Sex ratio, 2001 (females per '000 males)	994.5	919.3	976.2	937.6	922.2
Density of Population, 2001 (per sq.km.)	266.9	289.0	67.3	300.1	314.6
Urban Population, 2001 (%)	14.2	37.2	6.9	38.5	42.4
SC population, 1991 (%)	9.5	13.8	16.9	12.0	11.1
ST population, 1991 (%)	0.8	3.8	38.7	3.0	9.3
Literacy rate, 2001 (% 7+ population)	78.5	73.6	60.3	81.8	77.3
Urban-Rural literacy gap, 2001 (%age points)	9.4	15.4	24.7	6.6	15
Gender literacy gap, 2001 (%age points)	19.7	23.8	19.1	15.4	18.8
Work participation rate, 2001 (%)	47.6	41.8	52.8	40.5	43.5
Cultivators to total workers, 2001 (%)	47.7	36.9	43.2	18.8	26.8
Agr. Labourers to total workers, 2001 (%)	22.1	26.4	38.8	49.3	28.6
Households below poverty line, 1997-98 (%)	16.2	26.0	55.2	44.5	34.6
Human Development Index, 2000	0.59	0.56	0.20	0.42	0.58

Note and Source: (a) Census 2001 data are provisional figures from CensusInfo 1.0, Census 2001 Provisional Maharashtra.mdb, Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs, India, 2001. (b) Other data are from *Human Development Report Maharashtra 2002*, Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai, 2002. (c) SC and ST denote Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe respectively. Compared to 1991, in 2001 SC and ST proportions in Maharashtra have declined and stand at 10.2 per cent and 8.9 per cent respectively. District wise data for SC and ST in 2001 are not yet available.

3. Survey of Beneficiaries

In each district, sampling design suggests choosing 28 works (four each from the Zilla Parishad, two Panchayat Samitis and four Gram Panchayats) and canvassing a pre-designed schedule to 140 wage employment beneficiaries (WBs), five from each of the 28 works (Table 3, for details of works see Annexure 2). In addition, 15 individual asset beneficiaries (IBs), 5 from schemes of Zilla Parishad and 5 each from schemes of the two Panchayat Samitis, are also to be canvassed.

Beneficiary	Sampling Design per District	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
GP WB	80 (4*4= 16)	80 (16)	48 (10)	74 (16)	62 (16)	264 (58)
PS WB	40 (2*4= 8)	38 (8)	25 (8)	40 (8)	36 (8)	139 (32)
ZP WB	20 (1*4= 4)	20 (4)	16 (4)	20 (4)	20 (4)	76 (16)
Total WB	140 (7*4= 28)	138 (28)	89 (22)	134 (28)	118 (28)	479 (106)
PS IB	10 -	9 -	7 -	2 -	5 -	23 -
ZP IB	5 -	4 -	5 -	5 -	10 -	24 -
Total IB	15 -	13 -	12 -	7 -	15 -	47 -
Total	155 (7*4= 28)	151 (28)	101 (22)	141 (28)	133 (28)	526 (106)

Notes: (1) GP, PS and ZP denote Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad respectively. WB denotes wage employment beneficiary and IB denotes individual asset beneficiaries.
(2) Figures in parentheses denote the number of works covered. Under 'Sampling Design per District' x and y in (x*y) indicate number of GP/PS/ZP and number of works respectively.
(3) In each work, five WBs were to be selected as per sampling design. For example, the entry 80 for GP WB indicates five schedules from each of the 16 works.

Shortfall in sample coverage is because of non-availability of beneficiaries for logistic reasons. In Akot taluka of Akola we had to replace two Gram Panchayats – in one Gram Panchayat we were unsuccessful after repeated visits because the *gram sevak* did not turn up, in another Gram Panchayat the muster roll for all works showed that all wage employment beneficiaries were outsiders (marked as *bahargaon* in the space for address indicating that they are migrants and not from villages in the vicinity). Again, for some Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad level works we had to go to a tribal village in the adjacent taluka, as local labourers were not involved in the work. In fact, in Akola 42.4 per cent (50 out of 118) wage employment beneficiary respondents were residents of villages that were more than five kilometers from the work site whereas corresponding figures for the other three districts ranged from none in Gadchiroli to 12 per cent in Aurangabad. In one Zilla Parishad level work we got only three wage employment beneficiaries, but did not include them because we replaced it with another work from Patur taluka where we got five wage employment beneficiaries. It means that while conducting fieldwork we covered 29 works in Akola, but only 28 are used in our analysis. Further, we had difficulty in locating individual beneficiaries who received benefits in 2001-02 and 2002-03 and ended up interviewing beneficiaries who were receiving benefits during our visit in Akola. Note that in Maharashtra planning for SGRY works at the district level was combined for two years, 2002-03 and 2003-04.

It was difficult to obtain individual beneficiaries in Gadchiroli. This district has a Naxalite base and there are law and order problems. This was a reason given for low foodgrains utilization under SGRY and we were also informally advised against going to some Panchayat Samitis. Despite this, we visited an additional Panchayat Samiti, Korchi, where we had discussions with the officials and also went to see the land development work done for an individual beneficiary.

In Aurangabad we had difficulty in selecting Gram Panchayat level works. We canvassed the schedules to more than five beneficiaries from the 10 Gram Panchayat level works covered. However we decided against using them in order to stick to the sample design of five beneficiaries per work and, more importantly, to avoid repetition in some basic household level information that arose because of multiple beneficiaries from the same household and the same individual being in different works. This is also the reason that led to fewer observations at the Panchayat Samiti level. Actually the number of wage

employment beneficiaries interviewed in Aurangabad is 127 (77 Gram Panchayat level, 30 Panchayat Samiti level and 20 Zilla Parishad level), but after cleaning the number used for analysis is 89 only. Similarly for individual beneficiaries we could not get the requisite number at the Panchayat Samiti level in Phulambri, but covered additional numbers in Aurangabad, but used a maximum of five from this Panchayat Samiti in our analysis to be consistent with the sampling design.

3.1 Individual/Household Characteristics of Beneficiaries Surveyed

Even though the sample design for the primary survey was not meant to be exactly representative, delineating some characteristics of the sample respondents would be helpful to understand some of the results. We now discuss some basic individual/household characteristics of wage employment beneficiaries and individual asset beneficiaries.

3.1.1 Gender Distribution

Table 4 gives gender wise distribution. Most of the respondents turn out to be males. The proportion of males in all the four districts taken together is as high as 85 per cent. Males account for 97 per cent among wage employment beneficiary respondents in Akola where only four out of 118 are females. Maximum proportions of female wage employment beneficiary respondents are in Aurangabad (28 per cent). SGRY guidelines suggest a target of 30 per cent for female participation. The proportion of female beneficiaries in the sample seems to be less than the suggested target. One reason for low female participation among SGRY wage employment beneficiaries could be that males tend to replace females if SGRY wage rate is higher than prevailing market wage rate for similar works in the same season. Among individual asset beneficiaries, only one respondent in Gadchiroli and two each in the other three districts are females.

Gender	Wage employment beneficiaries					Individual asset beneficiaries				
	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
Male	84.8	71.9	85.8	96.6	85.6	84.6	83.3	85.7	86.7	85.1
Female	15.2	28.1	14.2	3.4	14.4	15.4	16.7	14.3	13.3	14.9

Note: Percentages in this and several other tables below are calculated from total number of sample observations for the district as given in Table 3.

3.1.2 Age Distribution

Age-wise distribution is in Table 5. In Satara the age groups of 21-30 years and 31-40 years have one-third wage employment beneficiary respondents each, Aurangabad and Akola have two-fifth of wage employment beneficiary respondents in the 21-30 years age groups whereas in Gadchiroli one third are in the 31-40 years age group. In the low utilization districts of Gadchiroli and Akola, more than 10 per cent of wage employment beneficiary respondents belong to the 16-20 years age group. No wage employment beneficiary respondents were above 70 years of age. Individual beneficiaries are more likely to be head of households and this perhaps explains the age of such respondents being on average much older than wage employment beneficiary respondents.

Age (years)	Wage employment beneficiaries					Individual asset beneficiaries				
	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
16-20	2.2	4.5	11.2	16.9	8.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
21-30	34.8	42.7	22.4	40.7	34.2	0.0	0.0	14.3	6.7	4.3
31-40	33.3	33.7	35.8	24.6	31.9	15.4	25.0	28.6	53.3	31.9
41-50	20.3	12.4	22.4	11.9	17.3	23.1	25.0	28.6	20.0	23.4
51-60	5.8	6.7	6.7	5.1	6.1	46.2	25.0	0.0	13.3	23.4
61-85	3.6	0.0	1.5	0.8	1.7	15.4	25.0	28.6	6.7	17.0
Min Age	18.0	18.0	17.0	16.0	16.0	38.0	32.0	26.0	28.0	26.0
Max Age	67.0	60.0	70.0	70.0	70.0	85.0	80.0	65.0	80.0	85.0
Avg Age	36.2	33.5	36.3	31.2	34.4	55.1	52.4	45.4	44.7	49.6

Note: As mentioned in Table 4.

3.1.3 Social Group Distribution

Table 6 gives social group wise proportion of respondents. Nearly half or more of wage employment beneficiary respondents are SCs/STs in Aurangabad, Gadchiroli and Akola. Share of SC/ST group in total district population in Satara is low (Table 2) and most of the wage employment beneficiary respondents in this district belong to 'others' category. In Akola nearly half of the respondents are STs. These respondents are mostly from works in Chargaon Gram Panchayat of Patur and Panchayat Samiti/Zilla Parishad works in Akot. Turning to the individual beneficiaries, they should exclusively have been from among SC/ST households, but two of the 13 interviewed in Satara and four of the seven interviewed in Gadchiroli are neither SC nor ST indicating a departure from SGRY guidelines.

Caste	Wage employment beneficiaries					Individual asset beneficiaries				
	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
Sched. Castes	13.8	33.7	26.9	16.9	21.9	84.6	91.7	14.3	100.0	80.9
Sched. Tribes	0.7	14.6	21.6	46.6	20.5	0.0	8.3	28.6	0.0	6.4
Others	85.5	51.7	51.5	36.4	57.6	15.4	0.0	57.1	0.0	12.8

Note: As mentioned in Table 4.

3.1.4 Distribution by Size of Household

Table 7 gives distribution of respondents by family size. More than half of the wage employment beneficiary respondents are from households with family size of 4-5. Aurangabad has a substantial proportion of respondents from households with family size of six or more. Looking into details of one-member families one observes that two in Aurangabad and two from three in Gadchiroli are females. An individual beneficiary respondent in Satara is also a female one-member family. All these females are either estranged/divorced or widows or old. The other one-member families are males. From the four wage employment beneficiary respondents in one-member family category in Akola, three are Muslims.

Family Size	Wage employment beneficiaries					Individual asset beneficiaries				
	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
1	0.7	2.2	2.2	3.4	2.1	7.7	0.0	14.3	0.0	4.3
2 to 3	39.9	12.4	14.2	28.8	24.8	7.7	16.7	28.6	20.0	17.0
4 to 5	47.1	44.9	65.7	61.0	55.3	46.2	33.3	42.9	60.0	46.8
6 or more	12.3	40.4	17.9	6.8	17.7	38.5	50.0	14.3	20.0	31.9
Average (No)	4.0	5.2	4.5	4.0	4.3	5.6	5.9	3.4	4.6	5.0

Note: As mentioned in Table 4.

3.1.5 Distribution by Educational Status

Table 8 gives distribution by educational status of respondents. Among wage employment beneficiaries, about one-fourth in Akola, one-third in Satara and Gadchiroli and nearly half in Aurangabad are illiterate. Illiteracy among beneficiaries is expected, but what is surprising is that about 15 per cent in Satara, Aurangabad and Gadchiroli and one-third in Akola are matriculates. As mentioned earlier, Akola had greater proportion wage employment beneficiary respondents in the younger age group of 16-20 and it so happens that it has more proportion of literates across the four districts (see Table 2). Further, a few of the respondents are even graduates. Most of the respondents with 10+ years of education are from younger ages (16-30 years age groups). As highlighted by recent media reports, it seems that educated individuals are entering into the unskilled workforce.

Educational Status	Wage employment beneficiaries					Individual asset beneficiaries				
	Satara	Auran gabad	Gadch iroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Auran gabad	Gadch iroli	Akola	Total
Illiterate	33.3	48.3	34.3	26.3	34.7	15.4	58.3	42.9	26.7	34.0
Lit.,<Prim	1.4	2.2	9.0	3.4	4.2	15.4	16.7	0.0	6.7	10.6
Primary	18.1	16.9	17.2	16.1	17.1	38.5	25.0	0.0	20.0	23.4
Middle	28.3	15.7	17.2	19.5	20.7	7.7	0.0	28.6	20.0	12.8
Matriculate	16.7	13.5	18.7	33.1	20.7	23.1	0.0	14.3	26.7	17.0
High Sec.	2.2	2.2	0.7	0.8	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Graduate	0.0	1.1	3.0	0.8	1.3	0.0	0.0	14.3	0.0	2.1

Notes: (1) As mentioned in Table 4.
(2) Lit.,<Prim denotes literate but less than primary.
(3) High Sec. denotes Higher Secondary.

3.1.6 Distribution by Marital Status

Distribution by marital status of respondents is given in Table 9. Nearly 80 per cent of the wage employment beneficiary respondents are married. Across the four districts, Akola has more proportion of unmarried (nearly one-third) wage employment beneficiary respondents. This is also the district with greater proportion in the 16-20 years age group (Table 5) and with greater proportion of matriculates (Table 8). All wage employment beneficiaries in the 'others' category (four in Aurangabad and one in Gadchiroli) are widows. Among the individual beneficiaries, all except three have their current status as married. From the three exceptions, one from Satara is an estranged female, one from Aurangabad is widow and one from Akola is unmarried.

Marital Status	Wage employment beneficiaries					Individual asset beneficiaries				
	Satara	Auran gabad	Gadch iroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Auran gabad	Gadch iroli	Akola	Total
Married	81.9	87.6	79.9	67.8	78.9	92.3	91.7	100.0	93.3	93.6
Divorced	1.4	1.1	0.0	1.7	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unmarried	16.7	7.9	19.4	30.5	19.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	2.1
Others	0.0	3.4	0.7	0.0	0.8	7.7	8.3	0.0	0.0	4.3

Note: As mentioned in Table 4.

3.1.7 Distribution by Occupational Status

Distribution by occupational status of respondents is given in Table 10. About three-fifth of wage employment beneficiary respondents in Gadchiroli are cultivators. In contrast, most wage employment beneficiary respondents in the other three districts are agricultural labourers. The proportion is about 90 per cent in Aurangabad. If we add other labour to

agricultural labour then the proportion of respondents is about 90 per cent in Satara and Akola also.

Occupational Status	Wage employment beneficiaries					Individual asset beneficiaries				
	Satara	Auran gabad	Gadch iroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Auran gabad	Gadch iroli	Akola	Total
Cultivation	12.3	2.2	61.2	1.7	21.5	53.8	41.7	100.0	0.0	40.4
Agr. Labour	57.2	87.6	5.2	72.9	52.2	23.1	50.0	0.0	100.0	51.1
Other Labour	29.0	7.9	32.1	23.7	24.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	1.4	2.2	1.5	1.7	1.7	23.1	8.3	0.0	0.0	8.5

Note: As mentioned in Table 4.

3.1.8 Distribution by Size of Land Owned

Table 11 shows distribution of respondents by size of land owned. For the total sample of wage employment beneficiaries, about 60 per cent are landless and another 20 per cent possess land below 1 hectare. Gadchiroli with more of cultivators has less of landlessness – 35 per cent of respondents are landless in Gadchiroli compared to nearly 70 per cent in the other three districts. Caste break-up of respondents in Gadchiroli reveals that 44 per cent of SCs, 41 per cent of STs and 28 per cent of ‘others’ are landless. In Gadchiroli about 30 per cent of wage employment beneficiary respondents had more than one hectare of land whereas it is about 10-15 per cent in the other three districts. From the remaining wage employment beneficiary respondents the maximum land size that a respondent’s household possesses is below four hectares except for one wage employment beneficiary respondent and three individual beneficiary respondents in Satara who own more than four hectares of land.

Land Size (hectares)	Wage employment beneficiaries					Individual asset beneficiaries				
	Satara	Auran gabad	Gadch iroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Auran gabad	Gadch iroli	Akola	Total
Landless	69.6	65.2	35.1	74.6	60.3	7.7	0.0	0.0	46.7	17.0
<1	19.6	23.6	35.1	11.0	22.5	38.5	25.0	28.6	33.3	31.9
1-2	8.0	7.9	18.7	11.9	11.9	23.1	41.7	42.9	13.3	27.7
2-4	2.2	3.4	11.2	2.5	5.0	7.7	33.3	28.6	6.7	17.0
>4	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	23.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.4
Average Size	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.3	0.4	2.5	1.4	1.3	0.6	1.4

Note: As mentioned in Table 4.

4. Efficiency and Effectiveness: Planning, Implementation and Monitoring

4.1 Planning

In Maharashtra, instead of annual action plan there was a two-year action plan for 2002-03 and 2003-04. It was difficult to obtain information only for 2002-03 on many aspects because the programmes were for the two-year combined period and were still ongoing when we conducted our survey in March 2004. Our general observation from the field indicated that planning of works was not done through the *gram sabhas*. It seems that officials at the Panchayat Samiti or district level prepared the action plan for stream-II works. Wage employment beneficiary respondents said 'no' to villagers' involvement in identifying works with felt need, identifying beneficiaries and creating awareness.⁴ In one occasion, while looking up at a plan-cum-current status document an official crossed out some entries before us. The entries were works like watershed development, which are not to be taken up under SGRY.⁵

4.2 Implementation

In the four districts, implementing agencies for stream-I works were either line departments of government like Agriculture, Forest, Minor Irrigation and Building & Construction or the different levels of PRIs whereas Gram Panchayats are the sole implementing agencies for stream-II works. All of our wage employment beneficiary respondents also concurred with this, but what is interesting is that about 2.2 per cent respondents in Satara and 10.5 per cent respondents in Gadchiroli also mentioned about the involvement of contractors. Informal discussion with villagers in general and some officials also pointed out the involvement of contractors in executing works.

4.2.1 Beneficiaries' Views on Implementation

All wage employment beneficiary respondents except for nine (6.7 per cent) in Gadchiroli agreed to muster rolls being maintained (Table 12), but we had difficulty in obtaining them from line departments. The common excuse being that the documents have gone for audit or the official-in-charge is on leave. Unavailability of muster roll also meant that we could not select their works to interview wage employment beneficiaries. One lacuna in

⁴ In low utilisation districts of Gadchiroli and Akola where response was 'no' the term 'villagers' meant *gaonwalon* or *aap log* whereas in high utilisation districts where the response was 'yes' the term 'villagers' meant *koi gaon ke log jaise mukhia/sarpanch*.

⁵ There was an order from the state government, which was later withdrawn, to take up watershed development works under SGRY.

implementation that all respondents agree to is that no beneficiary committee has been set up after completion of works. There was a divide between high utilization and low utilization districts in the sense that larger proportion of respondents from the latter districts said that works done were not based on felt needs. Some respondents also indicated about non-availability of water, crèche and first aid at the work site.

	Satara	Auran- gabad	Gad- chiroli	Akola	Total
Muster rolls are not maintained	0.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	1.9
Beneficiary committee not constituted	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Works are not selected on felt needs	9.4	2.2	99.3	61.9	46.1
Drinking water not available at work site	25.4	13.5	15.7	0.0	14.2
Crèche not available at work site	99.3	73.0	58.2	100.0	83.1
First aid not available at work site	66.7	38.2	49.3	16.9	44.3

Note: As mentioned in Table 4.

4.2.2 Details of Works in the Districts

Based on secondary data collected on wage employment beneficiaries we discuss about the number of works, mandays generated, expenditure details, wage share, food share in wages and 'implied' wages per manday for the selected districts, Zilla Parishads, Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayats. A general point to note in this context is that SGRY started during 2001-02 and it replaced other ongoing programmes like EAS and JGSY as stream-I and stream-II respectively. Hence, secondary data obtained for 2001-02 and 2002-03 are not exactly comparable in the tables 13-20 and we restrict the analysis to some broad conclusions. As discussed later, wages might include material costs in some cases, and hence, one should be cautious in interpreting the 'implied' wage rates given in Tables 13-17 and we avoid detailed discussion of it.⁶

Some aspects of stream-I works in the districts under study are given in Table 13. There has been a fall in total expenditure as well as number of mandays for the four districts taken together. Compared to 2001-02, in 2002-03 the high utilization districts of Satara and Aurangabad substantially increased value of food distributed per manday. Satara is the only district where value of food distributed per manday happens to be nearly double that of the minimum prescribed (at least five kilograms of foodgrains, which has been estimated to be equal to Rs.26/- by Government of Maharashtra). Even cash wage per

⁶ The wage rates obtained from the survey of wage employment beneficiaries are discussed later in section 6.

manday is substantially higher in Satara than other districts. What is surprising is that this increased share of wage is accompanied with decline in mandays generated. The share of foodgrains component paid as wages has increased by almost 35 percentage points in Aurangabad. Gadchiroli is the only district where there has been a decline in the number of works, mandays generated as well as total expenditure. In Akola, the number of works and mandays generated increased and from the four districts it has the lowest share of foodgrains component paid as wages.

Table 13: Details of the Stream-I Works in the Districts under Study, 2001-02 and 2002-03										
	2001-02					2002-03				
	Satara	Auran-gabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Auran-gabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total
Works (no)	153.0	200.0	288.0	226.0	867.0	410.0	698.0	271.0	332.0	1711.0
Mandays ('000)	459.9	374.0	580.0	460.7	1874.7	320.5	397.0	557.0	499.3	1773.8
Wage in cash (Rs lakh)	129.0	172.2	154.5	379.4	835.1	287.1	137.1	107.8	310.7	842.7
Wage in food (Rs lakh)	118.2	11.2	102.9	93.8	326.1	158.0	102.6	110.6	127.8	499.0
Material costs (Rs lakh)	82.5	116.8	171.8	61.0	432.1	3.8	159.8	9.0	54.1	226.7
Total expdn (Rs lakh)	329.7	300.1	429.2	534.3	1593.3	449.0	399.5	227.4	492.6	1568.4
Wage share (%)	75.0	61.1	60.0	88.6	72.9	99.1	60.0	96.0	89.0	85.5
Food in wage (%)	47.8	6.1	40.0	19.8	28.1	35.5	42.8	50.6	29.1	37.2
Cash wage (Rs/day)	28.0	46.0	26.6	82.4	44.5	89.6	34.5	19.4	62.2	47.5
Food wage (Rs/day)	25.7	3.0	17.7	20.4	17.4	49.3	25.9	19.8	25.6	28.1
Total wage (Rs/day)	53.7	49.0	44.4	102.7	61.9	138.9	60.4	39.2	87.8	75.6

Notes: (1) Total indicates an aggregate figure for the available data for the four districts under study.
(2) Data on works, mandays, wage in cash, wage in food, material costs and total expenditure have been collected from DRDA or PRI offices. These have been used to calculate the other results.
(3) 'Wage in food' denotes value of foodgrains paid as wages. 'Total expdn' denotes total expenditure, which is sum of 'wage in cash', 'wage in food' and 'material costs'. 'Wage share' denotes share of wages (cash plus food) in total expenditure. 'Food in wage' denotes share of foodgrains component in wages paid.

Table 14 gives some aspects of stream-II works. Overall, total expenditure increased in 2002-03 compared to the previous year, while mandays generated increased less than proportionately. In the high utilization districts of Satara and Aurangabad the wage share remains more or less the same for the two years, but the share of foodgrains component paid as wages has increased by nearly 25 percentage points in the latter year. One explanation for this could be adherence to norm of paying a minimum of five kilograms of foodgrains per manday when stream-II of SGRY replaced JGSY where payment in terms of foodgrains was not mandatory. A differentiating aspect between the high utilization and low utilization districts is that mandays generated increased in the former whereas it decreased in the latter. Like stream-I works for Satara, decline in mandays is accompanied with an increase in implied wage rate per manday in the two low utilization districts of Gadchiroli and Akola.

	2001-02					2002-03				
	Satara	Auran-gabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Auran-gabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total
Works (no)	2949.0	998.0	1218.0	3256.0	8421.0	2592.0	1521.0	1232.0	1558.0	6903.0
Mandays ('000)	253.0	497.0	518.0	647.8	1915.8	583.0	572.0	430.0	604.0	2189.0
Wage in cash (Rs lakh)	133.7	228.4	127.7	539.2	1028.9	115.3	226.0	302.6	720.6	1364.4
Wage in food (Rs lakh)	60.7	6.5	85.1	4.4	156.7	152.5	82.5	235.0	108.7	578.6
Material costs (Rs lakh)	129.5	156.6	243.7	170.6	700.3	178.5	203.6	50.0	247.5	679.6
Total expdn (Rs lakh)	323.9	391.4	456.5	714.2	1886.0	446.2	512.1	587.6	1076.8	2622.7
Wage share (%)	60.0	60.0	46.6	76.1	62.9	60.0	60.2	91.5	77.0	74.1
Food in wage (%)	31.2	2.8	40.0	0.8	13.2	56.9	26.7	43.7	13.1	29.8
Cash wage (Rs/day)	52.9	45.9	24.6	83.2	53.7	19.8	39.5	70.4	119.3	62.3
Food wage (Rs/day)	24.0	1.3	16.4	0.7	8.2	26.2	14.4	54.7	18.0	26.4
Total wage (Rs/day)	76.8	47.3	41.1	83.9	61.9	45.9	53.9	125.0	137.3	88.8

Notes: As in Table 13.

4.2.3 Details of Zilla Parishad level Works

Details of Zilla Parishad works, which should have 40 per cent share in stream-I outlay as per guidelines, are given in Table 15. In the two high utilization districts of Satara and Aurangabad the share of foodgrains in wages increased by more than 15 percentage points. In spite of this, Aurangabad continues to have low value of food distributed per manday. As in the case for overall stream-I works (Table 13), Gadchiroli has low wage per manday and is the only district where food component paid as wages has declined. Akola has the highest cash wage per manday.

	2001-02					2002-03				
	Satara	Auran-gabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Auran-gabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total
Works (no)	61.0	75.0	32.0	71.0	239.0	163.0	155.0	98.0	106.0	522.0
Mandays ('000)	143.2	112.2	162.0	74.8	492.2	304.5	158.8	223.0	160.6	846.9
Wage in cash (Rs lakh)	93.9	49.0	30.0	74.3	247.1	148.2	36.4	36.0	101.2	321.8
Wage in food (Rs lakh)	18.0	1.9	44.6	18.7	83.2	85.0	8.2	43.9	41.8	178.9
Material costs (Rs lakh)	15.1	31.9	18.1	12.7	77.8	3.2	29.8	8.0	17.7	58.6
Total expdn (Rs lakh)	127.0	82.8	92.6	105.7	408.1	236.4	74.4	87.9	160.6	559.3
Wage share (%)	88.1	61.5	80.5	88.0	80.9	98.7	60.0	90.9	89.0	89.5
Food in wage (%)	16.1	3.8	59.8	20.1	25.2	36.5	18.4	54.9	29.2	35.7
Cash wage (Rs/day)	65.6	43.6	18.5	99.3	50.2	48.7	22.9	16.2	63.0	38.0
Food wage (Rs/day)	12.6	1.7	27.5	25.0	16.9	27.9	5.2	19.7	26.0	21.1
Total wage (Rs/day)	78.2	45.3	46.0	124.3	67.1	76.6	28.1	35.8	89.0	59.1

Notes: As in Table 13.

4.2.4 Details of Panchayat Samiti level Works

As mentioned earlier, the selection of high/low utilization Panchayat Samitis was based on percentage utilization of foodgrains allocated in 2002-03 (see Table 1 and Annexure 1). It

is perhaps because of this that the number of works, mandays generated and total expenditure is greater for high utilization Panchayat Samitis when compared with low utilization Panchayat Samitis in Aurangabad, Gadchiroli and Akola (Table 16).

Table 16: Details of High/Low Utilization Panchayat Samitis (PSs) Works in the Districts under Study, 2001-02 and 2002-03										
	2001-02					2002-03				
	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
<i>High Utilization PS</i>										
Works (no)	13.0	29.0	18.0	39.0	99.0	11.0	33.0	31.0	16.0	91.0
Mandays ('000)	20.9	17.0	33.5	87.2	158.6	16.2	48.3	51.2	40.3	156.0
Wage in cash (Rs lakh)	19.7	12.0	17.5	56.0	105.2	6.6	17.5	13.1	24.8	62.0
Wage in food (Rs lakh)	4.9	3.3	7.0	9.9	25.1	3.1	16.2	15.2	6.5	40.9
Material costs (Rs lakh)	8.8	15.9	0.7	13.9	39.3	0.0	0.0	2.5	7.1	9.5
Total expdn (Rs lakh)	33.4	31.1	25.2	79.9	169.6	9.8	33.7	30.8	38.3	112.4
Wage share (%)	73.7	49.1	97.2	82.6	76.8	100.0	100.0	92.0	81.6	91.5
Food in wage (%)	19.9	21.5	28.6	15.1	19.3	32.0	48.1	53.6	20.7	39.8
Cash wage (Rs/day)	94.2	70.5	52.3	64.2	66.3	40.9	36.2	25.6	61.5	39.7
Food wage (Rs/day)	23.4	19.3	21.0	11.4	15.9	19.3	33.4	29.7	16.0	26.2
Total wage (Rs/day)	117.6	89.8	73.3	75.6	82.2	60.2	69.6	55.3	77.5	66.0
<i>Low Utilization PS</i>										
Works (no)	9.0	-	36.0	7.0	52.0	23.0	17.0	15.0	10.0	65.0
Mandays ('000)	14.9	-	32.0	19.5	66.5	39.0	13.7	25.8	25.2	103.7
Wage in cash (Rs lakh)	13.1	-	3.7	14.2	31.0	17.7	2.8	3.1	13.9	37.5
Wage in food (Rs lakh)	0.5	-	13.2	3.0	16.7	10.2	2.5	6.0	5.5	24.1
Material costs (Rs lakh)	0.0	-	0.0	3.6	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	4.3
Total expdn (Rs lakh)	13.6	-	16.9	20.7	51.2	27.9	5.2	9.1	23.7	65.9
Wage share (%)	100.0	-	100.0	82.9	93.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	81.9	93.5
Food in wage (%)	3.3	-	77.9	17.5	34.9	36.4	47.5	66.3	28.1	39.2
Cash wage (Rs/day)	87.9	-	11.7	72.5	46.7	45.4	20.0	11.9	55.4	36.1
Food wage (Rs/day)	3.0	-	41.2	15.4	25.0	26.0	18.1	23.4	21.7	23.3
Total wage (Rs/day)	90.9	-	52.9	87.9	71.7	71.4	38.2	35.2	77.1	59.4
Notes: This table covers selected PSs only (see Table 1). Total for low utilization PS is for three districts only. Other notes as in Table 13.										

4.2.5 Details of Gram Panchayat level Works

There was no specific basis for selection of Gram Panchayats in the sample. It is less likely to get any discernible pattern while comparing across Gram Panchayats. It is seen that from 2001-02 to 2002-03 wage share in total expenditure and share of foodgrains in wages has by and large increased (Table 17).

Table 17: Details of Gram Panchayat works for High/Low Utilization Panchayat Samitis (PSs) in the Districts under Study, 2001-02 and 2002-03										
	2001-02					2002-03				
	Satara	Auran-gabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Auran-gabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total
<i>High Utilization PS</i>										
Works (no)	5.0	24.0	15.0	5.0	49.0	4.0	4.0	14.0	5.0	27.0
Mandays ('000)	0.7	1.2	3.2	1.0	6.0	1.1	1.9	2.9	3.8	9.7
Wage in cash (Rs lakh)	0.3	1.5	1.0	0.5	3.3	0.3	0.5	1.4	0.1	2.3
Wage in food (Rs lakh)	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.9	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.9	1.8
Material costs (Rs lakh)	0.3	8.1	1.4	1.9	11.8	0.2	0.9	0.9	2.0	4.0
Total expdn (Rs lakh)	0.8	9.9	2.8	2.5	16.0	0.8	1.9	2.5	3.0	8.1
Wage share (%)	55.3	18.5	48.8	22.5	26.2	72.3	52.4	62.5	33.2	50.3
Food in wage (%)	29.9	18.8	28.7	6.9	21.6	45.9	52.5	12.6	87.6	45.0
Cash wage (Rs/day)	45.0	129.1	30.9	52.0	55.1	28.6	24.5	46.6	3.3	23.3
Food wage (Rs/day)	19.2	29.9	12.4	3.9	15.2	24.3	27.1	6.7	23.0	19.0
Total wage (Rs/day)	64.3	159.1	43.3	55.9	70.2	52.9	51.7	53.4	26.2	42.4
<i>Low Utilization PS</i>										
Works (no)	4.0	2.0	15.0	10.0	31.0	4.0	3.0	13.0	4.0	24.0
Mandays ('000)	0.6	1.2	-	-	-	1.5	2.3	-	1.9	-
Wage in cash (Rs lakh)	0.5	0.4	2.2	0.8	3.8	0.5	0.7	1.7	1.2	4.1
Wage in food (Rs lakh)	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.7	2.9
Material costs (Rs lakh)	1.1	0.6	2.5	0.4	4.5	1.1	1.3	2.0	0.8	5.1
Total expdn (Rs lakh)	1.7	1.3	4.7	1.3	9.0	2.3	2.9	4.3	2.7	12.2
Wage share (%)	32.6	55.8	48.3	70.2	49.7	54.5	55.5	53.0	71.7	58.0
Food in wage (%)	16.3	51.0	3.7	12.3	14.6	63.3	53.2	24.1	38.6	41.6
Cash wage (Rs/day)	80.4	30.0	-	-	-	31.3	33.0	-	62.2	-
Food wage (Rs/day)	15.7	31.1	-	-	-	54.0	37.5	-	39.1	-
Total wage (Rs/day)	96.0	61.1	-	-	-	85.2	70.5	-	101.2	-

Notes: As in Table 13.

Further note that the implementing officials at the village level (*gram sevaks*) do not have copies of the guidelines. They are also not imparted with any specific training that would help them in awareness creation, beneficiary selection, record keeping and implementation.

4.3 Monitoring

The Zilla Parishad/DRDA officials are supposed to monitor Zilla Parishad, Panchayat Samiti and Gram Panchayat works once a month and Panchayat Samiti officials are supposed to monitor Panchayat Samiti and Gram Panchayat works once every fortnight. Monitoring has two aspects – one physical and another financial. On the physical front, officials from higher level are supposed to give technical guidance, but once work is in progress the quantity and quality of work is verified. Financial review looks at maintenance of muster rolls, overall wage expenditure and material costs. As secondary data obtained on monitoring adhered to official guidelines, we resort to some observations from our field visits to draw indirect inferences. In some Panchayat Samitis we did not get any information on the works carried out by various line departments because they receive

order from Zilla Parishad/DRDA and also report to them directly. Further, we observed that at almost all levels the technical officials were busy in many activities and meetings. It would be virtually impossible for them to give proper technical guidance for each and every work and then monitor each of these. It was also observed that there was no uniform record keeping, accounting practices and reporting. This made monitoring and supervision a cumbersome and inefficient procedure.

5. Allocation, Lifting and Distribution of Foodgrains

5.1 Distribution of Foodgrains - Districts

As mentioned earlier, the Planning Commission selected the four districts using percentage utilization of foodgrains (distribution as per cent of allocation) in 2002-03: Satara and Aurangabad as high utilization districts and Gadchiroli and Akola as low utilization districts.⁷ This ordering of districts is also clearly discernible from Table 18 considering streams I and II together. However, this pattern does not hold for stream-I where percentage utilization of foodgrains in Aurangabad is lower than that in Gadchiroli. Further, one observes that in 2001-02 the percentage utilization in the high utilization district of Satara is considerably lower. In contrast, the low utilization district of Gadchiroli had much higher percentage utilization in 2001-02. Note that SGRY permits unspent allocation of foodgrains to be carried over as opening balance and utilized in the next year. This explains more than 100 per cent utilization in Satara. This was not the case in Gadchiroli. Akola is an interesting situation because it not only has the lowest utilization in 2002-03 among the four districts under study, but also had even lower percentage utilization in 2001-02. It is quite likely that in 2003-04 (the period not covered in our study) percentage utilization will be much higher in Akola. In fact, during our visits in March 2004 we were informed about some ongoing works where the total wage component was being paid in foodgrains.⁸

⁷ We might note that Maharashtra's lifting of foodgrains is only about half of allocation in recent years as pointed out in Summary record of the discussion by the Supreme Court Commissioner SR Sankaran with the Government of Maharashtra in December 2003, http://www.geocities.com/righttofood/data/srs_mahvisit.pdf.

⁸ Such an exercise would also help utilize unspent allocation of previous years.

Table 18: Allocation, Lifting and Distribution of Foodgrains in the Districts under Study, 2001-02 and 2002-03										
	2001-02					2002-03				
	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
<i>Stream-I</i>										
Allocation (metric ton)	1740.0	2340.0	2560.0	3440.0	10080.0	2574.0	3480.0	3190.0	3620.0	12864.0
Lifting (metric ton)	-	-	2560.0	809.3	-	-	-	3165.2	4430.7	-
Distn (metric ton)	886.5	-	3032.9	191.2	-	3290.7	1975.0	1949.5	2056.2	9271.4
Lifting/Allocation (%)	-	-	100.0	23.5	-	-	-	99.2	122.4	-
Distn/Lifting (%)	-	-	118.5	23.6	-	-	-	61.6	46.4	-
Distn/Allocation (%)	50.9	-	118.5	5.6	-	127.8	56.8	61.1	56.8	72.1
<i>Stream-II</i>										
Allocation (metric ton)	1730.0	2330.0	2570.0	3430.0	10060.0	2195.0	2962.0	3208.0	4351.0	12716.0
Lifting (metric ton)	-	-	2354.2	536.1	-	-	-	3162.2	4521.7	-
Distribution (metric ton)	1166.6	-	2376.4	86.2	-	2932.0	2862.0	1713.8	1714.7	9222.5
Lifting/Allocation (%)	-	-	91.6	15.6	-	-	-	98.6	103.9	-
Distn/Lifting (%)	-	-	100.9	16.1	-	-	-	54.2	37.9	-
Distn/Allocation (%)	67.4	-	92.5	2.5	-	133.6	96.6	53.4	39.4	72.5
<i>Total (Stream I+II)</i>										
Allocation (metric ton)	3470.0	4670.0	5130.0	6870.0	20140.0	4769.0	6442.0	6398.0	7971.0	25580.0
Lifting (metric ton)	-	-	4914.2	1345.4	-	-	-	6327.3	8952.4	-
Distn (metric ton)	2053.1	-	5409.3	277.3	-	6222.7	4837.0	3663.3	3770.9	18493.8
Lifting/Allocation (%)	-	-	95.8	19.6	-	-	-	98.9	112.3	-
Distn/Lifting (%)	-	-	110.1	20.6	-	-	-	57.9	42.1	-
Distn/Allocation (%)	59.2	-	105.4	4.0	-	130.5	75.1	57.3	47.3	72.3

Note: Distn denotes Distribution.

5.2 Distribution of Foodgrain – Zilla Parishad level Works

Table 19 gives allocation, lifting and distribution in Zilla Parishads of the districts under study. Overall there has been an increase in percentage utilization of foodgrains. As in the case of stream-I, the percentage utilization of foodgrains in Aurangabad is lower than Gadchiroli. This indicates that efforts taken up in 2002-03 in Aurangabad were more for stream-II works.

Table 19: Allocation, Lifting and Distribution of Foodgrains in Zilla Parishad level Works of the Districts, 2001-02 and 2002-03										
	2001-02					2002-03				
	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
Allocation (metric ton)	347.0	702.0	1024.0	1032.0	3105.0	476.9	1392.0	1276.0	1448.0	4592.9
Lifting (metric ton)	-	-	-	242.8	-	-	1148.4	1266.0	1772.3	-
Distn (metric ton)	205.3	-	1213.1	57.6	1476.0	622.3	793.9	779.8	822.5	3018.4
Lifting/Allocation (%)	-	-	-	23.5	-	-	82.5	99.2	122.4	-
Distn/Lifting (%)	-	-	-	23.7	-	-	69.1	61.6	46.4	-
Distn/Allocation (%)	59.2	-	118.5	5.6	47.5	130.5	57.0	61.1	56.8	65.7

Note: Distn denotes Distribution.

5.3 Distribution of Foodgrains – Panchayat Samiti level Works

Percentage utilization in Table 20 is as expected in high/low utilization Panchayat Samitis in 2002-03. In 2001-02 Panchayat Samitis of Aurangabad had relatively lower utilization and that of Gadchiroli had higher utilization and it so happens that the low utilization Panchayat Samiti of Gadchiroli did even better than the high utilization Panchayat Samiti.

	2001-02					2002-03				
	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
<i>High Utilization PS</i>										
Allocation (metric ton)	153.5	320.1	207.5	523.9	884.9	55.0	424.0	309.0	551.3	1339.3
Lifting (metric ton)	-	-	273.7	119.7	-	-	-	311.1	654.0	-
Distn (metric ton)	77.1	-	242.2	41.1	-	127.7	276.1	279.0	331.3	1014.1
Lifting/Allocation (%)	-	-	131.9	22.8	-	-	-	100.7	118.6	-
Distn/Lifting (%)	-	-	88.5	34.3	-	-	-	89.7	50.7	-
Distn/Allocation (%)	50.2	-	116.7	7.8	-	232.2	65.1	90.3	60.1	75.7
<i>Low Utilization PS</i>										
Allocation (metric ton)	198.5	-	480.0	342.3	-	551.0	224.0	446.4	360.2	1581.6
Lifting (metric ton)	-	-	422.7	74.4	-	-	-	378.8	442.5	-
Distn (metric ton)	8.9	-	711.6	19.0	-	607.7	90.0	298.6	128.3	1124.6
Lifting/Allocation (%)	-	-	88.1	21.7	-	-	-	84.9	122.8	-
Distn/Lifting (%)	-	-	168.4	25.6	-	-	-	78.8	29.0	-
Distn/Allocation (%)	4.5	-	148.3	5.6	-	110.3	40.2	66.9	35.6	71.1
Note: Distn denotes Distribution.										

By and large we could not obtain information on allocation for Gram Panchayats surveyed. Further, as Gram Panchayats do not have any place for storing foodgrains they lift in small quantities only when they have to utilize it.

6. Quality, Quantity, Frequency and Timeliness of Foodgrains Distribution

6.1 Location of Wage Payment

Location of cash and food component of wage payment is given in Table 21. The cash component of the wages was received at the work site in three out of four districts. In Gadchiroli, wages were not paid at the work site. Foodgrains were received either at the work site or through a public distribution system (PDS) outlet in the selected districts. The distribution was only at the work site in Akola, while it was only through PDS outlet in Gadchiroli and Satara. Nearly 90 per cent of the wage employment beneficiary respondents in Aurangabad received grains through the PDS outlet and the remaining received it at the work site.

	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
<i>Location of Cash payment</i>					
At work site	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	72.0
Not at work site	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	28.0
<i>Location of Foodgrains Distribution</i>					
At work site	0.0	10.2	0.0	100.0	27.0
Through PDS outlets	100.0	89.7	100.0	0.0	73.0
Note: (1) As mentioned in Table 4. (2) Some wage employment beneficiary respondents received cash wages only. Hence, for information related with foodgrains distribution (not cash payment) in Tables 21-24 n=133, 78, 119, 111 and 441 for Satara, Aurangabad, Gadchiroli, Akola and Total respectively.					

6.2 Periodicity of Wage Payment

There were large differences in periodicity of cash payment and distribution of foodgrain (Table 22). More than three-fourths of the payments were either weekly or fortnightly. For Satara, payments were mostly on a fortnightly basis. In Aurangabad, more than two-thirds of the cash payments were weekly and distribution of foodgrains was more or less equal between weekly and fortnightly payments. But, more than half of the wage employment beneficiary respondents in the backward district of Gadchiroli, which is affected by law and order problem, received payments on a monthly basis and four beneficiaries reported receiving cash wages after 5-6 months. All respondents reported weekly cash payment in Akola and most also received foodgrains on a weekly basis, but few reported fortnightly payment of foodgrains.

	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
<i>Periodicity of Cash Payment</i>					
Weekly	27.5	67.4	44.0	100.0	57.4
Fortnightly	62.3	31.5	0.0	0.0	23.8
Monthly	10.1	1.1	53.0	0.0	18.0
5-6 months	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.8
<i>Periodicity of Foodgrains Distribution</i>					
Weekly	10.5	46.2	31.9	86.5	41.7
Fortnightly	78.9	52.6	1.7	13.5	37.0
Monthly	10.5	1.3	66.4	0.0	21.3
Note: As mentioned in Table 4 and 21.					

6.3 Satisfaction on Quality and Norm of Wage Payment

Wage employment beneficiary respondents received either rice or wheat or both in Satara and Gadchiroli. All the wage employment beneficiary respondents received both rice and wheat in Akola, while most participants in Aurangabad received only wheat.

The wage employment beneficiary respondents were by and large satisfied with quality of foodgrains received (Table 23). A large portion of wage employment beneficiary respondents reported that foodgrains received were either of good quality or of average quality. Only a handful of wage employment beneficiary respondents reported poor quality. In Akola, all the wage employment beneficiary respondents were satisfied with the quality of foodgrains. The highest frequency of wage employment beneficiary respondents not satisfied with foodgrains quality was 15 per cent in Aurangabad district.

	Satara	Aurangabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total
<i>Quality of foodgrains</i>					
Good	56.4	52.6	84.0	100.0	74.1
Average	42.9	35.9	13.4	0.0	22.9
Poor	0.8	11.5	2.5	0.0	2.9
<i>Satisfied with quality of foodgrain</i>					
Yes	98.5	87.2	97.5	100.0	96.6
No	1.5	15.4	2.5	0.0	3.9

Note: As mentioned in Table 4 and 21.

In three out of four districts covered in the study, the wage employment beneficiary respondents were satisfied with the present norm of wage fixation - minimum 5 kg of foodgrains and rest in cash (Table 24). In Aurangabad, more than 40 per cent of the wage employment beneficiary respondents reported that they were not satisfied with current norm of wage fixation. One possible reason could be their dissatisfaction with the quality of foodgrains received, as indicated in Table 23. Another reason could be that about one-fifth received more than 5 kg of foodgrains thereby reducing the cash component (Table 25).

	Satara	Aurangabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total
Yes	100.0	59.0	100.0	100.0	92.7
No	0.0	41.0	0.0	0.0	7.3

Note: As mentioned in Table 4 and 21.

6.4 Wage Rate

Wages in SGRY are paid in terms of both foodgrains and cash. About 92 per cent of the wage employment beneficiary respondents received the prescribed minimum of 5 kg of

foodgrains per day (Table 25). However, some wage employment beneficiary respondents did not receive foodgrains at all. The proportion of wage employment beneficiary respondents receiving wages only in cash and no grains was 8 per cent ranging from 4 per cent in Satara to 13 per cent in Aurangabad. None of the wage employment beneficiary respondents received more than 5 kg of foodgrains in Akola. But, in other districts some wage employment beneficiary respondents did receive more than 5 kg of grains. Particularly noteworthy, as mentioned earlier, is that about 21 percent of wage employment beneficiary respondents received more than 5 kg of foodgrains in Aurangabad. The maximum quantity of foodgrains received by a beneficiary was 10 kg in Gadchiroli and Satara, while it was 15 kg in Aurangabad.

	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
Minimum quantity received per day (Kg)	0	0	0	0	0
Maximum quantity received per day (Kg)	10	15	10	5	15
Average quantity received per day (Kg)	4.9	5.5	4.6	4.8	4.9
<i>Per cent of WBs by quantity received (Kg)</i>					
0	3.6	12.5	11.2	5.9	7.9
1-4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
5	95.0	67.0	83.6	94.1	86.4
6-10	1.4	18.2	5.2	0.0	5.2
>10	0.0	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.4

Notes: (1) As mentioned in Table 4.
(2) WB denotes wage employment beneficiary respondent.
(3) One WB respondent in Aurangabad received wage payment at the rate of Rs.700/- per day for services rendered using his tractor. He has been excluded from the analysis in Tables 25-33 and n=88 and 478 for Aurangabad and Total respectively.

There have been considerable variations across districts and agencies with regard to cash component of wages (Table 26). The cash wage across agencies varied between Rs.20 to Rs.63 with the average being Rs.33 that ranged between Rs.26 in Gadchiroli and Rs.51 in Satara. The minimum cash wage rate has been Rs.15 per day in the backward district of Gadchiroli, while the maximum was Rs.165 in the relatively developed district of Satara. Semi-skilled workers like masons are paid higher wages than others in SGRY. As Table 27 shows about 25 per cent of workers were paid more than Rs.60 per day in Satara, but such workers in other districts were only about three to seven per cent.

Table 26: Agency wise Wage rate in SGRY (cash component only)					
	Satara	Auran- gabad	Gad- chiroli	Akola	Total
<i>Average wage rate received</i>					
Gram Panchayat	63.3	42.1	29.9	30.2	37.2
Panchayat Samiti	47.1	35.4	19.5	22.0	29.1
Zilla Parishad	44.1	33.5	20.3	35.0	34.8
All SGRY works	50.5	38.4	25.8	26.8	33.3
<i>Minimum wage rate received</i>					
Gram Panchayat	20	25	15	22	15
Panchayat Samiti	20	30	18	22	18
Zilla Parishad	35	25	15	22	15
All SGRY works	20	25	15	22	15
<i>Maximum wage rate received</i>					
Gram Panchayat	165	100	100	125	165
Panchayat Samiti	76	65	25	22	76
Zilla Parishad	65	35	50	70	70
All SGRY works	165	100	100	125	165
Note: As mentioned in Tables 4 and 25.					

Table 27: Percentage Distribution of Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondents by Wage Rate Received (all works; cash component only)					
Wage rate	Satara	Auran- gabad	Gad- chiroli	Akola	Total
0-20	7.2	0.0	50.7	0.0	16.3
21-40	22.5	90.9	34.3	78.0	52.1
41-60	45.7	2.3	11.9	16.9	21.1
61-80	12.3	3.4	0.0	3.4	5.0
81-100	3.6	3.4	3.0	0.0	2.5
>100	8.7	0	-	1.7	3.0
Note: As mentioned in Tables 4 and 25.					

7. Employment and Income of Beneficiaries

7.1 Number of Days of Employment

Table 28 gives number of days of employment under SGRY works in a year by wage employment beneficiary respondent. The average number of days of employment per wage employment beneficiary respondent was 29.1, which varied between 19.6 in Satara and 49.1 in Akola. The minimum days of employment reported was just one in Aurangabad in a Gram Panchayat level work. For other districts, the minimum was between two and eight days. The maximum number of days of employment was 120 in Akola, while it was between 60-62 for the other districts.

Table 28: Agency wise Days of Employment Received by Wage Employment Beneficiary Respondents on SGRY Works					
	Satara	Auran-gabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total
<i>Average days of employment</i>					
Gram Panchayat	8.8	26.0	23.1	27.6	20.4
Panchayat Samiti	34.8	33.8	19.2	84.1	43.0
Zilla Parishad	34.2	27.0	20.1	52.5	33.8
All SGRY works	19.6	28.4	21.5	49.1	29.1
<i>Minimum days of employment</i>					
Gram Panchayat	2	1	3	8	1
Panchayat Samiti	16	14	10	30	10
Zilla Parishad	15	8	10	45	8
All SGRY works	2	1	3	8	1
<i>Maximum days of employment</i>					
Gram Panchayat	15	60	60	30	60
Panchayat Samiti	60	60	40	120	120
Zilla Parishad	45	62	35	60	62
All SGRY works	60	62	60	120	120
Note: As mentioned in Tables 4 and 25.					

Table 29 shows percentage distribution of wage employment beneficiary respondents by number of days of employment. About 70 per cent of the beneficiaries in all the districts obtained work for less than 30 days. In Satara and Gadchiroli almost half the respondents got work for less than 15 days whereas in Aurangabad and Akola three-fourth of wage employment beneficiary respondents got work in the range of 16-30 days or more. However, the average days of employment in Aurangabad is not as high as in Akola (Table 28). More days of employment in Akola is particularly for Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad works, which were mostly minor irrigation (Annexure 2). Minor irrigation works were also covered in Gadchiroli, but the size of works seem to be small in terms of its employment potential.

Table 29: Percentage of Wage Employment Beneficiary respondents by Number of Days of Employment Received on SGRY Works					
Days of Employment	Satara	Auran-gabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total
1-15 days	59.4	27.3	49.3	6.8	37.7
16-30 days	19.6	43.2	28.4	47.5	33.3
31-45 days	17.4	8.0	15.7	8.5	13.0
46-60 days	3.6	18.2	6.7	17.8	10.7
61-75 days	0.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.6
76-90 days	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.5	2.1
>90 days	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.0	2.7
Note: As mentioned in Tables 4 and 25.					

7.2 Income

Average annual household income of wage employment beneficiary respondents from SGRY was Rs.2633, which ranged between Rs.1911 in Satara and Rs.4001 in Akola (Table 30). This includes imputed cost of foodgrains at the official rate of Rs.26 per 5 kg used for SGRY programmes in Maharashtra. The gain in income was less than Rs1000 per year for about a quarter of the households, between Rs.1000-2000 for a little less than one-third of the households, between Rs.2000-3000 for nearly one-fifth of the households (Table 31). In Akola and Aurangabad, 15-20 per cent of wage employment beneficiary respondent households had income gain of more than Rs.5000. The relatively high income for some households could be due to semi-skill nature of their work.⁹

Average Income	Satara	Aurangabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total
SGRY(Rs)	1911.0	2917.0	1984.1	4000.6	2632.6
Non-SGRY (Rs)	10720.3	6824.1	14141.7	12042.3	11219.7
Total (Rs)	12631.3	9741.1	16125.9	16043.0	13921.1
SGRY as per cent of 'Non-SGRY'	17.8	42.7	14.0	33.2	23.5

Note: As mentioned in Tables 4 and 25.

Income	Satara	Aurangabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total
<1000	44.2	13.6	30.6	1.7	24.3
1000-2000	23.2	26.1	35.1	41.5	31.6
2000-3000	10.9	28.4	13.4	24.6	18.2
3000-4000	8.0	14.8	8.2	0.0	7.3
4000-5000	8.7	2.3	6.0	11.9	7.5
>5000	5.1	14.8	6.7	20.3	11.1
Minimum (Rs)	150	40	288	1000	40
Maximum (Rs)	10000	9000	8640	19200	19200

Note: As mentioned in Tables 4 and 25

While discussing income earned in SGRY, we might note a few qualifications in order to appreciate the quantitative magnitudes in the proper context. First, survey estimates of household income are generally confronted with several well-known problems and have a tendency towards underestimation in most countries. In addition to the standard problems, we must remember that this survey did not primarily aim at total household income

⁹ We must also note that wage cost equals the total work cost in some cases. Thus, the wage bill might have been partly inflated in these cases due to apparent inclusion of material cost.

estimation, its focus being on SGRY component. Thus income from nonSGRY sources should at best be viewed as ‘rough and ready’ answers from respondents.

Second, the general tendency to underestimate income from non-GRY sources need not be present in all sample districts. The wage employment beneficiary households were dominated by cultivators in Gadchiroli and by wage income earners in other districts. While the concept of income for wage income earners is more or less straight forward, it may not be so for cultivators. In particular, some sample respondents might have reported value of output without deducting operating cost of cultivation. This means there is a high probability of overestimation of income from non-SGRY sources for Gadchiroli.

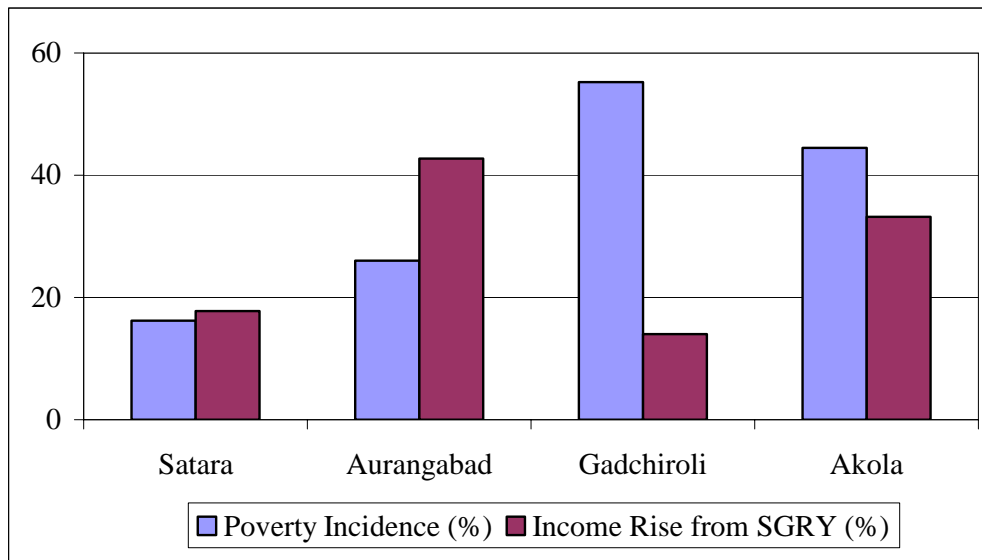
Third, the income *gain* from SGRY computed here might be an overestimation since opportunity cost of SGRY employment is ignored. In practice, persons engaged in SGRY would have earned some income in the absence of SGRY. It is not easy to estimate this counterfactual question. In any case, the questionnaire for this survey did not attempt to estimate the opportunity cost. Some authors assume opportunity cost could be about 25% of the income gain.

Reported average household income of wage employment beneficiary respondents from non-SGRY sources at Rs.11220 varied between Rs.6824 in Aurangabad to Rs.14142 in Gadchiroli (Table 30). Note that marginal cultivators dominated the wage employment beneficiary respondents in Gadchiroli (Tables 10 and 11). In Aurangabad nearly half the wage employment beneficiary respondent households in the sample earned income less than Rs.5000 from non-SGRY sources whereas in Gadchiroli and Akola all the wage employment beneficiary respondent households have more than Rs.5000 of non-SGRY income (Table 32).

Income	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
<5000 (%)	7.2	46.6	0.0	0.0	10.7
5000-10000 (%)	55.1	38.6	32.1	52.5	45.0
10000-15000 (%)	26.8	9.1	41.0	39.0	30.5
15000-20000 (%)	6.5	4.5	19.4	5.1	9.4
>20000 (%)	4.3	1.1	7.5	3.4	4.4
Minimum Income (Rs)	2100	1000	7000	10000	1000
Maximum Income (Rs)	27500	32000	35000	35000	35000
Note: As mentioned in Tables 4 and 25					

The SGRY income as a proportion of income from non-SGRY sources works out to 24 per cent on an average for all the wage employment beneficiary respondent households - 14 per cent in Gadchiroli, 18 per cent in Satara, 33 per cent in Akola and 43 per cent in Aurangabad (Table 30). Thus, SGRY did play an important supplementary role in augmenting household income of the wage employment beneficiary respondents, though the extent differed considerably across the four districts covered in this study. The absolute average income earned from SGRY is similar in Satara and Gadchiroli. On an average, the wage employment beneficiary respondents were from relatively poorer households in Satara compared to Gadchiroli. This explains why income from SGRY as a percentage of non-SGRY income is lower in Gadchiroli (see Figure 2). The poverty incidence in Figure 2 refers to households below poverty line, as explained in Table 2.

Figure 2: District Poverty Incidence (%) and SGRY Income as a Percentage of Non-SGRY Income



7.3 Targeting

An important aspect in evaluation of poverty reduction programmes is the question of targeting. SGRY is a self-targeted programme open to any one who is willing to do the manual work at the given wage rate. But, given the poverty alleviation objective, one interesting question is: do wage employment beneficiaries predominantly belong to poor households before joining the programme? One of the questions asked to the respondents

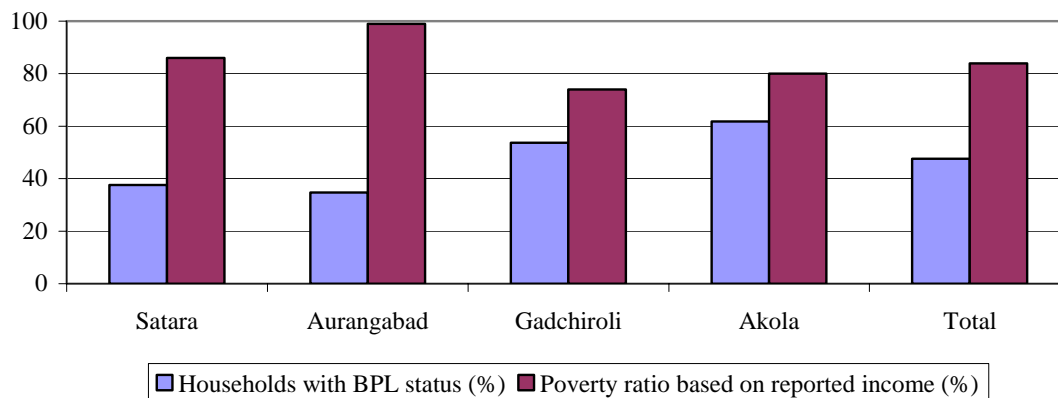
was whether he/she was a member of BPL family. The answer does not reveal that they predominantly belonged to BPL households in all the districts. The maximum proportion of BPL households in the sample was 62 per cent in Akola where all the social groups were uniformly represented (Table 33). In Gadchiroli, more than three-fifths of the SC/ST wage employment beneficiary respondents belonged to BPL households, but about two-fifths from the 'others' category. In two other districts, Satara and Aurangabad, the proportion of BPL households was as low as 35-38 per cent. One might, however, argue that there might be identification and administrative problems in providing BPL cards to a household and not having a BPL card does not necessarily mean the household is above poverty line.

Social Groups	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
SC	42.1	70.0	63.9	60.0	61.0
ST	100.0	7.7	69.0	63.6	58.2
Others	36.8	20.0	42.0	60.5	38.5
All Beneficiaries	38.0	35.2	53.7	61.9	47.5

Note: As mentioned in Tables 4 and 25.

In order to provide an alternative check, we updated the Planning Commission's official poverty line for rural Maharashtra for 1999-2000 by the state's consumer price index number for agricultural labourers (CPIAL) for the reference period of the survey and obtained an estimate of the poverty line as Rs.4037 on per person per year basis (that is, Rs.336.45 per capita per month). The per capita household income without SGRY component of the respondents is then compared with this poverty line to determine the poverty status of the sample households prior to joining the SGRY programme. As Figure 3 reveals that 85 per cent ranging from 74 to 99 per cent of the beneficiaries remained below the poverty line on the basis of their stated income from sources other than SGRY in the four districts. These proportions are substantially high compared to corresponding proportions of households with the BPL status. While the two alternative measures of targeting could have their own problems, we might conclude that the self-targeting objective has been by and large able to capture the poor.

Figure 3: Poverty Incidence among Wage Employment Beneficiary Households: Comparison of their BPL Status and Poverty Estimates Based on Reported Income



7.4 Individual Beneficiaries

As discussed earlier, some of the sample individual asset beneficiary respondents are those who benefited from open irrigation well, land development and dwelling units. Most of the individual asset beneficiaries (38 out of 47) interviewed have annual income below Rs.15000 (Table 34). Given a poverty line of around Rs.4000 per capita per year all these beneficiaries are likely to be below or around the poverty line. However, there are deviations. Field observations reveal that a bank peon in Satara with assured annual income of about Rs.50000 is an individual beneficiary. In some cases we observed that individual beneficiary respondents above the poverty line happen to be close relatives of local representatives. Further, three individual beneficiary respondents in Satara have more than four hectares of land and two are not from SC/ST. In Gadchiroli also, two of the three individual beneficiary respondents are not SC/ST. These are clear instances of failure in targeting both in terms of income as well as social group.

Income	Satara	Aurangabad	Gadchiroli	Akola	Total
5000-10000	2	1	0	1	4
10000-15000	7	9	4	14	34
15000-20000	3	0	1	0	4
>20000	1	0	2	0	3
No Information	0	2	0	0	2
Minimum (Rs)	5000	5460	12000	8000	5000
Maximum (Rs)	50000	14280	25000	15000	50000
Average (Rs)	14385	10808	17286	11867	12672

Note: As mentioned in Table 4.

Most individual respondents benefited from open irrigation wells (Table 35). In fact, all the respondents in Satara and Aurangabad and some in Gadchiroli and Akola got these. Some respondents in Gadchiroli benefited from land development whereas some in Akola benefited from a dwelling unit each.

Asset Type	Satara	Auran-gabad	Gad-chiroli	Akola	Total
Land development	0	0	5	0	5
Open irrigation wells	13	12	2	8	35
Dwelling units	0	0	0	7	7

During field visits we observed that some individual beneficiaries first spend from their own resources and then receive the payment in three phases. This provision is meant to ensure that actual work is done but it also means that such benefits can be availed by those individuals who can spend on their own to begin with. This may partly explain why individual beneficiaries may not always be from the BPL households.

8. Problems in Planning and Implementation and Role of PRIs

SGRY started with a twin objective of providing wage employment and food security and creating durable community assets. The present evaluation study carried out for four districts of Maharashtra reveals a mixed picture of success and failure. SGRY programme has succeeded in generating several lakh of mandays of employment in each district even after discounting for possible leakages. The wage employment beneficiaries interviewed have by and large received the stipulated minimum quantity of five kilogram of foodgrains. There is a large variation in the cash component of the wage. In particular, the cash component seems to be low in the district of Gadchiroli. To the extent SGRY aimed at supplementing the non-SGRY income of the poor, it has partly succeeded in the sample households in generating on an average 30 days of work per wage employment beneficiary respondent. Some of the wage employment beneficiary respondents have, however, got work for as low as one week.

Substantial proportions of the wage employment beneficiary respondents do not belong to the BPL category. Being a self-targeted programme, all SGRY wage employment beneficiaries need not necessarily belong to the BPL category. However, if we compare household income excluding that from the SGRY source with the official poverty line used for the state, about 85 per cent of the wage employment beneficiary respondents turn

out to be poor. Thus, one might say the self-targeting nature of the programme has by and large covered the poor. Our survey was, of course, not intended to investigate whether all the poor households have been able to benefit from SGRY, that is, about the so-called exclusion errors. Informal discussions also revealed that all the people willing to do such works did not benefit. With regard to asset generation, it is observed that some non-BPL and non-SC/ST households have also benefited.

Some of our wage employment beneficiary respondents (particularly in Gadchiroli and Akola) pointed out problems in effective implementation. The most common complaint is that the beneficiaries do not receive both foodgrains and cash components of wages on time.

In case of Maharashtra, state government also intervenes in a large way through Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS). There is need for coordination at planning and implementation stages of SGRY and EGS.

Examination of secondary data reveals that wage bill accounts for almost the total cost of the works in some districts giving rise to strong suspicion that material and equipment expenses have been clubbed in the wage bill. We observed that one wage employment beneficiary has received 'wage' for providing a tractor for the work. Another agreed informally of not doing any work. The incidence of outsiders (*bahargaon* and not from neighbouring villages) in the muster rolls is not insignificant. All such leakages raise question about existence of 'ghost workers'.

An important aspect that came up in informal discussions and was also mentioned by some respondents is the involvement of contractors in several works. The implementing agencies in Maharashtra find it easier because contractors are involved in other similar works. The contractors will have a tendency to use labourers who are not necessarily from the locality and have lower bargaining power. Another outcome of involvement of contractor could be to substitute machines for labour wherever possible thus reducing the labour intensity of the work.

Some individual beneficiaries spend from their own resources first and then receive the payment (both in cash and kind) in phases. While this provision is meant to ensure that

actual work is done, it also means that such benefits can only be availed by those who can spend on their own to begin with. Alternatively, providing assets to beneficiary after completion of work can overburden government machinery, lead to involvement of contractors, and compromise on quality.

People's involvement in identifying works useful for the village seems to be lacking at the planning stage. While poor participation of the villagers at the Panchayat Samiti or Zilla Parishad level is understandable, it is absent even at the Gram Panchayat level. Further, after completion of durable assets no beneficiary committees have been formed. As noted earlier, planning is mostly done by officials at the district level. The absence of beneficiaries' committees after completion of work also means that the involvement of people in operation and maintenance become difficult. These go against the spirit of decentralization under PRIs.

One constraint at the Gram Panchayat level is that works are normally small in nature and it cannot generate employment for longer periods. This explains the earlier observation of less than one-week of employment for some. This gives rise to discretion and rationing of beneficiaries. This could give rise to local conflicts when the potential benefit would be large like those to individual beneficiaries such as dwelling units and open irrigation wells.

During the field trips we had difficulty in identifying Gram Panchayats with four works for the reference period, 2001-02 and 2002-03, to canvass schedules among five wage employment beneficiaries in each of the four works, as per the sampling design. To provide employment for longer periods Gram Panchayats need to undertake more works. This will improve food security on a sustained basis and also reduce out-migration.

The assets generated by wage employment beneficiaries surveyed have been mentioned in Annexure-2. These are assets for the community and are largely in the form of minor irrigation, soil conservation and gutter among others. In one occasion we visited a work completed under minor irrigation head in Akola, but there was no settlement or agricultural land close to the scheme. It basically served the purpose of storing water for use by livestock. We may mention that this is one of the works where no local people were involved in the construction, as was largely observed in this district. We may reiterate that almost all the expenditure goes for payment of wage bill (section 4.2). If the capital

expenditure is not met through some other means the projects are not likely to be of durable type by the very design. With such low demands on quality it is difficult to get make an assessment when there is a time lag between completion of works and the survey. Nevertheless, durable assets have been created and are in use by the community. For instance, we saw a recently built concrete well that drinking water. This would not have been possible by adhering to the SGRY norm on wage share.

9. Recommendations

SGRY started with the twin objectives of providing wage employment and food security and creating durable community assets. The present study carried out for four districts of Maharashtra reveals a mixed picture of success and failure. Based on the findings of this report, our recommendations are the following:

- Some of the wage employment beneficiaries have not got work for more than one week. In particular, Gram Panchayat level works are normally small in nature, generating short-term employment. To provide employment for longer periods Gram Panchayats need to undertake more works. This will improve food security on a sustained basis and also reduce out-migration, but this may not be possible with current levels of allocation.
- The works to be undertaken are constrained by the final allocation of funds/food at the Zilla Parishad or Panchayat Samiti level. It is only after allocation that works are distributed based on the bargaining power of the local representatives. To do away with rationing and discretion there is a case for greater allocation and better utilization of allocated funds.
- Planning for works is invariably done at the Panchayat Samiti or Zilla Parishad level. There is hardly any people's participation while planning for works at the village level. To adhere to the spirit of decentralization the involvement of people through PRIs should be effective.
- Most beneficiaries (wage employment beneficiary and individual asset beneficiary) are likely to be below or around the poverty line, but there are some deviations indicating failure of targeting both in terms of income and social group. Monitoring procedure need to be strengthened to reduce/eliminate unintended beneficiaries (inclusion error). The *gram sabha* should be involved in planning, implementation and monitoring. Information on works done, amount of expenses

under different heads and number of person days of employment should be compulsorily put on the panchayat notice board during as well as after the completion of works.

- Poor maintenance of records is a larger issue. Accurate and uniform maintenance of records is also essential for monitoring and evaluation. Proper training of officials at Gram Panchayat and Panchayat Samiti level will improve reporting and accounting practices. For instance, it is generally the practice at an aggregate level to divide the total wage bill by norm of wage rate to arrive at mandays. This does not take into account the fact that some people are paid higher wage rates because of their skill and some others are paid piece rates.
- Government of Maharashtra intervenes through Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS). Since objectives of SGRY and EGS are similar, coordination in planning and implementation of SGRY and EGS is needed in Maharashtra. Such coordination and pooling of resources together could help in completing some of the projects (e.g., water conservation activities) which are left incomplete due to lack of sufficient funds.
- Expansion of SGRY to kind of employment guarantee scheme as discussed recently in policy circles would mean removal of any priority for any group in the employment component of the programme so that it is open ended without any restrictions. However, priorities for certain sections could continue for the objective of creation of assets for individual beneficiaries.
- Given the objective of supplementing the earning opportunity for the poor during lean season and natural calamities, the size of SGRY should be flexible once it is able to more or less cover the labour supply. The size should expand or contract as per need at various levels depending on absorption of labour force by the normal economic activities. Determining the required size at the local level is not an easy task and might require close interaction of government officials, PRI institutions and local non-governmental organizations (NGOs).
- Timing is crucial for success of SGRY. Demand for regular public works is high during February to June. Unless sufficient food and fund are available during these months, out-migration creating 'footloose' labour with less bargaining power becomes a permanent feature.

References

- Acharya, S (1990): *The Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme: A Study of Labour Market Intervention*, Bangkok, ILO/ARTEP.
- Barrett, C, Holden, S and Clay, D (2004): 'Can Food-for-Work programmes reduce vulnerability', Discussion Paper, Agricultural University of Norway.
- Basu, K (1981): Food for Work Programmes: Beyond Roads that Get Washed Away', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.16, No.1 & 2.
- Dandekar, S and Sathe, M (1980): 'Employment Guarantee Scheme and Food for Work Programme', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.15, No.15.
- Dev, SM (1996): 'Experience of India's (Maharashtra) Employment Guarantee Scheme: Lessons for Development Policy', *Development Policy Review*, Vol. 14, No.3.
- Dreze, J (1991): 'Famine Prevention in India', in J Dreze and A Sen (eds.) *Political Economy of Hunger*, Vol. 2, Oxford University Press.
- Gaiha, R and Imai, K (2000): 'Rural public works and poverty alleviation-The cost of the employment guarantee scheme, Maharashtra', Faculty of Management Studies, University of Delhi, Mimeo.
- Ganesh-Kumar A, Mishra S and Panda M (2004): 'Employment Guarantee for Rural India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 51.
- Government of India (2003): *Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY): Guidelines*, Ministry of Rural Development, New Delhi.
- Hirway, I and Tarhal, P (1994): *Towards Employment Guarantee in India*, Sage, New Delhi.
- Krishnaraj, M, Pandey, D and Kanchi, A (2004): 'Does EGS Require Restructuring for Poverty Alleviation and Gender Equality' – Parts I and II, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39 (Nos. 16 and 17).
- Nayyar, R (2002): 'The contribution of public works and other labour-based infrastructure to poverty alleviation: The Indian experience', Issues in Employment and Poverty, Discussion Paper 3, ILO, Geneva.
- Panda, M (1981): 'Productivity Aspect of Wages in Food for Work Programme', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.16, No.20.
- Planning Commission (2002): 'Study on Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS)', Programme Evaluation Organisation, <http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/peoreport/cmpdmpeo/volume1/178.pdf>.
- Policy and Development Initiatives (2000): 'Study on Assessment of Poverty Alleviation Schemes in Maharashtra' (submitted to Planning Commission), <http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/sereport/sereportf.htm>.
- Ravallion, M., Datt, G and Chaudhuri, S (1993), 'Does Maharashtra's Employment Guarantee Scheme Guarantee Employment? Effects of the 1988 wage increase', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 41, No.2.
- Sen, S (2003): 'Food and Employment Schemes in Barabanki, UP', <http://www.geocities.com/righttofood/data/upreport.pdf>.
- Subbarao, K (1989): 'Interventions to Combat Household-level Food Insecurity: A Review of India's Experience', World Bank, Washington DC.

Annexure 1: Panchayat Samiti (PS) wise Utilization Rate (%) of Foodgrains, 2002-03

Districts/PSs	Stream I	Stream II	Total
<i>Satara</i>			
Man	250.6	138.8	184.9
Khandala	232.2	140.1	176.3
Koregaon	219.3	134.5	167.2
Karad	137.4	136.4	136.9
Mahabaleshwar	108.4	150.3	131.0
Javli	148.6	118.9	129.3
Patan	122.8	128.4	125.7
Khatav	110.3	132.9	116.8
Phaltan	104.6	139.6	116.6
Satara	94.2	130.3	110.6
Wai	78.3	127.3	105.6
Total	127.8	133.6	130.5
<i>Aurangabad</i>			
Sillod	80.4	110.1	94.2
Khultabad	52.3	118.3	82.7
Soygaon	30.3	141.9	81.4
Aurangabad	65.1	99.1	80.7
Vaijapur	53.9	101.7	75.9
Gangapur	51.0	93.9	70.7
Paithan	56.9	81.0	68.0
Kannad	54.6	73.2	63.2
Phulambri	40.2	78.8	57.3
Total	56.8	96.6	75.1
<i>Gadchiroli</i>			
Mulchera	36.2	137.0	87.8
Kurkheda	90.3	65.0	77.9
Wadsa	62.9	82.7	73.2
Aheri	54.0	86.3	70.1
Gadchiroli	83.2	56.4	69.2
Chamorshi	66.9	49.5	57.8
Dhanora	61.2	53.1	57.2
Armori	83.1	15.2	47.9
Etapalli	51.6	37.5	44.9
Sironcha	50.4	28.0	39.4
Korchi	33.6	40.4	36.9
Bhamragad	5.0	8.5	6.6
Total	61.1	53.4	57.3
<i>Akola</i>			
Telhara	85.8	53.4	69.2
Barshi Takli	77.8	60.0	68.8
Murtizapur	65.1	59.4	61.7
Akot	60.1	56.8	58.2
Patur	35.6	57.3	47.5
Balapur	33.3	53.6	43.2
Akola	43.5	22.2	31.5
Total	56.8	39.4	47.3

Note: Districts/Panchayat Samitis are arranged in descending order of percentage utilization for total (stream-I+II). Some figures are more than 100% due to carry over of previous year's unutilized allocation.

Annexure-2

Type of Works, Location and Number of Wage Employment Beneficiaries

Satara

Sl. No.	Type of Work	Location			No of WBs
		Village	Gram Panchayat	Panchayat Samiti	
<i>Gram Panchayat level</i>					
1	Other (Bathroom)	Ahire	Ahire	Khandala	5
2	Other (Gutter)	Ahire	Ahire	Khandala	5
3	Other (Gutter)	Ahire	Ahire	Khandala	5
4	Other (Gutter)	Ahire	Ahire	Khandala	5
5	Construction of rural link road	Ajanuj	Ajanuj	Khandala	5
6	Other (Gutter)	Ajanuj	Ajanuj	Khandala	5
7	Other (Gutter)	Ajanuj	Ajanuj	Khandala	5
8	Other (Gutter)	Ajanuj	Ajanuj	Khandala	5
9	Other (Gutter)	Khatav	Pusegav	Khatav	5
10	Other (Gutter)	Pusegav	Pusegav	Khatav	5
11	Other (Gutter)	Pusegav	Katagun	Khatav	5
12	Other (Gutter)	Pusegav	Katagun	Khatav	5
13	Other (Gutter)	Khatav	Katagun	Khatav	5
14	Other (Gutter)	Katagun	Katagun	Khatav	5
15	Other (Bathroom)	Pusegav	Pusegav	Khatav	5
16	Other (House)	Pusegav	Pusegav	Khatav	5
<i>Panchayat Samiti level</i>					
1	Soil conservation	Guthalwa.	Guthalwadi	Khandala	5
2	Soil conservation	Khandala	Khandala	Khandala	5
3	Soil conservation	Mhavashi	Mhavashi	Khandala	5
4	Soil conservation	Padali	Padali	Khandala	5
5	Soil conservation	Lalagun	Vardhangad	Khatav	3
6	Soil conservation	Umbarmal	Umbarmal	Khatav	5
7	Soil conservation	Lalagun	Vardhangad	Khatav	5
8	Soil conservation	Kuroli(S)	Kuroli(S)	Khatav	5
<i>Zilla Parishad level</i>					
1	Soil conservation	Kanavhadi	Kanavhadi	Khandala	5
2	Soil conservation	Baukawa.	Baukalwadi	Khandala	5
3	Soil conservation	Navlewadi	Lalagun	Khatav	5
4	Soil conservation	Navlewadi	Lalagun	Khatav	5
Note: No of WBs indicates the number of wage employment beneficiary observations used for analysis after cleaning data.					

Type of Works, Location and Number of Wage Employment Beneficiaries

Aurangabad

Sl. No.	Type of Work	Location			No of WBs
		Village	Gram Panchayat	Panchayat Samiti	
<i>Gram Panchayat level</i>					
1	Other (Bathroom)	Karamad	Karamad	Aurangabad	5
2	Other (Gutter)	Pal	Kingaon	Aurangabad	5
3	Other (Gutter)	Ladgaon	Karamad	Aurangabad	5
4	Other (Gutter)	Karamad	Karamad	Aurangabad	5
5	Other (Gutter)	Shendra	Shendra(K)	Aurangabad	5
6	Other (Tank)	Dudhad	Dudhad	Phulambri	5
7	Other (Gutter)	Phulambri	Phulambri	Phulambri	5
8	Other (Gutter)	Phulambri	Phulambri	Phulambri	5
9	Other (Tank)	Marasavli	Marasavli	Phulambri	3
10	Other (Gutter)	Pal	Kingaon	Phulambri	5
<i>Panchayat Samiti level</i>					
1	Soil conservation	Dudhad	Dudhad	Aurangabad	3
2	Soil conservation	Dudhad	Dudhad	Aurangabad	2
3	Soil conservation	Deolai	Deolai	Aurangabad	4
4	Soil conservation	Deolai	Deolai	Aurangabad	2
5	Soil conservation	Laha.wadi	Lahanyachiwadi	Phulambri	3
6	Soil conservation	Laha.wadi	Lahanyachiwadi	Phulambri	3
7	Soil conservation	Laha.wadi	Lahanyachiwadi	Phulambri	3
8	Soil conservation	Phulambri	Phulambri	Phulambri	5
<i>Zilla Parishad level</i>					
1	Soil conservation	Satara	Satara	Aurangabad	3
2	Soil conservation	Satara	Satara	Aurangabad	3
3	Soil conservation	Marasavli	Marasavli	Phulambri	5
4	Soil conservation	Marasavli	Marasavli	Phulambri	5
Note: No of WBs indicates the number of wage employment beneficiary observations used for analysis after cleaning data.					

Type of Works, Location and Number of Wage Employment Beneficiaries

Gadchiroli

Sl. No.	Type of Work	Location			No of WBs
		Village	Gram Panchayat	Panchayat Samiti	
<i>Gram Panchayat level</i>					
1	Drinking water	Adyal	Adyal	Chamorshi	5
2	Other (Gutter)	Adyal	Adyal	Chamorshi	4
3	Other (Gutter)	Kistapur	Adyal	Chamorshi	5
4	Construction of rural link road	Kistapur	Adyal	Chamorshi	4
5	Other (Gutter)	Talodhi(M)	Talodhi(M)	Chamorshi	5
6	Drinking water	Talodhi(M)	Talodhi(M)	Chamorshi	5
7	Drinking water	Talodhi(M)	Talodhi(M)	Chamorshi	4
8	Other (Gutter)	Talodhi(M)	Talodhi(M)	Chamorshi	5
9	Other (Gutter)	Kurkheda	Kurkheda	Kurkheda	5
10	Other (Gutter)	Kurkheda	Kurkheda	Kurkheda	4
11	Soil Conservation	Kurkheda	Kurkheda	Kurkheda	4
12	Soil Conservation	Kurkheda	Kurkheda	Kurkheda	5
13	School building (Gate)	Chikhali	Chikhali	Kurkheda	4
14	Other (Gutter)	Chichtola	Chikhali	Kurkheda	5
15	Construction of rural link road	Chichtola	Chikhali	Kurkheda	5
16	Construction of rural link road	Chichtola	Chikhali	Kurkheda	5
<i>Panchayat Samiti level</i>					
1	Soil Conservation	Mudholi (Tukum)	Mudholi(Tukum)	Chamorshi	5
2	Minor irrigation	Netajinagar	Netajinagar	Chamorshi	5
3	Minor irrigation	Belgatta	Warul	Chamorshi	5
4	Minor irrigation	Narendrapur	Subhashgram	Chamorshi	5
5	Minor irrigation	Hetinagar	Purada	Kurkheda	5
6	Minor irrigation	Jambhulkheda	Jambhulkheda	Kurkheda	5
7	Minor irrigation	Gewardha	Gewardha	Kurkheda	5
8	Minor irrigation	Wadegaon	Wadegaon	Kurkheda	5
<i>Zilla Parishad level</i>					
1	Soil Conservation	Kistapur	Adyal	Chamorshi	5
2	Minor irrigation	Bhivapur	Walsara	Chamorshi	5
3	Minor irrigation	Wakdi	Talegaon	Kurkheda	5
4	Minor irrigation	Khedegaon	Gewardha	Kurkheda	5
Note: No of WBs indicates the number of wage employment beneficiary observations used for analysis after cleaning data.					

Type of Works, Location and Number of Wage Employment Beneficiaries

Akola

Sl. No.	Type of Work	Location			No of WBs
		Village	Gram Panchayat	Panchayat Samiti	
<i>Gram Panchayat level</i>					
1	Other (Gutter)	Panaj	Panaj	Akot	5
2	Other (Gutter)	Panaj	Panaj	Akot	4
3	Other (Bathroom)	Panaj	Panaj	Akot	2
4	Other (Gym)	Panaj	Panaj	Akot	5
5	Other (Shopping Centre)	Jaulka	Jaulka	Akot	5
6	Other (Gutter)	Jaulka	Jaulka	Akot	3
7	Other (Gutter)	Jaulka(Varur)	Jaulka(Varur)	Akot	3
8	Other (Gutter)	Jaulka(Varur)	Jaulka(Varur)	Akot	4
9	Construction of rural link roads	Khanapur	Khanapur	Patur	5
10	Construction of rural link roads	Khanapur	Khanapur	Patur	5
11	Construction of rural link roads	Khanapur	Khanapur	Patur	4
12	Other (Bathroom)	Khanapur	Khanapur	Patur	2
13	Other	Charangaon	Charangaon	Patur	3
14	Other	Charangaon	Charangaon	Patur	2
15	Other (Bathroom)	Charangaon	Charangaon	Patur	5
16	Other (Gutter)	Charangaon	Charangaon	Patur	5
<i>Panchayat Samiti level</i>					
1	Minor irrigation	Chorwad	Yedlapur	Akot	4
2	Minor irrigation	Hilalabad	Hilalabad	Akot	5
3	Minor irrigation	Pilakwadi	Pilakwadi	Akot	5
4	Minor irrigation	Panaj	Panaj	Akot	2
5	Minor irrigation	Shekapur	Shekapur	Patur	5
6	Minor irrigation	Vivara	Vivara	Patur	5
7	Minor irrigation	Kodwaki	Gondalwadi	Patur	5
8	Minor irrigation	Kosgaon	Kosgaon	Patur	5
<i>Zilla Parishad level</i>					
1	Minor irrigation	Bhond	Nakhegaon	Akot	5
2	School Buildings	Vivara	Vivara	Patur	5
3	School Buildings	Bhandaraj	Bhandaraj	Patur	5
4	School Buildings	Belura	Belura	Patur	5
Note: No of WBs indicates the number of wage employment beneficiary observations used for analysis after cleaning data.					