

Evaluation of Implementation of Social Sector Programmes

A Study of Selected Panchayats in Raipur and Bilaspur Districts (M.P.)

**Sponsored by
Planning Commission
Government of India
June 2000**

**Institute of Applied Manpower Research
Indraprastha Estate, Ring Road, New Delhi-110002**

A Study of Selected Panchayats in Raipur and Bilaspur Districts (M.P.)

CONTENTS

- (i) Preface**
- (ii) Abbreviations**
- (iii) Executive Summary**
- Chapter - 1 Introduction**
- Chapter - 2 Impact of Selected Social Sector Schemes**
- Chapter - 3 Effectiveness of Delivery Systems**
- Chapter - 4 Gram Panchayat and Program Implementation**
- Chapter - 5 Summary of Findings**
- Chapter - 6 Recommendations**

PREFACE

Despite two decades of government programmes, poverty and unemployment appear to be increasing. This does raise the questions of efficacy and efficiency in the implementation of the programmes. The study is financed by the Planning Commission, Government of India as a part of its mid-term evaluation of the Ninth Five Year Plan in the area of social sector programmes. In the present study an attempt has been made to identify the procedural difficulties and operational weakness of various rural development schemes in three panchayats in Madhya Pradesh. Other similar studies have been undertaken by various institutions covering other states.

The main objective of the study is to help planners and implementers of the programmes to initiate measures to improve the programme. The emphasis is not on the quantitative aspects but on the qualitative aspects, processes and stakeholders' perceptions. The role of Gram Sabha and the Panchayat in project planning and implementation has also been analysed.

The study team included Dr.M R Prasad, Mr. U S Bhandari, Ms. Aditi Das, Mr. K.L.Rawal, Mr. R.S. Hasija, Mr. B L Sachdeva and Mr. S.N. Shukla. The study team would like to put on record its appreciation of the crucial help and comments from Dr.P.N Sharma. The team had the benefit of many rounds of discussion with the Director, IAMR during the stage of drafting of the report.

List of Abbreviations

ADEO	:	Additional District Extension Officer
Anm	:	Auxiliary Nurse & Mid-wife
APL	:	Above Poverty Line
APO	:	Assistant Planning Officer
BPL	:	Below Poverty Line
CD	:	Community Development
CEO	:	Chief Executive Officer
DRDA	:	District Rural Development Agency
EAS	:	Employment Assurance Scheme
GDP	:	Gross Domestic Product
IAMR	:	Institute of Applied Manpower Research
IAY	:	Indira Awas Yojana
ICDS	:	Integrated Child Development Scheme
IRDP	:	Integrated Rural Development Programme
ITDP	:	Integrated Tribal Development Programme
JRY	:	Jawahar Rojgar Yojana
MWS	:	Million Wells Scheme
NABARD	:	National Bank for Rural Development
NSAP	:	National Social Assistance Program
OAP	:	Old Age Pension
OBC	:	Other Backward Classes
PHC	:	Primary Health Centers
PRI	:	Panchayat Raj Institute
SC	:	Scheduled Caste
ST	:	Scheduled Tribe
TD	:	Tribal Development
TRYSEM	:	Training of Youth for Self-Employment

Executive Summary

1. Despite two decades of government programmes, poverty and unemployment appear to be increasing. This does raise the questions of efficacy and efficiency in the implementation of the programmes. The study is financed by the Planning Commission, Government of India as a part of its mid-term evaluation of the Ninth Five-Year Plan in the area of social sector programmes. In the present study an attempt has been made to identify the procedural difficulties and operational weakness of various rural development schemes in three panchayats in Madhya Pradesh.
2. The study is based mainly on primary data through various questionnaires supported by secondary data collected from Janpad, and District Offices. Discussions were also held with key informants like CEO, APOs, Bank Managers, ADEOs, Patwari, Sarpanch, Janpad President, Gram Sachiv, etc. to capture the various perceptions of the programme implementation and impact.
3. The study was carried out in Raipur and Bilaspur Districts, which were chosen in consultation with Planning Commission. Two blocks from Raipur and one block from Bilaspur were picked up and three Gram Panchayats were selected on the advise of District Collectors. Out of the three blocks, two are Community Development Blocks and one is a Tribal Development Block. One hundred and eleven sample beneficiaries spread in 10 villages and hamlets of three Gram Panchayats were covered by the survey.
4. The study had focussed on assessing the effectiveness of implementation of social sector schemes which included poverty alleviation programmes such as Self and Wage Employment, Primary Health Care, Primary Education and the schemes covered are IRDP, MWS, IAY, NSAP etc. The major findings are summarized below:

Self Employment

- Selection of beneficiary households both in tribal and non-tribal areas was not done according to the prescribed norms. The Gram Sabha meetings to select IRDP beneficiaries were organized in a perfunctory manner.
- The schemes in secondary sector could not become successful due to lack of skills and entrepreneurship.
- In the primary sector, the exotic animals imported from outside could not sustain the local conditions.
- There should be a provision for backward and forward linkages to enhance developmental activity. For example, in case of milch animals, amenable conditions for maintenance of animals and facility for marketing of milk are absent. Flexibility in the guidelines of IRDP is needed.
- Majority of IRDP beneficiaries have reported increase in income ranging upto Rs.10,000 per annum.

Wage-Employment Programmes

JRY and EAS

- Under JRY, there was no feed back from villages on construction of community assets. Also these assets were concentrated in Gram Panchayat headquarters.

- Allocation of funds are not commensurate with increase in the wage rates over the years.
- The implementation, i.e. cost of project, material cost, mandays generated are not available in Gram Panchayat Office.

MWS

- In many cases, there was wrong selection of site for digging well. There is a need for better coordination between officials of ground water survey and local sanctioning authority.

Welfare Schemes

- Selection procedure was not carried out in letter and spirit.
- There should be a check on some beneficiaries who declared themselves as destitutes by transferring the land in the name of their sons.
- Need to check pilferage of monthly pension at various levels and to ensure regular payments to beneficiaries through post office accounts.

It was found that almost 70 per cent of the sample beneficiaries had been enjoying benefits of two or more schemes simultaneously while there are many households below poverty line which had not been sanctioned any of the schemes.

Primary Education

About 50 per cent of the sample respondents are not sending their children to schools since the children are engaged in sibling care and other household activities.

Primary Health Care

In all the Primary Health Centers shortage of medicine and absence of maternity care were reported. Absence of Doctors was also noticed.

Recommendations:

- Delivery system need streamlining to make them more responsive to the people.
- PRIs need to be intimately involved in planning, implementation, and monitoring of development programmes.
- Both the delivery systems and PRIs should be sensitized to needs and aspirations of vulnerable sections of the poor, women and children.
- Need to make officials sensitive to participatory approach. Combined workshop for official and non-official functionaries in this context needs to be organized.
- Dissemination of information is necessary to remove communication gaps so that selection of beneficiary is done as per needs.
- Convergence of Services: To speed-up the processing, and minimize the time for allotting schemes, there is a need for coordination among the departments concerned particularly in respect of flow of funds from various departments.
- Monitoring & Evaluation: State Governments has to monitor and evaluate the schemes for periodic improvements. A system of participatory monitoring and evaluation should be

evolved in which beneficiaries, Yuvak Mandal Dals, NGOs, Mahila Mandals should send direct feed back to concerned officials for follow-up action.

- Professionalism in Rural Development Administration has to be promoted.
- Capacity Building efforts for Panchayat Raj Office bearers in the areas of Project Planning, Financial Management, etc. have to be sustained
- Institution Building: Democratizing the functioning of Gram Sabha by collective participation of women, weaker sections in decision making is necessary. In order to encourage the stake holders there is a need to develop indicators of participation, which can eliminate the monopoly of few members who dominate the Gram Sabha.
- There is a need for a system of awarding of Panchayats regularly within district/subdivisions to encourage better governance.
- Integrated Village Development Planning: There is a need to integrate the programme aimed at individual and community development schemes for the over all development of the village itself.
- Research on Structure of Poverty: It is recommended that local institutions should play a pro-active role to formulate norms and methods to tackle the problem of poverty.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

1.1.1 There has been much interest in the trends in living standards and poverty in India, more so, since the beginning of economic reforms in the last decade of this century. We have, in the nineties, experienced highest growth rate of about 6 percent in GDP, which was neither accompanied by growth in employment nor reduction in poverty. This underlines the fact that mere growth rate in GDP is not sufficient to ensure generation of employment or reduction of mass poverty. In the light of the preceding background, we could reflect on the government programmes relating to rural development.

1.1.2 Several anti-poverty measures focusing on the poor as a target group have been and are being implemented since the late seventies under the broad strategy of direct attack on poverty. The rural development programmes are meant to support the rural poor to improve their socio-economic condition to a level where they could sustain themselves without depending on government schemes for their livelihood. Government efforts to address the issues of unemployment and poverty may be broadly classified as:

- Economic package to promote accelerated growth in agriculture and allied activities through investments in irrigation and other input into agriculture as well as incentives offered to rural industrial projects. By and large, this approach addresses the aspects of productivity and growth.
- The area approach – locational policies to increase rural access to infrastructure facilities – geared to tackling issues relating to special inequalities in physical access to economic and social infrastructure such as minimum needs or basic needs programme.
- The target group approach – to directly deal with the problems of poverty and unemployment in order to reduce interpersonal or vertical inequalities. These include integrated rural development programme and various other supplementary schemes to improve the quality of life of the poorest of the poor.

1.1.3 Based on programme evaluation and experience of implementation there have been continuous changes in the approach to and emphasis of rural development schemes. Despite such changes brought about through programme review and evaluation, the population in poverty is noted to be increasing. Thus the question of the strategy and impact of government interventions arises. From some of the impact assessment studies on Rural Development Programmes of the Government of India we observe the following:

- An attempt is being made by the district administration to follow the programme guidelines as much as possible. The implementing agencies at the district and the sub-district levels are almost entirely concerned with implementation of the programmes and are not informed by the impact of these schemes. A number of aberrations have been noted, relating to selection of beneficiaries. As a result one finds that a substantial number of APL families particularly from the general category of population have also been able to access the programme.
- Village level studies convey that beneficiaries incur costs merely to be identified as a BPL family. The incidence of leakage and bribery is widespread and

substantial. The beneficiaries are nevertheless satisfied because they are able to get some financial benefits out of the programme.

- The necessary linkages in some of the programmes, such as credit, marketing and so on, are weak. In so far as self-employment programmes are concerned it is observed that the capacity building is currently limited to imparting production related skills. However, if the enterprises are to be successful, the beneficiaries also need entrepreneurial skills, rudimentary understanding of marketing and accounting and financial management.
- One of the weakest link in the programme implementation is the monitoring which at best is being done, if at all, rather mechanically without identifiable feedback into programme implementation. Whatever monitoring takes place at the district level is again with reference to target achievement.
- Convergence of anti-poverty programmes with other major minimum needs programme like, primary education, health, family planning, nutrition, rural drinking water supply and sanitation is minimal. The emphasis is overwhelmingly in creating new assets with practically little attention paid to the maintenance of the existing ones.
- The pattern of allocation between various programmes tends to be uniform irrespective of the local and regional attributes. The people's preferences of the government programmes are for productive household assets, other household assets, community assets and wage employment in that order. This order of preference is not reflected in the allocation of resources across various programmes.
- Having seen that the wage employment programmes are not the most preferred from the point of view of the rural population, it should be noted that they have a role, though seasonal, in augmenting the household earnings.

1.1.4 Among other things, the ongoing process of decentralization is geared to improving delivery of government programmes. Despite, two-step-forward-one-step-backward movement, by now there are new rural local bodies with over 2 million elected members and about 60,000 in the urban/municipal government. Although the design and impact of the decentralized system differs from state to state, the essence of the new bodies are that they have a right to live.

1.1.5 From the recent studies on the processes of decentralization and devolution of power we may note that:

- The degree of devolution of power and authority varies across states;
- Access to information and to the development programmes have increased;
- The elements of leakage and bribery has not abated but the rural population prefers programme implementation through elected bodies for reasons of access;
- At the village level, in most states, the role of *gram pradhan* in the identification and of beneficiaries and delivery of programmes has increased, and the role of *gram sabha* is at present minimal;

- While to start with, the process of decentralization and empowerment of people was initiated from the top rather than through the demands from the grassroots, over a time, pressures from below have started building up.
- The ongoing processes of decentralization have also articulated a number of latent conflicts. One set of conflicts arises between the bureaucracy and the elected representatives of the local bodies. Secondly, there are tensions at the local level, the village community being divided on caste, class and political lines. The third kind of conflict arises out of use of local resources, say land, by commercial enterprises. The fourth kind of conflict, arises out of the disparate financial arrangements, devolution of powers and differential development programmes between the urban and rural entities.
- While the bureaucracy, in general, and the established political power at the state level do offer resistance to the ongoing changes, there is no dearth of elements in each of these segments, which have positive attitude towards decentralization, as a value in itself.
- Duplication of authority and lack of clear demarcation between political leadership and officials, with each standing on personal prestige and ego are found to result in neglect of work and waste of money.
- Implementation of the provisions of the Constitution Amendments could either be done after a detailed blueprint of all actions are developed at the state level, or with a combination of details of major actions and adhoc responses to emerging field level questions. Almost all the states have chosen the latter approach.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

- 1.2.1 As observed earlier, both the programme design and guidelines tend to change based on evaluation outcomes, degree of decentralization and people's participation, all of which are crucial to the success of the programmes. However, they vary across districts and states. It is in this context and as a part of mid-term appraisal of Ninth Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission, proposed to sponsor a few studies in selected districts of various states with a view to making an objective evaluation of the impact of implementation of social sector programs. As a follow up of this effort to assess the implementation of schemes in certain social sectors, Monitoring Division of Planning Commission, Government of India, awarded the study entitled "Evaluation of Implementation of Social Sector Programmes in the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur of Madhya Pradesh" to the IAMR.
- 1.2.2 The schemes which are covered in the present study deal with (a) Wage Employment; (b) Self-Employment; and (c) creation of community and household assets which are considered under the following programmes.
1. Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP)
 2. Jawahar Rojgar Yojana (JRY)
 3. Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS)
 4. Million Wells Scheme (MWS)
 5. National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP)

In addition a qualitative assessment is made in the following sectors in terms of perception and needs of respondents.

1. Primary Education
2. Primary Health Care

1.2.3 As would be obvious from the title of the study that it is basically a process evaluation aimed at evaluating the effectiveness of delivery systems of concerned line agencies. Also, the effectiveness of implementation of any programme has to be judged from the extent to which the objectives of the programme have been achieved. Therefore in this context, the following are the objectives of this study.

- i) To assess the impact of social sector schemes with regard to achievement of objectives of programmes under study.
- ii) To examine the functioning of delivery systems of the above line agencies with regard to their qualitative and quantitative aspects and to find out gaps and deficiencies.
- iii) To analyze the role of PRIs in implementation of specified schemes in general and in coordination of different line agencies and their relationship with delivery systems.
- iv) To make recommendations for improving effectiveness of implementation of social sector schemes in particular and development programmes in general.

1.3 Methodology

- 1.3.1 This study is based mainly on primary data. But information was also collected from secondary sources. Secondary data was collected regarding district profile, information regarding details of the schemes from concerned departments, district statistical handbook and details of poverty alleviation programmes from DRDA. Primary data included information collected from individual beneficiaries, PRI office bearers, Janpad level officials and other resource persons in the area. This was collected through carefully designed and pre-tested interview schedules and guidepoints. Participatory meetings and discussions were also organized in the selected villages to have the views of a cross section of the society. Perceptions of different respondents were also recorded.
- 1.3.2 Apart from the primary information collected through various schedules at the Village, Gram Panchayat and Janpad level, the study team to made a physical verification of the community assets created under JRY/EAS. The individual beneficiaries under IRDP, IAY, MWS were intensively interviewed. Group discussions were also organized with the villagers on the issues relating to awareness about the schemes and their perception of the impact.
- 1.3.3 Various officials (those who are directly and indirectly involved) like Chief Executive Officer, BDO, School Inspectors, Doctors of Public Health, APO (ICDS), Loan Bank managers, ADEO, Patwari, Panchayat Secretary, Sarpanch, Janpad President, etc. were consulted to have a comprehensive idea of the mechanism of implementation, and their perception about effectiveness.
- 1.3.4 The Present study also relied on secondary data to the extent as provided by the district/Janpad/Gram Panchayat and villages level officials and also as available from public documents such as Census Report, District Statistical Hand Book and District Gazettes. For assessment of community assets and Beneficiaries records, information was obtained from the office of CEO Janpad and Panchayat office at Gram Panchayat.

Information relating to Central guidelines to States, population, literacy rates, etc. was obtained from Government reports.

1.4 Tools of Enquiry

1.4.1 In order to collect data and information from various sources the following tools were used.

- i) Village schedule for collecting basic information of the village, such as population, households of different classes, ongoing programmes and village economy.
- ii) Beneficiary Household Schedule, which included economic assets, impact of schemes, general living conditions, perceptions, suggestions for improvement etc.
- iii) Schedule for resource persons of the village including office bearers of Panchayat to elicit information on Panchayat functioning, community participation, support provided by government agencies.
- iv) Schedule for village level and block level functionaries of implementing agencies (or delivery systems).
- v) Guidelines for collecting information from secondary sources.

1.5 Sampling Design

1.5.1 The study was carried out in Raipur and Bilaspur districts, which were suggested by the Planning Commission. In Raipur district two blocks (Janpads) namely Fingeshwar and Chhura were selected in consultation with the District Magistrate. The criterion kept in view was that one of these blocks, i.e., Chhura is a tribal block while Fingeshwar is a C.D. Block. In Bilaspur district, Kota block was selected. Backwardness was the main criterion for selection of these blocks suggested by the respective District Magistrates.

1.5.2 From the sample blocks, three Gram Panchayats (one from each block) were selected. Out of these 10 villages were identified for field investigation were selected in consultation with the Chief Executive Officer of Janpad Panchayat which, according to him, had better quality of implementation of development schemes. The following are the block wise details of these Gram Panchayats, as listed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: List of Sampled Villages Covered in the Study

District	Block	Name of G.P.	Name of Village
Raipur	Fingeshwar	Fingeshwar Litya	Fingeshwar
Raipur	Chhura	Kharkhara	Dharampur
			Birodar
			Tilaidadar
			Pondripani
Bilaspur	Kota	Litya	Berapat
			Bardwar

			Kherjiti
			Mohandi
			Litya

1.6 Selection of Sample Beneficiaries

1.6.1 In the ten sample villages a total of 111 households were selected on random basis out of the total households who had received some kind of benefit from at least one of the household oriented schemes.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

1.7.1 It has been mentioned earlier, that this is basically a qualitative study which does not lay much emphasis on quantitative aspects. Therefore, sample size was kept small so that in-depth inquiries could be made from sample households. In addition, this study aims at evaluating the process of implementation of selected schemes. Thus, more emphasis was laid on observation, participatory discussions to find out perceptions of a cross-section of official and non-official functionaries. It must also be mentioned here that schemes under primary education and primary health care have been partially analyzed. In these focus was on utilization of government schemes only.

1.8 Profile of the Sample Beneficiaries

1.8.1 One hundred and eleven sample beneficiaries were selected on a random basis. Of these 45 per cent belonged to Scheduled Tribes, 16 per cent to Scheduled Castes and remaining 39 per cent belonged to OBC. Women constituted 32 per cent of sample beneficiaries. The following table (Table – 1.2) shows the distribution of sample households. Beneficiaries falling under the broad category mentioned in para 1.2.2 are given in this table. Analysis in the second chapter pertaining to the broad category that mentioned in para 1.2.2 covers the following schemes.

Table 1.2: Distribution of Beneficiaries by Schemes

S.No.	Name of the Scheme	Number of Beneficiaries			Total
		Fingeshwar	Kharkhara	Litya	
1	IRDP	8	14	12	34
2	Jeevan Dhara (MWS)	2	4	6	12
3	Kamar Project	-	1	-	1
4	EAS	-	-	3	3
5	TRYSEM	-	1	1	2
6	IAY	10	11	8	29
7	National Social Assistance Programme	11	5	5	21
8	National Nutrition Programme	3	4	1	8
9	Girl Child	1	-	-	1
	Total	35	40	36	111

Source: Janpad Office

IMPACT OF SELECTED SOCIAL SECTOR SCHEMES

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 In this chapter, an attempt has been made to analyze the impact of the selected social sector schemes as specified in Chapter I. Simultaneously; the process of their implementation has been examined with a view to identifying major gaps and deficiencies. Analysis of different schemes is given in the following paragraphs.

2.2 Integrated Rural Development Programme

2.2.1 Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) aims at providing self-employment to the rural poor through acquisition of productive assets or appropriate skills that would generate additional income on a sustained basis to enable them to cross poverty line. It is a loan-cum-subsidy scheme in which the subsidy is granted as percentage of total cost of the project/scheme sanctioned to the individual household selected for assistance. The pattern of subsidy is 25% for small farmers and 33 1/3 for marginal farmers, agricultural laborers and rural artisans and 50 percent for SC and ST and physically disabled families. The schemes/projects sanctioned are divided into primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. Primary sector covers agricultural and allied sectors, while secondary sector covers small industrial activity and tertiary sector covers trade, commercial activities, etc.

2.2.2 *Sectorwise Distribution of Beneficiary Households:* Out of 111 sample beneficiary households, 35 households were sanctioned loan-cum subsidy schemes under IRDP for owning productive assets. The number beneficiaries by primary, secondary and tertiary sector is given in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Distribution of Beneficiary Households by Sectors

Sl. No.	Gram Panchayat	Total no. of beneficiary households (IRDP)	Households in primary sectors	Secondary	Tertiary
1	Fingeshwar	8	3	-	5
2	Kharkhara	14	10	-	4
3	Litya	12	7	1	4
	Total	34	20	1	13

Source: Field Data

2.2.3 The above table (Table 2.1) shows that out of 34 beneficiary households 20 households were sanctioned schemes under primary sector while there was only one beneficiary household in secondary sector. Although, it was desirable to have more beneficiary households to be covered under secondary sector, it appears to be a neglected area. It was explained that since the economy of all the three Panchayats was predominantly agricultural and most people were unskilled, no household came forward to apply for a scheme in the secondary sector. A revealing feature of the beneficiary households distribution was that in tribal Panchayat of Kharkhara, maximum number, i.e. 10 out of 14 were sanctioned schemes in primary sector. The basic reason is that tribals are mainly occupied in fishery and rearing of animals.

2.2.4 *Increase in Income after the IRDP scheme:* It was found that out of 34 beneficiary households 31 reported increase in income after the IRDP scheme was taken up and was sustained for three to four years. The remaining three beneficiaries did not disclose their income nor did they give any indication of improvement. On persistent questioning, those beneficiaries reported that the animal they purchased had died. Because of this ambiguity they were not included in the following table. The following table (Table – 2.1) shows the details. It would be obvious from the Table that majority of beneficiaries got an incremental income of upto Rs.5000 per annum who were given schemes under primary sector. One of the beneficiaries could earn even more than Rs.10,000 per annum who was sanctioned a scheme of fishery development.

Table 2.2: Increase in Income of Beneficiaries of IRDP

Number of Respondents Reporting Increase in Annual Income (in Rs.)

Name of Gram Panchayat	Primary Sector			Secondary Sector			Tertiary Sector		
	up to 5000	5000 to 10000	10,000 & above	up to 5000	5000 to 10000	10,000 & above	up to 5000	5000 to Rs.10000	10,000 & above
Fingeshwar	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	3
Kharkhara	6	3	-	-	-	-	2	1	1
Litya	4	1	-	1	-	-	3	1	-
Total	11	4	1	1	-	-	6	4	4

Source: Field Data

2.2.5 *Status of Assets created under IRDP:* In the primary sector, more than 50 percent of beneficiaries reported that the cow or bullock which they had purchased under the scheme died within six months or so. It happened because these were exotic animals, which could not survive due to climate conditions. In this area the summer temperatures shot up to 46° C and the animals were imported from relatively low temperature zones. Also these required balanced diet (fodder) for their survival. The absence of veterinary clinics and infrequent visits of veterinary doctors aggravated the problem of maintaining these animals. It was pointed out by two of the beneficiaries in Fingeshwar that they made sincere efforts to take care of animals given to them but in spite of that they could not save them. It was reported that the scheme guidelines do not allow local hardy breed to be selected in spite of repeated representations by farmers.

2.2.6 It was also pointed out that growing of short duration fodder crops had never been encouraged in this area where rainfed agriculture is practiced particularly in Fingeshwar and Chhura. The feasibility of short duration fodder crops has been reportedly established in similar areas of Rajasthan.

2.2.7 In the tribal block of Chhura it was observed by the survey team that the forest undergrowth of shrubs and grasses was set on fire every day during the Mahua collection season for quicker spotting of Mahua fruits. The Mahua fruit turns white on burning and can be easily spotted. Thus, the local tribal people themselves destroy whatever forest undergrowth was available in summer for fodder of the local cattle and goats. On pointing out the fact to Sarpanch and BDO the team was informed that it was not within their

powers to check it. It was under the jurisdiction of forest department who does not take any action. It appears that the tribals are interested in instant income through freely available forest produce rather than having sustained income through diversified economic activities.

2.2.8 *Secondary Sector:* In the secondary sector of IRDP one brick kiln was sanctioned to a couple of beneficiaries in village Mohandi in Litya Gram Panchayat which worked for sometime. It was, however, reported dysfunctional due to heavy waterlogging during rains. Also the village did not have an approach road and the main road is more than 5 km. away. Without facility of transport the enterprise could not be viable.

2.2.9 *Tertiary Sector:* In the tertiary sector, 60% of the enterprises were functioning. The grocery shop, panshop, shoe, and carpentry shops were doing good business in both Fingeshwar and Litya Panchayats. The increase in income resulted in ownership of permanent assets in the form of land, property and reinvestment in other activities to earn additional income of other family members. There were two physically handicapped beneficiaries from Litya who had received assistance under IRDP. One had opened a pan shop, which is still running. The other one was trained in tailoring. But he is still without work. However, both are defaulters in repayment of full amount of loans.

Ram Charan - Fighting Against Odds

Twenty-six years old Ram Charan belongs to village Mohandi. He had his education upto class XII and was looking for a job. In 1997 he obtained a loan of Rs.15,000/- under the IRDP scheme to set up a brick kiln. The site assigned to him was a low-lying area and the bricks were submerged during the rains. Apart from water-logging, the village did not have any approach road it was difficult to cart the bricks. He suffered loss twice but paid back Rs.7000/- towards repayment of loan from his income from small land holding to maintain his credibility. He subsequently received training as an instructor in non-formal education programme. He is now getting Rs.300/- per month from the Janpad Panchayat Kota. His wife works on odd jobs in the village. He is keen to revive the brick kiln enterprise if re-financed at a suitable site.

Krishan Ram - IRDP Beneficiary: A case of successful entrepreneurship

Thirty-seven years old Krishan Ram had studied upto class III. He worked as a carpenter in his village Fingeshwar. In 1994 he secured a loan of Rs.9000/- through the IRDP scheme and bought good quality tools. He hired another local apprentice and started making furniture along with doors and windows of good quality. His income has improved by 50 percent and he has repaid full amount of loan. In 1999, he obtained another bank loan of Rs.50,000/-. He extended his business house. He employed another worker who was trained by him in wood work. His weekly income is around Rs.1200/-. Having crossed the poverty line, he is planning to impart his carpentry skills to youth of the village free of cost.

2.2.10 *Gaps and Deficiencies in Implementation of IRDP:* In order to find out gaps and deficiencies in implementation of IRDP, not only the beneficiary households were consulted but detailed discussions were held with a cross section of village society such as opinion leaders belonging to poorer sections and other resource persons to elicit their views on the subject. The following gaps and deficiencies were identified:

- *Selection of IRDP Beneficiaries:* As prescribed under Guidelines for IRDP issued by Government of India from time to time, it has been emphasized that IRDP

beneficiaries should be selected from amongst the lowest income households as recorded in the household register maintained by the Gram Panchayat. This register indicates annual income of all the households in the village. Also, the beneficiaries should be selected in open Gram Sabha meetings. Both these conditions were not complied with in all the three Panchayats.

- The IRDP beneficiaries were selected arbitrarily irrespectively of the household information. Also Gram Sabha meetings were held in a perfunctory manner. Sarpanch usually dictated the names, which were invariably approved by those present in the meeting. It was reported by gram sachivs and others that signatures of some other villagers were obtained later to show that a full-fledged meeting was organized to select deserving beneficiaries.
- It was also reported by a section of poor land less villagers that they had to give some money to Sarpanch or some influential members of Panchayat to be covered under the list of IRDP beneficiaries.
- *Provision of backward and forward linkages:* After having selected beneficiaries and allocation of schemes, the government functionaries did not take into consideration the backward and forward linkages. For example, the exotic animals needed nutrient fodder for their proper maintenance, no arrangement was made for its procurement. Similarly, the linkage of marketing of milk was not thought of. The beneficiaries could get very little price for the milk, which they sold, in a nearby place.
- *Pilferage:* It was reported that there was a difference between the amount sanctioned and actual amount received. Although, respondents did not give precise information, the difference reportedly, ranged between Rs.500 to Rs.2500 depending on the total cost of the project. It was reported that there was a nexus operating between Sarpanch, Gram Sachiv, local government functionaries and bank officials. The Gram Sachiv was reported to be the main actor in this whole act.
- *Differece between tribal and non-tribal Panchayats:* So far as the above aspects of IRDP are concerned, no difference was found in the tribal and non-tribal Panchayats. The procedure of selection of beneficiaries, allotment of schemes, supply of animals was found to be on the same pattern. In tribal Panchayat, the problem of availability of fodder for the animals supplied were more acute as compared to non -tribal Panchayat because of burning of undergrowth in the forest as mentioned earlier.

2.3 JRY and Employment Assurance Scheme

- 2.3.1 The basic objective of JRY and EAS schemes was not only to generate/provide additional/assured gainful employment for the unemployed and under-employed men and women in rural areas but also creating economic infrastructure and community assets of permanent nature in rural areas.
- 2.3.2 The community assets created through JRY and EAS in the sample villages included land leveling, construction of village approach road, Anganwadi buildings, repair of primary school, community centre. Though all the sample Panchayats under study have high rate of unemployment, and underemployment but only a few were covered under JRY and EAS revealing failure of the implementing agencies in targeting the beneficiaries under these schemes. Table 2.3 shows the number of assets created under JRY and EAS in Fingeshwar and Kharkhara. Complete records of Litya Panchayat were not available. The above table reveals that under JRY over 82 percent of the total assets

were created. It also shows that creation of assets under both the schemes is higher at around 60 percent in Fingeshwar Gram Panchayat. So far as types of assets created are concerned, the details are given in Table 2.4.

Table 2.3: Number of Assets created under JRY and EAS in Three Sample Gram Panchayats

(During the period 1994-95 to 1999-2000)

Gram Panchayat	No. of Villages	Number of Assets		
		JRY	EAS	Total
Fingeshwar	1	28	6	34
Kharkhara	5	19	4	23
Litya	4	3	2	5
Total	10	50	12	62

Source: Gram Panchayat Record

2.4 Jeevan Dhara (MWS)

2.4.1. Under this scheme, selected individual beneficiaries are given 100 per cent grant in aid for digging their own wells for irrigation. The wells are to be dug in the pockets identified by block office after ground water survey. In Fingeshwar two and in Chhura four beneficiaries were selected. These beneficiaries, however, dug wells in their fields where water table was very low. Therefore, in these cases the scheme could not be successful. However, this scheme has been successfully running in Litya Gram Panchayat which incidentally harvest both Kharif and Rabi crops. About 90 percent of the beneficiaries are using water for drinking purpose also. Figures shown in Table - 2.6 reveals that there has been gross under utilization of funds in MWS in all the three Janpads.

Table 2.6: Allocation and utilization of funds under Jeevan Dhaara in Two Sample Janpad Panchayats (in Rs. Lakhs)

Year	Allocation		Utilization		Percent Utilization	
	Fingeshwar	Chhura	Fingeshwar	Chhura	Fingeshwar	Chhura
1994-95	10.06	21.88	7.17	20.30	71.27	92.78
1995-96	3.76	2.99	3.03	2.99	80.59	100.0
1996-97	5.95	8.11	0.61	2.97	10.25	36.62
1997-	4.32	24.92	3.64	14.54	84.26	58.35

98						
1998-99	8.65	9.63	4.56	3.33	52.72	34.57
1999-2000	-	-	-	0.21	-	-

Source: Janpad offices

2.4.2 Gaps and Deficiencies: It was also reported that group cooperative formation by tiny land holders for borewell irrigation is not recognized by NABARD. The basic change of regulation is imperative for irrigation of tiny land-holding farmers in these dry, riverless blocks of Chhura and Fingeshwar. The Grameen Bank Branch Manager also informed that the mandatory norm of submitting certificate of ground water survey report of site is provided by BDO. This certificate is issued by the BDO often without cross-checking with relevant data at District Headquarters. This naturally results in wells being dysfunctional very often and hence recovery of loans is very poor in this scheme. Thus imperfect knowledge of local geography, technical suppoailable, uniform prescriptions for all sizes of land holdings has resulted in misuse of funds for MWS in both the TD and CD blocks.

2.5 Special Project for Upliftment of Kamar Tribe.

2.5.1 In Kharkhara Gram Panchayat a special project was launched from 1994-95 for accelerated development of Kamar tribe. Under this programme, allotment of land was made to Kamar families and assistance for land development and construction of houses was given. It was a part of Integrated Tribal Development Project to bring about improvement in quality of life of this tribe. The following table shows the utilisation of funds under this programme.

Table 2.7: Indira Awas Yojana/Land leveling in Kharkhara Gram Panchayat under Kamar Project

Year	Allocation (in Rs. Lakhs)		Utilization		Percentage Utilization	
	IAY	Land Leveling	IAY	Land Leveling	IAY	Land Leveling
1994-95	4.55	1.82	4.18	1.82	91.87	100.0
1995-96	1.02	1.15	1.02	1.15	100.0	100.0
1996-97	4.65	1.55	4.65	1.55	100.0	100.0
1997-98	13.94	15.36	13.09	15.33	93.90	99.80
1998-99	4.89	3.79	4.85	3.78	99.18	99.74
1999-2000	12.83	3.87	12.25	3.76	95.26	97.16

Source: BDO Chhura

2.5.2 It would be obvious from the above table that 98 percent of the allocated funds were utilized for giving assistance to Kamar households living below poverty line and the target of land distribution was also achieved.

Welfare Schemes

- 2.6.1 In case of National Social Assistance Programmes (NSAP), it was found that out of total beneficiaries a large number of beneficiaries were those, whose family had got assistance under IRDP or other programme. For being eligible under this scheme and declare themselves as destitutes, these persons had transferred their land in the name of their sons or relatives.

In this manner, those who had clout in the village siphoned off the funds under these schemes. In quite a few cases, the beneficiaries reported that the actual amount received by them under OAP was less than that specified for disbursal. The amount is at present disbursed through Sarpanch. The key informants pointed out that if the disbursement of the pension was done through post offices this malpractice would be checked. Table 2.8 shows the allocation and utilization of amount provided under NSAP

Table –2.8

Allocation and utilization of NSAP Schemes in Sample Janpad Panchayat

Year	Allocation (in Rs. Lakhs)			Utilization			Percentage Utilization		
	Fingeshwar	Chhura	Kota	Fingeshwar	Chhura	Kota	Fingeshwar	Chhura	Kota
1994-95	0.66	26.15	-	0.61	23.55	-	92.4	90.0	-
1995-96	0.78	72.53	0.03	0.75	68.01	0.2	96.2	93.8	66.67
1996-97	3.89	33.64	0.55	3.16	31.74	0.39	81.23	94.4	70.50
1997-98	12.63	55.3	0.58	10.24	53.64	0.39	81.08	97.0	67.24
1998-99	11.87	78.28	0.74	10.53	77.55	0.48	88.71	99.07	64.86
1999-2000	7.75	82.19	0.42	7.88	64.62	1.37	80.82	78.62	80.95

Source: Janpad Offices

- 2.6.1 It may be seen from the above table that there is under- utilization of funds in NSAP to the extent of 19 percent in Fingeshwar, 28 percent in Chhura and 35 percent in Kota Janpad Panchayats. One strong reason for under utilization of funds was reported to be the delay in release of funds by the state government.
- 2.6.2 **Gaps and Deficiencies:** It was found that in implementation of welfare schemes enumerated above, scientific procedures were not being adopted. For example, the selection of beneficiaries was done in an arbitrary manner usually recommended by the Sarpanch. The local level government functionaries either do not bother for the criteria or they work in tandem with Sarpanch to subserve vested interest of both.
- 2.6.3 **Improvement in Income Status:** Improvement in income status due to combined effect of availing benefits from different schemes was analyzed. The responses collected are presented in the Table 2.9 given below. The Table indicates that 39 percent beneficiaries in Fingeshwar and 42 percent in Litya reported increase in their income. It may be

pointed out that Litya is a double crop area, increase in income after availing benefits from IRDP, MWS schemes is self-evident. But Fingeshwar being a single crop area having little irrigation facilities the returns were relatively low. Similarly, Kharkhara Panchayat is also a single crop area, and despite land reforms low agricultural productivity was responsible for fewer number of respondents reporting increase in income.

Table – 2.9: Improved Income Levels of beneficiaries After Assistance

(In Rs.)

Gram Panchayat	No. of Respondents	No. of Respondent with improved income	No. of Respondents with no change in income	Percentage of Respondents whose income increased
Fingeshwar	35	12	23	39
Kharkhara	40	13	27	32
Litya	36	15	21	42
Total	111	40	71	36

Source: Field Survey Data

2.7 Beneficiaries getting benefits from more than two schemes

2.7.1 An analysis of all the beneficiaries was made to find out the number of those beneficiaries who received benefits from more than two schemes. The purpose was to ascertain whether there has been even distribution of benefits from poverty alleviation programs or some kind of concentration is taking place. This is depicted in Table 2.10. From the Table, it is evident that out of the total of 111 beneficiary households there were 68 i.e. 64 percent who got more than two schemes sanctioned in their names. Out of those 68 respondents it was found that 38 (nearly 36 percent of total respondents) were related to either Panchayat members, or officials at block level because of which these were favored by Gram Panchayats (Sarpanch). It shows that the deserving beneficiaries are still ignored and the favored ones are given benefits again and again.

Table 2.10: Number of Beneficiaries who got Benefits from Two or more than two schemes

Name of Villages	No of Respondents Receiving Benefits	
	One scheme	Two or More than two schemes
Fingeshwar	13	22
Dharampur	2	11
Pondripani	4	5
Birodar	3	-
Tilaidadar	8	7
Mohandi	3	5
Bardwar	2	4
Kharjiti	3	1
Berapet	3	6
Litya	2	7
Total	43	68

Source: Field Data

2.8 Primary Education

2.8.1 Madhya Pradesh government has made special efforts to achieve the goal of education for all. It is a pioneering state, which has implemented Education Guarantee Scheme through Gram Panchayats. It has created impact. However at the time of field survey the scheme was in its initial stage. The survey team made an attempt to find out those families which were not sending their children to school. It was basically aimed at identifying reasons as to why these families were not sending their children to school.

Table - 2.11: Households who were not sending their children between 6-11 years of age to School

Gram Panchayat	No. of households interviewed	Households with children of 6-11 age not going to school	Percentage of Households
Fingeshwar	35	13	37
Kharkhara	40	22	55
Litya	36	17	49

Source: Field Data

2.8.2. However, the reasons given for not going to school may be of relevance. These reasons include (i) illiteracy of parents not realizing the importance of education, (ii) poverty, (iii) children engaged in sibling care, (iv) school not found attractive by the children, (v) school buildings and other facilities still unsatisfactory, (vi) some schools still do not have any provision for toilet facility. In addition, shortage of teachers was also reported as a reason besides absenteeism of teachers. The state government had started the recruitment of para-teachers and has also made arrangement for alternative schooling. It is expected that these children must have started going to school. Apparently pressure had already built on these families to send their children to school as was evident from the discussions with the family members.

2.9 Primary Health Care

2.9.1 It was reported in the sample villages that the multipurpose worker of health department previously known as ANM was regularly visiting the villagers and different schemes were being implemented. It was also reported that immunization programme for children and pulse polio campaigns were organized regularly. Here, an attempt was made to find out as to how many families out of sample families are availing government health care facilities. The perception of these families about health care provided by government was also ascertained. The following table gives information on both these aspects.

Table - 2.12: Sample Households Availing Health Care Facility

Gram Panchayat	No. of respondents	Health Care Facility availed		Whether paid amount to PHCs		Perception of Beneficiaries toward Health care facility provided by Govt.	
		PHC/Sub Centre	Private	Paid	Not Paid	Satisfactory	Not Satisfactory
Fingeshwar	35	31	4	7	28	21	14
Kharkhara	40	37	3	12	28	24	16
Litya	36	34	2	Not Stated	14	13	23
Total	111	102	9	19	70	58	53

Source: Field Data

2.9.2 The above table shows that a majority of sample beneficiaries (89 percent) in Fingeshwar Gram Panchayat and 93 percent in Kharkhara are availing facilities available at PHC. A few sample households are also going to private doctors. Regarding the payment of amount to PHC against the cost of medicine, most of the beneficiaries of both Panchayats (i.e. 80 per cent Fingeshwar, 70 percent Kharkhara) have reported that they did not pay any amount for treatment. The rest 20 percent in Fingeshwar and 30 percent in Kharkhara reported that some times PHC charged the cost of medicines, which were reported out of their stock. Kharkhara is a tribal Gram Panchayat. Its villages are located at a long distance from the PHC at Janpad level. But despite that majority of sample households could avail the government facility. It emerged during discussions with the villagers that the PHCs were ill-equipped. They did not have maternity care faculty. All the doctors were not present and medicines were out of stock or not given to the poor people. The perception of 58 respondents about health care facility was satisfactory and 53 percent saw these as unsatisfactory.

2.9.3 By way of conclusion, it may be added that, although, it would not be prudent to generalize the finding of a small sample. However, the evaluation of schemes have indicated important qualitative gaps in the delivery of services as also in the functioning of Gram Panchayat and village level workers. In the following chapters, we will analyze the role of delivery systems and PRIs in implementation of social sector schemes.

Table 2.4: Type of Assets created in Sample Gram Panchayats

S.No.	Type of Assets	Fingeshwar Gram Panchayat	Kharkhara Gram Panchayat	Litya Gram Panchayat	Total
1	Construction/Renovation of community hall/Sabha Bhawan	3	-	-	3
2	Recreation centers	2	1	-	3
3	Construction/Renovation and Extension of School Buildings	7	3	1	11
4	Construction maintenance of Bridges	2	3	-	5
5	Desilting/Cleaning/Digging of Ponds/Well/Tanks	5	2	1	8

6	Construction/Maintenance of Villages Approach Roads	2	1	2	5
7	Public Toilet	1	-	-	1
8	Kanji House (for stray animals)	2	4	-	6
9	Construction of Boundary Wall to protect village bordering forest area	1	1	-	2
10	Construction of veterinary centre	1	-	-	1
11	Construction of Mahila Mandal Bhawan	1	1	-	2
12	Construction of Channels of Canal	2	-	-	2
13	Construction/Maintenance of Aganwadi Centers	3	5	1	9
14	Construction/Maintenance of lane/Drainage	2	2	-	4
	Total	34	23	5	

Source: Field Data

2.3.3 It would be clear from above table that in all the works completed by the Panchayats first priority was given to construction and renovation of primary school buildings. Second priority was given to construction of Aganwadi centers. Desilting and clearing of ponds and cleaning of wells got the third priority. There was not much of difference in priorities in tribal and non-tribal Pachayats.

2.3.4 *Funds utilized and Employment Generated under JRY & EAS:* Information about utilization of funds and employment generation was collected from sample Panchayats. Only Two Panchayats i.e., Fingeshwar and Kharkhara could provide this information. These two Pachayats also could not give details about allocated amount. Litya Panchayat could not produce any records.

Table 2.5: Funds Utilized and Employment Generated and Average Daily-wage Paid Under JRY and EAS in Sample Gram Panchayats

Year	Fund utilized (Rs. Lakh)		No. of Mandays of Employment (in '000)		Average Daily Wage Paid All (Rs.)
	Fingeshwar	Kharkhara	Fingeshwar	Kharkhara	
94-95	0.85	0.72	2	1	29
95-96	2.40	0.50	5	1	29
96-97	1.90	0.85	4	2	32
97-98	3.66	1.16	7	2	32
98-99	2.19	0.82	3	1	44
Total	11.00	4.05	21	7	---

Source: Gram Panchayat Records

2.3.5 The above table shows that employment generated through these schemes was very little as only 21000 mandays of employment were generated over a period of 5 years in Fingeshwar and only 7000 mandays in Kharkhara Gram Panchayat over the same period. One of the reasons reported by the Panchayats for low employment generation was that the allocations have not been increased in proportion to the increase in wage rates, which have been rising every years.

2.3.6 Gaps and Deficiencies: During discussions with villagers, it emerged that the details of the works undertaken were not shown at a prominent public place as prescribed in DRDA guidelines. Also the work to be undertaken should be decided in open meeting of the Gram Sabha whose estimates should be approved by Janpad Office. It was also not done. The villagers living in villages other than the headquarters village showed ignorance about this. They also said that benefits were more or less concentrated in Panchayat head quarter village.

EFFECTIVENESS OF DELIVERY SYSTEMS

3.1 Importance of Delivery Systems

3.1.1 The responsibility of implementation of different development programmes lies with the sectoral ministries/departments. Each sectoral department has to reach the services and inputs down to the intended beneficiaries. This task is accomplished through delivery system of the department. These are also called sectoral line agencies. The delivery system is a line agency of each department responsible for implementation of programmes to achieve departmental goals. Obviously, the broad frame of reference of departmental goals and objectives are framed at the national and state levels. The district and sub-district level functionaries are required to implement these programmes according to stated objectives in a time bound manner. All these functionaries from district to village level of different departments constitute the delivery systems.

3.1.2 Effective delivery systems are indispensable for efficient governance or development management. The delivery systems operate through multiple channels comprising departments, organizations and agencies, cooperatives, private, corporate and non-governmental organizations. The delivery systems have to work in tandem with the people's institutions like Gram Panchayat, Janpad Panchayat and Zila Panchayat. As a matter of fact they are expected now to be subservient and accountable to these people's institutions. In this chapter an attempt has been made to examine the functioning of delivery systems responsible for social sector schemes selected for the study. It may be pointed out that an efficient delivery system must ensure convergence of allied activities, facilities, services, inputs, technology and financial resources on a specified area or population in a stipulated time frame. Thus coordination and synchronization of activities of all the line agencies to achieve particular objectives is essential.

3.2 Target Oriented Approach

3.2.1 The target-oriented approach has been criticized for long. At every forum, the policy planners or the higher level functionaries always advise the lower level functionaries to discard this approach because the qualitative aspects tend to be ignored in the process of achieving the targets. Besides it is not responsive to people's needs. Nevertheless, this approach continues to be an obsession with our planners and the field functionaries.

3.2.2 In this study, it was found that a given quantum of beneficiaries below the poverty line is identified for IRDP even if requisite number of families satisfying the prescribed norms is not available. This results in selection of beneficiaries even if they do not satisfy the programme guidelines. It was also reported that the targets for Million Wells Scheme; Indira Awas Yojana were conveyed very late in the financial year and the development officials had very little time at their disposal to select the requisite number of beneficiaries. Consequently, information or details of these schemes could not be widely disseminated and whoever was suggested by the Sarpanch was covered under the scheme. Enough time was not available to verify the credentials of beneficiaries. In addition to the physical targets financial targets are also to be achieved by field functionaries. But usually the funds are received very late at the Janpad level. It is especially in case of welfare schemes. It was reported by CEOs of Janpad Panchayats that in many cases the funds are received in the month of March. It creates all types of problems and gives rise to corruption because the funds should in any case be utilized before the end of the financial year.

3.3 Sharing of Information

3.3.1 For efficient implementation of schemes it is necessary that information about development programmes, details about procedures for application, amount of subsidy or loan,

the appropriate sanctioning authority, etc. are widely disseminated. Still that task is not done. The potential beneficiaries in villages were not aware of those details. It appears that the information is not shared by design, because it has 're

3.4 Selection of Beneficiaries and Schemes

3.4.1 It was reported that the guidelines issued by State Government are not followed strictly and some times ignored totally. For example, it is the duty of the village level functionaries to ensure that selection of IRDP, MWS, NSAP beneficiaries is done in open Gram Sabha meetings from amongst the poorest of poor. Similarly, under JRY the proposed works should be decided by entire Gram Sabha in which creation of Physical assets should be taken up on priority basis in the hamlets of weaker sections. These guidelines were not being followed in the study area. It was found that the officials, quite often do not sit through the meetings of Gram Sabha but only have their presence felt.

3.4.2 It was found that a large percentage of IRDP beneficiaries were sanctioned cows and bullocks. These exotic animals were imported from outside without giving consideration to suitability of local climate. It resulted in high mortality of animals and IRDP beneficiaries were caught in a debt trap.

3.4.3 Similarly under MWS, it was reported that the BDOs gave certificates of feasibility for digging well without cross checking information from Ground Water Survey Department. It was pointed out in case of National Social Assistance Programme all conditions are not clearly defined. These give discretion to the person to interpret in his own way. It has been prescribed that at least 30 percent of women should be covered under IRDP, (same conditions also apply to ITDP). The field functionaries of delivery systems are not sensitive to this aspect. No effort is made towards encouraging women to come forward to participate in development activities.

3.4.4 In spite of the best intentions, it has not been possible to bring attitudinal change in the functionaries constituting the delivery systems. Paternalistic approach continues. The government functionaries have not started encouraging wider people's participation or partnership. Consequently, it has not been possible to make development programme broad based and to ensure participation of weaker sections. As a matter of fact, the delivery systems should ensure the participation of weaker sections and should see to it that the benefits are evenly distributed amongst the poorer sections. It was found that this was not done and those who had connections with Sarpanch or other office bearers of PRIs or with block level officials were getting benefits repeatedly while others who were more deserving were being left out.

3.5 Lack of Convergence and Provision of Backward and Forward Linkages

3.5.1 Convergence of services and inputs is necessary to produce a synergic effect that would make a perceptible impact on the quality of life of the people especially the vulnerable groups such as poorer sections, women and children. Convergence of services is required at the micro. It implies that all functionaries at micro level should synchronize their working and their respective services and inputs are delivered at the appropriate time to the beneficiaries. Timing is of critical importance besides availability of human, material and financial resources. For ensuring this, there should be effective networking of different development departments at the state level and more so at the district level.

3.5.2 There is near complete lack of convergence at the micro level. It was observed that financial allocations under different schemes were coming at different times. The local level functionaries hardly realized the importance of convergence. In all these villages it was found that there was no linkage between Anganwadi and primary school on the one side and Anganwadi with the multi purpose functionaries of health department. Even the information

maintained by one functionary was not being shared by another. Then there was no coordination between different functionaries and their visits to the villages did not coincide which could have facilitated the solution of problems of the villagers which were of multi-disciplinary nature. Through convergence, it would have been possible to ensure the provision of forward and backward linkages which were found missing in implementation of various programmes.

3.6 Willingness to work with PRIs

3.6.1 The Government of Madhya Pradesh has taken effective measures to decentralize development functions to PRIs. The functionaries of the departments, whose functions have been transferred to PRIs, have also been put under the control of these bodies. During interactions with Janpad level functionaries, it was found that they are uncomfortable with the new arrangement and in some cases there was resentment. At the Janpad level a post of Chief Executive Officer (CEO) has been created and the work distribution between (CEO and BDO is yet to be finalized.

3.6.2 Although, monthly progress reports were being sent to Block office and other higher level offices by the Gram Sanchiv it was reported by them that hardly any corrective action as requested in monitoring reports was taken. This is also true in the case of physical verification of JRY works. The members of Panchayats and Gram Sachivs reported that the visits of higher officials of the Block except, Gram Sevak were few and far between.

GRAM PANCHAYAT AND PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 With the decentralization of power and responsibilities for various development programmes, the PRIs have very important functions to perform. Since the office bearers of PRIs are still not fully equipped to deal with the new responsibilities, the assistance and support of officials is necessary at different levels. It is obvious that it is only through PRIs that development objectives of the area could be achieved. In this study, the working of Gram Panchayat and Janpad Panchayat was analyzed. In the case of Janpad Panchayat, it emerged from the discussions with officials and non-officials that the functions of Janpad Panchayat were still in embryonic stage. It may take some time that well-defined procedures are evolved. The major function of coordination of village plans and village development programmes could not be synchronized. Janpad Panchayat members felt that the role and responsibilities of these intermediary levels are vague.

4.2 Lack of capacity of Panchayat members

4.2.1 Functioning of Gram Panchayat was examined in details. The study team had detailed discussions with Sarpanch and members as well as villagers about discharging the responsibilities assigned by State Government (Table 4.1). The Panchayat members as such found it very difficult to manage so many departments and their functionaries brought under their control. It was pointed out that capacity building was necessary.

4.2.2 In practice also, the study team found that Sarpanch was taking the decisions independently and subsequently he wanted the Panchayat to endorse them. The villagers at large reported that there is a nexus between Sarpanch, some influential members and government functionaries and this group takes all the decisions. It was reported that to get their name included in the list of households below poverty line, they had to oblige Sarpanch or connected members.

4.2.3 Another point, which came into sharp focus, was that the culture of collective working has not emerged. There were contradicting opinions expressed by the Sarpanch and the members and villagers. The Sarpanch stated that the members did not take interest in the working of Panchayats and the members did not attend meetings and did not share other responsibilities. The Panchayat members and villagers stated that Gram Panchayat was a one-man show and Sarpanch had the sole control. The government functionaries also recognized only Sarpanch and other Panchayat members were rather ignored by them.

4.2.4 Madhya Pradesh government has authorized Gram Panchayat to appoint a Gram Sachiv who is paid Rs.500/- p.m. Gram Panchayat have to assist Sarpanch as well as Gram Panchayat in the conduct of their functions. Gram Sachiv should be educated upto High School. Since Gram Sachiv is educated and is a local person, he wields great influence. He fills application forms for getting assistance from different schemes. Gram Sachiv was reported to be charging some amount for filling up each application form. The Sarpanch and the Gram Panchayat members were of the view that they do not have requisite capacities in project planning, financial management and maintenance of account. Also when projects are prepared for creation of assets, the Gram Panchayat depends on government officials.

4.2.5 It was also reported that the sub-committees of Gram Panchayat were also not functioning well. Again, the reason was lack of interest of members in Gram Panchayat activities

and developmental issues. Building of a spirit of collective working is badly needed. The reasons for lack of broad-based participation need to be identified.

4.3 Women Empowerment and their Participation

4.3.1 The reservation of 30 percent posts of Sarpanch and members of PRIs for women had been strictly followed. The elected members are in position. In Fingeshwar Gram Panchayats, there was a woman Sarpanch. But still her husband was taking all the decisions. Participation of women was also minimal in Panchayat meetings. The study team held participatory discussions with women Sarpanch, Panch and other women. They had a good grasp of the problems faced by villagers.

4.3.2 The perception of women about working of the Panchayat was not positive. They perceived it as a centre of politicking and siphoning of the money. Therefore, they did not want to become a part of this. Because of male dominant society coupled with low literacy and social backwardness, the women were rather compelled to contest elections by their husband or elders for Panchayat posts. The husbands or elders were holding these positions earlier. After being elected as office bearers, the elected women representatives were hardly allowed any opportunity to have role. The old practices were continued and decision making rested with their husbands or elders. They represented their husband *de-jure*.

4.4 Panchayat Meetings and Follow up

4.4.1 As mentioned earlier, the Panchayat meetings were thinly attended. Usually, the proceedings of these meetings are written and then sent for individual members for their signature. The records of meetings or proceedings are poorly recorded, as even Gram Sachiv is not so experienced to record them properly. A number of resolutions are purported to have been passed but there is hardly any follow up. In all the three Panchayats there was no follow up of any resolution. So much so that the proposals recommended to be sent to higher authorities were not sent at all.

4.5 Sensitivity towards Weaker Sections

4.5.1 Except in Gram Panchayat Kharkhara, which was a tribal Panchayat, there was no focus on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The decision of the Gram Panchayat (or the Sarpanch or influential members) always went in favor of the SC and ST and Landless workers who were directly or indirectly obliging the Sarpanch or influential members. It was also noticed the Sarpanch usually favored the beneficiaries to be selected from his own village. This was a general complaint of the residents of other villages in the Panchayat.

4.5.2 It may be concluded that the role of Panchayat in implementation of development programmes has yet not become very effective. Actually, the decentralization measures taken by Madhya Pradesh Government are very radical and these militate against the legacy of traditional feudal society. It is a process of socio-political change involving shifting of centers of power. It is time consuming. Therefore, its evaluation should not be viewed with a negative attitude. We need to have perseverance to expect changes, which can come only in gradual manner.

Table 4.1: Devolution of Powers to Panchayats in Madhya Pradesh

Sector	Task	Power to Panchayats
Education	Primary education	Setting up new schools in response to community

		<p>demand, appointing teachers, arranging for space for conducting schooling and management of all such schools set up through Education Guarantee Scheme is done by Gram Panchayats.</p> <p>All new teachers are appointed by Janpad Panchayat</p> <p>All school buildings costing below Rs.3 lakhs are constructed by Gram Panchayat</p>
	Primary and Secondary school education	Panchayat, Janpad and District level Education Committees oversee all matters of school education like location of new schools, transfer of teacher within the district and staffing of District Institutes of Education Training
Health	Primary Health	<p>Panchayats recruit volunteers to become rural health practitioners of Jan Swastya Rakshaks Panchayats responsible for disease surveillance and reporting epidemics.</p> <p>Health Committees of Gram Panchayat, Janpad</p> <p>Panchayat and District Panchayat supervise all aspect; of primary health management</p>
Natural Resource Management	Watershed Management	Community-level watershed management committees undertake work with panchayat support
	Forest Management	<p>Power vest with gram panchayats for supervision, issue of transit passes for forest produce.</p> <p>Community-based Joint Forest Management Committees manage degraded forests under panchayat</p> <p>Co-operatives of pluckers manage collection of non timber forest produce under panchayat supervision</p>
	Management of water bodies	<p>The management of water bodies and their tenancy rights vest with panchayat at all the three levels. But the ownership of these water bodies have not transferred.</p> <p>Fishing rights vest in gram panchayats</p>
	Management of Minor Minerals	Mining royalty rights along with tenancy rights vest with gram panchayats.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This study had its focus on assessing the effectiveness of implementation of social sector schemes which included poverty alleviation programmes, programmes such as Primary Health Care, Primary Education and the schemes covered are National Security Assistance Programme such as Old age Pension, Widow Pension Schemes, Rural Housing (Indira Awas Yojana). A summary of gaps and deficiencies identified in different schemes examined in this chapter. Some of these relate to the process and procedures while others relate to the capacity and attitudes of the concerned functionaries.

5.2 Poverty Alleviation Programmes

1. *Self Employment*

- Selection of beneficiary households both in tribal and non-tribal areas was not done according to the prescribed procedure. These were selected arbitrarily -- not following the household register, which lists income wise households. The Gram Sabha meetings to select IRDP beneficiaries were organized in a perfunctory manner.
- It was reported that to get into the list of households below poverty line and IRD benefits, it was necessary to pay Sarpanch and in some cases powerful Panchayat members.
- The selection of Schemes was mainly in primary sector followed by tertiary sector both in tribal and CD blocks. The Schemes in secondary sector could not be granted due to lack of skills. Creation of skills through TRYSEM has not taken place in tribal as well as non-tribal types of Panchayats.
- In the primary sector, almost all the beneficiaries were sanctioned milch animal (cows) and bullocks for ploughing. Under IRDP guidelines, reportedly only exotic animals (indigenous breeds barred) could be purchased. These exotic animals imported from outside could not sustain in the local climate (the temperatures shooting upto 46°C) Also, they required a balanced diet (fodder) for maintenance and survival. The beneficiary could not afford it. Therefore, there is a high mortality rate of animals supplied under IRDP.
- There was a peculiar problem in tribal Panchayat Kharkhara where the local population is dependent on minor forest produce particularly Mahua. In order to spot Mahua flowers, they burn the undergrowth constituting some shrubs and grasses. This reduced availability of fodder for animals.
- It was found that 17 out of total 34 beneficiaries under IRDP reported increase in income ranging upto Rs.5000 per annum and 8 between Rs.5000 to 10,000. There were five beneficiaries who reported an increase of more than 10,000 per annum. It is note worthy that these beneficiaries were sanctioned schemes in secondary sector. It shows that the villagers have wisely invested their incremental income and some kind of capital formation is also taking place through IRDP.
- It is well know that no development activity could succeed without provision of backward and forward linkages. It was true particularly in primary sector. Since, in the case of milch animals, facility for marketing milk was not organized, most of the beneficiaries had very little income by selling milk by them. Also, the principle of clustering of schemes was not kept in view while sanctioning these. Economies of scale could not operate due to scattering of beneficiaries over a large area and also due to absence of cooperative/collective efforts by individual beneficiaries to sell their produce at reasonable prices.

5.3 Wage-Employment Programme

JRY and EAS

- Under JRY, it was found that proposals for construction of community assets were not discussed in the open meetings of Gram Sabha. Also, the residents of villagers other than Gram Panchayat headquarters complained that most of the works were concentrated in Panchayat headquarters.
- There were only 21000 mandays of employment generated. Employment generation in terms of mandays had been declining. However, the panchayats informed that this decline was due to the allocation of money was not commensurate with increase in the wage rates over the years.
- Under JRY it is prescribed that details of cost of project with the cost of material, number of mandays to be generated, etc. should be shown on a prominent place for maintaining transparency. This practice is not prevalent in the study area.
- In all the three Panchayats in creation of assets priority was given to improvement of primary school buildings and construction of Anganwadi buildings. Disilting of ponds, digging of wells was another priority area. The priorities were according to the need perception of villagers.
- Fund utilization under JRY and EAS was around 98 per cent.

5.4 Million Wells Scheme

- This scheme was more successful in Litya Gram Panchyat. In Fingeshwar and Kharkhara the scheme was not successful, as there was wrong selection of site for digging wells.
- The site is selected after having a certificate from BDO about ground water table. The BDO issued this certificate without cross checking the ground water survey information.
- The grant for digging wells was not utilized because of the above lapse.
- Cooperatives of marginal land holders were not recognized by NABARD for availing assistance for borewell irrigation inspite of dire necessity of minor irrigation in drought prone area.

5.5 Welfare Scheme

- The selection of beneficiaries was not scientifically done. Some pensioners declared themselves destitute, by transferring the land in the name of their sons and got the benefit.
- It was reported that the beneficiaries got less than the specified amount granted to them when benefits are given in cash.
- Out of 111 respondents only 36 per cent reported increase in income. In Litya, it was 42 per cent, in Fingershwar 39 per cent and Kharkhara 32 percent. In Kharkhara Panchayat, the land productivity is low. Therefore, the percentage of those who reported increase in income was low.

5.6 Beneficiaries getting benefit from two or more Schemes

- It was found that of 111 beneficiary households 68 beneficiaries had availed benefit from two or more schemes. The reason given by villagers was that some favored few are repeatedly considered for assistance under poverty alleviation programmes.

5.7 Primary Education

- Out of 111 beneficiary households, around 50 percent were not sending their children to school. They stated that these children are not sent due to poverty and their help in sibling care and other household activities. However, it was reported at the time when Shiksha Guarantee Yojana was being launched and the households were considering sending their children to school.

5.8 Primary Health Care

- It was reported that 102 households out of 111 sample households were availing the facilities and services provided at PHC level. However, shortage of medicines and absence of maternity care were reported. It was also reported that all the doctors at PHC were not present.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- 6.1 The findings of this study clearly point out that for bringing about improvement in implementation of social sector schemes or for that matter all development programmes, simultaneous action on two fronts is required. First, the delivery systems need streamlining so as to make them more responsive to the people and enthuse them with a missionary zeal. Second, the PRIs need to be more intimately involved in planning, implementation and monitoring of development programmes. Building appropriate capabilities of PRI members in planning and financial management is of utmost importance. Both the delivery systems and PRIs should be sensitized to needs and aspirations of vulnerable sections of the poor, women and children. Bringing transparency in working and dissemination of information are the other issues, which should be focused on. The following are the specific action points to implement the above broad recommendations
- 6.2 *Streamlining Delivery systems:* Many shortcomings in implementation of social sector study such as favoritism in selection of beneficiaries, allocation of schemes without looking into pre-requisites, lack of follow up, poor coverage of women reflect a deeper malady. The official functionaries are still not attuned to working with the people. They do not have faith in the philosophy of participatory approaches according to which they have to act as facilitators for planning by the people. For this purpose, attitudinal change should be brought about through following training workshops on participatory approaches and other measures.
- i. Training workshop for vertically integrated official functionaries.
 - ii. Combined training workshops for official and non-official functionaries
 - iii. Exposure visits of both the official and non-official functionaries to study success stories.
 - iv. Deputation of officials for training in institutions like MYRADA which are known for promotion of participatory approach.
- 6.3 The above programmes should be organized on a continuous basis and should not be seen as one-shot affair. Another, priority action area is to link training and implementation of participatory approaches with career development. In the annual characters role, the performance of government servant in respect of promoting participation of weaker sections and women in development activities should be recorded as special remarks. These should be considered for promotion or some other incentives. For this, some norms need to be developed.
- 6.4 *Dissemination of Information:* Lack of access of the poor to information on aspects of various schemes is a reason for breeding corruption. Although, DRDA and Block offices publish and distribute pamphlets and brochures, the target group being mostly illiterate still remain largely ignorant. It is recommended that wide publicity should be given to this through Radio and T.V.
- 6.5 Similarly, the PRI office bearers at Janpad and District level should be motivated to explain the objectives and details of poverty alleviation schemes whenever they visit the villages.

- 6.6 *Convergence of Services:* Since every scheme of development is designed to create a dent on the problem of poverty, the Janpad Panchayat should be entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring that all services and inputs are available to the poor at the right time and in requisite quantities. This should be an essential item in the agenda of monthly meeting of Janpad Panchayat in which all departmental functionaries are present. Immediate follow-up action should be taken if there is any default and should be recorded in minutes.
- 6.7 **Monitoring & Evaluation:** A monitoring system has already been prescribed by GOI. Besides the state government has fixed targets for physical verification by different officers. It was found that physical verification is either not done or if it is done, no follow up action is taken. Similarly, follow up action on reports is taken very late. This need to be rectified and need for proper monitoring should be emphasized and reemphasized in state level and district level progress reviews
- 6.8 Members of Zila Panchayats and Janpad Panchayats should also be involved in the task of monitoring and evaluation and issuing instructions to officials to remove the identified shortcomings.
- 6.9 A system of participatory monitoring and evaluation should be evolved in which the beneficiaries, yuvak Mandal Dals, NGOs and Mahila Mandals should send direct feed back to the DRDA and Zila Panchayat and Janpad Panchayats where these should be analysed for follow up actions and corrective measures be taken.
- 6.10 Professionalisation of Rural Development Administration with advancements in information technology needs to be progressively undertaken. They should be equipped with latest knowledge, skills and attitudes so that rural development activities are efficiently managed by them. Suitable on the job training programmes should be designed.
- 6.11 *Institution Building:* It has clearly brought out that proper institution building has not taken place particularly at the village level. Generally it is the head or some members who conduct the entire show. Thus poor and women beneficiaries do not identify themselves with the government programmes. They should feel that it is their programme supported by government. For this, these sections should be involved in decision making without which the poor and women cannot become stakeholders. In order to encourage the involvement of these sections indicators of participation should be developed. Which would help Panchayats in reorganizing their activities. Also the Panchayat members need to be conscientized through educative programmes and training towards the need and importance of collective decision making. This would create an environment for community ownership of development programmes with assured partnership of weaker sections.
- 6.12 Also a system of incentives should be developed in which those panchayats should be awarded wherein collective functioning is found to be up to the mark and where the panchayat starts maintaining all the government assets.
- 6.13 *Capacity Building:* Although a number of training programmes has been organized for Panchayat office bearers, their emphasis has been on the new duties and responsibilities. However no emphasis is given to capacity building in the areas of project planning and financial management. Since the flow of funds to Gram Panchayats, Janpad Panchayats and Zila Panchayat training programmes should be designed on how to plan and properly utilize the money placed at their disposal.

6.14 *Integrated Village Development Planning:* Currently adhoc schemes for asset creation are taken up under JRY/EAS and other programmes. On the other hand, individual beneficiary household projects that aim at land development, irrigation, agricultural development are sanctioned under IRDP. These are not integrated with each other although both are aimed at development of the village itself. Therefore an integrated plan should be prepared that would integrate individual programmes with area development of the village. Since it has not been attempted so far and is a difficult task, it is recommended that this work should be taken up on a pilot basis. Also, first of all it would be advisable to develop a suitable methodology for participatory integrated village planning. An expert institution of repute can be involved in this effort. Participatory integrated village plan will ensure people's participation on the one hand and will help in taking up realistic projects and on the other, it would be possible to utilize funds under JRY/EAS and other finances received by Panchayat according to long term needs of village development. It would provide a long-term perspective of development for the village. Subsequently, with extension of this methodology to other villages, bottom up planning can be started in realistic manner.

6.15 *Research on Structure of Poverty:* The problems of poverty are area specific and may require different programmes and norms. It is recommended that research should be taken up by local institutions in selected pockets to formulate suitable norms and methods to tackle the problem of poverty.