

# The Great Job Robbery

Rs 2100 Crore NREGS Scam in Madhya Pradesh

*Parshuram Rai*

Centre for Environment and Food Security

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## **Executive Summary**

It is now well known that Madhya Pradesh has secured top position in spending NREGS (National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme ) funds during last year (2007-8). What, however, is not so well known is that about 75 percent of the NREGS funds have been siphoned off by *Percentage Raj* prevailing in the state. The modus operandi of participatory loot of NREGS funds by sarkari babus is very well organized.

As per the data posted on the NREGA website of the Union Ministry of Rural Development (<http://nrega.nic.in/> ), Madhya Pradesh (MP) was provided a total amount of Rs. 3288 crore under the NREGS and was able to spend a total amount of Rs. 2891 crore during 2007-08. With this amount of expenditure, 2753 lakh persondays of wage employment was given to 4346916 households of the state during this period. To put it differently, ***43,46,916 households of Madhya Pradesh were given 63 days of average employment during 2007-8.*** The total employment given to the Schedule Caste (SC) workers was about 491 lakh persondays and that figure for Schedule Tribe (ST) workers was 1342 lakh persondays. ***What a terrific performance !***

However, a study carried out by Delhi-based **Centre for Environment and Food Security (CEFS)** gives a totally different and dismal picture of the performance of the NREGS in MP. The following findings of our study reveal the ground reality and actual performance of the NREGS in Madhya Pradesh.

During first 10 months of 2007-8(April 2007-January 2008), ***the sample households have got only 10.61 days of average employment*** and just 2.36 percent of the sample households have got 100 days of wage employment. It is

shocking to note that 65.39 percent of the sample households have not received even a single day of employment during the year (April 2007-January 2008). Moreover, 38.49 percent of the sample households have never got any employment under the NREGS.

Our study suggests that actually not more than 16 days of average employment was given to the needy households during 2007-8. When we compare the Government figures with the figures of CEFS survey, we get the true picture of the NREGS in MP. According to CEFS survey, during first 10 months of 2007-8, the sample households in MP were given only 10.61 days of average employment. So, the average employment during 12 months of the financial year 2007-8 comes to about 13 days. Even if we add 3 days more on account of margin of error, the average employment figure for the year comes to only 16 days. **Therefore, the average employment figure of 63 days claimed by the Government of MP is about 4 times more than the CEFS figure of 16 days.**

This difference arises because all the facts and figures given by the Government of Madhya Pradesh are apparently based on faked job entries in the job cards and muster rolls of the state. Only about one-fourth (25 percent) of the job figures are actual and the remaining three-fourth (75 percent) of the job figures are based on faked job entries in job cards and muster rolls of the state. So, **it is obvious that only about 25 percent of the NREGS funds have actually reached intended beneficiaries and the remaining about 75 percent of the NREGS funds in Madhya Pradesh have been siphoned off and sucked by the “black-holes” of the prevailing Percentage Raj. To put this in figure, of a total amount of Rs.2,891 crore spent on NREGS during 2007-8, about Rs 2,100 crore has apparently been siphoned off and misappropriated by executing officials of the implementing agencies. We found irregularities as the only regular thing in the NREGS of Madhya Pradesh.**

This open loot of the NREGS funds in Madhya Pradesh has been truly participatory. A certain percentage of the booty has gone at every level of sanctioning and executing authority starting from the district to block to Grampanchayat. The percentage varies from district to district, block to block and Grampanchayat to Grampanchayat. But this participatory loot is very well organized and institutionalized. There may be isolated cases of certain honest officials not taking any percentage from this loot, however, ***it is absolutely impossible that even a single district, block or Grampanchayat level functionary is unaware about the shocking, outrageous and scandalous scale of the prevailing percentage raj in the NREGS of Madhya Pradesh.***

We were told by many Sarpanches, Panchayat Secretaries and local activists that the NREGS projects are sanctioned and funds released by concerned authorities only after they receive their pound of flesh (a certain percentage of money from project fund) in advance. Unless a Sarpanch or Panchayat Secretary is able to make advance payments of percentage money to various senior officials, the NREGS funds are not released. Many Panchayat functionaries on condition of anonymity narrated their harrowing experiences of the prevailing percentage raj in the NREGS. One Sarpanch of Chattarpur district told us that 3 NREGS projects were sanctioned for his Grampanchayat but funds were not being released because he did not have sufficient money to make percentage payments in advance.

We saw innumerable tree plantation projects executed under NREGS without a single surviving sapling or plant. You can see hundreds of miles of tree-guards on either side of roads without a single plant or sapling inside them. We also came across many ghost NREGS projects. We saw job entries and project entries on job cards without any project of that name ever executed in the village. We also saw many already existing roads, ponds and tanks converted and shown as fresh NREGS projects with just nominal earth work or minor modifications. You can see muster rolls with 60-100 days' of faked job entries in

the name of government servants and their family members, dead persons, prosperous families, businessmen, teachers, army soldiers and also in the name of family members of journalists.

You can see thousands of Grampanchayats in MP where big NREGS projects with costs ranging from Rs. 25 lakh to Rs. 1 crore have been executed by the line agencies like RES (rural engineering services) and Irrigation Department. Local activists told us that bigger the project cost higher the level of corruption. Moreover, since most of the big cost projects are executed directly by line agencies like RES, there is hardly any one who could really monitor or question any thing about these projects. Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) have no role in the implementation and monitoring of big projects executed by line agencies. Most of these big projects engage contractors in one form or the other and use labour-displacing /cost-saving heavy machinery. These big projects completely negate the spirit and objectives of NREGS. ***The big NREGS projects executed by the line agencies are more of income guarantee schemes for urbane engineers and very less of employment guarantee schemes for the rural poor.***

### **Line Agencies: Main architects of NREGS scam**

What is the modus operandi of the great job robbery in Madhya Pradesh?

First, the officials give hugely inflated cost estimates of the NREGS projects, in many cases 2 times more than the actual cost.

Second, most works in the projects executed by line agencies like RES have been done by banned heavy machines like dumpers and JCBs and very few labourers have been engaged in these projects. This brings down the labour cost to less than one third. ***Is NREGS employment guarantee scheme for dumpers and JCBs or employment guarantee scheme for poor labourers?***

Third, since the line agency has to mandatorily show 60 percent of the project expenditure on account of wage employment to labourers, this forged employment is shown through faked job entries on job cards and muster rolls.

Fourth, shoddy quality of work has been done with very poor quality of material used in the projects; inflated bills and forged vouchers being an essential part of the game.

Fifth, complete secrecy of the project related documents and non-sharing of the project related information with the PRIs, civil society groups or citizens. The RES cares two hoots about the RTI (Right to Information Act). It blocks information at every level, being well aware that its game plan might be exposed if all project related documents are put in public domain. There is hardly any information about these projects posted on the NREGA website. Most online job cards are blank. ***So much in the name of transparency and public scrutiny!***

Nine months of our intensive research and investigation on the implementation of the NREGS in Madhya Pradesh has led us to conclude that there has been not only very high level of financial bungling and various irregularities in the projects executed by line agencies like RES, but also that very little actual wage employment has been given to labourers and most works have been done by heavy machines like JCBs and dumpers. Transparency safeguards in these projects are absolutely non-existent. If an independent enquiry is conducted on all the NREGS projects executed by the line agencies like RES, a huge NREGS scam would come to the fore. We firmly believe that the moment RES makes public all the job related documents, most officials of the RES would immediately go behind the bars. Unfortunately, they are unlikely to make public the actual documents because they are acutely aware about the fatal implications of this disclosure. ***But where is social audit and other transparency safeguards of the NREGS? The Government of Madhya Pradesh owes an explanation to the nation.***

### **Hunger, poverty and distress migration**

The level of hunger, poverty and human deprivation in the sample districts (Shivpuri, Chhattarpur, Tikamgarh, Dhar and Jhabua) is comparable to only KBK (Kalahandi-Bolangir -Koraput) region of Orissa. Last year, CEFS had carried out a similar study in the KBK region of Orissa and found that about 70-75 percent of the NREGS funds in Orissa were siphoned off by sarkari babus while most population of the region is living a life of semi-starvation and extreme poverty. The living condition of the people in sample villages of MP is almost similar to that of KBK people.

The level of poverty and deprivation, especially in 3 Bundelkhand districts- Shivpuri, Chhattarpur and Tikamgarh, is dehumanizing and unconscionable. We found large number of families, especially adivasis in Tikamgarh, Shivpuri and Chhattarpur, literally surviving by eating *chapattis* made of wild grass like *jathara*. Many adivasi families brought out from their homes and showed us these wild foods. Where is emerging India and its 9 percent of GDP growth? We owe an explanation to our starving compatriots.

The current level of hunger, poverty and deprivation in MP's rural areas is as deep, demeaning and dehumanising as ever despite the so- called successful implementation of the NREGS with the highest expenditure of funds (Rs 2891 crore) anywhere in the country. The Rural Employment Scheme has made virtually zero impact on the livelihood security of MP's rural poor. There is no let up in the level of distress migration of adivasis and dalits from MP's Bundelkhand region in search of livelihood in other parts of the country. Hunger and abject poverty are widespread in all the 125 sample villages we visited. Large number of children in these villages are suffering from severe malnutrition. Hunger and abject poverty are apparent and writ large on the hollowed cheeks, sunken eyes and distended bellies of the children.

Most dalit and adivasi families of 3 sample districts of Bundelkhand are living a life of chronic hunger and semi-starvation. The prevailing drought has only exacerbated the livelihood crises in Bundelkhand region. Most traditional sources of water (old tanks, open wells and hand pumps) had dried up, cattle were dying, agricultural fields were barren and villages looked deserted due to out-migration of labourers.

The level of distress migration was very high in Chhattarpur, Tikamgarh and Jhabua districts. Over 70-80 percent working population of these 3 districts have migrated out to cities and towns in search of wage employment. We saw dozens of villages in these 3 districts where only old, infirm and children have been left behind in the villages and every adult person has migrated to cities and towns in search of wage employment. In fact, the problem of distress migration in Chhattarpur, Tikamgarh and Jhabua district is much worse than that in Kalahandi and Bolangir districts of Orissa. Most workers of Tikamgarh and Chhattarpur have migrated to Delhi and its suburbs, and Jhabua's Bhil adivasis have migrated to brick-kilns in Gujarat. We found many villages facing acute distress migration not getting any NREGS employment at all or getting just nominal jobs for few days. Any one visiting these villages can see that there has been absolutely **NO** impact of the NREGS on distress migration. ***Is this the kind of wage employment and livelihood security the NREGS is supposed to provide to the rural poor of India?***

### **Survey Methodology**

The CEFS study is based on a purposive sample survey carried out in the state during December 2007-January 2008. The survey was conducted in 125 poorest villages spread over 5 poorest districts of M P (Shivpuri, Chhattarpur, Tikamgarh, Dhar and Jhabua). We decided to conduct this survey in poorest villages of poorest districts because the NREGS is a self-selecting anti-poverty programme and the poorest households in poorest areas should have the first charge on this

scheme. Therefore, poorest families in poorest villages of poorest districts are naturally supposed to get highest number of jobs and performance of the NREGS among them is expected to be far better compared to among relatively prosperous families of the prosperous villages in prosperous districts. To put it differently, a performance survey of the NREGS based on random sampling is bound to yield much worse results than that based on purposive sampling of the poorest. Therefore, the findings of CEFS survey based on poorest samples is bound to be positively biased and hence the actual performance of the NREGS in the state as a whole is bound to be much worse than the findings of the CEFS survey suggest.

Since dalits and adivasis are the poorest communities in MP, we purposively selected dalit and adivasi dominant villages for our survey. About 90 percent of our sample households are dalit and adivasi. The total size of sample households is 3427.

### **Comparative analysis of sample districts**

The disaggregated data for the sample districts suggests that the average employment given to the sample households during the year (April 2007-January 2008) is highest in Dhar district (23.87 days) and lowest in Chattarpur district (5.44 days). The average employment availed by the sample households is 7.27 days in Tikamgarh, 7.61 days in Shivpuri and 11.51 days in Jhabua district. On the account of 100 days of employment availed by the sample families, the district of Jhabua is worst performing with only 0.48 percent of the sample households getting 100 days of job during the year. 100 days of employment was given to just 1.34 percent of the sample households in Shivpuri, 1.39 percent households in Tikamgarh, 2.49 percent households in Chhattarpur and 6.45 percent households in Dhar district.

On account of sample households denied job during the year (April 2007-January 2008), Shivpuri is the worst performing district with as high as 80.80 percent of the sample households not getting even a single day of NREGS employment. The proportion of households who did not get even a single day of work during the year (April 2007-January 2008) was 69.96 percent in Tikamgarh, 69.90 percent in Chhattarpur, 54.55 percent in Jhabua and 48.10 percent in Dhar district. In respect of the households never ever getting any NREGS employment since its launch, Tikamgarh district has the worst record with as high as 55.08 percent of the sample households never ever receiving any employment under this scheme. 46.43 percent of the sample households in Shivpuri, 39.39 percent of the samples in Jhabua, 36.32 percent households in Chhattarpur and 11.90 percent of the surveyed households in Dhar district have never ever got even a single day of NREGS employment.

### **The Inconvenient Truth**

No Gramsabha has ever been actually convened in any of the sample villages to plan and approve the NREGS projects to be executed in the village. The Gramsabhas are convened by Sarpanch and Panchayat Secretary only on paper. None of the sample households in 125 sample villages has ever participated in a Gramsabha meeting. This is a blatant violation of the NREGA norms. In fact, most of the NREGS projects executed by Grampanchayats are planned and approved top down. In other words, most of these projects are planned and approved by block and district authorities.

As high as 98.4 percent of the sample households have never seen muster rolls. When asked as to why they had not seen muster rolls, 74.4 percent of the sample households said that it was because the muster rolls were never available at the worksite, 20.8 percent said that it was because Grampanchayat

officials refused to show muster rolls and 3.2 percent of the respondents could not specify the reason for not seeing muster rolls.

54.4 percent of the sample households(hhs) have been paid on daily wage basis, 38.4 percent of the samples have been paid on piece-rate basis and 3.2 percent were paid on the basis of both. 1.6 percent of the samples received their wages within a week, 84.8 percent of the samples got it within a fortnight, 8 percent were paid within a month, 0.8 percent were paid within 3 months and 1.6 percent samples got their wages after 3 months .

When asked as to whether there was any vigilance committee in the village to monitor NREGS works, a staggering 91.2 percent of the sample hhs answered no and only 5.6 percent replied in the affirmative.

When asked as to whether NREGS had enhanced food security of the village, a staggering 96 percent of the sample hhs said no and only 2.4 percent of the samples said yes. When asked as to whether NREGS had reduced distress migration, 96.8 percent of the respondents replied in negative and only 1.6 percent replied in affirmative. When asked as to whether NREGS had reduced indebtedness, 96.8 percent of the samples said no , not a single sample said yes and 1.6 percent could not say anything.

When we asked as to whether NREGS was corruption-free in the village, not a single respondent said yes, a staggering 96 percent of the households said no and 2.4 percent could not say anything. When we asked as to what was the scale of corruption/leakage, 90.4 percent of the sample hhs said that it was very high (55-75 percent). Only 7.2 percent of the samples thought that the scale of corruption was below 25 percent.

We found that 52 percent of the households did not have their job cards with them because they were always kept with either Sarpanch or Panchayat

Secretary against the will of the card owners. We found that job cards were properly maintained only in the case of 25.6 percent of sample households and 72.8 percent of the job cards were not maintained properly. Only in 40 percent of the sample villages every worker had got the prescribed minimum wage, in 32.8 percent of villages most workers had got the prescribed minimum wage, in 5.6 percent of the sample villages only some workers had received their due wage and in 16 percent of the sample villages no worker had got prescribed minimum wage. Only in 2.4 percent of the sample villages women were paid less than men and in 95.2 percent of villages women were paid at par with men.

There has been no social audit whatsoever of the NREGS projects in any of the sample villages. It is shocking to note that not even a single labourer, villager or Grampanchayat functionary in any of the sample villages has ever heard these two 'strange words' (social audit), forget about any awareness about it. Many of the Panchayat functionaries and villagers wondered if social audit was the name of some English festival. The absolute absence of transparency and monitoring mechanisms from the ground is the main reason for obnoxious percentage raj and participatory loot of about 75 percent of NREGS funds in MP.

### **Chhattarpur**

According to the data posted on the NREGA website of the Union Ministry of Rural Development (<http://nrega.nic.in/>), Chhattarpur district was able to spend a total amount of Rs. 144 crore under the NREGS during 2007-08. With this amount of expenditure, 121 lakh persondays of wage employment was given to 1,62,260 households of the district during this period. In other words, **1,62,260 households of Chhattarpur district were given 75 days of average employment during 2007-8**. The total employment given to the Schedule Caste (SC) workers was about 50 lakh persondays and that figure for Schedule Tribe (ST) workers was 9 lakh persondays. A terrific performance!

However, CEFS survey of the NREGS conducted in 25 villages of Chhattarpur gives an absolutely dismal picture of the state of NREGS in this poor district of Bundelkhand. The following findings of our survey reveal the ground reality and actual performance of the NREGS in Chhattarpur.

According to the CEFS survey, the actual average employment given to the sample households is only 5.44 days during first 9 months of 2007-8. It is shocking to note that 36.32 percent of the sample households in Chhattarpur district have never ever got even one day of NREGS employment. During first 9 months of the financial year 2007-8 (April 2007-December 2007), a staggering 69.90 percent of the sample hhs did not get even a single day of NREGS job. During this period, only 2.49 percent of the sample families got 100 days of work

Let us compare the government figures with the figures of CEFS survey. According to CEFS survey, during first 9 months of 2007-8, the sample households in Chhattarpur were given only 5.44 days of average employment. So, the average employment during 12 months of the financial year 2007-8 comes to about 8 days. Even if we add 2 days more as margin of error, the average employment during the year comes to only 10 days. Therefore, Chhattarpur's average employment figure of 75 days given by the Government of MP is 7.5 times more than the CEFS figure of 10 days. Since the facts and figures given by the Government of Madhya Pradesh are apparently based on faked job entries in the job cards and muster rolls, less than 15 percent of the job figures are actual and the remaining over 85 percent of the job figures are based on false job entries in job cards and muster rolls. So, it is obvious that over 85 percent (Rs. 122 crore) of the NREGS funds (Rs 144 crore) in Chhattarpur district have been siphoned off and misappropriated by the executing officials of implementing agencies.

## Tikamgarh

As per the data posted on the NREGA website, Tikamgarh district spent a total amount of Rs. 95 crore under the NREGS during 2007-08. With this amount of expenditure, 84 lakh persondays of wage employment was given to 1,44,866 households of the district during this period. To put it differently, **1,44,866 households of Tikamgarh district were given 58 days of average employment during 2007-8**. The total employment given to the Schedule Caste (SC) workers was about 27 lakh persondays and that figure for Schedule Tribe (ST) workers was about 4 lakh persondays. However, findings of the CEFS survey carried out in 25 villages of Tikamgarh have found all the above claims of the MP Government bogus and baseless.

According to CEFS survey, a whopping 55.08 percent of the sample households in Tikamgarh (one of the poorest districts of M P) have never ever got even one day of NREGS employment. During first 9 months of the financial year 2007-8 (April 2007-December 2007), a staggering 69.96 percent of the sample hhs did not get even a single day of NREGS job. During this period, just 1.39 percent of the sample families got 100 days of work and **the sample hhs got only 7.27 days of average employment**.

Let us compare the government figures with the figures of CEFS survey. According to CEFS survey, during first 9 months of 2007-8, the sample households in Tikamgarh were given only 7.27 days of average employment. So, the average employment for 12 months of the financial year 2007-8 comes to about 10 days. Even if we add another 2 days as margin of error, the average employment during the year comes to only 12 days. Therefore, Tikamgarh's average employment figure of 58 days claimed by the Government of MP is about 5 times more than the CEFS figure of 12 days. Since the facts and figures given by the Government of Madhya Pradesh are apparently based on faked job entries in the job cards and muster rolls, only about one-fifth (20 percent) of the job figures are actual and the remaining four-fifth(80 percent) of the job figures

exist only on faked job cards and forged muster rolls. So, it is obvious that about 80 percent (Rs. 79 crore) of the NREGS funds (Rs 95 crore) spent in Tikamgarh district have been siphoned off and misappropriated by sarkari babus.

### **Shivpuri**

As per the data available on the NREGA website, Shivpuri district spent a total amount of Rs. 121 crore under the NREGS during 2007-08. With this amount of expenditure, 109 lakh persondays of wage employment was given to 1,70,450 households of the district during this period. To put the figures in perspective, **1,70,450 households of Shivpuri district were given about 64 days of average employment during 2007-8.** The total employment given to the Schedule Caste (SC) workers was about 28 lakh persondays and that figure for Schedule Tribe (ST) workers was about 37 lakh persondays. But CEFS survey conducted in 25 villages of Shivpuri suggests that all these job figures are false and have been manufactured in order for siphoning off NREGS funds.

We were shocked to find that 46.43 percent of the sample households in Shivpuri (one of the poorest districts of M P) have never ever got even one day of NREGS employment. During first 9 months of the financial year 2007-8 (April 2007-December 2007), a staggering 80.80 percent of the sample hhs did not get even a single day of NREGS job. During this period, just 1.34 percent of the sample families got 100 days of work and **the sample hhs got only 7.61 days of average employment.**

Compare the government figures with the figures of CEFS survey. According to CEFS survey, during first 9 months of 2007-8, the sample households in Shivpuri were given only 7.61 days of average employment. So, the average employment during 12 months of the financial year 2007-8 comes to about 11 days. Even if we add 2 days more as margin of error, the average employment during the year comes to only 13 days. Therefore, Shivpuri's average employment figure of 64

days claimed by the Government of MP is about 5 times more than the CEFS figure of 13 days. Since the facts and figures given by the Government of Madhya Pradesh are apparently based on fake and fabricated job entries in the job cards and muster rolls, only about one-fifth (20percent) of the job figures are actual and the remaining four-fifth (80 percent) of the job figures are based on fake and forged job entries in job cards and muster rolls. So, it is obvious that about 80 percent (Rs. 96 crore) of the NREGS funds (Rs 121 crore) spent in Shivpuri district have been siphoned off and misappropriated by the executing officials of implementing agencies. Only about 20 percent (Rs 25 crore) of the funds have reached the target beneficiaries.

### **Dhar**

According to the available data on the NREGA website, Dhar district spent a total amount of Rs. 203 crore under the NREGS during 2007-08. With this fund, 188 lakh persondays of wage employment was given to 2,02,133 households of the district during this period. It implies that **2,02,133 households of Dhar district were given over 93 days of average employment during 2007-8**. The total employment given to the Schedule Caste (SC) workers was about 13 lakh persondays and that figure for Schedule Tribe (ST) workers was about 150 lakh persondays. **Terrific achievements by all accounts!**

But CEFS survey findings give a totally different picture. The following findings of our study reveal the ground reality and actual performance of NREGS in Dhar district.

11.90 percent of the sample households in Dhar district have never ever got NREGS employment. During first 10 months of the financial year 2007-8 (April 2007- January 2008), 48.10 percent of the sample hhs did not get even a single day of NREGS job. During this period, 6.45 percent of the sample families got 100 days of work and **the sample hhs got 23.87 days of average employment.**

Compare the Government figures with the figures of CEFS survey and you get the true picture of the NREGS in Dhar. According to CEFS survey, during first 10 months of 2007-8, the sample households in Dhar were given only about 24 days of average employment. So, the average employment for 12 months of the financial year 2007-8 comes to less than 30 days. Therefore, Dhar's average employment figure of 93 days given by the Government of MP is about 3 times more than the CEFS figure of 30 days. All the facts and figures given by the Government of Madhya Pradesh are apparently based on faked and fabricated job entries in the job cards and muster rolls. Only about one-third (33 percent) of the job figures are actual and the remaining two-third (67percent) of the job figures are based on faked and forged job entries in job cards and muster rolls. So, it is obvious that about 67percent (Rs. 136 crore) of the NREGS funds (Rs 203 crore) spent in Dhar have been actually siphoned off and misappropriated by the sanctioning and executing authorities of the district.

### **Jhabua**

As per the data posted on the NREGA website of the Union Ministry of Rural Development (<http://nrega.nic.in/>), Jhabua district spent a total amount of Rs. 175 crore under the NREGS during 2007-08. With this expenditure, 162 lakh persondays of wage employment was given to 1,93,054 households of the district during this period. To put these figures differently, **1,93,054 households of Jhabua district were given about 84 days of average employment during 2007-8**. The total employment given to the Schedule Caste (SC) workers was about 3 lakh persondays and that figure for Schedule Tribe (ST) workers was about 156 lakh persondays. **What a terrific performance !**

However, CEFS study of the NREGS carried out in 25 villages of Jhabua gave us a totally different and gloomy picture of the state of NREGS. The following findings of our study reveal the ground reality and actual performance of the NREGS in the tribal district of Jhabua.

As high as 39.39 percent of the sample households in Jhabua district have never ever got even one day of NREGS employment. During first 10 months of the financial year 2007-8 (April 2007- January 2008), 54.55 percent of the sample hhs did not get even a single day of NREGS job. During this period, only a tiny 0.48 percent of the sample families got 100 days of work and **the sample hhs got 11.51 days of average employment.**

Compare the government figures with the figures of CEFS survey and you immediately get the real picture of the NREGS in Jhabua. According to CEFS survey, during first 10 months of 2007-8, the sample households in Jhabua were given only 11.51 days of average employment. So, the average employment during 12 months of the financial year 2007-8 comes to less than 15 days. Even if we add 5 days more as margin of error, the average employment during the year comes to only 20 days. Therefore, Jhabua's average employment figure of 84 days given by the Government of MP is about 4 times more than the CEFS figure of 20 days. All the facts and figures given by the Government of Madhya Pradesh are apparently based on faked and fabricated job entries in the job cards and muster rolls. Only about one-fourth (25 percent) of the job figures are actual and the remaining three-fourth (75 percent) of the job figures are based on faked and forged job entries in job cards and muster rolls. So, it is obvious that about 75 percent (Rs. 131 crore) of the NREGS funds (Rs 175 crore) spent in Jhabua have been siphoned off and misappropriated by the executing officials of implementing agencies.

## Chapter-I

### Chhattarpur

According to the data posted on the NREGA website of the Union Ministry of Rural Development (<http://nrega.nic.in/>), Chhattarpur district was able to spend a total amount of Rs. 144 crore under the NREGS during 2007-08. With this amount of expenditure, 121 lakh persondays of wage employment was given to 1,62,260 households of the district during this period. In other words, **1,62,260 households of Chhattarpur district were given 75 days of average employment during 2007-8**. The total employment given to the Schedule Caste (SC) workers was about 50 lakh persondays and that figure for Schedule Tribe (ST) workers was 9 lakh persondays. A terrific performance !

However, CEFS survey of the NREGS conducted in 25 villages of Chhattarpur gives an absolutely dismal picture of the state of NREGS in this poor district of Bundelkhand. The following findings of our survey reveal the ground reality and actual performance of the NREGS in Chhattarpur.

According to the CEFS survey, the actual average employment given to the sample households is only 5.44 days during first 9 months of 2007-8. It is shocking to note that 36.32 percent of the sample households in Chhattarpur district have never ever got even one day of NREGS employment. During first 9 months of the financial year 2007-8 (April 2007-December 2007), a staggering 69.90 percent of the sample hhs did not get even a single day of NREGS job. During this period, only 2.49 percent of the sample families got 100 days of work

Let us compare the government figures with the figures of CEFS survey. According to CEFS survey, during first 9 months of 2007-8, the sample households in Chhattarpur were given only 5.44 days of average employment. So, the average employment during 12 months of the financial year 2007-8

comes to about 8 days. Even if we add 2 days more as margin of error, the average employment during the year comes to only 10 days. Therefore, Chhattarpur's average employment figure of 75 days given by the Government of MP is 7.5 times more than the CEFS figure of 10 days. Since the facts and figures given by the Government of Madhya Pradesh are apparently based on faked job entries in the job cards and muster rolls, less than 15 percent of the job figures are actual and the remaining over 85 percent of the job figures are based on false job entries in job cards and muster rolls. So, it is obvious that over 85 percent (Rs. 122 crore) of the NREGS funds (Rs 144 crore) in Chhattarpur district have been siphoned off and misappropriated by the executing officials of implementing agencies.

The dismal performance of the NREGS in Chhattarpur district becomes apparent and self-evident after going through the individual findings in following 25 sample villages of the district.

**Parwaha:** Parwaha is a very poor and backward village of Parwaha Gram Panchayat located under Nowgown block. Harijans (Schedule Caste – SC) constitute about half population of this village. Most harijan families are landless and survive by odd daily wages. This village is facing acute drought for last 4 years. Most households of the village desperately need wage employment for their survival. This village would definitely qualify as one of the poorest and most hungry villages of India. We surveyed 50 poorest families of this village, all of them Harijans (SC). It is outrageous to note that 52 percent of the surveyed households in this deprived village have not received even a single day of employment under NREGS since its launch in 2006. 80 percent of the sample households have not got any NREGS employment during first 9 months of the current financial year (April 2007 – December 2007). Not a single sample household has got 100 days of employment this year. The average employment given to the surveyed households is less than 4 days during first 9 months of this year (April 2007 – December 2007). No wonder that majority of working

population from this village has migrated to Delhi in search of wage employment. More than 25 villagers gave us a signed *Panchanama* stating that “whatever work under NREGS was done during 2006-07, most of it was done by contractors and heavy machines were used. Very few of the villagers had got some days of job. Panchayat Secretary is keeping job cards of 30-40 households with himself against the will of card owners. Most people of this village have migrated from this village due to lack of employment”.

We detected many cases of financial bungling through faked and false job entries on the job cards. Chironjilal (job card no 92) had got only 20 days of employment under NREGS during 2006-07, but his job card has bogus job entry for 102 days. In the current year, he has not received any NREGS job but his job card bears faked job entry for 24 days. Thus, 85 percent of the wage money (about Rs 6500) released in the name of Chironjilal has actually been misappropriated by sarkari babus. Santosh (79) has not received any job this year, but his job card has bogus job entry for 14 days. Kishorilal (job card no 48) had got only 7 days of work during 2006-07, but his job card has false job entry for 56 days. This year he has got no job at all, but his job card has fake job entry for 21 days. In this case, more than 90 percent of wage money has been siphoned off by sarkari babus. Parashram (job card no 197) has got not even a single day of NREGS employment so far, but his job card has faked job entries of 30 days for 2006-07 and of 49 days for this year. Therefore, more than Rs. 5000 of wage money shown in this case has been pocketed by executing officials.

Nandram Ahirwar (job card no 44) has got only 20 days of work this year, but his job card has false job entry for 36 days. Puralal (job card no 43) has actually got only 17 days of employment in last 2 years but his job card has fake job entry of 67 days for the same period. In this case, about 75 percent of wage money has been siphoned off. Shankarlal (job card no 81) has not received even a single day of job this year, but his job card has faked job entry for 105 days. In this case, over Rs 7000 has been apparently misappropriated by Percentage Raj.

Ramcharan (job card no 206) did not get any job during 2006-07, but his job card has faked job entry for 56 days. Bhaiyaddin (job card no 66) has got only 20 days of job this year, but his job card has faked job entry for 126 days. So, about 85 percent of NREGS wages (over Rs 7000) paid in the name of Bhaiyaddin have actually been pocketed by executing officials. The family of Hira (job card no 33) has actually got only 15 days of job under NREGS during last 2 years, but his job card has faked job entry for 149 days during this period. In this case, 90 percent of the wage money (about Rs 9000) has been robbed by the Percentage Raj.

The family of Narayan (job card no 5) has got no NREGS job since its launch. However, his job card has faked job entry of 146 days during this period. Therefore, the entire amount of about Rs. 9500 spent in the name of this family has been pocketed by sarkari babus. The family of Khadiya (job card no 29) has actually got only 16 days of employment in last 2 years. But, job card of this family has false job entries for 150 days during this period. So, about 90 percent of the wage money (about Rs. 8700) shown against this family has actually been pocketed by government officials. We found many more cases of fake and false job entries in this village. ***Our calculations suggest that more than 80 percent of the NREGS funds spent in this poor village have actually been robbed by percentage raj (or sarkari mafia?).***

**Kharaka:** Kharaka, located in Chhattarpur block, is a very poor village facing severe drought for over 3 years. Over 60 percent population of the village has migrated to Delhi. Dalits (SCs) constitute about 35 percent population of this village. We surveyed 45 households in the village, most of them Dalits. We could not find a single sample among the surveyed households which has got 100 days of employment this year (April 2007 – December 2007). 40 percent of the sample households have not received even a single day of employment during the current year (April 2007 – December 2007). Less than 6 days of average employment has been given to the sample households in the current year.

We found massive financial bungling in the NREGS projects of this village. We detected diversion of NREGS funds through faked and bogus job entries in the job cards of the village. Kishorilal (job card no 116) has actually got only 8 days of NREGS jobs during last 2 years, but his job card has fake job entries of 80 days during this period. So, 90 percent of the wage money in this case has been pocketed by government officials. Brijkishor (job card no 167) has got only 2 days of work in the current year, but his job card has fake job entry for 46 days. So, over 95 percent of wages in this case have been pocketed by sarkari babus.

Kamala Prasad (job card no 90) has got only 5 days of work this year, but his job card has bogus entry for 47 days. So, about 90 percent of the wage money in this case has been siphoned off. Kishorilal (job card no 45) has got only 4 days of work during last 2 years of the NREGS, but his job card shows fake job entry for 106 days during this period. So, over 96 percent of the wage money (about Rs 6500) spent in the name of this poor villager has actually enriched sarkari babus. Raju (job card no 127) has got only 3 days of job but has bogus job entries of 34 days.

Munnalal (job card no 150) has got only 3 days of employment in last 2 years, but his job card has false job entries of 112 days. Therefore, over 97 percent of the wage money (about Rs. 7000) spent in the name of poor Munnalal has actually been pocketed by sarkari babus. Shimbhu (job card no 99), who has migrated to Delhi, has got only 4 days of work in last 2 years, but his job card has fake job entries of 80 days. So, 95 percent of the wage money (about Rs. 5000) spent in the name of poor Shimbhu has actually enriched government officials.

Lallu Lal (job card no. 108) has actually got only 5 days of work in last 2 years. His wife was denied job and turned away from the worksite. However, his job card has false job entries of 88 days for this period. So, about 94 percent of the wages (about Rs. 5400) in this case have gone into the pockets of government officials. Baldua (job card no 97) has got only 8 days of work this year, but his job card

has bogus job entry for 35 days. Nandiram (job card no 80) has received only 45 days of work during last 2 years, but his job card has fake job entries for 110 days during this period.

Ram Kunwar (job card no 10) has got only 11 days of employment in last 2 years, but his job card has false job entries of 130 days. So, over 91 percent of the wage money (about Rs. 7700) drawn in the name of Ram Kunwar has been apparently pocketed by sarkari babus. Gubandi (job card no 57) has got only 3 days of work in the current year, but his job card has fake job entry for 42 days. Dhanua (job card no 4) has got only 26 days of employment in last 2 years, but his job cards shows false job entries of 103 days. In this case, about 75 percent of the wage money has been siphoned off by executing officials.

Bal Krishan (job card no 5) has actually got only 10 days of NREGS work during last 2 years, but his job card has fake job entries of 196 days. So, about 95 percent of the wage money (about Rs. 12000) drawn in the name of this poor family has actually enriched sarkari babus. Nathua (job card no 156) has got only 25 days of work in last 2 years, but his job card has bogus job entries for 138 days. In this case, about Rs. 7000 of NREGS money has been siphoned off by Percentage Raj.

Sallu (job card no 18) has got only 6 days of work this year, but his job card has false job entries for 91 days. So, about Rs. 5500 of NREGS money has been siphoned off in the name of poor Sallu. Pyaribai Khangar (job card no 2) had got only 10 days of work in 2006-07, but her job card has fake job entries of 70 days. In this case, about Rs. 4000 of NREGS money has been eaten up by government officials. Uttam Singh (job card no 40) has got no NREGS employment this year, but his job card has fake job entries for 54 days. So, more than Rs. 3500 of NREGS money has been siphoned off in the name of Uttam Singh. ***Our calculations suggest that more than 80 percent of the NREGS***

***funds spent in the name of Kharaka village have actually been eaten up by Percentage Raj.***

**Girdhouri :** Girdhouri (Sanjay Nagar) is a dirt poor village located in the Laundi block of Chhattarpur district. Harijans (schedule caste – SC) constitute over 80 percent population of this small village. About 90 percent of the households in the village are landless and depend entirely on wage labour for their survival. Most of the villagers live a life of chronic hunger and semi-starvation. To stave off starvation 2-3 members from each family have migrated to cities like Delhi, Bhopal and Indore. The National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) is being implemented to help particularly this kind of villages. This village would undoubtedly qualify as one of the poorest villages of India. Therefore, this village is the most deserving case for NREGS. This kind of villages should have first charge on NREGS. Unfortunately, in the first year of NREGS (2006-07) hardly anyone in the village got any job under this scheme.

This year (April 2007 – December 2007) most of the households have got only a few days of job. We surveyed 30 households out of total 50 households in the village and found that 30 percent of the households have not got even a single day's NREGS employment during April 2007 – December 2007. During this period of 9 months, these surveyed households got on an average only 7 days of NREGS employment. Not a single family has got mandatory 100 days of job during this period. Moreover, we found fake and inflated job entries in the job cards of most households. Sitaram Ahirwar (job card no. 149), a poor dalit of this village, has actually got only 11 days of employment but his job card has fake job entry for 20 days.

Gayaprasad Ahirwar (job card no. 169), a poor dalit of the village, has not got even a single day's employment this year (April 2007 – December 2007), but his job card has fake job entry for 29 days. So, the entire wage money of 29 days has gone into the pockets of executing officials and their bosses.

Hardina Ahirwar (Job card no. 173) has actually received only 8 days of job during current year but his job card has fabricated job entry for 38 days. Kashiram Ahirwar (Job card no. 206) has got only 7 days' employment but his job card has fake job entry for 41 days. More than 80 percent of the NREGS wages withdrawn in the name of this poor dalit have been pocketed by executing officials of the implementing agency. Pyarelal Ahirwar (Job card no. 181) has got only 7 days' job during first 9 months of the year, but his job card has bogus job entry for 16 days. Amana Ahirwar (Job card no. 187) has got only 6 days of work under NREGS but his job card shows fake job entry for 16 days. Ramu Ahirwar (Job card no. 140) has got only 3 days' job but his job card has fake job entry for 11 days. Bewa Bhagunutiya (Job card no. 117) has got only 8 days of NREGS work, but his job card has fake job entry for 25 days. Rangutha Ahirwar (Job card no. 96) has got NREGS job for only 2 days but his job card has fake job entry for 14 days.

Gauna (Job card no. 180) has got only 7 days of work, but his job card has fake job entry for 15 days. Sukhal (Job card no. 215) did get only 8 days of work, but his job card has bogus job entry for 16 days. Balchandra (Job card no. 200) has job entry for 36 days in his job card but actually his family got NREGS work for only 15 days. Raju Ahirwar (Job card no. 119) has got only 9 days of NREGS work, but his job card has fake job entry for 51 days. About 92 percent of the NREGS wages shown in the name of this poor dalit have actually gone into the pockets of *sarkari babus*. We found many more job cards in the village with faked and inflated job entries.

About 30 labourers of this village gave us a signed *Panchanama* stating that "during 2006-07 a stop dam was built in our Gram Panchayat but none of the NREGS card holders were given any wage employment in that project and the same was given to a contractor". We found very high level of distress migration in the village.

**Putrikhera:** Putrikhera, located under Bachharawani Gram Panchayat of Bada Malahara block, is a dalit dominant village. We surveyed 27 households of the village. None of the surveyed households has got employment for 100 days in the current year (April 2007 – December 2007). About 71 percent of the sample households have got no NREGS employment whatsoever. More than 81 percent of the surveyed households have not received even a single day of work under NREGS in the current year. The sample households have got average employment of only about 4 days this year.

We found very serious irregularities in the wage payment to workers. We came across 8 labourers in the village who have been denied their due wages for the NREGS work executed during May – June 2007. Tulasi has not received any wage for 8 days of work done during May-June 2007. Nanni had worked for 7 days but he has been paid only Rs. 200 as wages. Bandhu Ahirwar and Kanhaiya- each worked for 8 days in May-June 2007 and received only Rs. 200 as the wage for 8 days. Khushi Ahirwar, Kharagi and Halka -each worked for 10 days and got only Rs. 200 as wages. Julphaiya Ahirwar had worked for 17 days and received only Rs. 600 as wages for the same. These workers told us that they did not have any faith in the implementing authorities and they were unable to do any thing about non-payment of their due wages for the NREGS work. It seems as if there is no sense of accountability on the part of executing officials. They behave as if they are law unto themselves. There is virtually no grievance redressal mechanism in place.

We found huge corruption and massive financial bungling in the implementation of the NREGS in this village. Many open wells (formally called Kapildhara wells) are being dug under NREGS in this village. The villagers told us that Sarpanch takes Rs. 5000 as bribe for sanctioning one well and he has not paid wages of many labourers who worked in this project. Three Dalit families gave us written complaints about the same. Guruwa Ahirwar is a poor dalit and one Kapildhara

well under NREGS was sanctioned in his land. But, he had to give Rs. 5000 as bribe to the Sarpanch. Moreover, four members of his family have worked for 60 days in the well digging work but they have not been paid any wage. Therefore, more than Rs. 15000 of the due wages too have been misappropriated by the Sarpanch. Even digging of the well is incomplete.

Sumana is another poor dalit of this village who has been cheated in similar fashion. He had to pay Rs. 3000 as bribe to Sarpanch for sanction of the Kapildhara well. 10 labourers who dug that well for 60 days have not been paid their wages.

Halka is another poor dalit who paid Rs. 3000 as bribe to Sarpanch to get Kapildhara well sanctioned in his land. Five members of his family regularly worked for 2 months in well construction, but they have not received any wage for the same. About Rs. 20,000 of wage money that was due to this poor dalit family has been apparently misappropriated by Sarpanch and other executing officials. Even the construction work is incomplete. We found massive corruption in Kapildhara wells. These three dalit families gave us written complaints about the financial bungling in Kapildhara wells dug under NREGS.

**Malpura:** The state of NREGS in Malpura village of Chhattarpur block is dismal. Of 23 sample households, none has got 100 days of work this year. About 96 percent of the surveyed households have not got even a single day of NREGS employment in the current year (April 2007-December 2007). The sample households have got only about 1 day of average employment in the current year.

We also detected fake and false job entries in many job cards of the village. Mohanlal (job card no 100) has not got a single day of NREGS work, but his job card has fake job entry of 72 days for 2006-07. Kamal Bai (job card no 116) had got 30 days of work in 2006-07, but her job card has false entry of 72 days. Rajua (job card no 96) had actually got only 6 days of NREGS work during 2006-

07, but his job card has fake job entry of 108 days. So, more than Rs 6400 of wage money has been siphoned off in the name of this poor dalit. Amana (job card no 5) has got 30 days of NREGS employment this year, but his job card has bogus job entry of 64 days.

**Bagamau:** Bagamau, located under Bagamau Gram Panchayat of Laundi block, is a big village of draught-hit Chhattarpur district. More than 2000 villagers have migrated to Delhi in search of wage employment. We surveyed 44 poorest families of this Bundelkhand village, mostly dalits. Not a single sample family has got 100 days of employment in the current year (April 2007-December 2007). Over 45 percent of the sample households have not got even a single day of NREGS work this year. The surveyed families have got 7 days of average employment in the current year. Villagers alleged that relatively prosperous and powerful families of the village are given NREGS jobs but really needy and poor are denied the same. Many dalit families of the village have not received even job cards.

We also detected many fake and false entries in the job cards of this village. Kallu (job card no 155) has actually got only 24 days of NREGS employment this year, but his job card has false job entry for 107 days. Gopi (job card no 498) has got only 12 days of work, but his job card has bogus entry of 24 days. Mahipat (job card no 415) has got only 4 days of work, but his job card has fake job entry of 10 days. Pritam (job card no 305) has got only 1 day of work, but his job card has false entry of 29 days. Manua (job card no 118) has got only 11 days of work, but his job card has false entry of 22 days. Kamata (job card no 733) has got only 5 days of job this year, but his job card has fake entry of 18 days. None of the villagers have ever seen muster roll.

**Gaugay:** Gaugay is a poor and drought-hit village located in Gaugay Gram Panchayat of Chhattarpur block. We surveyed 36 poorest families of the village, all of them dalits. None of the surveyed households has got 100 days of work in

the current year (April 2007 – December 2007). ***It is disappointing to note that about 78 percent of the sample families have not received even a single day of NREGS work in the current year. Over 47 percent of the samples have never got any NREGS work.*** The sample families have been given less than 2 days of average employment during first 9 months of the current year (2007-2008). No surprise that more than 75 percent working population of the village has migrated to Delhi in search of manual jobs.

We found very serious irregularities in the implementation of NERGS in this village. The wages for road work done in May-June 2007 were paid 5-6 months later after hundreds of labourers went to demonstrate at the Collectorate. No action was taken against the erring officials. 36 villagers gave us a written and signed *panchnama* stating that “all of us are dalits and we live in extreme poverty. None of us gets two meals to eat. All of us desperately need wage employment, still we are not getting employment under NREGS. Very few of us have got a few days of work. Most of us have not got any NREGS employment. Sarpanch has siphoned off a lot of NREGS funds by making fake and false job entries on most job cards of the village. But, villagers have got hardly anything. Sarpanch is illegally keeping job cards of the villagers with himself in order for siphoning off NREGS funds. All of us undersigned testify that every NREGS work in our village is being executed through contractors.”

Rakesh Kumar Ahirwar, a poor dalit of Gaurgay gave us a written complaint alleging that “an open well was dug in my land under Kapildhara project of NREGS during April 2007. About 200 labourers had worked in the well digging, but none was paid any wage by Sarpanch. Therefore, I was forced to pay from my own pocket Rs. 10,000 to labourers for their work. Moreover, Sarpanch had also taken Rs 5000 as bribe for sanctioning the well. The well is still incomplete. Whenever I request Sarpanch to complete my well, he gives only empty promises. I, therefore, request that there should be a thorough enquiry into all the

irregularities in the execution of this project and all the guilty people should be prosecuted and punished”.

We also detected false entries in some job cards of the village. Munilal (job card no 110) has got only 15 days of work this year, but his job card has fake job entry of 38 days. Gayadin Ahirwar (job card no 30) has actually got only 8 days of work this year, but his job card has false job entry for 20 days. He had also worked for 6 days during 2006-07, but he did not get any wage for that work. Moreover, his job card has bogus job entry of 14 days for that period. Nandlal (job card no 200) had got only 6 days of work during 2006-07, but his job card has bogus job entries for 14 days. Hardas (job card no 259) has actually got only 8 days of work this year, but his job card has fake job entry of 12 days.

**Nuna:** we surveyed 27 households of Nuna village in Nuna Gram Panchayat under Nowgaon block. Over 22 percent of the sample households have never got any NREGS employment. Over 33 percent have not received even a single day of job this year (April 2007 – December 2007). About 16 days of average employment has been given to the surveyed households this year. We found many irregularities in the village. Labourers told us that contractor was used for a road construction work in the village. We detected fake job entries in many job cards. Dhani (job card no 58) has worked for only 15 days this year, but his job card has bogus job entry for 66 days. Over 75 percent of wage money in this case has been siphoned off. Durjan Ahirwar (job card no. 81) is a poor dalit of Nuna. His family has actually got only 10 days of NREGS job this year, but his job card has fake job entry for 112 days. Over 91 percent of the wage money (about Rs 6000) in this case has gone into the pockets of sarkari babus. Gopi (job card no 186) has worked for only 4 days in the current year, but his job card shows fake job entry for 26 days.

Paramlal (job card no 17) has got only 3 days of work but his job card has bogus job entry for 14 days. Sukhlal Ahirwar (job card no 78) had got 40 days of job in

the first year of NREGS(2006-7), but his job card has false job entry for 85 days during the same period. Ganapat Ahirwar (job card no 77) has got only 25 days of job this year, but his job card has fake job entry for 46 days. A significant portion of the wage money has been pocketed by sarkari babus executing NREGS in this poor village. No wonder that over 40 percent population of this village has migrated to cities in search of wage employment.

**Lugasi :** The state of NREGS in Lugasi village of Lugasi Gram Panchayat under Nowgaon block is absolutely dismal. We surveyed 26 poorest households of this village. We were shocked to find that about 62 percent of the sample households have not got any NREGS work since its launch in 2006. Over 73 percent of surveyed households have not received employment for even a single day in the current year (April 2007 – December 2007). Not a single sample household has got employment for 100 days. The sample households have been given only 5 days of average employment in the current year. At the time of this survey in December 2007, a check dam project was being executed in the village but villagers were refused job in the same. It is not surprising that about 50 percent population of this village has migrated to Delhi.

**Madari:** Madari village of Sindurkhi Gram Panchayat located in Nowgown block does not give much hope to the wage labourers. We surveyed 29 households in the village. Over 65 percent of the sample households in Madari have got no employment under NREGS since launch of the scheme. Not a single household in the village has got job for 100 days in the current year (April 2007 – December 2007). The sample households have been given 13 days of average employment this year.

**Pratappura :** we surveyed 30 households in Pratappura village of Pratappura Gram Panchayat located under Laundi block. Not a single surveyed household has got job for 100 days this year (April 2007 – December 2007). The sample households have been given 25 days of average employment this year. Villagers

told us that Sarpanch gives jobs only to those families which support him. The families which do not support him are denied employment under NREGS. No wonder that more than 80 percent working population of this village has migrated to cities and towns in search of wage employment. We also detected fake work entries on some job cards of this poor village. Ranjita (job card no 111) has not received even a single day of NREGS job, but his job card has false job entry for 30 days. Ajala Ahirwar (job card no 206) is a poor dalit of this village and he has got only 12 days of actual employment under NREGS this year (April 2007 – December 2007). However, his job card has fake job entry for 60 days. In this case 80 percent of the wage money has been pocketed by sarkari babus. Channa (job card no 132) has actually got only 6 days of work this year, but his job card shows false job entry for 46 days. Gorelal (job card no 208) has actually got only 12 days of job in the current year, but his job card has bogus job entry for 33 days. Nathupal (job card no 188) has worked for just 33 days but his job card shows false job entry for 42 days.

**Hardwar:** Hardwar is a very poor village located in Hardwar Gram Panchayat of Laundi block. We surveyed 28 families of this village. It is shocking to note that over 71 percent of the sample households have not got even a single day of NREGS employment during first 9 months of the current year (April 2007 – December 2007). Not a single surveyed household has got 100 days of employment and sample households have been given less than 14 days of average employment during the current year. Moreover, it was outrageous to find that dalits (SCs) have got least number of jobs under NREGS. We found very high level of distress migration from the village. Over 70 percent working population of this poor village has migrated to Delhi.

**Bachharawani:** Bachharawani is a poor village under Bachharawani Gram Panchayat of Bada Malahara block. Over 75 percent population of this village has migrated to Delhi and other cities in search of wage employment. The state of NREGS in this drought hit village is dismal. We surveyed 32 families in this

village, but none of them have got 100 days of wage employment this year (April 2007 – December 2007). About 41 percent of the sample households have not got any NREGS employment since its launch. About 69 percent of the surveyed households have not got even a single day of work under NREGS in the current year. The average employment given to the sample households is less than 7 days in the first 9 months of this year (April 2007 – December 2007).

**Sindurkhi:** we surveyed 22 households in Sindurkhi village of Sindurkhi Gram Panchayat under Nowgaon block. None of the sample households have got employment for 100 days in the current year. Over 59 percent of the sample households have not received any employment under NREGS whatsoever. About 64 percent of the sample households have not got even a single day of employment in the first 9 months of the current year. The surveyed households have got less than 9 days of average employment in the current year.

We found very serious irregularities in this village. Most job cards of the village have been kept with Sarpanch for long time. Most people in the village desperately need wage employment but they have been denied job for even a few days. Very few people in the village have got a few days of job. Muliya Bai, a desperate poor dalit woman said, “only rich, prosperous and families with big land holdings are getting job. Dalits of this village are not getting employment under NREGS.” Sura is a poor dalit widow and lives alone, but she has not been given even a single day of NREGS work since its launch. Many families said that they had been denied job under this scheme and large number of labourers of this village have migrated to Delhi. Many families also complained about non-payment of their due wages. Gulabchand Rajput said that more than Rs. 6500 of his wage money was yet to be received. Radhelal Rajpur had given his tractor for NREGS work and an amount of Rs. 55,590 was due to him for the same. But he has been paid only Rs. 20000 and the remaining amount of Rs. 35590 is still pending. Villagers were complaining of serious financial bungling and other irregularities in the NREGS works executed in this village.

**Dhamoura** : located in Dhamoura Gram Panchayat of Chhattarpur block, is a big but very poor village and facing severe drought for over 4 years. We surveyed 48 households in the village, most of them dalits. **It is shocking and outrageous to note that not a single sample household has got even a single day of NREGS employment since its launch.** No wonder that most working population of the village has migrated to cities and towns in search of wage employment.

**Khandewara:** we surveyed 23 households in Khandewara village of Malpura Gram Panchayat under Chhattarpur block. **It is distressing to note that none of the surveyed households have got even a single day of NREGS employment since the launch of the scheme.** Large number of villagers have migrated to cities in search of work. Villagers alleged that Sarpanch gives NREGS work to only those people who are close to him. We also detected some fake job entries in the job cards of surveyed households. Kashiya (job card no 50) has not received any NREGS employment so far, but his job card has fake job entry for 60 days. Similarly, Makhana (job card no 55) has got no employment under NREGS, but his job card has fake job entry for 60 days. So, in the name of this poor villager executing officials have siphoned off about Rs. 4000. Chatara (job card no 75) has not got any NREGS work so far, but his job card has fake job entry for 75 days during 2006-07. In this case, an amount of Rs. 4725 has been siphoned off by sarkari babus. Bihari (job card no 40) has not got any NREGS work so far and he has now migrated to Delhi leaving behind 5 small children. None of the children goes to school due to poverty. Where is NREGS money going? **Will the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh explain to these poor children and hungry villagers as to what is NREGS?**

**Gaur:** we surveyed 23 households in Gaur village of Gaur Gram Panchayat located under Nowgong block. None of the surveyed households in the village has received even a single day of work under NREGS in the current year (April

2007 – December 2007). During 2006-07, some households had got a few days of jobs.

**Rampur :** Rampur village of Dhilapur Gram Panchayat located under Chhattarpur block is facing severe draught for over 4 years, but this poor village has not received any drought relief whatsoever. More than 75 percent population of the village has migrated to cities and towns in search of wage employment. There is hardly any NREGS employment available in the village. Most people have been denied NREGS job and turned away from the worksites.

We surveyed 35 households in the village, most of them very poor dalits. **It is shocking to note that about 83 percent of the surveyed households have not got even a single day of NREGS employment since its launch in 2006.** Not a single sample household has got 100 days of employment in the current year. The sample households have got only about 3 days of average employment in the current year.

We also detected some fake and false job entries in the job cards of this village. Amar (job card no 81) has actually got only 24 days of work, but his job card has fake job entry of 72 days. Chiranjilal (job card no 218) has got only 22 days of employment but his job card has false job entry for 78 days. Gyasilal (job card no 31) has actually got only 5 days of work this year, but his job card has bogus job entry for 12 days.

**Dhilapur:** Dhilapur village of Chhattarpur block has got only nominal wage employment under NREGS. We surveyed 22 households in this drought-hit village of Bundelkhand. Not a single sample household has got 100 days of employment in the current year (April 2007 – December 2007). About 64 percent of the surveyed households have not received even a single day of NREGS job in the current year. The average employment given this year is less than 4 days. No wonder that large number of villagers have migrated to cities in search of

manual work. Most job cards of the village were lying with Sarpanch. Many dalit families of the village told us that Sarpanch takes bribe of Rs. 500 for making Antyodaya card and Rs. 300 for BPL card.

**Bamhoripurwa:** Bamhoripurwa of Laundi block is a drought -hit village. Most people of the village have migrated to Delhi in search of manual work. We surveyed 53 households in the village, most of them very poor dalits. None of the surveyed households has got 100 days of NREGS work in the current year. **It is distressing to note that about 87 percent of the surveyed households have not received even a single day of NREGS work this year.** The sample households have got only 2 days of average employment in the current year. Villagers told us that most NREGS works in the village were done by contractors using heavy machines. Mulayam (job card no 215), a resident of this village, has actually got only 4 days of work this year, but his job card has false job entry of 60 days. About 45 villagers gave us a written and signed *Panchanama* stating that hardly any one in the village is getting NREGS work. They alleged of very serious irregularities in the execution of NREGS in their village.

**Devnagar:** More than 70 percent working population of Devnagar village in Laundi block has migrated to Delhi in search of manual work. We surveyed 36 families of the village, most of them very poor dalits. None of the surveyed families has got 100 days of employment in the current year. **It is disappointing to note that 75 percent of the surveyed households in this drought-hit village have not received even a single day of NREGS employment in the current year. Moreover, over 44 percent of the sample households have not got any NREGS employment since its launch in 2006.** The sample families have got about 8 days of average employment in the current year. More than 25 villagers gave us a written and signed panchnama stating that they did not get any employment under NREGS. Whenever villagers go to Sarpanch and demand job under NREGS, the Sarpanch turns them away saying that there is no job. None of the surveyed people have ever seen muster rolls.

**Hanspura:** The state of NREGS in Hanspura village of Tahanaga Gram Panchayat located under Laundi block is absolutely dismal. There has been no NREGS work in this drought-hit village during current year (April 2007 – December 2007). Of 32 households surveyed, none has got even a single day of work this year. No wonder that majority of working population of this village has migrated to cities and towns in search of wage employment. We were told by the villagers that last year (2006-07) 50 labourers from this village had worked in tree plantation but none has got any wages. Moreover, we did not find a single sapling or tree in the plantation plot. It means that the entire NREGS fund allocated for this tree plantation project has been misappropriated by the executing officials.

**Rekha:** We found very high level of distress migration in Rekha village of Peera Gram Panchayat located under Laundi block. We surveyed 33 poorest families of this drought-hit village in Bhundelkhand. Almost all the surveyed families are dalits. **We were shocked to find that 91 percent of the surveyed families have not received even a single day of wage employment in the current year (April 2007 – December 2007).** We did not find a single household which had got 100 days of work this year. More than 30 percent of the sample households have not got even one day of NREGS work since its launch in 2006. The sample households have got less than 2 days of average employment this year. Where has all the NREGS fund gone? Apparently, sucked by the “bureaucratic black holes”.

**Peera:** Peera is a very poor and drought-hit village of Peera Gram Panchayat located under Laundi block in Chhattarpur district. We surveyed 16 households in the village, most of them poor dalits. ***It is distressing to note that more than 87 percent of the sample households have not got even one day of NREGS work in the current year.*** About 44 percent of the surveyed households have got no NREGS work whatsoever in last 2 years. None of the sample families has

got 100 days of work this year. The surveyed households have got only about 1 day of average employment in the current year.

We also detected false and bogus entries in some job cards of this village. Halkibai, wife of Pritam (job card no 471), has not got any NREGS work this year, but her job card has bogus entry for 6 days. In fact, her 5 children have migrated and they are doing manual labour in Delhi. Prema Bewa (job card no 272/273) is a very poor widow and she has to look after 5 children. One of her sons is working in Delhi as a labourer. She finds it very difficult to survive in the village because there is no farm work available due to severe drought. Even this family living a life of semi-starvation did not get a single day of NREGS work. But, her job card has fake job entry for 18 days. ***What a dehumanizing and tragic tale of deprivation and corruption!***

Gyasi Ahirwar (job card no 317) is a very poor dalit of this village and he has not received even a single day of NREGS work in last two years. However, his job card has fake job entry for 6 days. Chhannulal (job card no 286) is also a poor dalit of this village and he has got 12 days of NREGS work this year. However, his job card has false job entry for 30 days. Anandilal (job card no 315) has not got any NREGS work this year, but his job card has false job entry of 5 days.

We found very high level of distress migration from this village. Most villagers are facing serious livelihood crises because of acute drought for over 4 years. In fact, people of the village are still alive because some members of every family have migrated out and are working in Delhi as labourers. There is almost zero awareness about NREGS in this deprived village.

**Tahanaga:** Tahanaga is a very poor and drought-hit village of Tahanga Gram Panchayat located under Laundi block. Dalits constitute about 40 percent population in this village. We found massive financial bungling and misappropriation of NREGS funds in this village. Villagers told us that two

NREGS projects were being executed in the village, but none of the villagers have been given any wage employment in them. There was a tree plantation project and also a culvert construction project, both executed under NREGS. But, all the work had been given to contractors and villagers got no jobs.

We surveyed 34 households in the village. ***None of the surveyed families has got even a single day of work this year.*** During 2006-07, some households in the village had got 10-15 days of NREGS work. 36 families of the village gave us a written and signed *Panchnama* stating that they have got no NREGS work while NERGS projects of the village have been given to contractors. Therefore, hundreds of villagers have been forced to migrate to Delhi. **Is there any one listening the cries of these poor villagers?**

## Chapter-II

### Tikamgarh

As per the data posted on the NREGA website, Tikamgarh district spent a total amount of Rs. 95 crore under the NREGS during 2007-08. With this amount of expenditure, 84 lakh persondays of wage employment was given to 1,44,866 households of the district during this period. To put it differently, **1,44,866 households of Tikamgarh district were given 58 days of average employment during 2007-8**. The total employment given to the Schedule Caste (SC) workers was about 27 lakh persondays and that figure for Schedule Tribe (ST) workers was about 4 lakh persondays. However, findings of the CEFS survey carried out in 25 villages of Tikamgarh have found all the above claims of the MP Government bogus and baseless.

According to CEFS survey, a whopping 55.08 percent of the sample households in Tikamgarh (one of the poorest districts of M P) have never ever got even one day of NREGS employment. During first 9 months of the financial year 2007-8 (April 2007-December 2007), a staggering 69.96 percent of the sample hhs did not get even a single day of NREGS job. During this period, just 1.39 percent of the sample families got 100 days of work and **the sample hhs got only 7.27 days of average employment**.

Let us compare the government figures with the figures of CEFS survey. According to CEFS survey, during first 9 months of 2007-8, the sample households in Tikamgarh were given only 7.27 days of average employment. So, the average employment for 12 months of the financial year 2007-8 comes to about 10 days. Even if we add another 2 days as margin of error, the average employment during the year comes to only 12 days. Therefore, Tikamgarh's average employment figure of 58 days claimed by the Government of MP is about 5 times more than the CEFS figure of 12 days. Since the facts and figures given by the Government of Madhya Pradesh are apparently based on faked job

entries in the job cards and muster rolls, only about one-fifth (20 percent) of the job figures are actual and the remaining four-fifth(80 percent) of the job figures exist only on faked and forged job cards and muster rolls. So, it is obvious that about 80 percent (Rs. 79 crore) of the NREGS funds (Rs 95 crore) in Tikamgarh district have been siphoned off and misappropriated by sarkari babus.

The pathetic state of NREGS in Tikamgarh district will become so apparent after reading survey findings of following 25 sample villages from the district.

**Patha :** Patha (Patha GP) is a big village of Tikamgarh block. We surveyed 44 hhs in the village. We found open loot and massive misappropriation of NREGS funds in this village. Most job cards of the viilage have false and inflated job entries. Kalicharan (Job card No-81) had actually got only 10 days of work under NREGS during 2006-7. However, his job card has bogus job entry for 138 days. More than Rs 8000/ of NREGS wage money drawn in his name has actually gone into the pockets of executing officials of implementing agencies. Mulla (200) has actually got only 6 days of work this year(April 2007-December 2007), but his job card has fabricated job entry for 70 days. In this case, over 90 percent of the wage money has been eaten up by sarkari babus. Mohan (156) has not received even a single day of NREGS work in the current year, but his job card has bogus job entry for 65 days. Thus, the entire wage money drawn in this case has been pocketed by sarkari babus.

The family of Asharam (678) has got only 50 days of employment in the current year, but his job card has false job entry for 178 days. Therefore, the wage money of 129 days (about Rs 8500) drawn in the name of Asharam has actually gone towards Percentage Raj of NREGS. Kutu Dhimar (476) has actually got only 40 days of NREGS work this year, but his job card has false job entry for 108 days. Therefore, over 65 percent of wage money in this case has been siphoned off by government officials. Jitendra(228) has got only 12 days of work this year, but his job card has false job entry for 119 days. In this case, about 90

percent of the wage money has been pocketed by sarkari babus. Harlal (564) has got only 20 days of work in the current year, but his job card has fabricated job entry for 112 days. About 85 percent of the wage money in this case has been siphoned off by Percentage Raj.

Jag Prasad (348) has got only 20 days of work in the current year, but his job card has false job entry for 102 days. More than 80 percent of the wage money in this case has been eaten up by Percentage Raj. Similarly, Ramesh (477) has got only 20 days of work but his job card has bogus job entry for 102 days. Ratan (213) has actually got 50 days of work in the current year, but his job card has false job entry for 108 days. More than half of the wage money in this case has been siphoned off. Hariram (423) has got only 15 days of work this year, but his job card has bogus job entry for 161 days. More than 90 percent of the wage money in this case has been pocketed by sarkari babus. Ganesh (504) has got only 30 days of NREGS employment in the current year, but his job card has bogus job entry for 104 days. Therefore, more than 70 percent of the wage money in this case has been eaten up by Percentage Raj. Sukhadin (347) has actually got only 10 days of NREGS work in the current year, but his job card shows inflated figure of 148 days. In this case, about 93 percent of the wage money has been pocketed by sarkari babus. In this village, we found very few job cards with genuine job entries. There has been massive financial bungling in the execution of NREGS projects in this village.

**Badaghat :** Badaghat (Badaghat GP) is a dalit dominant and deprived village of Baldeogarh block. Dalits constitute 60 percent and adivasis constitute 20 percent population of this drought-hit village in Bundelkhand. Hardly any one in this poor village has got NREGS employment. We surveyed 40 households(hhs), all of them dalits or adivasis. More than 77 percent of the sample hhs have never got any NREGS employment. Over 92 percent of the surveyed families have not received even a single day of NREGS employment in the current year (April 2007- December 2007). To put it differently, of 40 sample hhs, 37 have not got

even a single day of employment in the current year. Of the remaining 3, one has got just 2 days of work, second has got 3 days of work and the third has got 4 days of work under NREGS. However, job cards of these 3 sample families have fake job entries. Hardas (72) has actually got only 2 days of employment in the current year, but his job card has false job entry for 14 days. Munna(7) has actually got only 4 days of employment, but his job card has fake job entry for 14 days. Similarly, Pappu (25) has got only 3 days of work, but his job card shows bogus job entry for 14 days. No wonder that most adivasis and dalits of the village have migrated to cities and the remaining were found to be surviving by eating *chapattis* made of wild grass (*Lathara*).

**Juyoramora:** Juyoramora (Juyoramora GP) is a backward and drought-hit village located in Prithvipur block of Tikamgarh. We found absolutely dismal performance of NREGS in this village. We surveyed 27 hhs. About 56 percent of the sample hhs have got no NREGS employment whatsoever. Over 96 percent of the sample families have not received even a single day of NREGS employment in the current year (April 2007-December 2007). In other words, of 27 surveyed families, 26 have not got any NREGS employment in the current year. The remaining one sample family- Votu(159) had got 20 days of employment in November 2007, but he did not receive any payment for this work. Moreover, his job card has fake job entry for 154 days during 2007. So, the entire wage money for 154 days of fake employment has been pocketed by sarkari babus.

Mohanlal Banskar is a very poor dalit of Juyoramora. During 2006-7, he had got 25 days of NREGS employment, but he was not paid even a single rupee for this work. Moreover, his job card has been seized by Sarpanch. In fact, most job cards of the village have been seized by the Sarpanch for long against the will of the labourers. Mohanlal has even lodged many formal and written complaints to senior officials giving details of various irregularities in the implementation of NREGS in the village. However, neither Mohanlal has got his due wages nor

received any response from any government official. Mohanlal and his likes have only one *Yaksha Prashna* (vexing question) for us, "What should I do now and where should I complain now?" Frankly, we did not have any answer to Mohanlal's question. Does the Government of Madhya Pradesh has answer to this question burning in the heads and hearts of millions of Mohanlals of Madhya Pradesh?

**Tamora:** Tamora village of Badaghat GP is located in Baldeogarh block. About 48 percent of the sample hhs of this Bundelkhand village have never got any NREGS employment. Not a single sample family has got 100 days of work in the current year. The sample families have got about 10 days of average employment in the current year. We detected fake job entries in many job cards of the village. Nandu(63) is a very poor dalit of Tamora. He did not get a single day of employment during 2006-7 and got only 8 days of job in the current year. However, his job card has fake job entry of 70 days for 2006-7 and that of 84 days in the current year. So, wage money of 146 days (about Rs 10,000) drawn in the name of this poor dalit has actually gone into the pockets of executing officials. Jhalli(164) is another dalit of this village whose poverty has enriched sarkari babus. Jhalli has actually got only 19 days of work in the current year, but his job card has false job entry for 91 days. Therefore, 72 days of wage money has been siphoned off in this case. Similarly, Ratiram (21), yet another dalit has got only 16 days of work in the current year, but his job card has bogus job entry for 56 days. Kashiram(36) has got only 18 days of work this year, but his job card has bogus job entry for 49 days. Chhotelal (67) has got only 15 days of work this year, but his job card has entry for 28 days. Kashiram and Chhotelal are also dalit. Thus, a lot of NREGS fund in this village has been siphoned off by Percentage Raj.

**Mawai :** We found very serious irregularities and heavy financial bungling in the NREGS of Mawai village located in Tikamgarh block. About 73 percent of the sample hhs have never got any NREGS employment. The sample families have

received only about 3 days of average employment in the current year. No wonder that over 70 percent population of the village has migrated out due to lack of employment. We discovered fake and false job entries in many job cards of the village. Jaggu (528) has actually got only 8 days of work in the current year, but his job card has fake job entry for 96 days. So, over 90 percent of the wage money in this case has been pocketed by executing officials. Similarly, Nanere (696) too has got only 8 days of actual job in the current year, but his job card has false job entry for 96 days. Nathu(991) and Babulal (358) - each got only 8 days of work in the current year, but their job cards show fake job entry of 96 days for each. In all these four cases, over 90 percent of the wage money has been sucked by Percentage Raj.

Chouda (8) got only 8 days of job this year, but his job card has bogus entry for 54 days. It is obvious that a lot of NREGS funds have been siphoned off in this village.

**Guchai :** Guchai village (Mawai GP) is located in Takamgarh block of the district. We surveyed 39 hhs in the village and found open loot and heavy financial bungling in the NREGS. Over 56 percent of the sample hhs have not received even a single day of NREGS work in the current year. Over 41 percent have never got any NREGS work. The sample families have got 11 days of average employment in the current year. We detected fake and inflated job entries in most job cards of the village. Phundi (60) has actually got only 4 days of work in the current year (April 2007-December 2007), but his job card has fake job entry for 117 days. Phundi was paid only Rs 150/ as wage for 4 days. In this case, over 97 percent (about Rs 7000) of the wage money has been misappropriated by the executing officials. Babu (1002) was actually given 40 days of work in the current year, but his job card has bogus job entry for 117 days. In this case, about two third of the wage money has been siphoned off. Pappu(493) has actually got only 10 days of work in the current year and has been paid wage at the rate of Rs 60 only. However, his job card has fake job entry for 117 days. Over 92 percent

(about Rs 7000) of the wage money in this case too has been eaten up by Percentage Raj.

Damara (1001) was given only 7 days of work in this year, but his job card has false job entry for 114 days. About 94 percent (Rs 7000) of the wages in this case have been siphoned off by Percentage Raj. Dhunaka (928) has been given 20 days of work in the current year, but his job card shows job entry for 147 days. Over 85 percent (about Rs 9000) of the wages in this case have been pocketed by sarkari babus. Parma (724) has got 21 days of work in the current year, but his job card has fake job entry for 96 days. About 80 percent of the wage money in this case has been siphoned off. Kuran (1062) has got just 14 days of NREGS work in this year, but his job card has bogus job entry for 117 days. Over 87 percent (about Rs 7000) of the wage money drawn in the name of Kuran has been eaten up by Percentage Raj. Similarly, Gyani (604) has got only 15 days of work but his job card shows fake job entry of 117 days. In this case too, about 87 percent of the wage money has been pocketed by sarkari babus.

Kishori (64) was given 35 days of NREGS work this year but was paid only partial wages. Moreover, his job card has false job entry for 117 days. So, about 75 percent of the wages in this case have been siphoned off. The family of Lanua (617) has got 40 days of wage employment in the current year, but his job card has fake job entry for 159 days. About 75 percent (Rs 8000) of the wage money in this case has been sucked by Percentage Raj. Tizua (829) has got 25 days of work in the current year, but his job card has fake job entry for 207 days. So, over 88 percent (about Rs 13,000) of the wage money drawn in the name of poor Tizua has actually been misappropriated by sarkari babus.

Munna (605) has got only 14 days of work in the current year, but his job card has false job entry for 105 days. So, over 86 percent (about Rs 6000) of the wages in this case have been siphoned off. Similarly, Prem (285) has got only 15 days of work but his job card has bogus job entry for 105 days. In this case too,

about 86 percent of the NREGS wage money has disappeared in the ‘blackholes’ of Percentage Raj. Parsadi (603) has got only 20 days of work in the current year, but his job card has fake job entry for 117 days. So, 97 days of wage money (about Rs 6500) in this case has lined up the pockets of executing officials. Kishan (302) has got only 12 days of NREGS work in the current year, but his job card shows fake job entry for 213 days. In this case, 201 days of wage money (about Rs 13,800) drawn in the name of poor Kishan has actually ended up enriching sarkari babus(government officials). ***Our calculations suggest that more than 85 percent of the NREGS funds supposedly spent in Guchai village have actually been eaten up by the Percentage Raj.***

We found irregularities as the only regular thing in the implementation of the rural job scheme in this village. Most of the labourers have not received even a single day of work and those who have got a few days of nominal job have been denied their due wages and paid only partial wages. The villagers are facing acute livelihood crises and more than half population of the village has migrated in search of wage employment. There has been open loot of NREGS funds in this poor village of Bundelkhand. For example, in 2007, the family of Dharam Dhimar had dug 200 ditches in one month. Four members of the family had regularly worked for one month. However, they were paid only Rs 400/ as wage. Shall we still call it leakage and corruption, or open loot of NREGS funds?

**Manchi** : Manchi is a poor village located in Jatara block of Tikamgarh. 30 percent of the surveyed hhs in this village have never got any NREGS work. 65 percent of the sample families have not received even a single day of employment in the current year. The sample families have got only 8 days of average employment this year. Not a single sample family has got 100 days of work this year. We found very serious irregularities and open loot of the NREGS funds in this village.

Vridhman (Job card no-16) is a poor Adivasi of Manchi. During 2006-7, Vridhman did not get even one day of NREGS employment. However, his job card(hard copy) has fake job entry for 76 days. His online job card reveals another story. The online job card of Vridhman shows false job entry for 146 days and bogus wage payment of Rs 9198 for the same. Since this poor Adivasi actually did not get any work during 2006-7, the entire wage amount of Rs 9198 has apparently been misappropriated by executing officials. The online job card of Vridhman falsely shows that he was given job in 3 projects- (1) Cement/concrete road (C.C. road) construction at Manchi,(2) Kitakhera stop dam at Ur river and,(3) Piparpat stop dam construction.

Kapura (253) is another poor Adivasi of Manchi in whose name a lot of NREGS money has been siphoned off. During 2006-7, Kapura actually got only 16 days of work. However, his job card has fake job entry for 41 days and his online job card has false job entry for 116 days. As per the online job card entries, Kapura was paid Rs 8685 as wages for his work in 3 projects- (1) Cement/concrete road (C.C. road) construction at Manchi, (2) Kitakhera stop dam at Ur river and,(3) Piparpat stop dam construction. It is apparent that over 85 percent of the wage money (Rs 8685) drawn in the name of Kapura has been eaten up by sarkari babus.

Ashok (52) is yet another deprived Adivasi of Manchi in whose name executing officials have siphoned off Rs 12130. During 2006-7, Ashok was not given even a single day of NREGS job. However, his online job card has fake job entry for 190 days and bogus wage payment entry of Rs 12130 for work in 5 projects-. (1) Cement/concrete road (C.C. road) construction at Manchi, (2) Kitakhera stop dam at Ur river (3) Piparpat stop dam construction (4) Hanuman Pond widening and deepening work, and (5) Earth-Moram road from Mata temple to Manjoram Baba. The entire wage money (Rs 12130) in this case has been siphoned off. Pyarelal (306) has been given only 20 days of job during 2007-8, but his job card has fake job entry for 60 days. So, 40 days of wage money has been siphoned

off in this case. Dhanshyam (99) got 4 days of job in the current year but has been paid daily wage at the rate of only Rs 50 whereas the actual rate is Rs 67.

Kishori Yadav (408) had actually got only 20 days of employment during 2006-7 and was paid daily wage at the rate of Rs 50 only. However, His online job card has fake job entry for 202 days and bogus wage entry of Rs 12,726. Since Kishori Yadav had actually got only Rs 1000 as wages for his 20 days of work, executing officials have apparently misappropriated Rs 11,726 of NREGS fund. Rabindra (200) got only 10 days of work in first 9 months of the current year (April 2007- December 2007), but his job card has fake job entry for 60 days. So, 50 days of wages in this case have apparently been siphoned off.

Thakur Das (431) had actually got 70 days of job in 2006-7, but his online job card has fake job entry for 283 days and bogus wage entry of Rs 18207 for work in 5 projects-. (1) C.C. road construction at Manchi,(2) Kitakhera stop dam at Ur river (3) Piparpat stop dam construction (4) Pond height and Pitching work at Manchi, and(5) Earth-Moram road from Mata temple to Manjoram Baba. In this case, more than Rs 14,000 of NREGS fund has been sucked by Percentage Raj. Premchandra Jain (167) has never got any employment under rural job scheme. However, his online job card has fake job entry for 130 days and bogus wage entry of Rs 8190 for work in 3 NREGS projects-(1) C.C. road construction at Manchi,(2) Kitakhera stop dam at Ur river and,(3) Piparpat stop dam construction. So, the entire wage money drawn in the name of Premchandra Jain has gone into the pockets of sarkari babus. ***There has been open loot of NREGS funds in this poor village of Bundelkhand. Our calculations suggest that over 80 percent of the NREGS funds in Manchi are being hijacked by Percentage Raj.***

**Rajapur:** We found very dismal performance of NREGS in Rajapur village of Niwadi block. About 74 percent of the sample hhs have not received even a single day of work in first 9 months of the current year (April 2007-December

2007). About 34 percent of the surveyed families have never got any NREGS work. Not a single sample family has got 100 days of work in the current year. The sample hhs have got less than 4 days of average employment in the current year. We found many irregularities in this village. Ramlal (326) was actually given 25 days of work this year, but his job card has fake job entry for 72 days. Kallu (172) has got no NREGS employment in the current year, but his job card has fake job entry for 18 days. Khushiram (389) has got no work in this year, but his job card has bogus job entry for 24 days. Nandlal (177) did not get any work this year, but his job card shows false job entry for 12 days. So, all the wage money drawn in the name of these fake job entries has been eaten up by sarkari babus.

Another major irregularity in the village was that most job cards of the villagers have been kept with Panchayat Secretary. Many villagers still do not have job cards. Ghamandi, a poor labourer of this village told us that Panchayat Secretary had taken Rs 100 from him promising a job card but he was still waiting for the same. Hardayal is poor resident of this village. He has got a job card but it was lying with the Panchayat Secretary. Family members of Hardayal told us that they had got only 20 days of work in the current year, but they had learnt that their job card has fake job entry for 100 days. We were told by the labourers that they had been paid only Rs 50 as daily wage.

**Chandpura:** Chandpura is a very poor village located in Chandpura GP of Jatara block in Tikamgarh district. The state of NREGS in this village is absolutely dismal. Most job cards of the village were lying with the Sarpanch. About 82 percent of the sample hhs in the village have never ever got any employment under NREGS. Not a single hh has got 100 days of employment. In the current year (April 2007-December 2007), the average employment given to the families is less than 2 days. Few families who have got a few days of work under NREGS have been paid only Rs 40-50 as daily wage. We found very serious irregularities in this village

**Indira Colony:** Indira Colony is an entirely dalit village. Located in Majana GP of Tikamgarh block, this dalit village has not got any NREGS project so far. Not a single family in this village has got any NREGS work this year (April 2007-December 2007). In the first year of the NREGS (2006-7), 2-3 labourers from this village had got 8-10 days of work in the neighbouring GP by virtue of being skilled workers. We found very serious distress migration from this village.

**Duda:** Duda (Duda GP), located in Tikamgarh block, is a very poor and dalit dominated village. We surveyed 37 hhs of the village, mostly dalits. About 30 percent of the sample hhs have never got any NREGS employment. About 35 percent of the samples have not got even a single day of work in the current year (April 2007-December 2008). Not a single family in the village has got 100 days of employment this year. The surveyed families have got about 14 days of average employment in the current year. Over 80 percent population of the village has migrated to Delhi in search of wage employment. 3-4 members of almost every family have migrated out.

**Ramgarh:** Ramgarh (Ramgarh GP) is a very backward village located in Jatara block of Tikamgarh district. We surveyed 50 families in the village, most of them extremely poor adivasis and dalits. We were shocked to find that 88 percent of the surveyed households have never got any employment under NREGS. The average employment given in the current year (April 2007-December 2007) is less than 2 days. We found very high level of distress migration from the village. Acute poverty and chronic hunger were writ large on the faces of emaciated villagers. 51 villagers gave us a written and signed Panchnama stating that they had got no wage employment under NREGS and most of the NREGS work in their village was done by machines. None of the dalit families had got any employment under NREGS despite living a life of semi-starvation and acute deprivation. ***Where has M P Government spent Rs 2900 crore of NREGS funds? At least, starving dalits and adivasis of Rampur deserve an answer, if not wage employment.***

**Jhingua:** Jhingua is an extremely deprived and dalit dominant village located in Durganagar GP of Baldeogarh block. Dalits constitute about 60 percent population of this village. We surveyed 42 households in the village, all of them dalits. ***It is shocking to note that not a single household in the village has ever got any NREGS employment despite facing extreme deprivation and acute hunger. "We are dying of hunger and thirst", said villagers who are facing severe drought for last 4 years.*** Severe drought and acute livelihood crisis have forced more than 80 percent population of the village to migrate to big cities like Delhi in search of wage employment. 44 villagers gave us a written and signed Panchnama stating that they had got no NREGS employment whatsoever and over 80 percent population of the village has migrated out due to lack of wage employment. ***Will the Government of Madhya Pradesh care to explain as to how many more years these hungry dalits would have to wait for NREGS employment, and as to which village of the state deserves NREGS more than this village?***

**Bamhorikhas:** Bamhorikhas(Bamhorikhas GP) is a drought-hit and very poor village in Jatara block of Tikamgarh district. We surveyed 52 households of the village, most of them dalits. ***It is shocking to note that none of the sample families have got even a single day of NREGS employment in the current year (April-2007-December 2007).In fact, about 81 percent of the sample families have never got any NREGS employment.*** Lack of employment and severe drought has forced about 80 percent population of this deprived village to migrate to cities in search of wage employment.

**Hata:** Hata (Hata GP) is an extremely poor village located in Baldeogarh block of Tikamgarh. We surveyed 56 households in this drought-hit village of Bundelkhand. ***It is distressing to note that not a single sample family has got even a single day of NREGS employment during first nine months of the current year (April 2007- December 2007). Over 53 percent of the***

***sample families have got no NREGS employment whatsoever. Where has Rs 2900 crore of NREGS fund been spent in Madhya Pradesh ?***

**Nayagaon:** Nayagaon village (Nayagaon GP) is located in Tikamgarh block of Tikamgarh district. We surveyed 33 sample households of this village. About 79 percent of the sample families have not got even a single day of employment in the current year (April 2007-December 2007). Over 39 percent of the samples have never got employment under NREGS. Not a single family has got 100 days of employment. The sample hhs have got about 4 days of average employment in the current year.

**Harpura:** We surveyed 30 hhs in Harpura village of Jatara block. 60 percent of the sample hhs have never got any NREGS employment. Not a single sample family has got 100 days of work in the current year. The sample families have got 7 days of average employment in the current year. We detected many irregularities in the implementation of NREGS in this village of Bundelkhand. Jasua (69) has actually got only 20 days of work in the current year, but his job card has fake job entry for 78 days. So, 58 days of wage money drawn in the name of Jasua has been misappropriated by sarkari babus. Dalapu (12) was given 20 days of work in the current year but was paid wage for only 16 days. Moreover, his job card has fake job entry for 78 days. In this case, 62 days of wage money has been pocketed by government officials. Ramkishor (127) has been given only 10 days of work in the current year, but his job card has false job entry for 78 days. Therefore, 58 days of wage money in this case too has been siphoned off. Bhagwan Das (67) has got only 14 days of work in the current year and has been paid wage at the rate of Rs 50 only, whereas the actual wage rate was Rs 67. Moreover, his job card has fake job entry for 78 days. So, 58 days of wages in this case too have been sucked by Percentage Raj.

**Matoli:** We found very dismal performance of NREGS in Matoli village of Tikamgarh block. We surveyed 23 households, all of them dalits. About 57

percent of the sample hhs have not received even a single day of wage employment in the current year. About 35 percent of sample families have never got any NREGS employment. Not a single family has got 100 days of employment this year. The sample families have got less than 8 days of average employment in the current year. About 80 percent population of the village has migrated to Delhi in search of employment. We detected many irregularities in this village. Most job cards of the village were lying with the Sarpanch. Phulla (77) is a poor dalit of this village. In last two years, he has been given only 30 days of wage employment, but his job card shows 146 days of job entry during 2006-7 and 12 days of job entry during 2007-8. Therefore, the wage money of 128 days has been eaten up by executing officials. Hanua (180) was given just 15 days of work in 2006-7, but his job card has job entry for 53 days. So, 38 days of wages in this case have been siphoned off by Percentage Raj.

**Manikpura:** Manikpura (Dumaduma GP) is a poor village located in Prithvipur block. Over 69 percent of the sample hhs have not got even one day of work in the current year. About 58 percent of the surveyed families have never got any NREGS employment. No sample family has got 100 days of employment. The sample hhs have got about 20 days of average employment in the current year. Most dalits of the village have got no NREGS employment. About 80 percent population of the village has migrated to cities in search of wage employment. Most job cards of the village were lying with the Sarpanch.

**Ladawari:** Ladawari is a deprived village of Niwari block. Most workers of the village have been either given no job or very few days of job. Over 33 percent of the sample families have got no employment in first 9 months of the current year. About 24 percent of the surveyed hhs have never got any work under this scheme. No sample hhs has got 100 days of employment in the current year. The sample hhs have received about 5 days of average employment in the current year. Most job cards of the village were kept with the Sarpanch.

**Gukharaikhas:** Most job cards of Gukharaikhas village of Baldeogarh block were kept with Sarpanch, therefore, we surveyed only 19 households, all of them SC (Schedule Caste). 21 percent of the sample households have got no NREGS employment whatsoever. About 37 percent of the surveyed households have not received even a single day's job this year (April 2007 – January 2008). Not a single sample household has got 100 days' job this year. The average employment given to sample households this year is only about 6 days. All the surveyed households are very poor and desperately need wage employment.

**Sunoni:** Sunoni is an adivasi dominant village located in Bamhorinakevan Gram Panchayat of Tikamgarh block. We surveyed 16 households of this poor village. About 44 percent of the sample households have not received any NREGS employment whatsoever. Not a single sample has got job for 100 days. The average employment given to sample households this year is 19 days. We found many irregularities in the rural job scheme of this village. Many labourers were denied NREGS employment and turned away from the worksite despite possessing job cards. We also detected fake job entries in some job cards. Bhagunta (job card no 66) is a poor adivasi of this village and he has been given only 10 days of job this year. However, his job card has bogus job entries for 60 days. Similarly, Karan has worked for only 10 days but his job card shows false job entry for 48 days.

**Hriday Nagar:** we surveyed 20 households of Hridaynagar village in Hridaynagar Gram Panchayat located under Jatara block. All the surveyed households belong to SC community. The situation of the NREGS in this village is relatively better. The sample households have been given on an average 42 days of NREGS jobs this year. 10 percent of sample households have got job for 100 days. However, 20 percent of the sample households have received no NREGS employment whatsoever. About 50 percent working population of this village has migrated to Delhi in search of manual work.

**Larkhurd:** The entire working population of Larkhurd village in Larkhurd Gram Panchayat located under Jatana block has migrated to Delhi in search of wage employment. This village is facing acute drought and serious livelihood crises for last three years. We surveyed 24 households in the village, all of them very poor dalits (SC). It was shocking to find that 58 percent of the surveyed households did not get even a single day's NREGS employment since its launch. About 63 percent of sample households have not got even a single day's job this year (April 2007 – December 2007). Not a single sample household has received 100 days of employment this year. About 13 days of average employment has been given to sample households during the current year. We also detected many irregularities in this village. Ghanshyam (job card no 102) has received no employment under NREGS, but his job card has bogus job entry for 22 days. Gokal (job card 125) has got only 3 days of employment, but his job card shows false job entry for 12 days

Dayali (job card no 103) has got 18 days of wage employment this year, but he has been paid wages for only 12 days. Dhaniram (job card no 117) has actually worked for 36 days but he has been paid only 9 days of wages. Laxman (job card no 79) has actually worked for only 40 days this year, but his job card has fake job entry for 106 days. The executing officials have siphoned off significant part of NREGS funds by making false job entries in the job cards of these poor dalits.

**Vedpur :** In Vedpur village of Jatara block, we could not find a single job card with any of the labourers. All job cards of the village were kept with Sarpanch. We surveyed 15 households and all of them had got NREGS job but recall value was very poor. In the absence of job cards individual testimonies about working days were very unreliable. However, most of the surveyed households have got significant days of employment. We did not receive any major complaint except that the job cards were with Sarpanch for over 1 year. Since we did not see a single job card of the village, it was not possible for us to make an exact assessment of the situation in the village.

## Chapter-III

### Shivpuri

As per the data available on the NREGA website, Shivpuri district spent a total amount of Rs. 121 crore under the NREGS during 2007-08. With this amount of expenditure, 109 lakh persondays of wage employment was given to 1,70,450 households of the district during this period. To put the figures in perspective, **1,70,450 households of Shivpuri district were given about 64 days of average employment during 2007-8.** The total employment given to the Schedule Caste (SC) workers was about 28 lakh persondays and that figure for Schedule Tribe (ST) workers was about 37 lakh persondays. But CEFS survey conducted in 25 villages of Shivpuri suggests that all these job figures are false and have been manufactured in order for siphoning off NREGS funds.

We were shocked to find that 46.43 percent of the sample households in Shivpuri (one of the poorest districts of M P) have never ever got even one day of NREGS employment. During first 9 months of the financial year 2007-8 (April 2007-December 2007), a staggering 80.80 percent of the sample hhs did not get even a single day of NREGS job. During this period, just 1.34 percent of the sample families got 100 days of work and **the sample hhs got only 7.61 days of average employment.**

Compare the government figures with the figures of CEFS survey. According to CEFS survey, during first 9 months of 2007-8, the sample households in Shivpuri were given only 7.61 days of average employment. So, the average employment during 12 months of the financial year 2007-8 comes to about 11 days. Even if we add 2 days more as margin of error, the average employment during the year comes to only 13 days. Therefore, Shivpuri's average employment figure of 64 days claimed by the Government of MP is about 5 times more than the CEFS figure of 13 days. Since the facts and figures given by the Government of Madhya Pradesh are apparently based on faked and fabricated job entries in the

job cards and muster rolls, only about one-fifth (20 percent) of the job figures are actual and the remaining four-fifths (80 percent) of the job figures are based on fake and forged job entries in job cards and muster rolls. So, it is obvious that about 80 percent (Rs. 96 crore) of the NREGS funds (Rs 121 crore) spent in Shivpuri district have been siphoned off and misappropriated by the executing officials of implementing agencies. Only about 20 percent (Rs 25 crore) of the funds have reached the target beneficiaries.

Abysmal state of NREGS in Shivpuri district will become self-evident after reading the individual findings of 25 sample villages from the district.

**Raisri :** We found massive corruption and open loot of the NREGS funds in Raisri village of Shivpuri block. About 82 percent of the sample hhs have not received even a single day of job in first 9 months of the year (2007-8). The sample families have got just 2 days of average employment during that period. Out of 22 sample hhs in the village, we found massive faked job entries in 19 job cards.

Dhanti (214) had actually got only 10 days of employment in the first year of the scheme (2006-7), but his job card has faked job entry for 173 days. So, executing officials have misappropriated 163 days of wage money (about Rs 10,000) drawn in the name of this poor dalit. Ram Ratan (306) had got 30 days of work in first year of the scheme, but his job card bears faked job entry of 140 days for that period. Therefore, 110 days of wage money (about Rs 7000) in this case has gone into the pockets of sarkari babus.

Lajja(191) is another poor dalit of Raisri in whose name 167 days of wage money (about Rs 10,200) has been siphoned off by Percentage Raj. Lajja was actually given only 12 days of NREGS job during 2006-7, but his job card shows false job entry of 179 days in that year. Harvilas (43) had got just 10 days of work in the first year of the scheme, but his job card has bogus job entry for 57 days. 47

days of wages (about Rs 3000) in this case have been siphoned off. Rangji (44) had got 30 days of work in the first year, but his job card has false job entry for 62 days. So, 32 days of wages have been siphoned off.

Doma (111) was given 50 days of employment in the first year, but his job card has bogus job entry for 181 days. So, 131 days of wage money (about Rs 8000) drawn in the name of this poor dalit has actually gone into the pockets of executing officials. Mohan (61) was given just 10 days of employment in 2006-7, but his job card bears false job entry for 112 days. In this case 102 days of wages (about Rs 6200) have been sucked by Percentage Raj. Gangaram (68) had got just 10 days of work in the first year, but his job card has fake job entry for 77 days. So, 67 days of wages have been siphoned off. Chandra (33) was given 20 days of work in 2006-7, but his job card has false job entry for 134 days. Therefore, 114 days of wage money (about Rs 7000) drawn in the name of this deprived dalit has gone into the pockets of sarkari babus.

Rampal (3) is another poor dalit of Raishri village in whose name a lot of wage money has been misappropriated by implementing authorities. Rampal had actually got only 13 days of employment in 2006-7, but his job card bears faked job entry for 112 days. So, 99 days of wages (over Rs 6000) in this case have been eaten up by executing officials. Harmukh (46) was given 23 days of work in the first year, but his job card bears false job entry for 161 days. So, 138 days of NREGS wages (about Rs 8500) drawn in the name of this poor dalit have actually enriched sarkari babus (***or sarkari mafia?***).

Shiv Charan (141) is a poor dalit of Raishri village and he was given just 15 days of NREGS employment in the first year of the scheme. However, his job card bears evidence of the open loot of about Rs 14,000 of NREGS fund in his name. His job card has faked job entry of 238 days for the first year. So, 223 days of wage money in this case has disappeared in the ***“blackholes of Percentage Raj”***.

Brijnath (256) had got 12 days of work in 2006-7, but his job card has faked job entry of 112 days. In this case, 100 days of wage money (about Rs 6100) has been siphoned off by implementing authorities. Rakesh (45) was given 20 days of work in the first year, but his job card has bogus job entry of 84 days. 64 days of wages have apparently been siphoned off. Murari (110) had got 60 days of jobs in the first year, but his job card has faked job entry for 168 days. Percentage Raj has apparently eaten up 108 days of NREGS wages (about Rs 6600).

Gopal (71) was given only 20 days of employment in 2006-7. However, his job card bears fake job entry for 184 days. Therefore, 164 days of wage money (over Rs 10,000) drawn in the name this poor dalit has actually ended up in the pockets of sarkari babus. Ramswarup (81) had got 20 days of work in the first year of the scheme, but his job card has bogus job entry for 96 days. So, 76 days of wages (about Rs 4700) in this case have been siphoned off by implementing authorities. Santo (213) was given 20 days of job in the first year, but his job card has fake job entry for 89 days. Therefore, 69 days of wages (over Rs 4200) have apparently been eaten up by executing officials. Similarly, Sukha Jatav (107) had got only 20 days of employment in the first year of the scheme, but his job card has fake job entry for 90 days. So, 70 days of wage money (about Rs 4300) drawn in the name of this underprivileged dalit has apparently been misappropriated by Percentage Raj. ***Our calculations suggest that over 90 percent of the NREGS funds spent in Raishri village have been misappropriated by executing officials. Shall we call it leakage, corruption, irregularity or open loot by sarkari babus ?***

**Tongara:** Tongara is a poor and backward village of Shivpuri block. We surveyed 48 hhs in the village. The sample families belong to either Sahariya adivasis or dalits. It is interesting to note that hardly any Adivasi sample family has got employment in first 9 months of 2007-8, but most of the dalit samples have got some work during this period. While sample families have got 20 days

of average employment during first 9 months of 2007-8, 50 percent of the sample hhs have not received any employment during this period. None of the samples have got 100 days of work this year. We found fake job entries in many job cards of this village. Suresh (195) was given only 20 days of job in first 9 months of 2007-8, but his job card has fake job entry for 81 days. So, 61 days of wages (Over Rs 3700) have been siphoned off in this case.

Mantu (181) has got 80 days of work in first 9 months of 2007-8, but his job card has fake job entry for 173 days. Therefore, 93 days of wage money (about Rs 5700) has apparently been eaten up by Percentage Raj. Kashi (196) has got only 10 days of job in first 9 months of the current year (2007-8), but his job card has bogus job entry for 40 days. 30 days of wages have been siphoned off. Nelam (459) has got 40 days of employment in the current year, but his job card has false job entry for 86 days. 46 days of wages in this case have been siphoned off. Kalyan (2) had got 50 days of employment in 2006-7, but his job card has bogus job entry for 84 days. 34 days of wages have been siphoned off. Jagadish (10) was given no employment in first 9 months of 2007-8, but his job card has false job entry for 14 days.

Badam Singh (198) has been given only 20 days of employment in the current year, but his job card has false job entry for 187 days. Therefore, 167 days of wage money (over Rs 10,000) in this case has been siphoned off by Percentage Raj. Baijanti (105) is a poor dalit of Tongara village. He has got 20 days of work during 2006-7 and another 20 days of work in the current year. However, job card of Baijanti bears fake job entry of 118 days for 2006-7 and of 113 days for the current year. Therefore, 191 days of wage money (over Rs 12,000) drawn in the name of this poor dalit has ended up enriching sarkari babus. Ramjilal (131) has got only 20 days of job in the current year, but his job card has false job entry for 40 days. Khachhu (130) is another poor dalit of this village in whose name 110 days of wage money (about Rs 7500) has been siphoned off by implementing authorities. Khachhu has got 80 days of employment in the current

year, but his job card has false job entry for 190 days. Chatur Singh(132) had got 50 days of job in the first year of the scheme, but his job card has fake job entry for 101 days. So, 51 days of wages in this case have been siphoned off by executing officials.

**Vilokalan:** Vilokalan is a very poor and backward village of Shivpuri block. Dalits constitute about 40 percent population of the village. We surveyed 53 families in this village, most of them very poor dalits. It is distressing to note that not a single sample hh in the village has got any employment under NREGS in the current year. Over 77 percent of the samples have never got any job under this scheme. However, we found fake job entries in many job cards of the village. Ramesh (86) is a very poor dalit of Vilokalan. During 2006-7, he was given 20 days of employment under rural job scheme. However, his job card has fake job entry for 60 days. So, 40 days of wage money has been siphoned off in this case. Dayalu (184) too is a poor dalit and he was actually given only 20 days of work during first year (2006-7) of the scheme. However, his job card has fake job entry for 154 days. In this case, more than Rs 8000 of wage money has been misappropriated by sarkari babus. Paramu Jatav (21) was given only 15 days of job in the first year of the scheme, but his job card has fake job entry for 50 days. So, 35 days of wage money was siphoned off in the name of this poor dalit. Vijay (179) was given 24 days work during first year, but his job card shows bogus job entry for 57 days. Therefore, 33 days of wage money has apparently been sucked by Percentage Raj.

Naresh (81) is another hapless dalit of this village in whose name 49 days of wage money (about Rs 3000) has been misappropriated by executing officials. Naresh had actually got only 20 days of work in the first year of the scheme, but his job card has fake job entry for 69 days. Similarly, Murari (62) had got only 30 days of job during 2006-7, but his job card has false job entry for 81 days. So, 51 days of wage money drawn in the name of this poor dalit has actually gone into the pockets of government officials. Kishan Jatav (22), who died on 5<sup>th</sup> March

2007, did not get any work under this scheme during 2006-7. However, the job card of this dead dalit has fake job entry for 42 days. Therefore, 42 days of wages drawn in the name of late Kishan Jatav have actually been eaten up by sarkari babus. Teja Jatav (12) was given only 15 days of job in the first year of the scheme, but his job card has bogus job entry for 62 days. Therefore, 43 days of wages have apparently been siphoned off in the name of this poor dalit.

**Noharikalan:** Noharikalan is a dalit and adivasi dominant village in Shivpuri block of the district. The situation in this village too was equally dismal. ***None of the sample hhs have got even a single day of NREGS work in first nine months of the current year (April 2007-December 2007). About 76 percent of the surveyed families have never got any job under this scheme.*** We found fake job entries in many job cards of this deprived village. Ramlal (77) did not get even a single day's work in 2006-7, but his job card has fake job entry for 51 days. So, the entire wage money of 51 days drawn in the name of Ramlal has gone into the pockets of executing officials. Rakesh (202) was not given any job during 2006-7, but his job card has false job entry for 14 days. Nawalu(65) did not get any work during first nine months of the current year, but his job card too has bogus job entry for 14 days. Rajendra (154) and Badami (137) too did not get any work in the current year, but their job cards have fake job entries for 14 days each. Dhanti (54) had got 30 days of job during 2006-7, but his job card has bogus job entry for 66 days. So, 36 days of wage money in this case has been apparently siphoned off.

**Jhalwasa:** In Jhalwasa village of Pohari block, very few people have actually got a few days of jobs. The sample households did get on an average only 3 days of jobs under NREGS for the survey period. 31 percent of the sample households have not got any employment under NREGS since the launch of the scheme. About 44 percent of the sample households did not get even a single day's job for the survey period of 9 months (April 2007 – December 2007). Only one of the sample households had got job for 100 days in the survey period. We found

significant misappropriation of NREGS funds through fake and bogus job entries on the job cards. During 2006-7, Bavaria (Job card no. 41) had actually got only 30 days NREGS employment. However, Bavaria's job card has fake job entry for 141 days. Therefore, about 80 percent of the NREGS wages (about Rs 7000) shown in the name of Bavaria have actually gone into the pockets of sarkari babus.

The job card of Kashiram (Job card no. 43) shows job entry for 265 days during 2006-7. However, this family actually got only 25 days of job during that period. Therefore, over 90 percent of the wage money (about Rs 15,000) withdrawn in the name of this poor family was apparently pocketed by executing officials. Similarly, Sanjay (Job card no. 61) had actually availed 90 days of job during first year of NREGS but his job card has bogus job entry for 130 days. So, 40 days of wages were siphoned off in this case.

**Chandrapura:** We surveyed 48 hhs in Chandrapura village of Shivpuri block.

None of the sample hhs have got even a single day of NREGS work in first nine months of the current year (April 2007-December 2007). Moreover, about 94 percent of the surveyed families of this poor and backward village have never got any job under the rural job scheme. We also found fake job entries in some job cards. Badami (70) has never got any work under NREGS, but his job card has fake job entry of 56 days for 2006-7. So, 56 days of wages in this case have been siphoned off. Kalyan (11) had got 60 days of work during 2006-7, but his job card has bogus job entry for 110 days. Therefore, 50 days of wage money in this case has been eaten up by sarkari babus.

**Patara:** Patara (Karai Ahmadpur GP) is an extremely poor and backward village located in Shivpuri block of Shivpuri district. Sahariya Adivasis constitute about 80 percent population of this village. Most adivasis of Patara live a life of extreme deprivation and semi-starvation. This village would definitely fall in the category of poorest villages of the country. All Sahariya households of this village would

fall on the bottom of human development index. We came across many Sahariya families who were facing literal starvation. ***Despite living on the edges of poverty, none of the families in this village has received even a single day of NREGS employment in first 9 months of the current year (April 2007-December 2007).*** Most job cards of Sahariya adivasis were lying with the Sarpanch against their will. Sahariya families had got a few days of work during first year of the scheme (2006-7), but they received only partial wages. Non- adivasi households have never got any employment under this scheme. 30 villagers of Patara gave us a written and signed Panchnama stating that they had not received any job under NREGS despite the fact they were in desperate need of the same. ***We wonder if NREGS does not reach Sahariya Adivasis of Patara, who else is it going to reach ?***

**Ganeshkhera:** Ganeshkhera (Khairara GP) is a poor and Adivasi dominant village of Pohari block in Shivpuri district. This was our first survey village in the district. ***We were shocked to find that none of the surveyed hhs had got even a single day of employment under NREGS in the first 9 months of the current year (April 2007- December 2007). Moreover, about 69 percent of the sample families have never got any work under NREGS.*** Most job cards of the village were lying with Sarpanch.

**Guricha:** The performance of NREGS in Guricha village of Pohari block was equally dismal. None of the surveyed families have received even a single day of employment in the current year. Moreover, about 86 percent of the sample hhs have never got any employment under rural job scheme. We found fake job entries in many job cards of the village. Harivilas (123) did not get any work during 2006-7, but his job card has fake job entry for 176 days. Murari (182) too was denied any job in 2006-7, but his job card has bogus job entry for 19 days. Similarly, Suresh did not get any NREGS work in the first year of the scheme, but his job card shows false job entry for 26 days.

**Jamkho:** The state of NREGS in Jamkho village of Shivpuri block was no better. We surveyed 35 hhs in this village. Over 94 percent of the sample families have not got any work during first nine months of the current year (April 2007-December 2007). Over 71 percent of the sample hhs have never got any employment under NREGS. The sample families have got less than half day of average employment in the current year.

**Sesai Sadak:** Sesai Sadak is a dalit and adivasi dominant village of Kolaras block. We surveyed 33 hhs in this backward village of Shivpuri district. We were shocked to find that none of the sample hhs have got even a single day of NREGS work in first nine months of the current year (April 2007-December 2007). About 61 percent of the surveyed families have never got any job under the rural job scheme. All job cards of the village were lying with the Panchayat Secretary.

**Piparsama:** We surveyed 33 hhs in Piparsama village of Shivpuri block. The state of the NREGS in this village was absolutely dismal. None of the sample hhs have got even a single day of NREGS work in first nine months of the current year (April 2007-December 2007). About 82 percent of the surveyed families have never got any job under the rural job scheme.

**Kulnara:** The state of NREGS in Kulnara village (Madhikheda GP) of Kolaras block is hardly any better. 95 percent of the surveyed hhs have received no work in first nine months of the current year. 85 percent of the sample families have never got any employment under the rural job scheme. Many families have not got even job cards. We could not find a single job card with the villagers because all job cards of the village were kept with the Sarpanch.

**Jhiri:** Jhiri is a poor village of Pohari block. About 96 percent of the sample hhs in this village have received no work in first 9 months of the current year. Only one sample family got 6 days of work this year. About 79 percent of the samples have never got any employment under NREGS. We also detected false job

entries in some job cards. Rampal (175) has never got any job under this scheme, but his job card has fake job entry of 120 days for 2006-7. Therefore, the wage money of 120 days (about Rs 7500) has been misappropriated by sarkari babus. Raghubir (108) was given only 20 days of employment in the first year of the scheme, but his job card shows fake job entry for 51 days. So, 31 days of wages have been pocketed by implementing authorities. Mangilal had got 24 days of employment in the first year of the NREGS, but his job card has false job entry for 46 days. 22 days of wages in this case have been siphoned off.

**Kushiyara:** In the first 9 months of the current year, no NREGS project has been executed in Kushiyara village of Shivpuri block. Over 94 percent of the sample hhs have not received even one day of employment in the current year. Only one of the sample hhs has got employment this year. We detected fake job entries in some job cards of the village. Murari (40) was actually given 25 days of employment during 2006-7, but his job card has fake job entries for 107 days. So, 82 days of wages (about Rs 5000) in this case have been pocketed by implementing authorities. Nakatu (38) had got 40 days of job in the first year of the scheme, but his job card has fake job entry for 152 days. Therefore, 112 days of wage money (about Rs 7000) in this case has been eaten up by Percentage Raj. Kheri (28) had got 48 days of work in the first year of the NREGS, but his job card has false job entry of 108 days. So, 60 days of wages in this case have been eaten up by government officials.

**Dhaulagarh:** Dhaulagarh is a dalit and adivasi dominant village of Shivpuri block. During first 9 months of the current year, no NREGS project was implemented in this village. We came to know that some pond work was just (in the last week of December 2007) starting. In the first nine months of the year, over 91 percent of the sample hhs did not get any job under NREGS. During this period, the sample hhs had got about 2 days of average employment. Female labourers of the village told us that digging one ditch took full day of three labourers, for which they got Rs 60 as wage based on measurement. Therefore, the effective daily wage

for them came to just Rs 20. They demanded that their payments should be made on daily wage basis and not measurement basis. More than half population of the village has migrated to cities and towns in search of wage employment.

**Bachhoura:** Bachhoura is a very poor village of Pohari block. Dalits constitute about one third population of the village. About 91 percent of the surveyed families in the village have got no employment in the first 9 months of the current year. About 41 percent of the sample hhs have never got any job under NREGS. The sample hhs have got less than 2 days of average employment in the current year. We also detected fake job entries in some job cards of the village. Kalyan (40) had got only 5 days of work in 2006-7, but his job card has fake job entry for 43 days. So, 38 days of wages in this case have been siphoned off. Similarly, Gyani (44) had got just 2 days of job in the first year of the scheme, but his job card has bogus job entry for 29 days. In this case, 27 days of wage money has been siphoned off by executing officials.

**Madkhera:** Madkhera is a classic Sahariya Adivasi village located in Pohari block of Shivpuri district. Sahariyas of Madkhera live a life of extreme poverty and semi-starvation. Even in this extremely deprived village NREGS does not appear to have made any difference to the lives and livelihoods of Sahariyas. The performance of NREGS in this textbook Adivasi village is absolutely dismal. It is distressing to note that 90 percent of the sample hhs in this village have not received even a single day of employment in first 9 months of the current year. Moreover, 50 percent of the sample families have never got any employment under this scheme. The sample families have got less than 1 day of average employment in the current year (April 2007-December 2007). ***If this is the performance of NREGS in a Sahariya Adivasi village, where has the Government of Madhya Pradesh spent Rs 2900 crore of NREGS funds during 2007-8?***

**Deharwara:** Deharwara is a very poor village located in Kolaras block of Shivpuri district. We surveyed 31 households of the village, all of them poor dalits. ***It is shocking to note that not a single sample family has got even a single day of NREGS work in first 9 months of the current year (April 2007-December 2007).*** About 42 percent of the sample hhs have never got any NREGS employment. Moreover, job card of every sample family was lying with the Sarpanch against the will of the card owners.

**Nayagaon:** Nayagaon is located in Tehntahimmatgarh Grampanchayat (GP) of Shivpuri block. The performance of NREGS in this village is relatively better. The sample hhs have got about 8 days of average employment in first 9 months of the current year. However, about 35 percent of the sample families have not received any employment in first 9 months of the year (2007-8) and none of the samples has got job for 100 days. About 50 young labourers of the village have migrated to towns in search of wage employment.

**Bhadera:** We surveyed 30 hhs in Bhadera village of Pohari block. Over 83 percent of the sample hhs have not received even a single day of work in the current year (April 2007-December 2007). More than 53 percent of the sample families have never got any employment under the rural job scheme. The sample families have got less than 1 day of average employment in the current year. We found fake job entries in many job cards of this village. Kailash (223) had got only 3 days of work in 2006-7, but his job card has fake job entry for 16 days. Dheeraj (637) has got only 6 days of work in the current year, but his job card has false job entry for 17 days. Raju Batham (162) had got only 3 days of work in 2006-7, but his job card has bogus job entry for 10 days. Similarly, Kali(254) had got only 3 days of work in 2006-7, but his job card has fake job entry for 10 days. Dhaniram (499) had got only 4 days of work in 2006-7 and no work in the current year. However, his job card has fake job entry of 39 days for the first year and of 6 days for the second year. So, 41 days of wage money in this case has apparently been siphoned off by executing officials.

**Nayagaon:** Nayagaon is a tribal dominant village of Bara Gram Panchayat located in Shivpuri block of Shivpuri district. We surveyed 25 households of the village, most of them adivasis. However, only 5 families had their job cards with them. Most job cards of the village were kept in the homes of Sarpanch and Panchayat Secretary for more than one year against the will of the card owners. 25 surveyed households of the village had got on an average 32 days of job under NREGS during first 9 months of the current year (April 2007 – December 2007). The villagers told us that only 4 -5 days of employment was given to villagers in a pond digging work done in the village under NREGS. Most work of the pond was done by tractor which is illegal.

**Indergarh:** We surveyed 30 households of Indergarh village located in Shivpuri block. Most surveyed households were adivasis and dalits. Only 10 percent of the surveyed households had got jobs for 100 days and about 17 percent of them had not received even a single day's job in the current year. The surveyed households had got on an average 38 days of employment during first 9 months of the current financial year (April 2007 – December 2007).

**Subhashpura:** We surveyed 23 households of Subhashpura village located in Indergarh Gram Panchayat of Shivpuri block. About 48 percent of the surveyed households did not get even a single day's job for the survey period (April 2007 – December 2007). The surveyed households had got on an average 36 days of NREGS jobs for the survey period. Only 13 percent of the surveyed households had availed jobs for 100 days.

**Suhara:** Suhara is a small adivasi village located in Girmora Gram Panchayat (GP) of Shivpuri block. The situation was far better in this village. We surveyed 17 households out of the total 60 households in the village. The surveyed households had got on an average 48 days of job for the survey period and about 6 percent of them had availed jobs for 100 days. About 30 percent of the

sample households had not received even a single day of job for the survey period.

## Chapter-IV

### Dhar

According to the available data on the NREGA website, Dhar district spent a total amount of Rs. 203 crore under the NREGS during 2007-08. With this fund, 188 lakh persondays of wage employment was given to 2,02,133 households of the district during this period. It implies that **2,02,133 households of Dhar district were given over 93 days of average employment during 2007-8**. The total employment given to the Schedule Caste (SC) workers was about 13 lakh persondays and that figure for Schedule Tribe (ST) workers was about 150 lakh persondays. **Terrific achievement by all accounts!**

But CEFS survey findings give a totally different picture. The following findings of our study reveal the ground reality and actual performance of the NREGS in Dhar district.

11.90 percent of the sample households in Dhar district have never ever got NREGS employment. During first 10 months of the financial year 2007-8 (April 2007- January 2008), 48.10 percent of the sample hhs did not get even a single day of NREGS job. During this period, 6.45 percent of the sample families got 100 days of work and **the sample hhs got 23.87 days of average employment**.

Compare the Government figures with the figures of CEFS survey and you get the true picture of the NREGS in Dhar. According to CEFS survey, during first 10 months of 2007-8, the sample households in Dhar were given only about 24 days of average employment. So, the average employment for 12 months of the financial year 2007-8 comes to less than 30 days. Therefore, Dhar's average employment figure of 93 days given by the Government of MP is about 3 times more than the CEFS figure of 30 days. All the facts and figures given by the Government of Madhya Pradesh are apparently based on faked and fabricated job entries in the job cards and muster rolls. Only about one-third (33 percent) of

the job figures are actual and the remaining two-third (67 percent) of the job figures are based on faked and forged job entries in job cards and muster rolls. **So, it is obvious that about 67 percent (Rs. 136 crore) of the NREGS funds (Rs 203 crore) spent in Dhar have been siphoned off and misappropriated by the sanctioning and executing authorities of the district.**

The story of Nalchha Grampanchayat located under Nalchha block gives us a glimpse of how NREGS funds have been siphoned off in Dhar district.

Shri Shiv Charan Yadav, Vice-President of BJP (Nalchha block) lodged a written complaint with the District Collector (we have a copy of the complaint with us) alleging that there had been very heavy bungling of NREGS funds in Nalchha Grampanchayat. When Shri Yadav managed to get photocopies of the muster rolls of NREGS projects implemented in Nalchha Grampanchayat through an application filed under RTI, the muster rolls had 60-100 days of faked job entries in the name of 81 government servants and their family members, dead persons, prosperous families, businessmen, teachers, in the name of an army soldier and also in the name of family members of a journalist. This participatory loot of NREGS fund was planned and executed jointly by Sarpanch and Deputy Sarpanch of Nalchha Grampanchayat, Sub-engineer and CEO (Nalchha Janpad Panchayat). The story of Nalchha Grampanchayat is not an isolated story of open loot of the NREGS funds, but it is the story of almost every Grampanchayat in Dhar district.

### **RES: Engineering the Great Job Robbery of MP**

As per the minutes of a meeting convened by the District Collector on June 17, 2007, of a total Rs 386 crore approved for the execution of the NREGS in Dhar district, Rs 138 crore was allocated to just one line agency-Rural Engineering Services (RES).

The RES is alleged to have done phenomenal financial bungling in the execution of NREGS. Just one sub-engineer in Sardarpur block (Mr O P Maheshwari) has executed NREGS projects worth about 40 crore. A significant share of Rs 40 crore has allegedly gone into the pockets of this sub-engineer and his bosses. There are very serious allegations against the Executive Engineer of RES, Mr M K Badakul. According to local press reports, Mr Badakul has amassed huge amount of wealth during his tenure in Dhar. He has reportedly purchased various properties in many towns of M P. Being the head of RES in Dhar district, a very high proportion of Rs 138 crore of NREGS funds allocated to RES, have allegedly gone into the pockets of Mr Badakul. The SDOs and the sub-engineers of RES in the district are alleged to have siphoned off huge amounts of NREGS funds.

If the expenditure of Rs 203 crore in Dhar district has provided the kind of wage employment we found in following 25 villages, how many thousand crore is required to give 100 days' guaranteed wage employment to every needy rural household of just one district ?

**Bori Kundal:** Bori Kundal is a very poor and backward adivasi village of Dholahanuman Gram Panchayat located under Tirla block. We surveyed 36 extremely poor adivasi households in the village. We were shocked to discover open loot of NREGS funds by executing officials. The sample households have received 6 days of average employment in the current year (April 2007 – December 2007). Not a single sample family has received 100 days of employment in the current year.

Our investigation suggests that more than 80 percent of NREGS funds spent in the name of Bori Kundal village has actually been eaten up by executing officials. We found false and fake job entries on almost every job card of this village. Nan Singh (job card no 7) has actually got only 12 days of NREGS employment in the current year (April 2007 – December 2007). However, his job card has bogus job

entry for 60 days. So, 80 percent of the wage money drawn in the name of this poor adivasi has actually gone into the pockets of sarkari babus. Munna (job card no 49) has got only 12 days of work this year, but his job card has bogus job entry of 36 days.

Dilip (job card no 25) has not got even a single day of NREGS work in the current year, however, his job card has false job entry for 65 days. So, the entire wage money of 65 days (about Rs 4500) has been pocketed by executing officials. Amar Singh (job card no 16) has got only 12 days of work, but his job card has bogus entry for 30 days. Moreover, Amar Singh refused to take the wage money because he was being paid @ Rs. 50 per day. Jhindra (job card no 17) has worked for just 6 days but his job card has bogus entry of 36 days.

Dhaniya (job card no 14) has got only 8 days of NREGS work in the current year, however, his job card has false entry for 48 days. Babu (job card no 56) has got only 6 days of work, but his job card has bogus entry for 52 days. Bhim (job card no 38) has got just 5 days of work, but his job card has false job entry for 59 days. So, about 90 percent of the wage money in this case has been siphoned off. Badri (job card no 36) has actually got only 10 days of work, but his job card has bogus job entry for 60 days. About 84 percent of the wage money in this case has been siphoned off.

Punja Balu (job card no 15) has not received even one day of NREGS work in the current year, but his job card has fake job entry of 59 days. So, about Rs. 4000 of wage money drawn in the name of Punja Balu has been apparently misappropriated by sarkari babus. Mohan (job card no 6) has got only 16 days of work but his job card has false entry for 30 days. Kailash (job card no 9) has worked for just 5 days but his job card has false entry for 36 days. Sukharam Radhiya (job card no 1) has got only 5 days of work, but his job card shows entry for 24 days. Ratan (job card no 5) has not got any NREGS work this year, but his job card has fake entry for 17 days.

Balu (job card no 50) has got just 6 days of NREGS work this year, but his job card has fake entry of 47 days. Gulab (job card no 45) has got 6 days of work in 2006-07 and another 6 days of work during 2007-08. However, his job card has fake job entries of 56 days for 2006-07 and of 48 days for 2007-08. About Rs. 6000 has been siphoned off in this case. Dhaniya (job card no 29) has got only 5 days of work but his job card has fake entry for 41 days.

Phul Singh (job card no 20) has worked for only 6 days but his job card has false entry for 36 days. No one from the family of Sauji (job card no 28) has got even a single day of work this year, but his job card has fake entry for 80 days. In the name of Sauji, about Rs 5500 of NREGS fund has been pocketed by sarkari babus. Aap Singh (job card no 22) has got only 10 days of work but his job card has bogus entry for 29 days. No one from the family of Bhur Singh (job card no 4) has worked for even a single day this year, but his job card has fake entry for 90 days. In this case, more than Rs. 6000 of NREGS fund has been siphoned off. Amar Singh (job card no 2) has got only 10 days of work but his job card has false job entry for 59 days. Gul Singh (job card no 18) has got only 12 days of work but his job card has bogus entry for 36 days. Gomji (job card no 10) has got only 6 days of work but his job card has false entry for 24 days. Madan Singh (job card no 12) has got only 12 days of work but his job card has false entry of 36 days.

Kalya (job card no 53) has got only 5 days of work but his job card has entry for 25 days. Ramesh (job card no 32) has got only 4 days of work but his job card has entry for 30 days. Shankar Gulab (job card no 55) has not received any work under NREGS but his job card has fake entry for 30 days. Mangaliya (job card no 27) has got only 5 days of work this year but his job card has entry for 30 days. Sukharam (job card no 11) has got 15 days of work this year but his job card has false entry for 30 days. So, ***there has been proverbial open loot of NREGS funds in this poor adivasi village. We also discovered ghost NREGS***

***projects in the village. The job cards of the village show job entries for a pond digging work as well as a tree plantation project. Both these projects are purely ghost projects because none of these projects have ever been executed in this village. Is this the way NREGS is supposed to enhance livelihood security of adivasis, dalits and poor communities?***

**Gyanpura:** We surveyed 22 families in Gyanpura village of Tirla block. We found very serious irregularities in the village. Villagers told us that while line agencies pay Rs. 69 as daily wage, Sarpanch pays only Rs. 50. We discovered that executing officials have siphoned off a lot of wage money by making fake and false entries on the job cards. Prakash Singh (job card no 27) and his wife have never worked in any NREGS project. Only his mother has worked for 45 days. But, his job card has false job entry of 99 days. Job card of Prakash Singh shows bogus job entries in his own name and also in the name of his wife.

Radheshyam (job card no 48) has actually got only 30 days of work this year, but his job card has fake job entry of 44 days. Bharat (job card no 87) has actually worked for only 45 days in the current year, but his job card has fake job entry for 185 days. So, more than 75 percent of wage money (about Rs 9500) drawn in the name of this poor adivasi has gone into the pockets of sarkari babus.

Munnalal (job card no 91) has got only 60 days of NREGS job this year, but his job card has false job entry for 108 days. Only one person from the family of Sitaram (job card no 76) has got 50 days of NREGS work in the current year. However, his job card has fake job entries of 139 days in the name of 3 members of his family. About 70 percent of the wage money in this case has been eaten up by government officials.

Most job cards of the village have been illegally seized by the Panchayat Secretary. Dhanna Bai is a widow with 4 children and she desperately needs wage employment for her survival. But, she has not been given even job card.

Bagji Maniram is a poor adivasi woman and she too needs NREGS work for her survival. However, she is turned away from the NREGS work site because of her “old age”.

**Sejwani:** Sejwani is a very poor and backward village of Sejwani Gram Panchayat located in Nalchha block of Dhar district. Adivasis constitute 30 percent and dalits constitute 20 percent population of the village. We found absolutely dismal and disgraceful performance of NREGS in this poor village. We surveyed 49 poorest households in the village, most of them dalits and adivasis. ***We were shocked to discover that not a single sample household has got even a single day of NREGS work in the first 9 months of the current year (2007 – 2008). Moreover, 45 percent of the surveyed households have never got any NREGS job.*** Almost all job cards of the village have been illegally seized by Sarpanch. About 40 villagers gave us a written and signed *panchanama* saying that no one in the village has got any NREGS work in the current year. Villagers told us that two sand moram roads were built in this village under NREGS. However, one of the roads was completely built by machines and tractors.

We also discovered fake job entries in some job cards of this deprived village. Ramji Kashiram (job card no 103) is a very poor dalit of Sejwani. He had actually got only 6 days of work during 2006-07, but his job card has fake job entry of 30 days. Ratanlal (job card no 99) is also a dalit and had got 10 days of work in 2006-07. But his job card has bogus job entry for 33 days.

**Akalduna (Digthan):** Akalduna was the second sample village of Dhar district. Located in Akalduna Gram Panchayat of Nalchha block, this poor village has also been deprived of NREGS work. We surveyed 23 households but none has got even a single day of NREGS work in the current year (April 2007 – December 2007). Villagers told us that there has been no NREGS work in their village this year. We were told by the villagers that one earthen road and one pond were

constructed under NREGS in this village during 2006. However, most of the work in these projects was done by JCB, tractor and other heavy machines. Very few of the villagers got a few days of jobs in these projects. Over 39 percent of the sample households of this village have never got any employment under NREGS. Where has all the NREGS funds of Dhar district gone? No one would ever know.

**Ratawa:** Ratawa, located under Ratawa Gram Panchayat of Nalchha block, is a deprived village of Dhar district. Dalits and adivasis constitute about 50 percent population of this village. All dalit families of this village are landless and earn their living by odd manual work. We surveyed 19 poorest families of the village, all of them either dalit or adivasi. About 79 percent of the sample households have not received even a single day of NREGS work in the current year. In this village, a *Kharanja* road was built under NREGS in the current year. However, the entire work of this road was done by outside labourers, because it was executed through a contractor. So, none of the villagers could get any job in this project. Some of the surveyed households have got a few days of NREGS work in the neighbouring Gram Panchayat. All cards of the village have been illegally seized by the Panchayat Secretary and villagers told us that there are massive fake and false job entries on their job cards. We found very serious irregularities in this village.

**Aali:** We surveyed 22 households in Aali village located in Aali Gram Panchayat of Nalchha block. Most of the surveyed households are very poor adivasis. 68 percent of the sample households have not received even a single day of NREGS work in the current year. The sample households have got about 15 days of average employment this year. We found very serious irregularities in the implementation of NREGS in this village. Most job cards of the village have been seized by Sarpanch against the will of the card holders. Those villagers who have got some NREGS work have been paid only partial wages. Jalam Hadia (job card no 133) is a poor Bhil adivasi and got 18 days of work this year. However, he has been paid wages for only 8 days. Kailash is also a poor adivasi

and he got 15 days of NREGS work this year. But, he was paid only half of the wages. Similarly, Nanu Ram has worked for 50 days but he has been paid only partial wages. There are more labourers in the village who have been paid only half of their due wages.

**Aamala:** Aamala, located in Aamala Gram Panchayat of Tirla block, is a poor adivasi village of Dhar district. We surveyed 31 families, all of them Bhil adivasi. ***It is disappointing to note that about 81 percent of the surveyed households have not received even a single day of NREGS work in the current year.*** Not a single sample household has got 100 days of work this year. The sample families have received less than 4 days of average employment in the current year. More than 25 percent working population of the village has migrated to Gujarat in search of wage employment. We found overwriting and use of whitener on many job cards, and muster rolls of the village are always kept with Panchayat Secretary who lives in Dhar town and hardly comes to the village.

**Chakdud:** Chakdud, located in Badiya Gram Panchayat of Gandhawani block, is an entirely adivasi village. We surveyed 29 families in the village. ***We were shocked to find that 93 percent of the sample households have not got even one day of NREGS employment in the current year (April 2007 – December 2007).*** Not a single sample household has got 100 days of work this year. The average employment given to the sample households this year is less than two days. Most job cards of the village have been illegally sized by Panchayat Secretary.

**Mirzapur:** We surveyed 20 households in Mirzapur village of Gudawad Gram Panchayat located in Dhar block. **95 percent of the surveyed households have not received even a single day of NREGS work in the current year.** Not a single sample family has got 100 days of work. Most job cards of the village

were lying with the sub-engineer. The average employment given to sample households is just 1 day.

**Kadola Bujurg:** We surveyed 20 households in Kadolabujurg village of Kotibhidot Gram Panchayat located in Dhar block. 85 percent of the sample households have not received even a single day of NREGS work in the current year. The sample households have been given 7 days of average employment in the current year. Most job cards of the village have been illegally seized by the Panchayat Secretary.

Two ponds have been constructed in Kotibhidot Grampanchayat. Both these ponds have been built under NREGS by the Irrigation Department. The project cost of these ponds is Rs 24 lakh each. We were told by the villagers that most works of these ponds were done by heavy machines and very few villagers got wage employment in these projects. Villagers were alleging that there is very heavy financial bungling in the construction of these ponds. After visiting the sites of both these ponds, we could do nothing except to conclude that both these projects were primarily designed to misappropriate NREGS funds. In fact, these ponds have been built on existing good old ponds. Shri Narayan Singh Solanki (a brave resident of this village who is fighting against corruption in the NREGS projects) said that hardly Rs 1-2 lakh was actually spent on earth works of these ponds and the remaining funds of these projects have been eaten up by executing officials of the Irrigation Department. There has been phenomenal financial bungling in the construction of both ponds. ***We are pretty sure that an independent enquiry into both these projects would bring out an unparalleled tell of financial bungling in NREGS projects.***

There have been very serious irregularities and open loot of the NREGS funds in this village. Kadola Bujurg is a relatively prosperous village and about 80 percent families of this village do not need wage employment because they are well-off farmers. However, there are job cards in the name of all households of this

village, whereas most families of the village never applied for job cards or sought any job under NREGS. Sarpanch and Panchayat Secretary managed to get job cards made in the name of all households of the village and secretly kept most job cards with themselves. Sarpanch (Shri Man Singh Grewal) and Panchayat Secretary (Shri Nandkishor Patidar) have used these job cards to siphon off NREGS funds through faked job entries in these job cards and bogus job attendance on muster rolls.

Shri Narayan Singh Solanki is a prosperous farmer of this village and he also has a dairy shop in the district town. But the Panchayat functionaries have falsely shown that many members of his family have been given wage employment under NREGS. Similarly, most families' members have been falsely shown to have worked under NREGS. Most job entries in the job cards and muster rolls of this village are faked and fabricated. Shri Narayan Singh had lodged a written complaint (dated;29-8-7) with the District Collector and thereafter *Tehasildar* was asked to inquire into the matter. In his enquiry report dated 10-9-2007, *Tehasildar* found that about 60 percent of the job entries in the job cards and muster rolls of the village were bogus and a lot of NREGS fund has apparently been siphoned off by Sarpanch and Panchayat Secretary. Unfortunately, no disciplinary action has been taken against these guilty Panchayat functionaries. Shri Narayan Singh has filed a case of misappropriation of NREGS funds against Sarpanch and Panchayat Secretary of Kotbhidot Grampanchayat in the court of SDO (revenue), Dhar. However, after so many dates in this case, Shri Narayan Singh has been able to get nothing except another date in this case. ***Is this the way NREGS is supposed to fix accountability of the implementing authorities and ensure transparency of job related documents ?***

**Kadola Khurd:** We surveyed 30 households in Kadola Khurd village of Sirsouda Gram Panchayat located in Dhar block. Most of the sample households were very poor adivasis and dalits. 60 percent of the sample households have not received even one day of NREGS work in the current year. Not a single sample

family has received 100 days of work this year. The surveyed households have been given less than 4 days of average employment in the current year. Nathu Singh (job card no 38) is a poor adivasi of Kadola Khurd. During 2006-07, he had got just 2 days of NREGS work, but his job card has false job entry of 26 days. This year, he went 5-6 times to Sarpanch and demanded NREGS job, but he got none.

**Sirsoda:** We surveyed 20 households in Sirsoda village of Dhar block. Since most job cards of the village were kept with mate, it was very difficult to gather information about the NREGS. Most sample households have got employment under NREGS. The surveyed households have been given on an average 39 days of employment during survey period (April 2007 – January 2008). However, 20 percent of the sample households have not got even a single day's job in the current year (April 2007 – January 2008) and 10 percent of them have got no NREGS employment whatsoever. One of the sample households has got 100 days of job under NREGS.

**Jamanda:** We surveyed 15 households in Jamanda village of Dhar block. Of 15 sample households, one has got job for 3 days and the remaining 14 households have not got even a single day's employment during April 2007 – January 2008. During 2006-07, some households had got a few days of job under NREGS but they were paid on measurement basis which came to Rs.25 per day.

**Daulatpur :** *Daulatpur village of Jamanda Gram Panchayat in Dhar block has got no NREGS work in the current year (April 2007 – January 2008). None of the surveyed households in the village has got even a single day's job under NREGS since the launch of the scheme.*

**Amalya Bheru:** Amalya Bheru located under Ganganagar Gram Panchayat of Tirla block is entirely adivasi village. We surveyed 22 households in the village and most of them have got satisfactory jobs under NREGS. The sample

households have received on average 81 days of employment. 36 percent of the sample households have got over 100 days of jobs. However, we found very serious irregularities in the implementation of rural job scheme in this village. Villagers told us that tractor and other machinery have been heavily used in the NREGS projects of this village. We were told by the labourers that Sarpanch gives only Rs. 50 as daily wage for NREGS works executed by Gram Panchayat.

**Bhuti Bawadi:** Bhuti Bawadi of Chakalya Gram Panchayat located in Tirla block is entirely adivasi village. We surveyed 29 households of the village. About 58 percent of the sample households have received not even a single day's employment in the current year (April 2007 – January 2008). About 11 percent of the samples have got no NREGS employment whatsoever. Not a single sample household has got 100 days of work. The surveyed households have been given about 15 days of average employment in the current year. Many families of the village have migrated to Gujarat in search of manual work.

**Ghodabav:** We surveyed 18 households of Ghodabav village located in Chakalya Gram Panchayat of Tirla block. More than 33 percent of sample households have got no NREGS work this year (April 2007 – January 2008). Not a single surveyed household has got 100 days of job. The average employment given to the sample households this year is 25 days.

**Chakalya:** Chakalya village of Tirla block has seen relatively better implementation of rural job scheme. We surveyed 25 households in the village and found that 50 days of average employment was given to sample households during this year (April 2007 – January 2008). 12 percent of the sample households have got jobs for over 100 days during the same period. Most of the surveyed households have got employment in the pond construction (project cost Rs 50 lakh) work executed by RES (Rural Engineering Services).

**Dhaura Hanuman:** Dhaura Hanuman village of Tirla block is entirely adivasi village inhabited by Bhils. Most Bhils of the village are very poor and desperately need NREGS jobs. Large number of labourers from this village have migrated to Gujarat in search of manual work. These poor adivasis have got only nominal jobs under NREGS. We surveyed 31 households of the village. The sample households have been given average employment of 27 days in the current year (April 2007 – January 2008). No household in the village has been given 100 days of employment during this year. Villagers complained of serious irregularities in the wage payment. They have been paid on measurement basis which comes to only Rs 50 per day.

**Dedali K:** The state of NREGS in Dedali K village of Gandhawani block is relatively better. We surveyed 34 households of this adivasi village inhabited by Bhils and Bhilals. The sample households have been given 37 days of average employment during this year (April 2007 – January 2008). One of the surveyed families has got over 100 days of work this year. We did not receive any major complaint from the villagers.

**Attarsumba:** Attarsumba village of Karondiya Gram Panchayat under Gandhawani block is entirely adivasi village. We surveyed 20 households of the village. 15 percent of the sample households have not got even a single day's job this year. None of the surveyed households has received job for 100 days. The sample households have been given 17 days of average employment in the current year (April 2007 – January 2008).

**Digthan:** The state of NREGS in Digthan village of Nalchha block is not good. We surveyed 19 households in the village. Over 47 percent of the sample households have not got even a single day of employment this year (April 2007 – January 2008). None of the surveyed households has got job for 100 days. The sample households have been given average employment of only 11 days this year. We also found some cases of fake entries in the job cards of the village.

The family of Mukesh Ratan (job card no 432) had not received any job under NREGS during 2006-07. However, the job card of this family shows fake job entry of 68 days for the same period. Jagadish (job card no. 331) has got only 6 days of employment in the current year, but his job card has false job entry for 12 days. Sauram Bai (job card no 80) is a dalit and 10 days of her wages for the work done during 2006-07 are still pending. The labourers who have got some NREGS employment this year have got it in neighbouring Gram Panchayat and not in this village.

**Ranipura:** Ranipura, located in Dedala Grampanchayat of Dhar block, is an entirely adivasi village. We surveyed 22 families in this village. About 27 percent of the sample families have never got any employment under NREGS. But, the performance of NREGS in terms of job availability has been relatively much better in this village. About 27 percent of the sample households have got 100 days of employment in the current year (April 2007- January 2008). The sample families have got about 57 days of average employment in the current year. So far so good. Behind the façade of these rosy figures about job availability lies the bitter truth of massive financial bungling in the implementation of NREGS in this adivasi village.

These jobs were given in Dedala-Ranipura gravel road constructed in April –June 2007. The project cost of the road was Rs. 29.21 lakh and it was executed by the line agency RES. Villagers told us that only about 30 labourers worked for about 2 months in this project, whereas 250 labourers were supposed to get 100 days of employment in this project. During the road construction period, 5 dumpers were used day and night. Villagers alleged that executing officials had siphoned off most of the funds by using heavy machinery instead of giving wage employment to large number of labourers. This road was the only project executed in this village. The RES has not shared any project related information or document with Dedala Grampanchayat.

The implementing agency RES did not give labour requisition letter to Dedala Grampanchayat. It did not even intimate the Grampanchayat about this project, as it was supposed to do under the conditions laid down in the administrative sanction order. So, none of the labourers of Dedala Grampanchayat have been given employment through the Grampanchayat. However, about 30 labourers from this Grampanchayat were directly engaged by the RES, which is illegal. It is obvious that there has been heavy financial bungling in the execution of this project.

**Bagadiya:** Bagadiya, located in Bagadiya Grampanchayat of Tirla block, is adivasi dominated village. We surveyed 20 families in this village. The job availability in this village is statistically much better. The sample families have got about 65 days of average employment in the current year (April 2007-January 2008). 15 percent of the sample families got 100 days of job during the same period. However, there have been very serious irregularities and massive financial bungling in the execution of NREGS projects in this village.

There has been heavy financial bungling in the construction of a road which passes through this village. The construction of a gravel road with 3 culverts is being executed under NREGS by the line agency RES (rural engineering services). The project cost of this gravel road from Mand Road to Bagadiya Dilawara (4.30km) is Rs.86 lakh. The technical approval(No.231) for this project was granted by the RES on 15-12-06. However, another technical approval (no.3042) for 1 km stretch of the same road (Dilawara –Bagadiya road, 1 km) with the project cost of Rs.4.77 lakh was granted by the same line agency(RES) and this work was executed by Dilawara Grampanchayat. Therefore, it is obvious that the RES is constructing the 4.30 km road over the same road (1 km long road constructed under NREGS by Dilawara Grampanchayat).

There have been very serious irregularities in this project right from its technical and financial sanction to its execution.

First of all, there has been duplication in financial allocation as well as technical approval. There can not be two separate fund allocations for the execution of the same project and there can not be two separate technical approvals for the same project. In fact, the entire project has apparently been designed to siphon off NREGS funds.

Second, most of the work on this gravel road has been done with prohibited heavy machines like dumpers and JCBs.

Third, the implementing agency RES did not give labour requisition letters to Dilawara and Bagadiya Grampanchayats. It did not even intimate these Grampanchayats about this project, as it was supposed to do under the conditions laid down in the administrative sanction order. So, none of the labourers of Dilawara or Bagadiya Grampanchayat have been given formal employment in this project. However, some villagers have been directly given some days of job, which is illegal.

Fourth, the RES has not given copies of the muster rolls to the Grampanchayats. There is no entry in the employment registers of Dilawara and Bagadiya Grampanchayats pertaining to the wage employment given under this project.

Fifth, the RES has refused to disclose the project related information and documents to the Grampanchayats. The executing agency has not posted any information related to this project on the NREGA website. ***So much respect for the transparency safeguards of the NREGA !***

Mr Riyaz Khan, an NREGS activist of Dhar has put up heroic efforts and dogged perseverance to expose the corruption and irregularities involved in this project.

Mr Khan has even written complaint letters to the President, the Prime Minister, Ms Amita Sharma, Joint Secretary (NREGA), Union Ministry of Rural Development, Mr Pradeep Bhargava, Upper Principal Secretary, Department of Panchayats and Rural development, Govt. of MP, District collector of Dhar, and CEO of District Panchayat, Dhar. On the basis of Mr Khan's complaint letter to the District Collector, an enquiry was ordered and the SDM (Revenue) visited the project site on 29-7-2007 to inquire about the allegations of Mr Khan.

In his enquiry report dated 2-8-2007, the SDM found that heavy machines like JCBs had been used for digging morum and he did not find muster rolls on the work site. When the SDM asked Mr Govind Upadhyay (RES Sub-engineer, executing official of the project) to explain his side of the case in person, he just sent a written response and did not send all the project related documents to the SDM. The SDM concluded that Mr Upadhyay was trying to hide the documentary evidence. The SDM found the sub-engineer guilty of using prohibited heavy machines in this project and recommended disciplinary action against Mr Upadhyay. On the basis of this report, the District Collector confirmed that since work had been done by machines, there must be faked job entries on muster rolls. Unfortunately, no disciplinary action has been taken against this sub-engineer and he still continues in his fund siphoning spree as the executing official of this project. It is apparent that the administrative machinery is unable to take any action against officials like Mr Upadhyay because this is a "participatory loot" by sarkari babus and the entire state and district administrations are party to this "day-light job robbery." ***The Percentage Raj in Madhya Pradesh is not only institutionalized but really invincible.***

None of the 20 households we surveyed in Bagadiya village has got even a single day of employment in this Rs 86 lakh road. Villagers also told us that this road is being built on contract.

***Where has the RES spent the 60 percent labour component of this project cost? How many labourers have actually got wage employment with the expenditure of Rs 86 lakh? Will the Executive Engineer of RES (Dhar) care to answer these questions? The wage employment to labourers has apparently been given through faked job entries on the muster rolls and job cards. Is it not day-light job robbery and open loot of the NREGS funds?***

**Mafipura:** Mafipura, located in Mafipura Grampanchayat of Tirla block, is an entirely adivasi village. We surveyed 30 households of the village and found satisfactory job availability to the workers. The sample families have got about 74 days of average employment during April 2007-January 2008. About 23 percent of the samples have got 100 days of job during this period. Only about 7 percent of the samples have not got any job during this period. But, what is the cost of this satisfactory level of employment in Mafipura? ***An unbelievable Rs 229 crore.***

Following 5 major NREGS projects have been executed in and around Mafipura.

1. Gravel road from Mafipura to Jail Marg with project cost of Rs.32.81 lakh
2. Gravel road from Mafipura to Nirmal Gram with project cost of Rs.34.95 lakh
3. Gravel road from Mafipura to Kalapatha with project cost of Rs. 48.39 lakh
4. Pond construction in Mafipura with project cost of Rs 42.14 lakh
5. Pond construction in Mafipura with project cost of Rs.45 lakh

First four projects have been executed by the RES and the fifth one has been executed by the Irrigation Department. Villagers told us that heavy machines were used in all these projects.

The grand total cost of these 5 projects is Rs. 2 crore and 29 lakh. Are these kinds of projects and fund allocations in accordance with the spirit and objectives of the rural job scheme? What is the justification for implementing so many

projects with so much of cost in some villages, whereas there are innumerable villages where even a single project has not been executed. These projects are apparently planned, sanctioned and executed by line agencies like RES with misappropriation of funds being the primary objective and wage employment to labourers being secondary objective. The line agencies find it much easier to siphon off huge funds from these big projects compared to the labour-intensive smaller projects with small project costs. Hence, more than 40 percent of the allocated fund in Dhar district has been spent on big projects executed by the RES.

## Chapter-V

### Jhabua

As per the data posted on the NREGA website of the Union Ministry of Rural Development (<http://nrega.nic.in/>), Jhabua district spent a total amount of Rs. 175 crore under the NREGS during 2007-08. With this expenditure, 162 lakh persondays of wage employment was given to 1,93,054 households of the district during this period. To put these figures differently, **1,93,054 households of Jhabua district were given about 84 days of average employment during 2007-8**. The total employment given to the Schedule Caste (SC) workers was about 3 lakh persondays and that figure for Schedule Tribe (ST) workers was about 156 lakh persondays. **What a terrific performance !**

However, CEFS study of the NREGS carried out in 25 villages of Jhabua gave us a totally different and gloomy picture of the state of NREGS. The following findings of our study reveal the ground reality and actual performance of NREGS in the tribal district of Jhabua.

As high as 39.39 percent of the sample households in Jhabua district have never ever got even one day of NREGS employment. During first 10 months of the financial year 2007-8 (April 2007- January 2008), 54.55 percent of the sample hhs did not get even a single day of NREGS job. During this period, only a tiny 0.48 percent of the sample families got 100 days of work and **the sample hhs got 11.51 days of average employment.**

Compare the government figures with the figures of CEFS survey and you immediately get the real picture of the NREGS in Jhabua. According to CEFS survey, during first 10 months of 2007-8, the sample households in Jhabua were given only 11.51 days of average employment. So, the average employment during 12 months of the financial year 2007-8 comes to less than 15 days. Even if we add 5 days more as margin of error, the average employment during the

year comes to only 20 days. Therefore, Jhabua's average employment figure of 84 days given by the Government of MP is about 4 times more than the CEFS figure of 20 days. All the facts and figures given by the Government of Madhya Pradesh are apparently based on faked and fabricated job entries in the job cards and muster rolls. Only about one-fourth (25 percent) of the job figures are actual and the remaining three-fourth (75 percent) of the job figures are based on faked and forged job entries in job cards and muster rolls. So, it is obvious that about 75 percent (Rs. 131 crore) of the NREGS funds (Rs 175 crore) spent in Jhabua have been siphoned off and misappropriated by the executing officials of implementing agencies.

Heavy distress migration of Jhabua's adivasis from following sample villages of the district has nailed down the false claims of the district administration that it provided 84 days of average employment to every needy family and spent Rs 175 crore of NREGS fund during 2007-8. Very little has reached on the ground and adivasis of Jhabua are facing severe livelihood crises.

**Badi Kareti:** Badi Kareti is a poor adivasi village of Badi Kareti Gram Panchayat located under Bhabara block of Jhabua. We surveyed 27 poor adivasi families in the village. More than 70 percent of the sample households have never got even a single day of NREGS employment. The sample families have been given only 7 days of average employment in the current year. We found very severe distress migration from the village. Some members from every family have migrated to Gujarat in search of wage employment. ***The family of Chhagan Singh (job card no 104) has not got even a single day of NREGS employment so far. No wonder that 4 members of his family have migrated to Gujarat. Sekadiya Mehtab (job card no 90) has got only 12 days of NREGS employment in last 2 years. 4 members of his family have migrated to Gujarat. The family of Narsingh (job card no 89) too has got only 12 days of NREGS work in last 2 years and 4 members of his family have migrated to Gujarat.***

***Seven members of the family of Chain Singh (job card no 129) have migrated to Gujarat and his family has not received even a single day of NREGS work since its launch in 2006. The family of Ratan Singh (job card no 136) has got only 12 days of NREGS employment in 2 years and 7 members of his family have migrated to Gujarat. The family of Jam Singh (81) has not got even a single day of NREGS work in the last 2 years and 4 members of his family have migrated.***

**Limada:** Limada, located in Bedawali Gram Panchayat of Meghnagar block, is a very poor and backward adivasi village of Jhabua district. We found absolutely dismal state of NREGS in this village. We surveyed 28 families, all of them Bhil adivasi. ***It is shocking to note that 93 percent of sample households have not received even a single day of NREGS work in the current year. Over 89 percent of the surveyed households have never got NREGS employment.*** Of 28 households surveyed, 26 households have not got even a single day of work this year, one has got 2 days of work and another one has got 3 days of work this year. No surprise that entire working population of this village has migrated to brick-kilns in Gujarat. This village bears a deserted look.

The family of Ditiya (job card no 30) has not received even a single day of NREGS work in last 2 years. 8 members of this family have migrated to Gujarat in search of manual jobs. The family of Ramesh has got only 3 days of NREGS jobs in last 2 years and 7 members of his family have migrated to Gujarat. 5 members from the family of Puni have migrated to Gujarat and they have not got even a single day of NREGS work in last 2 years. 7 members from the family of Gumaji have migrated to Gujarat and this family has never got employment under NREGS. 6 members from the family of Jyoti have migrated to brick-kilns in Gujarat, but they have never got any wage employment under NREGS. In fact, they have not got even job card. Adiya has not received job card for NREGS employment and 8 members of his family have migrated to Gujarat. Badiya too

has not got job card and 8 members of his family have migrated. Hur Singh (job card no 86) has never got wage employment under NREGS and 7 members of his family have migrated to Gujarat in search of livelihood. The Panchayat Secretary has seized most job cards of the village.

**Ghosaliyabada:** Ghosaliyabada village is located in Ghosaliyabada Gram Panchayat of Meghnagar block. The performance of NREGS in this adivasi village of Jhabua is absolutely dismal. We surveyed 25 households in the village. ***It is distressing to note that 96 percent of the sample households have not received even one day of NREGS work in the current year.*** Of 25 surveyed families, 24 have got no employment and one family has got 30 days of employment this year. In fact, no NREGS project has been executed in this village in the current year. ***Is this the way NREGS will enhance livelihood security of these poor adivasis?*** Most working population of the village has migrated to Gujarat. 32 percent of the surveyed households have never got wage employment under NREGS.

**Bhorkundiya:** Bhorkundiya is a poor adivasi village located in Bhorkundiya Gram Panchayat of Ranapur block. We surveyed 19 families in this village. 63 percent of the sample families have not received NREGS employment in the current year. Not a single sample household has got 100 days of employment this year. The sample households have got less than 3 days of average employment in the current year. Most job cards of the village have been seized by Panchayat Secretary. Most villagers have got no NREGS work this year, only some have got 5-6 days of work in Kapildhara wells dug under NREGS. Villagers told us that a road work was done for 1 month during December 2006, but labourers got wage payment only for 15 days. The wages for the remaining 15 days have not been paid. Villagers were alleging that a lot of NREGS funds have been misappropriated by executing officials. We found very serious distress migration from the village.

**Vesawani:** Veswani is a remote adivasi village located in Bedada Gram Panchayat of Sondawa block. We found very high level of distress migration from this village and hardly any one has got wage employment under NREGS. ***We found proverbial day-light robbery of NREGS funds in this village. In fact, we have sufficient reasons to believe that more than 70-80 percent of the NREGS funds spent on account of Kapildhara wells in Vesawani have been misappropriated by the executing officials and their bosses.***

More than 55 Kapildhara wells have been constructed in Vesawani under NREGS, but every single well has been dug by JCB machine and hardly any labourer has got wage employment in their construction. The reason for getting these wells constructed by JCB machines is very simple but absolutely illegal. If a kapildhara well construction entails an expenditure of Rs 1 lakh on account of manual labour of dozens of workers for months, the same work can be done by a JCB machine in few hours which would cost only Rs 10,000 -20,000. Therefore, the implementing agencies manage to show the completion of the work at the cost of only 10-20 percent of the sanctioned amount and the remaining money is siphoned off by showing faked job entries in the job cards of gullible villagers. This modus operandi of siphoning off NREGS funds has been used with total perfection in this remote adivasi village of Jhabua.

This village is almost inaccessible by motor vehicle but we somehow managed to reach the village. Immediately after arriving in the village, we realized that we had entered into a dangerous territory. When we started talking to villagers, initially no one was willing to tell us anything about NREGS works (Kapildhara wells) of the village, thinking that we were government officials. However, after much persuasion and many efforts, some villagers agreed to reveal us the truth on the condition of anonymity and in confidence. They told us that every single Kapildhara well of the village was dug during night by JCB machines and they also guided us to some wells for our personal verification. After visiting some of these wells, we could see by our naked eyes that entire well digging was done by

JCB machines and no labourer had been engaged in the same. ***The walls of the wells bore tell-tell marks of JCB machines.***

We were shocked to see that one JCB machine was digging a well in the daylight. Seeing us moving towards the worksite, the driver of the JCB machine immediately and swiftly drove away the machine, and within minutes disappeared before we could approach the work site. After inspecting the worksite of the well we started returning back to the village. On our way back we saw 3-4 suspicious looking persons coming towards us. The JCB driver had apparently informed the Sarpanch about our presence in the village and hence the son of Sarpanch (Sarpanch being an old lady, the son is virtual Sarpanch) got scared and sent his henchmen to find out if we were government officials. When we told them that we were independent researchers and not government officials, the son of Sarpanch started behaving like a mafia and we were forced to cut-short our survey. Since the village was surrounded by forest and rest of the villagers disappeared from the scene in the presence of virtual Sarpanch, we decided to move out of the village immediately fearing for our life.

Our investigation suggests that over 70-80 percent of the NREGS funds spent in the name of wage employment to the poor adivasis of Vesawani have actually been siphoned off by implementing authorities. ***We have reasons to believe that this level of day-light robbery is not possible without active connivance of the block and district officials.*** Since the NREGS is essentially a livelihood- enhancing and employment – giving scheme, the very rationale of this radical scheme gets butchered in villages like Vesawani. A thorough enquiry would bring out a huge NREGS scam in Vesawani. Since the online job cards of Vesawani do not have any job entries for 2007-8, we are unable to make exact assessment about the scale of the Scam in Vesawani.

**Aalasyakhedi:** We surveyed 19 households in Aalasyakhedi village of Ramnagar Gram Panchayat located under Petalawad block. We discovered heavy corruption and very serious irregularities in the implementation of the NREGS. Over 68 percent of the surveyed households have not received any NREGS employment in the current year. Over 42 percent of the sample families have never got NREGS employment. The sample households have got just about 2 days of average employment in the current year. Most job cards of the village have been illegally seized by the Panchayat Secretary.

Villagers told us that they had been paid only half of their due wages for the road construction work executed in April 2006. Rama (job card no 310) had worked in road construction for 32 days but received only half wages. Nanji, whose job card is with Panchayat Secretary, had worked in road construction for 20 days, but got wage payment for only 10 days. The job card of Pangla too is lying with the Panchayat Secretary. Pangla had got 48 days of work in the road construction but was paid only half wages. 17 villagers gave us a written and signed complaint stating that Sarpanch (Shri Kalu) and Panchayat Secretary (Shri Kana) had taken Rs. 2000 from each one of them promising to sanction Kapildhara wells in their land, but they have not sanctioned the same. The president of block Panchayat Shri Neelesh has also taken Rs. 35,000 from these villagers promising Kapildhara wells. We were told by the villagers that there was very high level of corruption in the implementation of NREGS in this poor and backward adivasi village.

**Dhanpura:** Dhanpura, located in Kudwas Gram Panchayat of Petalwad block, is a poor and backward adivasi village. We surveyed 30 households in the village. None of the sample households have got 100 days of job in the current year (April 2007-January 2008). Over 33 percent of the sample families have not received even one day of job in the current year. 20 percent of the samples have never ever got any job under NREGS. The sample households have been given about 9 days of average employment in the current year.

We found very serious irregularities in the implementation of rural job scheme in this adivasi village. Villagers gave us a written and signed *Panchnama* stating that 20 labourers of the village did not receive their wages for 6 days' work done during June 2007. Moreover, many labourers who have worked in Kapildhara wells have not received any wage from Sarpanch. Sarpanch and Panchayat Secretary had taken Rs 5000 as bribe for sanctioning Kapildhara well in the land of Theriya Moti. The labourers who dug this well were not paid by Sarpanch and Theriya Moti's son (Babul Lal ) had to pay Rs 7500 from his own pocket as wages for the same. Sarpanch had used the tractor of Babulal in road construction for which Rs 10,000 was due as rent to Babulal. But, Babulal did not receive even that payment. Villagers told us that daily wage for NREGS work in this village is only Rs 50.

We also detected fake job entries in some job cards of the village. Dalla (112) got only 35 days of work during April 2007-January 2008, but his job card has fake job entry of 106 days for this period. So, 71 days of wage money has been siphoned off in this case. Kamaji (119) had got 12 days of job in 2006-7 and just 1 day of job this year (April 2007-January 2008). However, his job card bears false job entry of 38 days for 2006-7 and of 20 days for this year. Therefore, 45 days of wages have been siphoned off in the name of this poor adivasi. No wonder that large number of villagers have migrated to Gujarat in search of manual work.

**Soliya:** Soliya, located in Kudawas Gram Panchayat of Petalwad block, is a very poor and backward adivasi village of Jhabua. We surveyed 18 households of this village. ***None of the surveyed households has received even a single day of NREGS employment in the current year (April 2007 – December 2007).*** In this poor adivasi village, a gravel road project was executed under NREGS in November 2006. After this project, no other NREGS project has been executed

in this village. About 30 labourers of the village who had worked in the road construction project during November 2006 have not received wages for 5 days.

**Julwaniya Bada:** Julwaniya Bada is a poor adivasi village located in Julwaniya Bada Gram Panchayat of Thandala block. We surveyed 30 adivasi families in this village. **About 97 percent of the surveyed households have not received even a single day of NREGS employment in the current year.** Out of 30 sample households only one has got 30 days of employment, but he did not receive any wage for the same. **We were shocked to discover that 90 percent of the sample households have not received any NREGS employment since its launch in 2006.** Most job cards of the village have been illegally seized by the Panchayat Secretary. Villagers told us that a pond digging work was done during May-June 2007, but very few villagers got a few days of employment in that project. One Kapildhara well was dug in the land of Ter Singh (ST), but his family members who had worked on this project did not get any wage. The other labourers who had worked in this project have been paid only half of their due wages.

**Wadalipada:** Wadalipada is a poor and backward adivasi village of Wadalipada Gram Panchayat under Meghnagar block. **There has been no NREGS work whatsoever in this village. No family in this village has ever got even a single day of NREGS employment since its launch in 2006.**

**Badadala:** We surveyed 17 households in Badadala village of Badadala Gram Panchayat located under Alirajpur block of Jhabua district. **None of the surveyed families has got even one day of NREGS employment in the current year. In fact more than 88 percent of the sample households have never ever got wage employment under NREGS.**

**Bhurimati:** Bhurimati is a poor adivasi village located in Bhurimati Gram Panchayat of Ranapur block. We surveyed 32 families in the village. **It is**

**disappointing to note that 97percent of the sample households have not received even a single day of NREGS employment in the current year (April 2007 – January 2008). In fact, more than 84 percent of the surveyed households have never got wage employment under NREGS.** Not a single sample family has got 100 days of employment. The average employment given to the sample households is half day. We found severe distress migration from this village.

**Somaliya:** Somaliya is a very poor and backward adivasi village located in Somaliya Gram Panchayat of Thandala block. **The entire working population of the village has migrated to towns of Gujarat and Rajasthan in search of wage employment.** Most villagers have got no wage employment under NREGS. Some have got only a few days of job.

We surveyed 25 households in this village. 60 percent of the sample households have not got any NREGS employment this year. 52 percent of the sample households have never got wage employment under NREGS. Not a single sample household has got wage employment for 100 days. The surveyed households have been given 4 days of average employment in the current year. A road construction project was being executed in this village at the time of survey, but no one from this village was given any job in this work. Villagers told us that Sarpanch was using two of his own tractors for the construction of this road. Sarpanch was engaging 20 labourers from his own village and no one from Somaliya village was given any job. Most road construction work was done by tractors. Most job cards of the village have been illegally seized by Sarpanch.

**Pipaloudabada:** Pipaloudabada is an entirely adivasi village located in Pipaloudabada Gram Panchayat of Meghnagar block. This village bore a deserted look because the entire working population of the village has migrated to Gujarat in search of wage employment. We surveyed 30 adivasi families of the village. **We were shocked to discover that no one in the village has ever got**

**wage employment under NREGS.** Villagers told us that no NREGS project has been executed in the village so far. Most job cards of the village have been illegally seized by Sarpanch

**Ratamba:** We surveyed 23 households in Ratamba village of Ratamba Gram Panchayat located under Petalawad block of Jhabua district. The performance of NREGS in this adivasi village is far better compared to other villages of the district. Among the surveyed households, only about 17 percent have not received wage employment under NREGS. However, of 23 sample households, only one has got 100 days of NREGS employment. The sample households have received about 39 days of average employment in the current year. We did not find any major irregularity in the village.

**Devigadh:** Devigadh is a poor Adivasi village of Devigadh G P located under Meghnagar block of Jhabua district. We surveyed 24 households of this village. Not a single sample family has got 100 days of work this year. 54 percent of the surveyed households have not received even a single day of NREGS employment in the current year (2007-8). Over 33 percent of the sample households have never got wage employment under NREGS. We found high level of distress migration to cities and towns of Gujarat and Rajasthan. Most job cards of the village were lying with the Panchayat Secretary for more than one year. We were informed by the villagers that a pond dredging work was undertaken in the village for just 3 days during June 2007 and most of the work was done by tractor. The workers told us that there was heavy financial bungling in the implementation of the NREGS in this adivasi village.

**Rodadha:** Rodadha is a very poor and entirely adivasi village located in Rodadha GP of Alirajpur block. We surveyed 24 very poor families of this village. Over 54 percent of the sample households have never got any NREGS employment. Over 58 percent of the surveyed families did not get even a single day of NREGS work during 2007-8. Not a single sample household has got 100

days of work in the current year. The surveyed families have got less than 10 days of average employment in the current year. More than 80 percent families of this village have migrated to Gujarat in search of a living and the remaining families earn their livelihood by selling fire-wood collected from the jungle.

More than 30 labourers of this village who were working in stone-crushing factories in Gujarat have died of silicosis leaving behind destitute children. We detected false job entries in the name of many silicosis victims who had already died. Khema Kuliya (85) and his wife both died of silicosis and one of their children had got just 8 days of NREGS employment in 2007. However, we found bogus job entry of 34 days for 2006-7 and of 17 days for 2007-8 on their job card. The wife of Khum Singh (104) died of silicosis and his family got only 10 days of NREG work during 2007, but his job card has false job entry for 18 days. Ratan (54) had got only 20 days of work during 2007-8, but his job card has bogus job entry for 28 days. The family of Kemata (80) has got not even a single day of work under NREG, but his job card has false job entry of 94 days for 2006-7 and of 28 days for 2007-8. The entire wage money drawn in the name of this poor adivasi has gone into the pockets of sarkari mafia.

Girbai is a destitute adivasi woman because she lost her husband and son both to silicosis. However, she has not got even job card so far, leave alone employment. We were shocked to find that out of 24 surveyed households, 10 have not received even job cards. Large number of households of this village have not got job cards.

**Mathana:** Mathana village located in Bhabara block is entirely adivasi village and every household of the village has some family members working as labourer in Gujarat. Most job cards of the village are with Sarpanch. So, we could survey only 16 households in the village. 37 percent of the sample households have not got even a single day's job in the current year (April 2007 – January 2008). The sample households have got on an average only 12 days of NREGS job during

the survey period (April 2007 – January 2008). We found very high level of distress migration from this village.

**Mendha:** Mendha village of Bhabara block had got its first NREGS work only recently. We surveyed 30 households of this adivasi village at worksite – construction of check dam (project cost Rs. 25 lakh). None of the sample households had got any other work under NREGS except the current work in the check dam. The sample households have got on an average 27 days of work in the check dam. Not a single sample household has got 100 days of job till January 2008. ***We could not take individual testimonies of the labourers because the sub-engineer instructed labourers not to speak to survey team.*** So, the work days written in the job cards could not be verified with the labourers.

**Kilana:** The implementation of NREGS in Kilana village of Bhabara block is relatively better. We surveyed 40 households in this adivasi village and found that 37 days of average employment has been given to sample households during survey period (April 2007 – January 2008). 5 percent of the sample households had got jobs for 100 days. However, we detected a case of bungling through over- entry in one job card. Phul Singh (Job card no. 22) has got only 23 days of work this year and his wife Idi has never done any NREGS work. But, there is fake job entry in his job card which shows job entry for 47 days and there is job entry in the name of Idi too.

**Bhodali:** We surveyed 31 households in Bhodali village of Ranapur block. 29 percent of the sample households have got no NREGS employment whatsoever. 35 percent of the sample households did not get even a single day's job under NREGS during the survey period (April 2007 – January 2008). About 19 days of average employment was given to the surveyed households during the survey period. We found very high level of distress migration from the village.

**Dholyawad:** Dholyawad village of Ranapur block is an adivasi village. We surveyed 30 households of the village and found that about 37 percent of the sample households have not got even a single day's job under NREGS in the current year (April 2007 – January 2008). The surveyed households have been given on an average only 14 days of job during current year and not a single household was given 100 days of job during this period. We found very serious irregularity in the wage payment. Villagers told us that they had been paid daily wage at the rate of Rs. 40 only for the pond digging work done during May – June 2007.

**Bana:** 26 households were surveyed in Bana village of Ranapur block. About 19 percent of the sample households have got no NREGS work whatsoever. About 31 percent of the surveyed households have not received even a single day of NREGS employment in the current year (April 2007 – January 2008). The sample households have got 17 days of average employment in the current year but not a single sample household has got job for 100 days. Large number of workers from this village have migrated to Gujrat in search of manual work. Many families of this village have more than 4-5 members working as labourers in Gujarat. The NREGS has absolutely no impact on the distress migration from this adivasi village. Sukh Singh (Job card no. 482), a very poor adivasi, has got no NREGS job at all and his entire family boarded a bus for Gujarat in front of the survey team. They would get wage employment in the brick-kilns in Gujrat.

**Parawaliya:** We found high level of distress migration from Parawaliya village of Thandala block. We surveyed 22 households in the village but could not find a single family who got 100 days employment. 13 percent of the sample households have not got any NREGS work whatsoever. About 14 percent of the sample households have received not a single day's job this year. The average employment given to sample households was 17 days. All the surveyed households desperately need NREGS jobs.

**Ambapada:** 38 households were surveyed in Ambapada village of Devigadh Gram Panchayat under Meghnagar block. The sample households have been given on an average 24 days of employment in the current year (April 2007 – January 2008). Most surveyed households have got their first NREGS employment only recently. Earlier there was no NREGS work in the village, but currently 3 NREGS projects are being implemented in the village simultaneously. Villagers told us that they had worked in the construction of a CC road (cement/concrete) during November 2007 but they were paid only half wages. They are still (January 2008) waiting for the remaining half of their due wages.