SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY SERIES
SOUTH ASIA SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

Although Andhra Pradesh (AP) has high economic growth, the state's public education system, which most poor children attend, faces several structural issues that hinder its quality. Although the public education system offers a structured space for parent and community input into management of schools, these spaces are not systematically used. In 2007, Centre for Good Governance (CGG) in partnership with the Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiya Foundation (MVF) introduced a social accountability intervention in 20 public schools in Nalgonda and Adilabad Districts to mobilize the community to monitor and give feedback on the delivery of education services at the village level. One year following its initiation, this accountability intervention had led to a series of behavior and institutional changes in students, parents, the community, the school administration, and local government, galvanizing public investment, public action, and social capital to improve the quality of education. Both Nalgonda and Adilabad Districts saw a 10 percent drop in teacher absenteeism, a significant decrease in school dropout rates, and 100 percent enrollment of children in 8 of the 20 villages.

CASE STUDY 8

Improving Student Enrollment and Teacher Absenteeism Outcomes Through Social Accountability Interventions in Nalgonda and Adilabad Districts, Andhra Pradesh, India

CONTEXT

Andhra Pradesh (AP) achieved 10.37 percent economic growth for 2007–08 against the national average of 8.37 percent and has a poverty headcount ratio of 16 percent, compared with 23 percent for India as a whole. Despite such growth, AP's public education system, which serves the children of most poor households, faces several structural issues that impair its quality. The quality of education itself is suboptimal, teacher absenteeism rates are high, and teachers lack accountability to parents and the community. As a result, parents who wish to give their children quality education opt for expensive private schools.

Because the existing education service delivery structure had not met expected education outcomes, CGG in partnership with MVF introduced a social accountability intervention to mobilize the community to monitor and give feedback on the delivery of education services at the village level. This accountability intervention, using a community scorecard (CSC) process, was introduced in two Mandals in Nalgonda and Adilabad Districts in AP, and involved 20 schools. These schools (primary schools, upper primary schools, and secondary schools), managed by different authorities, such as the Mandal Parishad, Zilla Parishad, the Tribal Welfare Department, and the School Education Department (SED), are representative of many of the problems in the public education system in AP generally.

Primary Education Service Delivery and Accountability

Decentralized planning and management of elementary education is a goal set by the National Policy on Education of 1986.[1] The policy envisions the involvement of local

1. National Policy on Education, 1986 (para10.8).

communities, through appropriate bodies, in school improvement programs. Taking this initiative forward, the government of Andhra Pradesh passed the Andhra Pradesh Community Participation Act of 1998, which facilitated the formation of committees for the improvement of education at various levels—school committees at the village level and other committees at the Panchayat, Mandal, municipal, and district levels.[2]

The AP Community Participation Act also empowered village-level school committees to conduct micro-planning exercises and to develop education plans for schools. These school committees consist of teachers and the parents of the children enrolled in the school. Committee meetings are convened by the school's headmaster but presided over by an elected parent. Committees are required to meet at least twice a year. The school committees are authorized to plan and implement school development initiatives, monitor the functioning of schools, manage finances to procure teaching and learning materials, and appoint para-teachers according to the needs of the school and teachers. The school committees provide a structured space for parents and the broader community to play a more proactive role in village-level education. However, the committees do not realize their full potential unless the parents and community systematically take advantage of this decision-making space.

The SED in AP has a traditional academic and administrative inspection system. Primary and upper primary schools are inspected by Mandal Education Officers (MEOs) and secondary schools by Deputy Education Officers. The District Education Officers (DEOs) inspect residential schools functioning under various societies and welfare departments. The emerging role of the SED as manager of various programs and schemes has restricted and redefined the role of SED functionaries. The traditional academic inspection mechanism has lost its significance because project management has taken precedence over academic activities. Hence, the role of school committees has gained significance in the last two decades.

Within this context, the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), India's flagship program for achieving universal elementary education, is being implemented in partnership with the AP state government and local government in the state. Mandated by the 86th amendment to the Constitution of India, which establishes free and compulsory education for children 6–14 years old as a fundamental right, SSA is mandated to open new schools in villages that do not have schooling facilities and to strengthen existing school infrastructure and human resources.

Finally, MVF has an established reputation for working in rural areas to abolish child labor by universalizing school education. In six districts in AP, MVF has introduced new concepts such as residential bridge camps and the Bala Karmika Vimochana Vedika (a forum of government teachers, elected representatives, and community members). MVF's Child Rights Protection Forum has also been working in AP through a network of teachers, women's groups, local youth volunteers, school committees, and Mandal and district bodies to decrease out-of-school and drop-out children.

THE SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY PROCESS IN AP

The overall objective of this social accountability intervention was to improve the delivery of education services. This type of accountability intervention, using a community scorecard (CSC) process, was introduced for the first time in the context of schools to gather community and service-provider feedback to evaluate the quality of education through a set of specific parameters.

Preparatory Groundwork to Strengthen Bureaucratic and Public Will

Initial stages of the process included efforts to **sensitize government functionaries and the community** to supporting and participating in the CSC process. Village-level meetings were held to identify key issues pertaining to schools and the problems faced by the community, especially

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2. The broader goal of the 73rd amendment to the Constitution of India is to encourage a greater role of communities and the Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs) in the entire cycle of development programs. India has adopted a three-tier Panchayati Raj model of democratic decentralization under this amendment. The Zilla Parishad is the district-level local self-government institution; the Mandal Parishad is the sub–district level local self-government institution; while the Gram Panchayat is the village-level local self-government institution.

the parents of school-age children, with respect to their expectations from schools and the gaps in service delivery in the village school. Initially, a number of problems—such as lack of basic amenities, poor education quality, unresponsive education administration, and lack of co-curricular activities—were identified. In addition to the issues identified by the community, discussions at the village level with MVF and local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) brought forth other issues of accountability and supervision of schools. The SSA universal education mandate and MVF's effort to monitor student enrollment were also taken into consideration. Based on these categories, a CSC tool was developed and introduced in the first of two assessment rounds, with 10 broad indicators to be scored. (Annex 1 is an abridged version of the CSC.) In addition, a **training of trainers program** was conducted to build a cadre of facilitators equipped to lead this accountability process. The DEOs from both districts participated in the training program.

Community Monitoring of Service Delivery through Community Scorecards

The CSC process itself included four steps (input tracking, community-generated performance scorecard, self-evaluation scorecard, and an interface meeting).[3] Through **input tracking,** the community and service providers collectively analyzed supply-side data such as available education funds and grants, budget allocations, and official inventories of physical assets, thus removing the information asymmetry around public education entitlements at the community level. This step in itself was empowering because the community often has little awareness of these entitlements before input tracking takes place. Then, **community-generated performance scorecards** and **self-evaluation scorecards** were completed by the community and the school staff (teachers and the headmaster), respectively. Once the scorecards were completed, the two groups came together in an **interface meeting** to discuss differences in the scoring and to jointly devise solutions to improve public education service delivery. The DEOs and the MEOs of both districts actively participated in the process. This CSC process was conducted in two rounds over one year.

> **Community Scorecards**
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> The community scorecard (CSC) process is a community-based monitoring tool that is a hybrid of the techniques of social audits and citizen report cards. The CSC is an instrument to exact social and public accountability and responsiveness from service providers. By linking service providers to the community, citizens are empowered to provide immediate feedback to service providers.

Feedback to Higher Levels of Government for More Responsive Planning

After the completion of two rounds of the CSC process, key findings were communicated to the district and state levels of government to address issues that could not be addressed at the village and Mandal levels. This last step ensured that the feedback and the findings from the process were factored into the implementation and improvement of the education system in the state overall (annex 1).

Within one year, this accountability intervention, through direct community feedback, joint planning with teachers and school administrators, and the sharing of key supply-side information on budgets, grants, and entitlements with the community, had created a platform for two-way communication and initiated a series of impacts and outcomes.

KEY IMPACTS AND OUTCOMES

After one year of implementation, this accountability intervention catalyzed the community and service providers to take an active role in public education. It brought about a series of impacts and outcomes, starting at the micro level with behavior changes on the part of students, parents, and the community, as well as school administrators and teachers. These behavior changes, iterated over time, triggered changes at the institutional level in the school committees and government functionaries at higher levels. Finally, the aggregate impact of these changes led to several development

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3. For more details on the CSC methodology, please refer to Singh and Shah (2004).

Table 1 Social Accountability: Key Impacts and Outcomes

Behavior changes	Parents and community assessing and questioning school staff and seeking out information on funds and grants to improve village schools
	Teachers more motivated to come to school and eager to introduce new learning innovations
	Children staying in school for longer periods
	Community and teachers donating their time and resources to improve school infrastructure
	MEOs and DEOs actively seeking out new sources of funds for schools, based on collectively identified needs
Institutional changes	Strengthened institutional platform through school committees for continuous dialogue and feedback between parents, community, school staff, and local government to inform school management
	Cadre of community monitors that includes parents, local clubs and NGOs, women's groups, and Sarpanch
	AP Government Order mandating Panchayat participation in school management, making them accountable to the village community
Development outcomes	100 percent enrollment of children in eight villages in the two districts
	Significant decrease in school dropouts one year into the project cycle
	Teacher absenteeism declined by 10 percent in both districts
	Increase in household income after shifting from private to public education

outcomes, including a 10 percent drop in teacher absenteeism, a significant decrease in school dropouts, and 100 percent enrollment of children in eight villages in both districts (table 1).

Behavior Change

The introduction of this social accountability intervention first raised the awareness of parents and the community through information about funds and grants available to the community and through budget information relating to allocations and expenditures on textbooks and other learning materials. The accountability intervention removed information asymmetries regarding these resources; opened channels of communication between the community on the one hand and teachers, school headmasters, and local government functionaries on the other; and altered relationships between them to allow for more constructive dialogue. This combination of an increase in information and a space for dialogue established a series of behavior changes by parents, the community, and service providers.
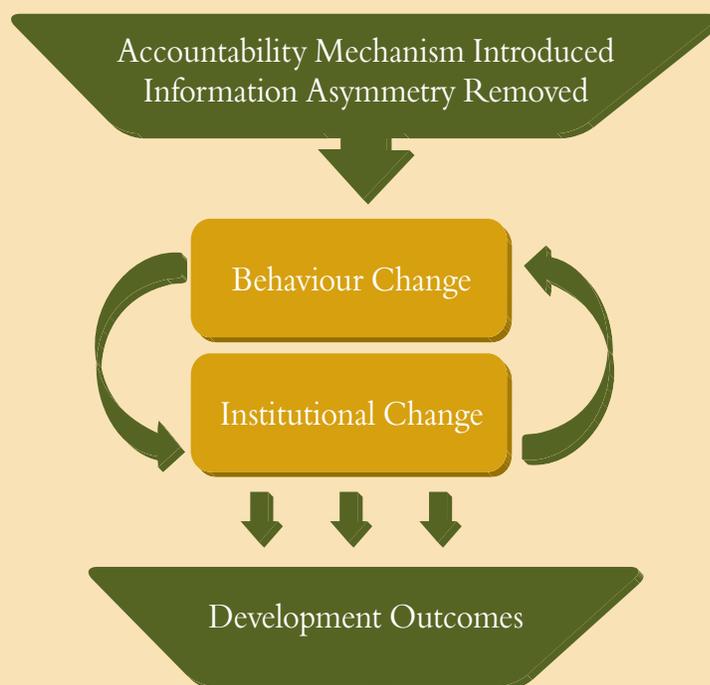
Community action galvanized to improve infrastructure. The accountability intervention galvanized the community to collectively improve public school infrastructure. As a result of

the heightened awareness initiated through this accountability intervention, members of the community donated their own goods and volunteered their own time to improve the physical conditions of the schools. The village head, the Sarpanch, of Mamidipalli village in Nalgonda District donated land to expand the school premises. In the same village, various local clubs and community cooperative organizations donated equipment for targeted improvements in the school, including a tank for drinking water. In addition, authorities at the Mandal and district levels sanctioned a grant of US$1,000 through district development funds to build a compound wall for the school, improving the safety of students and teachers. In the village of Sheikguda in Adilabad District, the teachers, using their own resources, erected a fence around the school after seeing increased support from the community.

Parents and community seek information and accountability from teachers and administration. Parents and the community developed information-seeking behavior to better understand their roles in managing schools. Through this heightened understanding, the community developed a sense of ownership over the public schools and then exhibited accountability-seeking behavior in instances in which schools were not meeting certain standards. They learned to openly question teachers and the headmaster in about suboptimal school performance.

Behavior changes are changes in the practices of individuals and the community. Specifically, the introduction of this accountability intervention initiated behavior changes that include **information-seeking behavior** (community members ask about the availability of resources for public education, seeking out information that they normally would not), **accountability-seeking behavior** (individuals begin to question and challenge information, school administrators, and government about suboptimal education), as well as **outcomes-seeking behavior** (students begin to attend classes more regularly or teachers regularly arrive to school on time). Behavior changes iterated over a period then inform the practices of local government and service providers, become internalized as norms, and established as **institutional changes**. Institutional changes include **process changes** (shifts in the functioning of management systems, including how data are received and how decision making takes place) as well as **policy changes** (changes in budget allocations and legislation). These institutional changes then lead to outcomes, such as an increase in enrollment or a decrease in teacher absenteeism.

Accountability Mechanism Introduced
Information Asymmetry Removed

Behaviour Change

Institutional Change

Development Outcomes

Even between the two rounds of the CSC intervention, parents continued to take an active role in monitoring the quality of the education their children were receiving and frequently enquired about issues such as teacher absenteeism. The headmaster from one school in Nalgonda observed that after the first round of the CSC process, community members made constant enquiries to the school administration and teachers about progress under the CSC indicators. This increased level of engagement induced school administrators to share more information with the community on school management matters and the availability of the funding. For instance, in the high school in Adilabad District, the school committee works with the school staff to display a newspaper on the walls to regularly inform the broader community of how school funds are spent. This increase in information and accountability-seeking behavior, in turn, changed the degree and intensity of other individual and collective behavior.

Increased community monitoring reduces teacher absenteeism. Community initiatives to improve the public education system have motivated teachers and instilled a sense of pride in their performance. Teachers are increasingly engaged to ensure that they maintain the quality of education and are vigilant about upholding their accountability to the community. For instance, teachers are taking the initiative to ensure proper enrollment of all village children in school. In some schools, teachers are teaching extra classes before and after school hours and introducing new teaching innovations to maintain students' interest in their studies. This increase in teacher involvement and motivation has contributed to the retention of the children in school throughout the full school day. Teachers' punctuality has improved in some schools and absenteeism has declined by 10 percent in both districts.

Motivated teachers increases student enrollment. Increased motivation and decreased teacher absenteeism have led to

One Teacher's Mission Led to 100 Percent Enrollment in Adilabad District

The village of Patnapur in Adilabad District has achieved 100 percent enrollment of all school-age children. Mr. Mesram Motiram, a barefoot teacher in the district, took up a mission to get every child in primary education and vowed to stay barefoot until his mission was accomplished. Together with the community and teachers, he identified 15 issues, 6 of which were solved in one year. The community also developed and implemented time-bound action plans to address these problems. Ward members of the village monitored developments every three months. The village community took turns keeping the school premises clean. The women's groups in the village took active part in monitoring and maintaining the menu for the midday meal and checking its quality. The community was also actively involved in the teaching and learning process in the schools, meeting every Saturday evening to review progress and discuss school problems.

improvements in the quality of teaching and behavior changes on the part of the students themselves, the key stakeholders in this process. Students are more motivated to attend school on a regular basis. In a school in the village of Thonda, the teaching and learning process move beyond textbook content to more innovative teaching techniques for mathematics, science, and languages. As a result, the children started arriving up to two hours early and stayed in the evening for an additional one to two hours. Because of increased teacher and community support, this particular school has had a record increase in enrollment—from 75 students to more than 200—in a span of two years. The achievements of this school led to the closure of the private school in the village.

Teachers and school administrators are also challenging parents to take a more proactive role in their children's education. Through the CSC process, teachers expressed that regular student attendance was a concern. The headmaster in a school in Jainoor challenged the parents of his school to take the teachers to task if their children were not performing well only if the child attended school for 180 days (out of 220 effective teaching days). Thus, the accountability process not only increased the accountability of the school to provide quality education but

also reinforced the role of parents in ensuring that their children regularly attend school.

Institutional Change

These behavior changes among the students, community, and school staff were repeated and internalized as norms to become established as institutional changes over time. These changes have also informed the practices of school administrators and local government functionaries, who have developed more responsive management systems and processes as a result.

Increased accountability revives school committees. Village-level school committees are now increasingly being used as formal platforms for continuous dialogue and feedback between communities, teachers, and local government for addressing problems in the delivery of education services. The school committees, mandated to oversee the performance of schools, have become active and meet regularly to track progress and problems in schools, a significant institutional change. During the school committee meetings in the village of Sheikguda, teachers and parents identified children who were not attending school regularly and appointed a staff person to usher children to school every day. In Patnapur village, the community is actively involved in the school and meets every Saturday evening to review progress and problems in the school.

Upward links and convergence with other development schemes. The accountability process has also created links with higher levels of the government and convergence with other development schemes, which would not have occurred otherwise. In Eturu village, the headmaster of the school approached the District Collectorate and applied through the Rashtriya Sam Vikas Yojana (RSVY) scheme, a national program to address problems in relatively poor districts, to receive additional grants for building school infrastructure. In another instance, the school committee began working with the Vana Samrakshana Samithi, a village-level water users committee, to ensure that the school provided adequate drinking water for the students.

Policy recommendations and reform to address local problems. While some issues have been solved locally within the community, other problems discussed during the

4. Government Order Ms. No. 02 School Education (PROG.I) Department, March 1, 2008.

accountability intervention could only be resolved at the state level through reform of existing policies. The findings of the CSCs were communicated to state-level authorities through a workshop; as a result, this interface between state functionaries and key stakeholders now takes place regularly. Through this dialogue, recommendations from key stakeholders to district-level policy makers have informed policy and planning. For instance, teacher-student ratios need to be maintained as a complement to the increasing number of children enrolling in school, and adequate resources and infrastructure must be furnished to ensure that these new students do not drop out. In addition, most of the headmasters and teachers in these schools observed that academic inspections were not taking place regularly. MEOs' and DEOs' workloads had increased because they were serving as program managers of various schemes and programs, such as SSA, leaving them little time to carry out their core responsibilities of monitoring and inspecting schools.

The process also challenged the requirement that English be used as the language of instruction in all government schools. In tribal areas such as Adilabad, even learning the state language of Telugu is difficult for the students, many being the first generation in their families to attend school. In these areas, the English requirement proves not only to be a waste of resources but also discourages students from regularly attending school.

The CSC process also recommended that local health and education government functionaries jointly address their interconnected problems. During the implementation of this accountability intervention, health cards were distributed to all school children. The Adilabad district administration is now implementing a program under RSVY, covering a total of 350,000 students, that incorporates regular visits by doctors and other health workers to public schools and mandates compulsory health check-ups for children, now an institutionalized practice in the schools.

Policy change for more accountable Panchayats. As a result of this accountability intervention, the SED has endorsed a new policy[4] to further involve local-level leaders and community members to improve school education. The government order issued by the SED calls for village-level school committees to comprise the Sarpanch as the chairperson, one woman ward member, one Scheduled Caste ward member, and one Scheduled Tribe ward member. This policy formally enables Panchayat participation for effective functioning of the school and makes the Panchayat responsible and accountable to the village community.

These institutional changes, in turn, have reinforced and deepened the shifting behavioral changes at the community level. For instance, after the first round of this accountability intervention, teachers and school staff were more eager to introduce new teaching techniques and implement reforms in the management of schools after receiving support and feedback from students, parents, and the community. In the second round, the community also sought more accountability from teachers and school administrators as well as better education outcomes. Over time, this combination of accountability and increased information and awareness led to behavior and institutional changes to ultimately achieve education outcomes.

Education Outcomes

The introduction of this accountability intervention led to the achievement of a few key outcomes that are typically difficult to attain in the span of one year in the context of public education.

Community monitoring leads to 10 percent drop in teacher absenteeism. The increase in community monitoring has improved teacher performance and attendance. Teachers' punctuality has improved in some schools and teacher absenteeism dropped 10 percent in both districts. Motivated and supported by the community, teachers are now also introducing innovative teaching methods to encourage more student enrollment and retention, improving the overall quality of education.

Parent and teacher involvement achieves 100 percent enrollment. As key stakeholders in education, children have also become motivated to not just attend school but also spend more time focusing on their studies. Increased parent involvement, decreased teacher absenteeism, and more innovative teaching methods have led to a noticeable decrease in school dropouts. Eight of the 20 villages where this accountability intervention was introduced now have 100 percent student enrollment.

Ownership over schools improves infrastructure. Community ownership and school administration fundraising efforts have led to significant improvements in school infrastructure. The provision of this basic infrastructure has significantly improved the environment for students and teachers. These improvements in infrastructure have made school premises a safer and healthier learning environment, contributing to more student retention and better job satisfaction for teachers.

Parents' confidence in public education increases household savings. In some instances, parents are increasingly confident in the quality of public education and have shifted their children from private to public schools. In Thonda, this dynamic has actually led to the closure of the private school in the village. The savings poor households realize by shifting their children to public schools means more resources are available to address other, more pressing needs.

These savings can also mean more resources to finance secondary education.

These outcomes are the direct result of the introduction of an accountability intervention in a large-scale public program that relies on many stakeholders to ensure quality. By mobilizing key stakeholders, the intervention has galvanized public investment, public action, and social capital to improve the quality of education.

SCALING UP SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY INTERVENTIONS IN AP

Based on the experience of this initial accountability intervention in 20 schools, MVF is implementing the CSC process in Ranga Reddy District in AP, where MVF has been working since 1992. The project, Community Involvement in Improving Quality of Education (CIIQE), is being undertaken in 94 schools with the support of the Strategic Performance Innovation Unit (SPIU) of the SED. School Quality Groups (SQGs) consisting of community-level stakeholders have been formed and facilitated by MVF in Srikakulam, Cuddapah, and Nalgonda Districts. These community-driven SQGs monitor school performance with the use of CSCs on a monthly basis.

The Society for the Elimination of Rural Poverty (SERP) is an AP government program that empowers women to take on thrift and livelihood activities through a federation of women's self-help groups (SHGs). SERP is currently working with MVF in three Mandals in Khammam District to scale up and expand upon the experiences of this initial accountability intervention. Combining MVF's mandate to eliminate child labor with the strong demand from SHG women for quality education for their children, this scaled-up intervention mobilizes youth, SHG women, and local leaders not only to enroll children in school but also to regularly monitor the qualitative education indicators. Because each SHG member is also a parent and a portion of the savings she accrues as an SHG member goes towards the education of her children, an accountability intervention working though such an institutional architecture has mobilized a cadre of community level monitors on a large scale. This holistic approach has

completely eliminated child labor in 10 villages in a span of 18 months. SERP will scale up this project to 30 Mandals in 2010 and to 30 more in 2011.

These experiences demonstrate that, in addition to an accountability tool (such as the CSC), a facilitating organization at the community level (such as MVF) and an institutional architecture (such as a federation of SHGs) are necessary in order to scale-up accountability interventions.

IMPLICATIONS FOR REPLICATION AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION TO IMPROVE EDUCATION OUTCOMES

In all public education programs in India, high teacher absenteeism, low student enrollment, and poor education quality are common problems. In conventional processes of change, the behavior changes necessary to overcome these problems are often slow and cumbersome, taking many years to become rooted as norms and institutionalized. The accountability mechanism introduced in Nalgonda and Adilabad Districts catalyzed a series of behavior changes in the community and supply side alike within one year. This accountability process intensified dormant community participation, increasing interaction and participation in the planning and management of schools.

Implementation and replication of this process requires a few key enabling factors. First, on the supply side, bureaucratic will and the leadership of local-level functionaries and service providers, as well as a dedicated budget, are necessary for building initial support for the process. Second, a core group of well-trained human resources are integral to replicate and scale up the process. Finally, strategic alliances between the supply side and organizations such as MVF and other NGOs provide an institutional platform at the community level for social accountability processes to take place. In fact, the schools that improved the most were the ones that already had these strategic alliances in place.

The education budget allocated for each district is approximately 400 crores (US$85.6 million) while the total funds required to introduce this type of accountability intervention in one district is approximately 2.5 crores (US$500,000), representing less than 1 percent of the total estimated education budget allocated for any district in India. This minimal investment has been shown to catalyze significant changes as well as to deliver concrete education outcomes.
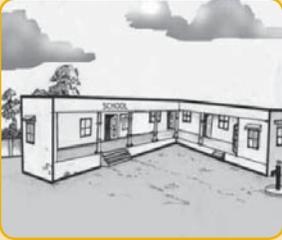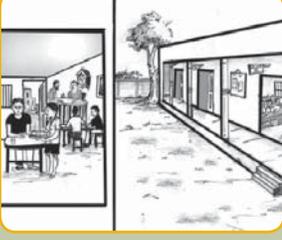
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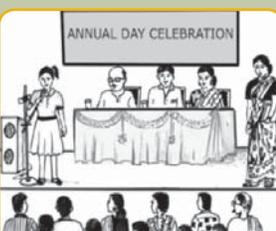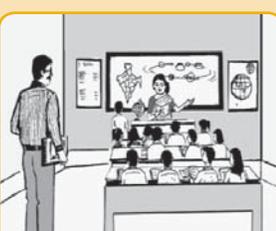
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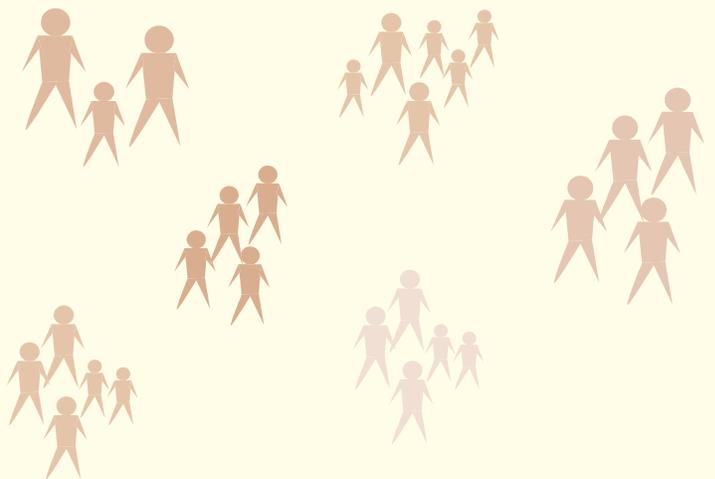
ANNEX 1 ABRIDGED COMMUNITY SCORECARD

Score Card					
District:				Date of 1st Assessment:	
Mandal:				Date of 2nd Assessment:	
School:				Date of External Assessment:	
Unique ID of School:					
Indicator	**CA 1**	**CA 2**	**SE 1**	**SE 2**	**Remarks**
Basic amenities and infrastructure					
Human resources					
School administration					
Enrollment and retention					
Quality of education					

Indicator		CA 1	CA 2	SE 1	SE 2	Remarks
	Community participation					
	Utilization of funds and grants					
	Implementation of mid-day meal program					
	Conduct of co-curricular activities					
	Inspection by education officers					

Source: CGG 2009.
Note: CA = Community assessment; SE = Self evaluation by service providers.

ANNEX 2 KEY SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY INTERVENTIONS

Stage	Key interventions	Effects
Preparatory groundwork, pre–CSC	Sensitization of concerned government functionaries	Bureaucratic will and support for the process
	Identification and **training of trainers** within the partner agencies to conduct this process	Cadre of trained facilitators
	Sensitization of the community and key stakeholders in the process	Public will and support for the process
	Design the community scorecard	Assessment indicators reflect felt needs and values of community
Community scorecard, round 1	**Input tracking**	Remove information asymmetry about available assets and entitlements
	Performance scorecard conducted by service users	Active performance monitoring by users and providers
	Self-evaluation scorecard conducted by service providers	
	Interface meeting between service providers and community	Constructive dialogue between users and frontline service providers
Community scorecard, round 2	**Input tracking**	Track progress between rounds 1 and 2
	Performance scorecard	
	Self-evaluation scorecard	
	Interface meetings	
Post–CSC	Report findings to the government	Responsive planning

Source: Authors.