

Table 1.2

STATUS OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT:

Revaluation of Employment
Guarantee Scheme, Maharashtra,
Its Impact on Women Worker.

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STATUS OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

REVALUATION OF EMPLOYMENT
GUARANTEE SCHEME, MAHARASHTRA
ITS IMPACT ON WOMEN WORKERS

ISST, 1987

Volume One

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Delhi, 110 002.

The study was commissioned by Government of India, Department of
Women's Welfare, Human Resource Development Ministry

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FOREWORD

This study was commissioned by the department of Women's Welfare, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India who in turn were funded by USAID.

The Institute of Social Studies Trust, a non profit research and development organisation, had undertaken a study of the condition of women workers on the employment guarantee sites in 1976-77, funded by the ministry of social development, government of India. At that time, the Employment Guarantee Scheme was a novel programme, whose philosophical base was to provide an opportunity for the Indian citizen to assert his constitutional right- the right to work. Thus, the scheme used the word guarantee and was built around a commitment for work by unemployed workers; as long as they were willing to accept bread labour.

Since, then the scheme has not only been applied in other states such as Karnataka, but has reappeared as one of the scheme in the anti-poverty bunch of schemes called RLEGP.

Thus, the Institute proposed a revisit to Maharashtra to see how far the scheme, as initially conceived has been "successful" in reaching its aims. This seemed particularly important as, next to agriculture, construction works provides major source of employment for women in India and women are the major proportion of workers on these sites in all parts of India.

The proposal for the study as well as the discussions and consultations were done by the Institute in Delhi and Bangalore. Chhaya Datar, the experienced social scientist, trade union leader and activist working in Maharashtra was invited to be the principle researcher to conduct the survey and write the report. The Institute is fortunate to have her participation, as a study of this nature requires both the knowledge of the local languages as well as a commitment to advance cause of poor women. Thus, all these attributes apart from degrees in women studies are held by Ms. Datar. We are grateful to Chhaya Datar for her deep involvement in the study and its high quality.

We were fortunate in finding Ms. Sandhya Naik the member field worker of the earlier study still in Bombay and willing to help. We are grateful to Sandhya Naik and the following persons for their contribution:

Mr. Pramod Bhamburkar.....Statistician
Mr. Yashwant Thakar
Mr. Pramod Sadolikar
Mr. Bhaskar Chillal
Mr. Umesh Khalatkar

We also record our appreciation of the response, of a circle of social scientists whom we approached from time to time. These are

Mr. Sarathi Achary
Mr. Nikhilesh Bhattacharjee
Mr. Praveen Vissaria
Mr. A. Vaidyanathan

We would also like to thank Planning Department and Department of Economics and Statistics, Maharashtra Government, at Bombay, for their full cooperation to make all the data available to us. The Revenue Department at the district and tahsil levels too were very helpful. Our special thanks go to engineers, working with different agencies, who made it convenient for us to visit different construction sites.

The government officials who helped us are:

Mr. Tinaikar	Ex-Secretary EGS
Mr. Siddu	Secretary EGS
Mr. Karjatkar	P.R.O.-Planning Dept.
Mr. Vidwans	Director, Dept of Economics
Mr. Ghade	(MSS) Dept of Economics
Mr. Joshi Sudhakar	Collector, Beed
Mr. Kurse	CEO, Beed
Mr. Deshpande	Deputy Collector, EGS, Beed
Mr. Bansode	Tahsildar, Beed
Mr. Chauhan	DISCO (Soil Conservation) Ambejogai
Mr. Deshmukh	Dy. Engineer, PWD, Ambejogai
Mr. Deshpande	Deputy Collector, EGS, Ahmednagar
Mr. Muley	Tahsildar, Sangamner
Mr. Thakur	Deputy Collector, EGS, Dhule
Mr. More	Exe-Engineer, Vigilance Committee, Dhule
Mr. Kulkarni	Tahsildar, Sakri
Mr. Raktate	Tahsildar, Shahada
Mr. Poraddiwar	Deputy Collector, EGS, Bhandara
Mr. Khadse	Deputy Director, Social Forestry, Bhandara
Mr. Muktewar	Subdivisional Officer, PWD, Sakoli

It is our hope that the process, the information and the recommendations of the report will be useful to those designing and promoting employment policies for the poor in India, to development organisations interested in providing social infrastructure to poor women workers, trade union and other organisational and institutional personnel and to the larger women's movement.

We are grateful to Ms. C.P. Sujaya and Dr. Zarina Bhatti for giving us the opportunity to work in this field which has been a source of strength to us.

Devaki Jain
(Director, ISST)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION, PERSPECTIVE & METHODOLOGY:

Introduction

- 1.1 In 1976-77, the Institute of Social Studies Trust was requested by the Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India, to undertake a study of the situation of women workers on Employment Guarantee Scheme sites. The most striking finding of the study was that, while women have sought and absorbed the employment generated by the scheme in larger measure than indicated by the work participation rates and form majority of the workers on the site, the programme has not taken any note of this fact, either in conception, design, implementation or personnel, nor even in evaluation of impact.

The survey, not only revealed the dominant participation of women on the sites but also provided data on age group, status of families in terms of class, caste, the individual etc. The study also revealed many aspects ranging from wage differentials, payment systems, contradictions between the P.W.D. norms and the needs of labour. The report on the study brought out all these points.

Since the programme of employment guarantee has been adopted under the scheme 'Rural Labour Employment Guarantee Programme' (R.L.E.G.P.) it is noticed that wherever it operates more women participate in this than men, it becomes vital to see what sort of intervention is necessary in both designing of the programme, instructions to P.W.D. and others who design the works, involvement of local voluntary agencies as well as the provisions of the social infrastructure.

Therefore, I.S.S.T. proposed to undertake a re-evaluation of the scheme to see what changes had taken place in the employment profile after 7 years and to assess what kind of intervention is necessary from the point of view of women

1.2 Perspective for Women's Employment

Policy makers all over the world have not given special attention to the problem of women's employment, is revealed by the women's movement, as well as women's studies, born out of women's movement. It has exploded popular notion of 'man the breadwinner' and 'woman the housewife' or at best supplementary wage earner. It has been now amply clear that women are the invisible workers, working at home, not only engaged in domestic duties of nurturing, and socialisation of children, but they are busy in production for market. Homebased production processes have not been destroyed but are being reintroduced for newer products. Many women are self-employed. All these women become part of the informal sector. Even when they are a part of the international division of labour, working in electronics

industry, or garment industry, they remain unnumbered, invisible.

Women in rural areas too are not seen as wage earners, and their quest for employment is not recognised until the time schemes like EGS opens the flood gates for construction work in the rural areas, and start using biggest catchment of labour. Women from both the classes, landless labourers and small landholders, throng at the construction sites, and exceed the number of men workers. This phenomenon needs to be studied carefully, if this labour is to be deployed in a developmental way and not merely engaged for the sake of their survival.

Developmental and modernisation processes, so far, have affected women and men differently. It seems that the growth process, based on production for the market, engineers the integration of community into a commodity economy, where men get easily assimilated but women are left behind. The important reasons seems to be, (i) lack of mobility, (ii) need for security, (iii) patriarchal values. Against this background, it is realised that before formulating any programme for women, their experiences at the grassroot level need to be understood. These experiences emphasis the fact that it is not enough to ask for the special labour laws for women, but it is essential to make structural provisions within any development programme so as to deliver the benefits to women directly, and not through their menfolk. It has been also well illustrated that in many societies the economic security and food security of the households, or even the community depends heavily on women's participation in economic activities. These economic activities do not consist only of cultivation and allied agricultural activities but they include also activities such as fodder collection, fuel collection, tending of animals etc. In India 11 per cent households are reported to be female headed households, and many of them exist at a level below the poverty line. Hence any developmental programme cum employment programme in rural area have to be evaluated in terms of creation of short term employment, as well as in terms of asset building which will create long term employment, and assist subsistence production activities such as fuel and fodder collection.

2.1 Context of EGS: Background Of Agriculture In Maharashtra:

To understand the M.E.G.S. it is essential to understand the situation of agricultural production and agricultural employment in rural Maharashtra. About one-third area of the state is susceptible to crop failure due to the vagaries of the monsoon. The problem of agricultural development is that unless provision for assured water supply is made, agricultural production, particularly in the droughtprone region cannot be given a stable and secure basis. The development of irrigation in the state is fraught with

several problems including those of geo-hydrological characteristics of the state. Though it is estimated that 26 percent of the cultivated area in the state can be brought under irrigation through surface sources, at present only 15 percent irrigation has been achieved. Out of this very little has been in the drought-prone areas. Improved irrigation potential in the last decade, through establishment of large and medium irrigation projects has helped in the expansion of cash-crops like sugarcane. It has reduced the spatial spread of water. Farmers experience that cash-crops like sugarcane require low overall labour input. It adds to the falling rate of unemployment. The situation gets more aggravated with the fact that 76 percent of land-holdings are small and 65 percent of the total population in Maharashtra is still dependent on agriculture for its employment.

Sathe describes the situation very aptly. "Maharashtra is split up in two segments, separate and unequal. One is Bombay-Pune Industrial Zone (35%) and the other is the rest of Maharashtra (65%). In the latter again since the sixties a small island of prosperity has come up around the canal-based flow irrigation coupled with sugarcane cultivation and sugar co-operatives. The entire politics of Maharashtra revolves around this institutionalized power axis and the rest of rural Maharashtra is held as a hostage." (Sathe, 1986, p737).

The problem of lack of agricultural employment is a problem of two groups of workers. First group constitutes of landless labourers who cannot find employment in dry land agriculture. Another group constitutes of small and medium size landholders who are a part of "Subsistence agricultural economy" which does not provide them with an adequate income and employment, due to lack of water. From this point of view the irrigation policy has come under heavy criticism. The demand has been raised that it is not sufficient to increase area under irrigation at the aggregate level but is essential to provide critical minimum irrigation to as many farmers as possible, especially on a priority basis, to small and marginal farmers. Another point of criticism of the present irrigation policy, is that it is heavily based on the big and medium dams. And along with creating ecological imbalances, it creates concentration of power, economic and political, in the hands of a few people. (Paranjpe 1986). Hence there is a need for creating irrigation projects which will decentralize the resources and make water more accessible to people.

2.2 Role Of EGS:

According to NSS 32nd round, out of the total rural workforce, 75.22 percent men are engaged in cultivation plus other agricultural activity and 87.91 percent women are engaged in the same. Although, the proportion of people

dependent on agriculture is so high, the employment days for each person are not sufficient to earn them an adequate living. Hence agricultural employment needs to be complemented by other non-agricultural manual work. Private & public construction works provide this type of employment to men and women in rural areas. The Employment Guarantee Scheme is one such attempt to enlarge the scope of this employment and pull the people above the BPL. (Below the Poverty Line).

Additional employment generation, it is thought, should be a part of the development programme. The employment should lead to development of local assets. This objective determined two important characteristics of EGS works. Firstly, the sites should be located in the vicinity of the village, so that workers can combine agricultural work with construction work. Thus the structural limitations of people are incorporated within the design. Secondly, workers should work on such assets which will benefit them directly. Thus workers and beneficiaries would coincide in this scheme and hence the result would be that, "the scheme itself will wither away" as Page, father of the scheme puts it.

As per this design one thing is obvious, that the assets built through the scheme aim to strengthen the "Subsistence agricultural economy" in rural Maharashtra. The design is not meant, definitely, for the reinforcement of a cash crop economy, as, it happened with the green revolution. Raleganshindi is a good example of this phenomenon. (chapter VII) This fact needs to be stressed, because many government officials are found confused about the possible impact on productivity and boost to employment potential because of EGS assets. Page too has not spelled out his vision in details. The confusion is reflected in the definition of target group of EGS employment. Landless labourers are considered to form the major target group of EGS. When one talks of disappearance of EGS the assumption is that assets would increase labour absorption capacity of land so much that all landless labourers would find extra work. The Raleganshindi experience shows that if the productivity of land in the vicinity of assets such as percolation tank, village tank, nalabunding, soil conservation etc. is increased, it provides employment not to landless agricultural labourers, but only to those who have some piece of land. Thus the vision, cherished by Page that, 'EGS will wither away' becomes a reality only in the case of EGS workers who have some land.

In short, It seems that there is a need for having two different employment programmes for different segments of labour in the countryside. Present programme of EGS, providing work in the vicinity of village, is good for landed workers and a new programme offering more sustained, and continuous nature of employment has to be designed for landless labourers.

2.3 Critique:

The criticism of EGS, as it exists today, is two dimensional. One dimension is that it has not considered the development aspect seriously and hence has not developed linkages of EGS assets with other schemes, which will consolidate the impact of EGS assets, and improve productivity of land.

Another dimension is that it has not considered management of labour allocation seriously. It has aimed at the whole agricultural labour force as one labour segment. Its popular slogan; 'provide work whoever demands work,' put all the agricultural workers regardless of landsize and gender identity, together. EGS does not know who is its real clientele, or alternatively, to whom it should cater. In this report, the second dimension of the labour market is mainly analysed. It seems that importance of EGS in the life of women participants belonging to landless class as well as landowner class is much more in comparison to men participants of the same classes. Some of the observations regarding women's employment, highlighted in the present study are following.

- a) It seems that in small and medium landowning households, women are not entrusted management functions and hence they are sent out first, for wage labour, whenever the family is in need. The men follow them later.
- b) Among the landless labourer households, women prefer characteristics of EGS job, such as close distance and official equal wages.
- c) As far as household is concerned EGS may be considered as an additional income, or supplementary income, but for women EGS forms a core income, which earns maximum share in her income pool. Percentagewise too EGS contributes more in women's employment pool than it does to men.
- d) When women contribute 31 per cent of household income, role of EGS becomes very vital to the household.
- e) 7 per cent women contribute between 75 to 100 per cent of household income. For these female headed families EGS becomes a lifeline.

The study has also focussed on employment needs of different segments of workers based on landownership and gender identity, as well as their income pattern. It has also tried to assess the social impact of this employment programme which ensures women's economic contribution in the household income.

3.0 Objectives of the Study:

Given This Background The Objectives Of The Present Study Are:-

- 3.1 To assess the EGS as a viable employment programme, for the proposed target group.
- 3.2 To assess its impact on employment pattern of gender differentiated rural labour .
- 3.3 To assess its performance in terms of land improvement and creation of assets.
- 3.4 To understand the perception of functioning of EGS by participants during last eight years (since ISST's earlier study of 1978); in terms of availability of work, wage payment system, parity in wages for men and women, gang formation, distance they have to walk to reach the site of work, delivery of various amenities and provisions.
- 3.5 To understand the impact of social interaction, enabled by EGS, on the intra household relationships of men and women and social relations among the participants, as well as with state machinery.
- 3.6 To understand needs of employment of women and men belonging to different land-holding classes and try to suggest recommendations to incorporate these needs into the design of the scheme. It also means developing a new approach to labour allocation policies in rural Maharashtra.
- 3.7 To understand unpaid subsistence production activities of women and suggest how these experiences too, can be incorporated into the design of the scheme.

4.0 Hypotheses

- 4.1 Statewide programme like EGS, operated in a sustained manner for more than ten years involving large number of men, and especially women workers, having agricultural base, is going to make impact on agricultural labour employment in the long term, in terms of quantitative improvement and in terms of increasing wage rates. Large scale employment may create labour shortage and thus operate as a leverage for negotiations of agricultural wage rates. Equal wages for men and women within EGS too would help create parity for agricultural wages too.
- 4.2 Definite sustained employment, in the vicinity of village would increase women's status within household.
- 4.3 Creation of assets in the vicinity of village would assist women in carrying out their subsistence production activity with more convenience, and thus would improve quality of

their life.

5.0 Methodology:

- 5.1 To fulfil above objectives two kinds of methods are used; quantitative and qualitative, and multi-tiered data is collected.

Within quantitative data two sources are used; primary and secondary. Planning department has brought out statistical handbook comprising data on EGS since its inception. Various district level handbooks and agricultural department's handbook too provided a lot of facts on the background of the districts selected. For qualitative understanding, several meetings were organised in the sample villages with workers, especially with women workers, mostly at night. The deliberations with political leaders in the area, and the government officials at various levels were found very useful. Both types of contacts made it possible to have 'view from below' and 'view from above' very effectively. Thus it was possible to capture the essence of the scheme and its viability in a dynamic manner.

- 5.2 Since this is a revaluation study over 1978 study, conducted by ISST, revisits to the same villages is integral part of the study. 47 participants out of 100 participants were identified from the last study and small sample could be constructed to find out changes at the aggregate level of three districts. The findings are presented in a case study format. (chapter VIII). It is interesting to notice the economic status of these households at two points of time. Whether EGS could make substantial impact in their lives or not can be ascertained at the micro level. Profiles of three households are presented based on following criteria; (i) Beneficiary of EGS employment (ii) Beneficiary of EGS assets (iii) Unsupported by EGS.

- 5.3 The design of the sample is mostly determined by the earlier study. It was decided to compare participants of EGS with other workers who are a part of rural labour force, engaged in alternative occupations apart from agriculture. For meaningful comparison, occupations selected were such that they would absorb large amount of unskilled labour working on EGS, if the scheme ceases to exist.

The districts selected last time are, Ahmednagar, Bhandara, and Dhule. The criteria for selection of districts and tahsils used were;

- (i) maximum expenditure
- (ii) maximum number of works under EGS
- (iii) maximum amount of labour, especially female labour is employed
- (iv) draught-prone area

They have remained high participation districts on the expenditure and mandays generation list. (More information

on these districts and tahsils would be found in second volume). One more district has been added to the list, to have a wider sample. It is Beed. Beed district has been selected because of its sugarcane workers. In the earlier study, the migrant sugarcane workers were interviewed in Ahmednagar district on the campsite, as non-participant in EGS. At the time of the present survey the sugarcane workers would have gone back to their villages of residence, mostly in Beed. Thus it was decided to interview these workers at their village base. They offer an interesting model of temporary migration. They can become a point of reference for EGS where the government is trying to persuade people into migration. The new GR of 17 April 1986 insists that since guarantee exists within the purview of the district, EGS would take up only productive works and if required provide campsites. (appendix no.2) Officials say that they experience resistance from workers. The conditions of work for sugarcane workers may provide clues about what motivates people to migrate.

5.4 Four variables are used for the purpose of comparisons. Participants in EGS and non-participants in EGS is the first pair of comparison. The definition of a participant is "one who has worked for minimum 50 days, at least for one year, during 1984 to 1986." The Definition for 'non-participant' refers to the worker belonging to basically the same economic stratum of society, as participants. Non-participants include agricultural labourers and a few cultivators. In Dhule non-participants consist of these categories of workers only. In Beed Sugarcane cutting workers constitute non-participants. In Bhandara and Ahmednagar bidi workers are prominent among non-participants. Forest workers, bamboo workers form majority in Bhadara. Workers with traditional occupation such as cobbler etc too become non-participants in all districts.

5.5 The Other two variables within these two groups are men and women. Since the focus of the study is women, the weightage is given to the participant women. The men participants and women non-participants are used as a point of reference. The total sample consists of 641 households. The districtwise break up of participants, non-participants, men and women is presented in the table no.I.1.

5.6 The sample is purposive, as the main objective is to study the impact on participants. Among participants too the selection is done by applying two more parameters, caste and landholding size. The parameter of caste is used to check the possible discrimination in availability of work and gang formation. Landholding size is useful to understand the needs of employment of people having different resources.

5.7 Unlike last time, this time the questionnaires have been canvassed in villages, at peoples' residences. Firstly

because the questionnaire was very long and demanded detailed answers. Secondly, it was realised during the pilot study that in March 1986 very few sites were open due to some policy changes taking place in EGS, (GR of 17th April) and it was not possible to select interviewees at the sites. And since it was a review study and the past interviewees were to be traced, it was logical to look for them at their residences, in their villages. It was possible that some of the earlier interviewees might become non-participants under the present definition.

5.8 The questionnaires were canvassed during April and May 1986. Hence information presented in the report is of the year 1985-86.

5.9 During the present survey, the data was collected on employment, income wage rates, at household level as well as at individual level. Being a review study it was felt necessary to assess the performance of EGS in the lives of participants, during the last eight years. It is well accepted that the recall method is not very scientific method of investigation. Even then it is used to capture the perception of EGS by participants. It is useful to understand the role of EGS in their socio-economic life. The precaution was taken to prepare a list of assets built in the vicinity of the village, before the interviews were started, so that the information could be corroborated.

5.10 The data is analysed at the household level where mainly comparison between two variables; participants and non-participants is explored. At the individual level, the comparison between participant women and participant men as well as non-participant women is scrutinised. The findings and analysis is presented in the beginning of each chapter and the relevant tables are presented at the end of each chapter.

5.11 The report is presented in two volumes. The first volume consists of the following information:

- * Introduction, Perspective for Women's Employment, Methodology
- * Profile of EGS.
- * Context for EGS
- * Profile of Respondents
- * Main Findings on Employment, Income, Wage rates, Functioning of EGS, Economic & Social Impact of EGS on Participants.
- * Casestudy of Raleganshindi

- * A Case Study of Revisits.....By Sandhya Naik

- * Analysis and Recommendations

The second volume consists of following information.

- * Evaluation of Functioning of EGS & Information on Provisions for Workers
- * Background Information on Four Districts and Thirtyfive Villages from which the Sample was Drawn.
- * More tables on Primary data on Employment, Income, Wagerates.
- * Review of Other Studies on MEGS
- * A Note on: Recommendations by EGS council scrutinising committee.

ISSI - MEGS STUDY

Table No.I.1

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE

DISTRICTS	PARTICIPANTS		NON-PARTICIPANTS		T O T A L	
	F	M	F	M	M	F
BHANDARA	87	33	25	16	112	49
DHULE	92	32	25	11	117	43
AHMEDNAGAR	89	34	25	15	114	49
BEED	85	30	27	15	112	45
TOTAL	353	129	102	57	455	186
		482		159		640

CHAPTER II

PROFILE OF EGS

Beginning Of EGS

- 1.1 In 1971, state government adopted 15 point programme for the development of state economy. Earlier in July 1969 a pilot employment guarantee scheme was started in selected blocks where Integrated Area Development projects were already in operation. It gave the impetus to a large scale employment programme in the countryside. A special programme was introduced in April/May 1972 as a first step in the direction of guaranteeing manual employment to all able bodied adults throughout rural Maharashtra. Unfortunately 1972-73 and 73-74 turned out to be severe draught years and the programme acquired a nature of scarcity relief programme. This was period when left opposition parties organised agricultural labourers (manual labourers) and put forward demand for continuous construction work in off seasons. The parties collected a big fund from the blue collared and white collared workers in the city and proved the concern of urban people towards the workers in villages. This development pushed the government further to concretize some scheme which will guarantee, 'Right to work' as well as contribute to the development of assets beneficial to the farmers. Also, this was the time because of rising costs the state level planned construction programmes of big dams were coming to standstill. Another responsible factor for slowing down pace of these dams was the failure to solve the problem of displaced farmers. This factor also led to question the appropriateness of the policy of building big dams which carry ecological repercussions, alongwith social problems.
- 1.2 In this atmosphere state Assembly approved in Dec. 1974, the need for new scheme, called Employment Guarantee Scheme. The resolution adopted that time clearly stated that the scheme will give effect to the directive principle enshrined in the constitution of India, that the government 'shall make effort to provide employment to those who seek it'. At the same time the government emphasised, it wanted to treat human labour as an important capital asset with the help of which it would create more capital assets. Thus it was stated that the twin objectives of the EGS were employment and growth. The scheme was formulated and later on adopted as a EGS act in 1977, which came into effect from 1979.
- 1.3 To understand the scheme and changes in its conception over the period it is essential to know the provisions of the scheme in the three aspects:
 - (i) Employment programme with special amenities and benefits,
 - (ii) Development of local assets through public construction,
 - (iii) Administrative set up.

Here functioning of EGS will be presented in nutshell and statistical information in tabular formats will overview the performance and scope of EGS during last eight years. It is not possible to assess the performance of construction works, and the efficiency of the agencies which carry out this construction programmes in this volume. Administrative set up too needs to be assessed. This assessment is done in the second volume. Also, information on wage fixation and changes over the years, amenities & provisions too is provided in the second volume.

Functioning Of EGS - A Summary

- 2.1 EGS is supposed to provide unskilled manual work in rural area, to all employment seekers. (In Marathi, it says, 'Magel Tyala Kam' meaning 'whoever demands work will be given work') Thus, to understand the demand of people, 'Talathis' are asked to maintain the register of EGS employment seekers. As well as, the form No.4 is provided to those who want to demand work immediately. Such 50 forms need to be filled from one area so that the work can be started. Individuals requiring employment should be absorbed in the work already in progress. Before providing work as a response to the demand it should be assessed that agricultural operations are not going to suffer.
- 2.2 The wages paid are on piece rate basis according to the quality and quantity of work. Alongwith the consideration of geological structure, lead or lift distance is to be calculated for fixing up wage rates.
- 2.3 Once the demand for work is assessed by revenue department, it refers to the blue prints which are prepared earlier, for possible construction projects in the area. There are twenty two agencies which are operative in the public construction programme. The agency organises the muster clerk, Mukadam, junior engineer at the site and the site is announced in the area. Mukadam is also responsible to mobilize the people, and for the work allocation to gangs of people. Gang formation is basically a responsibility of the people themselves. Daily attendance is recorded twice. Weekly measurements are taken and though the calculations of piece rate is done for the work of a whole gang, the total amount is divided between all the gang member, and wages are paid individually after obtaining signatures or thumb impressions on the payment slips. The work is implemented by the agency, but the fund is provided by the district collector, i.e. revenue dept.
- 2.4 The work should be preferably provided within 5 k.m. distance from the village, so that no transportation cost would be involved. Although the clause of guarantee of work is applicable within the boundaries of a district.
- 2.5 The government has accepted the obligation to provide work

within 15 days since demand is received and it should be carried out for minimum 15 to 30 days at one stretch. If this obligation is not fulfilled then the person demanding work is entitled for an unemployment dole of Rs. 2.

2.6 The construction work can be a part of planned work or non-plan work. For the non-plan work, the agencies should keep blue prints ready in advance. Blue prints should take into account the labour potential of the area and the needs of local development and prepare feasibility reports, technical and financial. Any work started should not cost less than 20000. also, the upper limits in each case is provided. The nature of work should be such that it absorbs more labour. Tentatively the proportion of unskilled to skilled work should be 60:40. The work should be carried out departmentally under the supervision of the government so that the worker can get better deal. Only the 40 percent skilled portion might be given over to contractors. The ratio of unskilled to skill should be maintained at the level of district and not for the individual projects.

2.7 The nature of the assets should be productive to the agriculture. (1) Minor irrigation, (2) Soil conservation and Nalabunding, (3) Social forestry. (4) Land development, (5) Roads are the five major categories of work. COWDEP programme should be followed up under soil conservation category.

2.8 The sources of funds should be following:-

- a) Taxes on professions
- b) Additional tax on motor vehicles
- c) Additional sales tax
- d) Special cess on irrigated agricultural land
- e) Surcharge on land revenues
- f) Tax on non-residential urban lands and buildings.

The matching grant to the total collection from those extra taxes will be provided by the state government. This fund will be spent as additional fund to the regular planned fund. Also, the money will be utilized to create additional employment than provided in the plan.

2.9 Although, the government is planning to provide employment to the rural poor, it is not seen as a public sector employment of a perennial nature. It is basically a development programme to build resources for people. The programme is supposed to incorporate people's suggestions for preparation of blue prints as well as people's

supervision over the implementation. This will ensure the people's initiative in the scheme and see to it that the scheme will not degenerate into a bureaucratic programme implemented from above.

For this purpose the committees have to be appointed at three levels; State, District and Panchayat Samiti Level. The members of the state level council will be appointed by the government, where minimum two persons belonging to backward classes should be included. State level council is supposed to play a role of monitoring and evaluation. District level committees consists of legislative assembly and council members, president of Zilla parishad, two representatives of workers and backward castes and district functionaries. Similar structure is envisaged at the level of Panchayat samitees. Those committees are supposed to bring to the notice lapses in implementation and present the needs of people in the area. The panchayat also can play important role. The type of works can be suggested in gramsabha. Particularly social forestry work requires, grazing ground (Gairan) which belongs to the whole village. The decision needs to be taken in the Gramsabha.

Overview

3.1 Performance of EGS during Eight Years. (Table No. II.1):

Quantitatively EGS has been expanding during 1977/78 to 1985/86. The significant increase is noticed in the number of registration of employment seekers, from 28.27 lakhs in 1978/79 to 43.27 in 84/85. It is said that the registration number may not reflect true situation of demand for EGS works, because generally talathi writes all the names of landless labour, small and medium size farmers, without consulting them, to keep the record up-to-date. Increasing number of employment seekers is not considered a good indicator for EGS. EGS is supposed to create assets which in turn are supposed to create more employment on farm. The officials explain that in the beginning the demand for work will grow because it takes time to disseminate information about the scheme and for people to develop a trust about it.

The rate of increase in mandays generation is matching the rate of increase in registration. Still the complaint is often heard that supply of works fall short of demand. Average number of days on EGS employment are 111, in high participation districts, according to the present survey. Earlier ISST study reported 157 days of employment available on EGS. (1978) Achary reported 64 days in Thane district in 1985 (Achary 1986). Dandekar reported 160 days in 1978 (Dandekar 1978)

3.2 Expenditure On Different Types Of Works. (Table No. II.2):

Within a broad perspective of EGS expenditure on roads is

considered unproductive. EGS has come under heavy criticism because of increasing expenditure on unproductive works like roads. It seems quite valid. The percentage expenditure on road has gone up from 10 in 1977/78 to 86 in 1984/85. On the other hand proportion on irrigation has gone down from 53 percent to 37 percent.

3.3 Yearwise Percentage Share Of E.G.S. Expenditure Incurred On State Level Schemes. (Table No.II.3):

Whether EGS funds should be spent on plan works or non-plan works is debated from the beginning. Expenditure on plan works is decreasing. Vice a versa, expenditure on non-plan works is increasing. This is criticised because works included in the plans are considered more sound and cost-efficient. Non-plan works are likely to be selected without good feasibility reports, and under the political or populist pressures. The new GR of 22nd Sept. 1986, has abolished blue print system, under which feasibility reports of non-plan used to be kept ready. (Appendix)

3.4 Yearwise Budget Provision And Actual Expenditure on E.G.S. Maharashtra (Table No.II.4):

The budget provisions for EGS are always kept lower than the expenditure in-curring every year, although the expenditure is always approximating the funds collected for this purpose. The demand for EGS is increasing every year. One of the reasons is that the assets created through EGS has not developed ripple effect of employment generation.

3.5 Districts According To Expenditure and Mandays Generated. (Table No.II.5)

The data shows that the districts selected for the present survey are high participation districts.

The ranking of districts by mandays generation and by expenditure does not coincide. The expenditure and mandays generation ratio depends upon many factors, one of them being the efficiency of implementing agencies. Also Wagerates vary according to the structural quality of land and type of work, such as percolation tank, roads, soil conservation etc.

3.6 Position Of Completed Works During The Year (Table No.II.6):

EGS works have to be started wherever demand for employment is raised. Hence the number of works are scattered covering large area. The works remained incomplete because of nature of employment which is supposed to be available only in lean agricultural period. Allowing this consideration too, the number of incompleted works is staggering. There is a discrepancy between the statements made by officials, that saturation of sites is taking place, and actual reality

where the works remain incomplete and do not get implemented on a continuous basis, creating insecurity among the participants. The secondary data based on monthly progress reports of six agencies in Beed district shows the discontinuity of works as a common feature.. The table will be presented in the next volume.

3.7 Average Percentage Of Female Labour Attendance With Total Labour Attendance For The Year 1979 to 1985. (Table No.II.7):

Average female labour attendance is less than 50 percent, according to the statistics provided by planning department. In this data, discrepancy is noticed between above presented official statistics and monthly progress report of 7 agencies and 104 worksites in Beed district, as well as the observations made during personal visits to sites. (the table no. I.1 in second volume) Various studies report following percentages of female labour attendance. P.E.O.(57%) Dandekar (51%) ISST (49 to 80%). Officials in Sachivalay are not able to explain this.

3.8 Caste& Communitiwise Registration Of Employment Seekers (As on 31-10-1984) (Table No.II.8):

Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Nav-Budhist together comprise 48 percent of registered employment seekers. The phenomenon is natural because usually these people do not have land and hence look for employment, all the year round. Here too the registration is done on adhocist basis. In reality some of them might be engaged in some variety of 'other wage labour', which is sustained and permanent. They may not find interrupted work like EGS, convenient. Hence, it is essential, to do the registration more carefully which will provide exact information such as which type of people are really willing to participate in a scheme like EGS. At present the nature of registration is such that it gives the number of people who do not have sustained work and are generally looking for some work.

3.9 Economic Categorywise Registration Of Employment Seekers (As on 31-10-1984) (Table No.II.9):

Landless form 45 percent of total registered employment seekers. The rest are landed workers.

Again the point has to be made that registration figures do not represent the reality of who is real clientele of EGS. P.E.O. study conducted in 1978 states that although EGS considers landless labourers as its main target group, more than 70 percent of EGS participants are small and medium landholders. Present study too shows that medium and small landholders try to get as many employment days on EGS as landless labourers get.

Conclusion

EGS is a fairly large scale scheme, in operation for a long time. Although there are lacunae at the operational level, it seems to have benefitted large number of people. It has been successful in creating its own funds and be self sufficient. Whether it caters the needs of employment of its target groups sufficiently well or not, will be assessed in the subsequent chapters.

A note of caution needs to be sounded here that although a large amount of data is generated and compiled by the planning department about EGS functioning, many discrepancies are noticed when one visits field and also collect primary data from muster clerks and agencies. The government data may distort the picture at the macro level. This also indicates possibility of corruption. Dandekar hints at the same. (Dandekar, 1978, p22).

SR.NO.	MAHARASHTRA	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85	1985/86
i	Total Expenditure incurred on E.G.S. (Rs.in Lakhs)	5154.00	7417.69	10923.08	12212.08	12616.75	13093.67	13498.15	20001.01	23433.57
ii	Percentage Share of Expenditure on Wages	74	80	82	76	78	76	75	74	75
iii	Mandays Generated In Lakhs	1153	1635	2054	1715	1560	1280	1645	1780	2200
iv	Registration of Employment Seekers In Lakhs	.00	28.27	37.43	.00	39.61	.00	.00	43.27	
v	Average Labour Attendance In Lakhs	3.91	8.45	6.85	5.70	5.20	4.68	5.52	5.98	7.33
vi	Wages in Cash Per Manday (Rs.)	3.10	3.28	3.39	4.42	5.76	7.41	8.41	8.30	8.03
vii	Average Wages Paid per manday (Rs.)-incash & kind)	3.30	3.61	4.36	5.40	6.28	7.80	8.41	8.30	8.34

Source: EGS Statistical Information Book, Planning Dept. Govt. of Maharashtra.

Table No. II.2

EXPENDITURE ON DIFFERENT TYPES OF WORKS

MAHARASHTRA

(Figures in Percent)

Types of Works		1977/78	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85	1985/86
i	Irrigation	53	43	35	34	37	39	37	37	
ii	Soil conservation & land development	27	25	21	21	22	18	16	18	
iii	Afforestation	3	2	3	4	7	6	6	6	
iv	Roads	10	19	22	18	25	33	37	36	
v	Other works & other Expenditure	7	11	19	23	9	4	4	3	
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
	Actual total Expenditure (Rs. in lakhs)	5754	7417	10923	12212	12617	13094	18498	20001	

Source: EGS Statistical Information Book, Planning Dept. Govt. of Maharashtra.

Table No. II.3

YEARWISE PERCENTAGE SHARE OF E.G.S. EXPENDITURE INCURRED

ON STATE LEVEL SCHEMES

[IN PERCENTAGE]

REGIONS	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85	1985/86
MAHARASHTRA	15	11	7	5	4	3	3	3	
AHMEDNABAR	30	19	17	23	16	13	20	21	
BED	36	7	1	Neg.	-	-	-	-	
DHULE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
BHANDARA	Neg.	1	4.50	3.16	1.90	1	1	Neg.	

Source: EGS Statistical Information Book, Planning Dept. Govt. of Maharashtra.

Table No.II.4

YEARWISE BUDGET PROVISION AND ACTUAL EXPENDITURE

E.G.S. MAHARASHTRA

(Rs. in Lakh)

YEAR	BUDGET PROVISION	EXPENDITURE	COLLECTION OF E.G.S.FUND
1977/78	5500	5154	7026
78/79	7063	7417	6279
79/80	10040	10923	7281
80/81	11090	12212	11408
81/82	11600	12616	12075
82/83	12566	13093	13936
83/84	15734	18498	16282
84/85	15499	20001	19148
85/86		23433	

Source: EGS Statistical Information Book -Planning Dept.
Govt. of Maharashtra.

Table No. 11-B

DISTRICTS ACCORDING TO EXPENDITURE & MANDAYS GENERATED

(Figures in Lakhs)

SR.NO.	DISTRICT	Expenditure (Since inception. 84-85)	Expenditure per lakh population (Since inception. 84-85)	Mandays Generated	Ranking by Expenditure	Ranking by Mandays
1	Nasik	11340.42	549	695.84	1	2
2	Ahmednagar	10772.67	457	767.35	2	1
3	Solapur	7911.68	429	421.26	3	4
4	Dhule	7318.62	444	500.75	4	3
5	Bhandara	6925.71	434	319.61	5	9
6	Aurangabad	6041.41	355	331.49	6	8
7	Yavatmal	4745.48	322	336.30	7	6
8	Satara	4458.77	251	335.50	8	7
9	Beed	4294.23	342	338.56	9	5
10	Parbhani	4002.64	269	190.72	10	14
11	Osmanabad	3800.82	270	256.01	11	10
12	Pune	3418.27	156	202.82	12	11
13	Jalgaon	3334.39	170	114.65	13	21
14	Nanded	3193.37	225	196.94	14	13
15	Nagpur	2640.77	235	150.51	15	16
16	Thane	2735.74	146	134.92	16	19
17	Chandrapur	2425.44	163	198.92	17	12
18	Buldhana	2295.49	186	118.35	18	20
19	Akola	2229.23	162	151.90	19	15
20	Sangli	2201.42	155	146.11	20	17
21	Amravati	1785.74	136	138.86	21	18
22	Latur	1298.48	Included in - Osmanabad	106.28	22	22
23	Wardha	962.02	138	60.42	23	25
24	Jalna	694.86	Included in - Aurangabad	75.10	24	23
25	Ratnagiri	514.90	36	26.07	25	26
26	Gadchiroli	492.17	Included in - Chandrapur	60.54	26	24
27	Kolhapur	225.81	12	12.11	27	28
28	Raigad	197.08	15	4.75	28	29
29	Sindhudurg	178.75	Included in - Ratnagiri	15.09	29	27

Table No. II.6

POSITION OF COMPLETED WORKS DURING THE YEAR

Year	TOTAL WORKS UNDER TAKEN			Completed during the year (Percentage to total works)
	Incomplete at the beginning	Sanctioned during the year	Total	
1979/80	31404	20937	52341	20925 (40)
1980/81	31416	12244	43660	9657 (22)
1981/82	34003	19705	53708	13919 (26)
1982/83	39789	20130	59919	15856 (26)
1983/84	44063	17404	61467	14154 (23)
1984/85	47313	18716	66029	14950 (23)
1985/86	185244			118207 (63)
	Since Inspectionn			Completed till to-day

Source: EGS Statistical Information Book ,Planning Dept.
Govt. of Maharashtra.

Table No.II.7

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE LABOUR ATTENDANCE

WITH TOTAL LABOUR ATTENDANCE

FOR THE YEAR 1979 TO 1985

	Percentage	Avg. Female labour attendance per year (Fig.in Thousand)
Maharashtra	39	299
Ahmednagar	49	32
Beed	45	13
Dhule	41	23
Bhandara	40	36

Source: EGS Statistical Information Book ,Planning Dept.
Govt. of Maharashtra.

Table No.II.8

Caste & Communitywise Registration of
Employment Seekers (As on 31-10-84)

Figures in Lakhs

Caste-Community	Registration Nos.	% to Total Registration
Scheduled Caste	8.22	19
% of Women	48	
Scheduled Tribe	8.80	20
% of Women	47	
Nav Buddhist	3.69	9
% of Women	46	
Others	22.55	52
% of Women	46	
Grand Total	43.27	100
% of Women	47	

Source : E.G.S.Statistical Information Book, Planning Dept.
Government of Maharashtra.

Table No. II.9

ECONOMIC CATEGORYWISE REGISTRATION OF
EMPLOYMENT SEEKERS (as on 31-10-84)

(figures in Lakhs)

ECONOMIC CATEGORY	Registration no. (in lakhs)	Percentage To Total
Landless	19.63 (47)	45
Small/Marginal land holders	13.70 (47)	32
Big land holders	9.93 (46)	23
Grand Total	43.26 (47)	100 =====
Below Poverty Line H H S	26.71 (46)	62
Above Poverty Line H H S	16.55 (47)	38
Grand Total	43.26 (47)	100 =====

(Figures in brackets indicate percentage of women
Employment seekers)

CHAPTER III

EGS WITHIN PERSPECTIVE OF EMPLOYMENT SITUATION IN RURAL MAHARASHTRA:

EGS has been acclaimed by many people, especially by state government officials, as a long awaited solution, found to resolve the chronic unemployment problem of rural Maharashtra. Bhawe has quoted from World Bank Report.

"Over the five years from 1973 to 1978, Maharashtra's rural unemployment declined by 21% (from 1.4 million persons in 1972-73 to 1.10 million persons in 1977-78) despite 17% increase in population. It's overall unemployment rate fell by 32% during this period, from 7.65% in 1972-73 to 5.22% in 1977-78 of the workforce compared with a 4% overall decrease for the whole country. Because agricultural and industrial growth remained sluggish, much of the improvement in Maharashtra's employment can be attributed to EGS." (Bhawe, 1984, p. 11)

Whether EGS is worthy of this praise or not would have to be seen in the total context of employment situation in Maharashtra. In the subsequent chapters, role of EGS in the life of participant households would be noticed. In the present chapter, scope of EGS would be highlighted.

Workforce

1.1 The table no. III.1 presents a total picture of rural population and their activities. The increase in population over 1971 is around 17 per cent among men and women. Compared to that, increase in the population out of labour force, (non-working) is less, (Men: 11.89%, Women: 6.77%). Against this background it is obvious that percentage increase among all the categories of workers is substantial.

Significantly, ranks of women in all the categories have swelled more, percentagewise, than the men in those categories. Increase among women in Other activities is 71 per cent, whereas it is 51 per cent in case of men. Increase among women agricultural labourers too, is higher, i.e. 34.45 per cent, than 7.18 per cent among men. The proportion of percentage change is the highest among women cultivators, (73.50%) than it is among men cultivators. (16.76%)

The table no. III.2 shows the change in composition of workforce, by giving percentages of each category of workers in the total workforce. Here, it is seen that proportion of women agricultural labourers has gone down, but it has increased in case of women cultivator, from 38% to 43%. The main reason seems to be the parcelisation of land due to tendency of nuclearisation of families, as well as land ceiling act, which prevents concentration of land. Also, financial assistance programme like IRDP, prescribes

landholding limits, which prompts people to divide the ownership and give one piece to wife. Ofcourse area held under these small holdings is only 38 per cent, whereas no. of holdings are 76 per cent. Percentage contribution of cultivators must have reduced the proportion of labourers. There is increase in participation of women labourers in other activities too.

- 1.2 Although the proportion of women agricultural labourers in the total female workforce has gone down, in terms of absolute number, the women agricultural labourers have increased in all age groups. Table no. III.3 shows that percentage increase among women cultivators is less than it is among the agricultural labourers. (57.6% & 74.3% respectively.) The increase of 77% in the age group of 60 & above among the agricultural labourers is a significant phenomenon, indicating the process of pauperisation and need for aged women to come out for work.

Women agricultural labourers exceed men agricultural labourers in absolute numbers, except between the age group of 15-19. This bears with the fact that men from landholding households send their women to work as labourers. In dry region of Mahartashtra, in the absence of sufficient work in agriculture, these are the women who are likely to be clientele of the scheme like EGS.

- 1.3 The next step is to understand actual employment of workers according to type of operations they are performing. The table no.4 highlights that manual work in cultivation is still major activity in the countryside and particularly for women who participate in the labourforce. Out of self employed status too, about 81 per cent women participate in manual work in cultivation, and among women of casual worker status too, around 80 per cent participate in the same. Women seem to be the mainstay of agriculture, not men. At the same time women are finding more space increasingly, in other activities such as bidi rolling etc. as a regular employee. 70 per cent women among the category of women regular employees compared to 53 per cent men of the same category are employed here.

The third most important activity which engages maximum number of workers is the manual work in non-agricultural activity (9.23% of total persondays per day of all casual labour.) Apart from agriculture, maximum number of casual workers are engaged in this activity. Out of total casual workers, around 13 and 9 per cent of men and women respectively are engaged in this activity. This activity includes public construction work, undertaken departmentally, or under EGS, RLEGP, NREP. It has to be assessed that how much contribution to total employment is made by this activity. This will put EGS in perspective.

- 1.4 The following table no. III.5 is formulated with the help of unpublished data of 38th round of NSS, and census of 1981. Proportion of main workers to total population of age (15 to 59) is 60 and 38 per cent for men and women respectively. By considering current activity status total labour force per working day in rural Maharashtra is 95.42 lakhs for men and 57.94 lakhs for women. Their percentage to main workers is 87 and 89 per cent for men and women. If marginal workers are added to main workers, the proportion of workers finding work per day would go down. Thus it seems that by current activity status, everyday, 12% men & 10% women among main workers remain unemployed. Number of workers engaged as casual labourers in non-agricultural activity comes to 4.21 lakhs for men and 2.52 lakhs for women. Both together constitute 4 per cent of total labour force. Workers engaged as casual labourers in cultivation are maximum, around 24 lakhs men, which comes to 24 per cent of total labourforce of men and around 21 lakhs women, i.e. 36 per cent of total workforce of women. Percentage of self employed in cultivation is the highest, i.e. 40 per cent for men and 43 per cent for women. Compared to both these activities casual labour in non-agricultural activity is insignificant, i.e. it forms only 4 per cent, in both the cases.

Ofcourse if this activity would not have been there, the unemployment would increase by 4 per cent more. Or it can be argued that there has been decrease of unemployment by 25 per cent. One significant observation is that unemployment is less among women than men. Howmuch of the credit goes to EGS needs to be seen.

Total workers, men and women, working as casual labourers in non-agricultural activity, by current activity status are 6.73 lakhs. In 1983, the average attendance of EGS workers was 5.52 lakhs. Thus out of total casual workers working on non-agricultural activity, 82 per cent have been working on EGS. Total persondays generated by EGS in 1983-84 are 1645 lakhs according to planning department statistics. If total workingdays are considered 300 per person, 6.73 lakhs casual workers in this activity would generate 2019 lakhs persondays. Thus persondays created by EGS would constitute 81 percent of total persondays generated by this activity. The same would constitute 3.59 per cent of the total working days generated everyday. Thus EGS has very a small role in the entire gamut of rural employment.

Not all those persondays are newly created under EGS. Some of these works were taken up for construction departmentally. Although, it is seen that share of state schemes, is decreasing under EGS, and almost entire money is being spent on the works listed in the blue prints.

This activity is supposed to be additional activity, for the people who are partly employed. In that case scope of EGS appears much impressive. According to Acharya, EGS provides

employment equivalent to 8.60 per cent of the mandays, and 7.20 per cent of the womendays of the total days of the weaker sections. (Achary, 1986, p. 43). Dandekar too has estimated in 1978, that 20 crores mandays of employment generated in 1977-80, would take care of 12 per cent of total employment (175 crores persondays) of weaker section (Dandekar, 1981, p. 28). It is seen above that EGS does not contribute more than 4 per cent to total labourforce, estimated by current activity status. If employment of weaker section is considered separately, then estimates done by Achary and Dandekar would hold correct. Present survey finds that participants in EGS, which include landless, small and medium landholders, do not get more than 100 days of employment per year, through agriculture. Thus rest of the employment has to come through other activities, and non-agricultural manual work. EGS tries to serve this purpose to some extent.

Although one has to be cautious while taking the statistics provided by planning department at its face value. Dandekar has shown a large discrepancy between her own estimates of how much employment was generated through EGS in 1977-78, and that provided by the government. The difference was of 1.6 lakhs of person years (1.6 lakhs x 300 days). According to her this discrepancy is inexplicable. In the light of this statement, the scope of EGS in providing extra employment in rural areas appears much reduced.

2.1 Women's Employment:

Women form significant segment in the labourforce of rural Maharashtra, compared to women at all India level. Hence it is all the more important that scheme like EGS has to gear itself to the needs of women labourers in rural India.

Table no. III.6 points out that in the category of marginal as well as main workers women in Maharashtra exceed women in India, in workrate participation, quite substantially. Workrate participation in case of women marginal workers in Maharashtra is 9.46 whereas the same is 7.18 in India. In case of main workers, the work participation rate for women in Maharashtra is 31.39 per cent whereas it is only 16 per cent for that of women in India.

The percentage increase in the work participation rate in 1981, over 1971 census is positive for women marginal and main workers in Maharashtra. Significantly the change is more in case of main workers. The change in Maharashtra exceeds the change in India (7% & 2.64 % respectively).

The change becomes striking in case of women against the background that the change in work participation rate of men is negative for India.

The positive change in case of women implies that women are pulled out of their houses, because of increasing cost of living, and secondly, because of changing cultural pattern women are allowed to work in public.

Table no. III.7 throws light on relatively better participation of women in workforce in Maharashtra, as main workers, compared to many other states in India. Except Andhra Pradesh, more women work in Maharashtra, percentage wise as main workers. Proportion of marginal workers too is significant, even though it is less than Andhra and Gujarat. (Main workers: 31.94 % and Marginal: 8.90 %)

Thus, it seems that on the whole, women in Maharashtra are sharing burden of providing for household income in a big way. For the purpose of employment management, women in the weaker sections have to be considered as an important segment of labour. The food security of this section depends upon the kind of employment their womenfolk get.

Table No.III.1

POPULATION AND WORK STATUS OF MAIN WORKERS IN RURAL MAHARASHTRA

1971 & 1981

Figures in 000

		YEAR		IN ,000	
		1971	1981	% Change	
Population	T	34701	40791	+	17.55
	M	17482	20527	+	17.42
	F	17219	20263	+	17.68
Main Workers	T	13394	17417	+	30.04
	M	9195	11055	+	20.23
	F	4199	6361	+	51.49
Cultivators	T	6364	8337	+	31.00
	M	4768	5567	+	16.76
	F	1596	2769	+	73.50
Agricultural Labourer	T	5110	6120	+	19.77
	M	2756	2954	+	7.18
	F	2354	3166	+	34.49
Others	T	1920	2960	+	54.17
	M	1671	2534	+	51.65
	F	249	426	+	71.08
Non- Working Out of Labourforce	T	21307	23374	+	9.70
	M	8287	9272	+	11.89
	F	13020	13902	+	6.77

Source: Census of India, various issues, prepared by Achary.

Table No.III.2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MAIN WORKERS BY
WORKERS STATUS IN RURAL MAHARASHTRA, (PER CENT)

Workers status		1971	1981
Cultivators	T	47.51	47.87
	M	51.85	50.36
	F	38.01	43.53
Agricultural Labourers	T	38.15	35.14
	M	29.97	26.72
	F	56.06	49.77
Others	T	14.33	16.99
	M	16.17	22.92
	F	5.93	6.70
All Main Workers	T	100	100
	M	100	100
	F	100	100

Source: Census of India, 1971 and 1981. Prepared by Achary

Table No.III.3

AGE GROUPWISE AND SEXWISE MAIN WORKERS IN AGRICULTURAL SECTOR--1981 CENSUS

Figures in Lakhs

AGE GROUP	MAIN WORKERS (FEMALE)		Incr. Over 1971		CULTIVATORS (FEMALE)		Incr. Over 1971		AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS (FEMALES)		Incr. Over 1971		MAIN WORKERS (MALE)		CULTIVATORS (MALE)		AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS (MALE)	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
15 TO 19	7.53	60.15	3.07	55.70	4.01	63.80							11.85	5.41	4.58			
20 TO 24	8.09	65.00	3.50	57.70	4.03	71.20							13.25	6.05	3.89			
25 TO 29	7.66	75.30	3.34	68.30	3.71	85.40							13.17	5.89	3.29			
30 TO 34	7.20	70.60	3.17	61.60	3.47	63.06							11.61	5.21	2.78			
35 TO 39	7.18		3.26		3.41								11.51	5.58	2.79			
40 TO 49	11.60	61.60	5.45	52.80	5.41	71.70							20.17	10.82	4.66			
50 TO 59	6.14	59.60	2.93	49.80	2.86	70.30							13.59	8.31	2.85			
60 & Above	2.77	67.10	1.28	56.70	1.34	77.60							9.11	6.21	1.75			
All age Group	63.61	66.00	27.69	57.60	31.66	74.30							110.55	55.67	29.54			

The figures of percentage increase are not available for men agegroupwise

Table No.III.4

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING PERSONDAYS PER DAY OF PERSONS OF AGE 5 & ABOVE

TYPE OF OPERATION FOR EACH BROAD CURRENT DAY WORK ACTIVITY

Type of Operation	Figures in %								
	Self Employed		Regular Employee		Casual Labourers		Total		
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	T
Manual Work in Cultivation	81.89	72.53	18.97	16.87	80.65	73.85	80.24	67.12	72.8
Manual Work in Other Agricultural Activity	8.68	8.63	0	6.33	6.71	7.79	7.67	8.1	7.94
Manual Work in Non-Agricultural Activity	3.08	7.53	10.46	23.76	9.54	13.17	6.12	11.12	9.23
Other Activities	6.37	11.32	23.76	53.04	3.72	5.2	5.97	13.65	10.75
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Estd. No. of Working D									
Per Day (00)	30783	53447	734	18026	26422	31944	57939	95417	153355

Table No. III.5
ABSTRACT OF WORKFORCE BY CURRENT ACTIVITY STATUS

IN LAKHS

CURRENT ACTIVITY STATUS	ESTIMATED NUMBER OF PERSON DAYS	
	MALE	FEMALE
1) Total Population of Age (15-59) years (census)	180.46	166.02
2) Main Workers (Census)	110.55	63.61
Percentage to total Population (age 15-59)	60.00 %	38.00 %
3) Total Labour Force (Total Working)	95.42	57.94
Percentage to Main Workers	87.00 %	89.00 %
4) Total Un-employed main Workers	13.68	6.76
Percentage of unemployed to Main Workers	12.00 %	10.00 %
5) Casual Labour in Non-agricultural Activity	4.21	2.52
Percentage to Total Labour Force	4.00 %	4.00 %
6) Casual Labour in Cultivation	23.59	21.31
Percentage to Total Labour Force	24.00 %	36.00 %
7) Casual Labour in other Agricultural Activity	2.49	1.77
Percentage to Total Labour Force	2.00 %	3.00 %
8) Self Employed in Cultivation	38.76	25.21
Percentage to Total Labour Force	40.00 %	43.00 %
9) Self Employed in Other Agricultural Activity	4.61	2.67
Percentage to Total Labour Force	4.80	4.60 %

Source: NSS, 38th round, 1983, unpublished report

Maharashtra

Table No.III.6

WORK PARTICIPATION RATE FOR MARGINAL, MAIN & TOTAL WORKERS

Figures in %

Category	(1981)				PERCENTAGE INCREASE OVER (1971)			
	Maharashtra		India		Maharashtra		India	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Marginal Workers	9.46	1.53	7.18	1.19	4.95	1.39	4.70	1.03
Main Workers	31.39	53.86	16.00	52.62	7.00	1.26	2.64	-1.00
TOTAL Workers	40.85	55.39	23.18	48.54	11.95	2.65	7.34	-0.26

Census Information

Table No.III.7

STATUS OF FEMALE WORKERS IN SOME STATES (1981) (Millions)

			MAIN WORKERS			MARGINAL WORKERS		NON WORKERS	
		Population	Absolute	Percent		Absolute	Percent	Absolute	Percent
1999	India	Female	245.11	40.43	16.49	18.12	7.40	186.56	76.11
	Rural	Male	256.84	134.10	52.21	5.43	2.11	117.31	45.68
	Maharashtra	Female	20.26	6.47	31.94	1.80	8.90	11.98	59.16
1999	Andhra Pradesh	Female	20.41	6.70	32.85	2.48	12.04	11.25	55.11
	Bihar	Female	30.00	2.94	9.81	1.40	4.67	25.66	85.52
	Gujarat	Female	11.46	1.66	14.49	1.34	11.76	8.45	73.75
1999	Karnataka	Female	13.02	2.94	22.61	1.07	8.20	9.01	69.19
	Madhya Pradesh	Female	20.31	5.30	26.11	1.90	9.38	13.10	64.51
	Tamilnadu	Female	16.09	4.51	28.06	1.03	6.40	10.54	65.54
	U.P.	Female	42.94	2.81	6.54	1.74	4.07	38.38	89.39

Source : 1981 Census part.

CHAPTER IV

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

1.1 The subsequent tables in the chapter present the data on respondent households. The data deals with social and economic status of participants and non-participants in EGS. It establishes background of both these categories of rural workers and also proves that basically both categories of workers belong to the same economic strata of society. They are comparable groups,

1.2 Social Status (Table No.IV.1):

Average age of respondents in participant group is 35 and it is 33 for non-participant group.

In case of marital status both the groups do not differ much. 83 per cent of the respondents are married in both the groups. 10 per cent and 9 per cent are found widow/widower among participants and non-participants respectively. Only 2 and 1 per cent are separated among both the groups respectively. Alongwith marital status, with whom staying category is intentionally introduced, in the light of the fact that 11 percent households in the rural area are female headed households. Women may not report themselves as head of the household. Her status as 'With whom staying'; will show her position in the house. Formally separated, informally separated and widows are likely to 'Stay separately' and would act as a head of the household. 11 percent female respondents among participant reported staying separately. Whereas only 5 percent among non-participants reported 'Staying separately'.

1.3 Level Of Education (Table No.IV.2):

Typically female respondents are found illiterate than men. It is a well known phenomenon. The proportions of literacy manifested is typical in the grass root society. 83 percent women, and 53 per cent men are found illiterate. 1 percent women and 2 percent men have been educated matriculation and above.

1.4 Familysize Of Households (Table No.IV.3):

Average familysize is the same (5.5) for both the groups, participants and non-participants. Familysize in Dhule goes up to 6.4 for participants and 5.7 for non-participants. Scheduled tribes are in majority here. Bhandara has lowest figure of 4.8 for both groups. "The case study of revisits" (chapter VIII) shows that for 47 people interviewed, familysize in 1978 was 4.50, and the same in 1986 is 4.60 .

1.5 Cast Community And Religion (Table No.IV.4):

The sample was purposive and hence it was possible to give more weightage to scheduled castes and tribes. Among registrants, scheduled castes and tribes together fare 39 percent. In the present sample, they together fare 69 percent. They are supposed to be the most needy, mostly falling under BPL criterion and hence if EGS is found out to be helping them, then EGS would have achieved its aims and objectives. Scheduled tribes have concentrated in Dhule and scheduled castes have concentrated in Bhandara, among both participants and non-participants. There does not seem to be castes bias for participation or non-participation.

1.6 Agricultural Status (Table No.IV.5):

Landholders owning land upto 1 hectre is considered marginal farmers. Landholders owning between 1 hectre to 2 hectares is considered small farmer and the ones who own land between 2 to 5 hectares are considered medium size farmers. The present sample has more bias towards landowners (65 percent) among participants. Medium size farmers are 18 percent. Small farmers are 25 percent and Marginal are 22 percent. Equal proportion of landless and landowners is found among non-participants. Past ISST study had 50 percent landless labourers among participants. The present decision of bias towards landowners is based on the fact that many studies including P.E.O. have reported that main clientele of EGS has been landowning class.

Beed has unusually high number of medium size farmers among non-participants who are mainly sugarcane workers. Dhule which has large scheduled tribes participants, has no medium size farmers among participants, is a significant point.

1.7 Irrigation Profile Of Agriculture (Table No.IV.6):

Half of the non-participants are landless labourers and hence the average landholding size of non-participants is less than that of participants. Even then the average irrigated landsize among cultivators is higher for non-participants. Also, proportionately more cultivators among non-participants have irrigation for more than 4 months a year. That explains why they do not want to participate in EGS. At the same time, it is ascertained here that non-participants do not belong to totally different class with a lot of resources. The next table too establishes the same fact. Non-participant cultivators are slightly better off than participants in terms of resources.

1.8 Agricultural Assets With Households (Table No.IV.7):

In some respects, non-participant landholder are better off, e.g. 33 percent of them have well whereas only 21 percent own well among participants. Bullock carts too are possessed

by 34 percent non-participants compared to 30 percent participants.

When the whole group of non-participants is considered together, where 50 percent are landless labourers, their economic status goes down, in comparison with participants. In terms of owning milch animals, sheep, goats and poultry, participants are better off.

1.9 Housing And Household Assets (Table No.IV.8):

In terms of housing status too, non-participants as a lot is better off than participants. 31 percent of them have pucca house, whereas only 22 percent of participants have pucca house. In terms of ownership, participants are faring well, because majority of them belong to that place. In case of some non-participants, migration might have taken place.

In terms of ownership of household assets, not much difference is found except in case of brass and copper utensils and bicycles. 76 percent participants have assets such as brass utensils and only 59 percent non-participants have them. Among participants only 14 percent possess cycles, whereas, 22 percent of non-participants possess cycles.

1.10 Economic Status (Table No.IV.9):

64 per cent of participants compared to 43 per cent of non-participants are registered under BPL. Out of total respondents 59 per cent are registered under BPL. This is higher proportion than the percentage of people under BPL in Maharashtra. This is natural because those who are not able to get any other wage labour are likely to go to EGS, as a last resort. Thus, EGS may help them to come up the BPL.

Participants have a little wider base of agriculture. Therefore the membership of co-operative societies which carry out allied activities, is higher among participants. Although, on the whole the 28 percent membership portreys picture of participants, having no access to resources.

Table No.IV.1

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

Figures in Percentages (ALL DISTRICTS)

	Participant (4 8 2)	Non-Participant (1 5 9)	T O T A L (6 4 1)
BASE			
Respondents Age Group (Mean)	35	33	34
Marital Status			
Married	83	83	83
Widow	10	9	10
Seperated	2	1	2
Unmarried	5	7	6
With whom Female respondent Staying			
BASE	(3 4 0)	(9 5)	(4 3 5)
With spouse	68	63	67
With inlaws	14	21	16
With Parents	5	5	5
Seperately	11	5	10
Any Other	2	6	2
Respondent's Accupation			
Main Workers	73	70	72
Marginal Worker	27	30	28

Table No.IV.2.

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

Level of Education (In Percent) All Districts

Level of Education	Female	Male	Total
Illetarate	83	53	75
Literate	1	2	1
through Non Farmal Edu.			
Primary	10	28	15
Secondary	4	11	6
Higher Secondary			
Or			
Matriculate	1	4	2
More	1	2	1
Nr.			

Table No. IV.3

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

Type of Respondents	Family Size of house-holds				(Mean)
	All Districts	A'Nagar	Beed	Dhule	
Participants	5.5	5.7	5.2	6.4	4.8
Non-Participants	5.5	5.6	5.1	5.7	4.8

Source: Data collected from the study conducted in the districts of A'Nagar, Beed, Dhule and Bhandara.

Table No.IV.4

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

Cast Community & Religion

(Districtwise)

	All Districts				A' Nagar				B e e d				D h u l e				Bhandara			
	Participants		Non-Particip		Participants		Non-Particip		Participants		Non-Particip		Participants		Non-Particip		Participants		Non-Particip	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hindu - Forward	136	28	50	31	40	33	21	53	45	39	26	62	9	7	2	5	42	35	1	2
Hindu - Shcheduled Cast - OBC & Neo budhist	183	38	62	39	67	54	9	23	43	37	12	29	22	18	10	28	51	43	31	76
Hindu - Shcheduled Tribeds	149	31	47	30	9	7	10	25	20	17	4	10	93	75	24	67	27	22	9	22
Other Religions/ Religions not Selec	14	3	-	-	7	6	-	-	7	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
T O T A L	482	100	159	100	123	100	40	100	115	100	42	100	124	100	36	100	120	100	41	100

Table No. IV.5

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

Agricultural Status

(DISTRICTWISE)

Status according to Land Holding	Agricultural Status										(DISTRICTWISE)									
	All Districts		A' Nagar		Beed		Dhule		Bhandara											
	Participants	Non-Particip	Participants	Non-Particip	Participants	Non-Particip	Participants	Non-Particip	Participants	Non-Particip	Participants	Non-Particip	Participants	Non-Particip	Participants	Non-Particip	Participants	Non-Particip	Participants	Non-Particip
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Landless	171	35	77	48	36	29	25	63	49	43	10	23	45	36	24	67	41	34	17	42
Marginal Land Holders up to 1 Hect.	105	22	28	18	9	7	7	18	21	18	7	17	28	23	3	8	47	39	11	27
Small Land Holders up to 1 to 2 Hect.	121	25	35	22	33	27	3	8	37	32	13	31	25	20	9	25	26	22	10	24
Medium Land Holders up to 2 to 5 Hect.	85	18	19	12	45	37	5	13	8	7	12	29	26	21	-	-	6	5	3	7
TOTAL	482	100	159	100	123	100	40	100	115	100	42	100	124	100	36	100	120	100	41	100

Table No.IV.6

IRRIGATION PROFILE OF AGRICULTURE

(ALL DISTRICTS)

Profile of Landholding (Cheet)	Participant		Non-Participant		TOTAL	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Total Base	482		159		641	
Avg. Land Holding	1.29		.96		1.21	
Base of cultivators	304		82		386	
Avg. Land Holding among - Cultivator	2.02		1.76		1.98	
Irrigated Land Owners among- Cultivators	108	35	28	34	136	45
Avg. Irrigated Land among- Cultivators	1.62		2.07		1.73	
Source of Irrigation among- Irrigated Land Holders						
Canal	51	45	8	31	60	44
Well	63	55	20	69	83	56
Availability of Irrigation - among Irrigated Land Holders						
Upto 4 Months	77	70	12	43	89	62
4.1 & More	34	30	16	57	54	38

Table No. IV.7

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

AGRICULTURAL ASSETS WITH LANDHOLDERS						(ALL DISTRICTS)	
		Participant		Non-Participant		TOTAL	
Base:		304		82		386	
Excludes Landless Labours							
		NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
FARM ASSETS : WELL		65	21	27	33	92	24
PUMPS SET		31	10	19	23	50	13
(DIESEL ENGINE) PUMP		13	4	0	0	13	3
OTHER WATER LIFTING DEVICES		10	3	0	0	10	3
BULLOCK DRIVEN EQUIP		21	7	1	1	22	6
OTHER FARM EQUIP		56	18	13	16	69	18
BULLOCK CART		91	30	28	34	119	31
IMPLEMENTS		16	5	15	18	31	8
DRAUGHT ANIMALS		147	48	37	45	184	48
Total Base		482		159		641	
Includes Landless Labourers							
MILCH ANIMALS		146	30	39	25	185	29
SHEEP, GOATS, ETC.		108	23	25	16	133	21
POULTRY		116	24	27	17	143	23

Table No.IV.8

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

HOUSING AND HOUSEHOLD ASSETS

(ALL DISTRICTS)

	Participant		Non-Participant		TOTAL	
Base	482		159		641	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TYPE OF HOUSE						
Hut & Katcha	274	57	80	50	354	55
Semi Pucca	98	20	23	14	121	19
Pucca	104	22	50	31	154	24
OWNERSHIP OF HOUSE (Including)						
Owned (Govt.Provided)	447	93	140	88	587	92
Rented	28	6	13	8	41	6
HOUSE HOLD ASSETS						
Brass/Copperr Utensils	339	76	86	59	422	72
Gold ornaments	74	16	26	16	100	16
Steel / Wooden Alairah	50	10	18	11	68	11
Suit Case / Steel Trunk	125	26	47	30	172	27
Radio / Transister	337	70	119	75	456	
BI-Cycle	68	14	35	22	103	16
Watch / Clock	111	23	49	31	160	25

Table No.IV.9

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

ECONOMIC STATUS

(ALL DISTRICTS)

	Participant		Non-Participant		TOTAL	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
(1) B.P.L. REGISTRATION						
Registered	306	64	69	43	375	59
(2) RECEIVED ASSISTANCE FROM						
I.R.D.P.	23	5	2	1	25	4
(3) NATURE OF IRDP ASSISTANCE						
Milch Animals	7	1	3	2	10	2
Poultry Birds	26	5	1	1	27	4
Others	7	1	-	-	7	1
(4) MEMBERSHIP OF TYPE OF CO-OP						
SOCIETY						
Multi-Purpose cr.Co-op.	66	14	13	8	79	12
Milk Society	59	12	9	6	68	11
Sugar Factory & other	8	2	1	1	9	2

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS OF HOUSEHOLD SURVEY.

This chapter analyses three important aspects of economic activity of participants and non-participants, with a view to find out the importance of EGS, in the life of participants. They are (i) employment (ii) income (iii) wage rates. This chapter also investigates, in the absence of EGS, how non-participants fulfil their income and employment needs..

1.1 Employment:

There are basically five sources of employment available to rural poor. The rural poor includes landless labourers, marginal and small landholders, medium size landholders and those who are involved in traditional occupations which are fast disappearing in the face of the competition from industrial products. The five sources of employment are:

- i) Own farm labour
- (ii) Agricultural labour
- (iii) Traditional occupation, or Household occupation
- (iv) Public works under EGS
- (v) Other wage labour :

It includes activities such as sugarcane cutting in Beed, bidi rolling in Ahmednagar, and Bhandara, tendu leaves picking, forest work and bamboo work in Bhandara. Along with these geographically specific activities, there are common activities such as, brick kiln work, well digging, departmental construction works etc. Occasionally primary teacher's and gramsevak's employment is included in other wage labour. A few households were found where family members had salaried jobs.

The data is analysed at two levels; household level and individual respondent level. District level data is used whenever necessary, to explain some of the specificities.

2 Sourcewise Contribution To Household Employment:

The table no. V.1 clearly shows the fact that participants and non participants are seeking their basic employment through agricultural source, either through their own farm or through agricultural labour. Labour on own farm and agricultural labour together contributes 40 & 45 per cent respectively for participant and non-participant households. This forms core of their employment. It is complemented by EGS, 52 per cent, in case of participants and by other wage labour, 42 percent, in case of non-participants. Household occupation contributes, however, 11 per cent to non-participants. The same source contributes negligibly to participants. Thus the EGS plays a major role in the life of participant households.

1.3 Sourcewise Employment Days According To Landsize For Participants:

The table no V.2 presents the break up of participant households according to landholding size and sourcewise percentage contribution to household employment pool. Households are divided into four major classes; landless (35 per cent), marginal (22 per cent), small (25 per cent) medium (18 per cent), landholders. Comparison of landholders by sources of employment is available. Landless labourer households and medium size landholder households represent two extreme categories of clientele seeking EGS employment. At present landless labourers are assumed to be the main target group of EGS. Considering the discontinuous nature of EGS employment whether it serves landless labourers in a better and convenient way or it serves the medium landholders in a better fashion needs to be explored.

Although medium landholder households get on an average 14 per cent share of employment through own farm work and landless labourers get none, the EGS contributes 50 per cent in case of landholders and 54 per cent in case of landless labourers respectively. Contribution of agricultural labour for medium size landholders, is 31 per cent whereas for landless labourers it is 36 per cent. Thus although agricultural labour forms a core of the employment of landless it does not even satisfy half of their employment needs. There is a serious deficiency of employment in the life of landless labourer households. Other wage labour and household occupation (R.H. occupation) are two other available sources. They too do not fulfil their requirement substantially. Neither of these sources contribute substantially to medium landholders too. Hence both the groups look towards EGS, and since EGS do not discriminate, or give preference to a specific category of registered employment seekers, it contributes almost equally to both the categories of people. Together with own farm employment medium landholders become better off with the EGS employment, whereas landless labourers are incapable to achieve even the minimum, required survival level.

Ripple effect of EGS is expected to generate employment of agricultural labour due to introduction of irrigation and land development programme. Bhawe has estimated that 25 mandays per hectare per year are roughly increased on permanent basis. He further estimates that the incremental mandays generated in the rural economy through EGS assets is of the order of 1.80 lakh mandays per year. (Bhawe, 1984) The calculation assumes that all the money spent through EGS so far has resulted into building up productive assets. Assuming this to be true, the picture is dismal. The increased employment potential is not able to fulfil need of all those registered employment seekers. The registered employment seekers are 43.27 lakhs and required minimum additional employment per person per year is 100 days. Thus

total need would be 43 crores days of employment. The increased employment potential has not helped substantially to all the needy, it is likely to increase the employment potential of own farm labour, rather than for the landless labour.

In that case, medium landholders, along with small and marginal landholders are going to be benefitted in two ways because of EGS. Firstly, they are supplementing their agricultural employment by EGS and secondly, they are increasing their agricultural employment on own farm, due to EGS assets.

It appears that at present EGS is catering demands of two different kinds or segments of labour, in rural Maharashtra. One constitutes of agriculturists and another constitutes of landless. The fact is a well known, but its implication are not recognised yet.

4. Sourcewise Employment Days Of The Respondent:

To understand the role of EGS in participant women's life it is essential to look at the data at individual level. Table no. V.3 shows that in both the groups women work less number of days on own farm than men in the same groups. Out of total number of workdays available, participant and non-participant women get work for 9 and 5 per cent respectively on own farm, whereas men get 19 and 7 per cent of total workdays, on own farm.

Agricultural labour provides one third of employment to women and men of both groups.

Other wage labour provides 10 per cent of total employment to participant women but hardly 6 percent to men. But the same source, however, provides the core of employment to non-participant women and men. In that too it provides more to women than to men (59 & 44 per cent respectively.). Men get comparatively more employment from H.H., occupation. It seems that whatever involves management, is denied to women.

Thus in absence of these sources participant women and men turn to EGS. Women try to depend on EGS employment more than men. 50 per cent of their total employment is obtained through the EGS, whereas men obtain 47 per cent of their employment through EGS. On the whole, it seen that women depend on wage labour more, than men. Supplementing is a woman's job. Wage labour in general, and EGS in particular is seen as supplementing, hence women should be doing it. It can be concluded that discontinuous nature of EGS, and supplementary role of women coincides and it becomes a women's work. Ofcourse, there are number of other reasons too, such as, it is government work, and hence lenient work with comparatively good wages, where sites are nearby etc, which prompt people to label EGS work as a woman's work. The

data gives the structural position of EGS work in participant women's lives.

1.5 Participation Days In EGS In 1985/86 According To Landholding Size

This break up presented in table no.V.4 helps to understand the role of EGS in women's lives according to their landholding class. Women of landless class get on an average 123 days of EGS work, whereas women of medium size get 103 days of EGS work, which means they do not lag behind much! Women from other landed classes too get work for 106 and 103 EGS days. Since they do not get much employment on their own farm, their status appears quite similar to that of landless labourers. And even then they are structurally different, because if tomorrow the productivity of the land increases, these women would be asked to work on their own farm, and would not demand EGS employment. Also, one of the important reason they are asked to join EGS workers' ranks is that the location of sites is nearby. If tomorrow that advantage is taken away, they would not come to the work and would lose vital source of employment. The advantage of the closeness of site might be applicable to landless women too, who care for stability more than their menfolk.

Another point of comparison is between women participants and men participants belonging to different classes. In each class men seem to be availing less days of employment than women of the same class, e.g. among the landless women get 123 EGS workdays whereas men get only 104 days. Among the medium landholders women get 103 days, whereas men get 78 days only. Only within the marginal landholding class, men's employment is higher. Overall picture is that EGS plays more significant role in women's life than in men's life.

Comparison between the different classes shows that proportion of men as compared to women opting for EGS employment, is relatively higher in medium landholding class than other classes. The point is that men from medium landholding class find nature of EGS employment more suitable, than the men in other classes, whose requirement for wage labour employment is much more than EGS can serve. The proportion of women to men among the medium landholders is 51:34, whereas the same among the landless is 120:51. This needs to be investigated in a more exhaustive survey. At present it appears logical considering that the mobility of landed men would be less than landless men and hence these men are likely to opt for EGS employment, which is nearby.

The previous ISST study reported participants getting 157 days of EGS employment in 1978. During the same period Dandekar's study reports 160 days of EGS employment. The survey carried out by Achary in Thane district recently,

reports 64 days EGS employment for women participants.

These intricacies of employment pattern again and again points out that from the point of view of employment management of the rural poor, these two segments of workers need to be studied separately. They cannot be catered effectively under the same scheme, in the long run.

1.6 Contribution Of EGS To Respondent's Annual Employment Days:

It is a combined table for both the groups and the information is presented sexwise. Hence average contribution of EGS in the lives of participants has come down. As shown in table No.V.5 it is obvious that except in Beed, everywhere EGS employment has contributed much more in the total employment available to women. The contribution of EGS, in total employment, for all districts, in case of women and men is 39 and 32 per cent respectively. This proportion varies in Beed, in favour of men, e.g. men get 42 percent of EGS share whereas women get 40 per cent only. In Dhule, the trend complies with the rest of the districts but the differential between women's and men's share is large, such as 41 and 23 per cent respectively. At the level of all districts, 12 per cent women and 16 per cent men get the share of EGS between 75 to 100 per cent, in their employment pool.

1.7 Categorywise Labourers Per H.H.:

EGS is very convenient scheme for women is evident from the table no.6. Average number of women working as EGS workers, in each household, is greater than average number of men as EGS workers. This is true in all the districts. In Bhandara the difference is not very sharp. This fact is important against the background that average family size does not vary significantly for each district except in case of Dhule.

Ahmednagar has 1.24 women EGS workers per H.H., compared to .87 men EGS workers among the participant H.H. Bhandara has 1.19 women EGS workers and 1.13 men EGS workers.

1.1 INCOME:

The five sources of employment listed previously are the main sources of income for all the households. The sixth source is added where it is not possible to keep account of employment days. This is called, 'other sources' from where income trickles down in the total pool and it cannot be ascribed to a particular individual. Dairy, fuel, forest produce, livestock income, income from leased out land and money orders from the migrant family members, are some of the sources listed in the questionnaire.

Per Capita Income:

The most important criterion to assess the economic status of the household is of per capita income. Table no.V.7.a presents districtwise picture of participant and non-participant households, in terms of mean figure of per capita income. On the whole non-participants appear better off except those in Dhule. It appears that other wage labour must be paying them better wage rates, along with the fact that it is sustaining, continuous employment source. In Dhule, situation changes, and non-participants include mainly agricultural labourers, who cannot combine their core employment of agriculture labour with any other wage labour. Their income comes down drastically, by 50 per cent to that of participants. The level of income is the highest for both participants and non-participants in Ahmednagar. For example, in Dhule, per capita income for participant is Rs.823 and for non-participant it is Rs.467 whereas the per capita income for the same groups in Ahmednagar is, Rs.1152 and Rs.1334, respectively.

The differences in income levels can be also described by using the concept 'below the poverty line' (BPL). In Maharashtra Rs. 750 is considered the demarketing line for of poverty. The table no V.7.b highlights pathetic condition of non-participants in Dhule. 80 per cent of non-participants in Dhule fall under BPL. These figures prove the point that EGS is definitely helping certain category of people to come up the BPL. On the other hand the data gives very gloomy picture of participants in general. Except Dhule, in all other districts, more percentage of people among participants fall under BPL, compared to that of non-participants. 39 percent of participants compared to 32 per cent of non-participants fall under BPL.

2.2 Sourcewise H.H. Income:

Table no. V.7 presents picture of sourcewise household income for participants and non-participants. Participants have better agricultural base than non-participants. When participant households contribute 7 percent of their total labour for cultivation, they get 25 per cent of their income from this source. The area under survey is a dry area, and still on an average contribution of farm income is 25 per cent. It can be called a traditional, and hence core source. For non-participants agriculture contributes 13 per cent only, because 50 percent of the non-participants are landless labour.

Contribution of agricultural labour does not vary much for both the groups. Approximately one fourth of their income is accounted by this source.

Other sources contribute almost equally to both the groups.

H.H. occupation is another source of income to non-participants. But it contributes almost nothing to the participants.

Other wage labour is the most important core source of income for the non-participants. 41 percent income contribution comes from this source.

For participants this source is negligible. Thus in the absence of any already present source of income, the participants rely on EGS for a major share of income, i.e. 37 per cent of their total income. This highlights the desperate situation of majority of participants. It needs to be explored whether EGS is a adequate scheme for these desperate people, or some better scheme assuring continuous and sustained employment is necessary for the people who are on the verge of poverty line. A telling remark by a tribal respondent can be mentioned here. He said that he preferred draught years to normal years, when he could eat more food because of sustained EGS works.

The situation in Dhule is really drastic. Non-participants are mostly drawing their income from agricultural labour, (46 per cent) and from other sources, (35 per cent). Some of them are forced to work as a saldar, i.e. employed with annual contract, which entitles them for some advance. They may not be able to seek EGS employment. Also, availability of EGS is very little in Dhule, although it stands fourth by expenditure ranking in EGS. The result is that people have to cut trees for sale of fuel, which is the highest item in income from other sources. This segment of non-participants would require another kind of scheme than EGS to help them to earn their minimum survival. Discontinuous nature of EGS work may not be helpful to them as a permanent solution.

3. Sourcewise Household Income, According To Landholding Size:

Role of EGS as a significant source of income, in the life of participants belonging to different landholding classes, needs to be probed further in the life of participants, belonging to different landholding classes. Table no.V.9 describes the situation in this respect. Share of EGS income declines as the size of land increases. The interesting situation is that in case of share of EGS employment to landless and medium landholder the difference is not significant (54 & 50 per cent res.), but in case of income, EGS contributes 51 per cent to landless and only 22 per cent to medium landholders. Major share for medium landholders come from own farm income, (48 per cent). Thus

apparently, landless labourer's dependence on EGS seem to be crucial, as compared to the medium landholders. However, as pointed out earlier in the section on employment, that in reality the need of employment of landless labour goes beyond what EGS offers. Similarly, 51 per cent share of total income, from EGS, in case of landless falls short of the requirement of this class. It is substantiated by the data on number of participants under the BPL. Instead, the EGS share of 22 per cent to medium landholders appears as a vital additional income to the household and would be helping the household to remain above the minimum survival level. It confirms the earlier finding that landless labour requires another scheme which would support them in a sustained way, unlike EGS. The claim made by Bhave that EGS has arrested the further deprivation and misery to the rural poor, is true only of landed workers, but may not be true in the case of majority of the landless workers. (Bhave, 1984, p.11).

4. Sourcewise Income Of Respondents:

Dependence of women workers on EGS compared to that of participant men, and non participant women can be understood through table no.V.10. Out of the total household income only wage labour income could be attributed to individuals. EGS contributes 60 per cent to participant women and becomes a vital source in her life. Other wage labour is a comparable vital source for non participant women. It contributes 81 per cent of their total income. Other wage labour contributes 12 per cent to participant women. Participant women seem to have access to agricultural labour employment, (28 per cent) compared to non-participant women (18 per cent). Until employment in agricultural sector increases, participant women have only one source to turn to. That is EGS.

Compared to participant women, men earn more through wage labour. (Rs.1132 & Rs.1229 respectively). Men get proportionately more money than what women get through a source of agricultural labour, despite the fact that share of agricultural labour in the total employment is less for men than women. Obviously, because the wage rates for men are higher, as a agricultural labourer. The proportion of contribution by this income source is 28 and 35 percent respectively. On the other hand, EGS contributes 58 percent in their total wage labour pool. Thus there is a tendency among men to take up farm work if they have land, then go for agricultural labour, and next comes EGS, as additional income, although it contributes more than half of their earning. The priorities are clear. In case of women EGS becomes more vital because they do not have specific structural position in agricultural sector. Their role as a supplementary earner, as is observed earlier, prompts them to turn to EGS, and look at it as a core income in their life.

Dandekar's report prepared in 1978 notices that EGS contributed 73 per cent to women's income and 59 per cent to men's income. It is likely that over the period availability of EGS work has gone down. The review sample of 47 persons reveals that total number of days worked on EGS in 1978 were 49, whereas the same workers could get on an average 43 days EGS work in 1985/86. (Chapter VIII) Another reason for this change may be that composition of present sample is different. Dandekar's sample has more landless workers. In the present sample too, in Dhule, 69 percent of participant women's income comes from EGS. Ofcourse, it needs to be remembered that income level of participants is the lowest in Dhule.

5. Respondent's Wage Labour Contribution In H.H. Income:

Can women's income be considered a supplementary to the total household income in this stratum of society? The data in table no.V.10 shows that if the women and men of both the groups are considered together, women seem to contribute 31 per cent through their wage labour, whereas men contribute 32 per cent through their wage labour. Thus women's income forms as much a core income for family as men's income. Even then it is treated by the family and the policy makers as supplementary income. This attitude needs to be changed and women's employment has to be planned much more seriously.

Concern for women's employment becomes vital when it is realised that 7 per cent women have to contribute 75 to 100 per cent of the income of their household. These must be single women. Compared to that 6 per cent men have to share almost entire responsibility of their household income.

Once this reality becomes a premise for the planning of employment of women, EGS policies would become more prone to women. EGS can become women's programme, with its characteristics of 'site at close distance', and 'food for work'. Although EGS income is seen as an additional income by policymakers, for women it has been a core source, which earns more than half of their income. This point needs to be stressed, at all levels.

Wage Rate:

One of the positive points of EGS is that it pays wages according to piece rate and does not differentiate between different types of work, such as digging and carrying soil. Thus equal wages to women and men is an important feature of the scheme. The table no.V.12 assesses the situation.

One thing must be said that the present data is based on reporting and not taken from the muster rolls. Also, it was not possible to meet workers on the payment day and investigate whether women and men in the same gang got the

same payment, provided they worked the same number of days. (The measurement of work is done gangwise, and after calculation the payment is divided among the workers according to the workdays completed every week, by each one of them. The payment is done to individual and the thumb impression or signature is taken on the muster roll.)

It is observed that nowhere female and male wage rates for EGS are the same. Which is surprising considering the dynamics of gang formation and the payment system. Gangs are formed by the workers themselves or by the mukadam. Hence trust within gang members is expected. It cannot be said that women are cheated under pressure. There is a likelihood that even though workers give their thumb impressions, the amount is not given to them directly, but is given to the gangleader, owing to the scarcity of small change. Later on it is possible that the man who digs is given better payment, as per the tradition. Women may not mind this fact because if gang consists of family members then the money is going to join the pool of family income. When asked why low rate to women, women said that they could not corroborate whether the amount signed by them was the same as they received. This phenomenon needs to be investigated further.

Another explanation offered by the government officials is a possibility that men interviewed, might have worked in different gang, and women might have worked in different gangs, thus the difference in the wage rate is the difference because of the efficiency of different gangs. This explanation is not acceptable because this effect would get nullified when 482 workers are interviewed. Also, women and men in the same villages are interviewed. They were working at the same construction site. Another important thing is that all gangs consist of a fewer men and more women. Men are found mostly digging, and very rarely carrying the headloads of soil. Thus problem, that why women do not get equal wages as per men, remains inexplicable.

While wage rates differ for women and men, it has to be admitted that they represent the least differential between women and men compared to any other activity. In Ahmednagar and Dhule, they are almost similar. The maximum difference between them is noticed in Beed. It seems that wage rates for all the activities for women and men differ extensively in Beed.

Table no. V.13 presents more data on wage rates. Maximum and minimum rates paid to women and men for all the three wage labour activity are highlighted. Difference is calculated in terms of percentage differential over female wage rates. In Beed per centage differential for EGS is 36, for agricultural labour it is 83, and for other wage labour, it is 90. Agricultural labour wage rates seem to differ the most.

The often raised question is whether EGS wage rates act as a

leverage to agricultural wage rates. To answer this question one needs to recall the discussion in chapter no.3, regarding the employment situation in rural Maharashtra. It was realised that EGS workers constitute only 4 per cent of main workers in rural Maharashtra. This proportion is not very significant to make an impact on wage rates in agriculture, which provides bulk of the employment.

Another way of calculating scope of EGS is that out of 43.27 lakhs registered workers (1984), at a time 7.33 lakhs attend the EGS sites. (1985-86) It means that 17 per cent of needy workers get the employment and others remain still available for casual work in the countryside. Thus EGS cannot make much impact on the labour market for off season work.

One important argument why EGS cannot affect the wage rates for agricultural labour is that EGS sites are never opened in the agricultural season. That has been one of the preconditions to start EGS site. The table prepared with the help of government handbook, based on monthly attendance figures during last eight years (1978-1986) indicates that the rule is observed reasonably strictly. (table no.V.14) The peak attendance figures for each district vary according to the lean agricultural season of specific crops of that district. This ensures that no labour shortage is created in the season, pushing the rates up.

Only one argument can be offered in favour of the linkages between EGS wage rate and agricultural wage rate. That EGS gives additional employment to agricultural labourers and thus their holding power is built up. Based on some saving due to EGS, labourers can withdraw themselves from the market if too low wages are offered. Ofcourse, considering the lack of mobility and atmosphere of obligations of different kinds, how much effect these savings would have is questionable. Also, as is observed earlier, for almost all the landless labourers EGS income becomes a core income and not additional income and hence it may not lead to savings, and increased bargaining power for the workers. This phenomenon can be expected only in case of medium and small landholders.

To evaluate the impact of additional employment, following calculation would be useful. The primary data suggests that participant get 111 days average EGS employment. Since the sample is drawn from high participation districts, the average can be brought down, when the whole Maharashtra is considered, to 50 days per person per participant. Taking into account the planning department's figure of 2,200 lakhs mandays, generated in 1985-86, the number of workers worked during the year comes to 44 lakh. It means that almost all the workers registered, (43.27 lakh) received the minimum employment of 50 days. This is a significant achievement, if it is assumed as an additional employment. The linkage between the EGS wage rate and agricultural wage rate can be

justified within this premise. As is noticed earlier, this premise does not hold good for almost half the EGS workers.

The table no.V.15 presents two series of wages over the period of 1977 to 1985, for EGS and agricultural labour. EGS wage rates are based on the official government handbook. It does not present differential wage rates for women and men. The agricultural wages are given separately for women and men. The real wages are worked out based on 1960-61 as a base year. The general observation is that to begin with, agricultural wages of men were a little higher in 1978-79, but later on there is a greater increase in the real wages of EGS compared to the increase in agricultural wages. There seems to be a little more increase in the agricultural wages of women, in real terms, than increase in the real wages of men. The link needs to be ascertained and explored. Prima facie the rise in agricultural wages of women cannot be attributed to EGS. On the whole the link between EGS and agricultural wage rates seems to be missing.

4 Discussion On Sugarcane Workers:

It is interesting to study the conditions of work for sugarcane cutting workers, in Beed, most of whom own medium size land. Eventhough they are agriculturists they do not mind migrating in the season, alongwith their families, rarely leaving old people at home. What are the motivating factors?

- (i) Beed district is a draught prone district and hence agriculturists too are used to migration.
- (ii) They seem to have acquired skill for sugarcane cutting, since it is a little hazardous job. Large leaves with sharp edges can cut and injure the workers.
- (iii) Since sugarcane is utilised in sugar factories, sugarcane cutting has become a part of industrial assemblyline. Factory management don't want to rely on individual farmers for sugarcane supply. Factories have taken over management of harvesting and transportation thereafter. Factories appoint their own contractors for this purpose and in turn contractors mobilise people paying them advance, as retention money or in the form of loan. The present survey includes 40 sugarcane workers as non-participants. They report that 54 per cent of them worked with the same contractors for last three years.
- (iv) It is an assured, consistent work for the harvesting season. The season varies from crop volume. The finding is that the workers got 115 days of work, on an average for last three years.

- (v) They can carry their draught animals with them and get hiring charges for their bullockcart, for transporting the sugarcane. Also, milch animals too can be fed on the tops of sugarcane which comes free to them.
- (vi) Living conditions on the campsite near the factory are quite bad. The working hours extend into nights, waiting for loading of the sugarcane on the trucks. They have to sleep in the field itself. However, Hard work gets compensation by good wage rate, of Rs.13.64, on an average. Also, whole family is assured the work. Although the rate cannot be called very high, considering the fact that working hours are not fixed, it is assured money to the whole family, seems to be attractive proposition for them.

Surprisingly, women too are willing to join the family to stay on campsite. It seems that they too like the exposure and freedom, which is absent in the village life.

Conclusion:

- 6.1 Participant and non-participant households have similar dependence on agricultural sector employment which includes own farm and agricultural labour employment. Participants are having more own farm employment. For additional employment, non-participants have found steady, continuous sources of other wage labour employment. In the absence of this source, participants turn to EGS employment.
- 6.2 EGS do not offer them complete security because of the discontinuous nature of its employment. Review study highlights this nature. The consequence is that 50 per cent participant households and 80 per cent non-participant households in Dhule fall under BPL. Dandekar also states in her study, that four fifth of the EGS workers were found living below the subsistence, in 1978. (Dandekar, 1981, p.50). It means that need of some of the participants transcends what EGS can offer to them. Of course, EGS must have helped some households to remain above BPL. It has to be understood, to whom EGS can help.
- 6.3 It is concluded that EGS can help workers with some land, i.e. small and medium landholders. The additional nature of EGS work and close distance of sites helps them, to combine agriculture with EGS. Also, they can be beneficiaries of the ripple effect of EGS assets.

Thus present EGS clientele of workers can be divided in two distinct segments of labour for the purpose of employment management in the rural area of Maharashtra. One constitutes of landless labourers, and may be marginal landholders. Another constitutes of small and medium size landholders. The first one has a drastic unemployment problem and requires a better scheme of sustained and continuous employment, may be employment at the big dam works, with campsites. The other

one can be integrated in the scheme more systematically, with more participation and say in building assets. Participants from this class cannot ignore their agriculture, which is often complained. Because they get 48 per cent of their total income from agriculture. EGS cannot substitute this core source.

6.4 The experience of sugarcane workers promises, that if good wages, and campsite facilities are provided the workers with drastic need of employment would be willing to migrate. It would be possible to segregate the segment of landless labourers from the segment of agriculturists in the EGS and provide the new scheme of assured employment to landless labourers. This kind of suggestion has been made by Bagachi too. (Bagachi, 1984) Only difference here is that, it is recommended that EGS should be retained for agriculturists and the new scheme is implemented for landless labourers.

6.5 EGS plays vital role in women's lives is highlighted by following observations.

- a) Women form majority on EGS sites is noted by all the studies, despite the contrary data by planning department. (ISST: 49 to 80 %, Dandekar: 51%, RDC: 50%, P.E.O.: 50%, Present study primary data on Monthly reports (form III) of six agencies: 74 %)
- b) Women among agriculturists are more dependent on EGS than men of the same class. They compete with landless labour women in obtaining EGS employment. The reason seems to be that they are not entrusted management functions of agriculture and hence when need arises, they are sent out first to take up wage labour. Men follow them later.

Landless women too may prefer characteristics of EGS job, such as close distance, and equal wages. Hence, they can be considered together, if they opt for, with men and women of agriculturist class, as a one segment of labour, for the purpose of employment management. EGS can be restricted for this segment.

- c) As far as household is concerned, EGS may be considered as an additional income, or supplementary income, but for women EGS forms a core income, which earns her maximum share. Percentage wise too EGS contributes more in women's employment pool than it does to men.
 - d) When women contribute 31 per cent of household income, role of EGS becomes very vital to the household.
 - e) 7 per cent women contribute between 75 to 100 per cent of household income. For these female headed families EGS becomes a lifeline.
- 6.7 Despite the official policy of equal wages to women and men

at the EGS construction sites, why the wages reported by women have been lower than the wages of men in the same villages, needs to be investigated. It seems that procedure of distributing wages is congenial for ensuring equal wages. Still the differential is noticed in the reporting. The studies of gangs need to be done on the payment days.

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Table No.V.1

SOURCEWISE CONTRIBUTION TO HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT DAYS
MEAN PERCENT SHARE

(All Districts)

	Participant %	Non-Participant %
Own farm	7	10
Agricultural Wage Labour	33	35
E B S Labour	52	2
Other Wage Labour	10	42
H.H.Occupation	2	11

Table No.V.2

Participants

SOURCEWISE EMPLOYMENT DAYS ACCORDING TO LANDHOLDING SIZE
(MEAN PERCENT SHARE)

SOURCE	LANDLESS	MARGINAL Landholders	SMALL Landholders	MEDIUM Landholders	TOTAL
Own farm	-	07	11	14	07
Agricultural Labour	36	33	31	31	33
E.G.S. Labour	54	54	52	50	52
Other Labour	11	12	10	04	10
Own Occupation in H.H.	02	02	02	04	02
Base	171	105	127	85	482
Base Percent to the Total base	(35)	(22)	(25)	(18)	(100)

SOURCEWISE EMPLOYMENT DAYS OF THE RESPONDENT
(MEAN DAYS)

(ALL DISTRICT)

	Participants				Non-Participants			
	Female		Male		Female		Male	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Own farm Labour	20	9	40	19	12	5	18	7
Agricultural Labour	63	28	55	26	56	25	63	26
E.G.S. Labour	111	50	99	47	1	0	0	0
Other Wage Labour	22	10	12	6	130	59	108	44
H.H. Occupation	7	3	5	2	21	10	58	23
TOTAL	223	100	211	100	220	100	247	100
Base								

Participation days in E.G.S.1985-86 According to Landholding Size

	LANDLESS				MARGINAL				SMALL				MEDIUM				TOTAL			
DAYS	FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE		MALE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Up to 50	17	14	12	24	8	9	1	5	13	13	8	33	11	22	16	47	49	14	37	29
51 to 100	37	31	14	27	28	33	8	40	33	34	7	29	14	27	7	21	112	32	36	28
101 to 150	23	19	10	20	32	38	3	15	31	32	5	21	14	27	3	9	100	28	21	16
151 to 350	43	36	15	29	17	20	8	40	20	21	4	17	12	24	8	23	92	26	35	27
TOTAL	120	100	51	100	85	100	20	100	97	100	24	100	51	100	34	100	353	100	129	100
MEAN DAYS	123		104		106		142		103		81		103		78		113		99	

Table No. 4.3

CONTRIBUTION OF EGS TO RESPONDENT'S ANNUAL EMPLOYMENT DAYS

(IN PERCENTAGE)													DISTRICTWISE		
	AHMEDNAGAR			BEED			DHULE			BHANDARA			ALL-DISTRICTS		
DAYS	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
Up to 1	29	53	36	22	40	27	27	51	33	22	37	27	25	45	31
01 to 25	2	2	2	9	2	7	9	5	7	8	6	7	7	4	6
26 to 50	32	16	28	30	13	25	21	30	24	50	33	45	33	23	30
51 to 75	25	8	20	26	16	23	27	7	22	13	18	14	23	12	20
76 to 100	10	14	11	13	22	15	14	7	12	4	4	4	10	12	11
100 & Above	2	7	3	0	7	3	2	0	2	3	2	3	2	4	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
MEAN % Employment Days	39	31	37	40	42	40	41	23	36	35	31	33	39	32	37

(MEAN DAYS)

(DISTRICTWISE)

[illegible]

Table No.V.7

PER CAPITA INCOME

(DISTRICTWISE)

Household Level

		All Distr icts	A'Naga	Beed	Dhule	Bhandara	
A	MEAN (RS.)						V.7a
	Participant	981	1152	951	823	997	
	Non-Participants	1053	1334	1257	467	1085	
B	B.P.L (IN PERCENTS)						V.7b
	Participant	39	27	44	50	36	
	Non-Participants	32	12	16	80	24	

Table No.V.8

SOURCEWISE H. H. INCOME

MEAN PERCENTAGE

(DISTRICTWISE)

CATEGORIES	All Districts		A'Nagar		B e e d		D h u l e		Bhandara	
	Participants	Non-Particip	Participants	Non-Particip	Participants	Non-Particip	Participants	Non-Particip	Participants	Non-Particip
Own Farm	25	13	13	7	15	13	23	6	32	20
Agri.Labour	21	25	28	19	24	23	14	46	21	13
E.G.S.- Labour	37	3	39	1	49	3	38	1	36	4
Other.- Wage Labour	7	41	6	57	9	58	3	10	12	37
H.H.Occupation	2	11	4	12	1	1	2	1	1	28
Other.- Sources	10	12	13	6	5	5	20	35	3	3
TOTAL	102	105	103	102	103	103	100	99	105	105

SOURCEWISE HOUSEHOLD INCOME ACCORDING TO LANDHOLDING SIZE

(M E A N S P E R C E N T S H A R E) (ALL DISTRICTS)

	LANDLESS	MARGINAL LAND HOLDER 10 - 1 Hect	SMALL LAND HOLDER 1 - 2 Hect	MEDIUM LAND HOLDER 2 - 5 Hect
Own Farm	0	32	37	48
Agricultural Labour	28	12	19	15
E.G.S. Labour	51	37	30	22
Other Labour	11	8	6	3
Household Occupation	3	1	1	2
Other Sources	10	8	11	15
TOTAL INCOME	103	98	104	105
B A S E	171	105	121	85
Percent to the total	(35)	(22)	(25)	(18)

Table No.V.10

SOURCEWISE INCOME OF RESPONDENTS

(M E A N S I N C O M E)

	PARTICIPANTS				NON - PARTICIPANTS			
	FEMALE	%	MALE	%	FEMALE	%	MALE	%
Agri. Wage Labour	322	28	425	35	268	18	542	32
E.G.S. Wage Labour	681	60	719	58	4	1	46	3
Other Wage Labour	129	12	85	7	1184	81	1103	65
T O T A L	1132	100	1229	100	1456	100	1691	100
B A S E	353		129		102		57	

Table No.V.11

RESPONDENT'S WAGELABOUR CONTRIBUTION IN H.H INCOME

(All Districts)

H.H.	Percentage of Income	F E M A L E		M A L E		T O T A L	
		NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
	1 - 25	235	52	90	48	325	51
	25 - 50	157	35	54	29	211	33
	50 - 75	29	6	31	17	60	9
	75 - 100	11	2	6	3	17	3
	100	23	5	5	3	28	4
	B A S E T O T A L	455	100	186	100	641	100
	MEAN Percentage CONTRIBUTION	31%		32%			

Table No.V.12

W A G E S R A T E (RS/DAY)

	T O T A L	T O T A L
	R E S P O N	R E S P O N T
	F E M A L E	M A L E
AHAMAD NAGAR		
Agri.Labour	6.27	9.10
E.G.S.	6.12	6.66
Other Work	8.43	10.93
B E E D		
Agri.Labour	4.92	9.00
E.G.S.	7.17	9.76
Other Labour	5.84	11.11
D H U L E		
Agri.Labour	5.02	6.14
E.G.S.	7.94	8.45
Other Work	9.58	12.00
BHANDARA		
Agri.Labour	5.58	7.18
E.G.S.	7.13	8.23
Other Work	6.89	7.70

Table No.V.13

WAGE RATE OF PARTICIPANTS

DISTRICTS	CATEGORY	NO. OF PERSONS		AVERAGE RATE RS.		DIFF. %	M I N .		M A X .	
		FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE		FEMALE	MALE	FEMA	MAL
A, NAGAR										
	E. G. S.	81	23	6.12	6.66	9	6.50	6.50	13.50	13.50
	Agri.Labour	72	73	6.27	9.10	45	5.50	5.50	10.00	13.50
	Other Labour	36	9	8.43	10.93	30	5.50	4.50	13.50	13.50
B E E D										
	E. G. S.	87	27	7.17	9.76	36	4.50	5.50	13.50	13.50
	Agri.Labour	105	32	4.92	9.00	83	2.50	4.50	6.50	13.50
	Other Labour	25	9	5.84	11.11	90	2.50	7.50	10.00	13.50
D H U L E										
	E. G. S.	98	21	7.94	8.45	6	2.50	2.50	13.50	13.50
	Agri.Labour	85	32	5.02	6.14	22	2.50	2.50	10.00	10.00
	Other Labour	6	4	9.58	12.00	25	2.50	7.50	13.50	13.50
B H A N D A R A										
	E. G. S.	87	31	7.13	8.23	15	2.50	2.50	13.50	13.50
	Agri.Labour	90	37	5.58	7.18	29	2.50	4.50	10.00	13.50
	Other Labour	74	25	6.89	7.70	12	2.50	2.50	10.00	13.50

Table No.V.14

PEAK & LEAN MONTHS ATTENDENCE

Based on Averages of Monthly Attendance During Eight Years

DISTRICTS	PEAK Month	PEAK Attendance	LEAN Month	LEAN attendance	DIFFERENCE
Ahmednagar	July	87500	October	54000	33500
Beed	July	36000	November	14000	22000
Dhule	March	63000	March	17000	46000
Bhandara	April	83000	August	5000	78000

Table No.V.15

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF WAGES

EGS WAGES PER MANDAY, RS.			AGRICULTURAL WAGES (MAHARASHTRA), RS. PER DAY				
YEAR	At current	Increase	Base-1960-61	At Current Prices		At Constant Prices	
	Price		At Constant Price Real wages (Rs.1.00)	Increase		Real Wage(1960-61)	
				Male	Female	Male	Female
1976-77	2.87		.93	---	---	---	---
77-78	3.3		1.03	---	---	---	---
78-79	3.61	(100)	1.14	3.85 (100)	2.58 (100)	1.22	.81
79-80	4.36	(120)	1.19	4.2 (109)	3.1 (120)	1.15	.85
80-81	5.4	(149)	1.4	4.4 (114)	3.3 (128)	1.14	.86
81-82	6.28	(174)	1.32	---	---	---	---
82-83	7.8	(216)	1.71	6.7 (174)	4.00 (156)	1.47	.88
83-84	8.41	(233)	1.62	8.41 (218)	5.72 (221)	1.62	1.10
84-85	8.3	(230)	1.56	---	---	---	---

Sources: 1: EGS Statistical Information Book, Planning Dept. Page 6, table 1.5

2: Agricultural Wages in India, Directorate of Economics & Statistics.

CHAPTER VI

EVALUATION OF EGS BY PARTICIPANTS

In this chapter, the effort is made to capture the perceptions of participants regarding provisions in the scheme, and the impact of the scheme on their lives in terms of economic as well as social aspects. Investigation is done in terms of four themes.

- (i) Functioning of EGS. (Table No. VI.1 to VI.8)
- (ii) Awareness of EGS as a different kind of work
(Table no.VI.9 to VI.12)
- (iii) Non-Participants' perception of EGS.
(Table no.VI.13 to VI.14)
- (iv) Impact of EGS: Utilisation of wages.
 - : Participation in public affair
 - : Decision making in the household matter.(Table no.VI.15 to VI.18)

1.1 Functioning of EGS:

The table No.VI.1 presents an overview of perception of participants about EGS. Registration of a name as an employment seeker is the first step towards placing a demand for EGS work from the government. The performance appear satisfactory in this regard. 75 per cent female & 81 per cent males who have been registered & have secured identity cards.

Once the demand for work is recorded, the next step is to avail of the facility to get work whenever there is a need. The record seem very poor on this front. Only 12 percent women & 16 percent men reported getting work on demand.

Another important thing is that once the person is employed on unskilled manual work, the person should be able to earn rightful wages for the work performed. EGS wages are piece rate wages and hence ability to measure one's own work, i.e. the pit dug, and the lead distance walked, is very important. If the ability is not possessed then there is a need for training. A large Majority of workers, especially women answered negatively to this.

Discrimination based on gender identity seems to be a rare phenomenon. Similarly, no force for family planning operation is reported by a large number. It is important to understand the basis of this investigation. Complaints were heard sometimes during preliminary visits in the field that women, particularly, single women, find it difficult to get employment because of process of gang formation where family gangs are encouraged and unless there is a man to dig, no gang is formed. Or sometimes, the muster clerk can exert the pressure for sexual favour on such a woman and she has to yield in face of acute pressure of competition for jobs.

- 1.2 Since this complaint was heard often, about not getting a job when demanded, it was decided to investigate the availability of work during period under study, i.e. for eight years, from March 1978 to March 1986. It is clear from Table No.VI.2 that the performance is not very laudable considering the fact that no other wage labour is available in the rural area as is noticed in the preceeding chapter. Because of this fact EGS is not considered reliable. The average availability of work comes to less than four years out of total eight years.
- 1.3 Availability of work when needed and demanded is not sufficient. In case of this scheme. The promise as is popularly understood, is that worksite should be at close distance. It has been considered an important characteristic of the scheme. The experience of workers shows (table No.VI.3) that the promise is fulfilled. They have to walk on an average 2 k.m. for worksite. Although, it is clear that women have been walking shorter distances (1.87 k.m.) than men. (2.32 k.m.). It means that men would walk farther in search of work, whereas women would not walk that far. It is a natural phenomenon, because women are involved in a lot of unpaid, unvalued economic activities. At present same 'good performance' about close distance sites has created problems for the government. Government claims that saturation of work has taken place and the workers should be ready to migrate and reside at the campsites. The government officials also like to remind us that the clause of guarantee refers to the guarantee within the purview of the district. At the same time, it has to be understood that the distance of worksite also determines the clientele of EGS. It is noted in the preceeding chapter that EGS is found convenient by the landed workers.
- 1.4 To make EGS accessible to needy workers, it is essential that the information about the starting of site is reached within vicinity. The discrepancy is very common in that on the one hand people are found complaining that no work is offered and on the other hand implementing agencies report that more potential of labour exists on the site while labour attendance is poor. One of the factors responsible for this situation is lack of information. Table No.VI.4 indicates that friends and relatives are found the most reliable source in case of men. Women seem to combine this source with the source of official representatives such as sarpanch, gramsevak etc.
- 1.5 Since EGS wages are paid according to the work performed, it is important to have a good gang. The information on composition of gang is presented in table No. VI.5. It seems that the custom for gang formation varies from district to district. Even though forming gangs with relatives is fairly popular, gangs with other village people are the most common. This assures that single women do not face acute

discrimination. (Table No.VI.5)

- 1.6 Workers have been evaluating EGS in terms of timely payment of wages particularly because it is a government scheme, which has a welfaristic connotation. Table No. VI.6 assesses the performance in this regard. Women are more vehement in voicing this complaint, than men. More than half cursed the authorities for not giving them wages on time. (Table No.VI.6)
- 1.7 Another important provision in EGS is the partial payment in kind, i.e. subsidised foodgrains against coupons. Workers like it, especially women, because at least part of the wages is not subjected to the vagaries of prices in the market. Also the coupons are paid to everybody in the same proportion whether you work less or more. This is a great attraction to women. The table No. VI.7 shows almost everybody who received coupons reported using them. Complaints were made about the irregular availability of foodgrain in the fair-price shop nearby. It seems that the distribution of foodgrains has to be thought out carefully.
- 1.8 This brings forward another concern namely, how much dependence do the EGS workers have on the market for their daily consumption of foodgrain, and where do they procure their quota? It is surprising against the background of the majority of EGS workers having some land, but their average dependence on market is for 66 percent of their total consumption. The situation is illustrated in Table NO.VI.8. They buy their required quota every week, and mostly from the shop in the village. Not much barter such as some part of wages for agricultural work being paid in foodgrains, takes place. This situation demands that the maximum proportion of wages should be paid in terms of foodgrains.

Awareness Of EGS As A Different Kind Of Scheme:

- ..1 The opinion of workers regarding EGS was asked in comparison with other similar kinds of works (Table No.VI.9). It seems even though people have put up complaints about EGS being hard work, and having low wage rates, and involving long distance walking, they want to have this work. The major complaint is that EGS work does not get carried out at a stretch, continuously. The monthly progress reports of six agencies and 104 worksites present the same picture, of interrupted work. This creates further uncertainty among the workers. Neither are they able to search for any other work or migrate, nor are they able to feed themselves. It is interesting to note that while workers complain of hard work government officials and the rich farmers assert that EGS makes workers lazy, because the work is easy & undemanding. Also EGS is politically sensitive, and hence it is seen that workers get minimum wages, whether they work diligently or not. The saving grace is that they still want more work from the government.

- 2.2 Against the background of so much insecurity, when people are asked why they come for this work, the answer shows the desperate situation. (Table No. VI.10). NO other work is available is the answer reported by half the people. The option offered in the following words, as explanation for a preference for EGS work, 'Less work, more pay' as a characteristic of EGS, is rejected. Thus EGS is seen as the last option, by many participants. The proportion of people reporting, 'no other job available' is highest in Dhule, as is expected. The conclusion that EGS pulls people in certain districts, out of the BPL category is supported here.
- 2.3 People's awareness of various existing provisions and some possible propositions is examined through positive questions. (Table No. VI.11) The maximum awareness was found regarding the fact that women find EGS more convenient, than men. Therefore there seems to be almost unanimous agreement, that women can be given preference for works which are closer to the villages. At the same time awareness about provisions such as maternity benefits and unemployment dole, and people's participation through Gramsabha is very minimal. The question was specially asked whether people were ready to stay at the campsite and surprisingly around 50 percent people showed willingness. Ofcourse a smaller number of women agreed to the proposition. It corroborates the conclusion that landless labourers may not mind going a long distance where the campsite is properly arranged and the security of continuous work is assured.
- 2.4 It is also imperative to probe people for suggestions about possible amenities which would improve their productivity as well as equip them for the future (Table No. VI.12). The overall response is lukewarm to the list of prescribed suggestions. A greater part of wages in kind got the highest response of 27 percent. Leave with pay too could catch some attention. But cooked food at worksite is not appreciated. Adult education classes too are not much favoured. It seems that people find themselves so helpless that they cannot think of such changes as practicable and hence do not give sufficient attention to them.

Non-Participants' Perception Of EGS:

- 3.1 The way non-participants are selected, they are likely to have certain definite job opportunities other than agricultural labour, except for those in Dhule. Very few in Bhandara are trying to rely on bidi and EGS as substitute for each other. This fact is reflected in their perception whether they would like to participate in EGS. (Table no. VI.13) Very few, only 37 percent in all districts have shown an inclination for participation. Considering the fact that non-participants belong to the same strata of society, it is important to know that they find their own jobs more reliable, offering more security.

If probed further, the most important answer for non-participation is cited as habitually doing some other type of work. The next reason is, the work is hard, and another one which follows, is the delay in timely payment. Their having no preference for EGS throws light on the fact that drastically needy workers such as landless labourers would not prefer EGS. It is a good scheme for agriculturists. (Table no.VI.14)

Impact Of EGS: Utilisation Of Wages:

The previous chapter highlights the role of EGS in the employment and income pattern of participants according to landsize. This chapter shows, the perception of participants regarding utilisation of EGS wages. The data in table no.VI.15 indicates that almost 50 percent of women and men report spending of EGS wages for household requirements. It means that those who look at EGS income as a part of core income are likely to report fulfilling the necessities of life with this income. They must be the landless labourers, according to earlier finding. The need of employment is different for this segment of labour, than that of agriculturists. In Dhule, around 70 percent participants report spending of EGS wages on household requirements. This is natural, because 50 percent of participants in Dhule fall under BPL, compared to 39 percent in all districts. Those who consider EGS wages as additional income are likely to spend on children's education, household assets etc. Expenditure for 'self requirement' shows the difference in attitude, between men & women. A smaller percentage of women than men report spending money for this purpose.

Participation In Public Affairs:

- 2 Alongwith providing additional income to a few lakhs of people, what has been achieved by EGS has been to bring people together to work at one place, and increase social interaction. It provided the possibility for unorganised agricultural labourers in the rural areas to unite for the same cause, either to demand work, or to demand implementation of amenities offered in the EGS act. Those in the trade union movement found, for the first time, a large base of workers, working at the same site in a rural area. At the same time a powerful elite, the rich farmers, were resentful because they could see that the supply side of the labour market was getting tighter, pushing wage rates in the rural areas upwards. Against this background, it is interesting to investigate howmuch tradeunionisation had taken place among participants, particularly, in these four districts where a high degree of participation in EGS is taking place, and the scheme is consistently being implemented. The picture is dismal. The membership pattern is correlated with the level of participation during eight years. In total 23 persons are found members out of 482

participants. Some correlation can be established between high participation and membership. 7 women and 6 men fall in the class interval of 1000 and above. (Table no.16)

The review study of the villages surveyed earlier shows that the union called Shramik Saghatana at Katharde Pariwardha in district Dhule has become ineffective. One of the reasons given is that after 1978 very few EGS works started in that area. On the other hand it is noticed that in Pipalgaondepa, taluka Sangamner, district Ahmadnagar, people have been getting continuous work and the union has been strong. The union exists in Ambejogai, in Beed. It is observed that by itself EGS does not motivate people to get organised.

4.3 Alongwith unionisation, EGS can act as a lever for social development in terms of social interaction, at a personal level. Here comparison between participants and non-participants, and within each group, male and female becomes valid. On the whole it is noticed that EGS has not been a very influential social force by itself. (Table no.17 & 17A).

(a) Contact with officials : Except with the sarpanch and gramsevak, contact with other officials such as BDO & tahsildar is negligible. More participant women report having these contacts than the non-participant women. Participant men stand at the top. Participants need to contact these officials to enquire about & to demand work. The real authority to sanction work is the tahsildar, whom few men seem to have contacted.

(b) Membership of Institutions : In this respect, participants are not doing better than non-participants. More non-participant women are members of Mahila Mandals (12 per cent) than participant women (5 per cent). 20 percent women, mostly bidi workers, among non-participants are member of the union, while the proportion of participant women is only 4 per cent. The ratio of institutional membership is higher among non-participant men too. It means that a sustained job is likely to create a better base for institutional membership of all kinds.

(c) Participation in voting in the last election : The participation in elections is fairly high except that in the elections of Panchayat samitis and Zilla Parishads. Participation of both the groups is otherwise comparable, except that in the election of Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishad, where participants are faring better, and among them too, women seem to be taking it more seriously.

(d) Opinion about free access to Sceduled Caste persons : Generally people seem to have accepted the idea of having access to scheduled casts persons at public places. No significant difference is noticed between the two groups.

(e) Opinion about interaction among caste Hindu & Scheduled Caste persons at personal level : Personal friendship and neighbourhood residence is alright with 71 per cent participants & 67 per cent non-participants. The proportions do not differ much with women and men. The marriage relationship is considered a sacred matter and 6 per cent participant women and 2 per cent non-participant women agree to the same. Among men the proportion is reversed. More non-participant men seem to agree to the same.

(f) Preference for type of family : The joint family is still preferred by a majority of people in both groups, women and men alike. (76 & 72 per cent respectively). A Comparative preference for nuclear family is more among non-participant women. (27 per cent). The reason seems to be that many of them, having the regular job of bidirolling, feel more independent. Erosion of agriculture too hastens the process of nuclearisation.

g) Whether having undergone family planning operation; by choice or by force: This is considered an important indicator for social development. Among those who answered this question 74 per cent participants and 78 per cent non-participants said they underwent the operation by choice, and the rest complained of force. More men seem to have opted for an operation, and more women complained of force. The question was specially designed since it was heard during field visits that EGS worksites were used for the family planning campaigns. Surprisingly this factor does not get reflected in the proportion of people undergoing family planning operations among both the groups. The proportion is same.

(h) Listening to Radio : Only 42 per cent participants and 36 per cent non-participants listen to the radio. Proportion vary among women and men. More men listen to the radio, among both groups.

Going to nearby villages : 88 per cent participants and 81 per cent non-participants travel to nearby villages, women and men alike. The mobility seem to be restricted.

4.4 Decision making process within household : In table no. 18, two groups are compared in terms of 12 items. The decisionmakers are divided roughly in four categories; all females, all males, family as a whole, non-reported.

(a) Crop pattern : Men are obviously dominant in this decision making. Agricultural management is considered their preserve. The ownership of land too rests to them. In both the groups the proportion does not vary much. The slight difference may have occurred due to the fact that 50 per cent non-participants do not have land.

- (b) Where to work : Whether everybody should work firstly on their own farm, or some persons should go in for outside wage labour etc. decisions need to be taken in the interest of managing finances of the family. Men again dominate this field, although women, particularly participant women, appear to have some say in that. (30 per cent) Non-participant women have little say, may be because they have been working consistently in one occupation and do not have much choice open to them.
- (c) Allocation of expenditure on food & clothes : 70 & 79 per cent men for participant and non-participant groups respectively, take decisions in this regard. Though there exists not much choice, since the resources are so limited. Participant women seem to have a little more choice than non-participant women.
- (d) Children's education : Men dominate this field too. Participant women again possess a little more power than non-participant women.
- (e) Expenditure to be incurred on weddings : The women have least power in this respect, among both the groups.
- (f) Purchase of H.H. durables : More people report on this question. Men still dominate, but to a lesser degree. Women in both groups, report 22 & 21 per cent respectively, report that they decide about household durables. Infact the proportion of households where the family as a whole takes decisions, is fairly high good in both groups. (9 & 6 per cent respectively).
- (g) Negotiations for weddings : Fewer people reported on this question. Men dominate in both groups.
- (h) Distribution of responsibilities in the family : The question is a little vague and few people answer that. More participants agree that it is a male function.
- (i) Voting in the election : A good response was received to this question. Participant women seem to be more independent in this respect, (41 & 30 per cent respectively.). In a way it is surprising that institutional membership is better among non-participants, even then the voting choice is less for them. ofcourse the proportion of institutional membership is not very significant. One of the factors responsible for this situation is that among better off families women get relegated & lose the power to choose. It is a common experience of sociologists.
- (j) Going out for Movie jatra : No good reporting took place in this respect. Men dominate as usual, but participant women have some say. (12 per cent compared to 6 per cent with non-participant women.)

- (k) Family planning operation : 55 per cent & 64 per cent of participants and non-participants, did not report. 14 per cent participant women say that it is their decision, and 12 per cent non-participant women agree to it. The proportion of men among both groups is 28 & 24 per cent respectively.
- (l) Participation in trade union activity : Very few have taken this decision. Among those who have taken the decision to join trade unions, non-participant women and men predominate among them. (11 & 12 per cent respectively).

Thus the conclusion is that on the whole men dominate in all decision making processes, although the degree of domination differs from function to function. Women do get some space in areas such as where to work, voting, & to some extent family planning. Participant women emerge a little more powerful compared to non-participant women. Trade union membership of non-participant women does not necessarily provide them with a base for decision making in personal life.

CONCLUSION

- a) Although workers like employment opportunity, provided by EGS, they find its functioning unsatisfactory, not fulfilling its stated promise.
- b) Awareness about the scheme being different, politically sensitive, if real pressure is built up, is not felt by the workers themselves. Hence, they don't have many expectations for increased provisions & amenities, under the scheme. Their sole concern is more & continuous work.
- c) On the other hand non-participants do not think of EGS as an alternative work, since, they feel, they are habitual with what they are doing. Also, that is sustained work & hence not compared with EGS.
- d) EGS does not seem to exert decisive impact on social development of women. Wherever they are organised, they are smarter & confident. One can say, EGS provides base to organise. However, participation in EGS itself does not prompt workers to change their age old custom, of patriarchy & male domination.
- e) EGS Income forms a part of core income for more than 50 per cent participants. Hence, all these people report, that they fulfil their daily needs through EGS income. Very few people report that EGS income forms a part of additional income and hence they spend it on household assets etc.
- f) EGS has not made much impact on the ability of people & especially women to participate in public life in an active way, nor even in trade union. Social development is similar in case of both the groups, participants & non-participants.

- g) In the area of decision making, in household matters, men dominate in all the processes, although degree of domination differs from function to function. Women do get some space in areas, such as where to work, voting, & to some extent family planning. Participant women emerge a little more powerful compared to non-participant women. Trade union membership of non-participant women does not necessarily provide them with a base for decision making in personal life.

(Participants)

FEMALE		MALE		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%

Registered as empolyment seekers	264	751	105	811	369	771
Received E.G.S. I. Card	263	741	107	831	370	771
Ability to measure Work	36	101	27	211	63	131
Availability of E.G.S. work on demand	44	121	21	161	65	141
Discrimination due to sex	38	111				
1 Wage rate	1	01	0	01	1	01
2 Nature of Work	2	11	0	01	2	01
3 Employment days	0	01	0	01	0	01
4 Other facilities	0	01	0	01	0	01
5 Sexual harassment	10	31	2	21	12	21
At Worksite						
Compulsion of familyplanning at worksite	28	81	7	51	35	71
=====						
B A S E	353		129		482	

Table No.VI.2

AVAILABILITY OF WORK DURING EIGHT YEARS, 1978-86

PARTICIPANTS

FIGURES IN % (DISTRICTWISE)

YEAR	F E M A L E										M A L E									
	A'Nagar	B E E D	D H U L E	BHANDARA	TOTAL	A'NAGAR	B E E D	D H U L E	BHANDARA	TOTAL	A'NAGAR	B E E D	D H U L E	BHANDARA	TOTAL	A'NAGAR	B E E D	D H U L E	BHANDARA	TOTAL
	IND.	%	IND.	%	IND.	%	IND.	%	IND.	%	IND.	%	IND.	%	IND.	%	IND.	%	IND.	%
1 Year	1	1	6	7	10	11	3	3	20	6	2	6	0	0	1	3	3	9	6	5
2 Year	9	10	13	15	5	5	15	17	42	12	6	18	1	3	7	22	7	21	21	16
3 Year	14	16	18	21	19	21	37	43	88	25	6	18	4	13	4	13	16	49	30	23
4 Year	22	25	23	27	8	9	26	30	79	22	4	12	7	24	8	25	5	15	24	19
5 Year	28	31	14	16	28	30	5	6	75	21	4	12	3	10	5	16	2	6	14	11
6 Year	8	9	7	8	8	9	0	0	23	7	4	11	8	27	5	15	0	0	17	13
7 & 8 Year	7	8	4	5	14	15	1	1	26	7	8	23	7	23	2	6	0	0	17	13
TOTAL	89	100	85	100	92	100	87	100	353	100	34	100	30	100	32	100	33	100	129	100
Avg. Years Worked	4.37		3.76		4.30		3.22		3.92		4.56		5.37		4.03		2.88		3.99	

AVERAGE DISTANCE COVERED TO REACH WORKSITES

Multiple Responses

(Districtwise)

KILOMETERS:	F E M A L E										M A L E									
	A.NAGAR		B E E D		D H U L E		BHANDARA		T O T A L		A.NAGAR		B E E D		D H U L E		BHANDARA		T O T A L	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
0.2 KMS	262	591	221	641	357	791	208	721	1048	681	52	271	117	651	71	441	57	561	297	471
2.1-5 KMS	172	381	86	251	71	161	67	231	396	271	132	701	59	331	92	561	39	391	322	511
5.1& Above	4	11	4	11	16	31	13	51	37	21	4	21	1	11	0	01	5	51	10	21
N R	9	21	33	101	10	21	0	01	52	31	1	11	1	11	0	01	0	01	2	Neg
TOTAL	447	1001	344	1001	454	1001	288	1001	1533	1001	189	1001	178	1001	163	1001	101	1001	631	1001
Avg.kms	2.04		1.37		1.61		2.01		1.87		2.77		1.73		2.47		2.31		2.32	

Table No.VI.4

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT EGS WORK

PARTICIPANTS

SOURCE	Multiple Response				(All Districts)			
	FEMALE		MALE		TOTAL			
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%		
FAMILY MEMBERS	136	9	21	3	157	7		
FRIENDS/RELATIVES	627	40	333	55	960	45		
SARPANCH, PANCHAYAT- MEMBERS, GRAMSEVAK PATWARI	446	29	54	9	500	23		
MUSTER CLERK / OTHER OFFICIALS	310	20	189	32	499	23		
N R / N A	30	2	8	1	38	2		

EBS--BANG FORMATION

PARTICIPANTS

(Multiple Response)

(All Districts)

	F E M A L E								M A L E							
Type of Gang	A.NAGAR		B E E D I D H U L E		BHANDARA		T O T A L		A.NAGAR		B E E D I D H U L E		BHANDARA		T O T A L	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
With Relatives	188	42	17	5	0	0	14	5	219	14	86	48	28	17	11	7
Same Caste - / Community	125	28	19	6	245	52	58	20	447	29	56	31	27	17	42	28
Own Village People	114	26	236	71	209	44	178	62	737	48	28	16	77	47	94	62
Not worked in Gang	14	3	58	17	13	3	36	13	121	8	0	0	31	19	3	2
N R	3	1	4	1	2	1	0	0	9	1	8	5	0	0	1	1

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PARTICIPANTS

	(Multiple Response)						Figures in %						(Districtwise)		
	ALL DISTRICTS			A.NAGAR			BEED			DHULE			BHANDARA		
	Female	Male	TOTAL	Female	Male	TOTAL	Female	Male	TOTAL	Female	Male	TOTAL	Female	Male	TOTAL
Preference be given to women if work is of short distance/-duration	93	94	94	99	100	99	93	90	92	95	91	94	85	94	88
Employment should be given to atleast one female member in each household	93	97	94	97	97	97	95	100	97	96	94	95	84	97	88
Willingness to stay at Worksite	31	54	37	22	62	33	21	73	35	60	63	60	17	21	18
Willing to stay at Worksite if no other Alternative	45	45	45	36	21	32	42	67	49	59	63	60	44	33	41
Awareness of provision of unemployment dole	2	8	4	1	3	2	6	13	8	1	6	2	1	9	3
Awareness of Maternity benefits for pregnant women/workers	3	11	5	0	6	2	7	27	12	1	3	2	3	9	5
Awareness of E.S. workers are decided in gram sabha	12	19	14	12	21	15	4	17	7	0	3	1	32	36	33
Awareness Wages are linked to Worked completed	47	44	46	45	29	41	25	60	34	41	19	35	76	70	74
Awareness Wages or each Facility is available at worksite	57	52	55	64	56	62	48	73	55	60	22	50	54	58	55

Table No.VI.6

TIMELY PAYMENT OF EGS WAGES

PARTICIPANTS

(Multiple Response) (All Districts)

	FEMALE		MALE		TOTAL	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
RECEIVED IN TIME	732	47	372	64	1104	52
NOT RECEIVED ON TIME	645	42	148	25	793	37
TOO MUCH DELAY	161	10	57	10	218	10
N R / N A/ D THER	11	1	5	1	16	1

Table No.VI.7

USERS OF COUPONS FOR FOODGRAINS

PARTICIPANT

FIGURES IN % (All Districts)

	A'NAGAR	B E E D	DHULE	SHANDARA	TOTAL
Users	57	83	93	63	73
Non - Users	2	15	5	16	9
Non - Reported	41	2	2	21	18
Opinions regarding - regular availability of Foodgrains on Coupons.					
Regular	43	68	58	34	50
Irregular	24	14	27	31	24
Never available	0	2	0	2	1
Non - Reported	33	16	15	33	25
Availability of Foodgrains on coupons in / nearby Village.					
Yes.	54	72	63	54	61
No.	7	11	18	11	12
Non - Reported	39	17	19	35	27
Base	123	115	124	119	481

Table no.VI.8

PLACE OF PROCUREMENT OF FOODGRAIN FOR REGULAR CONSUMPTION

PARTICIPA

FIGURES IN % (All Districts)

PLACE	A'NAGAR	B E E D	DHOLE	BHANDARA	TOTAL
Local Farmers	5	8	7	2	5
Shop Keeper	82	56	36	52	57
Weekly Bazar	10	35	55	38	34
Other Place	2	0	2	0	1
Non - Reported	1	1	0	8	3

BASE: 123 115 124 120 482

Frequency of procurements : - of Foodgrains

Daily	15	13	12	3	11
Once a Week	53	77	78	76	71
Once in Fortnight	17	8	0	8	8
Monthly	10	0	2	2	3
More than a month	0	0	0	2	1
Any other	3	0	7	1	3
Non - Reported	2	2	1	8	3

Base 123 115 124 120 482

Average percentage of brought out grains in total Consumption 66 %

Table No.VI.9

OPINION ABOUT CONDITIONS OF WORK AT E.G.S.

(PARTICIPANTS)

ALL DISTRICTS
(MULTIPLE RESPONSES)

OPINION	Female		Male			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Base	353		129		482	
Hard Work	218	62	79	61	297	62
Household difficulties	78	22	6	5	84	17
Low Wage rate	156	44	58	45	214	44
Continuous work not-available	231	65	86	67	317	66
No compny while going	24	7	5	4	29	6
Long walk to site	96	27	42	33	138	29
No response/N.A.	10	3	7	5	17	4

Table No.VI.10

PREFERENCE FOR WORK ON E.B.S.

PARTICIPANTS

(Multiple Response)

Figures in %

(Districtwise)

	ALL DISTRICTS		A.NAGAR		BEED		DHULE		BHANDARA	
PERCENTAGE FOR WORK ON-E.B.S.	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
No other job available nearby	50	48	33	39	49	34	55	63	66	55
Working hours are fixed	15	17	29	28	7	17	5	10	16	14
Equal wages than elsewhere	12	10	22	11	10	12	8	5	6	13
Higher Wages than elsewhere	12	13	5	8	22	24	13	10	8	11
Children allowed at site	5	11	3	0	3	1	11	3	11	1
Other : No children required - to get work, Less work more pay										
Work continues for Longer period)	6	11	8	14	9	12	8	9	3	6
TOTAL RESPONSES	927	351	258	93	197	76	246	86	226	96

Table No. VI.12.

AMITIES & FACILITIES TO INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY

PARTICIPANTS

(MULTIPLE RESPONSE)

(FIGURES IN %) (All Districts)

Amities & Facilities to Increase Productivity	ALL DISTRICTS	A'NAGAR	BEED	DHULE	BHANDARA
BASE	482	163	157	160	161
Leave with pay	24	27	30	11	25
Training for jobs & any skill	12	9	3	4	27
Help in household work	6	10	3	2	7
Cooked food at work skill	12	15	12	10	8
Part wages in kind	27	21	28	41	24
Adult education classes - at worksite	18	16	23	29	9
Any other & N.A.	1	2	1	3	0
Total Responses	1432	410	319	258	445

Table No.VI.13

WILLINGNESS TO WORK ON E.B.S.

NON-PARTICIPANTS

(FIGURES IN %)													(Districtwise)		
ALL DISTRICTS				A'NAGAR			BEED			DHULE			BHANDARA		
	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T
YES	28	16	44	2	2	4	0	0	0	21	7	28	5	7	12
%	37	38	37	8	13	10	0	0	0	84	64	78	20	44	29
NO	46	23	69	23	13	36	0	0	0	3	2	5	19	8	27
%	61	55	58	92	87	90	0	0	0	12	18	14	76	50	66
Any other	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
%	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	3	0	0	0
No Responses /N.A.	1	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	2
%	1	7	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	5	4	6	5
BASE	76	42	118	25	15	40	0	0	0	25	11	36	25	16	41

Table No.VI.14.

REASONS FOR NON - PARTICIPATION IN E.G.S.

NONPARTICIPANTS

(Districtwise)

	ALL DISTRICTS			A'NAGAR			BEED			DHULE			BHANDARA		
	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T
Enough work avail.on Own farm / Occupn	16	21	37	2	7	9	0	0	0	1	1	2	13	13	26
%	11	25	16	4	30	11	0	0	0	4	7	5	19	29	23
Work site far from residence	11	11	22	3	1	4	0	0	0	1	4	5	7	6	13
%	7	13	9	5	4	5	0	0	0	4	27	12	10	13	12
Wage Work is Laborious / Hard	35	6	41	17	2	19	0	0	0	1	1	2	17	3	20
%	23	7	17	30	9	24	0	0	0	4	7	5	25	7	18
Refused by the offs/ other Work	11	4	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	7	4	4	8
%	7	5	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	0	17	6	9	7
Treatment of Women on the work site	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
%	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2
Low Wages	15	10	25	5	4	9	0	0	0	1	1	2	9	5	14
%	10	12	11	9	17	11	0	0	0	4	7	5	13	11	12
Habitual with Other Type of Work	33	17	50	19	5	24	0	0	0	0	1	1	13	11	24
%	22	20	21	33	22	30	0	0	0	0	7	2	19	24	22
Cont. Work is not available	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
%		1	Neg.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Delaya in Payment/ Wages not paid Daily	25	9	34	10	2	12	0	0	0	13	5	18	2	2	4
%	16	11	14	18	9	15	0	0	0	48	33	43	3	4	4
No Response/N.A.	4	4	8	1	2	3	0	0	0	3	2	5	0	0	0
%	3	5	3	2	9	4	0	0	0	11	13	12	0	0	0
BASE	76	42	118	25	15	40	0	0	0	25	11	36	25	16	41

Table No.VI.15

UTILISATION OF WAGES FROM E.G.S. BY DISTRICT BY SEX

UTILISATION OF WAGES FROM E. G. S.	(Multiple Response)				Figures in %				(Districtwise)			
	ALL DISTRICTS		A. NAGAR		B E E D		D H U L E		BHANDARA			
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
1) Household requirements	48	49	42	59	42	40	74	67	43	39		
2) Children education	21	18	26	22	17	17	6	4	28	22		
3) Purchase of household Assets	17	13	29	9	25	24	7	17	2	6		
4) Self requirements elsewhere	11	14	3	9	14	15	9	10	20	20		
5) Other :	3	6	0	1	2	4	4	2	7	13		
(Saving, Farm Development, entertainment, repayment, & Loan												
TOTAL RESPONSES	724	263	200	58	200	72	123	48	201	85		

Table No.VI.16

MEMBERSHIP OF TRADE UNION

PARTICIPANTS

(All Districts)

Participation Level In E. S. S. Days During 8 years	F E M A L E			M A L E		
	Yes %	N.R./N.A.		Yes %	N O	N.R./N.A.
	No.	No.				
UP to 200	2	89	6	0	32	1
201 to 600	1	160	5	2	47	2
601 to 1000	4	55	10	1	24	1
1000 & Above	7	14	0	6	13	0
TOTAL	14	318	21	9	116	4

Table No. VI.17

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

PARTICIPANTS

(FIGURES IN %)

PARAMETERS	F E M A L E S		M A L E S		T O T A L	
	Participan		Participan		Participan	
	ts	ipants	ts	ipants	ts	ipants
A) Contacts With Officials						
Grassevak	36	22	60	50	42	33
Sarpanch	39	27	65	60	46	39
DDO/Tehsildar	Neg.	Neg.	7	3	3	3
Officials of Co-op. Societies.	9	3	12	5	10	4
B) Institutions						
Gram-panchayat	5	2	4	9	5	4
Yuvak/Mhila Mandal	5	12	4	9	5	11
Jat.Panchayat	2	3	2	2	2	3
Bhajan Mandal	4	5	6	12	4	7
Trade Union	4	20	7	12	5	17
Voluntry agencies	4	1	7	7	5	3
B) Participation in voting in the last election						
Gram Panchayat	89	88	88	94	89	90
Vidhan Sabha	96	88	95	93	96	90
Panchayat Samiti/Zilla Parishad	64	32	59	44	62	37
Co-operative Society	50	3	13	2	63	5
D) Opinion about free access to s/c persons.						
School	96	94	97	93	96	94
Temple	83	78	88	86	85	81
Hotel	90	91	96	95	92	92

Table No.VI.17A

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Figures in % (All Districts)

PARAMETERS	F E M A L E S		M A L E S		T O T A L	
	Participants	Non-Participants	Participants	Non-Participants	Participants	Non-Participants
	Its	lipants	Its	lipants	Its	lipants
E) Behaviour Pattern about interaction among caste Hindus & Scheduled Castes						
Personal Friendship	69	64	76	72	71	67
Neighbourhood	65	57	72	67	66	60
Marriage	6	2	6	17	6	7
F) Preference for Type of Family						
Joint	77	70	71	78	76	72
Nuclear	19	27	22	17	19	24
G) Whether undergone the Family Planning operation						
Yes : Choice	72	75	80	91	74	78
Yes : Underforce	28	25	20	9	26	22
(No. of Answers)	(113)	(40)	(45)	(11)	(158)	(51)
H) Listening to the Radio						
Yes	39	28	50	50	42	36
I) Going to nearby towns/Villages						
Yes	88	80	87	83	88	81
B A S E	353	102	129	58	482	160

DECISION MAKING PROCESS (Figures in %) All Dis

NUMBER OF DECISION	DECISION MAKERS	Participants	Non-Particip- lants	T O T A L
Crop - Pattern	All Females	7	3	7
	All Males	57	44	53
	Family as a Whole	4	4	4
	Non reported	32	49	36
Where to work	All Females	30	17	26
	All Males	64	61	63
	Family as a Whole	3	3	3
	Non reported	3	19	8
Allocation of expen- diture on Food & Clothes	All Females	19	13	17
	All Males	70	79	73
	Family as a Whole	8	4	7
	Non reported	3	4	3
Children's education	All Females	12	7	11
	All Males	55	52	55
	Family as a Whole	6	3	5
	Non reported	27	38	29
Expenditure to be incurred on Wedding (Presentation etc.)	All Females	8	3	7
	All Males	42	41	42
	Family as a Whole	8	5	7
	Non reported	42	51	44
Purchase of H.H. dryables.	All Females	22	21	22
	All Males	55	56	55
	Family as a Whole	9	6	9
	Non reported	14	17	14
Negotiations for - Wedding	All Females	5	0	3
	All Males	34	32	34
	Family as a Whole	10	8	10
	Non reported	51	60	53
Distribution of res- ponsibilities in the Family	All Females	8	9	7
	All Males	53	47	52
	Family as a Whole	8	3	7
	Non reported	31	41	33
Voting in the - Elections	All Females	41	30	38
	All Males	43	55	46
	Family as a Whole	5	2	5
	Non reported	11	13	11
Going for Movie /Jatra	All Females	12	6	10
	All Males	32	35	33
	Family as a Whole	10	6	9
	Non reported	46	53	48
Family planning Operation	All Females	14	12	13
	All Males	28	24	27
	Family as a Whole	3	1	3
	Non reported	55	63	57
Participation in Trade union activi- ties.	All Females	5	11	6
	All Males	10	12	10
	Family as a Whole	1	0	1
	Non reported	84	77	83
B A S E	Females	353	102	455
	Males	129	57	187
		482	159	642

CHAPTER VII

CASE STUDY : RALEGAN SHINDI

- 1 We were looking for a village which represents Mr. Page's vision of 'disappearing of E.G.S., due to the E.G.S. built assets'. We found one in our field visit to Parner Taluka of Ahmednagar district. Parner is well-known for its perpetual drought situation. From here the maximum migration to Bombay takes place. Though it is a taluka place, it does not have a municipality. But one finds three direct S.T. buses to Bombay, every day. It is also a well known place for recruitment into the army.

We wanted to revisit villages, which were covered in the earlier I.S.S.T. survey of 1978. While travelling we saw a green spot from the distance. It was the month of March and the climate was getting warmer. The Sun was bright. The big expanse of land was dry, brown, arid. Some friends have mentioned about Ralegan Shindi. But we were more keen to visit our particular villages. Hence we did not show much interest. And suddenly, we realized that we were there. The green spot became more visible and alive, as we approached it. A lot of trees were noticeable. On one side of the state road, a two storeyed building was standing at the foot of the hills. A small board on the other side showed the way inside.

As we turned on the village road, the sight of the houses was not impressive. Some had partially collapsed and looked deserted. A few were very small. But as we reached the village main square we saw a spacious temple welcoming the visitors in the village. To the left was the primary school called Jeevan Shikshan Mandir. The surrounding was clear and people wore good, clean clothes. The sight was definitely different and promising. We decided to take up this village for our case study showing the impact of E.G.S. Today Ralegan Shindi has emerged as a model village on quite a few fronts. But it is not much known that this village was surviving on E.G.S. a few years ago and it has become a non-E.G.S. village very recently. The story of Ralegan Shindi is a story of excellent leadership, hard work through 'Shamdan', and a number of government schemes mostly under E.G.S. implemented diligently. The district collector declared it as an excellent base for experimentation, and many schemes were introduced one after the other. It is an excellent example of follow up and consolidation of the gains of all the schemes implemented in an integrated way. The village where 40 small distillery shops used to exist and drunkards were abundant, has been converted into a spirited village, eager to develop its resources.

- 2 During the drought years of 1973 to 1975 construction of a percolation tank was started near the village by the Zilla Parishad's department of minor irrigation. It seems that it created 1 lakh man-days during one and half years. Mostly

people from Raleganshindi worked on it. It seems that almost all the people in the village, around 300, worked on the tank's construction during those days. The tank proved to be useless, because it could not hold water and water used to seep out of the bund. (See, Appendixno.1)

Annasaheb Hazare, a local person recruited in the Army as a Jawan took up retirement and came back to settle down in his village of origin. He was impressed by Vivekananda's philosophy and had developed missionary spirit. He started mobilizing local people in 1976. He first appealed them to drop liquor. He faced some resistance but later on people rallied around him. He offered the entire amount of his provident fund and gratuity, amounting to Rs.20,000 to rebuild the village temple with the help of 'Shramdan' - free labour, from the residents. This was the beginning of the new spirit, one notices in this village.

He believed self-sufficiency of a village should be its main goal, as was preached by Mahatma Gandhi and Vinobaji Bhaye. This was his model for development. One of the important decisions which followed from this principle was that, whatever irrigation facility is available, the farmers should first grow staple foodgrains-Jowar and Bajra. The Second and third crop can be cash crop. Among the cash crops he is specifically opposed to growing sugarcane. Firstly because it consumes a lot of water and secondly because sugarcane forces you to become a member of co-operative sugar factory where politics of election brings feuds among the farmers. Also, sugarcane does not require much of labour input. For harvesting, factories bring in outside labour and thus the local farmers remain idle. Sugarcane is also called a crop for absentee landowners. Thus it stimulates unhealthy attitude among the landowners. Another important principle he followed was, not to take any fund as donation but only as a loan. The third principle was that labour component of any construction work should be performed by villagers as a 'gift' to the project, i.e. it should be done with the help of 'Shramdan'. So that whatever funds are available can be utilised more productively, can build larger capacity. Thus the main principle he followed was that nothing should be available easily. One has to pay for it. He says, 'Dan makes you Nadan'. (Donation makes you a nincompoop). Also, when anything is built with own labour, one understands the importance of it and will take more care to preserve it, maintain it. The effect is noticeable in the village. All community owned assets, such as fruit trees, school buildings, biogas installation, community well, are used so properly, without any destruction or waste.

He also encouraged the spirit of co-operation and for small farmers he insisted on digging community wells by taking bank loan and providing 'Shramdan'. All the seven community wells are still in operation without any feuds occurring in the community.

3 The report prepared by S.S. Kulkarni, manager, Ahmednagar district central co-operative bank Limited, gives the list of new things developed at Raleganshindi. I am trying to trace and understand is how the projects were conceived one after the other and how the integrated development could take place, as a part of regional planning. Raleganshindi can provide us with a the living example of regional planning. We have to understand how much money was required to develop these assets which have made the villagers at least self-sufficient if not prosperous.

4 By building a temple in a co-operative spirit, Anna Hazare generated a lot of trust in his leadership. Then he started looking for the government schemes which could build up the assets for the whole community. He did not emphasize the programmes like I.R.D.P., which help people individually.

Firstly, the villagers had realized that although the percolation tank was completed, it was defective. Hence they approached the government to rebuild the bund. It was realized that the earlier bund did not have a layer of black soil, which is essential for stoppage of water seeping through the bund. They suspected the corruption. The black soil has to be brought from elsewhere outside and the operation costs money. At the same time the layer is hidden so, its absence can be easily concealed. Without bothering to put this layer the bund can be made ready. This time villagers said they would themselves work on it and be more vigilant. Repairs of the percolation tank was the first major step towards development of Raleganshindi. (See, Appendix).

4.1 Following the tank it was essential to develop nala-bundings to arrest water which overflows the tank or seeps out of the bunds. 32 nala-bundings were constructed. This was done under the programme of C.O.W.D.E.P. which develops the land according to the principle of water-shade. This programme is implemented throughout the village and thus productivity of the land in the command area of the percolation tank grew substantially. The programme of land-levelling, Cantoor budding etc. is still going on. (See, Appendix).

4.2 Along with Nala-bunding and other soil conservation operations, 20 wells were dug up recently in Ralegan, out of which 7 are community wells. Thus consistent efforts to percolate the water in the soil at various stages, and then utilise it whenever required are carried out here, 20 wells would easily incur Rs. 10 lakh expenditure.

4.3 2 lakh sapplings were planted throughout the village and thus rain water retention and soil conservation is achieved. The Social forestry programme has been well organised here.

- 4.4 For the purpose of raising grass as a fodder for animals on the slope of the hill nearby, Anna has requested people, not to take their goats on to the hill where the grass seed is stampled over. The people are supposed to cut the grass and bring it home.
- 4.5 The result of stability is seen in terms of the fact that people have started living on their farms, instead of living in the village. One can notice tin roofed houses in the farms. We realised that there were deserted, dilapidated houses in the village. Anna promises that once all the people who want to shift to their farms have shifted the village can be cleaned of these deserted houses and gardens can be built there.
- 5 In total, if one calculates all the investment done so far in the village, it comes to around Rs. one crore, which includes recently completed lift irrigation project where Rs. 38 lakhs were required. Out of this amount Rs. 15 lakh have come as a subsidy under I.R.D.P. The rest is the loan from NABARD. This scheme is going to benefit 170 farmers and 750 acres of land is benefited. Rs. 5 lakhs worth labour has been provided by Shramdan here. The beneficiaries have promised to give 10 percent of their production as seed money to village. The following table gives rough idea of the investment so far private loan figure is given by the bank Manager :

Summary Of Expenditure:

	Rs.
Percolation Tank (1975)	4,84,277
(1984)	3,91,414
Soil conservation (5 years)	13,12,000
20 wells (Rs. 50,000 each)	10,00,000
Padmavati irrigation	38,00,000
Plantation (approx.)	5,00,000
Hostel building (under NREP scheme)	10,00,000
Veterinary hospital	1,00,000
Private loan from Banks	16,00,000

"TOTAL" 1,01,87,691

Thus a village having population of 1500, has got Rs. 1 crore investment during last 10 years. The lift irrigation scheme has just started and the results are not seen yet. It can be estimated that per person Rs. 70,000 have been invested. The question one can raise, can government spare so much fund for the rural areas. Of course, funds are not the only factor. Leadership and people's participation are the additional factors, which have contributed in this case.

After so much investment and creation of work-culture, in the village one definitely finds that people have been benefitted and except 20 people - men and women - nobody has to look for employment outside their own farm, "Page's vision" has come true here.

6 Table VII.1 and table VII.1a give us demographic, physical and economic data of the village. The land distribution is such that out of total 379 landholders only 12 landholders have land above 6 hect. (15 acres). Out of 379 landholders 190 have some irrigated land. The proportion of people having some irrigation facility is much higher compared to other villages, we studied in this area. Thus distribution of irrigation does not seem too uneven. The total no. of irrigated land is only 45.60 hect. out of total 634. This figure seems to be obsolete considering that 20 new wells have been built recently. One also notices that most of the irrigation facilities are used mainly for staple foodgrain of Jowar and Bajari i.e. 37.70 hect. and 22.90 hect. respectively. Only 1.20 hect. of irrigated land is used for sugarcane. 2.90 hect. is used for cotton and 1.10 for groundnut. Onion is grown as a third crop in the summer which is a main cash crop for Ralegan Shindi. Thus on 4 inch rainfall Ralegan Shindi farmers are growing mainly subsistence agriculture and it is sufficient for them. When we asked the question how many agricultural labourers did they employ, the answer was, they helped each other mutually at the time of harvesting or planting. Usually they did not hire labour.

The answer is significant because when one talks to government official regarding the impact of E.G.S. assets, the officials seem to carry impression that these assets would convert agriculture into a commercialized venture like, green revolution pockets and would provide agricultural employment to labourers. Ralegan clearly shows that the assets developed through E.G.S. are not spectacular assets, catering to a large land mass. The assets are useful to reinforce subsistence agriculture, particularly in Maharashtra, where land is distributed among small landholdings.

Our earlier suggestion is again confirmed here that in the rural areas of Maharashtra, there are two segments of labour who are asking for employment. The one section consists of small and medium landholders, this is the section which is going to be helped by the E.G.S. scheme in both ways earlier in the form of complementary employment on E.G.S. construction sites and later when the asset is created, in the form of increased productivity of their land.

7 Profile of Yashodabai And Dadoba Awati:

We are presenting here an information on individual farmers which will give us some idea how the benefits have been realised.

Yashodabai Awati and her husband Dadoba Awati share 16 acres (6.5 hect.) of land, which is divided legally between two of them for the sake of benefits under I.R.D.P. They have become member of sant Tukaram Maharaj Pani Puravatha Sewa Sahakari Sanstha (Sant Tukaram Water Supply Service Co-operative Society) in 1983. The well costed Rs.50,000. 25 percent of it was obtained as government grant under I.R.D.P. 25 percent was provided by the catholic Relief Service funding agency, 25 percent came from Bank of Maharashtra, and 25 percent was provided by the members themselves by the way of free labour. This well can irrigate 45 acres of land belonging to 6 landholders. The water has been rationed and some rationing system has been worked out, which provides a ration card to everybody which keeps record of water consumption.

Previously Yashodabai and Dadoba, both used to work on E.G.S. projects mainly and earned totally Rs.50 per week. The land was mostly kept fallow. 4 acres of land was cultivated, if the rain was normal. They were selling two quintals of jowar to buy spices and clothes. But now they cultivate all the 16 acres, because their land was developed and irrigated. 10 acres are used to grow jowar, one acre for wheat, one for corn, one for gram and 3 acres are used for onions.

After giving 2 quintals to the grain bank of the village 33 quintals of jowar is left for them. It is worth Rs.6600. 12 tonnes of onion bring them Rs. 90 tonnes each, so that Rs.1000 is gained through this cash crop. The total agricultural income can be calculated as Rs.7,600. The cost of production of this family is Rs. 2000 for inputs in the agriculture and Rs. 225 for the electricity bill. Thus total cost comes to Rs. 2225. Out of total income of Rs.7,600 by way of cost of production Rs.2225 is deducted. The net gain is Rs.5375. It is supplemented by some income from animals.

The total loan taken from the bank for the purpose of pipeline and motor is Rs.20,000. The interest rate is 14 percent and it is to be returned within 10 years.

The total employment created on the farm is 200 days per person for 4 persons in the household. Thus total 800 person days are created. At the time of harvesting 10 more people are required for six days. Thus 60 person days are created. A total of 360 person days employment is created on 16 acres of land out of which 2 acres is irrigated. Previously same household used to spend, 200 days only, on their own farm.

E.G.S. used to provide 200 to 300 days more. Thus only 500 days employment for the household was created. Hence the family feels that their situation has improved by 50 percent. They are happy.

B Scheduled Caste: Problems Of Integration:

The situation of scheduled caste people is a little different. There are 23 scheduled caste households. 16 of them own small plots of land. The total comes to 45 acres. All the young men usually migrate to the cities in search of jobs. Mainly women stay behind. This land has been co-operativised in 1972 and the Tata Relief Committee gave them Rs.60,000 for digging a well. Nobody showed interest and the experiment of a community well failed. After percolation tank was built and 6 new community wells were built the scheduled caste people felt/got motivated out of demonstrative effect. Village Yuak Mandal took over the 45 acres of agricultural land and cultivated it free of charge for three years and the loan was repaid. The scheduled caste men and women worked on this land as labourers. Some part of the land has been covered by plantation. After the first cutting, the trees will be given over to the owners of land. The first wood would be utilised for the community. Similarly once the loan is repaid the land was given over to the owner households and they were asked to cultivate it and share the produce according to their landholding size. But during the first year the people incurred losses and could not manage on their own. The complaint heard was that other community wells are better located, near the tank. This one was located at quite a distance from tank, and last along the nallah, which flows through the village. Thus water level is not sufficient in this well and they could not cultivate a third crop. Particularly last year and in the current year, there was a shortage of rain water.

People in the village feel that the scheduled caste people have not been cultivating their land for quite some time and have no interest in the management aspect. They like to work as labourers and do not possess the mentality of cultivators. That is how when the land was cultivated by the Yuak Mandal it could make profit, but as soon as it was given over to the owners, it could not create surplus. Another thing is noticed that scheduled caste Youths are attracted by the jobs in the cities. They don't prefer to be agriculturists.

The scheduled caste community did not have any complaint against the villagers. They were given nice, pucca houses. 5 women reported going on E.G.S. work, some reported getting agricultural labour work with others.

Comparison With Ranjangaon Machidiche

The Raleganshindi situation could be compared with Ranjangaon Machidiche, another village included in the survey. In this village, there exists one percolation tank. But the command area covered by it belongs to mostly one landowner - Annmasaheb Shinde. Although legally the ownership is broken into several holdings, basically he controls 600 acres of land. People said that 300 acres of additional land, he possessed, had been distributed under the land ceiling Act. Out of total population of 2966 people, 102 are agricultural labourers, whereas in Raleganshindi out of 1508 population only 5 were pure agricultural labourers. Thus Ranjangaon is a good example of land concentration and the benefits of E.G.S. assets going to primarily a few landholders. In this situation productivity of land will go up and the employment days for agricultural labourers too will go up. But still they will require some complementary employment, like E.G.S. E.G.S. in this situation cannot wither away. In this village haybing E.G.S. asset has not strengthened subsistence agriculture but has given boost to agriculture for market. One needs to study whether the labour absorption rate is higher on a big farm or owned by a rich farmer or on a small but privately owned farm. One thing is definite that the distribution of increased production is more efficient when the land is divided into small holdings.

Homogeneity Of The Community:

While concluding the descriptive study of Raleganshindi, one significant observation needs to be noted. That Ralegan got the visionary leader like Anna Hazare, is well accepted fact, but another important factor which must have contributed towards the unity of the villagers here is that there is much homogeneity with regard to landholding pattern and caste composition in this village. Thus there is no apparent class struggle or dynastic feuds which get expressed sometimes through party politics. This provided an ideal base for Anna to bring people together.

No Women's Participation:

Without mentioning another observation regarding women's participation this note cannot be completed. We must admit that we did not spend sufficient days in the village to observe women's participation closely. But whatever little time we spend and interviewed different people, men and women, we felt that women's participation was not actively sought for women showed great respect for and happiness about Anna's leadership. Anna too had thought of some special facilities for women, such as drinking water being supplied through public taps, toilets were built and drainage was attached to biogas. There were 26 biogas plants, private and public included in the village. Many

women could cook their food on a gas stove. Smokeless chulhas were introduced. Social forestry provided fuel wood very easily. The custom of Dowry has been abolished in the village. But it was all from above. Women still feel shy to pass the temple cum public meeting place. They do not participate in the gramsabha. I realised that earlier the same were participating in E.G.S. work and would work together. Now that they spend their time working on their own farms, they did not get much time to see each other. Also, they feel like emulating the customs observed in the rich farmers class. They would like to acquire the status of modest, humble women, covering their heads. Anna is aware of this lacuna.

1.00--2	na	100	100.00	na
2.00--3.00	na	21	173.15	1.4
3.00--4.00	na	17	25.40	1.4
4.00--5.00	na	8	17.00	1.4
5.00--6.00	na	2	42.00	1.4
6.00--7.00	na	2	18.00	1.4
7.00--8.00	na	4	50.00	1.4
8.00--9.00	na			
9.00--10.00	na			
10.00--11.00	na			
11.00--12.00	na			
12.00--13.00	na			
13.00--14.00	na			
14.00--15.00	na			
15.00--16.00	na			
16.00--17.00	na			
17.00--18.00	na			
18.00--19.00	na			
19.00--20.00	na			
20.00--21.00	na			
21.00--22.00	na			
22.00--23.00	na			
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25.00--26.00	na			
26.00--27.00	na			
27.00--28.00	na			
28.00--29.00	na			
29.00--30.00	na			
30.00--31.00	na			
31.00--32.00	na			
32.00--33.00	na			
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35.00--36.00	na			
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45.00--46.00	na			
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47.00--48.00	na			
48.00--49.00	na			
49.00--50.00	na			
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68.00--69.00	na			
69.00--70.00	na			
70.00--71.00	na			
71.00--72.00	na			
72.00--73.00	na			
73.00--74.00	na			
74.00--75.00	na			
75.00--76.00	na			
76.00--77.00	na			
77.00--78.00	na			
78.00--79.00	na			
79.00--80.00	na			
80.00--81.00	na			
81.00--82.00	na			
82.00--83.00	na			
83.00--84.00	na			
84.00--85.00	na			
85.00--86.00	na			
86.00--87.00	na			
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88.00--89.00	na			
89.00--90.00	na			
90.00--91.00	na			
91.00--92.00	na			
92.00--93.00	na			
93.00--94.00	na			
94.00--95.00	na			
95.00--96.00	na			
96.00--97.00	na			
97.00--98.00	na			
98.00--99.00	na			
99.00--100.00	na			

Table No.1
PROFILE OF RALEGANSHINDI

1	Area		971.44	ha
2	Population (1981)	Men	749	
		Women	759	
3	Scheduled Caste	Men	46	
		Women	38	
4	Scheduled Tribes	Men	8	
		Women	8	
5	Literate	Men	415	
		Women	182	
6	Total Households		113	
8	Landless labourers		5	
9	Balutedar Craftpersons		13	
10	Cultivated Land Area		634	ha
11	No. of Landholdings			Area
	0-----0.40	ha	80	32.80 ha
	0.41----1	ha	90	69.80 ha
	1.00----2	ha	100	199.00 ha
	2.00----3.00	ha	94	133.11 ha
	3.00----4.00	ha	17	56.25 ha
	4.00----6.00	ha	6	27.70 ha
	6.00----8.00	ha	6	42.30 ha
	8.00----10.00	ha	2	18.60 ha
	10.00---20.00	ha	4	55.81 ha
	20.00---above		---	---
12	Irrigated Landholders			190.00 ha
13	Well Irrigated Area			45.80 ha
	Lift Irrigated Area			---
	Total Irrigated Area			45.80 ha
15	Area Kharip Crop			
	(Dry farming)			190.15 ha
	Area under foodgrain			
	(Irrigated)			21.70 ha
16	Area Kharip Crop			
17	Area under Rabbi			
	foodgrains (Dry farming)		419.50	ha
	(Irrigated)		23.00	ha
18	Area under Important Crops			
	Jowar (Dry farming)		340.10	ha
	(Irrigated)		37.70	ha
19	Bajara (Dry farming)		120.10	ha
	(Irrigated)		22.90	ha
20	Wheat (Dry farming)			
	(Irrigated)		2.90	ha
21	Sugarcane (Adsali)		1.20	ha
22	Cotton		2.90	ha
23	Groundnut		1.10	ha
25	Average rain fall		4inches	
26	Wells for irrigation		68	
27	Drinking Water-Public wells		5	
28	No. of newly acquired landholders		25	
29	Area distributed among new landholders		62.62	ha
	(1985)	Men	27	
		Women	9	
31	Animal husbandary			
	Oxons for cultivation		265	
	Milching buffalows		25	
	Milching Cows		40	
	Cross breed Cows		25	
	Goats		160	
	Polutry Birds		900	
32	Bullock-carts		27	
33	Tractors		1	
34	Steel ploughs		67	
35	Oil engins		17	
36	Electric pumps		25	
39	Motor cycles		3	
40	Gobar gas plants		22	

CHAPTER VIII

A CASE STUDY OF REVISITS

SANDHYA NAIK.

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0 Introduction :

ISST ! conducted a study of MEGS in 1978 with a focus on the impact of MEGS on women. Earlier in 1976 P.E.O. had carried out a survey of MEGS. But the study conducted by ISST was significant in that it was the first one to concentrate to the women workers.

When ISST undertook the study of MEGS for the second time in 1986, a rare opportunity of revisiting the old respondent households was available. It was expected that the revisit would throw a search light on the Impact of MEGS on rural masses, by way of a selfpaired sample of the respondent households at two points of time, separated by 8 years.

ISST had canvassed 180 households in 1978. The sample was selected from 3 districts of Maharashtra corresponding to 3 administrative divisions, and 6 talukas, two from each district. Out of 180 households 131 households were EGS participants in 1978, and the rest were either bidi or sugarcane workers.

An attempt was made to reach and interview a subset of these respondents in 1986. The Table No. VIII.1 given below, presents the villagewise breakup of respondents covered in the second study of ISST from the earlier study.

Following chapter is an account of the impressions and data gathered during the revisits.

0 Village Profiles :

Five villages were revisited in 1986. Table No. VIII.2 gives the background information of these villages viz. population, caste composition, sex ratio, literacy ratio, total no. of households etc. Profiles of the villages revisited are given in the following sections.

1 Ranjangaon Mashidiche :

Ranjangaon Mashidiche is a village belonging to Parner Taluka in Ahmednagar District. It is located 26 k.m.'s away by road from Parner tahasil and 36 k.m.'s away from Ahmednagar town. The village is approachable by railway as well from Ahmednagar town.

It is a peculiar village located in a hilly area in the southern part of Ahmednagar district near the border between Ahmednagar and Poona district. There is no 'arch' at the entrance of the village, which is customary in this part of Maharashtra. As one enters the village, one notices an unusually large Grampanchayat office, and milk cans scattered around it. Milk dairy has been one of the earliest established industries in the village. Behind the

Grampanchayat office, one comes across a Mosque, which lends its name to the village.

The village is surrounded by 4 wadis, as is common of most of the villages in Ahmednagar district. The total area of the village is 3638.94 hectares. cultivable land consists of 3101.96 hectares, out of that only 190.85 hectares of land (4.6 percent) is irrigated. Out of this irrigated land, 600 acres of land is owned by an individual and his family, who happens to be the Sarpanch of the village.

Bajara, Tour, Matki, Hulge are the crops grown in the kharip season in the village. While jowar, which is the main crop, is cultivated in the rabbi season. Only one person (namely the Sarpanch) of the village grows sugarcane in his farm. June to November is a period that is considered to be the agricultural peak season in Ranjangaon.

Like in any other village in Ahmednagar district, here too, the houses are constructed in stone and mud. These houses are generally single storied. Only the Sarpanch in the village owns one storied large house, which is surrounded by a stone wall fortification. a jeep and a tractor were parked near the house during the visit.

There is a primary school, a high school and a post office in the village. The village is electrified though all the houses do not receive electricity supply. The literacy rate for the village is 45 percent and 23 percent women folks are literate. The total population of the village is 2966 as per the 1981 census. Out of which 1460 are females and 1506 are males.

Maratha is the dominant caste in the village. The other major communities are Muslims and Harijans, almost equal in number. There are 503 households, out of which 117 households or 23.2 percent belong to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities. Though the people claim that there is no conflict among different castes in the village, the 'Harijan basti' is segregated from the rest of the houses. Ironically, it is known as 'Rajwada' (king's palace) the term used all over Ahmednagar for Harijan basti. There are in all eight bore wells in the village and the harijans have a separate bore well for their water supply. Outside the Mosque, there is an old beautiful step-well (Bawadi), built in 17th century, but still in immaculate condition. This is the only well in the village, which is open to all communities.

Agriculture is the main economic activity in the village, besides a co-operative milk dairy, as mentioned earlier. Horticulture is also a noteworthy business and the flowers of "Shevanti" grown in the village have a good demand outside. As agriculture is the prime source of livelihood, the recurring periods of drought have worsened the plight of

working population. After the severe drought of 1972, agriculture in Parner taluka has not come back to normal. EGS has been the only respite which has helped the poor to survive. It has provided employment to large no. of working population deprived of employment on agriculture. Since 1975 a large no. of works have been undertaken in this village and in the neighbourhood, under EGS. 3 percolation tanks have been constructed under EGS near the village. Besides these, nallabundung works, road works have also been carried out. The reliance on EGS as a source of employment has not shown any decline over the years. On the contrary there is a steady rise and widening of demand for it. One peculiarity of this village (as well as the other village Astegaon in Ahmednagar district) is that the overall mandays of employment available per wage earner have increased over 8 years, but the absolute as well as percentage no. of employment provided by EGS has reduced over the 8 years in spite of the rising and widening demand.

It can be seen from Table VIII.20 and the analysis in section 4 below that for the two villages canvassed in Ahmednagar district, the mandays of employment, on EGS per wage earner reduced from 117 to nearly 78 (from 1978 to 1986 respectively), while the total number of mandays employment went up from 230 in 1978 to 260 in 1986. It may be hypothesised that while the employment opportunity in EGS has declined steadily, owing to saturation of works, the assets generated by earlier carried out works on EGS had an enabling effect in agricultural productivity and employment opportunity. Though no decisive and statistical evidence could be obtained during the present study, two respondents covered in the survey from this village reported that they have been benefited by the Percolation Tank built under EGS.

In spite of operation of the EGS in the village since 1975, it was very shocking to note that majority of women workers were not aware of its functioning, their gains and working conditions. Hardly anyone of them were aware of the benefits of the scheme besides securing temporary employment for a small period every year. Neither were they aware of other schemes like NRDP, RLEGP, IRDP, etc. No one from the village was registered below poverty line. This fact was brought to the notice of Tahasildar and he promised to look into the matter.

2.2 Astegaon

Astegaon was another village visited from Parner tahasil in Ahmednagar District. It is situated at a distance of 3 k.m.'s from Ranjangaon Machidhe. It is 23 k.m.'s away from Parner and 35 k.m.'s away from Ahmednagar town and approachable by S.T. bus from both the places. It is also connected by railway with Ahmednagar.

This village is a typical village in Parner taluka. There is an 'arch' at the entrance of the village and a stone wall is constructed around the village. The office of Grampanchayat is near the entrance of the village. The 'Kotwal' of this village belongs to dalit caste, as is the practice in most of the villages in ahmednagar district.

The village covers 1580.88 hectares of land, of which 1426.24 hectares (90 percent) is under cultivation. Only 68.33 hectares of cultivable land is irrigated (4.7 percent). Parner taluka is known for unirrigated cultivation.

The soil and climatic conditions of the village are similar to that of Ranjangaon Mashidiche and therefore crop pattern in the village is similar to that in Ranjangaon.

In this village too, agriculture and milk co-operative are the two main economic activities which provide employment to the villagers. And after severe draught of 1972, EGS has become the main source of employment to many. During 1985-86, 249 persons from the village were registered as employment seekers on EGS.

The total population of the village is 1532 out of which 798 are female and 734 are male. There are in all 304 households. Out of these 208 belong to Maratha caste, 6 houses are of Muslims and 18 houses belong to schedule castes.

Literacy rate of the village is 60 percent. Majority of the landholders are small and marginal holders holding upto or below 2 hectares of land (47 percent of landholders) and only 3 households hold land between 10 to 20 hectares. There is no single big landlords in the villages as noticed in Ranjangaon.

On our way to the village from Parner, we come across one Percolation tank built under EGS near the village. In all, three percolation tanks, one village tank (on going work) some nala bunding works on private farms, and some road works were undertaken and completed nearby the village under EGS.

On the day of the visit to the village our field team observed that the on going work of 'village tank' under EGS was suspended for no apparent reason. Though on the next day the work was recommissioned probably on account of our visit. People reproted having received wages between Rs. 20 to 25 per week on this work. The amenities like shed, dai etc. were reportedly not available on the worksite. There was a mixed reaction to benefits from the assets formed by EGS. Two persons came forward saying that they were benefitted by nallabunding work done under EGS in their farm. However there was a complaint as well about loss due

to poor quality nallabunding work done on somebody's farm.

It was noticed that the general awareness of the people regarding EGS and its functioning was very good in Astegaon. This was not the case in Ranjangaon Mashidiche, inspite of continuous operation of the scheme for more than 8 years.

45 households from this village have been registered as below poverty line. Out of these, 12 households have received aidf under IRDP for the purchase of cattle (cows, sheeps, goats....etc.) carpentary tools, barbers tools, cycle shop etc.

3 Lakhori :

This village was selected for the 1978 study only because it was covered earlier by P.E.O. in 1976. The village was not known for large no. of EGS works, on going or completed. On the contrary, during our 1978 survy, people from the village had complained about non-availability of employment under EGS for a long period of time. A large no. of people from the village were engaged in household bidi industry. Therefore, the village was considered as a good example for comparison between two types of employment opportunities available to the people.

Lakhori is situated at about equal distance from Bhandara and Sakoli (the district head quarter and the taluka head quarter respectively). It is 3 k.m.'s away from the national highway and towards east. There is no direct bus going upto the village. One has to get down at 'Lakhani', a small town at a distance of half an hours S.T. bus journey from Bhandara and then walk down 3 k.m.'s towards east. One noticeable development has taken place after 1978 survey is a availability of cycle rickshaw in case of an emergency or need, from 'Lakhani'.

The total area of the village is 374.73 hectares and total loand under cultivation is 342.03 hectares as per 1971 census. The level of supportive irrigation in Bhandara is the highest among irrigated districts in Maharashtra. In this village too, 50 percent of cultivable land or 199.18 hectares of land is irrigated. There are in all 40 wells with full of water. Out of these, 10 wells are used for only drinking water. the average rain fall of the village is 25 inches.

Though highly irrigated. like most other tribal regions in India, Bhandara district too is a backward region. Agriculture is primitive. Paddy is the main crop. Besides paddy, in this village, a local variety of 'tour dal' known as 'Lakhoridal' is grown. Kharip is the only season of cultivation. Therefore, May to August is the period of maximum employment in agriculture.

Though the exact figure of literate population was not available, it was told that 80 percent of male population and 40 percent of female populations was literate. There was a fair chance that these figures were correct, as our field team made a striking observation that there were eighteen unemployed graduates and post graduates in the village. And compared to other villages, relatively large no. of cultural institutions were noted in the Lakhori. there was a V.Ka Sahakari Society, a Mahila Mandal, three Youvak Mandals, two Bhajani Mandals & one Library as well.

Agriculture and bidi are considered as main occupations. Out of 21 households interviewed during the present study, 12 households depended on bidi industry, as their main source of income and occupation in 1978. In 1986, 11 households maintained their dependence on bidi industry as the main source of income and employment. (see table VIII.4) However, in the recent past the overall employment in bidi industry has reduced, because, the bidi industry is shifted from Bhandara district to Madhya Pradesh. Where as employment on EGS has increased in recent time. (See table VIII.17) This clearly seen from our survey data. It shows that the share of employment available in bidi industry as a major source of income has gone down to 45 percent in 1986 from 77.6 percent in 1978, in terms of total mandays of employment available to the entire sample. Whereas percentage share of mandays of employment available to them due to EGS has increased from zero in 1978 to 20 percent in 1986.

During 1984-85, 613 persons were registered as employment seekers on EGS from this village, out of which 316 were women (51.5 percent) and 297 were men.

We could not fail to notice a sort of gloomy atmosphere all over, as soon as we entered the village on the day of our visit. An eleven year old boy had fallen down into a well and expired, while fetching water. He was alone in the house, when the incident took place, as his parents, had gone for work on EGS site 8 k.m.'s away from the village.

One Malguzari Tank (village tank previously belonging to landlord) was repaired under EGS in this village and many other MI Tanks road works were carried out near the village. The reliance on EGS as a source of earning is increasing day by day.

Katharde (Khurd) :

Katharde is a village located at a distance of 9 k.m.s from Shahada tahasil and approachable by road. As per 1981 census, total population of the village was 1485 out of which 752 were females. 43 percent of the population consisted of adivasis. The literacy rate of the village was

only 30 percent. There were 376 households in the village, out of which nearly 60 percent families were landless.

The main consideration for selecting 'Katharde' as well as the village Parivardhe (discussed later) for our survey conducted in 1978 was the on going adivasi movement in that area. Under the leadership of 'Shramik Sanghatana' the landless adivasi in shahada block had agitated and obtained higher wages on agriculture. The tribal women had shown boldness in actively participating along with men, in the economic struggle on the one hand and collectively confronting alcoholism and male arrogance in their personal lives on the other. The EGS worksite near 'KATHARDE' and 'Parivardhe' was probably one of the very few worksites, where the work started in response to people's demand.

On this background when I visited the village 'Katharde' with 'Shravan' an active member of 'Shramik Sanghatana' in 1978, I was thrilled to speak to the fearless and bold adivasis. In 1986 however, the 'Shramik Sanghatana' was no longer active. I had to approach the village with the help of the Talathi. I was shocked to see that almost all the earlier visited respondents were at home during the day time owing to want of work. The Talathi informed me that very few EGS works had been undertaken near the village, duringt the past 8 years. The surveyed households had received employment on EGS for only 3 years in the past years; that too in a sporadic manner. The number of days of employment received totalled to a miserable figure of less than 190 per earner on an average during the course of past 8 years. Only 3 families came forward saying that they attended EGS work on a site situated some 8 k.m.s away from the village very recently. They had stopped going to the work only a few days earlier, as they could not buy foodgrains on the coupons supplied to them as part of wage. The coupons issued to them were marked with incorrect expiry date. (later we brought this fact to the notice of 'Tahasildar' of Shahada and he promised us to look into the matter).

In the recent years however some villagers were benefitted by other government schemes like IRDP, NREP etc. The Talathi said that 20 families from the village were registered as below poverty line families and one family received aid from the government to start a business. Two surveyed families reported having benefitted by IRDP scheme in terms of cows, which helped them to secure a permanant source of income. 'Mathibai' a female respondent with whom I had stayed during my visit in 1978, was one of the receipients of this aid. Owing to unreliable agricultural or EGS employment, the family was in a pitiable condition in 1978. Today she earns Rs. 10/- a day, by selling milk, at least for 6 months in a year. Similar was the case of 'Murabai' who also received cows under IRDP scheme. 'Bhagabai' another female respondent said that she was benefitted by way of permanant job as a 'Anganwadi helper' in the 'Anganwadi', constructed under

NREP scheme. The Talathi informed me that, nearly 100 families from the village sell milk to the milk co-operative. Establishment of a milk chilling plant in a nearby place had helped many families from the village.

However, in a group meeting of villagers, people complained of non-availability of work. The very fact that many of them were at home during the day time was strong testimony of this situation.

Shahada is an irrigated block, with 3 crops taken a year, (as was informed by the director of milk co-operative), one would expect that as compared to other places in Maharashtra the agricultural labourer in this place would be better off. On this background the level of under employment was really shocking.

I was surprised to notice another fact that the agricultural wage rates in this area were lower than elsewhere. All the surveyed households received Rs.5/- at the most per day on agriculture, where as the agricultural wage rate was above Rs.6.50/- in Ahmednagar and Bhandara district. (see table IV.).

According to the villagers the location of the village is ideally suited for starting many social forestry schemes. The director of the milk co-operative informed me that the Grampanchayat was willing to offer a piece of, land to the forestry dept. for starting a 'village nursery'. In fact a plot had been located for the purpose. This type of work would offer a permanent source of income to many women in this village. The villagers felt that the govt. beauracrocry was frustratingly slow to react to such proposals made by the people.

5 Parivardhe

Parivardhe was the second village from the Shahada block in Dhule district visited by us. It is actually a twin village (Pari & Vardhe) having one Grampanchayat. The village is situated at a distance of 12 k.m.'s from Shahada and approachable by S.T. bus. As per 1981 census, total population of the village was 1800, out of which 1000 were females. 75 percent of the male population was literate. There is a highschool in the village. The total no. of households was 505. Out of these around 45 percent were adivasis. Total area of the village was 232.51 hectares. Nearly 92 percent of land was under cultivation. 16.4 percent of cultivable land was irrigated. The main source of income was agriculture. Besides, there was a milk co-operative in the village. (However, it must be mentioned here that none of the surveyed households were members of the milk co-operative).

As soon as I entered the village, I visited Jamsinghbhau's house, where I had stayed during my visit in 1978. There was no one in the house. The neighbours said that he had gone out with his family in search of work, as he could not find employment in the village. Just as in 'Katharde', here too, almost all the respondent women were at home on the day of my visit. I noticed a significant change in their behaviour. The boldness and fearless expression of 1978 had vanished. A sense of gloom and depression was apparent on their face.

In a group meeting of the villagers, which was organized later during the day, the villagers said that the work opportunities in agriculture were inadequate and did not last for the whole year. Because of the predominance of sugarcane in agriculture, further scarcity of employment was experienced. This is a typical phenomenon observed in all sugarcane growing areas. The sugarcane crop is one of the longer duration crops. The labour requirement is dispersed over a longer period. The major labour requirements arise only when the crop is ready for harvesting. Besides, the local labour is rarely absorbed during the sugarcane harvesting. The work is entrusted to the migratory workers for a temporary period. This is a customary practice all over Maharashtra on sugarcane farms.

EGS work was also not available to the villages. Shahada being an irrigated area, there was very little scope for initiating irrigation work under EGS, which was the main stay of EGS works elsewhere in Maharashtra. The government officials in the tahasil office of Shahada opined that no other work was possible under EGS in this region.

The Talathi informed us that other scheme like NREP, RLEGP had provided some employment to the people. The 'Grampanchayat office' in the village and an 'Anganwadi' was constructed under NREP scheme in the village. Nearly 65 families were registered from the village as below poverty line families. Out of these 8 families had received aid to start their own business. However, none of the families covered in our survey had received aid either from IRDP or NREP, though they were registered as BPL families.

3.0 SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF HOUSEHOLD SAMPLE :

The social background of the 47 respondent families is discussed below.

Religion & Caste composition :

Majority (i.e. 87.2 percent) of the revisited families were Hindus. Only 8.5 percent of the families were Muslims and they all those belonged to Ahmednagar district alone 4.2 percent of the revisited families were Neobudhists, belonging to Bhandara district.

48.9 percent of the families covered in the survey were scheduled castes. Most of them happened to be from Bhandara district. The percentage of Hindu OBC families was low at 6.3 percent in the sample. The proportion of forward caste Hindu families was 12.7 percent. Schedule tribe families were 19.1 percent of the sample covered, and all of them belonged to Dhulia district alone. (see table 3.1.1.).

Family Type :

87.2 percent of the households were nuclear families. Only 12.7 percent of the households were joint families. This was probably because of the fact that the sample consisted of a large proportion of landless labourers and marginal farmers who did not have a common ancestral property to share.

Family Size :

Average family size of the total sample covered was 4.5 persons in 1978 and 4.6 persons in 1986. (see table VIII.20). Hence there was no significant change in the family size at two points of time. Even at the village level there was no significant change in family size. In the two villages from Ahmednagar district, taken together, the average family size was 5 in 1978 and 5.2 in 1986. In Bhandara (Lakhori village) it was 4 and 4.5 during 1978 and 1986 respectively. Where as in Dhule, it was 4.7 in 1978 and 4 in 1986. Thus it appears that the family size has increased slightly in the villages from Ahmednagar and Bhandara, but has reduced in Dhulia.

FINDINGS OF THE HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

Landholding Status and Economic Activities :

Changing trends in the landholding status of the respondent families are given in table no. VIII.3 and table VIII.4 respectively.

These two tables explain the land holding status of the households covered in the present survey at two point of times. Most of the families covered were either landless labourers or margined farmers. There seems to have occurred no significant change in their landholding status on an average. Though it can be seen that the proportion of landless has increased and land holding have decreased from 1978, 1986 in two districts namely Bhandara and Dhulia. This may be due to probable consolidation of land in the villages revisited from the two districts owing to higher level of irrigation.

Table VIII.4 gives main economic activitywise distribution of respondent families. The sample of families interviewed

in 1978 belonged to the category of wage workers. No significant change had taken place in the main economic activities of these respondent families. The decline in percentage of families depending on wage work was due to three families in Dhulia district which started their own business.

Table VIII.5 explains the changes in no. of economic activities in which the families were engaged in.

Majority of the households were depending on more than one occupation for their livelihood. Over the years, out of compulsion of changing economic patterns, the no. of occupations on which the families depend have increased. For example, during the 1978 survey, a few families were solely depended on Bidi Industry for their livelihood in Bhandara district could be identified. But over the years, the bidi industry in Bhandara district has shrunk in size and many bidi workers have started working on EGS to supplement their income. This is explained in the table VIII.6

During the 1978 survey, a few families solely depending on EGS for their livelihood were also identified from Ahmednagar district alone. Though, over the years, because EGS could not provide them work for the entire year, as it was in the past, these families had to search another alternative. This is observed from Table No. VIII.6. The families depended on EGS as their main source of livelihood, also had to search another alternative. The changes in the main economic activity of the households from EGS to other occupations and from other occupation to EGS is explained in table VIII. 7

Income and Employment trends :

The annual family income, per capita income and per earner income of the households for both the surveyed years were assessed. An adjustment for the price rise was needed for this comparison, for the time lag of 8 years between 1978 & 1986. The RBI Bulletin's consumer price indices, for the agricultural labour, corresponding to the two years namely 1978 & 1986, for the surveyed months were used for the purpose. With 1960-61 as the base year the respective indices were 316 and 552.

The income data with and without adjustment is presented in tables VIII.8, VIII.9, VIII.10

It can be seen from Table VIII.8 that the real income of the households increased by 10 percent over 8 years between 1978 & 1986.

Table VIII.9 show that the per capita income of the respondent households rose by 7.1 percent in real terms over the years. Per capita income increased from Rs. 481.9 in

1978 to Rs. 516.2 in 1986, at 1978.

Table VIII.10 indicates that the real income per earner also increased by 6.3 percent, from Rs. 749 in 1978 to Rs. 796 in 1986 at constant prices of 1978.

One of the interesting findings of the survey was that though the income per earner had increased by 6.3 percent the mandays of employment had actually declined by approximately 5 percent between 1978 and 1986 (see table VIII.14). The rise in income was solely due to the rise in wage rates as shown in table VIII.11.

Another significant observation was that the share of women in total household income has increased over the years. From 34.6 percent in 1978 it has increased to 40.37 percent in 1986. (see table VIII.12).

Average no. of female earners per family has also gone up slightly from 1.4 women per family in 1978 to 1.5 women per family in 1986. On the other hand, the average no. of men earners have reduced marginally from 1.6 persons per family in 1978 to 1.5 persons per family in 1986. (see table VIII.20)

The percentage break-up of income through different sources and mandays of employment are presented in tables VIII.13 & VIII.14 respectively. It is apparent that there was a sharp decline in the proportion of "Own farm income" over the period from 26.0 percent in 1978 to 13.6 percent in 1986. The proportion of EGS income in total income has also marginally declined from approximately 18 percent in 1978 to 16.2 percent in 1986. On the other hand, the proportion of agricultural labourer income in total income has gone up from 19.4 percent in 1978 to 27.2 percent in 1986. This trend was more dominant in Ahmednagar and Bhandara districts. Similarly the proportion of income through other sources such as dairy, trading etc. has increased from 11 percent to 15 percent. This trend was especially prominent in Dhulia district, owing to the aids received by some families under IRDP or NREP schemes for self employment.

THE ROLE OF EGS

Availability of EGS employment :

In each of the households interviewed there were on an average 2.9 earners in 1978 and 3.0 earners in 1986. (see table VIII.20). Out of these 2.0 earners on an average worked on EGS in 1978 and 2.3 earners on an average worked on EGS in 1986. (see table VIII.15). Thus the overall participation or dependence of the respondent families has increased over the years between 1978 & 1986.

One of the striking observations during the survey in 1978 was that male members (especially from Maratha families, with small or Marginal landholdings), participation was very low on EGS works. Women on the other hand attended EGS work in larger proportion. The data collected in 1986 showed that the participation of Men in EGS works has increased from 0.6 person per family in 1978 to 0.96 persons per family in 1986. This trend becomes clearer from the example of Ahmednagar district where in 1978, out of 15 respondent families, only 2 male members participated in EGS. In 1986 from the same 15 families, 12 men worked on EGS. The participation of women in EGS, more or less remained steady during this period.

An attempt was made to analyse the duration of participation by the respondent families in EGS. It was found that more than 94 percent of the surveyed households had worked on EGS for more than 3 years. Less than 2 percent had worked for 7 years and above on EGS. Table VIII.16 shows that the average duration of participation was 4.1 years, between 1978 & 1986. In Ahmednagar district however, over 60 percent of the respondents worked in EGS for 6 years and above.

The yearly trends for participation in EGs are presented in table VIII.17. It is noticed from this table that the participation on EGS has increased in recent time. The highest level of participation was during last 3 years i.e. 1984 & 1986. This shows that the reliance on EGS as a source of livelihood had not reduced over the years, but it had increased. One exception is in the Dhule district where in the EGS participation has steadily decreased despite the need for employment. This was certainly due to non-availability of EGS works. Another interesting trend in the table is the drop in EGS employment during 1979 to 1982 and the subsequent rise to the highest level. The reason for the trend could be non-availability of EGS works during 1979 to 1982 or rapid deterioration in alternative employment, agriculture or otherwise. Comparison of the data of mandays of employment due to EGS at two point of times is presented in table VIII.18. It shows that the no. of days of employment contributed by EGS has reduced in absolute as well as in relative terms. The no. of days employment provided by EGS were 48.9 & 42.3 per earner respectively in years 1978 & 1986. The percentage share of employment provided to an earner by EGS in the total employment has gone down from 22 percent in 1978 to 20 percent in 1986. This was despite the fact that the total no. of days of employment were also reduced by 4 percent from 220 in 1978 to 212 in 1986. What is more striking is that in case of Ahmednagar district where in a large no. of respondents have been working on EGS for over 6 years, the percentage share of EGS in employment has almost halved between 1978 & 1986. In case of Dhule the situation is still grone. While in 1978 EGS contributed 15 percent on totaql employment, in 1986 not a single manday was the only district, which registered rise

in contribution by EGS to total employment.

EGS in the eyes of the participants :

Almost all the respondent families emphasised the necessity of EGS work. When the families working on EGs were asked why they joined EGS, replied that no other alternative employment was available. Nearly 69 percent of the households replied in 1986 that other employment was available but it was insufficient. Almost all of them however complained that even the EGS work was not available all the time. Approximately 59 percent of the households remarked in 1986 that they preferred EGS because working hours were fixed on EGS as compared to agricultural work. (In 1978, 11 percent of the households had replied that working hours on EGS were too long). Nearly 41 percent of the respondent women said in 1986 that they preferred EGS work because men and women got equal wages on EGS. In other jobs, such as agriculture, the wage rate paid to women were often far less as compared to wage rates for men. about 16 percent of the respondents in 1978 and 25 percent of the respondents in 1986 said that they earned higher wages on EGS. 6.3 percent of the respondents answered in 1978 that children were not allowed on EGS worksites. On the contrary in 1986, 25 percent of the households said that they preferred EGS work because they could take their children along with them on work site. About 12 percent of the households in 1978 & 19 percent of the households in 1986 replied that the biggest attraction of EGS to them was that no obligation and favours were required to get EGS work. Table No. VIII.19 presents these opinions in summarised form.

While discussing with the respondents about various aspects of implementation of EGS, it was evident that during the course of several years of operation of the scheme, the suggestions have undergone a change, Respondents primarily demanded amenities and facilities like cretche or dai, shed, drinking water, first aid and medical aid etc. in 1978. The respondents looked at EGS in 1986 as a parmanent source of income, as a scheme that is going to stay. Their expectations have undergone drastic change in 1986. Now they hope for leave with pay, maternity leave, provision of meals at worksite, training for specialised jobs, etc.

TABLE NO.VIII.1

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE

DISTRICT	BLOCK	Feeder Village	Respondent - households canvassed in - 1978			Respondent - households canvassed in - 1986		
			Participants in 1978	Non-Partici- pants in 1978	TOTAL	Participants in 1978	Non-Partici- pants in 1986	TOTAL
Ahmednagar	Parner	Ranjangaon	31	-	31	8	2	10
Ahmednagar	Parner	Mashidiche						
		Astegaon	6	-	6	5	-	5
Bhandara	Sakoli	Lakhori	-	46	46	17	4	21
Dhulia	Shahada	Katharde	11	-	11	-	5	5
Dhulia	Shahada	Parivardhe	22	-	22	-	6	6
TOTAL	3	5	70	46	116	30	17	47

TABLE NO.VIII.2

VILLAGE PROFILE

Village Level Information	Ahmednagar				
	Parner	Astegaon	Bhandara Sakoli Lakhori	Katharde	Dhulia Shahada Parivarde
DEMOGRAPHIC POPULATION					
1. TOTAL POPULATION	2966	1432	2606	1488	1800
2. S.C. POPULATION (in Percentage)	91 1.23	51 1.07	.601 1.40	.601 143.6	N/A 144.5
3. S.T. POPULATION (in Percentage)	151	21	1	431	44.501
4. MALE FEMALE RATIO Per thousand male.	969	919	960	975	800
5. LITERATE POPULATION (in percentage)	43	60	N/A	30	75(among male population)
6. TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	503	308	305	376	505

TABLE NO. VIII.3

CHANGES IN LANDHOLDING STATUS OF RESPONDENT HOUSEHOLDS

District	Landless		Land leased out		Land holding upto 1 acres		Land holding bet. 1.1 to 5 acres		Land holding above 5 acres		Total Households
	1978	1986	1978	1986	1978	1986	1978	1986	1978	1986	
Ahmednagar	9	6	-	3	-	-	4	4	2	2	15
Bhandara	9	10	-	-	8	9	4	2	-	-	21
Dhulia	7	8	-	-	1	1	3	2	-	-	11
Total	25	24	-	3	9	10	11	8	2	2	47

District	Land leased		Landholders		Percentage of Landless to Total	
	1978	1986	1978	1986	1978	1986
Ahmednagar	9	6	6	6	60	40
Bhandara	9	10	12	11	42.8	47.6
Dhulia	7	8	4	3	63.6	72.7
Total	25	24	22	20	53.2	51.1

MAIN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY WISE NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS

Type of Main Economics activity	1 9 7 8	1 9 8 6
1 . Own Farm	7	7
2 . Wage Labour		
a . Agricultural labour	11	15
b . Bidi	12	11
c . Other Wage labour	5	3
d . E.G.S.	9	6
Total Wage labour	37 (78.7 %)	35 (74.5 %)
3 . Traditional Occupation	2	2
4 . Self employment	1	3
5 . Other	-	1
	47	47

[Note : Figures in brackets indicate percentage to total households]

NO. OF OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH FAMILIES WERE ENGAGED IN

NO. OF OCCUPATIONS	NO. OF HOUSE HOLDS	
	1 9 7 8	1 9 8 6
1 . Signal occupation	14	3
2 . Two Occupations	21]] (65 %)	17]] (76.5%)
3 . Three Occupations	10]	19]
4 . Four Occupations	2	8
T O T A L	47	47

TABLE NO.VIII.6

Y E A R	NO. OF F A M I L I E S			
	MAIN ECONOMIC ACTIVIT		ONLY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY	
	B I D I	E G S	B I D I	E G S
1 9 7 8	12	9	5	7
1 9 8 6	11	6		
			NONE	1

TABLE NO.VIII.7

CHANGES IN THE MAIN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF THE
RESPONDENT HOUSEHOLDS FROM 1978 TO 1986

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY	NO. OF FAMILIES
A] From EGS to other	
1 . From EGS to Own Farm	1
2 . From EGS to Agricultural labour	3
3 . From EGS to Family occupation	2
4 . From EGS to Other source like Dairy, trading fule collection etc.	1
T O T A L	7
=====	
B] From other to EGS	
1 . From Own Farm to EGS	1
2 . From Other sources like Dairy, trading fule collection etc	1
3 . From Family occupation to EGS	1
4 . From Bidi to EGS	1
T O T A L	4
=====	
Net Migration Form EGS to other to 198	3

(RS IN LACS)

YEAR	1978	1986	1986 INCOME	
			Adjusted to	Remarks
DISTRICT			1978 Prices	
Ahmednagar	2821.30	5227.60	2992.60	
Bhandara	1813.30	3853.00	2205.70	
Dhulia	2025.40	3470.00	1986.40	
T O T A L	2184.00	4202.00	2405.50	110 Percent Increase

TABLE NO. VIII.9

AVERAGE PER CAPITA INCOME

(IN RS.)

YEAR	1978	1986	1986 INCOME	
			Adjusted to	Remark
DISTRICT			1978 Prices	
Ahmednagar	549.60	992.60	568.20	
Bhandara	448.00	860.00	492.30	
Dhulia	428.40	848.20	485.50	
T O T A L	481.90	901.80	516.20	17.1 Percent Increase

Note : The increase in real income at statistical confidence level of 80% according to two sided 't' test.

TABLE NO. VIII.10

AVERAGE INCOME PER EARNER

(IN RS.)

YEAR	1978	1986	1986 INCOME Adjusted to 1978 Prices	Remarks
DISTRICT				
Ahmednagar	1032.20	1782.10	1020.10	
Bhandara	624.20	1244.80	712.60	
Dhulia	618.80	1156.60	662.10	
TOTAL	749.20	1390.80	796.20	16.3 Percent Increase

NOTE : The increase in real income is at statistical confidence level of 6.5 percent as per two sided 't' test.

TABLE NO. VIII.11

DAILY WAGE RATE RECEIVED BY THE RESPONDENT HOUSEHOLDS

YEAR/ WAGE LACS	AHMEDNAGAR		BHANDARA		DHULIA	
SOURCE	1978	1986	1978	1986	1978	1986
Agriculture	2.14	7.00 (4.0)	2.00	6.88 (3.9)	2.50	5.45 (3.1)
E.G.S.	2.90	5.25 (3.0)	.00	5.72 (3.2)	3.00	.00
Bidi	.00	.00	2.50	4.96 (2.8)	.00	.00

[Figures in bracket are adjusted to 1978 prices.]

TABLE NO. VIII. 12

WOMEN WORKERS *SHARE IN TOTAL FAMILY **INCOME

(IN %)

YEAR	1978	1986
DISTRICT		
Ahmednagar	37.26	29.90
Bhandara	37.26	51.06
Dhulia	27.69	39.30
T O T A L	34.60	40.37

NOTE : * Contribution to income on own Farm not included.
 ** Includes income form own farm.

Sourcewise proportion of income in total income

SOURCE	1978	1986
1 . Own Farm	26.00	13.60
2 . Wage Work		
a). Agricultural Labour	19.40	27.30
b). Other Labour (Including Bidi)	21.10	23.30
c). EGS	18.00	16.20
3 . Family occupation	4.50	4.40
4 . Other sources like Dairy, trading fule - collection etc!	11.00	15.20
TOTAL	100.00	100.00

TABLE NO. VIII. 14.

Sourcewise days of employment per earner per year
 Sourcewise percentage proportion of employment in total employment

SOURCE	1978		1986	
	DAYS	%	DAYS	%
1 . Own Farm	23	10	17	8
2 . Wage Work				
a). Agricultural Labour	36	16	60	28
b). Other Labour (Including Bidi)	83	38	47	22
c). EGB	49	22	43	20
3 . Family occupation	5	2	9	4
4 . Other sources like Dairy, trading fule - collection etc!	25	11	36	17
TOTAL	221	100	212	100

TABLE NO. VIII.15.

NO. OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN E.G.S. PER FAMILY

Year	1 9 7 8			1 9 8 6		
DISTRICT	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Ahmednagar	.14	1.30	1.50	.92	1.50	2.40
Bhandara	*	*	*	1.00	1.17	2.17
Dhulia	1.30	1.50	2.80	*	*	*
T O T A L	.60	1.40	2.04	.96	1.30	2.30

* E.G.S. Work was not available

TABLE NO. VIII.16.

NO. OF YEARS AND DAYS EMPLOYMENT RECEIVED

ON E.G.S SINCE 1978 PER EARNER.

DISTRICT	AVERAGE NO.OF YEARS WORKED SINCE 1978	AVERAGE NO.OF DAYS WORKED ON E.G.S. SINCE 1978	AVERAGE NO.OF DAYS WORKED EACH YEAR
Ahmednagar	4.8	628	130.83
Bhandara	4.2	272.8	64.95
Dhulia	3.1	199.5	64.35
TOTAL	4.1	378	92.19

TABLE NO. VIII.17.

Changes in Pattern of participation in E.G.S.by the respondent Families.

District	YEAR AND NO. OF FAMILIES ENGAGED IN E.G.S.									Total No. of respondent Families
	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	
Ahmednagar	15	7	1	7	6	4	13	14	13	15
%	100.00	46.70	6.70	46.70	40.00	26.70	86.70	93.30	86.70	100.00
Bhandara	0	3	6	2	1	10	17	17	17	17
%	.00	17.60	35.30	11.80	5.90	58.80	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Dhulia	10	0	0	6	0	11	3	4	0	11
%	90.90	.00	.00	54.50	.00	100.00	27.20	36.40	.00	100.00
Total	25	10	7	15	7	25	33	35	30	43
%	58.10	23.30	16.30	39.50	16.30	58.10	76.70	81.40	69.80	100.00

[Note : Figures in brackets indicate percentages]

TABLE NO. 18.

MANDAYS OF EMPLOYMENT PER EARNER ON E.G.S.

OR OTHERWISE IN 1978 AND IN 1986:

DISTRICT	NO. OF DAYS WORKED ON E.G.S.		TOTAL NO. OF DAYS WORKED	
	1978	1986	1978	1986
Ahmednagar	50.70 *(22.0)	29.10 *(10.0)	230.00	268.00
Bhandara	- *(00.0)	20.60 *(10.8)	229.80	190.60
Dhulia	28.40 *(14.9)	- *(00.0)	190.50	178.90
T O T A L	48.90 *(22.2)	42.30 *(19.9)	219.80	211.90

[* Figures in the bracket indicate employment due to EGS in percentage term.]

TABLE NO. VIII.19.

REASONS FOR JOINING E.G.S.

	/ NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS		
R E A S O N S/	& YEAR	1 9 7 8	1 9 8 6
No other job available	20 (60.0)	21 (65.6)	
Other employment is in sufficient	-	22 (68.7)	
Working hours are fixed	-	19 (59.4)	
Equal wages to men and women.	-	13 (40.6)	
Higher wages than elsewhere	4 (16.0)	8 (25.0)	
Working hours aare convinient.	1 (4.0)	-	
Children allowed at work site .	-	8 (25.0)	
No obligations required to get work	3 (12.0)	6 (18.7)	
Wages according to work done.	1 (4.0)	-	
Women do not get job elsewhere.	1 (4.0)	-	
Total No. of households attending EGS	25 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	

(Note : Figures in bracket indicate percentages.)

TABLE NO. VIII.20.

FINDINGS OF THE REVIEW STUDY

SUMMARY TABLE : HOUSEHOLD DATA

Base 47 H.H.

	AHMEDNAGAR		BHANDARA		DHULIA		TOTAL	
	1978	1986	1978	1986	1978	1986	1978	1986
Average Family Size	5.00	5.20	4.00	4.50	4.70	4.00	4.50	4.60
Average No. of earners per Family	2.70	2.90	2.90	3.00	3.20	3.00	2.90	3.00
Average No. of Female earners per Family	1.40	1.30	1.20	1.70	1.40	1.30	1.40	1.50
Average No. of Male earners per Family	1.20	1.60	1.60	1.30	1.80	1.60	1.60	1.50
Average No. of earners per Family on E.B.S.	1.50	2.40	.00	2.17	2.80	.00	2.40	2.30
Average No. of Female earners per Family on E.B.S.	1.30	1.50	.00	1.10	1.50	.00	1.40	1.30
Average No. of Male earners per Family on E.B.S.	.14	.92	.00	1.00	1.30	.00	.62	.90
Total No. of days worked	230	258	230	198	190	179	221	212
Total No. of days worked on E.B.S.	117	78	0	40	28	0	49	43
Average Income per Family (at Current prices)	2821.30	5227.60	1813.30	3853.00	2025.40	3470.00	2184.00	4202.00
Average Income per Family (at 1978 prices)	2821.30	2992.60	1813.30	2205.70	2025.40	1986.40	2184.00	2405.50
Average per Capital Income (at Current prices)	549.60	992.60	448.00	860.00	428.40	848.20	481.90	901.80
Average per Capital Income (at 1978 prices)	549.60	568.20	448.00	492.30	428.40	485.50	481.90	516.20
Average Income per earner (at Current prices)	1032.20	1782.10	624.20	1244.80	618.80	1156.60	749.20	1390.80
Average Income per earner (at 1978 prices)	1032.20	1020.10	624.20	712.60	618.80	662.10	749.20	796.20
Average daily agricultural Wage rate (at Current Prices)	2.14	7.00	2.00	6.88	2.50	5.45		
Average daily agricultural Wage rate (at 1978 Prices)	2.14	4.00	2.00	3.90	2.50	3.10		
Average daily E.B.S. Wage rate (at Current Prices)	2.90	5.25	.00	5.72	3.00	.00		
Average daily E.B.S. Wage rate (at 1978 Prices)	2.90	3.00	.00	3.20	3.00	.00		
Average daily Bidi Wage rate (at Current Prices)	.00	.00	2.50	4.96	.00	.00		
Average daily Bidi Wage rate (at 1978 Prices)	.00	.00	2.50	2.80	.00	.00		

RECOMMENDATIONS**1.1 Analysis: New Approach To Employment Management in Rural Area**

The primary data on Employment, Income and Wage rates proves that there exist two segments of labour among the E.G.S. workers. They can be broadly divided into those workers who own small and medium size landholdings and the workers who are landless. Another line of demarcation is based on gender. Women from the landowning class and the landless too are more open to E.G.S. employment. Lack of managerial training and lack of power to take decisions forces women from the landowning classes to take up E.G.S. employment. Similarly women from the landless labourer class too depend heavily on EGS employment, basically because of lack of mobility. It was noticed that EGS plays a more significant role in women's lives than those of men. One of the important characteristics of EGS is that it provides work in the vicinity of the village. This is conducive to women's situation. They can combine domestic duties, subsistence production activities and the paid work. Thus one can say that EGS is women's work, or it is for those who share their situation.

The substantial participation of women has been noticed several times, but it has not digested properly by policy makers. The above-mentioned findings would be useful to understand the reasons for the substantial participation of women. This will help the policy makers to reconstitute the premises on which EGS is based and take a new approach towards rural employment management.

1.2 Once the idea of Reconstitution is accepted, then women from both the classes can be placed at the centre of the scheme as workers and also as beneficiaries and the scheme can be freshly worked out with this focus in mind.

More concretely it means that E.G.S. is going to build assets which should develop a subsistence agricultural economy. A Subsistence agricultural economy proves helpful to women, who gain in two ways. More staple foodgrains are grown and more employment on one's own farm is achieved. Also, their other subsistence production activities, such as fuel and fodder collection get more support, through assets like social forestry. If this succeeds, Page's vision of the withering away of E.G.S. will succeed too. The assets should be selected on these criteria and work conditions for construction works should be suitable to this target group. This does not mean that all men should be excluded from E.G.S. Men who share the characteristics of women can be included in the scheme, e.g. elderly men, men of landholding class who lack mobility. Others, those who require a longer duration and sustained employment should be provided with better, permanent employment on the large public

construction works. They have to leave their homes. Kumudini Dandekar states in her report of 1978, that people are ready to leave their homes provided security of work and better wages are provided. (Dandekar, 1978,). The data on sugarcane workers proves this point.

- 1.3 If women are seen as the intended beneficiaries, then the scheme should try to propagate real participation of women in decision making. They should decide what to build and also, how working conditions should be organised.

At present the element of people's participation is very weak and notional. Representatives of the people, at all levels, pressurize the bureaucracy and get things done according to their vested interest. They have mainly two objectives. Firstly to secure some employment to workers and get popularity. Secondly, the skilled component of the construction work is given to private contractors to build. Thus, the relatives of these M.L.A.s. are favoured when giving tenders of this work. Out of the 35 villages visited, in none of the villages was it observed that women participated in the Gramsabha to decide what new works should be undertaken. The most surprising thing was that although social forestry has been publicized as especially useful for women where fuel and fodder would be available, none of the villages having social forestry programme allowed women to collect fuel and fodder free, or at a minimum charge. When asked the sarpanch told that men in villages preferred selling of the fuel and fodder by auction and used the money for the community. Women complained that previously the grazing ground was open to everybody, now it was cordoned off under social forestry and they had to take their animals farther away for grazing. Thus E.G.S. assets, instead of enriching their life, had caused more discomfort. It had helped concentrate power in the hands of Sarpanch.

- 1.4 A new premise envisages the development of a regional planning approach. An administrative pocket often coincides with a geographically homogeneous area. Thus the priorities of assets is to be considered at the level of a pocket. It is an easier unit for people's participation. Blue prints can be made ready after consultation of people in the pocket. The pocket can be made self-sufficient if the appropriate training is imparted to the young educated men and women, for different tasks of the E.G.S., technical and administrative.

- 1.5 It also envisages that the assets should be consolidated and for the purpose of developing the productivity of land, the linkages with all the agencies and other schemes should be ensured. The assets are supposed to be transferred to the Zilla Parishad. In reality the procedure is not strictly observed. The Zilla Parishad is also not very keen to take the responsibility, since it does not have sufficient funds to maintain the asset. Thus the asset created, like a

percolation tank, for example, lies without any supervision and care. Very often, the construction work is not done, properly, and seepage takes place. Water logging spoils the land. People do not know whom to go to. Sometimes people do not know how to use the percolation tank and they break the bund and take out water (Acharya 1986). At present, assets are built in scattered places and no follow up work is taken up to develop the potential of the land, in the vicinity. For example, no loan is provided for digging of wells in the command area. Thus the resources are wasted. Soil conservation work is not undertaken, plantation is not done on the slopes of the percolation tank or nalla bunding.

This is the major lacuna pointed out by many studies. So far not many studies have been done to evaluate how much the productivity of land has increased. Sarathi Acharya points out after studying a command area of 8 percolation tanks in Murbad district of Thane that, certainly, the cropping intensity increases and the per hectare yield too increases. He complains that at present the full utilisation of potential is not achieved. He works out a cost benefit ratio which is very adverse and stands at 33 percent, but suggests that with efficient utilisation, this ratio can be changed (Acharya, 1986).

- 1.6 The new policy change envisaging EGS being shifted to private land is going to defeat the purpose of EGS. (based on discussion with Page, Chairman of EGS council). It proposes to help marginal and small farmers to cultivate plantation on their land, which, according to policymakers, remains fallow. They would be paid Rs.150 per month for the gestation period of five years, and then the plantation would be handed over to them, whereby they would be able to sell the wood and make money. The following points would show how contradictory is this policy to the spirit of the scheme. (a) It cannot become a large scale programme of employment. It is an individualistic approach, and it has got scope to deliver favours, inviting corruption. (b) It would give payment to the owners of land, i.e. usually to men, not to women. (c) It would not help the objective of strengthening the subsistence agricultural economy. (d) The landowners would have to depend upon the market to sell his wood and buy the foodgrains for daily consumption

- 1.7 Another vital point regarding conceptual reconstitution is formulation of wage rates. Some controversies have been raised so far on this point. The first controversy focuses around what is the way to calculate minimum wages. The minimum wage for agriculture is stated to be the wage norm for E.G.S. work. The minimum wages in agriculture have been decided by the Page committee. The argument is that the committee has assumed a wrong average consumption level of food for the workers' family. It is based on wrong norms of calories. Thus, even though 2 earners earn on E.G.S. works, having an average family size of 5, they cannot cope with

the minimum requirements of the family, to allow them to survive above the poverty level. (Bang. 1979).

Another controversy was raised when a trade union made a petition in the court, asking that E.G.S. wages should not be equal to the minimum wages of the lowest agricultural zone (Agriculture has been divided according to irrigation potential) but the provision in the E.G.S. Act shows that the E.G.S. wages should be equal to the minimum wage of the particular agricultural zone. The union won the case and the government had to revise its pay-scale (High Court judgement 1985). The solution sought by the government is that irrigated agricultural zones are excluded from the Scheme. One needs to take up a study to assess whether it is the right solution.

Another criticism can be forward by us is that at present the wage rates are heavily subsidized by the unpaid productive labour carried out by women in the countryside. While calculating the minimum cost of providing calories, it is never taken into account that food needs to be cooked and for that fuel is required. Fuel gathering has been women's work and consumes a lot of time. Women also compensate for household consumption by rearing chickens, goats and cows. Fodder collection, tending of these animals is done by women. Water fetching has been one of the important activities carried out by them. Thus apart from cooking and nurturing, women carry on important productive activities and add to household consumption which is not counted in the present system. If valuation of activities is done, then to compensate for them, wage rates have to be raised.

The table No.IX.1 is prepared from primary data.

The time spent on all the activities is calculated for the female members and male members separately, as well as for the whole household. It is clearly noticed that except for livestock rearing, in all other activities, female members are putting in more time than the male members. On an average, daily, female members spend 2.1 hours on such ~~unremunerative productive activity~~, whereas male members spend 1.1 hours on an average daily for all the year round. Livestock rearing may earn a little money, hence that activity is taken care of by men. Other activities including fodder collection are performed by women.

Table No.IX.2 shows how much time is spent by female respondent alone on such activities. It works out to 2.1 hours, per day and 111 days per year, on the basis of 7 hours a day. Thus apart from paid labour outside, a woman participant earns substantially through her unpaid labour activities. One must understand that these activities are productive and not 'reproductive' in nature.

Thus while calculating minimum wages, these hidden wages

need to be included. If the wages are more than the present norms, women can buy the wood for fuel in the market, or can pay taxes for the water on the tap. In this situation only can the E.G.S. claim that it helps people to live above the poverty line. In the absence of it people are surviving by foraging, which neither can government help or stop.

Administration

- 2.1 The present set up of organising E.G.S. through the revenue department seems to be efficient. The revenue department acts as a co-ordinating agency for 22 agencies who undertake public construction works and co-ordinates between these agencies and workers who demand work. Whenever people find no employment they can come to the deputy collector of E.G.S. with the demand. They can pressurize the co-ordinating centre for work. Blue prints are maintained by this centre.

At present the agencies accept the role of the revenue department very reluctantly. There is a suggestion made, that the E.G.S. funds should be given to the agencies directly and not through the revenue department. This will take power away from the revenue department and will reduce its activity to just the clerical work of documenting information on E.G.S. At present all the agencies submit their monthly progress reports to the revenue department and the department processes the reports and sends them to the planning department. The funds are distributed on the basis of these reports.

The new G.R.s of 17th April and 22nd September are going to affect the administrative set up radically. (Appendix No.2) One of the points pertaining to changes is that the 22 agencies responsible for public construction works are given the authority to determine their own priorities of works, irrespective of people's demand for work in a certain area. The priorities would be spelled out in the district plans and hence flexibility according to demand is ignored.

- 2 The new G.R.s of 17th April and 22nd September 1986 are going to affect the administrative set up drastically. They have come under heavy criticism, and rightly so. G.R. of 17th April issued instructions mainly regarding the nature of works to be undertaken. The emphasis has shifted from employment generation to creation of productive assets. For this purpose the guidelines are that the earlier clause about providing works within a 5 kilometres radius of the village can be ignored, and the clause of guarantee should be re-interpreted as guarantee of employment within the area of the district. The G.R. of 22nd September goes further and abolishes the blue-print system which had been established as a part of the non-plan construction programme in the countryside. This brings E.G.S. completely within the fold of the planning process.

Work in the vicinity has been an important characteristic of E.G.S. work. If it is abolished, there is going to be resistance, especially from women and men having land. This change does not take into account the two segments of labour which are discerned in the earlier analysis. It puts all the labourers in the same basket. E.G.S. is seen so far as employment complementary to the agricultural sector. That role of E.G.S. has been suddenly changed, under the false premise that productive assets means only big and medium dams, which need to be given priority with the cost of transportation and camp-site for workers. Apparently the administrative change pertains to the change in a basic premise of E.G.S., of developing local assets.

The blue-print system was another important characteristic of E.G.S., which allowed non-plan works to be undertaken. The blue-print system envisages not only a financial feasibility report, but also the estimate of the demand of work by workers. It allowed a little more flexibility as well as people's participation in decision making, of which asset should be based on priority. Under the premise that the blue-print system allows to evade productive works under popular pressure, the G.R. changes the core of the E.G.S. as a development programme.

Thus apparent administrative changes are going to affect the E.G.S. conceptually and hit at its core itself.

- 2.3 At present the works undertaken under E.G.S. are standardized and hence nothing new can be introduced by taking account of the needs of particular geographical areas. In this situation 'Saturation' of works becomes a reality. To avoid this, district collectors can be given the authority to suggest the new types of work to increase productivity of the land. For example, in Bhandara, regular soil conservation work is not possible because of the predominance of small holdings. But the reconstruction of bunding around the fields can be taken up.

Another suggestion is that E.G.S. should be utilised for improving the standard of life of workers themselves. Like R.L.E.G.P., E.G.S. can take up works like construction of houses, roads within Panchayat boundaries, sanitation etc. At present some of these works are carried out under N.R.E.P. where the proportion of skilled to unskilled portion is 50:50. But N.R.E.P. grants are scarce and come from the centre.

One can also think of forming women's co-operatives to whom maintenance of roads, or social forestry can be allotted on a contractual basis, which might ensure initiative.

- 2.4 One of the major criticisms about E.G.S. administration is that it allows scope for corruption. Corruption thrives on the ignorance and powerlessness of people. One can present a

whole list of ways of indulging in corruption.

- (a) There can be an alliance between the muster clerk, local politicians and agency people. They put false names on the muster and take away the wages in their name by giving thumb impressions. This may be one of the reasons, why in the official government statistics, the number of men participating in E.G.S. is higher and in reality, on the sites, more women are seen.
- (b) False measurements is another easy means of corruption. Ignorant labourers can be easily fooled by muster clerk and officials.
- (c) A percolation tank requires black soil in its construction. It is not available nearby. Hence donkeys are deployed to carry soil from far away places. The Wadar community, who own donkeys, work in a gang and carry the soil. Thus the head of the donkey owners is taken into confidence and he is made to sign bills showing bigger amounts than the actual work. The lack of sufficient black soil has been a cause, why percolation tanks have failed.
- (d) The provision exists for skilled construction work to be taken up departmentally. But under the pretext that the department does not have equipment, the work is given over to a contractor and a bribe is taken for that.
- (e) A water supplier is appointed at the site. He supplies water only once but payment is shown for four times. The government has provided for vigilance squads and internal assessment is done regularly. The sites are scattered and many in number. Therefore it is not really possible to keep proper vigilance. The best way of controlling corruption seems to be giving more power of vigilance to workers themselves. For this purpose, there exist some good provisions which can be strengthened, such as
 - (i) The duplicate copy of the muster roll should be stuck on the wall of the village panchayat, so that people can point out false names.
 - (ii) At the time of payment, Sarpanch of the village should be intimated and in his presence the wages can be distributed.
 - (iii) Those who want to demand work are provided with forms and once 50 forms are accumulated the Tahsildar is supposed to start the work. The villagers stay far away from the Tahsil place. Women cannot afford to go to the Tahsildar's office. Also, they are shy. Then some middleman emerges and says, 'I will get the work sanctioned, you give me money/commission to go to the Tahsil town'. Thus he makes money.

If the forms are easily available with the Talathi, who is supposed to visit the villages often, people can demand work easily. In fact, illiterate people should not be asked to fill forms. They can just make a list of people who want to work and can give it to the Talathi. On the whole one feels that the corruption problem can be solved only by giving more power to people, and not by increasing bureaucracy.

3.1 Provisions For Workers:

- (a) Firstly, to distinguish two segments of labour, labourers should be given different identification cards, may be of different colours. At present, the caste type of a person belonging to scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes is mentioned on the card. This provision is done to identify the needy people, as well as to keep census record of these people. Similarly, identification based on landsize can be introduced. Later on when new scheme of sustained work is started it would be easier to distinguish workers having drastice employment need.

One knows that it is not easy to segregate people, particulrally at the site when everybody has an urgent need for work. But if a new scheme of work at the camp-site, with attractive wage rates is announced, this differentiation will not be felt.

- (b) Secondly the workers need to be given attendance cards on which, no. of days of employment and the name of the agencies with which they worked, are to be noted. This will help the planning department to keep records. It will check corruption. And will help particularly, pregnant women to get maternity benefits after working for 150 days. Right now there is no way to know how many days the pregnant women worked as the muster rolls are scattered around different agencies.
- (c) Although there is a provision for partial wages to be paid in kind, the supply of foodgrains is not continuous. The foodgrains are much in demand particularly with women who feel that cash wages of their husbands might be wasted on liquor.

One of the important things is that more than 50 per cent of their grain requirement has to be satisfied through the market. The wage in kind provides stability to partial consumption and add to the real wages. Therefore women demand a greater part of their wages in kind.

One of the problems is that they have to walk long distances to procure grain. Sometimes grain stocks are short and they have to go back. Hence women demand grain to be distributed on the site along with the weekly payment.

- (d) Special training programmes can be developed for the workers

and the opportunity of upgradation of skills should be provided. The TRYSEM Scheme can be useful in this regard. Social forestry has a lot of scope for women workers. Women can be selected as canvassing agents for the "grow more trees" campaign. They can maintain their own nurseries.

Women can become gang leaders, if literate women can be trained in taking measurements. Some of them can act as muster-clerks too. We found that even though the work performed by the gang is measured and the payment is calculated and distributed equally among the gang-members, even then the men have reported getting more wages than women. It is possible that if men are digging, they are given better wage rates by the gang leader and women who are carrying earth are paid at a lower rate. Women gang-leaders might be able to stop this discrimination.

Though, rarely, it was reported that a single woman finds it difficult to get accommodated in a gang, since the people prefer family members in a favourable proportion of men and women in their gang. These women need extra help from junior engineers or muster clerks to get selected.

- (e) It is important to run the non-formal education classes on the sites for at least half a day in a week. Thus the worker will get six days wages but work only five and half days. Half of the day workers will attend the class. Women are rarely found coming out of their houses in such large numbers. And therefore if they are promised payment for this period, they would definitely like to take non-formal education through local voluntary agencies.

It has been noticed that no indirect impact of EGS on women workers exists. Primary data on the status of women participants is not encouraging. Whenever participants are organised, they are more confident and knowledgeable about their rights. EGS provides a base for organising. But it is realized that just coming together does not make them enlightened. The opportunity to get non-formal education may give them a chance to get exposure to new ideas.

- 3.2 Some improvement is necessary in the mode of payment of unemployment doles. The preconditions for such an allowance are so intricately laid down that no worker can become really eligible. So far only one trade union had made a petition for the unemployment dole.

One important lacuna in the clause is that to obtain the allowance the worker has to provide evidences of non-availability of work in writing, which is obtained from various government officers. Government officers are firstly bogged down in heavy work and secondly, they would be inclined to save the funds. On the other hand the benefit is so minimal, Rs.2 per day that it will not compensate the cost the worker incurs in coming to the tahsil town and

wasting a lot of time looking for the concerned officers. Thus the provision seems notional rather than practical. The law works towards dissuading workers rather than reassuring them. The only purpose the law can serve is that it puts the responsibility for providing work on the government officers.

- 3.3 The recommendations in an earlier ISST Report are still valid. Some of them can again be brought to notice.:

Many states have an Applied Nutrition Programme as part of their social welfare service. This programme is largely funded by the UNICEF in India, but it is equally supported by the state. Under the Applied Nutrition Programme, infants as well as lactating mothers are given food free of cost. Programmes are usually delivered through local women's institutions as well as the District Welfare Officers. There have been evaluations of this Applied Nutrition Programme and frequently it has been said that the programme does not necessarily reach the neediest women and consequently does not reach the largest number of them. Considering that women from the most needy section report for work on these sites and that their children have to be abandoned in the village for long hours while they do manual work, an idea that naturally emerges is whether the Applied Nutritional Programme could not be fitted into the employment guarantee scheme at the site level. If there are enough trained social workers or implementors of the programme, they should be made into mobile teams and they could serve the women on the sites as well as their households in the villages. This would ensure that the programme reached those who needed it most.

- 3.4 A similar recommendation can be made for the integrated child development programme (ICDP). India has a programme called the ICDP. By this 100 villages are selected in districts in the country where the child development and related maternity services are intensified. Each of the 100 villages are provided with Care Centres very near the homes of the rural women. Food as well as education is given to these infants. Mothers are educated in health and nutrition, they are also given free food if they belong to poorest. Here again all the suggestions made for the Applied Nutrition Programme could be made namely, that the ICDP is also made into a mobile programme intensively operating in areas where women are working in massive numbers doing hard physical labour as a result of the pressure of poverty.

Table No. IX.1

NO OF HOURS SPENT PER DAY

(ALL DISTRICTS)

ACTIVITY	FEMALE MEMBERS	MALE MEMBERS	ALL MEMBERS
WATER	.90	.20	1.10
FETCHING %	82	18	100
FIRE WOOD	.90	.20	1.10
COLLECTION %	82	18	100
FODDER	.90	.70	1.60
COLLECTION %	56	44	100
LIVE STOCK	.50	1.30	1.80
REARING %	28	72	100
ALL	2.10	1.10	3.20
ACTIVITIES %	66	34	100

NO OF HOURS SPENT PER DAY BY FEMALE RESPONDENTS

(ALL DISTRICTS)

ACTIVITIES	FEMALE RESPONDENT	TOTAL HOUSE HOLD	NO. OF PERSON DAYS SPENT IN A YEAR
WATER FETCHING	.90	1.10	48
% to Total H.H.hours	82	100	
FIREWOOD COLLECTION	.80	1.10	41
% to Total H.H.hours	73	100	
FODDER COLLECTION	.80	1.60	44
% to Total H.H.hours	50	100	
LIVE STOCK REARING	1.10	1.80	58
% to Total H.H.hours	61	100	
ALL ACTIVITIES	2.10	3.30	191
% to Total H.H.hours	64	100	

APPENDIX NO.1

PERCOLATION TANK

Agency : Deputy Engineer, Zilla Parishad.
Minor Irrigation Dept., Parner

Budget : Rs. 4,84,277

Sanctioned : EGS/1/3316/75 dated 30-10-1975

Capacity : 11-42-M.C.F.T.

Completed : 1976-77

PERCOLATION TANK : RALEGAN SHINDI

Under R.L.E.G.P.

Budgeted Amount : Rs. 3,91,414.00

sanctioned : E.G. desk/1180/1100/84 dated 29-5-1984

Capacity : 11.41 M.C.F.T.

SOIL CONSERVATION DEPARTMENT, PARNER

RALEGAN SHINDI WATER-SHADES 4, TOTAL AREA : 1216.18 HECT.

Sr. No.	Year	Expenditure Lakh Rs.	No. of Beneficiaries	Benefitted Area
1.	1982-83	0.77	10	10 Hect.
2.	1983-84	1.29	25	63
3.	1984-85	3.53	55	115
4.	1985-86	5.76	68	132
5.	1986-87	1.77	12	22
TOTAL		13.12	170	342

APPENDIX NO.2

GR of 17th April 1986 has issued instructions mainly regarding nature of works to be undertaken. The emphasis is not to provide employment for the sake of employment, but the employment is created such a way that the productive assets are constructed. For this purpose guidelines are that earlier clause of providing works within five kilometers radius of the village can be ignored, and the clause of guarantee should be reinterpreted as guarantee of employment within the area of district. GR of 22nd Sept. goes further and abolishes the blueprints system which had been established as a part of non-plan construction programme in the countryside. This brings the EGS completely under the fold of planning process. Apparently, justification offered is that EGS has been in limbo and hence lacked firm footing. Therefore it had deteriorated into constructing unproductive assets and not had any ripple effect on employment generation.

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