

**Listening to Voices from the Grassroots:
A Study of the Government Schemes for Poverty
Alleviation of Tribal People, based on the Insights and
Experiences of Grassroots Social Activists**

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Section I: Introduction, Objectives and Methodology of the Study

1.1 Background to the Study

The Resources and Livelihoods Group (ReLi) of the Prayas has been working in the area of natural resources and rural livelihoods for the past four years. The ReLi team is working in collaboration with many grassroots organizations (GrOs) to evolve and implement a long-term program for enhancing the livelihoods of the marginalized sections, such as tribal people, women and *dalits*. As part of the efforts to build the knowledge base for this long-term program, the ReLi team has undertaken two studies in the period 2003 – 2005 in collaboration with some GrOs working in the Konkan region of Maharashtra State. The first study involves field research to investigate and understand the current livelihoods situation of some tribal communities. This, the second study attempts to analyze the shortcomings of the Government response to the precarious livelihoods situation of the tribal communities, especially through poverty alleviation schemes, and other development programs for tribal communities. This analysis it is intended will provide the necessary input for developing alternatives to the present schemes.

Alongside with this research work the ReLi group members are engaged in efforts to develop appropriate methods and techniques for increasing the productivity of local natural resources, especially land and water. The group members are also involved in extending these methods and techniques to tribal communities through various types of activities such as training and community based demonstration. The group members see these two efforts—of field studies to understand the livelihoods situation and government schemes, and development and extension of productivity enhancement techniques—as complementary to each other. While the latter will result in the development of sustainable and appropriate technologies for productivity enhancement, the understanding gained from the former type of efforts shall contribute to a better understanding of the current social and economic realities of the livelihoods of the marginalized sections. This understanding and insight would play a crucial role in the process of the adaptation and up-scaling of these technologies. The reason for this is that the process of adaptation involves not just technical adaptation to the biophysical conditions, but also adapting these techniques in such a way that they are in tune with the social and economic realities of the target communities. Another important reason to study the livelihoods situation of the target group is also to assess the social and economic impact of interventions aimed at ensuring rights to resources, and improving productivity of these resources. Further insights regarding the current status of the Government schemes, its strengths and shortcomings will provide inputs to develop alternative schemes, by which these productivity enhancement techniques could be extended to the marginalized sections on a wide scale.

Replication and up-scaling is a key element of the long-term livelihoods enhancement program being undertaken collaboratively by ReLi and the GrOs. In this context the acceptance of these interventions by the Government and its implementation

through its various schemes is important for up-scaling. Hence, the aim of the long-term program is also to make the government accept and promote the schemes for securing and enhancing the livelihoods of the marginalized communities based on these sustainable productivity enhancement technologies. Thus the groups is advocating 'livelihoods security schemes', as opposed to only 'poverty alleviation schemes', and based on 'right to natural resources, and sustainable enhancement of productivity of local natural resources'. We now examine these issues in greater detail.

Poverty Alleviation Schemes of the Government and its Shortcomings

The Government of India as well as the various state governments fund and implement a number of schemes for the welfare of the poor. Some schemes give resources, were as some schemes provide wage employment to the poor to help them overcome poverty. Such schemes are being implemented for the past three decades and more. These schemes have contributed in a fair measure to decrease the number of people living below the poverty line (BPL) since these schemes have been initiated. However, in spite of this as per the NSS estimates 27 per cent of rural households still continue to live in poverty (Deaton 2003). Even in case of those marginally above the poverty line it does not imply that they still do not suffer from various forms of deprivation, exclusion, and insecurity. Also since the poverty line itself is very narrowly and rigidly defined that households just above this line can in the face of shocks and stresses easily relapse into poverty. Hence, the members of the ReLi group as well leaders of collaborating GrOs are of the opinion that such narrow and rigid definitions of poverty should be dispensed. Instead the holistic concept of 'livelihoods', which better represents the reality of the rural poor, should be adopted (Chamber, 1985, 1992). The goal of the government schemes must be to ensure livelihoods security of the rural poor rather than merely alleviate them from income poverty, which is defined in very restricted manner (based on pre-determined level of consumption of mainly food items). Hence, the group members have undertaken this study in collaboration with leaders of GrO (social activists) to analyze the shortcomings in the present government schemes as well as the reasons for their poor performance in alleviation of the poverty of the rural poor, as well in ensuring them security of livelihoods. Examining the design and impact of the government poverty alleviation schemes using the livelihoods approach will contribute to the design of alternative schemes through redesign/modification of existing schemes for promoting the livelihoods security of the rural poor.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

It is in this broader context that the ReLi team has undertaken this study. However, this study has set limited objectives before itself. The primary objective of this study is to carefully examine the drawbacks in the design and implementation, especially at a conceptual level, of the present government schemes for poverty alleviation. The findings and insights obtained from this study will inform the process of designing the alternative schemes based on the 'sustainable livelihoods perspective'.

The specific objectives of the study, drawn from the above broad objective are as follows:

1. To briefly review the government's strategy for tribal development and analyze the tribal development schemes using the livelihoods framework.
2. To identify gaps and problems in the design as well as functional aspects of select government schemes based on the experiences of grassroots activists, and identify important features for design of alternative schemes.

1.3 Methodology of the Study

The study was initiated with survey of the literature on tribal development policies and schemes, from available sources. In the course of this literature review it was observed that many scholars have focused on analyzing tribal societies and studied the tribal development from an anthropological perspective. While some scholars have looked at government policies for tribal development, few have attempted to analyze the existing schemes for tribal development. The focus of the discourse on tribal development in India has been around the issues of tribal rights to land and forests (Prabhu Pradeep, 1998, Samuel John 2002). In section II of this report, a brief discussion on the evolution of the tribal development policy of the Government of India is discussed based on the literature review. However, instead of attempting to analyze the intricacies of the process of development of this policy the group felt the need to focus on existing schemes. Therefore it was decided to focus on analyzing the current budget document available from the government department, which lists all scheme and the financial allocations made to these scheme. Such as comprehensive plan for tribal development is referred to as the 'Tribal Sub-Plan' (TSP) and forms part of the state budget of the Government of Maharashtra. In the analysis of the schemes and the budgetary allocations for the scheme, the study has used the conceptual framework of the 'livelihoods approach' mainly drawing from the work of Robert Chambers. However, due to constraints of time and resources, in this study analysis of the TSP of only one financial year was undertaken. Hence, these results may not be statistically significant, but the patterns, which emerge from this analysis, may be seen as indicative. The methodology adopted for the analysis of the schemes in the TSP is discussed in-depth in section II.

For collecting data regarding the experiences and insights of the grassroots workers, the following methods were used: (i) Interviews of grassroots social activists, based on a uniform interview guide, (ii) Group discussions with the community level workers of the GrOs. The major source of data for the study has been the transcripts of interviews with grassroots social activists. Eleven activists were interviewed. Of these, seven activists are working with the tribal communities in Raigad district, in Konkan region of Maharashtra State. Two activists are from Thane district and two from Pune district. A detailed discussion on the profile of the interviewed activists is presented in Section III. The members of ReLi group prepared an interview guide used for conducting these interviews. An English translation, of the original guide, which is in Marathi, is enclosed in Annexure IV. These interviews were conducted in either the offices of the respective activists or in their homes. The research staff of the ReLi Group, Prayas conducted the interviews. The duration of the interviews

ranged from two to four hours. The interviews were recorded on audio cassettes and detailed transcripts were prepared. This was used as the primary source of data for further analysis. Group discussions were held in two organizations. The community-level workers of the grassroots organizations with which the respective respondent-activists are associated, participated in these discussions.

This report is divided into three sections. The first section includes a discussion on the background to the study, as well as the objectives and methodology of the study. The second section gives a brief overview of the government's approach to tribal development, including a historical profile of the evolution of this approach. Then, the budgetary allocations of some select schemes in the 'Tribal Sub-Plan' (TSP) of the year 2002-03 have been analyzed. This analysis helps to build the context for the reading of the next section (Section III), which analyzes the insights and experiences of grassroots social activists. In this section, the learnings drawn from the analysis of interviews are presented which forms the mainstay of the study.

Section II: Government's Approach to Tribal Development and Analysis of Tribal Sub Plan (TSP)

2.1 A Brief Overview of the Strategy for Tribal Development of the Government of India

The Pre-independence Period

The tribal communities in India have been closely associated with forest since their habitations were mostly situated in the hilly and inaccessible areas. Most tribal communities are known to have developed their own systems of community based management and governance of their surrounding local natural resources. The first major disturbance in this community based system of management and governance occurred with the onset of colonial rule in India. This led to strong protest from the tribal communities. In the pre - independence period British rulers had severe confrontations with the tribal people. Due to the hilly region and inaccessibility of the tribal areas all efforts of the British to exercise administrative control on the tribal communities miserably failed. This led to animosity and unfriendliness between the rulers and the tribal people. Based on this experience the British adopted a strategy of non-interference in the tribal areas. In 1935, the British rulers passed an enactment for the governance of provinces in India, in which the tribal areas were declared as "Excluded Areas and Partially Excluded Areas". These areas were carved out on the basis of geographical locations of tribal habitations. These areas were administered with minimum interference and with the help of intermediaries. Though the British adopted a policy of non-interference, they still exploited the natural resources, especially the forests in a big way. Although the Colonial rulers tried to maintain status quo in the Excluded Areas, the implication of the strategy of non-interference resulted in not implementing any kind of development measures for the tribal people. Rulers did not pay sufficient attention to the essential services such as health and education. Therefore there were no major initiatives for tribal development in the pre-independence period.

The Post-independence Period

The early years of the post-independence period was marked by planned economic development. The tribal communities like all other constituent groups were supposed to be included in this nation wide venture of planned economic development. However, it was recognized that the distinct socio-economic situation of tribal communities would be a major obstacle for the tribal communities to participate in the mainstream economic development. Hence, it was proposed that in case of the tribal communities there has to be a gradual transition from their current situation to join the mainstream. Considering this, the Constitution of India provided special safeguards to these communities from different types of exploitation, and ensured them support of different kinds.

During the first two Five-Year plans the Government of India (Gol) adopted a comprehensive program for 'community development' in the rural areas. The Gol tried to implement the same program of 'community development', which was applicable to all rural areas, in the tribal areas in the form of Community Development Projects (CDP). The task of implementing the CDPs in the tribal areas was difficult due to the hilly terrain and limited infrastructure facilities. It was therefore decided that to supplement the CDPs with other programs. Hence, forty-three multi-purpose tribal development projects were initiated, and these areas were later termed as Tribal Development Blocks (TDB). This was beginning of the 'Area-Based Approach' adopted by the government for tribal development. Welfare activities in the scheme of Tribal Development Blocks continued up to the fourth Five-Year plan. Until the end of the fourth Five-Year plan the Government could cover only two thirds of the of the tribal population in this scheme. Subsequent review of the progress of these efforts showed that these programs had become rigid and the problems of land deprivation and alienation continued among the tribal communities. Consequently the situation of the tribal areas did not show signs of planned economic development and this demanded a rethinking of the strategy for development.

The Recommendations of the Review Committees During 1951-1974

In 1961, the Gol appointed a Commission (Dhebar commission) to review the overall strategy of tribal development in India. Its main recommendations were: (i) a comprehensive legislation to cover all tribal people living within the scheduled areas, (ii) the schemes of TDB were recommended for all the community development blocks with more than fifty per cent tribal population. However the Government could not implement the recommendations of the Dhebar commission. In 1969, the Gol appointed the Shilu-Ao committee to take a comprehensive review of tribal development in the background of the measures suggested by the Dhebar commission. The committee concluded that the program of the TDB is inadequate to deal with the complex problems of the tribal development. The main problems of the tribal people identified by the committee were: (i) indebtedness of tribal communities, (ii) land alienation, (iii) educational backwardness, and (iv) the inaccessibility of the tribal areas. With this analysis it strongly suggested implementing the recommendations of the Dhebar Commission and called for a comprehensive program with more resource investment in the Scheduled Areas.

At the commencement of the fifth Five-Year plan, the reviewers of the Five-Year plans found that the suggestions and recommendations of earlier committees remained unimplemented and the situation of tribal people had remained unchanged. In their report, the reviewers of the Five-Year plans divided the entire issue of tribal development into two parts: (i) areas of tribal concentration, (ii) areas of dispersed tribal population. Besides the above-mentioned two categories based on the Area Development Approach, the Government identified a section of the tribal society as 'Primitive Tribes'. These tribes were mainly found to be engaged in hunting and gathering activities. Hence, greater flexibility was needed in schemes for their development. The strategy for development in the 'area-based'

approach was different from the 'tribe-wise' approach. The area-based development approach was to be implemented with substantial investment in infrastructure development, in geographical areas of tribal concentration.

The Tribal Sub-Plan

Since, these efforts were also found to have severe shortcomings the Government proposed that a Sub-Plan especially for tribal communities must be developed as part of the planning process. This sub-plan is referred to as the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP). The highlights of the strategy promoting the TSP are as follows:

1. The administration should adopt the problem-solving approach with clear objectives. The selection of the developmental activities should not be done on the basis of the formal categorization of the departmental activities.
2. The major thrust to the tribal developmental activities has to be provided by the sectoral authorities. The basic investment would flow from the normal State Plan.
3. The special responsibility of the Union Government in terms of the constitutional provisions was spelt out. Each Central Ministry would remain responsible for the respective sector.
4. The basic unit of the planning and implementation was identified as the 'Integrated Tribal Development Project' (ITDP). The guidelines emphasized that the Sub-Plan should be built from below, and present an organic built-up of project planning.
5. Special programs should be built up for the primitive tribes.
6. The administrative system should be simple and overspecialization should be avoided.

The economic content of development strategy clearly noted that since the development of infrastructure does not lead to development of people, a cautious approach had to be adopted towards each scheme and it must be justifiable by its support to specific economic programs. There are two groups of economic programs: (a) programs that are of universal applicability and do not involve a structural change in the tribal economy. Hence, such schemes should begin where an average tribal is currently placed (socially and economically) and aim at enabling her to take the benefit of the new advances in the production process, science and technology, and (b) programs benefiting limited groups involving structural change in the tribal economy. This had to be taken up cautiously ensuring that the weaker sections of the community were not adversely affected. The strategy outlined envisaged a comprehensive development approach to be implemented on the basis of a 'project approach' aimed at an integrated development of the area with special emphasis on the least advantaged. This also emphasized on improving the productive and earning capacity of the poor in their existing activities or through promotion of new activities.

Having defined the overall strategy of the TSP, the government proceeded to operationalize the TSP through the Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP). Merging the several earlier TD Blocks formed an ITDP area. The then existing administrative boundaries were also taken into consideration in carving out the geographical areas for

ITDP/TSP areas. The areas, which had at least fifty per cent of concentration of tribal population, were included in the ITDP areas. Most of these areas were the Scheduled Areas. The areas that had less than fifty per cent of tribal concentration were categorized as the MADA (Modified Area Development Approach) and mini-MADA areas. Areas other than these were declared as Other Tribal Sub Plan (OTSP) area for the people who are scattered and did not inhabit either the ITDP areas, the MADA, or mini-MADA areas.

The TSP aims at a comprehensive development of the tribal area with a focus on the individual families. It covers various programs under the respective sub-sectors for the tribal development. The schemes and programs broadly represent two main sectors viz. primary and allied activities as well as the secondary sector. It covers about 28 sub-sectors comprising more than 400 schemes each year. The schemes representing the primary sector mainly comprise the schemes that provide resources and infrastructure level support to the targeted tribal people. The programs and schemes, which come under the secondary sector, contain the support for initiating the self-employment activities including some assistance for infrastructure and capability building (GoI, 1981, 2002, GoM, 2002).ⁱⁱ

In the subsequent Five-Year plans (VIIth, VIIIth, and IXth plan) the Government of India ensured high degree of devolution of funds aiming at bringing fifty per cent of the tribal population above the poverty line. For the economic development of tribal people, two national level institutions were set up: (i) Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation (TRIFED-1987) and (ii) National Scheduled Caste And Scheduled Tribe Finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC-1989). The Ninth Plan (1997-2002) emphasized on three vital components: (i) Social Empowerment, (ii) Social Justice and (iii) Economic Empowerment for creating conducive environment to enable the tribal people obtain their rightful privileges. More recently in March 2004 the GoI announced a new proposed policy for Tribal development, which is being currently discussed and debated.

Tribal Development Planning in Maharashtra

The procedure followed in the state of Maharashtra for formulation of the TSP up to 1992-93 was briefly as follows:

1. The Planning Commission used to allocate Plan outlays to different administrative departments.
2. The departments in turn used to carve out outlays for TSP as per their discretion and priorities.
3. The concerned departments were also deciding which of the schemes, programs and development works were to be taken from the funds set aside for the TSP.

A general opinion among the Planners regarding the TSP was that, it has been merely an amalgam of the state plan schemes to be implemented in tribal areas. There was no attempt to formulate the schemes in consultation with the Tribal Area Project Administration (ITDP administration). Following this opinion of the planners, the government of Maharashtra (GoM) appointed a sub-committee under the chairmanship of Mr. D.M.

Sukhtankar, the former Chief Secretary of Maharashtra to review the process of formulation the State TSP and its administration. In accordance with the recommendations of this committee, the State Planning Board communicates a plan ceiling to the TDD, and not the administrative departments, as was the previous practice. However, the structure of the TSP has been the same since last ten years in case of Maharashtra. With respect to the recommendations of the Sukhtankar Committee, the State Planning Board has started to hand over all the earmarked funds to the Department of Tribal Development to plan and execute the schemes. However it has been the experience that the State Planning Board could not allocate the funds proportionate with the tribal population as recommended by the Committee. This is seen from the following discussion.

The Maharashtra Government makes budgetary allocations in its Five-Year plans towards the development of the tribal people through the TSP. The allocation of funds in these plans for the tribal section is based on the principle that the proportion of the allocation of the total funds for tribal development must be in proportion to the share of the population of the tribal people in the total population of the state. As per the census of 1981 the proportion of tribal population in the state was 9.19 percent, and as per the census of 1991 was 9.27 percent. As can be seen from Table 10, in the VIIIth Five-Year plan (1992-1997) the annual budgetary allocation for the TSP has ranged from a low of 6.8 percent to a high of 7.5 percent, in the five year period, but it is nowhere near 9.19 percent. The actual expenditure from these allocations has ranged from 6.21 percent to 7.5 percent. The average allocation of the State Government towards the TSP in the VIIIth Five Year Plan has been 7.14 percent whereas the actual average expenditure has been 6.85 percent, i.e., a difference 0.29 percentage points between plan allocation and actual expenditure. In the IXth Five Year Plan period (1997-2002) the allocation in the state budget for the TSP ranged from 8.40 percent to 9.42 percent. The actual expenditure during this plan ranged from 4.27 percent to 8.54 percent. The average of the allocation for the T.S.P in the state budget was 8.86, the actual expenditure 7.29 percent. However, in this case too the allocation and expenditure are much below the stipulated level of 9.27 percent, which was the proportion of tribal population in 1991. The difference of the average TSP. budget allocation and actual expenditure in the IXth Five Year Plan period increased to 1.57 percentage points from 0.29 percentage points in the VIIIth Five Year Plan period. This data shows that although the proposed outlay of the state government has increased the difference between the planned expenditure and the actual expenditure is increasing significantly. Especially in the year 2001-2002 this difference reached a high of 4.27 percentage points.

The central government also assists the state governments for tribal development by making budgetary allocation for tribal development in its Five-Year plans. These funds then flow into the respective TSP of the state governments. In the IXth Five-Year plan period the flow from the central plan to the TSPs of all states was Rs. 6462.00 crores, which was 5.85 percent of the total central plan outlay. The flow from the state plans (in case of 20 states and union territories) was Rs. 22,314.22 crores, or 7.52 percent of the total plan outlay of these twenty states. These allocations are much below the stipulated allocation of 8.08

percent, which is the proportion to the tribal population to the total population of the country. Apart from these budgetary allocations, the center also provides funds for tribal development through a 'Special Central Assistance' (SCA) fund. In the IXth Five-Year Plan this SCA was to the tune of Rs. 2010.00 crores.

Conclusion

The above discussion giving a brief overview of the government policy on tribal development shows that while initially the focus was on trying to integrate the tribal communities into the 'mainstream', slowly the government recognized the distinctiveness of the tribal communities and began making separate plans for their development. While on the one hand the government has made efforts to develop separate policies, plans, program, and scheme for the tribal people, various committees reviewing the progress of the policies and program have pointed out these plans and program have not been able to address the problems of the tribal people and that the process of their marginalization continues unabated. In spite of adopting a planning and implementation process specially targeting the tribal communities, through the mechanism of the TSP, the government has not been able to make significant progress in ushering development of the tribal communities. The discrepancy between plan allocations, and actual expenditure of the government expenditure for the welfare of the tribal people clearly shows the increasing apathy of the government towards the planning and implementation of programs and schemes for the development of the tribal communities.

2.2 Analysis of Tribal Sub-Plan Using the Livelihoods Framework

Conceptual Aspects of the Livelihoods Framework

The primary objective of this analysis was to see the pattern of budgetary allocation in the TSP based on conceptual categories derived from the sustainable livelihoods framework (SL-FW)ⁱⁱⁱ. The three basic conceptual categories derived from the SL-FW could be described as the three components of the livelihood system, and they are as follows:

- *Resources owned, accessed, and /or Capabilities possessed* by the household for fulfillment of livelihood needs,
- Work performed by the household (or any other entity such as individual or community used in the livelihood analysis) for fulfillment of livelihood needs as part of various *Livelihood Activities* such as wage labor, farming, forest collection, fishing, and animal husbandry, or a salaried job.
- *Consumption of the Outputs Obtained* by performing the work within each of these activities.

These conceptual categories manifest in the government schemes in the nature of intervention that the scheme proposes to do, or the type of benefit the scheme proposes to introduce, in the livelihoods system of the beneficiaries. The various types of interventions

that the schemes do, are as follows: providing new assets to augment livelihood resources, guarantee new set of rights to increase access/entitlement to resources, provide work and give wages for the work done, thereby increasing the quantum of work performed by the beneficiaries, or fulfill consumption needs directly by providing cash or kind. Therefore, at the level of intervention a scheme tries to address the issue of poverty alleviation by making an intervention in the different components of the livelihood system of the beneficiaries. This argument is based on the assumption that poverty alleviation could be visualized as livelihoods enhancement, albeit in the limited way. Hence, when seen from the 'livelihood-system' perspective there may be gaps in the interventions proposed in the poverty alleviation schemes which, need to be analyzed and rectified.

Application of the SL Framework to Classify Schemes in the TSP

In the following analysis the schemes in the TSP of the year 2002-03 were classified into the three conceptual categories discussed above (livelihood resources and capabilities, livelihood activities, and livelihood outputs) based on the nature of intervention/benefit proposed in the scheme. Prior to classifying the schemes in the TSP, the description of the schemes provided by Dr. Gare (Gare, 1989) was studied. Dr. Gare is an ex-government official and has worked in the tribal development department. He has made in in-depth study of the tribal development schemes and has also been involved in its implementation for several years. Hence, his document was considered as a base document to select the schemes for study. He was also consulted during the course of this study.

Besides the classification of the schemes into the three conceptual categories derived from the SL-FW, the schemes were also classified according to the livelihood activities of the tribal people. The criterion was again the same: 'in which livelihood activity of the beneficiary does the scheme propose to intervene or introduce a benefit'. Seven types of Livelihoods activities were considered for the classification. These are as follows: (i) Self-employment, (ii) Wage Labor, (iii) Agriculture, (iv) Animal Husbandry, (v) Fishing, (vi) Forest Collection, and finally (vii) Consumption related schemes. Besides these seven categories, a category called 'Integrated Schemes' was also necessary to accommodate schemes, which intervened in more than one livelihood activity, or cut across the three livelihood components (i.e. the three conceptual categories mentioned above). Schemes related to sectors such as health, education, sports, industrial development, and urban services were excluded from this analysis. Only schemes, which directly and immediately affected the economic component of the livelihoods, were considered. This included schemes relating to income generation, production enhancement, employment generation, or satisfaction of consumptive needs.

The livelihood activities chosen above for classification, generally coincided with the 'sector-wise' classification presented in the TSP. However, while choosing each scheme within the sector, the nature of the beneficiary had to be taken into consideration. The following type of entities benefit from the government schemes: (a) individuals, (b)

households, (c) communities/village, (d) institutions, and (e) government departments or employees. In the present analysis we have selected schemes in which the beneficiaries are individuals, households, communities, or institutions, especially people's institutions, such as co-operatives. We have not considered schemes, which directly benefit government departments or employees. However, in case of schemes in which the community would derive the benefit indirectly, because of the development of local infrastructure, and would impact their livelihoods, the study has considered these schemes and classified them as 'infrastructure schemes'.

As mentioned earlier our classification of schemes based on livelihood activities generally coincided with the government classification of schemes into different sectors. However, in the government classification, there is no horizontal classification of the schemes into the three categories of (a) resources and capabilities oriented schemes, (b) work oriented schemes, (c) consumption oriented schemes. These are the conceptual categories derived from the SL-FW. In this study we have attempted this type of classification, and the results of this are discussed in the sub-section below. The schemes were classified, the budgetary allocation for each scheme on the basis of the above classification was noted and the total budgetary allocations for each category were calculated. These are shown in the Data Tables presented in Annexure 1. A detailed discussion on these tables is presented below.

2.3 Analysis of Data Obtained from TSP Classification

Summary Analysis of All Livelihood Activities

Data in table nine gives the summary of the allocation of all the livelihood activities, the detailed data of which are presented in table one to eight. Data in table nine also shows the allocation for these schemes based on the conceptual categories derived from the SL-FW. The total quantum of the allocation of all the schemes considered for analysis is Rs. 236.60 crores^{iv}. This amounts to only 40.44 per cent of the total allocation in the budget of the TSP of 2002-03, which is Rs. 585 crores. This indicates that about 60 percent of the funds spent by the Government do not lead to a direct and immediate impact on the economic component of livelihoods of the tribal people, though it may result in development in other aspects of their livelihoods or lead to area development. Of this amount, table nine shows that 52 per cent of the funds are allocated to various schemes to increase resources or capabilities. Only 18 per cent of the funds are allocated to support wage labor work, and 18 per cent for providing direct consumptive benefits. 13 percent of these funds are spent on integrated scheme, which may have more than one of the following components in them, namely resource development as well as provision for work or consumptive benefits. Thus, the emphasis in the government's approach is on providing resources to increase the asset base of the poor. Also, the data in table nine shows that within the sectors there is very little integration among the three components. Though, the government document indicates that efforts must be made by the implementing machinery to achieve integration among these

various components through the diverse schemes at the level of the beneficiary by efficient targeting, the experiences of the grassroots activists show that this does not happen effectively. The important point however, is that in its very design, at the conceptual level, such an integration is missing. This could be attributed to a large extent to the lack of a holistic perspective about poverty, a holistic perspective that is reflected to a large extent in the livelihoods framework.

Livelihood activity wise analysis of the data in table nine shows that 39 per cent of the funds have been allocated to resource development in agriculture. Given the fact that many of the tribal households are landless or are facing land alienation, some grassroots activists point out this leads to a lot of unspent funds due to inability of the government officers to identify suitable tribal beneficiaries having clear entitlement to farm lands as required in these schemes. However, it is also observed that in situations where tribal households have access and entitlements to land, land development interventions do lead to substantial improvement in livelihoods, especially food security.

Activities such as animal husbandry, forest collection, and fishing, which contributes to a considerable extent to the livelihoods to the tribal people, is seen, to have been neglected in the government plans. The allocation of funds for these activities is only three, two, and one percent respectively of the total allocation of all the schemes considered in this study. Seven percent of the funds are allocated to self-employment schemes. Most of these schemes try to provide resources and capabilities to the tribal youth to undertake small enterprises in the urban-industrial system. Examples of this are driving motor vehicles, repairing motor vehicles, trading, operating kiosks, and such other. Grassroots experiences show that wherever efforts have been made to operate such enterprises, the tribal people have not been very successful due to lack of capabilities and other resources to compete in the urban-industrial system. The following section looks at these issues, livelihood activity-wise, in greater detail.

Livelihood Activity Wise Analysis

Data in table one shows that in the wage labor oriented schemes such as the *Jawahar Rozgar Yojana*, which is a centrally assisted scheme, has an allocation of Rs. 37.63 crores, where as the state government scheme for wage employment, namely the Employee Guarantee Scheme (EGS) has an allocation of only 4.5 crores. This clearly points to the fact that allocation and spending on wage labor scheme is insufficient given the need to create more employment, due to the high rate of unemployment among the tribal people.

As regards scheme related to agricultural development, data in table two shows that a large chunk of the allocation (67 per cent) is towards water resources development. Prima-facie this appears to be a positive, since water resource development leads to improved agricultural productivity. However, grassroots activists point out that most of the water resources development projects undertaken in these schemes concentrate on small and

medium dams. Though these dams are built in tribal areas, very few tribal people are able to benefit from this water, either due to lack of farmlands, or other forward linkages such as pumps sets and pipelines. Also, in most cases the tribal hamlets are situated in the hilly tracts, i.e. in the upper reaches, and the command area of these dams are located in the plains, in which, the other farming communities cultivate lands. Hence, in spite of allocating a large amount of Rs. 62 crores to water resource development, there are many barriers in the benefits of these funds reaching the tribal people. There is one scheme of the government which links development of farmlands with the wage-labor employment scheme as part of the EGS. One GrO has successfully implemented this scheme in four villages. The preliminary results show that this has led to a substantial positive impact on the livelihoods of the tribal people.

In the case of Animal Husbandry it is seen from data in table three that bulk of the allocation is for the health-care of animals. Field experiences show that very few tribal households access the government veterinary clinics. Most of the livestock owned by the tribal households are indigenous stock whereas the emphasis of the government department's in the implementation of the health-care schemes is on promoting exotic and hybrid breeds. Hence, the official approach to animal health care needs to be reviewed if these schemes have to really benefit the tribal people. Thus, though animal husbandry plays an important role in the livelihoods of the tribal people, this is not adequately considered in the government schemes for tribal development. The scheme to provide young goats for rearing and breeding is very popular among the tribal people. Rearing and selling goats does lead to increase in their cash earnings.

In fishing the emphasis is on promoting fishing co-operatives, developing fish production facilities, and providing fish seeds. This is seen from the budgetary allocations for the fishing sector shown in table four. In case of fishing as a livelihood activity, the field observation of the activists show that maximum fishing is done in the monsoon season using traditional methods. The government's emphasis to promote large pond-based, year-round fishing, and fish production for generating cash income, does not gel with the livelihoods reality of the tribal people. Hence, these schemes also do not have a substantial impact on the livelihoods of the tribal people.

Forests play a major role in the livelihoods of the tribal people. Forests are also a major issue of conflict between the tribal people and the government. The allocation of the government schemes in the forestry sector, presented in data table five shows that the bulk of the allocation (2.45 crores or 42 per cent of the sector budget) is on forest conservation. This is followed by scheme for forest protection (1.70 crores or 29 per cent of the sector budget), and schemes to promote commercial forestry (1.07 crores or 18 per cent of the sector budget). Thus, these figures clearly indicate that the government's approach to forest management does not take into consideration the fact that the tribal people draw various resources for fulfilling their livelihood needs from the forest. A miniscule allocation of about 14 lakhs has been made for fodder development. While the 'Joint-Forest-Management'

(JFM) program of the government tries to promote community-government partnership in managing forest, this scheme is bereft with many problems. One the respondent grassroots activists have shared his experiences regarding this scheme and this is reflected in the analysis presented in section 3.

In the consumption related schemes, the data in table six shows the bulk of the allocation (Rs. 26.5 crores, or 63 per cent of the total of all consumption schemes) is for drinking water schemes. Drinking water availability still continues to be a major problem in tribal hamlets. Availability of potable water, especially in the summer season is a serious problem and this directly affects the other livelihood activities of the tribal people. One activist who has been working with the Government in the implementation of the World Bank aided water supply and sanitation schemes. She has shared her experiences and insights in her interview. The learning from this has been analyzed and presented in section 3.

The other major areas for budgetary allocation in the consumption related schemes are electrification (21 per cent of total consumption schemes), Housing (9 per cent of total consumption schemes), and infrastructure development (7 per cent of total consumption schemes). Among the housing schemes, the *Indira Awas Yojana* is a major scheme assisted by the central government for providing houses to the rural poor. One activist in his interview has discussed the problems and issues emanating from this scheme. The learnings from this have been discussed in section 3.

Seven percent of the total allocation of all the schemes considered in this study has been allocated to self-employment schemes. The break up of the allocation under various heads in this group of schemes is presented in data table seven. This data shows that within this group the maximum allocation of funds (7.6 crores or 47.5 per cent of this sector) is for institutional finance. This is the money given to various corporations for tribal development. These corporations in turn give loans and subsidies to tribal youth or co-operatives, to set up their own enterprises. About 22 per cent of the funds in this group are allocated to individual finance. A small amount of 5.5 per cent or 87.57 lakhs is allocated to capability building. However, field experiences suggest that most of these enterprises fail mainly due to lack of adequate capabilities of the entrepreneur to compete in the market, as well as inadequate backward and forward linkages.

In case of the integrated schemes, data in table eight shows that the maximum allocation of Rs. 14.30 crores of 47.7 per cent of the total budget of all integrated schemes is for 'MLA local development program'. The Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA), who is elected representative of an area, is vested with these funds for undertaking development works in his/her constituency. The funds in the TSP are those allocated to MLAs from the pre-dominantly tribal areas. However, in reality very few of the MLAs from the tribal areas are actually tribal persons. Even if a tribal person is elected these funds are spent based on political considerations and this does not imply that the needs of the tribal people are considered. The experience of the grassroots activists suggests that the works or schemes

undertaken with this fund have little or no impact on the livelihoods of the tribal people. In case of the SGSY scheme, which is a direct poverty alleviation scheme, the attempt is to create self-employment by providing capital finance. However, experiences of the activists suggest that this scheme has not been very successful. This is seen from the testimony of one activist, which is recorded in his interview.

Conclusion

The discussion on the analysis of the TSP 2002-03 shows that the focus of the majority of the government programs and schemes is on providing resources to the tribal communities. This clearly reflects an official view, in which these communities are perceived as have-nots and are to be flushed with resources. However, a closer analysis of the schemes in the context of the grassroots realities show that often provision of resources do not help to alleviate poverty and deprivation. There is very little emphasis on either providing gainful employment for the poor, in which they are in need of, or on building their capabilities to use the resources provided in an effective manner. The application of the 'livelihoods framework' to the analysis of the TSP budget shows that the design of the program of tribal development as seen in the TSP clearly lacks a livelihoods orientation. The design of these plans is guided solely by a conception of poverty, which focuses on lack of income or resources. Important activities of the tribal people such as fishing, animal husbandry, forest collection, and wage labor, which contribute substantially to the satisfaction of the livelihood-need of the tribal people, have not been allocated sufficient funds.

Further, the proportions of allocation on the various livelihood components seem to be imbalanced. As mentioned earlier the assumption appears to be that provision of resources will by-itself lead to creation of work, and of production of outputs to satisfy consumption needs. This assumption however is fragile. There are many other social, economic, and political factors, which mediate the process of transformation of resources to consumption outputs through work. In other words, the livelihoods reality of the tribal people is complex and is influenced by many factors, which have not been adequately considered in the design of programs and schemes for tribal development.

Serious Questions and Simplistic Answers?

The above discussion clearly shows that there is a large gap between the way the government plans are formulated and the actual reality of the tribal people. What exactly is the reason for this? This was the central question we posed to the social activists in the interview. We try to seek answers to these questions in the following sections. However, this section of the study is limited by the observations made by the eleven activists who participated in the interviews. Their observations and its analysis may not answer all the above questions. However, it can give us some insights for further discussion, action, and study. Also a study, such as this, which seeks the participation of the grassroots action, is

but a preliminary step in the pathway of exploring these questions with even more rigor and participation of all stakeholders in the future.

Section III: Analysis of Interviews of Grassroots Social Activists

3.1 The Importance of the Experiences of the Grassroots Social Activists

The Context

The grassroots organizations (GrOs) and the present generation of social activists leading these organizations, in India, have been working with the most marginalized sections for more than two decades. In spite of the differences in their ideological positions, most of these activists hold the security and sustainability of the marginalized sections as their central concern. These actors qualify as worth participants in the development discourse, especially in the context of evolving the development policy for the marginalized sections, not because of their political or economic power, but because of the fact that they are located closest to these sections. They know and understand the realities of these sections and are partners in their struggle for a better life. In fact these activists and the organizations they lead could be seen as providing the much-needed representation to the marginalized sections in the mainstream. These activists come from educated background, are able to reach out to the mainstream institutions to represent and advocate the case of the marginalized sections.

The failure of the mainstream polity to provide true political empowerment and representation to the marginalized sections on the one hand, and the failure of the trickle-down model of development on the other hand, have led to the threats to the security of the livelihoods of these sections. It is this political vacuum and economic deprivation that has led to the evolution of the GrOs in the past two decades. In this process, the issue of livelihoods has emerged as the central agenda of these GrOs. It is in this social and political context that there is an urgent need to include these actors in the process of research, and policy formulation. Hence, in this study we have concentrated our efforts to dialogue and document the rich and insightful experience of these activists, much to the exclusion to other stakeholders such as the beneficiaries and government officers. These stakeholders, though important, we feel could be included at a later stage.

Often it is seen that such a dialogue with the grassroots workers and activists are marred by hegemonic relationships between the outsiders and the local. The thrust is on extraction of information by the outsider. Instead, during the course of this study, as well as other collaborative work with the GrOs the emphasis of the ReLi group has been on developing a relationship which is reciprocatory and based on the principle of 'praxis', which in short implies the confluence of theory and practice. The thrust then shifts to learning from each other and working with each other.

However, there are barriers to implementing this approach on both sides. On the one hand researchers working at the intellectual level lack an understanding of the grassroots perspective, and on the other hand the grassroots activists often lack understanding of the

macro-context. They also lack the capabilities and skills to articulate their own experiences, analysis, and insights, and translate them into appropriate conceptual formulations. These barriers result in the near-complete lack of communication between these two groups of people. The major impact of this lack of communication is the exclusion of the grassroots-perspective in the policy-making and decision-making process. While part of this exclusion may be deliberate and could be attributed to wanton political considerations of the powerful, this may not be the case always. Hence, based on these presumptions, through this study the ReLi group has tried to open up a channel for dialogue and analysis with the grassroots activists.

Profile of the Respondent Activists

In this study, eleven activists were interviewed. A detailed fact sheet about these activists is presented in Annexure III. Of the eleven, four are women, and seven are men. On an average each activist has about nineteen years of work experience. All the activists have formal education. Six of them are post-graduates, four are graduates in humanities or commerce, one is an engineer, and one is a diploma in veterinary science. One man is a trained social worker cum lawyer, another woman is also a lawyer, and another woman is a trained social worker. Most of the activists hold senior positions in their respective organizations.

Apart from these formal qualifications, what distinguishes these persons is the common strand among all of them - of working with the tribal communities for long years with a great deal of commitment and sincerity. Additionally, their participation in many networks and federations has given them wide exposure to social work and action. Hence, the experiences and insights provided to them are valuable and well informed. Their being well informed does not mean they are updated with all the latest information, but they have in-depth knowledge of the lives and realities of the tribal people, of the political and other dynamics of the local level of the government machinery and local elite. Thus, they are 'well-grounded' on the one hand, while having sufficient exposure to wider macro issues on the other hand. Many of the activists have been working on land-rights issues and have an in-depth understanding of issues related to rights of tribal to land and forests. The engineer-activist is also an expert in water and land management, and has provided his inputs of his technical knowledge in the process of designing a modified scheme for land improvement to the government and overseeing their effective implementation. In the interviews these activists have spoken at length about various government schemes, their involvement in either its implementation, or in their opposition to it. They have shared their knowledge and experiences, with a great deal of sincerity and commitment. In the next section a detailed discussion of the lessons learnt from the analysis of the data obtained in the interviews of the activists is presented. The group hopes that in a small, but effective way the study has been able to bring forth the views and experiences of these actors and present them in a synthesized manner.

3.2 Learnings and Insights Gained from Analysis of Interview Data

Introduction

As referred to earlier a total of eleven GrO/NGO leaders were interviewed with the help of an interview guide. All eleven tape-recorded interviews, each ranging from two to four hours of recording, were transcribed. The transcripts were in Marathi, the local language. The interviews were not translated verbatim into English. The researcher, who conducted the interviews, did a thorough reading of each transcript several times. He took up one interview at a time and marked out important points related to the experiences/views/suggestions of the interviewee. Each of this point was summarized in a few lines or a paragraph and translated into English. Each of such paragraphs was then coded with a word or a few words that represented the essence or central meaning of that paragraph. Coding all interviews in this fashion made the large amount of textual data manageable. By looking at the list of codes assigned to each interview, it was possible to grasp the views of each interviewee. The next step in the analysis was looking for codes that carried similar meaning or pointed towards similar experiences or facts and bringing together the text they represented. With the help of this exercise, it was possible to bring together and compare views of different interviewees about a particular scheme. Grouping the codes in a different ways allowed looking at the same data from different angles. Such exercises brought out certain larger themes that could hold together a number of codes. For example, a number of codes (meaning the points made in the interviews) described how a scheme was being implemented: how the GrO helped in its facilitation, how the GrO opposed the way the scheme was implement or how according to the interviewee the scheme should be implemented. Such points from the interviews could be put under the broad theme of 'governance'. However, main points emerging from this analysis was noted as 'key learnings. This set of key learnings was grouped as described above in six major themes, namely (i) governance of the schemes, (ii) capabilities of the beneficiaries, (iii) livelihood reality of the beneficiaries, (iv) Technical Feasibility of the Scheme, (v) financial sufficiency, and (vi) economic viability of the scheme. This key learnings, theme-wise is presented in table I in appendix II. These learnings are in turn related to the experiences of the respondents. Hence, in appendix II an attempt is made to discuss, scheme wise, these experiences, and relate them to the key learnings. From the interviews of the eleven respondents, the most frequently discussed schemes have been presented in this narrative. The following is a discussion on each of the major themes, derived based on the key learnings.

Governance of Schemes

The learnings regarding this aspect clearly point out that targeting of the beneficiaries should be done in a more precise manner. Efforts should be made to reduce the political intervention of politicians in the selection of beneficiaries. The procedures, rules, and norms should be constantly reviewed to accommodate the changing circumstances. Whenever it is

noticed that there are loopholes leading to misuse or corruption, appropriate changes need to be made in the rules and procedures. A more stringent implementation of the rules and procedures is called for. Participation of people, in all aspects of the scheme should be ensured for the better implementation of the scheme. Adequate and legitimate space should be provided for the GrOs in the decision-making process.

Since, many of the poverty-alleviation schemes, or development schemes focus on providing direct material benefit to the beneficiaries (such as a house, subsidy of various kinds, agricultural equipment etc.) there is almost a clamor in the rural areas to get the benefits from the government scheme. This leads to creation of an unhealthy nexus between the local level politicians and local (village-level) government officers who administer the schemes. Through this nexus, it is ensured that the benefits reach only a vested few. Since these persons are politically and economically dominant in the village social structure, the really poor and needy that are left out do not protest against or resist this nexus. Corruption then becomes easy, since there is no transparency or accountability. This situation can only be addressed by empowering the communities and give them control of the process of governance. In the design of the schemes the appropriate institutional arrangements should be considered to facilitate the empowerment process and institutionalize its outcome.

Before implementation of the schemes at the village level the plans at the district and sub-district level should be clearly drawn up and shared with the community or their representatives. The consistency within these plans should be made a precondition for beginning various types of works. It is often observed that proper co-ordination between the three tiers of local administration, i.e., the district, sub-district (also referred to as the 'Community Development Block' or *taluka*), and the village is absent or very weak. This often creates space of mis-governance.

When new administrative system is introduced for implementation of a particular scheme (as in the case of the World Bank aided Water and Sanitation Program), the roles of the functionaries in the old and the new administrative structures should be made clear. It is often seen that parallel administrative structures are created which is unwarranted. The role of the local elected representatives should also be clearly specified. Often lack of role clarity in the form of clearly defined rules and procedures is used by the local politicians for exercising undue influence on process of governance of schemes.

Formal and participatory evaluation procedure is required for the assessment of the scheme. 'Participatory' does not imply just consulting the community members or beneficiaries. All the stakeholders at the grassroots level, including the GrO members and their leaders must be included in the process of review and redesign of the schemes. This would ensure the accountability of the government towards society. The gender aspect should be considered in a more pronounced manner. Women should not be targeted only in 'women-specific' schemes, but the impact of all schemes on women's role and work needs to be considered.

Capabilities of Beneficiaries

The analysis of the interview data also shows that while designing the schemes a realistic view of the capabilities of the beneficiaries should be considered. The officials, who design the schemes, often make a standardized assumption about the level of skills and knowledge of the beneficiaries, and often these assumptions do not hold in reality. Adequate provision must be made in the design of the schemes to use the existing capabilities and local knowledge of the rural people for their own development. The capabilities required to successfully implement a scheme must be clearly mentioned in the criteria for beneficiary selection. The objectives and performance criteria of the work to be performed under the specific activities to be undertaken in the schemes should match with the existing capabilities of the people. Else, the schemes should be designed in such a way that they should contain a sizable provision in term of finance and time for capability building, and they should not be implemented under the pressure of completing the set targets. The works should be phased out, and unless the requisite capability-building phase is not completed, the next phase should not be initiated.

Capability building process should also be recognized as an independent function. Capability building should be treated as a process and not just as a set of 'training events'. The design of the schemes should pay adequate attention to the process of facilitating the capability building. This has to be seen in a larger context of empowering and enabling the poor. Awareness building, and capability building, which are important components of the process of empowering people is often missing in government schemes or is very weak.

The government functionaries involved in the implementation of the schemes should pay adequate attention to the ground situation of the people. This is especially in the case of the financial capabilities of the beneficiaries for contribution to the maintenance of the infrastructure or other benefits created in a development scheme. At present, tribal people do not have the capabilities of elaborate financial planning and budgeting. Schemes, which expect the communities to undertake such tasks, are not feasible. It is observed that in the existing schemes there are no provision for continuous monitoring of the implementation process and based on this monitoring provide support to the communities in the implementation process based on people's demand as well as the need of the people.

Considering the Livelihoods Reality in Designing the Schemes

One of the key features of the livelihoods approach is that it recognizes the diversity in the livelihoods situation, across households, communities, and regions. However, the design of most of the government schemes is standardized. For example, the construction material used in building the houses in rural areas varies from region to region. However, in the government housing scheme provision is made for buying only standardized materials. This leads to a number of problems. Therefore, the design of the schemes should take into consideration the diversities in the situation from region to region. The various factors

constituting this diversity includes differences in resource endowment, skills and capabilities of the people, social and cultural practices and beliefs, and economic and political structures and power relations

The socio-cultural adaptability of the scheme is the core issue in the design of the schemes. The interventions proposed in the schemes should consider the living and work patterns of the disadvantaged sections of the society (tribal people, in this case). The acceptability and performance of the scheme depends upon the adaptability of the scheme to patterns of livelihood activities, habits, and mindset of the rural poor.

Another factor pertaining to the livelihoods reality of the local people, which needs to be considered in the design of development schemes, is that the scheme should be demand driven. Only when the local people themselves feel that a particular scheme would be able to fulfill their needs, and they are sufficiently aware and organized, they will demand for the particular schemes. Hence, the benefits accruing from the schemes should be need focused and demand driven. However, these criteria cannot be applied in a blanket fashion. While considering the demands of the people, the planners should also adequately consider the pros and cons in sanctioning the demand made by people in a broader context.

Technical Aspects in the Design of Schemes

The technology being promoted or used in the development scheme is crucial especially in a rural context, where adaptation and adoption of modern technologies is not a easy and straightforward process. The technologies used in the schemes especially in technology intensive activities such as agriculture, housing, animal husbandry, horticulture, land and water management etc., should be user-friendly and easily adaptable to the people. Also the technologies have to be economically viable, socially acceptable, and environmentally sustainable. Especially in case of the last criteria, the scheme must ensure that the technologies being used should be compatible to the bio-physical features of the area in which the scheme would be implemented. The schemes should also make adequate provision for technical support to the beneficiaries in the implementation and post-implementation phase.

Economic and Financial Aspects to be Considered in the Design of Schemes

The planners and designers of government schemes should make a realistic consideration of the economic situation and earnings of the tribal household, especially in the context of making allocations for contributions by the beneficiaries. Beneficiaries are often expected to contribute either through voluntary labor or in cash for expenses such as costs of operations and maintenance of the community assets created through schemes. The economic feasibility of the activities proposed for the SHG should be thoroughly evaluated taking into consideration the grassroots realities. The diversity in the self-employment activity should be maintained. Serious attention must be paid to creating the

supporting infrastructure for the micro enterprises. The schemes should also make adequate provision for risks involved in building and sustaining the enterprises and have a plan to address the problems in the transition period while adapting to a new economic activity, which their communities have never practiced earlier.

The valuation of the labor component (as part of the beneficiary's contribution) in the entire scheme should be just and proper. The wage structure should be just, and based on the latest inflation rates. It should also be compatible with the type of work and actual energy demand of the particular work. The norms for the allocation of the money should be revised with the changing situation at the grassroots level so that those would be consistent with the local situation. Schemes promoting self-employment should make a through assessment of the financial viability of the production/service activities to be undertaken and should also critically examine the backward linkages (raw-material) and forward linkages (market for finished goods)

Conclusion

The above inferences are based on the observations of the grassroots activists about various government schemes for tribal people, based on a varied range of experiences of intervening in the process of design and implementation of Government schemes. Their interview data shows that there is a large gap between the actual design of the schemes, the intentions with which they are implemented, and what actually happens in reality. While the study has not been able to make thorough analysis of the data obtained from the interview using the livelihoods framework, the above discussion shows that many of the observations reflect the gap between the livelihoods reality of the tribal people and the way it is perceived by the officials and reflected in the design of the schemes. The important question that now arises, how can these learnings be incorporated in the design of the future schemes? Answering this question would certainly involve a closer look at each of the lessons.

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Annexure I - Data Tables of Classification and Budgetary Allocation of Schemes in TSP 2002-03

Table No.1: Wage Labor			
No.	Category	Rs. In Lakhs	Percentage
1	Employment Gurantee Scheme	450.69	11%
2	Jawahar RozgarYojana	3763.44	89%
Total Employment Generation Programs		4214.13	100%

Table No. 2: Agriculture Schemes			
No.	Category	Rs. In Lakhs	Percentage
1	Capability Building	4.00	0.04%
2	Agricultural Finance	1196.44	12.92%
3	Agriculture inputs	929.77	10.04%
4	Agriculture Subsidy	27.35	0.30%
5	Crop Development	216.38	2.34%
6	Land Development	-	-
7	Land Rights	3.02	0.03%
8	Water Resource Development	6195.07	66.91%
9	Water Shed Development	686.67	7.42%
Total Agriculture development		9258.70	100%

Table No. 3: Animal Husbandry			
No.	Category	Rs. In Lakhs	Percentage
1	Animal Husbandry Finance	0.13	0%
2	Animal Husbandry Health	549.60	79%
3	Awareness	9.82	1.4%
4	Capability Building	4.53	0.7%
5	Cattle Development	16.49	2%
6	Cattle Feeding	11.63	2%
7	Cattle Provision	24.03	3%
8	Goat Provision	18.55	3%
9	Infrastructure	44.46	6%
10	Poultry Provision	16.27	2%
Total Allocation - Animal Husbandry		695.51	100%

Table No. 4: Fisheries			
No.	Category	Rs. In Lakhs	Percentage
1	Fish- seed	21.48	25%
2	Capability Building	0.00	0%
3	Finance	13.32	16%
4	Infrastructure	5.79	7%
5	Institutions	17.77	21%
6	Production	26.40	31%
Total allocation - Fisheries		84.76	100%

Table No. 5: Forest Collection			
No.	Category	Rs. In Lakhs	Percentage
1	Commercial forestry	107.31	18%
2	Conservation	245.92	42%
3	Fodder Development	13.97	2%
4	Forest Conservation	52.34	9%
5	Forest Development and Protection	168.72	29%
6	Infrastructure	-	-
Total allocation - Forest Collection		588.26	100%

Table No. 6: Consumption – Schemes			
No.	Category	Rs. In Lakhs	Percentage
1	Drinking Water	2649.11	63%
2	Electrification	884.59	21%
3	Energy	50.00	1%
4	Food	-	-
5	Housing	362.14	9%
6	Infrastructure	290.93	7%
Total Allocation - Consumption schemes		4236.77	100%

Table No. 7: Self Employment			
No.	Category	Rs. In Lakhs	Percentage
1	Awareness	30.71	1.9%
2	Capability building	87.57	5.5%
3	Individual Finance	346.44	21.9%
4	Infrastructure	366.57	23.2%
5	Institutional Finance	751.94	47.5%
Total Allocation - Self Employment		1583.23	100%

No.	Category	Rs. In Lakhs	Percentage
1	Nucleus Budget	400.00	13.3%
2	MLA's local Development Program	1430.00	47.7%
3	Sanjay Gandhi Swavalamban Yojana	33.13	1.1%
4	Integrated Rural Development Programme/SGSY	548.67	18.3%
5	Special programme for Development of Hill Areas District	587.00	19.6%
Total Integrated Program		2998.80	100%

<i>Rupees in Lakhs</i>					
Activity Type	Resources	Work Performed	Outputs / Benefits for Direct Consumption	Total	Percentage to Total Budget
Wage Labor	-	4214.13	-	4214.13	18%
Self Employment	1583.23	-	-	1583.23	7%
Agriculture	9258.70	-	-	9258.70	39%
Animal Husbandry	695.51	-	-	695.51	3%
Forest	588.26	-	-	588.26	2%
Fishing	84.76	-	-	84.76	0%
Consumption	NIL	-	4236.77	4236.77	18%
Total	12210.46	4214.13	4236.77	20661.36	87%
Percentage of Total	52%	18%	18%		
Integrated Schemes			2998.80	2998.80	13%
Grand Total				23660.16	100%

Table 10 - Budgetary Allocation for Tribal Development - Maharashtra State							
8th Five Year Plan							
Sr.No	Year	Plan Outlay	TSP Outlay	The Actual Expenditure	Percentage of TSP Allocation in Plan Outlay	Percentage of Actual Expenditure from Planned Outlay	Difference (col.6-col.7)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	1992-93	3160.00	222.39	206.15	7.04%	6.52%	0.51%
2	1993-94	3804.00	265.00	266.39	6.97%	7.00%	-0.04%
3	1994-95	4400.00	330.00	273.04	7.50%	6.21%	1.29%
4	1995-96	5500.00	412.50	412.50	7.50%	7.50%	0.00%
5	1996-97	7871.00	535.00	535.88	6.80%	6.81%	-0.01%
	Total	24735.00	1764.89	1693.96	7.14%	6.85%	0.29%
9th Five Year Plan							
1	1997-98	5836.20	550.00	498.56	9.42%	8.54%	0.88%
2	1998-99	6400.00	561.00	520.29	8.77%	8.13%	0.64%
3	1999-00	6641.00	580.00	467.66	8.73%	7.04%	1.69%
4	2000-01	5798.00	525.00	444.18	9.05%	7.66%	1.39%
5	2001-02	6750.00	567.00	288.32	8.40%	4.27%	4.13%
	Total	31425.20	2783.00	2291.01	8.86%	7.29%	1.57%

Annexure II - Scheme Wise Discussion Based on Data Obtained From Interview of Social Activists.

Introduction

In this appendix to the main report, a discussion on the various schemes, which were studied, is presented. The grassroots activists in their interviews often quoted various experiences, and observations regarding these schemes as examples. In structure of the following presentation is as follows:

- (a) The key learnings obtained from the transcripts of the interviews of the grassroots activists are presented in Table I of Annexure II at the end of this annexure. These learnings are organized according six major themes, namely:
- (i) Governance of the schemes **(G)**
 - (ii) Capabilities of the beneficiaries **(C)**
 - (iii) Livelihood reality of the beneficiaries **(L)**
 - (iv) Technical Feasibility of the Scheme **(T)**
 - (v) Financial sufficiency **(F)**
 - (vi) Economic viability of the scheme **(E)**

The alphabets presented in the brackets are the codes with which these themes are referred to in the subsequent discussion.

- (b) Seven important schemes were identified as important, for this presentation. These schemes were often quoted by most of the respondents. These schemes, which were cited as examples are:
- (i) Example 1: The Scheme of Nucleus Budget for Tribal People
 - (ii) Example 2: *Swajaldhara* - The Drinking Water Scheme
 - (iii) Example 3: Indira Awaas Yojana– Housing Scheme for the Rural Poor
 - (iv) Example 4: Swarnajayantee Gram Swarozgar Yojana
 - (v) Example 5: Joint Forest Management
 - (vi) Example 6: Employment Guarantee Scheme
 - (vii) Example 7: The Cooperative Scheme
- (c) Each scheme is discussed as a separate example. Background information about each scheme, obtained from official publications of the Government, is presented at the beginning of the discussion of each scheme to give a brief idea about each scheme. This is followed by a discussion of the various experiences and insights sighted by the respondents regarding the particular scheme, and the key learning emanating from this observation. The learnings have been give theme wise codes, such as G 1, G 2, and so on, to represent the 'key learning 1' classified under the theme of Governance and so on.

Example 1: The Scheme of 'Nucleus Budget' for Tribal People

Background Information About the Scheme

With a view to provide a flexible scheme to be able to adapt to the variations according to the local needs of the tribal communities, which cannot be met from regular schemes of the TSP, a special scheme 'Nucleus Budget', is being implemented since 1981-82. Under the scheme, the project officers of the ITDPs are empowered to formulate and implement (if necessary through other departments), schemes of local importance. The ceiling for financial assistance under this scheme is Rs. 10,000 per family. Schemes benefiting a group of families can also be taken up subject to this ceiling per family. The schemes under nucleus budget are categorized into four groups: -

- i. Income generation schemes like minor irrigation and land leveling on the private farms to increase agricultural production. The grant-in-aid given to the beneficiary is 50 per cent for all tribes in general and 80 per cent for primitive tribes in particular. In respect of schemes costing below Rs. 2000, full amount is given as subsidy to all tribes.
- ii. Training schemes under which various training programmes are arranged for unemployed tribal youth, for example, pre-recruitment training; training in radio repairing, wiring, carpentry, etc.
- iii. Welfare schemes for women and children.
- iv. Human resource development schemes related to sports, tribal arts and tribal culture.

The entire funds can be given as a grant-in-aid for the schemes under the groups (ii), (iii) and (iv). The Direction Committee at the project level finalizes the schemes under Nucleus Budget. The Additional Tribal Commissioner (ATC) who is the Chairperson of the Committee can sanction group schemes up to Rs. 5 lakh each. Commissioner (Tribal Development) can sanction schemes costing up to Rs. 20 lakh and only schemes costing more than that are referred to the Government.

(Source:<http://www.maharashtra.gov.in/data/gr/marathi/2003/08/14/20030910150337001.pdf>)

Grassroots Experiences

The objective of the Nucleus Budget Scheme is to cater to the small or context specific needs. However, the budget allocated for this scheme is usually diverted to serve other purposes. For example, if a politician is in trouble due to certain atrocity/natural calamity in his/her own electoral constituency, the funds are diverted to tide over that particular crisis. Alternatively, if the state or central governments make any sudden decision to overcome certain problems and an immediate solution of those problems is required, the money reserved for the Nucleus Budget Scheme is diverted to fulfill this need. This point has been reflected in key learning G 5.

In this scheme, the Tribal Development Department has never done the evaluation of the sanctioning or implementation of the scheme. Even they have not asked the GrOs about the same. Once the target is fulfilled, they just forget about the beneficiary. This point has been reflected in key learning G 16.

In case of financial assistance to set up grocery shops under the Nucleus Budget scheme has also failed miserably. The beneficiaries do not necessarily have the business acumen. In one instance, a beneficiary lent the grains on credit. He did not know how to make people pay. Half of the people never paid. The beneficiary incurred a loss and had to close down the shop. Under the Nucleus Budget scheme, financial assistance is provided for the flourmill. In one such instance, electricity connection was not available at the beneficiary's house. The beneficiary was not interested in running the mill. On the next day of the distribution of the machine, another person from the hamlet took away the machine in exchange of a paltry sum. The GrO leader commented that as the tribal people do not have knowledge of repairing and maintenance, they accept the benefits of the schemes as a direct access to cash, or indirect access through the sale of the things obtained. This point has been reflected in key learning C 8.

Under the Nucleus Budget scheme tools like spade and pickaxe are given. Some of the beneficiaries sell these tools. The government justifies this scheme on the basis that these tools would be useful in the fields as well as for the EGS work. However, the tribal people sell the tools when they need money or even for buying liquor. In another example of the distribution of motor pumps under the Nucleus Budget scheme, the GrO leader prevented the beneficiaries to sell the pumps. When tools are given under any scheme, the beneficiary has to sign a form that mentions that the beneficiary could be prosecuted for misusing (selling) the asset received under the scheme. The GrO leader we interviewed upholds this rule and has warned the beneficiaries about the consequences of selling the tools. Due to the warning, the beneficiaries stopped selling the pumps provided under the scheme, but urged the GrO to allow them to give the pumps on rent, so that they can earn some money. As the pumps were gathering rust due to non-use, the GrO agreed with the beneficiaries and allowed the beneficiaries to rent them. The beneficiaries did not use or did not even make any attempt to use the motor pumps for their intended purpose, i.e. vegetable production. The reason lies in the cultural aspects of the *Katkari* tribe in the field area of the GrO. This tribe has not made a complete transition from the hunting-gathering stage to agriculture. The activity of food collection is still common. The only transition that has been observed is the wage labor activity, in addition to the food collection. Generally these primitive tribes are not interested in the intended benefits of the schemes. The *Katkari* tribe in the area has never shown interests in starting any agricultural activity. This point has been reflected in key learning L 2.

Under the Nucleus Budget scheme, loudspeaker sets are given. The beneficiaries do not have knowledge about the maintenance and repairing of these sets. They do not have

information about the repairing costs. Shopkeepers can cheat them due to their ignorance. The business of electronics is highly fluctuating due to the fast developments in the sector. New gadgets come in the market, and the old ones cannot compete with them. This point has been reflected in key learning T 1.

Example 2: Swajaldhara - The Drinking Water Scheme

Background Information About the Scheme

Swajaldhara is the drinking water scheme that contains the features of the ongoing process of the 'Sector Reforms' by Gol in the rural water supply sector. This scheme is a successor of the pilot project on drinking water, undertaken by the State governments, in 63 districts throughout the India with assistance from the central Government. The pilot project was undertaken as a part of the Sector Reforms agenda. Drinking water has been the state subject, since the first Five-Year plan and Gol has been providing the funds to states for the drinking water scheme since then. State Governments have been implementing several schemes for creating safe drinking water facility in the states. In spite of efforts till now a large numbers of villages in the country facing problems related drinking water. From April 1, 1999 Gol has introduced a mission for reforming the water sector under Sector Reforms program. The mission is known as "*Rajiv Gandhi National Drinking Water Mission* (RGNDWM). Henceforth all the funds have been provided through the RGNDWM to the states. Reforms were introduced in Rural Water Supply sector to institutionalize community participation in Rural Water Supply Programme to ensure sustainability of systems and sources. The highlights of the sector reforms proposal are as follows:

- Adoption of a demand-driven approach based on empowerment of villagers to ensure their full participation in the project planning, decision making in the choice of scheme design and management arrangement
- Shift of Government's role from provider to facilitator
- Focus on village level capacity building
- Ensuring an integrated service delivery mechanism by streamlining the functions of the agencies involved in project implementation
- Partial capital cost sharing and full Operations and Maintenance (O&M) cost sharing by users
- Taking up of conservation measures for sustained supply of water through rainwater harvesting and ground water recharge

(Source: <http://rural.nic.in/g1.htm>)

Making the necessary institutional arrangements for community participation has been the key area of reform in the water sector. Government has introduced the component of Information, Education and Communication (IEC) for ensuring the community participation and human resource development, in these scheme. As the district administration does not have capability and resources for the community organization, the mission has been seeking

the active participation of the NGOs in implementing the IEC component. The strategy of the IEC emphasizes on creating the awareness regarding the sanitation, safe storage and handling of the drinking water, the proper use of the water for sanitation purposes, and the most important is to prepare the people positively towards shouldering the responsibility of Operation and Maintenance costs of the infrastructure of the drinking water system. It also emphasizes on the capability building for the same. Also under the reforms agenda, government has tried to decentralize all important village level decisions in the implementation of the scheme and has extended authorities to the Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs). This is reflected in the following structure proposed for implementation of this schemes:

- Under the RGDWM at the level of the central government, WATSAN committees have to be formed at the state level. The main function of the committees is to monitor the process of implementation at the district level. In the Pilot Phase, these committees are popularly known as Pilot Project Monitoring Unit (PPMUs).
- The district level WATSAN committees are generally known as District Water and Sanitation Mission (DWSM). These committees have a mix representation of the local level politicians, and bureaucrats from Zilla Parishad (Z.P.)
- The Block Level Teams (BLTs) are to govern the cluster and are linked with the village level WATSAN committees. The coordinators of the BLTs have major responsibility and authorities for the monitoring of the scheme.
- The last in the ladder are the village level WATSAN committees, known as the Village Water and Sanitation Mission (VWSC), comprising the members of the *Gramsabha* (assembly of all eligible voters in the village, i.e. men and women above the age of 18). The responsibilities of the committee play a important role in the whole structure. All the village level decisions of the drinking water schemes are supposed to be taken by the VWSCs. It includes important tasks such as identification of the water source, selection of the water delivery system, budgeting the scheme as well as the accepting and deciding the O&M costs per family.

Grassroots Experiences

In this scheme, the local implementation bodies, the VWSCs, are not constituted as per the rules. In these committees, the proportion of tribal people and the women is hardly ever according to the rules. Generally the non-tribal people dominate the committees. Two GrO activists reported that they took the initiative to reconstitute the committees with according to the rules and guidelines wherever they could influence the local level dynamics. Secondly in certain cases where the quality of construction (of the pipeline, the water tank etc.) was substandard, the NGO facilitated strong action against the contractor through the VWSC. Consequently, the contractor had to reconstruct the structures as per the norms. This point has been reflected in key learning G 5.

In one case the NGOs introduced a new structure according to the guidelines of the scheme aided by the World Bank. They formed sub-committees at the village level. The

need for the sub-committees in the village committee was felt because of the group-*gram panchayat* system, consisting of several villages in one *panchayat*. Even in one *grampanchayat*, most of the hamlets do not benefit from one scheme/project. Sometimes a village from the group may not suffer from water shortage, and hence would not be a part of the scheme. However, when the *panchayat* is a group *grampanchayat*, people from all villages must participate in the committee (VWSC). This comes in way of the proper representation of the beneficiary villages in the committee and in turn participation of the people. This point has been reflected in key learning G 9.

In this scheme the District Water and Sanitation Mission (DWSM) that is the decision making body for the scheme, consists of the local MLAs of each Block, the MPs from the districts, the members, the CEO of the Zilla Parishad and the Executive Engineer of Zilla Parishad. The GrOs/NGOs are not represented in this Committee. The participating NGOs demanded that two representatives from them should be included in the Committee. But the demand was not accepted. This implies that the government does not recognize the contribution and experiential knowledge of the GrOs/NGOs. This point has been reflected in key learning G 11.

In this scheme the government has built a parallel structure to implement the scheme. At the same time, it has been talking of strengthening the existing structure of *panchayats*. This is contradictory, because the monitoring of the drinking water schemes, which was earlier, the role of the *panchayat* has now been handed over to the Village Water and Sanitation Committee (VWSC). Similar changes are going to happen at the Block and district level - the higher administrative levels. Instead, the government should think of how the existing institutions would work to complement the new structure, at each level. How would the government justify the costs of establishment of a new structure and maintenance of both the structures if both were going to function simultaneously in future is the main issue. This point has been reflected in key learning G 12.

In this scheme direct political intervention is evident in sanctioning the scheme. Politicians have their men as contractors for the construction involved in the scheme. This point has been reflected in key learning G 13.

The VWSCs committee for the implementation of this scheme is supposed to have fifty per cent women members. This is not happening in reality. One important reason is the domination of men in the decision making process in the *gramsabha*. In case of one GrO it had tried to conduct separate meetings for women to increase their participation in the decision-making. Based on his experience, the GrO leader recommended that a separate support network is necessary for women. The existing SHG network should be taken into consideration while forming the VWSC committees. The federation of the SHGs can also be helpful. These groups would facilitate the community organization as well as the process of the attitudinal change among the people. The issues of capability building and empowerment could be handled better through these groups. Since women are key stakeholders in drinking

water facilities their views should be considered on a priority basis. This point has been reflected in key learning G 14 and also C 3.

In this scheme, an evaluation procedure, which can ensure that the four phases of implementation are sequentially completed, is missing. The sequence of the phases is as follows: 'information-education-communication' for the people, construction of the structures, and handing over of the structures. The GrO observed that in some instances the sequence was not followed. The GrO has demanded for a formal evaluation of the scheme. This point has been reflected in key learning G 16.

In this scheme once the infrastructure is established, the beneficiaries are supposed to bear the costs for the operation and maintenance of the water delivery system. The tribal people are not likely to be able to afford it. According to the GrO leaders, transferring the operations and maintenance (O & M) costs to the people is not just. Though the government is justified in extending the rights of use and disposal of the water systems to the people, it has also been shifting the responsibility of the whole system to the people. Tribal people are not ready for this transition and will not be able to take the responsibility of maintaining this kind of a system. The economic situation of the people is not such that they can bear the costs of O & M. They also do not have enough money to pay the water tax. This point has been reflected in key learning C 4.

This scheme is being implemented in the hilly terrains. In spite of the difficulties posed by this, it is expected that the tribal people should operationalize and maintain the infrastructure after the establishment of the system. Water resources are away from the habitations in these areas. Once the infrastructure is in place, the tribal people will have to pay the electricity bills for lifting water from the source. As the tribal do not have reading, writing or accounts keeping skills, they are not aware of the future costs of such a scheme. This point has been reflected in key learning C 5.

In this scheme the government has not clarified the role of the NGO in the post implementation period. The GrOs strongly feel that there is immense need to provide support to the tribal people for the O & M of the scheme. If it were not provided the schemes would not function and serve the people. This point has been reflected in key learning C 6.

Before handing over the schemes to the tribal people for operations and management, the government must strengthen the existing structures of the *panchayat* (local self-government institution). The operations and management activities cannot be successful unless people's participation is ensured. This point has been reflected in key learning C 7.

In this scheme, the technical support provided is insufficient. It is seen that Zilla Parishad (ZP: district level self government institution) ZP do not possess the necessary

technical experience for executing such large schemes. This point has been reflected in key learning T 1.

In this scheme, the allocation of money for the Information-Education-Communication (IEC) component is not sufficient. Items like conveyance costs to the hilly areas and preparation of the campaign materials require more money than are usually allocated. As a GrO activist informed according to a GR (Government Resolution), the financial allocation for the IEC was two per cent of the total district budget of the program. However, the concerned government official can interpret the GR as per his/her understanding. While working out the actual grant to the GrOs for the IEC activity, the interpretation of the GR was done in such a way that the amount allocated was far less than expected. Moreover, while distributing the amount among the GrOs, the extent of work done by each GrO was not adequately considered. This point has been reflected in key learning F 4.

In this scheme though the tribal people are not able to pay for the operations and maintenance costs at present, some contribution that they can afford should be taken from them. This point has been reflected in key learning E 1.

Example 3: Indira Awaas Yojana– Housing Scheme for the Rural Poor

Background Information About the Scheme

With a view to meeting the housing needs of the rural poor, the *Indira Awaas Yojana* (IAY) was launched in May 1985 as a sub-scheme of *Jawahar Rozgar Yojana* (JRY). It is being implemented as an independent scheme since 1st January 1996. The IAY aims at helping the rural people living below the poverty-line in construction of dwelling units and upgradation of existing unserviceable kutcha (non-durable) houses by providing grant-in-aid. From 1995-96, the IAY benefits have been extended to widows or next-of-kin of defense personnel killed in action. Benefits have also been extended to ex-servicemen and retired members of the paramilitary forces as long as they fulfill the normal eligibility conditions of *Indira Awaas Yojana*. Three per cent of funds are reserved for the disabled persons living below the poverty line in rural areas.

Under the Scheme, allotment of the house is done in the name of the female member of the households or in the joint names of husband and wife. A minimum of 60 per cent of funds is to be utilized for construction of houses for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes (SC/ST) people. Sanitary latrine and smokeless stoves are integral to an IAY house. The *gramsabha* does the selection of beneficiaries under IAY. Selection of construction technology, materials and design is left entirely to the choice of beneficiaries. Assistance for construction of new houses is provided at the rate of Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 22,000 per unit in the plains and hilly/difficult areas respectively. Assistance for upgradation of unserviceable kuccha houses at the rate of Rs. 10,000 per unit has also been introduced from the year 1999-2000. Twenty per cent of IAY funds are allocated for this purpose.

(Source: <http://rural.nic.in/g1.htm>)

Grassroots Experiences

In this scheme, one of the GrO leader interviewed informed that there had been instances of wealthy people influencing the procedure of selection of the beneficiaries, grabbing the benefits of the scheme. There are also instances where people who did not qualify for the scheme, procured the benefits through others (usually relatives), who qualified for the scheme. Moreover, due to the shortcomings in the government's BPL survey, sometimes, those who are very poor, do not get classified as the 'below poverty line', and cannot qualify for the scheme. The GrO leader was not satisfied with the way the schemes is being implemented. However, as the scheme is being implemented in their field area, they decided to intervene and tried to ensure that the appropriate (needy) get the benefit of the scheme. This point has been reflected in key learning G 1.

It has been observed that only those people who have contacts with the village level politicians or construction contractors or government officers often succeed in getting the benefit of this scheme. The beneficiary of the scheme is supposed to construct the house with the contribution of labor from his own family members. This labor, called "*shramadan*" and is not remunerated. The Government provides the labor required in addition to *shramadan*. The total *shramadan* expected from the beneficiary is worth Rs.1400/-. However, in reality, the job is assigned to the external construction contractors. These contractors extract far more labor from the beneficiary family. According to the rules the contractors do not have a place in the scheme. The government officials appoint the contractors as they can extract money from the contractors and the contractors take up the work because they can earn easy money in the whole process by cheating the beneficiary. As these construction contractors have contacts with the government officials in charge of the scheme, the beneficiaries become dependent on them for getting selected for scheme. As far as the nature of construction of the house is concerned, those houses built within the scheme stand apart from the rest of the houses in the village. The same people keep on getting benefits of the schemes every five years due to their contacts. Eventually, the beneficiaries get alienated from the rest of the people in the community. This point has been reflected in key learning G 2.

In this scheme the maintenance requirements has not been adequately considered. In fact, there is another government scheme (*Ghar Durustee Yojana*), which is meant for the maintenance/repair of houses. The benefits of the house-construction and the house-maintenance schemes can be conveniently combined to fulfill the requirements of a beneficiary. However, according to the rules, the person who gets the help for building a house is not eligible for the scheme of house-maintenance. It seems to be assumed that once the house is built there would be no need for its maintenance. This point has been reflected in key learning G 3.

In this scheme it has been observed that corruption is possible and occurs at different levels, taking advantage of the loopholes in the rules. The money that is sanctioned to the beneficiary for building the house is deposited in his/her bank account. But the money can be withdrawn only with the signature of both - the beneficiary and the government officer. The government officer gives the beneficiary less money than is sanctioned. This gives scope to the corruption. As referred to above the contractor extracts far more labor from the beneficiary family than stated in the rules. In addition the contractor profits by using substandard material for construction. The person who is appointed for selecting the beneficiaries (generally the *Sarpanch* or the *Police Patil*) takes money from people to select them as beneficiaries. This point has been reflected in key learning G 4.

In the *Indira Aawas Yojana*, houses are built for tribal people with materials like bricks and asbestos roofs. The tribal people are not familiar with these construction materials, and do not know how to maintain the house. When it comes to repairs such as replacement of the bricks and the roof they face difficulties and also for this they are dependent on the market. The tribal people have their own traditional skills of building houses. Providing them with readymade houses means underutilization of the human resources available in the local areas. This point has been reflected in key learning C 1.

L 1 (IAY) In the *Indira Aawas Yojana*, the government has applied the urban concept of house to the rural areas, i.e. a house built with brick and cement concrete. In fact the traditional houses of tribal people are built with timbre. However, the government has put legal prohibitions on accessing the timber in forests. In fact, the government should allow the tribal people to use timber to build their houses by legalizing the process of accessing the timber from the forests. The tribal people have the traditional skill of building their own houses. The tribal people use the cement concrete houses built under the *Indira Aawas Yojana* only to keep their belongings, for cooking and to sleep in the rainy seasons. In other seasons they sleep outside. Enough land is available in the tribal areas. However the 16x16 feet house design prepared for the cramped slums in the urban areas has been imposed in the rural areas. Toilets, like those in the urban area, are built for tribal people under the same scheme. However, the tribal people do not know how to maintain the modern toilets. A lot of water is required to maintain them and it is not available in the tribal house. This point has been reflected in key learning L 1.

Earlier, the houses of the tribal people used to clean because they knew how to keep their traditional houses clean. They used to give a cow-dung wash to the mud floor. Even if water spills on such floor, the mud floor absorbs it. Thus, it was a low maintenance structure. But it has been observed that the houses that are built under this scheme gets very dirty. The tribal people do not clean the cement floor water and the food left-over are not cleaned as well. This leads to problems of health and hygiene. Children are kept on the floor without covering them with clothes or blankets, the way it used to be in the mud houses. But the cement flooring is comparatively cooler. This leads to increased frequency of fever and even pneumonia in children. Lack of cleanliness causes contamination of food and water leading

to increased gastrointestinal disorders. The architecture of the house should provide space for the livestock. This is absent in houses built under the scheme. Therefore, as per the needs the tribal people build extensions to the houses. They build verandas (*padwi*) for keeping the livestock, lofts to store their grains and use the side-space for storing the firewood. This point has been reflected in key learning L 1.

Though the government has fixed norms for the valuation of labor contributed by the beneficiary, the enforcing agency never abides by that. This results in extraction of more work from the beneficiary than expected e.g. in the case of the *Indira Aawas Yojana*. This point has been reflected in key learning F 1.

Example 4: Swarnajayantee Gram Swarozgar Yojana

Background Information About the Scheme

The Integrated Rural Development program (IRDP), introduced in selected blocks in 1978-79 and universalized from October 2, 1980. This scheme has provided assistance to rural poor in form of subsidy and bank credit for productive employment opportunities through successive plan period. Subsequently Training of Rural Youth For Self Employment (TRYSEM), Development Of Women and Children in rural areas (DWACRA), Supply Of Improved Tool Kits To Rural Artisans (SITRA) and *Ganga Kalyan Yojana* (GKY) were introduced as sub programs of IRDP to take care of specific needs of rural population. These schemes were however implemented as 'stand-alone programs', an approach that substantially detracted from their effectiveness. The mid term appraisal of the ninth plan had indicated that these sub programs presented 'a matrix of multiple programmes without desired linkages'. (Xth Five Year Plan, 294, 3.2.7)

The SGSY is one of the flagship programs of the central government. On April 1, 1999, the IRDP and allied programs including million well schemes (MWS) were merged in to single program known as *Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana* (SGSY). The SGSY is conceived as the holistic program of micro enterprise development in rural areas with emphasis on organizing the rural poor in to self-help groups, capacity building, planning of activity clusters, infrastructure support, technology credit and marketing linkages. It seeks to promote a network of agencies, namely, District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA), line departments of state governments, banks, NGOs, and *Panchayati Raj* Institutions (PRIs) for implementation of the programs. The SGSY recognizes the need to focus on key activities and the importance of activity clusters. The objective of the SGSY is to bring the assisted poor families (*Swarozgaries* – The self employers) above the Poverty Line by ensuring appreciable sustained level of income over a period of time. This objective is to be achieved by inter alia organizing the rural poor into Self Help Groups (SHGs) through the process of social mobilization, their training and capacity building and provision of income generating assets.

(Source: Xth Five Year Plan, 294, 3.2.9)

Grassroots Experiences

In this scheme subsidies and loans are given to people so that they can start their own small income generation activity. Sanctioning the loan is a very lengthy process. The loans are given by the Nationalized Banks, which are linked to the SGSY scheme. The bank is supposed to examine the feasibility of the activity before sanctioning the loan. The bank is first supposed to give an amount of subsidy to the beneficiary, to start the activity, followed by a loan to continue the activity. It is a common experience that the beneficiaries do not repay the loan. To avoid getting in this trouble, the bank gives the subsidy amount itself as the loan, and asks the beneficiary to repay the loan, keeping the subsidy amount as a security in case the beneficiary defaults. However, this is not officially acknowledged. In order to successfully run the income generation activity, the beneficiary must get the subsidy as well as the loan at the same time to get the full amount of the seed capital. This point has been reflected in key learning G 5.

The tribal people do not possess the entrepreneurial capabilities required for the income generation activities supported under the SGSY. If the tribal people are to take up such activities, they must undergo attitudinal changes and have confidence to compete in the local market. This implies a very different type of process of capability building. This is a difficult task that the GrO is trying to perform. This point has been reflected in key learning C 3.

In this scheme, several income generation activities/self-employment are supported. The buffaloes or goats bought under the scheme are insured. The beneficiary need not worry if the animals die. However, the other options under the scheme do not have such insurance cover, e.g. grocery shop. The GrO leader suggests that a support mechanism should be an integral part of the scheme. Another measure suggested by the GrO leader is sufficient arrangement for monitoring the self-employment activity and personnel should be appointed for support and monitoring. This point has been reflected in key learning C 6.

One of the GrO leaders informed that it was necessary that the three criteria while selecting the SHG for the SGSY scheme, namely: identifying the beneficiary's need, assessing his/her capabilities and assessing the scheme can satisfy his/her needs, should be strictly followed. Another GrO initiated such activities: (i) Entrepreneurship training, creating awareness about objectives of the scheme, (ii) Facilitating the process: organizing the people, assessing and explaining positive and negative aspects of the activity, marketing, identification of place for the activity, (iii) Assessing whether the activity would be viable in the situation. This point has been reflected in key learning C 7.

It has been observed that in this scheme, the most common activity tribal people undertake is goat rearing. The government has not considered other options suitable for

them. Capability building is the key area for development of the disadvantaged section. A range of inputs is required for the beneficiaries of the self-employment activities such as, a good understanding of the business, entrepreneurship qualities and confidence, capability to update oneself with the changes in market, capabilities for marketing and management of the finance. In fact, the government has made a number of provisions for training and capability building. However, it seems that these provisions do not seem to help much. The reason for this, according to a GrO leader is that the training and capability building should ideally be on-going processes. While the government schemes make a one-time provision for these components. This point has been reflected in key learning C 8.

The SGSY scheme is meant for the Self-help Groups (SHG). It aims to bring the beneficiaries above poverty line. The beneficiaries, by utilizing the loan given to the group are supposed to earn Rs.2000/- per month each. This has proved a difficult proposition for the self employment activities undertaken in this scheme. After having assessed the performance of the group, the bank decides whether to extend the loan component. The beneficiaries require both the loan and the subsidy together to start and maintain an income generation activity. Generally three to four activities are commonly undertaken in the rural area: goat rearing, dairy, agriculture, horticulture and fisheries. It has been observed that tribal people undertake no other activity except goat rearing. Only one activity such as the goat rearing cannot be propagated for any section of the society. It would cause resource crunch at the hamlet level and the marketing problems. The government should conduct feasibility surveys (or train the SHGs) for the type of activity the SHG wants to take up. The surveys should be done in a participatory manner. They should assess the availability of resources, market, and capabilities of the people. This has been reflected in key learning F5 and E 2.

Example 5: Joint Forest Management

Background Information About the Scheme

Joint Forest Management is based on the concept of developing partnerships between forest user groups and the FD (Forest Department) on the basis of mutual trust and jointly defined roles and responsibilities for forest protection, conservation, and development. Under the JFM programme, the user (local communities) and the owner (government) manage the resource and share the cost equally. The effective and meaningful involvement of local communities in evolving sustainable forest management systems is now being looked upon as a significant approach to address the longstanding problems of deforestation and land degradation in India. The linking of socio-economic incentives and forest development has been singularly instrumental in eliciting community participation.

Under the program the Gol has tried to ensure local participation by involving the people directly in the scheme. It has also given the benefit of fifty percent of the timber produce to the protecting group, along with continuing the rights of the people on non-timber

produce from the protected forest area. The *gramsabha* is supposed to actively involve in this activity and the protecting group forms a Village Forest Protection and Management Committee with the members of the *gramsabha* members and the *Sarpanch* (the elected head of the *GramPanchayat*) as the Chair of the protecting committee. The committee also contains the representatives from the Forest Department, the village level authorities in most cases.

The institutional involvement in various forest protection and developmental activities has made promising impacts on the biophysical and socio-economic environment of the JFM areas. Currently, it is estimated that 10.24 million hectares of forest lands are being managed under the JFM programme through 36,075 committees in 22 states.

Source: - <http://www.jfmindia.org/jfmsustain.htm>

Grassroots Experiences

For success of the Joint Forest Management (JFM) program, it is necessary that the whole village is united as far as the protection of forest is concerned. The GrO leaders informed that village-level politics is the major difficulty in implementation of this scheme. The JFM program can be undertaken only at the level of village. It cannot be undertaken at the hamlet level, neither can two hamlets or villages can take up the activity in collaboration. This is because of the rules of the programme do not permit such an arrangement. According to the rules, the *Sarpanch* (the head of the village *panchayat* or the village council) and the guard of the forest department are the chairman and the secretary of the JFM Committee respectively. This creates a problem when the *panchayat* is a group *grampanchayat*. A group-*grampanchayat* consists of five to twelve hamlets and several villages. However, the hamlets are not situated close to each other. Sometimes due to the geographical situation each hamlet is in a position to take up one JFM programme on its own, sometimes two villages together are in a position to undertake a programme. However, the *Sarpanch* from the other village may not take interest in the issue. This becomes a hindrance in the process and affects the participation of the people in a negative way. Consequently it does not generate the stake in the participating group. This point has been reflected in key learning G 9.

The Forest Department has not maintained transparency in the JFM accounts. One of the GrO leaders demanded for such transparency. They organized a rally at the office of the Chief Conservator of the Forest. In absence of transparency, people lose faith in the government and trust is a precondition for effective participation. This point has been reflected in key learning G 15.

Under the Joint Forest Management, the tribal people are supposed to protect the woods. Earlier, the tribal people had such protective attitude towards the forests. Their association with forest was an integral part of their livelihood system and they have been

very much aware towards the ecology of the forest systems. With the exposure to the world outside, it has been observed that their attitude is also slowly changing. The tribal people also have started looking towards forest as a source of timber. This point has been reflected in key learning C 3.

In certain areas, the tribal people have encroached on the forestland for cultivation. The government has decided that the lands that have been encroached before 1978 would be regularized and the ownership would be transferred to the encroacher. However, the land encroached after 1978 would be taken back from the tribal people. The GrO leaders feel that shifting cultivation has been a traditional practice of the tribal people. Therefore, all encroached lands should be regularized. Under the Joint Forest Management scheme, the tribal people are supposed to protect the forests and share the forest produce jointly with the forest department. The GrO leaders feel that the issue of encroachment cannot be treated independently. Instead if the security of the livelihood of the tribal people is a concern, the protection of forests and availability of land for cultivation should be considered together. This point has been reflected in key learning E 4.

Example 6: Employment Guarantee Scheme

Background Information About the Scheme

The Employment Guarantee Scheme has been one of the pioneering schemes of the Government of Maharashtra to help the rural poor. It has not been the central scheme but a State act aimed at ensuring the security of employment to the poor people in the rural areas. The scheme was started in backdrop of recurring experiences of the drought in Maharashtra in the 1960s and 1970s. The draught situation was causing major migration from the rural areas, as no work was available at the local level. Mr. V.C. Page, a well-known economist first initiated the Employment Guarantee Scheme in Maharashtra in 1965 on experimental basis. It was subsequently expanded as part of an integrated rural development project, culminating in the EGS Act (No XX of 1978) and its implementation in the state of Maharashtra in 1979. From a modest beginning, the EGS expanded rapidly into the most important poverty-alleviation programme in Maharashtra (Gaiha, 2000).

The EGS has the following features. Firstly, the scheme guarantees that every adult who wants a job in rural areas will be given one, provided that he or she is willing to do unskilled manual work on a piece-rate basis. In this sense, the decision as to whether to participate in the scheme is left to the participants as per their demand. Secondly, until 1988, the wage rate was usually below the agricultural wage rate. Thirdly, the work has to be provided within the five kilometers of the residence of the people, who registered the demand for providing the employment. Subsequently many facilities have been added to the EGS as such the provision of the unemployment allowance in case of not providing the work within the specified period or facility of the crèche to the employed women under EGS.

The scheme has to satisfy two main criteria: (a) being a labor-intensive scheme the EGS should provide the employment and thereby income to the unemployed poor people residing at rural areas, and (b) it should aim at creating productive assets through introducing the asset building activities (Dev, 1995). As the EGS is aimed at minimizing the recurrence of droughts by prioritizing moisture or water conservation, it may indirectly reduce the possible risk for farming households. Work under the EGS should be so organized that it does not interfere with normal agricultural activities (Gaiha, 2000).

(Source: idpm.man.ac.uk/cprc/Conference/conferencepapers/Imai%20Katushi_EGS%2028.02.03.pdf)

Grassroots Experiences

In case of the Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS), it is imperative on the part of the government to provide work within a 15 days from the day people demand work. However, usually, this does not happen. As a result, those who depend on the labor for their living migrate for work. Secondly people expect that the wages should be as per the minimum wages norms of the government. But in reality, the wages are given based on the quantum of work done (piece-rate), and the daily wages in such cases usually works out less than the minimum wages and often also less than the local labor market rates. As a result people take up the EGS work, which involves too much hard work for less money, only when there is a crisis in their households. It has been observed that in the Kokan region the stone-cutting work is usually offered under EGS. However, the local people are unwilling to take up this work. Therefore, some other kind of work should be offered to the people which they find agreeable. An activity under the EGS is the land leveling and plantation for the horticulture development. The concept behind the scheme is that the owner of the farm is supposed to engage the villagers as laborers to level that land, and the government pays for the wages. In reality it happens that the landowner employs his own household members for labor. Effectively, the landowner gets both advantages: his land gets leveled and his household gets the employment that actually the villagers are entitled to. The local MLA is the chairperson of the committee that sanctions the EGS work, i.e. he decides where and what kind of work should be offered under the scheme. This being so, though against the rules, the contractors who have contacts with the MLA get the contract of monitoring and implementation of the work. This point has been reflected in key learning G 5.

As referred to earlier, the EGS legislation stipulates that the government should made available work within 15 days of demand. To make this possible the district administration is supposed to be ready with a plan of the possibilities of making available work. This entails surveying the situation about the possible demand for work in future and making arrangements to meet the demand when it comes. In reality, the district administration starts looking for possibilities only after the demand comes. As a result, people cannot wait till the work becomes available and they migrate for work. When the district administration makes the work available after taking its own time, there are very few

people to participate. Looking at the actual man-days' work done under EGS the government often comes to the conclusion that people do not need work under EGS. Therefore the EGS scheme should be stopped. This point has been reflected in key learning G 6.

Earlier under this scheme the 'food for work' scheme was in force. The major part of wages for labor used to be given in the form of food grains. Food coupons used to be distributed and the laborers had to collect the food from the PDS (Public Distribution System) shops by exchanging the coupons. However, the PDS shops are known for their inefficient services. The grains are either not available on time, or they are not of good quality or they are not sufficiently available. This further burdens the already vulnerable sections. The government has now closed down the 'food for work' scheme in the field area of the GrO leader interviewed. In fact, the laborers would welcome it if they get food immediately for the work. Therefore the scheme should not have been closed down. Instead the food grain should have been distributed at the workplace itself to make the scheme a success. Also non-availability of grains on time means depriving the laborers of timely payments of their wages. This point has been reflected in key learning G 7.

Sometimes, people have to sacrifice their assets (e.g. land) in order that the EGS work could be conducted at a particular place. Those who lose their assets do not get compensation. The EGS Act should be amended to take care of this shortcoming. This point has been reflected in key learning G 8.

In case of EGS, people's participation should be ensured in the decision-making areas such as the type of work offered or the place of the work. It was suggested that the *gramsabha* should be involved in the EGS works planning process. The demands for the work could be registered through the *grampanchayats* (GPs) and a panel representing the several GPs can register the demand to the district authorities. This would ensure the participation of the people in a democratic way. Once a particular work has been cleared on technical grounds by the proper authority, the actual work should start through the medium of the *gramsabha*. This point has been reflected in key learning G 9 and G 10.

It has been the people's experience that the government's implementing agencies are insensitive to the needs and situation of the rural people. For example, the work offered under the Employment Guarantee Scheme is often not convenient for the tribal people. But they are not forthcoming in demanding the type of work they want even with the help and support from the GrO. They are always afraid that if they ask for a different kind of work, the government implementing agencies would deny even what they are already offering. As a consequence, people remain unemployed. This point has been reflected in key learning C 2.

Even in the absence of the capability-building component in this scheme one of the GrO had taken initiative to provide that support. In case of EGS, the support is in the form of motivating the tribal people for a protest rally for getting work at proper time, educating them about the rules of the EGS and for registering demands for the unemployment allowance

and helping them get their delayed payments from the enforcing agencies. This point has been reflected in key learning C 3.

It was also reported in one case that due to the nature of soil in Jawhar and Mokhada talukas of the Thane district, the structures like K.T. Weirs and percolation tanks built under EGS to store water never stored any water. This point has been reflected in key learning T 2.

The government has fixed different rates of minimum wages for different kinds of work, e.g. construction labor, forest labor, agricultural labor. The minimum wage for the agricultural labor is Rs.47/- per day and the same for the construction labor is Rs.110/-. Still, under the EGS, the government pays only Rs.47/- for construction labor. This point has been reflected in key learning F 2.

According to the rules, under EGS, the government cannot spend more than 40 per cent of the allocated money on the non-wage component i.e. the cost for construction material. This rule is otherwise fair, but it prevents undertaking construction projects such as school buildings under the EGS. The rule also comes in way of using the EGS labor for maintenance of such structures. This point has been reflected in key learning F 3.

Example 7: The Cooperative Scheme

Background Information About the Scheme

The state government has been implementing the various schemes to initiate and increase the gainful economic activities through forming cooperative societies of tribal people. Mainly government implements two/three types of schemes. In the first type, it provides interest subsidy to the tribal debtors of the various cooperatives such Primary Agricultural Cooperative societies, or the Adivasi (Tribal) Multipurpose Cooperative Societies. The second type of the schemes provides managerial subsidies to the fair price shops, multipurpose cooperative societies etc. Another type of the scheme provides the seed capital as interest free loans to the tribal people. In the present scheme (referred in the interviews), a group of tribal people accessed the grant to revitalize the activity of brick production. This grant was given under the scheme of managerial subsidy for multipurpose cooperative societies. (Gare – 2000)

Grassroots Experiences

Members of a cooperative started under the Brick-kilns Cooperative scheme were illiterate and inexperienced tribal people. They hardly knew what business entailed. The GrO wanted to, but could not hand over the responsibilities of marketing and accounting to the beneficiaries. In another case, the members of the cooperative successfully operated the business for one year, with active participation of the GrO. Once, heavy rains spoilt all the bricks. The Tribal Development Department (TDD) had sanctioned a subsidy of Rs.35000/-

for the cooperative. Tribals did not possess capabilities to cope with such an adversity. In another instance, the private brick contractors secured all suitable places (where resources for the production of bricks were available) in the city by entering in lease contracts with the landowners. The contracts were of 15 to 20 years' duration. No place was left for the tribal people for making the bricks. The GrO in this case tried to train them in skills required for business and succeeded to a certain extent. However, the tribal people never became independent. This point has been reflected in key learning C 8.

In a cooperative brick-kiln scheme, while the earning was still to start, the tribal people had to borrow money to survive. They started taking money in the form of advances from other brick producers to mitigate the financial crises. Consequently the members of the cooperative became bonded to other private producers and started going there for wages. As a result they could not pay enough attention to their own brick production. This was, in fact, the transition period of changing from the earlier activity to the new one. During this phase, people undergo changes at the psychological level as their economic and social situation keeps fluctuating. A support structure is essential to overcome such situation. This point has been reflected in key learning F 5.

General Observations

Activities such as agriculture need basic transport and marketing services. The goat rearing activity needs the drinking water facility at the hamlet level. It also needs fodder and sufficient grazing lands. Gestation period of the activities such as horticulture is an obstacle for the people as their capacity to sustain themselves till they get the returns from the activity is limited. As a result they migrate and the horticulture plantation is ignored. While supporting small enterprises, it is not considered how they will face the competition in market e.g. the activity of tailoring. It cannot become the major source of livelihood. The rural people do not have enough money to sew many clothes. It results in a captive market. The current policy of the government is not supportive to the micro-enterprises. There are a number of reasons for this failure, such as lack of infrastructure, market and limited capabilities of the rural people. However, the government interprets this as the failure of the people and has decided to reduce the support for such activities. The appropriate policy for the micro-enterprises would be designing a phased program giving major emphasis on capability building and rural market based self-employment activity. This point has been reflected in key learning E 3.

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Table I - Key Learnings Obtained From Analysis of Interview Data

<p>G 1: The government officials should ensure that the benefits of the scheme reach those who are needy and should guard against the local level political intervention.</p>	<p>G 5: The government should ensure stringent application of the rules while implementing the scheme.</p>	<p>G 9: Participation of people, in all aspects of the scheme should be ensured for a better implementation of the scheme. Sometimes a consensual decision becomes critical.</p>	<p>G 13: Corruption can be curbed only through the empowerment of people. The government should make sufficient institutional arrangements to which can empower the local people and even the beneficiaries.</p>	<p>C 1: Government should take into consideration tribals' traditional knowledge, and their limitations as far as the modern construction techniques are concerned. The government should think of using existing capabilities of the local rural people for their own development.</p>
<p>G2: The implementation procedure of the scheme should not disturb the social integration at the local level.</p>	<p>G 6: Proper planning should precede the implementation works.</p>	<p>G 10: The bottom up (and not top down) planning would ensure that the right people get the benefits of the schemes.</p>	<p>G 14: An independent support network should be provided to women in order to increase their capability and participation in decision-making.</p>	<p>C 2: The government officials in charge of implementing the schemes should be more sensitive to the feeling of the tribal and rural people.</p>
<p>G 3: The government should take a long term and integrated view of development schemes based on needs of the people, especially while designing the rules for the implementation of the schemes.</p>	<p>G 7: The actual rural situation should be visualized and considered while designing the procedures for implementation. The rules should not lead to an extra and unnecessary burden for the most vulnerable sections.</p>	<p>G 11: The NGOs/GrOs should be a partner in decision-making, as they work closely with the people.</p>	<p>G 15: The processes of the implementation of the schemes should be transparent.</p>	<p>C 3: Considering the situation of the tribal people, building their capability is an important and distinct activity in itself. Enough attention should be given to it while designing the scheme.</p>
<p>G 4: The procedure for implementation of the scheme should be under continuous scrutiny. If it comes to notice that there are loopholes in the rules that give scope for corruption, they should be modified.</p>	<p>G 8: The principle of justice should be upheld while implementing a scheme. Benefits for some should not mean loss for others.</p>	<p>G 12: While creating a new structure for the implementation of a scheme, the government should clearly define the status of old structure providing the same services. This would avoid simultaneous existence of parallel structures and unnecessary expenditure.</p>	<p>G 16: Formal, and participatory, and independent evaluation of the scheme should be carried out. This ensures the accountability of the government towards society.</p>	<p>C 4: While designing the schemes, financial capabilities of the beneficiaries should be taken into consideration in order to judge whether they would be able to maintain the infrastructure created even after the formal conclusion of the scheme.</p>

<p>C 5: Presently the tribal people and the rural people do not have sufficient skills for financial planning and budgeting. A scheme would fail if the government assigns them that responsibility.</p>	<p>C 8: Instead of providing piecemeal support the government should take steps towards building a comprehensive program for capability building.</p>	<p>L 3: The socio-cultural adaptability of the scheme is the core issue in the design of the scheme. The living and work patterns of the disadvantaged sections of the society (tribal people, in this case) should be taken into consideration. The acceptability and success of the scheme depends upon its adaptability to the patterns of livelihoods, habits and mindset of the rural poor.</p>	<p>F 1: The valuation of the labor (as part of the beneficiary's contribution) in all schemes should be just and proper.</p>	<p>F 5: The Government should consider the feasibility of the self-employment scheme and should make sufficient financial allocation for the beneficiaries.</p>
<p>C 6: Provision for monitoring of the schemes has been neglected in the design of the schemes.</p>	<p>L 1: The scheme should be designed considering the resources available locally. The situation in the rural areas is complex. The available natural and human resources are diverse and specific to the context. The government can use the available resources in a synergetic way to ensure the optimal use of the resources including human resources.</p>		<p>F 2: The wage structure should be just and should be updated according to the inflation rate. It should also be compatible with the type of work and the energy expended in that work.</p>	<p>E 1: The economic status and the current earning capacity of the tribal households should be considered before expecting that the tribal people should contribute towards the operations and maintenance costs of the scheme.</p>
<p>C 7: While selecting the beneficiary, the government should assess whether s/he has the necessary capability required for the activity. Alternatively, the scheme should be designed in such a way that it would contain a sizable provision for capability building. The scheme should not be implemented unless the phase of capability building is complete. The implementation of the scheme should not precede capability building only for the sake of reaching the target in the given time period.</p>		<p>T 1: Either the knowledge of technology required for benefiting from the scheme should be given to the beneficiary, or the activity itself should be simple, user friendly and adaptable to the local context.</p>	<p>F 3: The norms for allocation of money should be revised to suit the local situation. This will help serve the local demands and needs.</p>	<p>E 2: The economic feasibility of the self-employment activity proposed by the SHG or suggested by the government should be ensured before allowing the activity. Diversity self-employment activities should be considered.</p>
	<p>L 2: Cognizance of people's needs should be taken while designing the schemes and the schemes should support the livelihood activities they are comfortable with.</p>	<p>T 2: Use of appropriate technology compatible with the environment of the local area should be seriously considered while designing the schemes.</p>	<p>F 4: Enough financial allocation should be made towards the capability building and training programs.</p> <p>F 4: The Government can rethink for designing its policy towards integration of its existing programs for the better economic well being of the disadvantaged sections of the society. Can this be achieved without changing the objectives of the program?</p>	<p>E 3: The supportive infrastructure and policies for the micro enterprises should get serious attention.</p> <p>E 5: There should be a program that would support the tribal people during the period of adapting to a new activity that the community has not practiced earlier.</p>

Annexure III- Information about Grassroots Social Activists Who Participated in the Interviews

Sr. No.	Name	Age	Gender	Edu.	Post in the GrO	Work Experience	Field Area	Work Area / Issues	Community
1	DP	43	Male	B. A.	Trustee, Coordinator Secretary	18 years	Sudhagadh tahsil, Raigadh	Education, Agriculture, Self employment activities	Katkari, Small and marginal farmers from all communities
2	VP1	38	Male	B. A.	Trustee, Coordinator	15 years	Sudhagadh tahsil, Raigadh	Tribal Education, "Alternative Livelihoods Program" - Agri/Horticulture, Fisheries, and Micro finance	Katkari, Thakur, Mahadeo Koli, Kunabi
3	VP2	37	Female	B.E./ M.A. (Socio)	Director	13 Years	Pen tahsil, Raigadh	Formal and nonformal Education, Tribal Development through land and water development, Self Employment schemes	Katkari, Thakur
4	BL	42	Male	M.S.W., L.L.B	Senior Worker	16 years	Jawhar, Mokhada & Dahanu tahasils, Thane	Mass Organization, Land rights	Warli, Mahadeo koli, Malhar Koli, Dhor Koli, Katkari, Thakur, Konkana (All Tribals)
5	GA	48	Male	8th standard passed / Veterinary Science	President	20 years	Mahad tahasil, Raigadh	Watershed development, total development of the tribal people (Agriculture, animal Husbandary, fisheries, housing, Cooperatives)	Katkari, Wadar, Beldar, Dhanagar, Maratha, Navbauddha (Dalit)
6	NG	45	Female	M.S.W.	Director	19 years	Karjat tahasil, Raigadh	Land and Water Development, Haelht, Education, Land rights, woment empowerment	Katkari, Thakur, Mahadeo koli, and Dalit communities
7	BG	35	Male	B. A.	Trustee	15 years	Karjat tahasil, Raigadh	Agriculture Development among tribals	Katkari tribe
8	AS	56	Male	B.Com.		25 years	Raigadh	All issues related to tribal Development, (Micro finance, Agriculture, Horticulture & Health in particular	Katkari, Thakur, Kunabi / Maratha, Dalit and other diadvantaged sections
9	IT	41	Female			18 years	Murbad tahasil. Thane	Land Rights, Public Distribution System	Katkari, Thakur, Warli, Konkana, Mahadeo Koli
10	AK	50	Male	B' Tec, civil	Trustee	20 years	Manchar tahasil, Pune	Watershed development, total development of the tribal people (Agriculture, animal Husbandary, fisheries, housing)	Mahadeo Koli, Katkari
11	KK	67	Female	M.A. (Psycho.)	Trustee	30 years	Manchar tahasil, Pune	Forests Conservation and Development, self-employment opportunities	Mahadeo Koli, Katkari

Annexure IV -The Interview Guide for Interview of Social Grassroots Activists

Part I

- The information about the interviewee
 - Name, Age, Sex and Education
 - Work Experience, Designation in the organization,
 - Subjects of interest and work
- The Information regarding the organization
 - The name, year of establishment,
 - Name of the founder,
 - Geographical Area (field area)
 - Objective of the Organization, Areas of work
 - Association and focus on the sections of the society
 - Experience of the organization regarding the tribal development schemes.
(Names of the schemes)

Part II

- Information, experiences and comments of the respondents towards any two schemes. Information would be sought on following points
 - Background of the scheme,
 - Rationale of the GrO behind selecting the scheme for implementation. The rationale would include special observations and experiences of the GrO leaders regarding the needs of the people likely to be satisfied through the scheme
 - Objectives of the study – According to the government circulars as well as according to the GrO leaders approach
 - Type of the scheme viz. Scheme aimed at economic development, a welfare oriented scheme, a scheme for socio-cultural development.
 - The main assumptions (rationale/understanding) made by the government for development of the tribals by giving benefits through the scheme
 - Gaps in the Government's rationale (assumptions) as against to the tribal livelihoods reality
 - Benefits given through the scheme, Nature of the benefit towards, sufficiency of the benefit, gaps in people's expectations from the scheme and the actual benefit given, possible reasons for the gaps founds
 - Numbers of the beneficiary, Nature of the beneficiaries viz. individual or group, Criteria for beneficiary selection, Criteria applied by the GrO in addition to the criteria of the government, Ideal criteria according to the GrO leader's opinion
 - Financial provisions for the scheme, break-up of the provision with respect to the nature of the benefit and beneficiaries
 - Various activities supposed to be taken under the scheme e.g. training; community organization, awareness building, and their task wise details, change and additions done by the GrO in the activities, special efforts made by the GrO for successful implementation of the scheme
 - Gaps found in the provisions as against the objectives
 - Gaps found in the activities under the scheme as against the provisions of the scheme
 - Overall suggestions and comments on approach, concept behind the scheme as well as on the implementation process of the scheme.

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End Notes

ⁱ The term *dalits* is used to refer to a conglomeration of all the 'lower-caste' communities, in the Hindu caste-based social order.

ⁱⁱ This section of the study report has been drawn from the following documents: (a) Report On development of tribal areas – National Committee on the Development of Backward Areas, Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi – 1981 and (b) Tenth Five Year Plan document, Planning Commission, Government of India 2002-2007

ⁱⁱⁱ An in-depth discussion on the conceptual aspects of the sustainable livelihoods framework is presented in Chambers, 1992.

^{iv} One crore of Rupees equals Rupees ten million

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