Rural poverty continues to be a scourge in India, affecting tens of millions of households despite years of strong economic growth for the country overall. In 2005, the government of India created the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) to address the lack of income of rural households. Over the past decade the program has been expanded to the entire country, reportedly becoming the largest employment program in history.

MGNREGS is mandated to provide adult members of rural households with 100 days of paid work that contributes to locally-prioritized public works projects. This guaranteed employment should provide a revolutionary and essential safety net for rural households that lack other income sources or whose labor is exploited at very low wages by landed elites.

In practice, however, the implementation of MGNREGS has been limited. Corruption at multiple levels, insufficient administrative capacity, a lack of awareness among many rural inhabitants, and manipulation by influential political and economic actors, among others issues, have undermined the scheme. These challenges lie with both the state apparatus responsible for the program and the local power dynamics in which MGNREGS, and rural poor who should be the beneficiaries and active participants, are embedded. Due to these weaknesses, the MGNREGS has often failed to realize its potential as an effective tool against rural poverty.

MGNREGS was launched in the state of Madhya Pradesh (MP) a decade ago. Over the past ten years, Samarthan, an organization dedicated to pursuing more inclusive development in MP, has engaged with state and non-state actors in an effort to realize the potentially transformative promise of the MGNREGS. It has pursued this aim through an evolving understanding of the challenges and opportunities inherent in the complex system of actors, processes, and tools that is the MGNREGS in MP. This case study summarizes Samarthan’s approach, the role of IBP in supporting the organization, and describes the impacts and lessons learned.
SAMARTHAN’S APPROACH

Samarthan has been working to strengthen participatory governance and development in MP for over two decades. The organization is dedicated to strengthening local governance in India, with a focus on the Panchayati Raj institutions of local councils. The implementation of the MGNREGS has been embedded in the Panchayat system, thus allowing for the possibility of strengthening the capacities of village councils while also providing tangible improvements in the wellbeing of the poor. The Gram Sabha, an assembly constituted by all the voters of the village, is mandated to monitor the implementation of the program through social audits on a half yearly basis.

As mentioned above, the challenges to implementing MGNREGS are numerous and diverse. They include a lack of political will, deficient state capacity, and adverse local power dynamics. Samarthan has thus adopted an evolving and flexible approach that addresses several bottlenecks across multiple levels of governance, from the national to the village level, with an emphasis on strengthening both state and society roles in accountability.¹

Samarthan believes that, despite an adverse contextual environment, the best opportunity for the MGNREGS to achieve its objectives is by strengthening the “accountability ecosystem” – the multiple actors and mechanisms that contribute to transparent, participatory and accountable functioning within and around the scheme. Samarthan’s ecosystem approach prioritizes collaboration between the organization and a range of government, civil society, and community actors to build capacity and facilitate planning and auditing processes.

Samarthan’s approach includes, but is not limited to, familiar supply- and demand-side (government and society) strategies. Essentially Samarthan seeks to strike a delicate balance between an insider and outsider role. Samarthan provides capacity, accompaniment, and policy advice to diverse elected and appointed state actors (from the national to the local level), particularly the State Audit Society (SAS) that is officially charged with auditing the MGNREGS. Yet the organization is also active in building up “countervailing power” among civil society and community actors, particularly the vulnerable groups who could benefit most from the MGNREGS. This is done through awareness raising, organizing, capacity building, and

¹ For a more complete description of Samarthan and its work, see the IBP case study: http://www.internationalbudget.org/wp-content/uploads/Full-Samarthan-Update_final.pdf
accompaniment. Indeed by acting as a credible, autonomous, and flexible political interlocutor in a challenging and dynamic context, Samarthan itself is a part of the accountability ecosystem.

BROAD ECOSYSTEMS APPROACH

Samarthan works to improve MGNREGS implementation through capacity building and strengthening the accountability ecosystem. In an effort to connect the dots of actors and processes across the accountability system, Samarthan has adopted complementary elements of vertical integration and horizontal engagement. Since 2011, Samarthan has had a strong presence in the vertical communications and processes between multiple layers of governance and bureaucracy: gram panchayats (elected village councils); and the block and district administrations, primarily through the process of social audits and public hearings. Each level entails different functions with regards to MGNREGS implementation, with demands generated from the local level and funding and supervision coming from above.

Samarthan has been able to operate within this vertical structure to trace MGNREGS funds and processes and to identify and analyze problem areas. As Samarthan has a presence from the panchayat up to the district level, it has been able to identify operational issues and their points of conflict to suggest corrective measures. The organization’s knowledge of the bottlenecks and deficiencies in local implementation has been accepted by the state and allowed Samarthan to support official programs such as the Electronic Fund Management System (EFMS). Samarthan supported the planning, piloting, and monitoring of the EFMS. While the government of MP was initially reluctant to embrace the EFMS, they eventually realized that moving from a paper-based to electronic system could significantly improve the transparency and efficiency of the movement of funds within the MGNREGA system.


3 For lessons and ideas on CSOs as interlocutors in promoting accountability in challenging contexts, see https://www.odi.org/publications/9069-search-game-changers-rethinking-social-accountability

4 This simple but powerful description of efforts to work across the accountability ecosystem was developed in a workshop co-hosted by IBP in which Samarthan participated. See http://www.transparency-initiative.org/reports/connecting-the-dots-for-accountability

5 Vertical integration refers to working across levels of governance within the context of a single campaign or objective, for example connecting state or national advocacy to local monitoring efforts. Horizontal engagement is understood as attempts to link to other relevant stakeholders to support specific efforts or build wider coalitions of actors.
Samarthan employs a specific vertically-integrated strategy to engage with multiple levels of government and MGNREGS implementation. The organization aims to bring government agencies, primarily at the district and state levels, onto a common platform with the community institutions for dialogue and discussions. These discussions are based on data generated from the EFMS, social audits, and community planning exercises. Three types of activities at three levels of government are clearly visible.

1. **The community and Gram Sabha level**: the interventions aim to assess the situation on the ground, document findings, and organize beneficiaries to collectively articulate their grievances. The tools and methods include social audits and capacity building of the village social audit committee. Gram Sabha is the local entity constitutionally empowered to conduct social audits of MGNREGS.

2. **The district level**: the data gathered are shared with the implementing agency, analyzed, and acted upon through corrective interventions, such as following up on social audits findings or participatory planning exercises. Operational issues and corrections are the primary focus and the district agencies and officials are key players. The community groups and the data gathered pressure government bodies to respond in public meetings and forums for dialogue.

3. **The state level**: at this level the focus shifts from improving planning and implementation to policy change. Samarthan distills lessons and policy proposals, then shares these through written briefs and face-to-face meetings and seminars with relevant decision makers.

In addition to working across different levels of government, Samarthan has also focused on the base of the pyramid. As community empowerment and participation are fundamental to the functioning of the MGNREGS, Samarthan has focused on building significant community support and strengthening the knowledge and skills of poor households to engage in the MGNREGS process. Recognizing that information and training are of limited utility if poor individuals cannot act collectively, it has invested in organizing communities, worker’s unions, and other mechanisms for citizens to jointly demand their rights under the MGNREGS.

Samarthan has also added elements of horizontal engagement to complement its vertical strategy. The vertical integration of advocacy and influence is reflected in information from the community level being channeled upwards to the block, district, and state levels for action and redress. There is also a reverse process in the strategies and capacities being developed in the
SAS, and plans are being executed at the block and Gram Panchayat levels. Horizontal engagement can be seen in attempts to engage various stakeholders at the community, block, district, and state levels to form broader networks and/or more specific collaborations on concrete processes or mechanisms.

A specific manifestation of these networks are the many young people trained to be village social auditors in different districts of MP. These village social auditors cum participatory planners, made up of local youth, contribute to a pool of trained human resources to help the MGNREGS and the Gram Sabha perform their monitoring function more effectively and professionally. The village social auditors have been recognized by the SAS for long-term engagement in MGNREGS.

These networking efforts have helped other civil society organizations (CSOs) to enter the domain of promoting transparency and accountability through the MGNREGS processes. Samarthan has developed an informal network of CSOs through its capacity building and networking strategy. In addition, the organization supports a network of some 2000 elected representatives (Mahasangh) from the Gram Panchayats. The Mahasangh serves to aggregate demands from the Gram Panchayats. It has successfully negotiated policy changes from the government of MP and has even filed public interest litigation to advance its demands. Strengthening the role of the Gram Panchayats is critical for MGNREGA since demands for work and projects come from this lower level of the governance structure. Yet Samarthan has been extremely careful in balancing its engagement and relationships with different actors to ensure it is seen as a credible and neutral actor. Support for the Mahasangh has thus been managed very cautiously with an eye to the perceptions of other state, civil society, and community actors.

Nevertheless, Samarthan supports a dynamic coalition and networking process with CSO partners and the network of Gram Panchayat leaders. This is linked to a strategic focus on an improved district level mechanism for engaging CSOs with the administration of MGNREGS. Samarthan is working with a fluid network of grassroots CSOs and the media to generate evidence for dialogue with policy makers and agencies to change in practice and policies. These grassroots CSOs that are committed to promoting transparency and accountability in MGNREGS form a critical mass of organizations to engage district administration and the state officials.

Substantial efforts have been made to develop combined strength of the peoples’ institutions, networks of Panchayat representatives, collectives of trained social audit facilitators, and unions of MGNREGS workers. Samarthan has also made attempts to engage with existing networks and
forums at the national and state level to promote broader policy issues and to disseminate research by the CSO networks. Where possible Samarthan works with existing groups, like the Peoples’ Budget Initiative (PBI), which is active on budget issues at the national level and has been promoted by Samarthan at the state level in MP.

2015 SOCIAL AUDIT CAMPAIGN

Samarthan’s 2015 campaign to support the social audit process of the MGNREGS in a number of localities in MP is an example of an integrated ecosystems approach. The SAS is officially responsible for auditing MGNREGS. However, as it was only set up in MP in 2013, it lacks capacity, political support, and leadership (the director position has not been filled) to really fulfill its mandate. Samarthan has worked to support and strengthen the SAS and was invited to sit on its governing board. Samarthan recognized the opportunity to reinforce the role of the SAS, and adopted a holistic and multi-pronged approach to supporting social audits in targeted localities. This included awareness raising, training and accompanying local CSOs and auditors, ensuring the quality of audit reports, facilitating public meetings to discuss audit findings, and coordinating all actors, including SAS, CSOs, local officials and community members.

Numerous problems with MGNREGA implementation were identified by the audit process and discussed in the Gram Sabha public meetings. These included delayed and reduced wages, mismanagement in ensuring who qualified for the program, certification of incomplete works, inflated cost estimates, and undertaking work in unapproved projects and communities. Samarthan facilitated Gram Sabha meetings in which anomalies were discussed and decisions were made to take corrective action. For example paying wages due to laborers, corrections to beneficiary lists, and recovering costs for fraudulent or incomplete projects. Gram Sabhas generated local solutions to address issues of inefficiency and procedural bottlenecks to ensure that the poor benefit from MGNREGS.

Despite these notable successes, social auditing of the MGNREGS remains incredibly challenging. State and local governmental authorities are often resistant to Samarthan and other CSOs participating in audit activities. Furthermore, local power holders and authorities have tried to undermine the audit activities in numerous ways. For example, to limit the effectiveness of the Gram Sabha, the meetings were not properly announced, held far from the village and at inconvenient times, and key officials did not participate. Furthermore, despite Samarthan’s support, the capacity of local auditors and community audit committees remains low, limiting the
effectiveness of the audit, particularly in adverse contexts. Finally, there was a general lack of coordination and participation by government actors.

The actions of elected representative of the state assembly suggest they have felt threatened by the potential growth of a culture of accountability and transparency in their constituency. Members of Legislative Assembly and the district level bureaucracy have often worked to undermine transparency and accountability initiatives, for example, by threatening village social auditors conducting their official duties. Pro-accountability actors seek to leverage media coverage of intimidation and abuse in order to allow their work to continue. These challenges demonstrate that, even after a decade, MGNREGA is still contested terrain and real accountability is opposed by vested interests. It also strongly suggests that, without the active engagement of organizations like Samarthan, the government’s audit activities would be superficial at best, failing to identify irregularities and unable to generate corrective action when anomalies are revealed. Worse, authorities could point to an audit process to highlight the transparency and accountability of the program in a blatant attempt at “open washing.”

The MGNREGS campaign leverage Samarthan’s positionality vis-à-vis vertical levels of governance. They bring unique approaches to bottlenecks at the local, district, and state levels. They also draw on an organization’s ability to build and leverage relationships with key state accountability institutions, such as the SAS and the Controller and Auditor General (CAG) of India. The social audit rules drafted in consultation with the CAG for the MGNREGS state that social audit are considered as formal part of the audit system. This allows for promoting social audits with the financial CAG audits. There are certain blocks selected on pilot basis in MP by the CAG to observe the social audit process, these formed the basis for the joint Samarthan/SAS social audit campaign, thus bringing together two state accountability functions with civil society support and facilitation.

IBP’S SUPPORT TO SAMARTHAN

IBP has supported Samarthan through grant funding, strategic accompaniment, technical assistance, capacity building, and assistance in convening and supporting national and state level coalitions. IBP has also supported Samarthan to reflect on its strategies and approaches. Open washing refers to outward moves towards more transparency and accountability that are inherently limited, superficial or undermined by other actions or intentions of the entity.

Samarthan participated in a 2015 workshop co-hosted by IBP on strategies of vertical integration and engagement with state checks and balances mechanisms. A summary report of this workshop can be found here: http://www.transparency-initiative.org/reports/connecting-the-dots-for-accountability.

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support has specifically allowed Samarthan to promote participatory governance and influence community institutions and state agencies for enhanced transparency and accountability, with budget tracking as an important tool for achieving this objective.

Since 2009 both organizations have worked in partnership on the issue of governance and accountability, and IBP has played a significant role in Samarthan’s work over the last four years. This included support for planning and implementation of the work-plans and labor budgets, strengthening the process and quality of social audits, supporting the SAS to pilot audits, and facilitating the monitoring and implementation of the EFMS. As a result of these interventions Samarthan was successful in helping Gram Panchayats to address the concerns of laborers, such as delayed payment of wages, equal wages, payment of wages according to the quantum and quality of work, etc. The policy advice and solutions provided by Samarthan in the process of supporting the SAS were regarded as useful and, as a result, it was inducted as a member of the governing board of the Social Audit Society.

In the current phase of the IBP support (2014-16) Samarthan is focusing on supporting the state and the SAS to effectively implement EFMS and undertake social audits. For this purpose, Samarthan is utilizing the CSOs, youth volunteers, grassroots-level voluntary organizations, and the Panchayat networks that it was instrumental in establishing.

Samarthan’s work directly contributes to Goal 1 of IBP’s India Country Strategy: better service delivery at subnational/local level in two states and a strengthened accountability ecosystem. Specifically, Samarthan’s efforts to improve MGNREGS implementation through capacity building, research, and advocacy have engaged with, and sought to strengthen, key actors and mechanisms in the accountability ecosystem.

IMPACT AND LEARNING

SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENTS

Samarthan can point to a consistent set of achievements from its activities. For example, more than 800 social audits have been facilitated and supported by the Samarthan team over the last two years. The social audit campaign discussed above brought to light numerous problems affecting the MGNREGS program and led to corrective actions, even as it strengthened the role of state, civil society, and community actors in the audit process. Samarthan’s engagement with state institutions has also yielded other results, such as the invitation for Samarthan to join the
governing board of the SAS and the continued implementation of the EFMS system by the state government. Likewise, Samarthan can point to a network of individuals and organizations working on MGNREGS implementation and accountability, including CSOs, elected Panchayat representatives, workers unions, community auditors, and others.

In addition, the Planning Commission of India has engaged Samarthan to provide technical support to building the capacities of the district level government officials on social audits in the states of Chattisgarh, Odisha, and MP. The lessons derived from social audits in MGNREGS have also been applied to design social audit process for other rights-based programs, such as the public distribution system under the National Food Security Act and the mid-day meal program under the Right to Education.

INDICATORS AND UNDERSTANDING IMPACT IN COMPLEX SYSTEMS

Given Samarthan’s long term and multifaceted approach to MGNREGS implementation, developing indicators to measure the impact of their work is not necessarily straightforward. Samarthan ultimately wants more poor households to benefit from the scheme, so monitoring this variable is important. Given the multiple bottlenecks and weaknesses across the MGNREGS implementation chain, tracking advances in these areas is also important. Indicators to measure the number of social audits carried out by the SAS may prove useful, as could indicators to measure the implementation of improved budget tracking practices by relevant state actors.

It is also important to develop indicators to measure progress towards a stronger accountability ecosystem. For example, tracking engagement between Samarthan, its partners, and government institutions from state to community level. At the state level, Samarthan could trace the character of its involvement with the SAS, while monitoring the strength and engagement of the civil society coalitions and workers unions it supports at the local level. Other indicators include the effectiveness of spaces for planning and monitoring, such as Gram Sabha meeting, and the capacities of key actors, like the Panchayats.

OBSTACLES AND LESSONS LEARNED

As described above, the implementation of MGNREGS in MP has not been improved through a linear process of technical tweaks that were undertaken by capable bureaucrats and committed leaders. At each level of governance, and in each segment of the implementation process, key actors have lacked capacity and commitment. Despite a decade of patient and increasingly strategic engagement by Samarthan, numerous gaps and obstacles remain.
MGNREGS is a dynamic scheme in an equally dynamic context. The first key lesson from Samarthan has been the need to adapt its strategy and activities based on constantly monitoring relevant changes in key institutions and the broader context. Examples of these adaptations and shifts abound, including the structured support for social accountability to the Gram Sabha by the SAS after the latter’s introduction in 2013, and changing worker payments from cash eventually to bank deposits and later introduction of Electronic Fund Management for reducing multiple layers in decision making and fund processing.

More recently, the change in India’s governing party, combined with lower economic growth, has led to decreases in state budgets for MGNREGS. This has exacerbated a shortage of resources for the scheme, but also opened up an opportunity to make more forceful arguments about the need for efficient and transparent implementation. At a more local level, repeated droughts in one of the regions led Samarthan to prioritize that area so that the migrating poor can sustain their living through water-related MGNREGS projects. These changes have entailed new actors, processes, incentives, gaps, and opportunities that Samarthan has sought to address. This has required that the organization remain flexible in its activities. This adaptive capacity has emerged as a key strength for Samarthan as it has evolved its approach over the past 10 years.

Other lessons have been just as important. Samarthan has learnt that the structures and systems for delivery of MGNREGS need to be effective at every level, a lesson reflected in its current vertically integrated approach. However, Samarthan’s initial efforts were directed more at the state level, based on the assumption that change could be brought about by just influencing the top-level decision makers. Over time Samarthan realized the limitation of this approach and integrated engagement to build capacity and ensure accountability at the lower levels of governance and program implementation, building links from the top down and bottom up. At present, Samarthan’s advocacy efforts are mainly located at the district level, which is the critical node for implementation of the program.

Conversely, and synergistically, Samarthan learnt that its work at the community level needs to be leveraged in strategic ways to add up to more than the sum of its parts. In other words, Samarthan values its engagement at the community level because it keeps them connected to local realities, building the organization’s knowledge and credibility and allowing it to experiment with different problem-solving approaches. But Samarthan cannot reach every community in MP. Even in those communities where it has a direct presence, local efforts are limited by policy and implementation issues at higher levels. At the same time there exists an opportunity to translate
information gained from community engagement and innovation into advocacy material aimed at relevant authorities at the district or state level.

Over the last decade, Samarthan has learnt to adopt an increasingly strategic and holistic approach to improving both MGNREGS implementation as well as the accountability ecosystem that is necessary to achieve this. These lessons have illuminated new ways to understand scale and impact vis-à-vis a dynamic program and complex operating environment. Scaling up does not necessarily just mean expanding the organization’s direct presence at the local level. It may entail building coalitions with other CSOs that can leverage the presence of a diverse set of social actors across the MP state. This is limited by the fact that many local CSOs work on government programs or receive government funds and have been reluctant to engage in social auditing activities as a result. Nevertheless, Samarthan has supported other organizations who are interested in playing a role in social accountability. Furthermore, Samarthan has scaled up its influence through a concerted engagement with the SAS and other mechanisms and actors. By strengthening the capacity of the SAS, and monitoring its effectiveness, Samarthan contributes to an “accountability footprint” much larger than it could achieve on its own. At the same time Samarthan aims to ensure that the state plays a front line role in accountability for MGNREGS implementation, rather than the burden falling solely on the shoulders of civil society.

FUTURE PROSPECTS AND CHANGES

Recently, an academic journal ran an issue devoted to transparent and accountable governance in which the issue editors argued that, based on emerging evidence, the best understanding of what works are “relatively complex, strategic, multi-stranded, politically-savvy long-term processes.” This seems to aptly describe Samarthan’s approach to MGNREGS. In other recent research, Jonathan Fox undertook a synthesis of accountability interventions led by civil society or state actors, finding few successes among “tactical” (short-term, information led, and isolated) approaches, but more promise among “strategic” engagement (long term, coalition-based, multi-tactic, and balanced insider/outsider) approaches. Again, these emerging insights suggest there is promise in Samarthan’s underlying philosophy.

At the same time, there are many questions about the most effective ways to navigate and strengthen accountability ecosystems. Broad explorations in the transparency, participation, and

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accountability field suggests power analysis, learning and adaptation, vertical and horizontal integration, varied and complementary tactics, and building political capabilities and countervailing power amongst pro-accountability actors as broad avenues for an ecosystems approach.\textsuperscript{10} However, even organizations that have moved in this direction, such as Samarthan, have found that connecting the dots means different things to different organizations in different contexts; it is often a matter of three steps forward and two steps back.\textsuperscript{11} Thus, while some broad contours and guiding principles have emerged, there is a real need to learn from organizations that are putting these into practice in complex and difficult contexts. Further, strengthening and supporting the learning capabilities of organizations like Samarthan will pay dividends for the organization, as well as for the sector more broadly.


\textsuperscript{11} See \url{http://www.transparency-initiative.org/reports/connecting-the-dots-for-accountability}
### ANNEX 1: INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Designation/Organization</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Dr. Yogesh Kumar</td>
<td>Executive Director, Samarthan</td>
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<td>Shraddha Kumar</td>
<td>Senior Program Manager, Samarthan</td>
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<td>Izhar</td>
<td>Project Officer, Samarthan</td>
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<td>Gyanendra Kumar Tiwari</td>
<td>Integrated Development Action, District Panna District, Samarthan,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and team</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rajiv Sinha</td>
<td>MP Voluntary Health Society, District Raisen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kanhayalal</td>
<td>Gram Vikas Samiti, District Bhadwani</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vijay Sen</td>
<td>Green Brigade Foundation, Balaghat</td>
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<td>Voluntary Health</td>
<td>NGOs in Panna</td>
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<td>Association &amp; Mansi</td>
<td>Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mazdoor Sanghathan</td>
<td>Union of MGNREGA workers, Panna</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ramkumar Singour</td>
<td>Gramin Vikas and Uthan Samithi, Mandla</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pragya</td>
<td>Co-ordinator for Madhya Pradesh, DFID supported Poorest Areas Civil Society program (MGNREGA was one of the focus programs under PACS in MP)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rishi Raj Sharma</td>
<td>UNDP Technical Officer in the State Planning Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anita Vatsalya</td>
<td>Deputy Director, State Social Audit Society,</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.K. Mishra</td>
<td>Senior Advisor, MP State Planning Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>J.S. Thape</td>
<td>Additional Project Officer, Hardha Block</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subhash Sharma</td>
<td>Additional CO, Hardha Block</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ashok Jain</td>
<td>CEO, Hardha Block</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jagdish Choudhary and team</td>
<td>Sarpanch (Head of Village Council), Pemat village, Block Sanchi, District Raisen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nilesh Jain</td>
<td>District Accounts Officer. MGNREGA, Seoni District</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hareram Kushram</td>
<td>CEO Janpad, Seoni District</td>
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<td>RK Bopache,</td>
<td>APO, Seoni District</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tekram Sanodiya</td>
<td>AAO, Seoni district</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shashibala Kakodiya</td>
<td>President, Janpad Panchayat, Seoni District</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vishwakarma</td>
<td>Nehru Yuva Mandal, Panna District</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Purushottampur Panchayat, Jhardoba Panchayat &amp; Jhanakpur Panchayat, Panna District</td>
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<td>Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chandrashekar Singh</td>
<td>CEO, Panna District</td>
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<td>Amit Singh</td>
<td>Additional CEO, ZP, Mandla District</td>
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<td>Community and Village Council Members</td>
<td>Pandiwar, Amahi, Bhudashala &amp; Kalapan Panchayats, Jhabua District</td>
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