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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF MGNREGS USING MARSHALLIAN FRAMEWORK

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to present a policy analysis of the Mahatama Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) using the principles laid out by Alfred Marshall in his work Principles of Economics. This analysis provides the policy makers and researchers of welfare economics with a different perspective and an alternate approach to social welfare and economic development. This existing MGNREGS scheme requires a annual outlay of more than Rs. 40,000 crore every year, which adds to the deficit of the central government as well as being inflationary in its outcome. The alternate approach not only ensures a self-sustaining model of development, but also eliminates the corruption issues.

KEYWORDS

MGNREGS, Employment Guarantee, Welfare, Marshall, economic development.

INTRODUCTION

ational Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005 was sanctioned on 5th of September 2005 by Honourable Shri Abdul Kalam, the President of India. With the aim of providing assured livelihood of at least 100 days for rural unemployed to one person in every household, the Act was a judicially enforceable obligation on the government. In this Act, along with the livelihood, additional targeted benefits are:

- to enable poor households in rural India to cross the poverty line,
- reduction in rural-urban migration,
- empowerment of women,
- asset creation in rural areas and,
- foster more equitable social order in rural India.

The other distinction of this Act is that it dispenses with the need of any identification of families living below poverty line, thus creating universal entitlement. NREGA was renamed to MGNREGS in 2009 in honour of the father of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi.

Intervention on such a massive scale has found support from certain sections of economists, e.g., like Amartya Sen (1996), who advocated removal of social deprivation to be an important goal in itself.

EARLY EVIDENCE OF FLAWS IN MGNREGS

Issues in the implementation of MGNREGS emerged in the initial phases itself. Bhatia and Dreze (2006) found that there were problems with access to benefits and the quantum of the benefits. The same problems were noticed with Employment Guarantee Scheme in Maharashtra which preceded MGNREGS (for example Bhende et. al., 1992). It has been observed that state apathy manifested in terms of lack of responsiveness of state policy to developmental needs and social needs along with lack of formal monitoring mechanism have been the other shortcomings of the programme (Drèze and Gazdar, 1996). These issues create a need for a critical analysis of the program to be taken up so that one can examine the features of the MGNREGS in minute detail. The same is being discussed in detail in the remaining part of the paper.

NEED FOR ANALYSIS OF MGNREGS PROGRAM

The current discussion, both among the policy makers and the national media, on MGNREGS is dominated by the extent of its implementation and lack of failures in the form of corruption. The major stakeholders in this ongoing discussion are economists, some belong to government and others belonging to the NGOs, the media which consistently exposes the lack of success in programs, and highlights the critical incidents like death of RTI activist, and researchers who have been studying the impact of the program or the extent to which the program has been activated at the grass root level. The elements in the current ongoing discussion can be narrowed down to the following elements:

- Entitlement of the less-privileged section population
- Credit-seeking by political parties
- Corruption and leakages from the system
- Lack of accountability
- Opaqueness of the system

What has been ignored in the current discourse is a complete analysis of the MGNREGS program as to whether this program really has the potential to achieve the economic development of the people below the poverty line or not. Also the question as to whether the policy makers have looked at alternate approaches to economic and social development or not, have not been covered in the policy analysis and the policy discussion. One alternate approach is to use the Marshallian principles to analyse MGNREGS. The elements of Marshallian framework are clearly laid out in the following section and the analysis using that framework is presented subsequently.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: MARSHALL'S SCHOOL OF THOUGHT

The essentials of framework are derived from Alfred Marshall's *Principles of Economics*. Marshall identified that all economic activities to be directed to creation of goods and services preferred or demanded by consumers, and this was the foundation of economic development of the industrialized countries, both in the western hemisphere and in the eastern part of the world. However as contrasted to welfare economics, the primary aim of Marshall's economics was to provide a way out of poverty and this was to be achieved only by industrial development. As indicated in his work (Marshall, 1920:3)

"The hope that poverty and ignorance may gradually be extinguished derives indeed much support from the steady progress of the working class during the ninetieth century. The steam engine has relieved them of much exhausting and degrading toil; wages have risen, education has been improved and become more general... A great part of the artisans have ceased to belong to the 'lower classes' in the sense in which the terms was originally used; and some of them already lead a more refined and noble life than did the majority of the upper classes even a century ago."

Alfred Marshall conceptualized economic welfare into two components – producer surplus and consumer surplus, both of which jointly lead to economic welfare and development. For Marshall the culmination of the economic activities was the development and prosperity of industrial districts – where there was high degree of vertical and horizontal integration. The successes of industrial clusters in states like Gujarat provide proof to the power of Marshallian model of sustainable development. From this discussion, the essential elements of the managerial framework which can be defined are as follows:

i. Consumer Needs: Existence of economic activities to be framed in terms of fulfilling a customer need

- ii. Production Infrastructure: The means to carry out production of goods and services
- iii. Evaluation of economic welfare due to economic activities undertaken: Producer welfare and consumer welfare
- iv. Sustainability of the economic activity based on producer surplus

As can be seen, critical to this approach of economic development is the role of market in which the primary aim is the creation of productive assets – in terms of factories or plants etc., which would be engaged in a production process directed towards customers' demands. Creation of employment is not the primary objective or the aim of any economic activity, but is a derived outcome. The employment generated is an outcome of the labour required to carry out the following two processes:

- setting up of new factories and plants or equipments and
- the day to- day operation of factories and plants

These two economic processes create employment which is both productive and sustainable. In his analysis, Marshall observed that these processes to be the reason for economic development in the industrial districts. This concept has been not only accepted, but implemented on a large scale in all industrialized countries of the west, but also countries like China, which few decades back were in a condition that was similar to India. Even the experience of states like Gujarat has shown the sustainability and the scalability of these principles in fostering economic development.

The above market based framework is well supported by Nobel Laureate Douglass North, who demonstrated that economic performance is determined largely by the extent of support to market mechanisms, and the role of institutions in encouraging and sustaining markets. In addition to the market mechanism, he points out the critical role of institutions that preserve the market from interference from the government. This has led to substantial increases in material development in certain societies. As he pointed out (North, 2005)

"The unprecedented economic development of the past several centuries with its consequences for material progress and life expectancy has, not surprisingly, provided a context and perspective to humans of continuous progress; and with good reason. The growth in the stock of knowledge has produced material improvements beyond the wildest dreams of our ancestors. The current definition of poverty in the United States (approximately \$18,000 a year for a family of four) would have exceeded (given appropriate deflators) the living standard of all but a miniscule fraction of humans several centuries ago."

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS OF MGNREGS

The analysis is done using the elements identified in the earlier section.

CONSUMER NEEDS: EXISTENCE OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES TO BE FRAMED IN TERMS OF FULFILLING A CUSTOMER NEED

The activities being carried out in MGNREGS are rudimentary and do not involve much capital investment. This is due to the rule that 60% of the project outlay must be spent on manual labour. Therefore the implementations of the schemes involve basic activities like rural road building, digging of wells and ponds etc. This requires a project approval from the administration and not a market analysis as to the need and the suitability of the project in meeting the customer needs. Even if one looks at the idea of citizens as consumers of the assets created like roads etc., the very start of the project is generation of employment and not the appropriate identification and fulfilment of the customer demands, in terms of goods and services, of citizens in that area.

PRODUCTION INFRASTRUCUTRE: MEANS TO CARRY OUT THE PRODUCTION PROCESS

The roads are not of the necessary standards as the rules stipulate the minimum expenditure to be on labour payment. Hence payment for materials has to be always less. One can look at the potential to create sustainable businesses using the amount of money being spent – however the current state of affairs leads to creation of roads which gets washed away in the first showers of the monsoons. And the story of having another expenditure on the same road length continues – keeping the bureaucrats and the contractors happy. The villagers get the job, working on the same road length year after year. The evidence is from the field reports from different villages in Jharkhand in the following section.

EVALUATION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES UNDER MGNREGS

First the in-built accountability and transparency measures in MGNREGS are discussed, which is then followed by the analysis using the Marshallian framework.

ACCOUNTABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY IN MGNREGS

Measures to ensure accountability and transparency have been technically in-built in MGNREGS. Social audits, conduct of which has been mandated in MGNREGS itself have led to many instances where misappropriation has been unearthed (Mathur, 2008). As analyzed by Aiyar and Samji (2009), there are three features that, theoretically ought to, ensure accountability and transparency:

- Decentralised planning and implementation where the Act stipulates that a minimum of 50% of the funds and the relevant works be executed by the Gram Panchayat.
- ii. Proactive Disclosure according to which relevant departments of government are mandated to maintain and publicly display proper records related to MGNREGS.
- iii. Social Audits where social audits, the process of cross verification of government records with ground level realities is mandated to be carried out atleast every six months.

However as reported by Khera (2008) and Aiyar and Samji (2009), the use of the transparency and accountability measures in MGNREGS has been rare, though these are theoretically powerful mechanisms (Ghosh, 2008a and 2008b). A case in point is, Andhra Pradesh where the government has proactively taken steps to open itself to the scrutiny by citizens and has initiated a systematic process of undertaking social audits for all MGNREGS works. Orissa has been another state where there have been reports of some impact (e.g., Baisakh, 2008).

The implementation of the huge program is dependent on the availability and competence of local administration. This is fraught with problems as in certain cases; Block Development Officers are absent either due to fear of Naxalites in some states or vacancies (Jenamani, 2010). In other cases, bribes direct the choice of the project (see Kumar, 2009).

The issue of social audit is also characterised with contradictions and implementation issues. As reported "Last year [referring to 2009], in a majority of 33,000 – odd villages, the social audit teams reportedly could not carry out their task properly due to lack of training" (Kiro, 2010). This implies that the critical task of auditing the work is left to untrained or semi-trained villagers who can easily be deceived or coerced. This concept of social audit by people untrained in auditing is another lacuna in the entire program of MGNREGS. Situations where people have job cards but no jobs are quite common in absence of integrated plan. The following is an extract from an article published (The Telegraph, 2008)

"When job cards were distributed among villagers of Chiharbona under the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGS) in 2006, migrant labourers had started dreaming of a dignified life. But, two years on, their hopes have nosedived. Reason: the tribal daily wagers of the hamlet never got a job against the card thought it is mandatory under the act to provide 180 days of work against the card."

Apart from non-payment due to no work, instances of delay in payment even when the work has been carried out have also been reported (Kiro, 2009). Rebuttal of the highly publicised achievements of MGNREGS by political leaders comes from another source - the incidents of death of RTI activists who wanted details about work carried out under MGNREGS. For example the killing of Niyamat Ansaril in Latehar district of Jharkhand (Shrivastava, 2011) and of Subal Mahto (Gupta, 2011) are cases that highlight the significance of the problem at grass root level. Reports have also pin-pointed control of the program by contractors along with contractor-mafia nexus (Gupta, 2011). This validates other reports on similar lines, report indicated only 3.2% of rural households were provided with mandatory 100 days' employment in 2008-2009 (Paul, 2009). Reports of embezzlement of funds have been made in media (e.g., Times of India, 2009). In fact

MGNREGS has been termed by former finance minister Mr. Yashwant Sinha as "the most corrupt plan, which has given contractors, bureaucrats and politicians open access to funds meant for the needy." (The Telegraph, 2009).

The above analysis, as per the Marshallian framework, and media-reported facts give a picture that is contradictory to that portrayed by the government. This is due to the fact that in the absence of the consumers, the analysis of consumer welfare can not be done. One does not know whether the projects carried out under MGNREGS actually satisfy a real need of the rural citizens, or are carried out to meet the mandate of the MGNREGS program that a certain amount of budget must be spent. As we see the indicator of performance is expenditure of the funds, not creation of production assets or capital assets.

Even there we see there is a doubt about the money being actually spent and the money being shown as spent. The death of RTI activists hint at a huge divergence of the same. This is well in line with experience of earlier government schemes like Public Distribution System (PDS) where the history of pilferage and corruption is well known (e.g., see Mishra, 2011).

SUSTAINABILITY OF THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY BASED ON PRODUCER SURPLUS

While Marshallian school of thought requires identification of responsibility in terms of not only execution of the projects, but also focuses on the sustainability in terms of return on investment, such measures are totally absent from the MGNREGS evaluation framework. The entire function of social audit is to ensure that the expenditures as shown in the books matches with that really carried out, not in terms of what has been the outcome of such expenditure. As Marshall pointed out, unfettered by government interference or support, businesses prove their viability in the market by producing goods and services that the required by the consumers —thus not only creating consumer surplus but also producer surplus. It is the producer surplus which is later used to not only maintain the infrastructure created, but also as an incentive for the producer to invest in other such development as long as the marginal return is positive.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The above analysis finds serious flaws in the conceptualisation of MGNREGS as a way for economic development. The idea of generating employment as the objective of economic activity has lead to a situation wherein every year funds would be needed to sustain the employment. This is due to the fact that no factories or plants are created under MGNREGS. Administrative officers can not be expected to take the role of entrepreneurs who would have the knowledge and competence to create businesses. This creates the tendency not to invest in long term infrastructure which can benefit the development of industry, and lead to a sustainable development model. Hence the MGNREGS program requires an annual infusion of funds to sustain it. This is a contravention of basic economic principles that all investments must lead to economic returns. In MGNREGS there are no provisions to evaluate returns on the investment made. In reality all the investment that is made is spent on the labour and the consumption of low-quality material. Examples of the same are *murram* roads, which get washed away in the first showers of monsoons, only to be rebuilt using the MGNREGS funds the following year. The issue of *murram* roads has been raised by non other than former finance minister Mr. Yashwant Sinha (The Telegraph, 2009)

"I was surprised to observe that substantial money has been earmarked under the scheme for just laying *murram* soil on a road in my constituency."

This is a blatant waste of capital, but has not been analysed or criticised by mainstream media or economists.

Asset creation in absence of the basic plan – leads to creation of *murram* roads that get washed away in the first monsoon showers. One of the stated aims is asset creation. The aim neither the act talks about the durability of the asset. This is also quite difficult to achieve given that another of the MGNREGS's requirements is that all projects should involve a 50% labour content. Hence it should not be any surprise to anyone that the projects are of such durability that most of them hardly last more than one monsoon.

A significant flaw in the design of the program is the indiscriminate entitlement to the benefits by a simple virtue of residence in village. There are certain additional flaws:

- 1. It ignores the economics of funds transfer from the urban areas of people who trade goods and services with the cities and towns
- 2. Definition of the villages the entitlement to all villagers and all villages is flawed. This does not look at the economic status of the family or the economics of the village. Villages which are located near industrial districts and which are already pre-existing sources of employment are equated with villages in backward regions and where sources of livelihood are non-existent.

The funding of the MGNREGS, presently being carried out by deficit financing is bound to be inflationary. This would thus be contrary to the initial objectives – to help people to cross the poverty line. As the inflation keeps pushing the poverty line up, the minimum wage would need to be pushed up to match the inflation. This would require the budgetary outlay for MGNREGS to be increased which would be financed by another round of budget deficit. This would perpetuate the cycle once again by creating inflation. This is reflected in RBI's Governor's plea to government to put the fiscal situation under control (Goyal, 2011). The same has also been concluded by researchers (e.g., Habibullah, Cheah and Baharom, 2011) who have researched different developing countries in Asia. Therefore it is concluded that the current plan of action that is being followed under MGNREGS would not be able to fulfil the stated goal of economic welfare and social development of rural citizens of the country.

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