



Tribal Sub-Plan in Maharashtra

A Diagnostic Study



TATA INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, Mumbai

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UNICEF, Maharashtra

December 2015

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Foreword

In India tribal people are often called “Adivasis” and the government recognizes them as scheduled tribes (STs). Scheduled Tribes (STs) and also Scheduled Castes (SCs) are the disadvantaged sections of the society due to socio-economic exploitation and isolation since times immemorial. According to the Census of 2011, the ST population in India was 104.5 million, accounting for 8.63 percent of the total population of the country. The tribal population in Maharashtra in 2011 was 10.5 million constituting 9.35 percent of the total population of the state. The state has the second largest tribal population in the country, next only to Madhya Pradesh, with 10 percent of the total ST population of India. Numerically, Maharashtra state has the largest number of tribal population in the country. Though the ST population in India is numerically less as compared to the general population, they deserve special attention as they are socio-economically and culturally backward and isolated from the general population. Even among the STs, there are large differences between them in terms of numerical strength, history of settlement, geographic location, livelihood pattern, language, culture, human development, political empowerment and developmental aspirations. Further, each tribe is an endogamous group and interaction between groups and outside world is very much limited. In recognition of their backwardness and the need for government support, as early as India’s independence, provision has been made for administration and control of scheduled areas and scheduled tribes in the 5th Schedule of the Constitution of India. There are many constitutional safeguards for the welfare, development and protection of the STs such as equal rights and opportunities; protection against discrimination on the grounds of caste, religion, race, sex, etc; reservation in appointments and in Lok Sabha, Legislative Assembly, Local Government seats; protection against social injustice and all forms of exploitation; and so on.

The Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) strategy was evolved for the rapid socio-economic development of tribal people and the important aspect of this strategy was to ensure allocation of funds for TSP areas at least in proportion to the ST population of each State/UT. The TSP Programmes are financed by the following sources: (i) Tribal Sub Plan funds from State/UT Plans and Central Ministries/Departments, (ii) Special Central Assistance (SCA) to Tribal Sub Plan, (iii) Grants under Article 275 (1) of the Constitution to the States/UTs, (iv) Funds through Central Sector Schemes, (v) Funds from Centrally Sponsored Schemes and (vi) Institutional Finance. For implementing the TSP strategy, Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs) were delineated in the tribal concentrated States. Special Central Assistance (SCA) to Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) and Grant-in- Aid under Article 275(1) of the Constitution were also initiated in this plan to provide additional funds to TSP implementing States for income generating activities, infrastructure development and administrative reinforcement.

The study undertaken by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) in collaboration with UNICEF Maharashtra field office on the TSP examined review reports of the various committees, working groups and research reports on the status of socio-economic variables such as literacy, school enrolment, educational attainment, health indicators, per capita income, employment opportunities, access to basic amenities like drinking water, housing, drainage facility and electricity, and the assets possessed. These showed wide gaps between the STs and the general population. The reviews also brought out the tardy implementation of the TSP by the various States/UTs and Central Ministries/Departments, lacunae in policy implementation, allocation and utilization of funds, structural inadequacies at the national, state, district, block and village levels and a need for periodical status reviews and evaluation of the impact of the schemes/programmes.

A detailed analysis of TSP formulation, fund flow, implementation and monitoring mechanism followed by the state of Maharashtra, and its impact on the scheduled tribes in the state was done. The report proposes to attempt the following:

1. To understand the planning and implementation strategy adopted in the implementation of the TSP at different levels, from state to village levels.
2. To review the process of flow of funds from state to village levels in the last five years and to analyze its size, distribution and adequacy (in proportion to population), choice of schemes (equity and inclusion of social sectors), disbursement mechanisms, timeliness, and its synchronization with planning cycle.
3. To assess the programmatic as well as financial monitoring and evaluation system practiced in the implementation of TSP and to recommend corrections therein.
4. To investigate the reach of benefits to the needy and to assess the nature of community participation in planning, implementing and monitoring of TSP.
5. To prepare a Tribal Atlas for the state of Maharashtra with particular reference to TSP areas.
6. To recommend policy and program measures for the effective implementation of TSP and for the greater participation of tribal community.

The Fifth Schedule area in Maharashtra cover parts of Thane, Palghar, Nashik, Gondia, Dhule, Ahmadnagar, Pune, Nanded, Nandurbar, Raigarh, Amravati, Yavatmal, Gadchiroli and Chandrapur districts. In Maharashtra, the TSP strategy is being implemented in the Tribal areas of 15 districts, 68 blocks and 13 cities. For our study, we proposed to consider three districts representing three regions of the state. In the next level, within the selected districts we proposed to select three blocks at the rate of one per district. The districts and blocks have been selected in such a way

that one is an ATSP, MADA or Mini-MADA cluster. In the third level, within the selected blocks we selected six panchayats or clusters randomly at the rate of two per block. For community interaction, we selected one village per selected panchayat/cluster (total six villages). Among the 13 cities in the TSP strategy, we selected one city for detailed investigation.

Prior to starting the field activities, the research team conducted a desk review of TSP and formulated study questions and methodology. Further, discussions were held with officials concerned with the implementation of TSP at Governor's office and at the state government (Tribal Development Department). Discussions were also held with the Tribal Research and Training Institute (TRTI) and Yashwantrao Chavan Academy of Development Administration (YASHADA) about the studies they have conducted, the findings of their studies which were appropriately incorporated into the study tools.

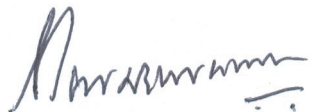
In the selected units (state, districts, blocks, city and villages, as the case may be) a team of research staff visit and referred to documents regarding TSP planning and implementation; budget allocation and expenditures (or the amount transferred to lower units) including their timings of realization; minutes of review meetings; instructions/orders that were passed to the lower implementation levels; list of projects implemented including their nature, cost, duration and distribution; and a sample list of beneficiaries (at block/panchayat/cluster levels). In addition, discussions were held with officials concerned (with the planning and implementation of TSP) and field personnel about planning and implementation of TSP, financial disbursement mechanisms followed, programmatic and financial monitoring and evaluation procedure adopted, decentralization of powers and devolution of funds, and community participation in planning and implementation TSP, and so on.

In addition to seeking documents from program agencies and discussion with program functionaries, a small sample of beneficiaries were listed and contacted at their addresses to verify whether the reported benefit had actually reached the needy or not. Further FGDs were conducted in the selected tribal villages so as to understand their knowledge about TSP, perception about the programs and attitude towards the implementing authorities.

This report provides insights into the functioning and programs of the Tribal Development Department and the administrative departments of the State Government with respect to the TSP in Maharashtra from the perspectives of the functionaries of Tribal Development Department, administrative departments at district level, and the tribal community. The report may be a useful source of information not only to the Government but also to NGOs, social workers and the research community in general.

A number of recommendations are provided, which derives largely from the principles of people's participation, subsidiarity, and additionality. The report recommends building on the

rights-based approach, and in trusting local communities to effectively govern themselves since devolution, decentralisation, and effective social audit are the pillars of such interventions. It is hoped that the report will contribute in transforming the TSP into a more people-centric, responsive, and efficient tool of tribal welfare.



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Message

Maharashtra is one of the ten states which have Fifth Schedule areas. With more than ten million tribal persons in the state, Maharashtra has an important role to play in tribal welfare. The Tribal sub-Plan (TSP) strategy is central to the approach of planning for tribal welfare as a special component of overall planning. The goal is to ensure progress of tribal communities and to prevent diversion of funds meant for the progress of tribal communities. The “Maharashtra model” of the Tribal sub-Plan is appreciated throughout the country. It aims to allocate a percentage of Plan funds for tribal welfare in proportion to the tribal population. It also provides for a focussed approach to tribal development by concentrating on social sectors like health, education, social justice, etc., and by making the Tribal Development Department responsible for planning for tribal welfare.

The last two decades have thrown up a number of new challenges to which the TSP needs to respond. There is a need for effective implementation of progressive legislations like PESA, and the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006. Convergence of the efforts of the ITDP structure with other structures at the district level is also required. A Tribal sub-Plan Act which will prevent diversion of TSP funds and ensure departmental commitments to tribal welfare is also the need of the hour. I am glad to know that TISS in collaboration with UNICEF has come out with a diagnostic study of the Tribal sub-Plan to suggest ways in which the Tribal sub-Plan can be made responsive to the changing needs of tribal communities. I am sure the report will be found useful by the planners and other stakeholders. I wish the publication success.

(Ch Vidyasagar Rao)

Message from the Chief of Office, UNICEF Maharashtra

A substantial tribal population in Maharashtra is both a challenge as well as an opportunity especially in terms of human development and particularly children's development. The state has reached a few milestones in terms of the MDGs but has a long way to go as regards certain indicators with respect to children's survival, development and protection. The situation of children in tribal areas unsatisfactory as compared to those in non-tribal areas because of various reasons.

This puts more responsibility on the Government and development agencies like UNICEF and others to reach out to difficult areas and vulnerable tribal groups with services related to health, nutrition, education, water and sanitation, livelihoods, basic infrastructure etc. to help these population realize their right to a decent life as citizens of the country and also to participate in social, economic and political development.

UNICEF had been working in quite a few states of India especially focusing on tribal and scheduled caste population and advocating for better and adequate services for children and women. In Maharashtra, UNICEF has been working on addressing equity issues in Nandurbar, Thane, Chandrapur, Yavatmal since the last many years.

The purpose of supporting TISS to bring out this report is to generate the body of evidence to advocate on policy level and institutional concerns in the planning, implementation and monitoring of Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) programmes. The objective has been to analyse the performance of the Tribal Development Department vis-à-vis the implementation of the Tribal Sub-Plan which has a decent allocation every year and its linkages with other line departments involved in delivery of crucial services like health, education, public works, water and sanitation.

I am quite hopeful that the Government of Maharashtra will consider this report with all sincerity to ensure a better and sustainable future for the tribal population across the state.



Ms. Rajeshwari Chandrasekar

Chief of Office

UNICEF Maharashtra

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Abbreviations

ANC	Antenatal Care
ANM	Auxiliary Nurse Midwife
APO	Assistant Project Officer (ITDP)
ARO	Associate Research Officer
ASHA	Accredited Social Health Activist
ATC	Additional Tribal Commissionerate
ATSP	Additional Tribal Sub-Plan
BCG	Bacillus Calmette-Guerin (vaccine)
BDO	Block Development Office/Officer
BDS	Budget Distribution System
CMW	Currently Married Woman
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
DPC	District Planning Committee
DPDC	District Planning and Development Council (also DPC)
DPT	Diphtheria, Pertussis (whooping cough) and Tetanus (vaccine)
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GR	Government Resolution
IDI	In-depth Interview
IEC	Information Education Communication
IFA	Iron and Folic Acid (tablet)
ITDP	Integrated Tribal Development Project
JSY	Janani Suraksha Yojana
MADA	Modified Area Development Approach
MIS	Management Information System
MPCE	Monthly Per-capita Consumer Expenditure
NFHS	National Family Health Survey
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
NREGS	National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
NRHM	National Rural Health Mission

NSS	National Sample Survey
NTFP	Non-Timber Forest Products
OBC	Other Backward Classes
OTSP	Outside Tribal Sub Plan
PESA	Panchayat Extension to the Scheduled Areas Act
PHC	Primary Health Centre
PLIC	Project Level Implementation Committee
PO	Project Officer (ITDP)
PTG	Primitive Tribal Groups
PVTG	Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (also PTG)
PWD	Public Works Department
RCH	Reproductive and Child Health
SBK	Sampoorna Bamboo Kendra
SC	Scheduled Caste
SHG	Self-Help Group
ST	Scheduled Tribe
TAC	Tribal Advisory Council
TDC	Tribal Development Commissionerate
TDD	Tribal Development Department
TISS	Tata Institute of Social Sciences
TRTI	Tribal Research and Training Institute
TSP	Tribal Sub-Plan
TT	Tetanus Toxoid (injection)
UC	Utilization Certificate
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
YASHADA	Yashwantrao Chavan Academy of Development Administration

Preface

Review of the reports of various committees, working groups and studies on the status of tribal communities in Maharashtra show that, on the basis of socio-economic, housing and health indicators, there are present wide gaps between the attainments of Scheduled Tribes and the general population. This, in spite of the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) strategy, which was initiated during the Fifth Five-Year Plan exclusively for the socio-economic amelioration of the tribal communities. Under the TSP, the Tribal Development Department (TDD) and a number of administrative departments of the State government receive funds for the socioeconomic development of the tribal communities.

In order to understand the functioning and programs of the Tribal Development Department and the administrative departments that receive funds under TSP, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) undertook a Diagnostic Study of the Working of the Tribal Sub-Plan in Maharashtra, at the instance of the Governor's office, and with funding provided by the UNICEF.

The study involves analysis of TSP formulation, planning and flow of funds, and the implementation process. In addition, monitoring and evaluation processes of TSP schemes and programmes in Maharashtra were also studied. Discussions were held with officials of the Tribal Development Department from the Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs) selected for the study and administrative departments at the district and block levels. Also included in the study are discussions with local/community leaders and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with Scheduled Tribes (STs) in selected villages. The tools used for the study were checklists, discussion points, FGD guidelines and formats for obtaining budget and performance statistics.

This report provides insights into the functioning of the programs and schemes of the Tribal Development Department, and administrative departments with respect to TSP in Maharashtra from the perspectives of functionaries of Tribal Development Department, administrative departments at district level and the tribal community. We hope that the report provides a valuable source of information not only to the Government, but also to NGOs, social workers and the research community in general.

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We thank Mr. Mukesh Khullar, erstwhile Principal Secretary, Tribal Development Department, Government of Maharashtra, for approving the study and his cooperation. We also thank Shri. Rajgopal Devara, the present Secretary of TDD, for his support. We thank the district and block level officials, the District Collectors, CEOs of Zilla Parishads and officers of the various administrative departments and Project Officers of ITDPs as well as their colleagues and subordinates who willingly shared their experiences and provided us information about their TSP activities.

At the community level, the study team interacted with Gram Panchayat functionaries, village leaders and men and women in the villages and conducted in-depth interviews and Focussed Group Discussions. The community people and representatives participated actively and shared considerable information and also voiced their concerns. We thank all of them.

At TISS, the research team worked tirelessly and efficiently to collect qualitative and quantitative information, compilation and putting them together in this report. We sincerely thank them all.

Tata Institute of Social Sciences

Mumbai

Executive Summary and Recommendations

The Scheduled Tribes are one of the most marginalised communities in India. As a consequence of historical injustices, displacement due to development projects, deprivation of land assets through fraud and exploitation of their already distressed situation, and denial of access to natural resources they suffer from a severe development deficit vis-à-vis other communities.

Data from Census and other Surveys show a wide gap between the development indicators of STs vis-à-vis the general population. The gaps are substantial, and their persistence is a serious social and ethical problem. A comparison of data of the decade long period between 2001 and 2011 show that, in fact, that with respect to many of the indicators, the gaps are widening.

Present TSP strategy in Maharashtra is largely based on the recommendations of the Sukthankar and the Jayant Patil Committees. A positive aspect of the TSP in Maharashtra is that separate allocations are made *at the beginning* of the Planning exercise and is controlled by the TDD. Therefore, there is little possibility of diversion of the budget for non-TSP purposes. However, there is real concern over the lack of ownership of the various schemes under the TSP.

State Governments and the concerned Ministries allocate funds for TSP in proportion to the tribal population. However, in view of the extent of the deprivation suffered by the STs, we recommend that TSP allocation policies must move away from a population-share to a 'problem-share' approach. However, even on the basis of 'population-share', it was estimated by the Kelkar Committee that, "since 1994, the tribal people have been deprived of Rs.7607 crore of their legitimate share of the budget." We recommend that this diversion should be made good through additional TSP provisions over the next four to five financial years. The TSP budgets must be non-divertible and non-lapsable; they must be insulated from budgetary cuts. This can be done only through legislation as has been done in Andhra Pradesh through the APSCSP and TSP Act, 2013.

We also found in our study that, despite clearly laid out directives, budgetary commitments to many important sectors such as nutrition, health, fisheries, agriculture, and rights-based interventions leave much to be desired. Sector-wise TSP interventions lack in depth and diversity, and do not respond to the specific needs and challenges faced by STs. In fact, at times, we suspect that there is a tendency for TSP to be used as an alternative to the general budget as a source of funds. There is a clear need for departments to "own" TSP and for inter-departmental convergence.

The study also found that, despite the clear mandate of a progressive Act like PESA, its intent and objectives are not reflected in the TSP. The TSP does not provide for participation of the Gram

Sabha and the various tiers of Panchayati Raj in the Planning process. The manner in which the schemes are implemented, process of selection of beneficiaries, and the lack of participative micro-planning amount to violation of the mandate of PESA.

There is, similarly, a need for TSP to be responsive and provide support to rights-based interventions such as MGNREGA, Forest Rights Act, and Right to Food, etc.

As far as the implementation of schemes and the ITDP structure are concerned, the structure is severely constrained by limited manpower, a multiplicity of delivery mechanisms for similar schemes, lack of delegation of powers, excessive centralization of decision making of Commissionerate and ATC level, and issues of administrative control over, as well as convergence with, the line departments. There exists a disconnect of districts officials and PO-ITDP from the planning process.

The Planning Department and the Finance Department have no role in the planning of TSP except for allocation/release of funds as per norms. The entire planning and implementation of TSP remains with the Tribal Development Department. However, there is a clear need for creating platforms of interaction, consultation, and convergence between the Tribal Development Department and the state or district administrative departments in the planning and/or implementation of TSP schemes.

The constraints of manpower and lack of technical competence led to problems in selection of beneficiaries, implementation bottlenecks, and lack of effective monitoring. To address the situation, we recommend that a number of subjects and/or schemes must be transferred to the Zilla Parishads, Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayats with more authority given to the Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayats in PESA areas for better Planning, Implementation and Monitoring. This will ensure more effective outreach, public accountability and also allow a certain degree of social audit to be built into its structures.

We also recommend budgetary reforms in TSP planning. The rigid ceilings and floors that characterise district TSP are counter-productive and do not take into consideration the diverse needs of districts. Hence, a core and non-core area distinction should suffice.

The lack of District Codes for each district also needs to be addressed. This is closely related to – and leads to – lack of effective powers of re-appropriation at the district level and causes delays in expenditure.

Centralisation of powers in the administrative and financial structure of the TDD leads to poor response-time and also restricts the capacity of institutions to become vibrant and accountable. There is a need to avoid this tendency and, therefore delegation of powers is one of the most important changes needed in the TDD structure.

The process of selection of beneficiaries for most of the schemes is, at present, arbitrary and non-transparent. There is a need to bring beneficiary selection in line with PESA's mandate and involve Gram Sabhas of hamlets as units of selection.

The need to use IEC/BCC as tools for disseminating information about the schemes and also for tribal welfare cannot be overemphasized. Budgetary Support for IEC is a must.

We also envision a principal role for the Collectors the district head for co-ordinating and bringing about convergence in TSP efforts. He/ she must be made the final authority and most files and sanctions should not go beyond him/ her.

Monitoring, reviewing and MIS structures need to be strengthened. The use of ICT to ensure transparency and ease of functioning is absolutely necessary.

Though the Maharashtra model of allocating TSP budget in proportion to the tribal population has been generally lauded as a good system, it is also necessary to acknowledge that there are issues concerning the ownership of TSP budgets by the departments.

Considering the fact that, for many departments, the TSP budget will be less than 9% of their total budget (the money coming from various sources), they may not be paying as much attention to it as they do to the general budget component. At the same time, the TDD does not have the technical expertise, manpower, and time to understand the nitty-gritty of the processes in the other departments. As far as we could see, there are very few institutional mechanisms to ensure convergence of approach. Therefore, we recommend that there should be regular interactions among departments.

Except for an occasional review by the District Collector and CEO of the Zilla Parishad, the monitoring of activities is restricted to the respective departments. The TDD is not involved in the monitoring and review of TSP activities of the administrative departments. There is no proper reporting system for the performance of administrative departments related to TSP except the financial statements that are forwarded to the ITDPs.

The field teams observed a number of development activities in all the sample villages and their utilization by tribal communities. A few cases (listed in registers) were taken up for verification and found to be genuine. However, it was also noticed that some beneficiaries either sold the benefits (which were received as assets/equipment) or did not properly use or maintain them. Common assets such as link roads, street lights and drinking water supply existed but the quality was poor. As a result they were unutilized or underutilized. The number of individuals and families applying for benefits has increased in the recent years due to growing awareness. However, many applicants were not aware of the outcome of their applications as the feedback was not properly structured. This shortcoming was strongly voiced by the women participants and those living in remote areas.

RECOMMENDATIONS

TSP is a landmark programme designed to fulfil the constitutional obligation of the State to improve the condition of the tribal people. However, to make it more responsive to the needs of the STs, and to streamline the administration of schemes outlined in the TSP we have made a number of recommendations in various places of this report. These are summarised below:

1. **Compensation for the diversion of TSP budget due to low absorption and expenditure:** Since almost Rs. 7000 crores has been 'denied' to the STs over the last two decades because of less than proportionate expenditure, the loss may be made good by additional provisions in TSP over and above the normal allocations in next five Financial Years.
2. **Removal of rigid Ceilings and floors:** Ensure that ceiling and floors identified at the district TSP are removed and only the core/non-core distinction remains. This is necessary to give adequate flexibility to the district planning units to address specific needs of the districts.
3. **Moving from "population share" to a "problem-share" approach:** Since, the gap between the social indicators for STs is not only large, but also increasing vis-à-vis the non-STs, there is an urgent need for a larger share of the budget pie to be shared with the STs. Hence, a weighted average of allocation based on the grading of the extent of deviations is necessary for the budgeting exercise to be effective.
4. **ST budgeting Act:** Presently, the allocations in the TSP budget are not based on any legal compulsion. Thus if, in the future, TSP budget allocation is less than the proportion of STs in the population, it is likely to go unchallenged. Hence, there is a need for a Tribal Sub-Plan legislation on the lines of the one recently introduced in undivided Andhra Pradesh. Such an Act can define the minimum percentage of allocation; provide safeguards against diversion and lapsing of funds, maintenance of book of accounts, the minimum percentage of devolution, etc. Also, as it will be treated as a special budget to address serious economic and social issues of tribal communities, across-the-board budgetary cuts should not be made applicable to the TSP.
5. **Increasing the depth and diversity of the TSP and a shift to outcomes-based Planning:** It was seen that, for many interventions in TSP, the extent of interventions is either not enough, or the interventions are multi-faceted. Many TSP schemes, in fact, displace the general plan. Hence, we recommend that a consultative process supported by a core independent research agency/body needs to be put in place immediately to take a fresh look at the schemes and determine whether they address the various gaps that they were meant to address. Schemes need to be objectively measured by the TDD and the parent

department so those not in consonance with the objectives are removed. Such schemes may be funded, instead, by the general plan. A number of new schemes in areas which impact ST welfare, for example, health, nutrition, agriculture, tribal development, forest rights, PESA, minor irrigation, etc. need to be considered after reviewing the current / existing schemes to avoid duplication and multiplicity of efforts.

6. **Micro-Planning and stakeholder participation in planning:** Despite the recognition that the STs have a community way of life and their unique customs and traditions must be preserved, they have not been made partners in the efforts to understand their vision of development. There is a need to link the planning process to micro-planning involving all stakeholders. The micro-planning exercise should be an annual one and be supported by both budgetary provisions and human resources. Alternatively, there can be a perspective planning exercise from which annual plans are derived and reviewed at the end of the year following which priorities can be adjusted to address areas of concern.
7. **Assessing the baseline situation of tribal families and TSP areas and planning for their overall development:** This must be done with the participation of the people. Presently, most of tribal people are poorly equipped to take advantage of emerging livelihood opportunities. Land and natural resource-based livelihoods are on the decline and tribal people must be suitably equipped work in emerging sectors. Therefore, a baseline assessment could be followed by a strategic vision for the holistic development of tribal people to improve their productivity, and the sustainability of land and natural resources available to them. The exercise will also identify areas, including Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) – especially in the light of FRA – where they are in a better position to acquire new skills and opportunities. (It is learnt that presently, a baseline survey is under consideration by the Department).
8. **Improving the beneficiary selection process:** ITDPs should digitize the existing as well as new data and create a database of beneficiaries, including the beneficiaries of schemes run by the Line Departments. Beneficiary selection should be done by the Gram Sabhas and not by the easy to manipulate “first-come, first-served basis”. Also, an online tracking system can be set up at each ITDP project office for keeping a record of applications received, action taken (with justification) and the number of days taken to dispose of the case.
9. **PESA and TSP:** The mandate of PESA involves ownership of the TSP by the Panchayati Raj system. Therefore, it is imperative to transfer the subjects laid down in the Eleventh Schedule to the Panchayati Raj system in Scheduled Areas. Secondly, the Gram Sabhas and the Panchayati structure must be involved in proposing the micro-plans that will finally constitute the TSP. To the extent possible, and allowing for a limited number of exceptions,

the schemes should be run by the Panchayati Raj system. Beneficiary selection should be done by the Gram Sabhas and certification of utilisation of funds must be obtained by the Panchayats from the Gram Sabhas.

10. **Involving Panchayati Raj system:** Ensure transfer of most schemes to the Panchayati Raj system. This would have the advantages of (a) ensuring manpower and political accountability for schemes, (b) satisfying the provisions of PESA and (c) ensuring a clear chain of command. Planning for TSP should involve Panchayati Raj (including the Gram Sabha). Micro-planning and identification of needs by the stakeholders themselves should be the norm for budgeting.
11. **Delegation of powers:** There is a need to ensure administrative and financial delegation at various levels. Most of the administrative sanctions should not go beyond the district collectors. Financial limits at all level need to be increased substantially.
12. **Time-bound Recruitment and Human Resource Policy:** As many posts are vacant at all levels, it is necessary to fill the posts at all levels by a time-bound recruitment of personnel in the Tribal Development Department. A Human Resource Policy with sufficient incentives (and disincentives for truancy and non-performance) needs to be put in place. The powers of recruitment for most posts may rest with the District Selection Board headed by the District Collector as is presently the case for posts in RDD, Revenue, etc. The recruitment process for TDD at the district level can also be managed by this committee. This will ensure faster recruitments and fewer vacancies.
13. **Providing for a District/ Project level Planning Unit:** Planning Management Units (PMUs) with adequate planning and IT skills must provide back-end support to the Planning process by monitoring schemes and managing the MIS. Planning should be outcome oriented and programmes given a reasonable time frame (not too short) for completion.
14. **Skills Building and Motivation:** TSP staffs at various levels require suitable skills and motivation for working with tribal people to plan, implement, monitor and evaluate schemes and programmes as well as bringing about better convergence. TSP staff must be made an integral part of the situation assessment and planning processes. Budgetary support is inbuilt in the TSP for this intervention. Housing for staff in remote areas is also an intervention which must be supported with adequate financial provisioning.
15. **Provision of Administrative Infrastructure:** For effective planning and implementation of schemes, TDD officials must receive adequate resource support like telephone, computer and internet facilities, and vehicles (if necessary, four wheel drive vehicles to reach inaccessible tribal and hilly areas for field visits). Adequate provisioning must be made for such requirements.

16. **Prioritization of Schemes and Streamlining Functioning:** Some schemes are run by more than one department under different names. They must be merged and run by a single department, which has the requisite specialization to operate the scheme to ensure better performance and impact.
17. **Periodic Evaluation of Schemes:** Schemes meant to deliver benefits to individuals should focus on employment generation and alternative job opportunities. There are many schemes, which are being implemented for many years that are of not much relevance today. Further, though allocation, release and utilization of TSP funds are made as per norms, it is not known to what extent the funds have reached the needy. These concerns call for a periodic evaluation and review of schemes, and their impact on the community. Ideally, *the Gram Panchayat/Gram Sabha supported by a third party* should be mandated with this task. Based on feedback, existing schemes and/ or strategies can be modified or new ones developed. There should also be a system of monthly progress reports from the implementing departments/institutions, which must be shared with Gram Panchayats and, through them, the Gram Sabhas.
18. **Establishing an Online Monitoring System:** There must be a strong MIS team at the State/Commissionerate level, as also at district/PO levels. This will help in close monitoring of the schemes as well as their outcomes. This needs also to be considered in the light of the fact that most departments do not publish their own tribal budget outcome data. Hence, the MIS cell at the state can be useful in collating data from the state data bank. This data can provide useful insights for framing appropriate TSP strategy.
19. **Submission of an Annual Report:** An annual report on the 'Situation of Tribal People in Maharashtra', which will review achievements and also identify steps to overcome deficiencies, maybe prepared and submitted to the State Governor and made public.
20. **Plan and non-plan division:** The non-plan expenditure must either have a tribal component the Plan/Non-Plan distinction must be completely done away with. There is an urgent need to provide for adequate administrative costs in the scheme design and also for recurrent and maintenance expenditure.
21. **Role of Collector:** The role of the Collector needs to be defined clearly. He is the head of the district and the Secretary of the DPC. He can play a leading role in inter-departmental coordination. Hence, he must be vested with the powers of supervision, monitoring, and other administrative powers (CR writing, minor or major punishments, rewards, recognition and incentives, etc.) to help streamline the system and make it more responsive.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Background

India's Scheduled Tribes (STs) are one of the most disadvantaged sections of society due to their isolation and socioeconomic backwardness. According to the census of 2011, the Scheduled Tribe population in India was 104.5 million, accounting for 8.63 percent of the total population of the country. The tribal population in Maharashtra in 2011 was 10.5 million, which constitutes 9.35 percent of the total population of the state. Maharashtra has the second largest tribal population in the country, next only to Madhya Pradesh, accounting for 10 percent of the total ST population of India.

The Fifth schedule of the Constitution lays down certain roles and responsibilities for the Governor of a State. Presently, there are ten States which have Scheduled Areas. The Governor has the power to apply or not apply existing laws of the State, or to apply them with certain modifications. He also has the power to issue regulations after consultation with the Tribes Advisory Council, and with the approval of the President.

There are as many as 47 tribes or tribal groups in Maharashtra. Some of the major tribal groups are the Bhils, Gonds, the Mahadeo-Kolis, Pawras, Thakurs, and the Warlis. There are also three particularly vulnerable (or primitive) tribal groups: Katkari (Kathodi), Maria Gond and Kolam. The tribal groups differ in numerical strength, settlement history, geographic location and means of livelihood, access to natural resources, language, culture, human development, political empowerment and developmental aspirations. Further, each tribe or tribal group is an endogamous group, whose interaction with other tribal groups and the general population is limited.

Recognizing their isolation and backwardness, and the need for State support, soon after India's independence, provision was made in the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India for the administration and control of Scheduled areas and Scheduled Tribes. The Fifth Schedule areas in Maharashtra cover parts of Thane, Nashik, Dhule, Ahmednagar, Pune, Nanded, Amravati, Yavatmal, Gadchiroli and Chandrapur districts. There are several constitutional safeguards for the protection, welfare and development of the Scheduled Tribes of India. The protective measures include equal rights and opportunities, protection against discrimination on grounds of caste, religion, race, sex, etc., reservation in appointments and in Lok Sabha and Legislative Assembly seats; protection against social injustice and all forms of exploitation, etc. The welfare and development measures include educational and economic opportunities, subsidised housing, various agricultural programmes, financial assistance, etc. These are implemented through the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) strategy.

During the first four Five-Year Plans, the strategy followed for the development of STs was improving their socio-economic status by providing them with educational and economic opportunities. Implementation of the strategy was through the Backward Classes Welfare programmes. After 25 years of independence and by the end of the fourth Five-Year Plan (which included three annual plans), it was found that the Scheduled Tribes continued to lag in the mainstream development processes. Further, it was realized that the 'Plan' schemes and programmes designed for the overall development of the economy barely reached the STs. In order to overcome this shortcoming, the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) was initiated during the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1974-79) was developed exclusively for the socioeconomic amelioration of the tribal communities.

The Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) strategy stipulated that the TSP funds of the State and the Centre must be quantified on the basis of the proportion of the Scheduled Tribe population of the States as to ensure targeted utilization of the funds for the welfare and development of Scheduled Tribes and their accountability. As per the guidelines issued by the Planning Commission to all State Government/UTs in 2005 (Planning Commission, 2005; also quoted in SEEDS 2005, pp I: 12-13), the TSP funds are to be placed under a separate budget head/sub-heads for each development department, along with provisions to ensure that these funds are not diverted and do not lapse, with the clear objective of bridging the gap in socio-economic development within a period of ten years.

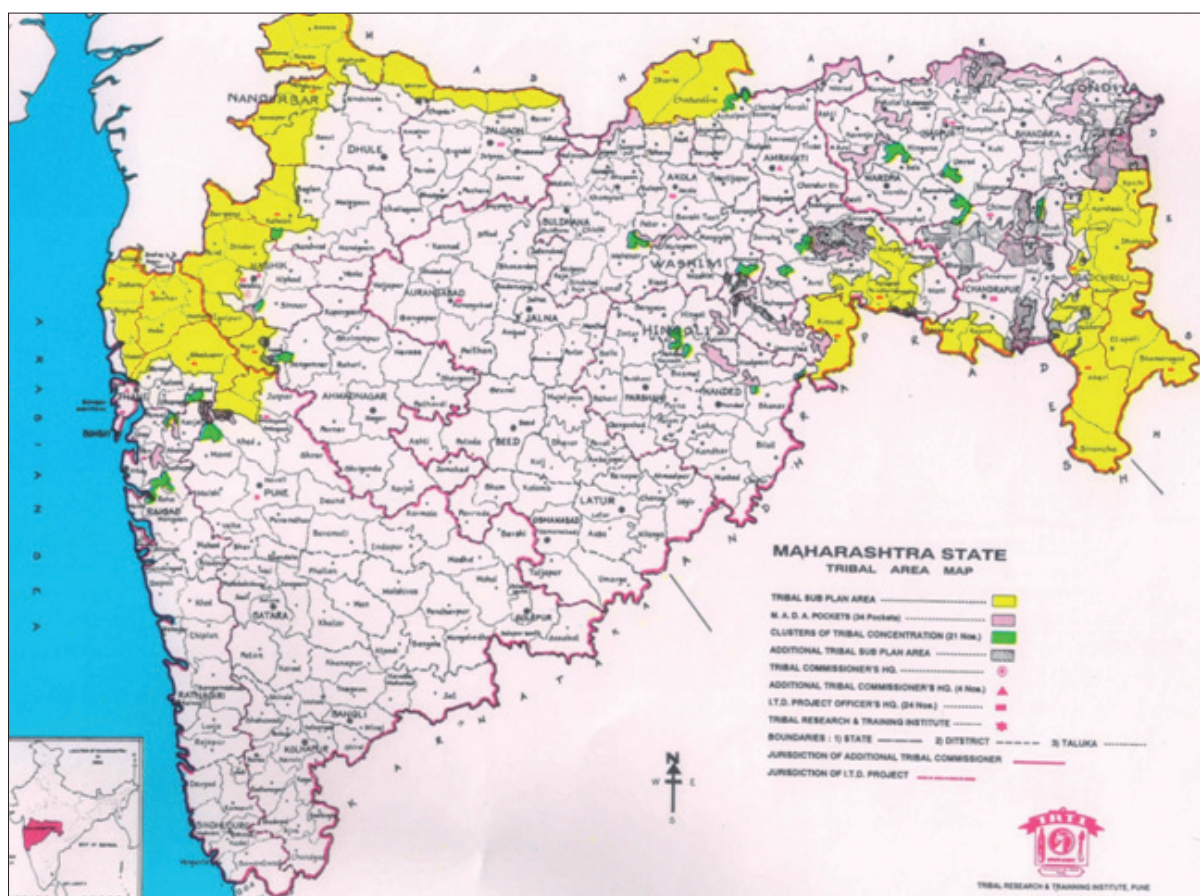
The Tribal Sub-Plan Programmes are financed by the following sources: (i) Tribal Sub-Plan funds from State/UT Plans and Central Ministries/Departments, (ii) Special Central Assistance to Tribal Sub-Plan, (iii) Grants under Article 275(1) of the Constitution to the States/UTs, (iv) Funds through Central Sector Schemes, (v) Funds from Centrally Sponsored Schemes and (vi) Institutional Finance (Quoted in SEEDS 2005, P I-5).

TSP/ITDP Areas

For implementing the TSP strategy, Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs) were clearly delineated in the areas with a high concentration of tribal people. Over the years, changes were made in the modalities to make the approach more effective and beneficial to the tribal communities. To start with, TSP areas were demarcated as areas of tribal communities having a population of 50,000 or more with at least 50 percent of them belonging to tribal communities. Subsequently, villages where the tribal population was only marginally less than 50 percent were also constituted into Additional Tribal Sub-Plan (ATSP) blocks/areas. These TSP and ATSP areas were made part of what is now called Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs).

In the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1980-85), in addition to the ITDPs, a Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) was adopted to cover smaller areas of tribal communities outside TSP areas and having a population of 10,000 or more of which at least 50 percent was tribal. In

Map 1: Tribal Areas in Maharashtra

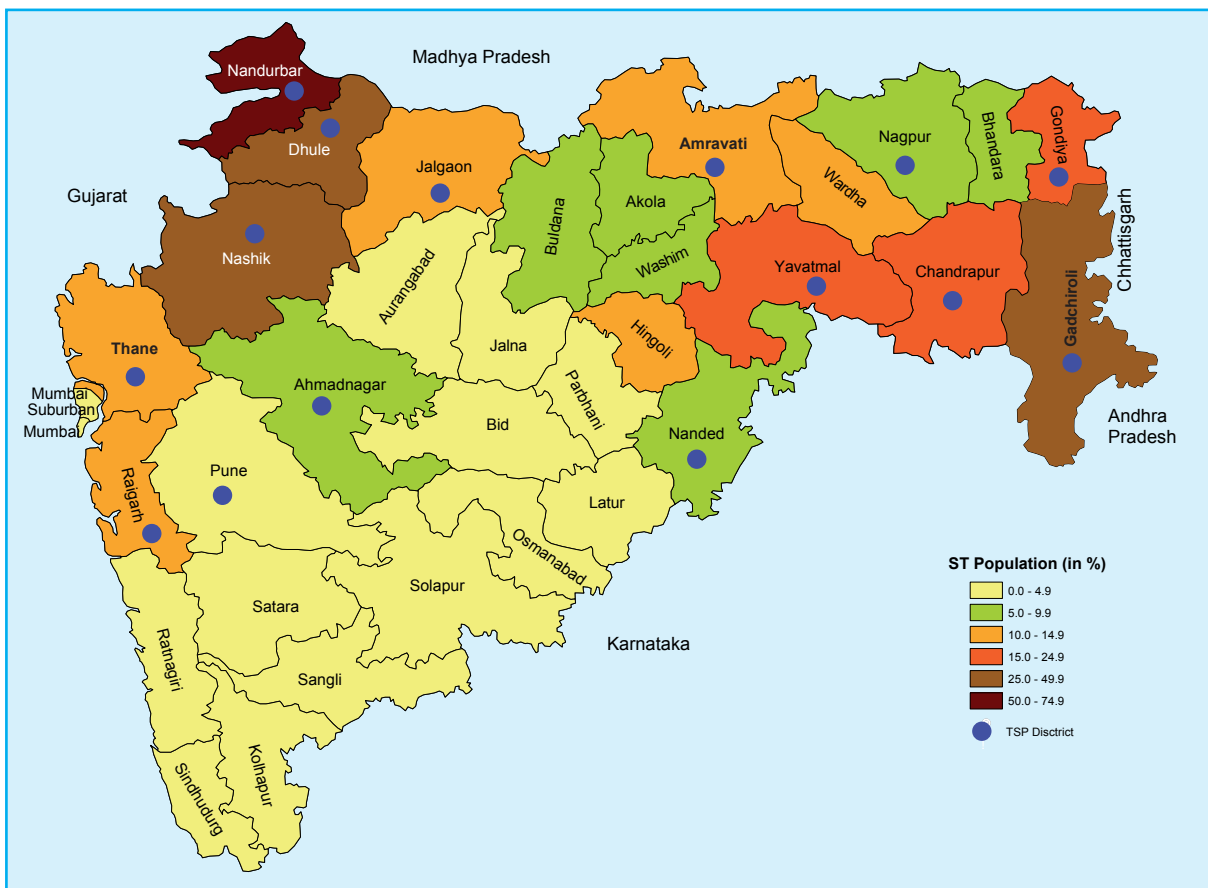


the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1985-90) clusters having a total population of 5000 or more with a tribal population of at least 50 percent were included and termed as Mini-MADA Clusters. Later, the concept of Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs), now called Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) was included in the strategy. The ITDPs thus include all the four categories of areas namely TSP, ATSP, MADA and Mini-MADA areas. Map 1 given below locates these areas in Maharashtra.

The tribal population of Maharashtra is concentrated in the western hilly districts of Thane, Nashik, Dhule, Nandurbar and Jalgaon (Sahyadri region) and the eastern forest districts of Amravati, Nagpur, Bhandara, Gondia, Chandrapur, Gadchiroli and Yavatmal (Gondwana region). Closer look at the location of the tribal population-concentrated districts (see map below) shows that these districts border the neighbouring states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Telangana. As at present, there are 29 ITDPs, 43 MADA pockets and 24 mini- MADA/clusters. TSP areas fall in 15 of the 35 districts of Maharashtra. TSP districts are: Thane, Raigarh, Nashik, Dhule, Nandurbar, Jalgaon, Ahmednagar, Pune, Amravati, Yavatmal, Nagpur, Gondiya, Chandrapur, Gadchiroli and Nanded.

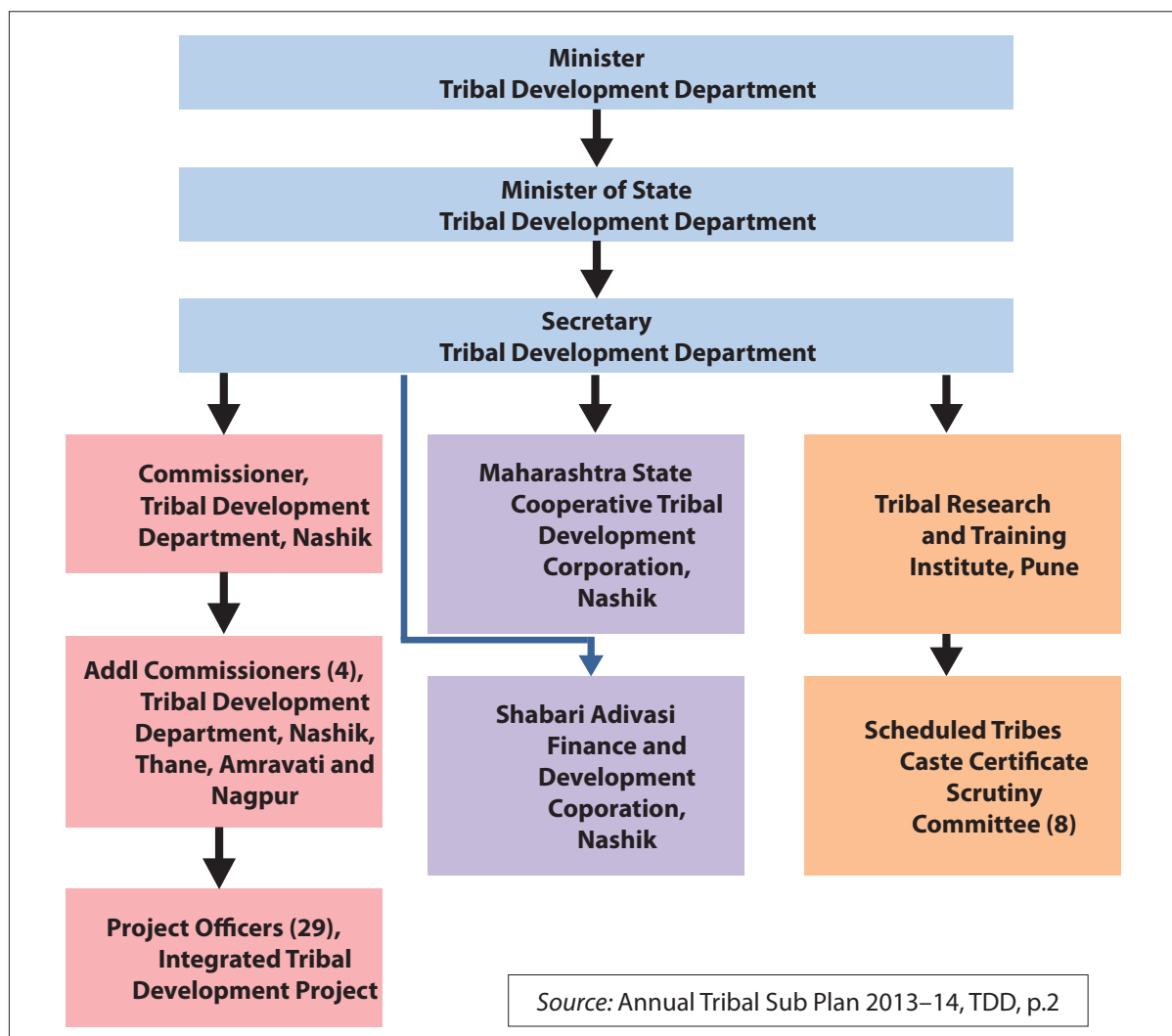
23 talukas are fully covered by the TSP and another 60 are partially covered (36 under TSP and 24 by ATSP). The ITDPs cover 30 towns, 8428 villages, and include 5905 TSP villages, 1272 ATSP villages, 888 MADA villages and 363 mini-MADA villages. (TDD, 2013 & <http://mahatribal.gov.in/>). The Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA), which facilitates self-governance and community control over local natural resources is applicable to the Scheduled Areas. Scheduled Areas span 13 districts and 59 Talukas, and cover 2895 villages. Almost 45 to 50 % of the ST population live in the Scheduled Areas. It is pertinent to note here that, whereas 83 talukas (including fully and partially covered ones) are included in TSP areas, only 59 talukas are part of Scheduled Areas.

Map 2: TSP Districts



Administration

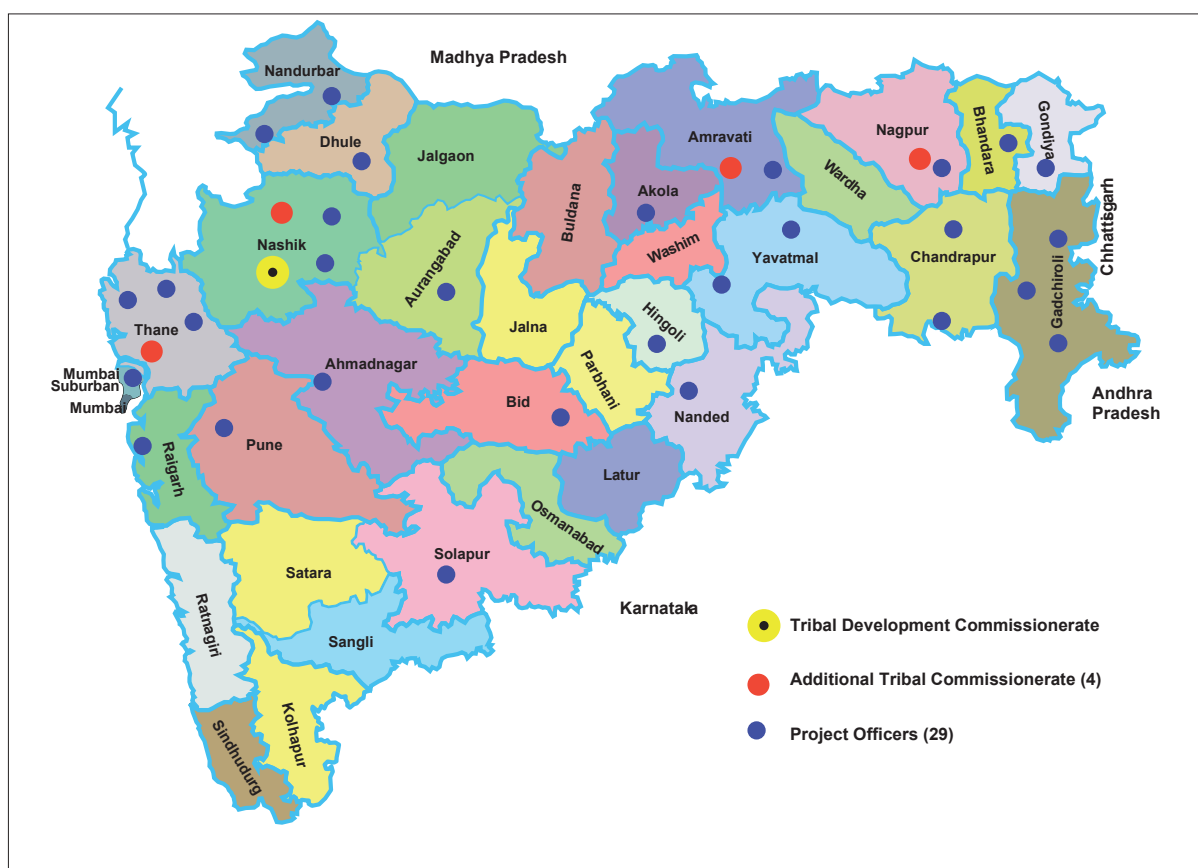
Until 1973, the Tribal Welfare Development Unit was one of the sub-units of the Social Welfare Department. In 1973, a separate Tribal Welfare Directorate was created with Pune as its headquarters. In 1985, a separate Tribal Ministry was formed and the Tribal Development Department (TDD) was reorganized in 1992 (Tribhuvan, 2006). The main functions of the TDD are State Level co-ordination and monitoring of the Tribal Sub-Plan, and supervision of the implementation of various schemes through Integrated Tribal Development Projects. The organisational structure of the Tribal Development Department is given below.



The Tribal Development Commissionerate at Nashik is responsible for the implementation of the TSP. Commissionerate has four Additional Tribal Commissionerates under it: Thane, Nashik, Amravati and Nagpur. There are 29 ITDPs in Maharashtra and they are under the direct administrative control of the four additional Commissionerates (see map 3). Each ITDP is headed by a Project Officer (PO) and he/she is assisted by 2 Assistant Project Officers, one Planning Officer, one Documentation Officer, a core of Junior Education Officers (Inspectors) and administrative staff. In districts with more than one ITDP, one of the POs is designated as the nodal PO whose responsibility is to interact with the administrative departments and participate in District Planning meetings and related exercises.

The objective of the ITDP is to integrate various plan schemes and services at the block/taluka level. However, in Maharashtra, the PO of ITDP does not have the powers of supervision and administrative control over the block level machinery of the administrative departments. Therefore, there remained a gap in the proper integration of services including supervision and ensuring accountability at project level. In order to strengthen the administration,

Map 3: TDC, ATC & ITDP Locations



the TDD issued a Government Resolution (GR) on November 9, 1993 to post an Indian Administrative Service, Indian Forest Service or a Maharashtra Revenue Service officer as Project Officer in 11 sensitive ITDPs with the powers of Additional Collector and Executive Officer of Zilla Parishad.

Further, as the tribal people had to approach several agencies for redressal of their grievances regarding development and regulatory matters, the state government introduced a straight-line administrative hierarchy in the 11 ITDPs by bringing all the officers and staff working in these areas, irrespective of their departments, under the administrative control of the Project Officer. However, in many ITDPs, officers of required seniority were not available, with the result that planning and coordination, including effective service delivery to the tribal community, could not be ensured (TDD, 2013, p. 2-3).

The prime activity of the ITDP is running the Ashram schools. The other schemes implemented directly by the ITDPs are conducting/arranging training programmes for the tribal people, supply of electric pumps and diesel pumps, implementation of Thakkar Bappa schemes (tribal village integrated improvement programme) and Nucleus Budget schemes (according to local variations and needs, which cannot be met from the regular schemes).

The education and training activities of ITDPs include running of Government Ashram Schools, Junior Colleges (attached to Government Ashram Schools), Education in aided Ashram Schools, and Government Hostels for Tribal Students. ITDPs also provide for maintenance allowances for Scheduled Tribe students studying professional courses and living in hostels, implementing schemes for pre-metric scholarships for state tribal students, establishment of Model schools for Scheduled Tribe students, Eklavya Model English Medium Residential Schools, Cash awards for meritorious students of Standards 10 and 12, Cash awards to Ashram Schools, Computer training for students and teachers of Government Ashram Schools, in-service training programmes, training tribal students for military and police jobs, motor vehicle driving training centres for Scheduled Tribes, etc.(TDD, 2013, p.33-37).

Planning and Monitoring Committees

For effective planning, implementation and monitoring of the TSP, there are committees at the state, district and ITDP levels.

Tribes Advisory Council (TAC)

The Chief Minister and Minister for Tribal Development are the ex-officio Chairperson and Vice-Chairperson respectively of the Tribes Advisory Council. The main function of the TAC is to advise the Governor of the state on important matters concerning tribal development, and to decide on policy matters pertaining to the Tribal Development Department.

Cabinet Sub-Committee for Tribal Sub-Plan

At the State Level, there is a Cabinet Sub-Committee for the Tribal Sub-Plan, which is headed by the Minister for Tribal Development. The Principal Secretary, TDD, is the secretary of the sub-committee. The sub-committee is required to approve the Tribal Sub-Plan, supervise its implementation and monitoring, and review all aspects for its speedy implementation.

District Planning Committee

Earlier, there was a District Planning and Development Council (DPDC) constituted in every district to plan for various schemes at the district level. Following Articles 243ZD of the 74th Amendment of the Constitution, the Maharashtra District Planning Committee (Constitution & Functions) Act 1998 (called DPC) was constituted to consolidate the plans prepared by various administrative departments including Panchayats and Municipalities in the district, and also to prepare a draft development plan for the district as a whole. This Act came into force from March 15, 1999. The Minister-in-charge of the district (called Guardian Minister) is the ex-officio chairman of the District Planning Committee, the District Collector is its ex-officio member-secretary, and the President of the Zilla Parishad an ex-officio member. The government also nominates

some ministers from the district, members of Statutory Development Boards, members of State Legislature, members of Parliament and persons having knowledge of District Planning. Special invitees include the concerned Divisional Commissioner, Chief Executive Officer of the Zilla Parishad, the Officer on Special duty (Planning) from the Office of the Divisional Commissioner, the District Planning Officer and Executive Chairman or member, State Planning Board.

It must be noted that there is no separate committee at the district level for TSP planning. Therefore, planning for the TSP budget is carried out as a part of the planning under DPC. For this purpose, the nodal Project Officer of the ITDP participates in DPC meetings. The Administrative departments submit proposals to the nodal PO, ITDP, who consolidates the proposals and places them before the District Planning Committee. The DPC, after approving the TSP plan for the district, forwards it to the Tribal Development Department for further consideration.

ITDP level Monitoring Committee

For effective implementation of the schemes in tribal areas and continual monitoring and review, the state government has constituted project-level implementing committees (PLIC) with a tribal Member of the Legislative Assembly as the chairperson, Additional Tribal Commissioner as the vice-chairman, the tribal Member of Parliament from the area as a special invitee and chair persons of the Social Welfare Committee, Women and Child Welfare Committee and respective Zilla Parishad as invitees. The function of the committee is to review the progress of the schemes included in the Five-Year Plans and the TSP. This committee is also involved in the planning process of the project-level plans. Through this committee, the involvement of tribal peoples' representatives is ensured at both formulations of TSP and implementation stages (TDD, 2014, pp. 8-9).

Chapter 2

STUDY DESIGN

The Problem

It is seen from the review reports of various committees, working groups and research studies on the status of tribal communities that wide gaps exist between the Scheduled Tribes and the General Population on the basis of various socioeconomic indicators such as literacy, school enrolment, educational attainment, per capita income, employment opportunities, health indicators, access to basic amenities like drinking water, housing, drainage facility and electricity, and assets possessed (SEEDS, 2007). Several reports have also acknowledged the tardy implementation of the TSPs by the States/UTs and Central Ministries/Departments, lacunae in policy implementation, gaps in the allocation and utilization of funds as well as structural inadequacies at national, state, district, block and village levels.

The reports also stressed the need for periodical status reviews and evaluation of the impact of the schemes/programmes. For example, a study conducted by UNICEF on a situational gap analysis in Nandurbar district in 2009 noted, “that almost all the flagship programmes are suffering from poor identification of beneficiaries or in a way lack of a robust database to understand ‘who is it to be served’ or ‘who are not being served’. There is also a general lack of convergence both within and between the departments responsible for the implementation of these flagships.” As per the Comptroller and Auditor General of India Report of 2008, during the last thirty years, the Maharashtra government has spent an average of Rs. 13 lakhs for each tribal family through the tribal development programmes (Quoted in Kokate and Solunke, 2011). In view of the poor outcomes for STs in a number of social indicators, and the widening gaps, the above findings should lead us introspect on the processes of implementation of the TSP strategy.

Studies have also found that the schemes for tribal development have not brought about any perceptible change in the socioeconomic lives of the majority of tribal people in the state. Many tribal people *are not even aware* of the tribal welfare programmes that they can benefit from (Tribhuwan, 2006). For successful implementation of tribal development schemes, tribal people should have greater access to the schemes. ITDP Offices should be within reach and functionaries available. However, few studies have tried to investigate the functioning of the Tribal Development Department in general and the ITDPs in particular; and the district level administrative departments with respect to planning, implementation and funds flow processes at different levels.

Against the backdrop of proportional grants available for the Scheduled Tribes, and given the State’s extensive administrative network (Tribal Development Department and various

administrative departments) and the large number of schemes and programmes for the tribal communities, the tardy progress made in the socioeconomic development of the tribal communities raises a few important questions:

- Whether the present structure of the tribal sub-plan in Maharashtra is responsive to the developmental concerns of STs?
- Whether the TSP takes comprehensive account of the variety and diversity between and within regions?
- Whether the TSP and the PO-ITDP structure provide for suitable mechanisms for devolution and delegation of powers?
- Whether the TSP and the various tribal department schemes take ample cognisance of the developments in the last decade pertaining to the rights given to the STs through various landmark legislations such as the Forest Rights Act, 2006?
- Whether the fund flow mechanisms and budgetary processes ensure smooth absorption of funds?
- Whether the TSP and the PO-ITDP structure are in line with the letter and spirit of the PESA Act?

Therefore, the purpose of the study is to gain an understanding of the TSP schemes, programmes and their implementation by the various implementing agencies. Specifically, the study proposes to carry out a detailed analysis of the formulation of the TSP, flow of funds, implementation and monitoring mechanisms followed by the TSP programme implementing agencies, and eventual impact on the socioeconomic condition of Scheduled Tribe people in the state.

Specific Objectives of the Study

- To understand the planning and implementation strategy adopted with respect to TSP at different levels, including understanding the perception of programme functionaries.
- To review the process of flow of TSP funds (from allocation to disbursement) in the state and to analyse its size, distribution and adequacy (in proportion to population size), choice of schemes (for different social and economic sectors of the population), disbursement mechanisms, timeliness and synchronization with the planning cycle.
- To assess the programmatic, financial monitoring and evaluation systems practiced in the implementation of TSP and to recommend appropriate corrective actions therein.
- To investigate the reach of benefits to the needy and to assess the nature and extent of community participation in planning, implementation and monitoring of TSP programs.

- To identify best/good practices from the TSP implementation for further dissemination.
- To recommend policy and programme measures for the effective implementation of TSP and for the greater participation of the tribal community.

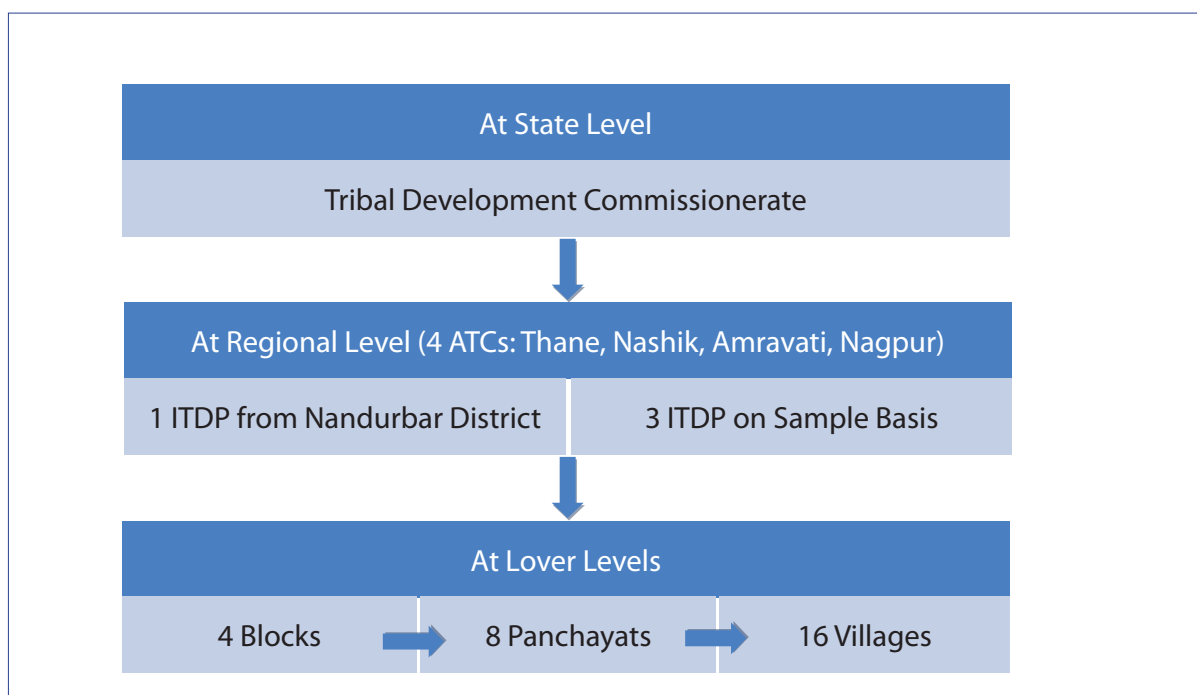
Sampling

In order to fulfil the objectives, the study proposed collection and analysis of socioeconomic data pertaining to tribal areas, examination of TSP budget and expenditure statements at different levels of administration, examination of government GRs and policy documents, discussions with programme functionaries, verification of sample beneficiaries, in-depth interviews with village leaders and key persons and FGDs with community members, etc.

For field investigation, it was proposed to select four ITDPs, one each from the four Additional Tribal Commissionerates (ATCs). Of the four ITDPs, one ITDP was selected from Nandurbar district of Nashik ATC because of UNICEF's deep involvement in this district (Table 2.1). At the next level, it was proposed to select four blocks, one block from each of the selected ITDPs. At the third level, it was decided to select eight Panchayats, two per block selected. The Panchayats were selected at random. For community interactions, we chose two villages from each selected panchayat/ cluster, thus making it a total 16 of villages (Figure 1).

TABLE 2.1: A List of Districts, ITDPs, Blocks and Panchayats selected for Collecting field-level data for TSP study.

S. No.	ATC	District	ITDP	Block	Panchayats
1	Thane	Thane	Jawhar	Jawhar	Dhadri, Hateri
2	Nashik	Nandurbar	Taloda	Akrani	Dhabaji, Gorambha
3	Amravati	Amravati	Dharni	Chikaldara	Dahedri, Barugvhan
4	Nagpur	Chandrapur	Chandrapur	Sawali	Khedi, Chakprinji, Chargaon

FIGURE 1: Sampling Process for Collection of Field Level Data

Field Work

Prior to commencement of field work, the research team conducted a desk review of TSP and formulated the study questions and developed methodology details. The field team had discussions regarding implementation of TSP with the concerned officials in the state Governor's office and the Tribal Development Department Tribal Development Department of the state government. Discussions were also held with the Tribal Research and Training Institute (TRTI) and Yashwantrao Chavan Academy of Development Administration (YASHADA) about the findings of the studies conducted by these agencies. Insights gained from the study findings and discussions were incorporated into the study tools.

Four teams were formed for field work, each team consisting of one Research Officer (RO) and two Associate Research Officers (AROs). The field activities were coordinated by a Senior Research Officer and Principal Investigators. The field teams were given extensive training for about a month. Training included review of available literature, discussion meetings, a three-day class room orientation with guest lectures, field visits to a few ITDPs, Ashram Schools, panchayat offices and villages, and FGD demonstrations. Also included in the training was preparation of checklists and presentations. At the end of the training, a set of checklists was finalized in consultation with UNICEF and the Governor's office. Separate checklists were prepared for Project Officers of ITDPs, District-level functionaries in the administrative departments, intermediate level functionaries like Block Development Officers (BDOs) and PHCs, grassroots workers, panchayat-level functionaries and village leaders and for FGDs.

The field teams visited the selected units (Districts, ITDPs, blocks, panchayats and villages) and sought documents relating to TSP planning and implementation, budget allocation and expenditures, minutes of review meetings and instructions issued to the subordinate levels from time to time, list of projects implemented (including nature, cost, duration and distribution), and a sample list of beneficiaries (at ITDP/block/panchayat/cluster levels as applicable). Discussions were also held with concerned officials and field personnel on the planning and implementation of TSP, financial disbursement mechanisms, programmatic and financial monitoring, evaluation procedures and their perceptions about the implementation/functioning of the TSP schemes/programmes.

In addition to seeking documents from programme agencies and discussions with programme functionaries, a small sample of beneficiaries (drawn from the programme beneficiary records) were contacted to find out whether the reported benefits had actually reached them and to understand the extent to which their socioeconomic condition had improved as a result. In depth interviews (IDIs) were conducted with village leaders, key influential persons and functionaries like Anganwadi workers and school teachers to gauge the reach and efficacy of government programmes; and also to understand their interactions with programme functionaries. A few FGDs were conducted in the selected villages in order to understand the knowledge of the village people about TSP, their perceptions of the implementation of the programmes, and attitude towards the implementing agencies and personnel. Based on the reviews, discussions and observations, we also identified some good practices of TSP implementation and studied them in some detail.

The actual field work (first round) commenced on February 21, 2014 and was completed on April 6, 2014. Preliminary findings of the study were presented in a workshop conducted on April 25, 2014 in which representatives of the Tribal Development Department, Governor's Office, UNICEF, NGO representatives, social scientists and members of the TISS community participated. During the workshop, it was pointed out that some of the findings of the study lacked adequate explanation or supporting information. Therefore, the field team was directed to collect additional information on the functioning of ITDPs and the administrative departments in respect of TSP. Accordingly, the checklists were revised to incorporate additional points in consultation with UNICEF and the Governor's office. The field staff then went on a second round of field visits. During this period, the field team attended a review meeting of Project Officers of ITDPs at Nashik, which was conducted by the Tribal Development Commissioner. The field team interacted with the POs and elicited their views on a number of issues. The second field visit took place between mid-May and mid-June, 2014. In parallel, analysis of budget related data, Government Resolutions and field reports began and, soon after the second round of field visits, we commenced drafting the report.

As we selected only four districts and four ITDPs, the number of interviews in each category was very small (around four). Therefore, this report is a general presentation and not specific to any district/ITDP/Taluka so that identities of individuals/ departments/officials are kept anonymous. Though the research team probed or sought clarifications wherever required, no attempts were made to cross-check the authenticity of the statements with other layers in the system or with the public as this was beyond the scope of this study. So the findings of the study should be interpreted keeping this limitation in view.

Tribal Atlas

As part of the study, it was also proposed to construct a tribal atlas for Maharashtra that will depict the location, area, population and socioeconomic and health condition of the tribal population. The population and socioeconomic related data by district were mainly obtained from the primary census abstract and housing census of 2001 and 2011 for the general population and Scheduled Tribes. In addition, data from the District Level Household Surveys (rounds 2 and 3), National Family Health Surveys (rounds 2 and 3) and National Sample Survey (round 66) were also used. The maps were prepared using GIS software. The Tribal Atlas is being brought out separately and is not part of this report.

Some Limitations of the Study

The socioeconomic profile and budget analyses presented in the report are only a reflection of the current state of affairs and not an assessment of the impact of the TSP budget on the development front.

The study was planned as a diagnostic study and planned for completion in a short duration. Therefore, the field work was scheduled for two months only. Within this duration, the field team had to contact officials and functionaries of the Tribal Development Department and various administrative departments at different levels, and also Gram Panchayat functionaries and community members. Sometimes, the team had to make repeated visit to offices as the concerned officers were not available or would not give an appointment. For this reason, the study team could contact only a limited number of departments and functionaries.

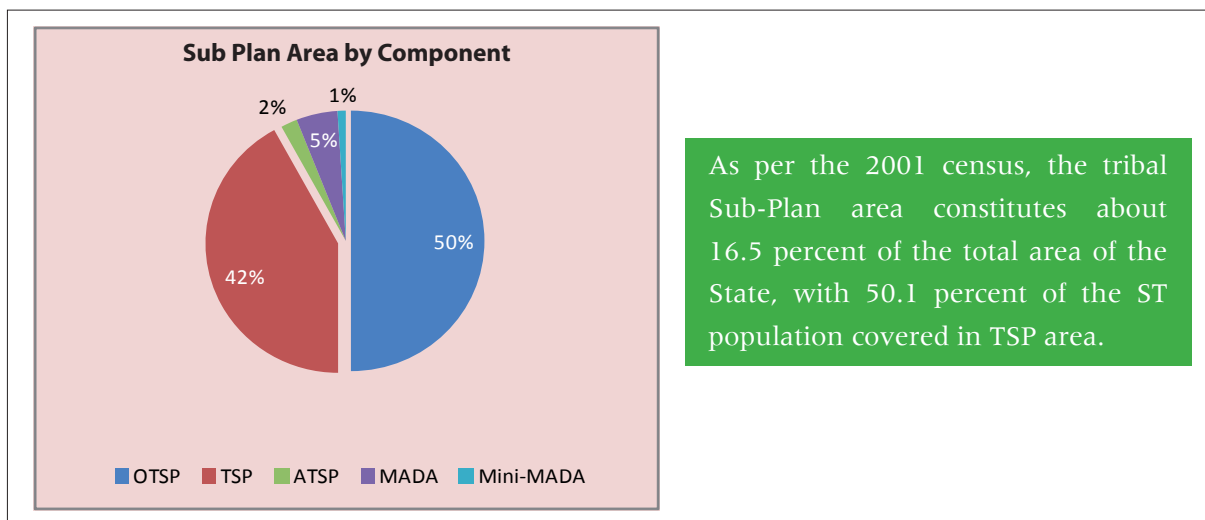
The focus of the study was on the programme component (input) side and less on the community (impact) side. Thus, the investigation on the community side was limited to understanding the people's perception of the Tribal Development Department, other administrative departments and the Gram Panchayats. Detailed investigation of the community and households about their current socioeconomic status and the benefits received from the Tribal Development Department and Administrative departments was not undertaken, nor was it within the scope of the study.

Chapter 3

SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILE

Scheduled Tribes and TSP Areas

The Scheduled Tribes population in Maharashtra is about 10.5 million. The ST population is high in these districts (percentage of ST population in the district in parentheses and shown in descending order): Nandurbar (69.3%), Gadchiroli (38.7%), Dhule (31.6%), Nashik (25.6%), Yavatmal (18.5%), Chandrapur (17.7%), Gondiya (16.2%), Jalgaon (14.3), Amravati (14.0%),



Thane (13.9%), Raigarh (11.6%) and Wardha (11.5%). As per the 2001 Census statistics (available on the website of Tribal Development Department of Government of Maharashtra), the tribal Sub-Plan area is about 50,757 sq.km (16.5 percent of the total area) with 41.6 percent of the ST population covered under TSP, 1.7 percent under ATSP, 5.5 percent under MADA, 1.3 percent under Mini-MADA and the remaining 49.9 percent of the ST population were living outside the TSP (OTSP) area. It must be noted that the statistics quoted here are based on the 2001 census; classification based on 2011 census data is not yet available.

Often, the tribal populations under TSP, OTSP, MADA and Mini-MADA are together referred to as the tribal population of the TSP area. This constituted 50.1 percent of the ST population in Maharashtra. The TSP area tribal population is distributed over 68 blocks and 13 cities/towns of 15 districts. A map of the tribal Sub-Plan area of Maharashtra state was presented in Chapter 1. In this chapter of the report, we present a brief account of the demographic, socioeconomic and health condition of the tribal population vis-à-vis the total population for Maharashtra state as a whole. It is to be noted that district-wise statistics and salient findings of selected indices for the TSP districts are presented separately in the Tribal Atlas.

What does the latest Maharashtra Human Development Report say?

Before going into a detailed analysis of the demographic and socio-economic indicators of the tribal population of Maharashtra, we present here a glimpse of what is officially recognized as the latest Maharashtra Human Development Report 2012 (YASHADA 2014, Executive summary) says.

The report admits that the Human development indicators of tribal population lag far behind those of the total population. The report also categorically states that, though Maharashtra is an industrially advanced state, the status of tribal people in the state is deplorable.

With respect to literacy, the report, citing NSS data, says that the STs have the lowest literacy rate (62 per cent) and a gender gap of 24 percentage points, thus highlighting a cause for concern.

Social-group stratification by net school attendance rate showed that ST children are lagging behind at both primary and upper primary levels. However, an interesting finding is the advantage that ST and SC females have in school attendance in primary and upper primary levels in a few regions as well as at state level. This could be a reflection of the effectiveness of interventions aimed at promoting school participation for these social groups.

With regard to health, the sex ratio for STs is well above the state average and life expectancy has improved. This reflects the largely equal status that women are accorded in tribal communities. ST households show very low utilization of public health facilities. This is partly due to absence of health facilities in remote and scattered habitations; but it is also because of poor service delivery in tribal-dominated areas. (The statements in the above paragraphs are those extracted from various sections of the Maharashtra Human Development report of 2012, see YASHADA 2014, Executive summary).

In the following paragraphs, we attempted to assess improvement in the population characteristics and socio-economic conditions of STs vis-à-vis the total population based on the census of 2001 and 2011, DLHS-based health indicators for 2004-08 and related statistics from other sources. It is to be noted that in this chapter, 'All' and 'Total' are used to refer to all (including ST) households and population and 'ST' is used to refer to ST households and population in Maharashtra.

The latest Maharashtra Human Development Report admits that the condition of tribal population is far behind that of the total population in terms of most human development indicators. Census figures and DLHS figures also indicate that in almost every indicator of economic or social development STs lag behind the general population.

Population Growth

Table 3.1 shows the size and growth of the tribal population in Maharashtra. In 1981, the population of Maharashtra was 62.8 million (6.28 crores) and the Scheduled Tribe population was 5.8 million, or about 9.2 percent of the total population of the state. The total number of households in the state in 1981 was 11.7 million. Of these, 1.1 million were ST households. According to the 1991 census, the population in the state increased to 78.9 million and that of Scheduled Tribes to 7.3 million, thereby accounting for 9.3 percent of the total population. In terms of population growth, during 1981-91, the state population increased by about 26 percent while Scheduled Tribe population increased by approximately 27 percent. It must be noted here that the growth of Maharashtra is partly due to the enormous growth of the population of Mumbai and Pune as a result of inter-state migration. Thus, if inter-state migration is not considered, the growth of ST population would be higher than that of the general population growth of Maharashtra.

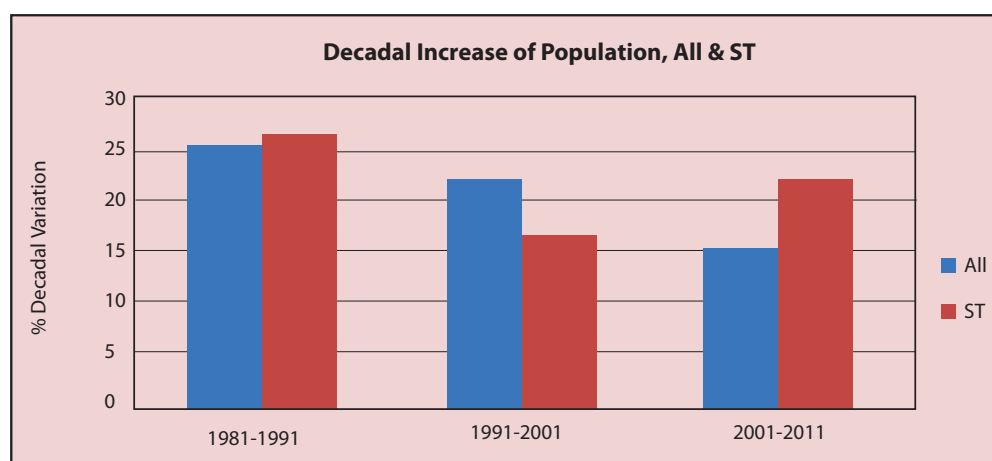
TABLE 3.1: Trend in Number of Households and Population in Maharashtra during 1981-2011, Total and Scheduled Tribes

Census Year	Total (in million)		Scheduled Tribes (in million)		% share of Scheduled Tribes		% Decadal Variation			
	Households	Population	Households	Population	Households	Population	Total		Scheduled Tribes	
							Households	Population	Households	Population
1981	11.69	62.78	1.09	5.77	9.36	9.19	NA	NA	NA	NA
1991	15.34	78.94	1.41	7.32	9.22	9.27	31.25	25.73	29.22	26.79
2001	19.58	96.88	1.71	8.58	8.73	8.85	27.58	22.73	20.85	17.20
2011	24.42	112.37	2.16	10.51	8.83	9.35	24.75	15.99	26.19	22.54

Maharashtra's population further increased to 96.9 million in 2001 and to 112.4 million in 2011; that of the Scheduled Tribes to 8.6 million (8.85 percent) in 2001 and 10.5 million (9.35 percent) in 2011. Though the share of ST population remained at 9.2 to 9.3 percent in each census year, it was slightly lesser at 8.85 percent in 2001, the reason for which is not yet known.

During the period 1981-2011, the number of households and the total population grew more or less in the same proportion, but the share of ST households to 'All' households decreased from 9.4 percent in 1981 to around 8.8 percent in 2011 indicating that the rate of increase of number of households of 'All' households was faster than that of ST households. An exception

to the trend was during the last decade when the growth of ST household was greater. At the same time, the percentage decadal increase in the total population has been slowing down whereas there are no such indications for the ST population. The decadal increase in the 'total' population was 25.7 percent during 1981-91, which was 22.7 percent during 1991-2001 and continued to decline further in 2001-11 during which it was 16.0 percent. On the other hand, decadal growth of ST population was 26.8 percent during 1981-91, 17.2 percent during 1991-2001 and 22.54 percent during 2001-11. This is reflected in the increase in the percentage of ST population of the total population during 2001-11.



Population Characteristics

Table 3.2 shows that the average household size of ST population was higher than that of total population in 2001 and also in 2011; but within the ST population, it did not differ between Maharashtra and All India. Average Household Size refers to the average number of members per household (family). A smaller household size is an indication of more and more households becoming nuclear and/or couples having lesser number of children. The average household size was about 5 in Maharashtra for both total and ST population in 2001. By 2011, this had reduced to 4.60 for the total population and only marginally to 4.87 for the ST population. Nationwide, in 2011, it was 4.85 for the total population and 4.86 for the ST population.

The overall sex-ratio and 0-6 age group sex ratio were more balanced for ST population than for total population.

The percentage of population in the 0-6 years' age group indicates recent trends in fertility. A falling percentage of population in 0-6 age group is an indication of declining fertility in the population. In Maharashtra, the proportion of ST population in the 0-6 age group declined from 18.0 percent in 2001 to 14.8 percent in 2011. For the total population, the corresponding figures were 14.1 and 11.9 percent for the same period. The data clearly show that though the young population is higher among the STs than among all, there is a perceptible decline in fertility during 2001-2011 among both total and ST populations. In Maharashtra, the fertility of ST population appears to

have declined at about the same rate as that of total population. Further, within the ST population, the percentage of 0-6 population was smaller in Maharashtra than the All India figure –it was 14.8 percent in 2011 as against 16.0 on an All India basis.

TABLE 3.2: Selected Characteristics of Total and ST Population of Maharashtra in 2001 & 2011, and for India in 2011

Population Characteristic	Maharashtra				India	
	2001		2011		2011	
	Total	ST	Total	ST	Total	ST
Average household size	4.95	5.02	4.60	4.87	4.85	4.86
% of persons in 0-6 age group	14.1	18.0	11.9	14.8	13.6	16.0
Sex-ratio (all ages)	922	973	929	977	943	990
Sex-ratio (0-6 age group)	913	965	894	955	918	957

Sex ratio is defined as the number of females per 1000 males. It refers to the excess or deficit of females over males in a population. A deficit of females (sex ratio less than 1000) is an indication of foeticide and/or infanticide of females, discrimination against females in health care leading to higher deaths among them, and the underreporting of females in population enumerations and the like. In Maharashtra and also at an all-India level, the overall sex ratio and also the sex-ratio of young population (0-6 age group) was more balanced (close to 1000) for STs than for the total population. Both in 2001 and 2011, the overall sex-ratio (for all ages) was substantially low and in the narrow range of 922-929 for the total population, while it was 973-977 for the ST population. The sex-ratio for the 0-6 age group was 913 in 2001 and it declined to below 900 in 2011 for the total population; during the same period, it reduced marginally from 965 to 955 for the ST population.

Educational Attainment

The literacy rates among STs (male and female) in 2001 and 2011, as given in Table 3.3a, are much less as compared to the total population. The difference was high (about 22 percentage points) in 2001, which reduced to 17 percentage points in 2011. Correspondingly, during 2001-11, the rate of increase in literacy was substantially higher for the ST population than for the total. Increase in literacy was 3 percent for males and 13 percent for females in the total population; for the ST population, the corresponding increase was as high as 11 percent for males and 32 percent for females. This is a welcome trend and clearly shows that, though literacy among STs was lower than that of the general population, there has been an accelerated increase in literacy rates among the ST population, at least during the past decade. This should not discount the fact that there is a large gap that still exists between the literacy achievements of STs vis-à-vis the total population.

The percentage of children attending school/college by sex and age (6-9, 10-14 and 15-19 age groups) and percentage of persons in the age group 15-24 who had education above the 10th Standard (completed Standard 11 and above) was obtained from the National Sample Survey (NSS) Round 66 (July 2009-June 2010) and are presented in Table 3.3b. The percentage of children attending school in the age group of 6-9 years is an indication of early school enrolment and primary school attendance. The percentage of children attending school in the age group 10-14 is an indication of school attendance in the upper primary/middle and high school levels. On the other hand, the percentage of children attending school/college in the age group 15-19 is an indication of continuation of schooling up to and beyond SSLC (10th Standard). Similarly, the percentage of persons in the age group 15-24 who completed 11th Standard reflects the number of children who proceeded for a higher education after completing high school (12th Standard) in the recent years. Recent studies have observed (example, Rajaretnam *et al*, 2010) that, these days, most children attend school up to SSLC (Standard 10) and drop out thereafter and, therefore, the index percentage of persons in the age group 15-24 who have completed 11th Standard is a good indicator of the recent trend in education after high school.

TABLE 3.3a: Literacy of Total and ST Populations in Maharashtra 2001 & 2011, and for India 2011

Literacy (7+ age group)	Maharashtra				India	
	2001		2011		2011	
	Total	ST	Total	ST	Total	ST
Total Literacy Rate	76.9	55.2	82.3	65.7	73.0	59.0
Male Literacy Rate	86.0	67.0	88.4	74.3	80.9	68.5
Female Literacy Rate	67.0	43.1	75.9	57.0	64.6	49.4

The data presented in Table 3.3b show that in Maharashtra, 95 percent of male children in the age group of 10-14 years were attending school and it was only slightly less at 93 percent for children in the age group of 6-9 years, which may be due to late school enrolment. For ST male children, the corresponding figures were 87 percent and 77 percent and the pattern was almost the same for female children. However, what is heartening is that among the ST children in the 10-14 age group, school attendance was higher for female children (94 percent) than for males (87 percent).

Though literacy levels among STs was lower than that of the general population, there has been an accelerated increase in the literacy rates in the ST population, at least during the past decade. But there also exists a large gap between STs vis-à-vis the total population. School attendance among ST children was only slightly less than that of all children and education above high school is also improving among the ST population, closely following the general population.

TABLE 3.3b: Percentage of Children of Age 6-24 attending School/College by Sex and Age, and Percentage of young people of age 15-24 years who had Education beyond Standard 10, (NSS round 66, July 2009-June 2010)

ST/All	Attending School/College								Education 11+ std (15-24 age group)	
	Male				Female				Male	Female
	6-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	6-9	10-14	15-19	20-24		
All/Total	93.1	95.4	71.8	25.0	94.1	95.9	62.8	18.0	34.9	27.7
Scheduled Tribes	76.9	87.1	58.8	18.5	72.6	93.5	40.4	9.7	23.7	14.3
Difference (ST-All)	-16.2	-8.2	-12.9	-6.5	-21.5	-2.3	-22.4	-8.3	-11.2	-13.4

In the age group of 15-19 years, nearly 72 percent of male children and 63 percent of female children in the total population were attending school. It was significantly less at 59 percent for male children and 40 percent for female children in the ST population. On the other hand, in the age group 20-24, only 25 percent of male children and 18 percent of female children of the total population were attending school/college, while it was marginally less at 19 percent for male children and 10 percent for female children in the ST population. Similarly, the percentage of children in the age group 15-24 in the total population of Maharashtra, who had education above SSLC (11th Standard and beyond), was 35 percent among males and 28 percent among females. For the ST population, it was 24 percent for males and 14 percent for females. The gaps between the STs and other groups are substantial and need urgent redressal.

Landholding and Occupation

Table 3.4a shows cultivated landholding of All and ST households in rural and urban areas as per NSS round 66 (July 2009-June 2010). The Table shows that in the rural areas of Maharashtra, nearly 46 percent of the households did not have land for cultivation. It was noticeably higher at 51 percent among tribal households. However, among the landholding households, ST households possessed an average of 3.1 acres of land as compared to 2.6 acres by all households. Among the households living in urban areas, 7 percent of all and 6.7 percent of ST households possessed land for cultivation.

TABLE 3.4a: Cultivated Landholdings for Total and ST Households in Rural and Urban Areas by Region as per NSS round 66 (July 2009-June 2010)

ST/All	Cultivated Holding (Rural households)						% Urban HHs with Cultivated Holding
	No land	Marginal Farmer	Small Farmer	Medium/Large farmer	Mean (acres)	Median (acres)	
All households	45.8	25.3	12.4	16.5	3.98	2.62	7.0
Scheduled Tribes	51.3	19.8	14.9	14.0	3.78	3.13	6.7
Difference (ST-All)	5.4	-5.4	2.5	-2.5	-0.2	0.5	-0.3

Note: Marginal farmer: owning up to 2.5 acres of land; Small farmer: 2.6 to 5 acres; Medium/Large farmer: >5 acres

With respect to work participation, it can be seen from Table 3.4b that, in 2001 and 2011, around 62-65 percent of males aged 7 and higher in the total and ST population were workers. However, among the females, in the same period, only 35 percent of the total population and nearly 55 percent of the ST population were workers. Of the males, nearly 85-90 percent were main workers (who worked more than 180 days during the preceding year). Among the females, it was only 70-80 percent. Of the main workers in 2001, just around 25 percent of males and females in the total population were cultivators; the figure was 34 percent for the ST population. The percentage of cultivators among the main workers in the ST population decreased to 25-27 percent during 2001-11. This indicates that the proportion of cultivators decreased faster among the STs than among the total population. On the other hand, the proportion of labourers among the main workers was higher and increased at a faster rate for the STs than the total. The proportion of workers who were marginal workers also showed a similar pattern (increase was higher for STs than for All). However, the proportion of main workers engaged as cultivators was substantially less in Maharashtra (25 percent) than that for All-India (around 40 percent). The proportion engaged as labourers was significantly higher in Maharashtra (50-63 percent) than the All-India (30-45 percent) figure. Therefore, it is clear that, among ST males and females, work participation was almost the same for Maharashtra and India; however there were fewer cultivators and more labourers in Maharashtra than when considered on an all India basis.

In rural areas of Maharashtra, nearly a half of All households and more than a half of ST households did not have land for cultivation. Though work participation was higher among STs than among All, the proportion of cultivators was less and the proportion of labourers was substantially higher among ST as compared to All.

TABLE 3.4b: Occupation of Total and ST Populations, Maharashtra 2001 & 2011 and India 2011

Occupation	Maharashtra				India	
	2001		2011		2011	
	Total	ST	Total	ST	Total	ST
% of Persons Worker (7+ age)	49.5	49.7	49.9	59.4	46.1	58.0
% of Males Worker (7+ age)	62.1	64.8	63.7	64.9	61.8	64.3
% of Females Worker (7+ age)	35.8	56.4	35.1	53.8	29.5	51.6
% of Male workers Main worker	90.9	84.3	91.9	86.3	82.3	74.5
% of Female workers Main worker	72.1	68.3	81.9	77.3	59.6	52.7
% of Male Main workers Cultivator	23.0	34.2	23.9	27.4	26.7	43.3
% of Female Main workers Cultivator	27.9	34.5	31.2	25.1	25.6	36.6
% of Male Main workers Labourer	14.7	39.7	19.5	49.1	20.2	31.3
% of Female Main workers Labourer	25.8	53.8	37.9	62.9	34.6	44.9
% of Workers Marginal worker	15.6	23.1	11.5	17.7	24.8	35.2

MGNREGA Work

Table 3.4c shows the percentage of households who received work under National Rural Employment Guarantee (NREG) scheme and the Monthly Per capita Consumer Expenditure (MPCE) for ST and 'All' as per NSS Round 66 (July 2009-June 2010). It can be seen from the Table that in the rural areas of Maharashtra, barely 4.4 percent of all rural households had received work under the NREG scheme during 2009-10. The proportion was slightly higher at 6.3 percent among ST households. Even considering only the households that sought work, only 22 percent of ST households and 16 percent of all households received work.

TABLE 3.4c: Percentage of Households that received NREG work, and Monthly Per capita Consumer Expenditure of households of STs and All as per NSS round 66 (July 2009-June 2010).

All/ST	Got NREG work in one year (Rural)		Monthly Per capita Consumer Expenditure							
			Rural				Urban			
	Among all HHs	Among HHs sought work	Up to Rs. 1,000	Above Rs. 3,000	Mean (Rs.)	Median (Rs.)	Up to Rs. 1,000	Above Rs. 3,000	Mean (Rs.)	Median (Rs.)
All households	4.4	16.0	58.6	1.5	1062	919	17.8	22.8	2556	1847
Scheduled Tribes	6.3	22.4	70.5	0.2	930	783	30.0	18.3	3561	1480
Difference (ST-All)	1.9	6.4	12.0	-1.2	-132	-136	12.1	-4.5	1005	-367

Consumption Expenditure

Table 3.4c also shows NSS estimates of monthly per capita consumption expenditure (MPCE) by 'All' and ST households in 2009-10 for rural and urban areas of Maharashtra. The MPCE reflects a household's ability to spend on various consumer items including food items as against their income. The Table shows that, in the rural areas of Maharashtra, less than 30 percent of ST households could spend more than Rs. 1000 per person per month for their livelihoods as against 41 percent of 'All' households. This is a substantial gap. The corresponding figures for urban areas are 70 percent and 82 percent. The median amount of per capita expenditure worked out to Rs. 783 for ST households and Rs. 919 for 'All' households in rural areas, and Rs. 1480 for ST households and Rs. 1847 for 'All' households in urban areas.

Household Characteristics

Poor incomes translate into poorer quality of household assets and characteristics. The household characteristics considered are: the type of house, tap water, improved drinking water, toilet facilities, source of lighting, LPG for cooking, access to banking services, and possession of television, phone and 2 and/or 4-wheeler (Table 3.5). In the census, the condition of the house inhabited, such as material used in the construction of roof, wall and floor of the house, number of rooms in the house, availability of separate kitchen and bathroom were ascertained.

64 percent of households in the total population and only 48 percent in the ST population were perceived to be living in 'good' houses (it must be mentioned here that the definition of a 'good' house may vary between the two groups). As most of the ST families were living in huts for several years, it is obvious that a house ST family consider

'good' may not be perceived as one by a non-SC/ST family. Therefore, if we take into account this factor also, the proportion of ST households living in comparable 'good' houses would be even less.

Viewing the housing index differently, and considering the type of roof as an index, it was seen that in 2011, about 30 percent of 'All' households were living in houses with concrete roofing, whereas it was just 12 percent among ST households. The percentage increase of households living in houses with concrete roofing during 2001-11 was the same for both the groups though the absolute increase was less for ST households. The pattern was almost the same for Maharashtra and the whole of India. Further, the proportion of households living in houses with only one dwelling room in 2011 was 46 percent among 'All' households and 60 percent among ST households.

Facilities available in ST households are far less than that of All households but, during 2001-2011, the progress made in addition of household facilities was more or less the same for ST and non-ST households. Significantly, household electrification and safe drinking water supply have not improved during the past one decade, and more efforts are required to improve the situation.

Household facilities in ST households as compared with all households clearly indicate that ST households are well behind non-ST households. In some items, they are just behind; and in many others they are lagging by a considerable degree. However, during 2001-11 the progress in household facilities was more or less the same for ST and non-ST households. Significantly, electrification of households and safe drinking water supply have not improved during the past decade and more efforts are required to improve the situation.

With respect to household facilities, in 2011 about 67 percent of all households and only 48 percent of ST households were using tap water. However, nearly 86 percent of 'All' households and 75 percent of ST households were having access to improved drinking water (tap water or hand-pump). Improvements in the drinking water supply during 2001-11 were minimal, just 3-5 percentage points for both All and ST households.

The percentage of 'All' households having toilet facilities within the premises increased from 35 percent in 2001 to 53 percent in 2011. It was 20 percent to 30 percent for ST households during the same period. The situation was similar with respect to household electrification. Electrification of ST houses (electricity as main source of light) was 52 percent in 2001, which increased marginally to 60 percent in 2011. The pattern was similar for 'All' households. It is a matter of regret that there was no significant improvement in the electrification of houses during 2001-11 despite the fact that there has been large scale increase in the use of electrical appliances like fans, televisions and mobile phones. ST households having LPG connection in 2011 was less than 20 percent while it was 43 percent among All households.

TABLE 3.5: Household Characteristics of Total and ST, Maharashtra, 2001 & 2011 and India 2011

Percentage of households: *	Maharashtra				India	
	2001		2011		2011	
	Total	ST	Total	ST	Total	ST
Living in 'Good' Houses	52.6	36.7	64.1	48.0	53.2	40.6
Having a house with Concrete Roof	21.1	8.5	30.2	12.2	29.0	10.1
Having only one Dwelling Room	52.3	64.9	46.3	60.0	41.0	48.7
Using Tap Water	64.0	45.2	67.9	48.4	43.5	24.4
Access to Improved sources of Drinking Water (Tap, hand pump and closed well)	79.8	69.4	85.6	75.1	87.1	73.4
Having toilet facility within premises	35.1	20.2	53.1	30.1	46.9	22.6
Using electricity as Main Source of Lighting	77.5	52.2	83.9	59.8	67.2	51.7
Using LPG for Cooking	29.7	12.1	43.4	18.9	28.5	9.3
Availing Banking Services	48.1	26.2	68.9	47.9	58.7	45.0
Having Television	44.1	22.6	56.8	30.2	47.2	21.9
Having Telephone/Mobile Phone	14.1	4.5	69.1	39.7	63.2	34.8
Having 2/4 wheeler	16.6	6.3	30.8	12.1	25.7	10.6
With no Assets	36.8	56.6	19.0	43.0	17.8	37.3

* Please see text for definition/explanation of the indices.

In 2011, nearly a half of the ST households (48 percent) were seeking banking services (having a bank account of any type in any bank). 30 percent of ST households were having television, 40 percent were having telephone/mobile phones, but barely 12 percent were having 2-wheeler or 4-wheeler motor vehicles. The corresponding percentages were more than double for 'All' households. It is distressing to note that 43 percent of ST households (as compared to only 19 percent of All households) did not have any assets like radio, television, phone, 2/4 wheeler or even a bicycle. The proportion of ST households not having any assets was 57 percent in 2001, which decreased marginally to 43 percent in 2011. Consider that owning a mobile phone and television set is a given these days, the figures indicate that modern life is yet to enter many ST households of Maharashtra.

Health Factors

The District Level Household and Facility Survey (DLHS) is one of the largest demographic and health surveys carried out in all the districts of India. The third round of DLHS (called DLHS-3) was conducted during 2007-08 on a sample of 1000-1500 households per district. All ever-married women aged 15-49 years were respondents to questions on reproductive and child health (RCH). DLHS-3 surveyed a total of 37,716 households and 34,920 ever-married women in Maharashtra. *(It needs to be noted here that the DLHS-4 (2013-14) has also been conducted and first set of indices released. However, the socially disaggregated data are not yet available, nor was the unit data set released at the time of writing this report. For these reasons we could not use DLHS-4 data for analysis).*

With respect to health care, though a large proportion of women received one or the other antenatal services and child immunization, the services were not holistic. Further, the proportion of institutional deliveries was far less among ST women. Health staffs have not made systematic efforts to cover all women and children for all the applicable antenatal, natal and child immunization services and, as such, the health care delivery system needs substantial improvements to reach the maximum number of ST women and children.

Four indices are considered as indicators of age at marriage. They are: mean age at marriage of girls who got married during the four year period prior to the survey, age at marriage of currently married women (CMWs) aged 15-49 years, percentage of CMWs age 15-49 who were married before the age of 18, and the percentage of CMWs aged 20-24 married before age 18. While the first and fourth indices, namely age at marriage of girls who got married during the four year period prior to the survey and percentage of CMWs age 20-24 married before age 18 refer to recent trends in age at marriage, but are based on a few cases, the other two indices refer to the average over a longer duration, but are based on a larger number of cases. All the four indicators consistently showed that ST women married earlier than 'All' women but the

Various indicators in the Census and DLHS data show comprehensively that the social indicators for STs lag far behind the non-STs. Some of these gaps such as in health, income, and assets clearly hold grave implications for the wellbeing of STs. These gaps, and the less than adequate outcomes as shown by most indicators, raise questions about the efficacy of the service delivery system as well as that of the TSP structure.

difference was marginal. The mean age at marriage of CMWs age 15-49 (which includes women married long ago) was 16.7 years for STs. This age was marginally higher at 17.4 for 'All'. The mean age at marriage for girls who got married recently was 18.9 for STs as compared to 19.4 years for 'All'. Similarly, the proportion of CMWs of age 20-24, who married before the legal age for marriage of 18, was 49 percent among ST as against 40 percent among All.

Antenatal care (ANC) such as timing of the first antenatal visit, IFA tablet, TT injection and full ANC (at least 3 antenatal visits, 100 IFA tablets or syrup and TT injection)

were also considered. The data presented in Table 3.6 show that utilization of individual ANC services by ST women was comparable with 'All' women. Though the first ANC visit was delayed (later than the first trimester), in a majority of ST cases, overall, at least 75 percent of ST women received individual services such as antenatal visits, IFA tablets and TT immunization. However, the proportion of women who received all the three services (3 ANC visits + TT + 100 IFA tablets/syrup) was less— just one-third of eligible women. The pattern is the same for both ST and 'All' women. In the tribal areas, health workers often provide ANC services through Anganwadis; but, in the general population, a significant proportion of women seek institutional services mainly from private health institutions. PHC services, delivered through health workers, have reached a majority of ST women. However, the fact that a large proportion of women have not received all the services indicates that the services were far from complete.

Delivery care paints a poor picture. Among ST women, only one-third of them had sought delivery in health institutions, while it was about two-thirds for 'All' women. One reason for this state of affairs is that health institutions are located far away from most tribal villages and transport facilities are lacking. Even if we consider safe deliveries (institutional deliveries plus deliveries conducted at home by paramedical staff and trained dais), the situation remains worrisome as the proportion of deliveries that can be considered safe was 42 percent among ST women and 69 percent among all women.

To promote institutional deliveries, the government introduced a Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY) under the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) with a cash incentive of Rs 1400 (enquiries by study teams in the selected villages revealed that the amount was only Rs. 700) for BPL families who opt to deliver their babies in health institutions. According to the data, only about 15 percent of the ST women reported that they received JSY incentives. This figure was just 7 percent in the total population. Though the proportion (15 percent) for ST women is higher than that for all women, given the fact that most ST women are belong to BPL families, the coverage by JSY is far less than what it should be.

In child care (for children born during 2004-2007) we have considered colostrum feeding, initiation to breastfeeding within an hour of birth, immunization, and diarrhoea and fever during the two weeks before the survey for the appropriate age groups. The data show that more than three-fourths of the children of ST households and also of 'All' households were fed colostrum but only around 50 percent were initiated to breastfeeding within an hour of birth. The proportion of children of age 12-23 months who received full immunization (BCG, three regular doses each of DPT and Polio, and measles vaccination) was 70 percent in the 'All' children group but only 52 percent among ST children. However, there were very few (1-5 percent) children who did not receive even a single vaccination dose.

TABLE 3.6: DLHS-3 (2007-08) based Health Indicators for All and Scheduled Tribes, and DLHS-4 (2013) based Indicators for All

Health Indices	All (2008)	ST (2008)	All (2013)
Age at marriage of women			
Mean age at marriage of girls (married during reference period)	19.4	18.9	19.3
Mean age at marriage of CMWs 15-49	17.4	16.7	NA
% of CMWs 15-49 who were married before age 18	51.9	61.8	NA
% of CMWs 20-24 who were married before age 18	40.4	48.8	NA
Antenatal Care			
% of women who received ANC in first trimester	31.8	42.2	77.5
% women who received 100 IFA tables or syrup	83.8	85.1	45.4
% women who received tetanus injection for last pregnancy	89.5	77.7	96.8
% of women 15-49 years who received full ANC (3 ANC visits + TT + IFA)	33.9	31.9	40.9
Delivery Care			
% women who delivered their last child in an institution	63.5	34.0	92.0
% women who had a safe delivery (institutional/paramedical/ trained dai)	69.4	41.5	95.9
% women who received financial assistance under JSY	7.1	15.0	17.6
Contraceptive prevalence rate (modern methods, EMWs 15-49)	62.8	59.3	65.3
Child care			
% children who received colostrum	85.7	80.8	NA
% children who were breastfed within an hour of birth	52.0	46.9	71.2
% children age 12-23 months who were fully immunized	69.5	52.3	66.2

Note: DLHS-4 data for ST was not available (NA) at the time of writing the report. DLHS-3 indices are based on data processed by the study team; that of DLHS-4 are from State Fact Sheet published by IIPS, Mumbai.

Chapter 4

BUDGET ANALYSIS

The prime objective of the TSP is the holistic development of tribal regions and tribal families to bring them at par with the non-tribal areas and families. It is imperative that a significant share of plan¹ funds reaches the tribal population to bridge the gap between tribal areas and other areas, enhance their quality of life and eradicate poverty, end exploitation, and expedite the process of their social and economic development. TSP funding is dependent on the state's income, financial aid given by the Central Government, and other sources such as the World Bank, etc. Having decided the quantum of TSP funds that would be made available, the Planning Department communicates the amount to the Tribal Development Department which then distributes it to different departments according to the defined norms. Within the allocations, the quantum of money that would be spent on different tribal development programmes is decided by the Tribal Development Department whereas the programmes or schemes that are to be implemented is determined largely by the administrative departments.

TSP schemes fall broadly into two categories – State and District schemes. District schemes are planned at the district level with the help of District Planning Committees (DPC). State schemes are planned at state level by the respective administrative departments. State-level schemes include state-level programmes and state bridge programmes. State-level programmes are planned and consolidated by the Tribal Development Department. Besides these schemes, the Tribal Development Department is also responsible for planning and implementing Social Welfare schemes (welfare of backward class) through the ITDPs.

This chapter shows the trend in the allocation of funds for TSP activities over a period and the allocation of funds to different administrative departments during the past few years. Before analysing the budget data, it is important to examine the salient features of the recommendations of two committees, the Sukthankar Committee and Dr. Jayant Patil Committee, which studied the proportional allocations to different sectors and departments.

Sukthankar Committee

The procedure followed in Maharashtra until 1992-93 for formulating the TSP was that the Planning department would allocate plan outlays to different administrative (or line) departments. The departments in turn carved out outlays for TSP according to their discretion and priorities. The departments also decided on the schemes, programmes and development works that were to be undertaken with the funds set aside for TSP. There was no attempt to formulate schemes

1. As TSP is not concerned with the Non-Plan funds.

in consultation with the tribal area's project administration. Not unexpectedly, there was no noticeable impact of such schemes in the tribal areas, particularly in the human resource development sector.

Given the evident problems and shortcomings of the processes, the State Government took up the issue with the State Planning Board before the commencement of the Eighth Five-Year Plan. The State Planning Board appointed a Sub-Committee in January 1991 under the Chairmanship of Shri. D.M. Sukthankar, member of the Board and former State Chief Secretary. The Sub-Committee submitted its report in June, 1992. The report of the committee is summarized below.

Lacunae observed by the Committee in Planning and Implementation of TSP

Several lacunae were identified by the Committee.

1. Large amounts of funds were made available for irrigation projects, electricity plants and the like. In reality, however, these projects did not benefit tribal societies. Therefore, the Committee felt that such projects should be given a lower priority and less funds. The Committee also proposed that informal and professional training, nutrition and health, agriculture and horticulture, water and soil conservation, fisheries, small irrigation, safe drinking water, employment, cross roads, drainage, and other such schemes to raise socioeconomic status of the tribal people be prioritized to help their development.
2. Tribal families did not benefit much from district level schemes and the fund flow at the district level was shrinking daily and enough provisions in the budget outlay was not made for the weaker sections of society. Although provisions and expenditures were shown on paper, there was no noticeable development in the targeted areas. The funds that were made available had to be spent in the same year and, as a result, *spending the money* became the prime objective. No department was made accountable for the extent to which funds *were actually* spent on the welfare of tribal communities.
3. There were clashes between the tribal communities and the Forest Department. The former suspected that the Forest Department was established to control, restrict and punish them. There was deep distrust between the two sides. The Sukthankar Report suggested that the Forest Department should involve the tribal population in planning conserving forest resources, and also to create employment opportunities for their livelihood.

Recommendations of the Committee for the working of TSP

The Report noted that it was the responsibility of TDD to keep a close watch on the planning and implementation of TSP and Five Year Plans. The Committee recommended that responsibility

The allocation for the Tribal sub-Plan is made at the beginning of the budgetary process. This allocation is in the proportion to the population, and is under the administrative control of the tribal development department. Thus, the possibility of diversion of the budget for non-TSP purposes is very little. This is a positive feature of the TSP strategy in Maharashtra.

of implementing schemes, decision-making and providing guidance to various departments be vested with the TDD only. The TDD should be informed in advance of the total available funds from the total state budget and it should assume full responsibility for finalizing the TSP budget.

In order to reach out to the communities, the planning process should begin at the lowest level, the villages (a bottom-up approach). Consistent efforts must be made to develop tribal zones and provide benefits to tribal families living in OTSP areas as well. For this purpose, it was recommended

that 75 percent of the budget outlay be spent on TSP area and the remaining 25 percent should be spent on OTSP area.

Any development agency (or committee) that seeks to engage in tribal development should be sufficiently informed about conditions in tribal areas so that they can plan and implement schemes for tribal welfare in accordance with the established norms. The TDD should provide the necessary training and guidance to its employees and officers, and also to district and block level officers of the various administrative departments.

District- level planning should be based on the needs of the local community, and focus should be on delivery of benefits to people and families. Simultaneously, small local communities should benefit from collective projects such as construction of cross-roads, electrification, and provision of water supply, education and agricultural facilities.

Large scale projects such as dam building, state highways and main roads, power plants should be given least priority in TSPs. Instead, priority should be given to Informal and vocational training, nutrition and health, agriculture and horticulture, water and soil conservation, fisheries, small irrigation, safe drinking water, employment, cross roads, drainages, schemes to increase socioeconomic status, handicrafts and child welfare. The priorities of various programmes must be need-based in keeping with the demand of local communities.

The TDD should not rely only on local administrative departments for implementation and monitoring; it should also involve NGOs, especially in communities where rigid cultural norms and customs prevail. NGOs can play a useful role in mobilizing the community for implementing community-oriented programmes. Activities such as forest conservation and others of similar nature should be entrusted to the Forest Department.

GR on Implementation of Sukthankar Committee Recommendations

Following the Sukthankar Committee's recommendations, the Tribal Development Department of the Government of Maharashtra issued a GR on September 21, 1992. As per the GR, the amount given to the Tribal Development Department for TSP should be 9 per cent of the total annual plan of the state, which is in proportion to the tribal population of the state. Following the Committee's recommendations, the TSP from the plan funds are handed over to the TDD at the beginning of the planning exercise. The TSP budget is finalized within the ceiling indicated by the TDD. The "Maharashtra Pattern" of allocating funds for TSP has received appreciation at the national level as well.

Considering the fact that tribal villages are often remote, and there is a lack of basic facilities and high prevalence of extreme poverty in these areas, 75 percent of total TSP fund was to be made available and used for development programmes *in* TSP areas; the remaining 25 percent was to be spent on development programmes for tribal population *outside* TSP areas.

Capital investments in schemes such as large irrigation projects, large-scale or medium-scale industries, national and state highways and large bridges should have least priority, the Sukthankar Committee recommended. Instead, emphasis should be on schemes such as small irrigation projects, boring (or digging) of wells, soil and water conservation, clean drinking water, forest conservation, formal and informal general and vocational training, mother and child care and social welfare, agricultural development schemes as per the needs of tribal population, and crop husbandry, fruit production, connecting roads, small bridges and cross-drainages, all schemes which will directly benefit the tribal community.

Dr. Jayant Patil Committee

A review of TSP revealed that the District Planning Committee (DPC) did not provide sufficient outlays for important sectors/schemes related to nutrition, health, education and employment. A sub-committee appointed by the planning board under the chairmanship of Dr. Jayant Patil, a member of the State Planning Board, reached the same conclusion as that of the Sukthankar Committee. The Committee recommended that some important sectors like welfare of backward classes, education, health, water supply, power development, roads and irrigation, which directly benefit the tribal communities, need to be provided with sufficient outlays on priority.

Following the recommendations of the subcommittee, the state government took a decision to fix a floor for the minimum percentage of outlay for certain important sectors/schemes. The minimum allocation recommended were 40 percent for welfare of backward classes (TDD), 17 percent for health, 15 percent for road development, 7 percent for irrigation (including 2 percent for minor irrigation), 5 percent for education (including technical and ITI education), 3 percent

for rural water supply, 3 percent for nutrition, 2 percent for power development, 2 percent for animal husbandry/fisheries and a maximum of 2 percent for Soil conservation (TDD 2013). It must be noted that a major activity, which is in the purview of welfare of backward classes is the running of Ashram schools and related programs by the ITDPs. The 5 percent allocation for education is *over and above* the allocation made under the head 'welfare of backward classes'.

Trend in TSP Outlay and Expenditure

Budget documents for various years have been analysed to know the pattern and trend in the outlay and expenditure of TSP funds.

Table 4.1 shows year-wise total Plan Outlay and Expenditure for Maharashtra, and for the Tribal Sub-Plan from 1993-94 to 2014-15. It is seen from the Table that, since 1993-94, the TSP outlay has been 8 to 9 percent of the total plan outlay for the state. However, in some years, it was slightly less than 8 percent but more than 7 percent. Only in 2004-05 was outlay less than 7 percent (5.5 percent). On the other hand, in 2002-03, the TSP outlay exceeded 10 percent (10.3 percent). It must be noted here that the Scheduled Tribes population, as per the censuses of 1981 to 2011, accounted for about 9 percent, varying between 8.85 and 9.35 percent of the total population of Maharashtra. While, recently, there is a trend to provide TSP budgets in proportion to the total tribal population, this was not always the case. Thus, the Kelkar Committee calculated that "since 1994 the tribal people have been deprived of Rs. 7607 crore of their legitimate share in the budget". (Page 220, High Level committee for Balanced Regional Development). The calculation of the backlog is reproduced in Annexure 4.5. It can be seen that, in many years, the expenditure was not even 5 % and in some years it was even less than 4%. Most tragically, the gap between the expected provision and the actual expenditure amounts to almost one-third of the expected provision at 8.9%. In view of the large gaps between STs and others in developmental indicators this de facto diversion of resources is unpardonable. Hence, our report recommends that this is a loss to the TSP areas which should be made good over the next 4 to 5 financial years.

The Report recommends that the TSP budget should be not only non-divertible, but also non-lapsable. That is, any unspent amounts shall be allocated next year, over and above the proportional allocation of the next years. Also, the report recommends that any budgetary cuts in the middle or near the end of the year must not be made applicable to the TSP.

The Kelkar Committee Report calculates that due to indifferent expenditure over the years tribal people have been deprived of Rs 7607 crores of their legitimate share in the budget. It is recommended that this diversion may be treated as injustice and may be made good by allocating additional budgets equal to this sum over a period of the next 4 to 5 financial years.

While the TSP budget may be in proportion to the percentage of STs in the population, the absolute amount of TSP expenditure may be also be adversely affected by mid-year or end-of-year budgetary cuts due to budgetary constraints. These budgetary cuts (which are common) can affect developmental projects adversely. It is recommended that, in view of the special vulnerabilities of the STs, TSP allocations must be insulated from across-the-board budgetary cuts.

Trend in Sector-wise TSP Outlays

As mentioned earlier, the TSP outlay has two components – State plan and District plan. While the state plan outlay is controlled by the TDD at state-level, the district plan outlay is available for the district-level departments, including the ITDPs, to plan and implement programs. In keeping with the Sukthankar Committee’s recommendations, at least 60 percent of the TSP outlay is to be made available for the district plan. Generally, TSP outlays for district plans are made under eight main sectors/departments, which are Agriculture & Allied Services, Rural Development, Irrigation and Flood Control, Power Development, Industries & Minerals, Transport, General Economic Services, and Social & Community Services.

TABLE 4.1: Year-wise State Plan Outlay, Tribal Sub-Plan Outlay and Tribal Sub-Plan Expenditure, Maharashtra, 1993-94 to 2013-14

Year	Budgetable State Outlay (Rs in crores)	Outlay for TSP (Rs in crores)	% of State Outlay to TSP	% Annual Increase in State Outlay	% Annual Increase in TSP Outlay	TSP Expenditure (Rs in crores)	% of TSP Outlay Expended
1993-1994	3284.44	265.00	8.07	NA	NA	266.00	100.4
1994-1995	4000.32	330.00	8.25	21.8	24.5	275.00	83.3
1995-1996	5275.80	412.50	7.82	31.9	25.0	412.00	99.9
1996-1997	7520.11	588.58	7.83	42.5	42.7	535.00	90.9
1997-1998	6282.56	550.00	8.75	-16.5	-6.6	498.00	90.5
1998-1999	6400.00	561.00	8.77	1.9	2.0	520.00	92.7
1999-2000	6641.82	580.59	8.74	3.8	3.5	467.00	80.4
2000-2001	5798.00	525.00	9.05	-12.7	-9.6	444.00	84.6
2001-2002	6750.00	567.00	8.40	16.4	8.0	366.77	64.7
2002-2003	5704.04	585.00	10.26	-15.5	3.2	323.42	55.3
2003-2004	7578.38	555.73	7.33	32.9	-5.0	450.22	81.0
2004-2005	9665.25	530.04	5.48	27.5	-4.6	376.46	71.0
2005-2006	11014.03	990.00	8.99	14.0	86.8	928.53	93.8
2006-2007	14829.00	1389.00	9.37	34.6	40.3	1323.04	95.3
2007-2008	20200.00	1798.00	8.90	36.2	29.4	1658.88	92.3
2008-2009	25000.00	1941.50	7.77	23.8	8.0	2027.42	104.4
2009-2010	26000.00	2314.00	8.90	4.0	19.2	2130.01	92.0
2010-2011	37917.00	3374.35	8.90	45.8	45.8	2323.15	68.8
2011-2012	41000.00	3693.50	9.01	8.1	9.5	3106.00	84.1
2012-2013	45000.00	4005.00	8.90	9.8	8.4	3401.00	84.9
2013-2014	46838.00	4177.48	8.92	4.1	4.3	3979.42	95.3
2014-2015	51222.54	4814.92	9.40	9.4	15.3	-	-

Source: Annual Tribal Sub-Plan 2013-14; Tribal Development Department, Government of Maharashtra; p.4.

It may also be noted here that, of the total TSP plan outlay, about 60-70 percent is allocated to the Social and Community Services sector (state and district plans combined). This sector includes a variety of sub-sectors such as welfare of backward classes, public health and nutrition, housing, general and technical education, arts, culture and sports. In addition to the eight sectors mentioned above, some amount is also allocated for programmes such as special area programmes, Khandesh Package, welfare of backward classes under SSA and Article 275(1), and certain lump sum allocations.

Sub-sector Outlays

An attempt is made here to identify the significant sub-sector programmes/schemes and the trends in the outlays to these sectors in the past five years. For this purpose, we identified the sub-schemes that received at least 1 percent of the TSP outlay in any one year since 2009-10, either in the state plan or in the district plan. In Table 4.2 all sub-sectors that received at least 1 percent of the total state plan or district plan in any one year during 2009-10 to 2013-14 are listed along with the percentage of total TSP outlay and percentage of district plan outlay received by them. It needs to be noted that in the table, the column total need not add to 100 due to the fact that insignificant sub-sectors (in terms of allocation of funds) are not listed. The TSP outlay for all sub-sectors under the State plan *and* the District plan for 2013-14 is presented in Appendix 4.1.

Budgetary commitments for nutrition and health are less than what is specified in the Government resolution (15% and 3% respectively). Commitments for building upon the gains of forest rights act is not seen from the budget documents. Lack of sufficient allocation for soil and water conservation despite the poor quality of land the tribal communities traditionally inhabit.

It can be seen from the Table that, although the allocations for welfare of backward class is as per the recommendations of the TDD, for most of the other sub-sectors, the allocations have been below the recommended level specified by the Tribal Development Department. It was observed that some of the important sectors that have direct impact on the quality of life of the tribal people have not been receiving allocations in the recommended (by the TDD for the district TSP plans) proportion. Considering the low human development indicators among the STs, public health, nutrition, and rural water supply should have received funds on priority in the district TSP plans but, as observed from the Table, allocations for Public Health have been nowhere near the 15% of the district TSP outlay as was suggested by the TDD. Similarly, allocations for nutrition were less than 3%. Rural Development and forests were similarly neglected areas. Under the heads of 'Forests' there are no schemes to support Forest Rights Act, itself a landmark piece of legislation. Similarly, while land quality and lack of irrigation facilities are concerns within the TSP areas, the allocations for irrigation remain low.

TABLE 4.2: Year-wise Percentage Distribution of TSP Outlay for the State as a whole and TSP Outlay for District Plan by significant sub sector, Maharashtra, 2009-10 to 2013-14

Significant Sub-sectors	% distribution of TSP outlay (Total)					% of TSP outlay for District Plan				
	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14
Welfare of Backward Class (TDD.)	45.1	39.3	50.1	56.0	52.3	45.6	38.4	41.7	41.7	43.3
Road Development (PWD)	13.7	6.0	8.7	9.0	10.6	14.7	9.5	12.0	12.0	10.1
Jawahar Rozgar Yojana	2.1	7.4	4.9	5.2	6.0	3.6	13.9	9.1	9.4	10.4
Public Health	5.6	3.3	4.8	4.9	5.8	10.9	10.3	8.4	8.1	9.5
Minor Irrigation (State Irrigation Dept)	5.8	2.6	1.3	2.2	2.0	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.8	0.8
Labour & Labour Welfare	2.8	1.1	2.1	1.9	1.7	4.3	3.5	3.4	3.1	2.7
Rural Electrification (EE & I Dept)	1.5	1.1	1.8	1.9	1.9	2.6	3.0	3.3	3.2	3.1
Forest	1.4	0.5	1.2	2.4	2.3	1.1	1.3	2.3	2.1	2.4
Nutrition	1.1	1.2	1.9	2.3	0.9	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.9	0.1
Crop Husbandry	1.3	0.7	1.2	1.8	1.8	1.8	2.2	2.1	2.3	2.5
Rural Water Supply (RDD)	1.7	1.0	1.4	1.1	1.3	2.9	2.7	2.6	2.0	2.2
Soil and Water Conservation	0.8	0.6	0.9	1.3	1.3	1.6	1.9	1.7	2.1	1.9
Special Area Programme	1.9	1.3	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Khandesh Package	-	-	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Construction of Anganwadis	-	-	-	-	1.2	-	-	-	-	1.4
Welfare of B.C.(TDD) S.S.A.	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Development Schemes for Naxalite-affected Areas	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lump sum (Budgeted)	-	18.1	4.7	-	2.4	-	-	-	-	-
Undivided Fund	-	10.5	4.4	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Outlay (in crores)	2314.0	3374.4	3693.5	4005.0	4177.5	1155.5	1068.0	1993.2	2216.1	2403.0

Note: All sub-sectors that received at least 1% of total state plan or district plan in any one year during 2009-10 to 2013-14 are listed in this table. '-' means no outlay; No breakup was available for 'Lump sum Budget' and 'Undivided Fund'

District-wise TSP / and OTSP Outlays

Since most of the districts with high concentration of tribal population are located in the region defined as Rest of Maharashtra, almost 62% of the funds are diverted to these areas. Some of these districts with more than 10% tribal population are Nandurbar, Nashik and Thane. Thus it may be observed from Appendix 4.2 that the three districts together received nearly 48% of the TSP outlay during the FY 2013-14.

Almost a quarter of the tribal people live in Vidarbha. This region received almost a third of the total TSP outlay during FY 2013-14. The districts with prominent tribal presence in this region are Gadchiroli, Gondia, Yavatmal, Nagpur, Amravati and Chandrapur. Among the three regions of Maharashtra, Marathwada has lowest number of ST households, with only 3% of the total ST population of the State living in the region. Of the 8 districts in this region, Nanded is the only district with a defined TSP area. The other districts receive OTSP funds. The region received 4% of the total TSP funds in the FY 2013-14.

Re-appropriation of District TSP funds

One of the drawbacks of the Tribal sub-Plan financial architecture is that while the general district plan has separate district codes for each district, a similar facility is not extended to the district tribal sub-plans. This creates problems when re-appropriation in the district budgets has to be done in the third or fourth quarter of the year. Thus, while the powers of re-appropriation are in practice with the DPC, because of the lack of codes all re-appropriation proposals are pooled back to State-level and are re-sanctioned. This leads to unnecessary delays and also compromises the independence of the DPCs. The lack of codes also leads to problems in maintenance of separate district wise books. This report recommends that each district be assigned a separate code akin similar to the codes given to each district in the district general plan.

TABLE 4.3: Budget and Expenditure from TSP of Four Selected Districts during the year 2013-14 (figures in lakhs of rupees)

Sample Districts	Outlay	BDS Budget	Total Expenditure	% Expenditure out of Outlay	% Expenditure out of BDS budget
Thane	39979.09	NA	39552.65	98.9	DNA
Nandurbar	33776.02	31705.35	31253.29	92.5	98.6
Amravati	9802.58	NA	8579.28	87.5	DNA
Chandrapur	12611.84	12491.59	11666.84	92.5	93.4
Total (4 districts)	96169.53	44196.94	91052.06	94.7	DNA

DNA - Data not available; Data obtained from the sample ITDPs but refer to the respective districts. Head/sub-head-wise data are not presented because the items did not match with the individual ITDP figures.

Expenditure in the Four Selected ITDPs

Of late, TSP funds are disbursed through BDS. This is an online system used to allocate funds, monitor expenditure, and reallocate funds. Table 4.3 gives the initial budget outlay, BDS budget after re-appropriation and the expenditure by the districts during the FY 2013-14 (the figures are based on the report of the respective ITDPs). Information received from the ITDPs could not be put in a common format and hence, only summary information is presented in Table 3.4. Further, the information received and presented in the Table is for the whole district and not specific to the ITDP. It can be seen from the Table that the (initial) outlay and the BDS budget differed, slightly to substantially, for the different districts. The BDS budget is either increased or decreased due to the surrender and re-appropriation of funds, which is a dynamic process. Therefore, in the case of BDS budget, the expenditure is more than 90 percent for most of the selected districts. It is on this basis that ITDPs often claim that they fully meet their expenditure targets.

Nucleus Budget

Nucleus Budget is meant to meet the local requirements and decided by the PO, ITDPs subject to specified approvals. The Nucleus Budget is planned in advance (in the previous year itself) and funds are allocated - like in any other TSP scheme — as standard practice. As per the budget and expenditure statements received from the ITDPs, the Nucleus Budget has three divisions: (A) Income Generation Activities, (B) Skill Development Programmes and (C) Human Resource Development Schemes.

The activities included are pottery work, setting up flour mills, providing agricultural equipment like threshers, pumps and sprinklers, nursery development, handicrafts, driving classes, Marathi/English typing, subsidies for two-wheelers, Ashramshala teachers' training, awareness creation programmes, etc. The nucleus budget of the four selected districts is given in Appendix 4.4a to 4.4d. As there was no uniformity in the information on the budget and expenditure, we could not calculate the percentage expenditure for the ITDPs. However, it appeared from personal interviews that expenditure was close to hundred percent.

Composition of District TSP

In the previous section we discussed the allocation of district TSP funds to various sectors. It can be seen that a substantial portion is spent on social and community services. Represented here is the District TSP Plan for one district Nandurbar to help arrive at a better understanding of these allocations. We can observe that almost 70% of the district TSP funds are allocated to four departments, i.e. Tribal Development, Public health, Public Works, and Rural Development departments (Table 4.4). A further disaggregation of this data shows that a significant portion of these allocations are spent on construction activities by these departments.

TABLE 4.4: Department-wise District TSP Plan Outlay for Nandurbar District for the last 3 years

(Rs. Lakh)

S. No.	Department Name	District Plan Total Outlay			%		
		2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
1	Tribal Development	13892	12078	15012	42.9	36.4	41.7
2	Public Health	2075	4629	4006	6.4	14.0	11.1
3	Public Works – Roads	3042	3006	3354	9.4	9.1	9.3
4	Rural Development	1827	2912	2798	5.6	8.8	7.8
5	Water Conservation	3031	2707	2310	9.4	8.2	6.4
6	Technical Education	2137	1803	2012	6.6	5.4	5.6
7	Energy	1216	1202	1342	3.8	3.6	3.7
8	Agriculture	912	986	1091	2.8	3.0	3.0
9	Forest	912	902	902	2.8	2.7	2.5
10	Water Resources	88	0	708	0.3	0.0	2.0
11	Women and Child Development	1112	937	650	3.4	2.8	1.8
12	Water Supply and Sanitation	1148	797	620	3.5	2.4	1.7
13	Urban Development	150	357	562	0.5	1.1	1.6
14	Animal Husbandry, Dairy Development and Fisheries	305	186	375	0.9	0.6	1.0
15	Sports	265	361	128	0.8	1.1	0.4
16	Co-operation	272	288	103	0.8	0.9	0.3
17	Industry	2	2	3	0.0	0.0	0.0
18	Publicity	5	5	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	District Plan Total	32392	33155	35975	100	100	100

Source: compiled from District TSP Plan Outlay of Nandurbar District as given in: <https://mahades.maharashtra.gov.in/MPSIMS>

For example, as much as 70% of the outlay of Tribal development department for the district TSP for the FY 2014-15 was allocated for activities related to construction of Ashramshala complexes, hostel building and their maintenance, etc. (Table 4.5). Allocations for Public Health, which also undertakes significant construction-related work with TSP funds, are discussed in the next section

Infrastructure, supported by adequately compensated skilled and dedicated manpower, are fundamental for development and effective service delivery. It goes without saying that funds are necessary for this purpose. However, our contention is that these are activities that can be undertaken through the general budget as well. The use of the additional TSP funds for such infrastructure activities is against the underlying principles of TSP funds usage. It only shows that the TSP continues to be a departmental exercise with least regard to local needs.

TABLE 4.5: Nandurbar District TSP Plan Outlay of Tribal Development Department on items that have Budget Allocations of more than Rs 10 crore for FY 2014-15

<i>(Rs crore)</i>	
Item	Outlay
Construction of Ashramshala Complexes	48.3
Opening & maintenance of Govt. Hostels for ST Boys & Girls	14.3
Construction of Hostel Building for ST Boys and Girls	19.7
Thakkar Bappa Tribal Village Integrated Improvement Programme	27.6
Golden Jubilee Scheme of scholarship to pre-matric tribal students	13.0
Total	122.947
Total District TSP Plan Outlay on Tribal Development	150.1
Outlay on selected schemes as % of total District TSP Plan outlay on Tribal Development	82%

Source: compiled from District TSP Plan Outlay of Nandurbar District as given in: <https://mahades.maharashtra.gov.in/MPSIMS>

Depth and Diversity of the District Tribal sub-Plan

The District Tribal sub-Plan must take into account the sheer variety of the needs of various constituents in the districts as also the needs of the various sectors. At the same time, it has to address itself to the requirements of additional funds. We will look through the lens of a few schemes in a few sectors to understand whether the TSP district Plan has sufficient depth and breadth, and whether they adhere to the TSP requirements.

Health

Access to health services is one of the primary concerns of the STs and health events are one of the main reasons a family that is just above the poverty line descends quickly into poverty.

In the District Plan of Nandurbar for the Planning Year 2014-15 we find that the Public health department has allocated funds for 24 schemes with a total outlay of Rs 40.05 crores. Of these almost Rs 28 crores are for various construction- related activities (Repairs and Maintenance of Rural Hospital, Construction of Rural hospital, Construction of PHC, etc.) (Table 4.6). For want of information on whether these constructions are to accord for certain special normative interventions, it is safe to assume that funds from the TSP budget is being *in lieu of* funds from the general budget at State and District levels. Financing these schemes through the TSP ensures that less money is available for qualitative interventions for health care of tribals. In fact, the only significant intervention above Rs 1 crore that passes muster in the district tribal sub-plan, and appears to be designed to address the specific needs of the tribal areas, is the one for providing special health services in sensitive tribal areas. The allocation to this scheme was Rs. 3.86 crores for the FY 2014-15.

Important sectors such as health, nutrition, fisheries, minor forest produce, agriculture lack depth and diversity.

TABLE 4.6: Nandurbar District TSP Plan Outlay of Public Health Department on items that have Budget Allocations of more than Rs 1 crore for FY 2014-15

(Rs crore)	
Item	Outlay
Increase grants to Rural Hospitals for medicines	1.3
Establishment of Rural Hospitals	1.0
Construction of PHC	6.7
Construction of Rural Hospitals	10.0
Repairs and Maintenance of Rural Hospitals	10.0
Total	29.0
Total District TSP Plan Outlay on Public Health	40.06
Outlay on above schemes as % of total District TSP Plan outlay on Public Health	72%

Source: compiled from District TSP Plan Outlay of Nandurbar District as given in: <https://mahades.maharashtra.gov.in/MPSIMS>

Besides curative health, there is also a need to promote activities that lead to healthy life. We found that the maternal and child health indicators among the STs to be not very encouraging. For instance, only 11 percent of ST children between the ages 12-23 months were fully immunised in Nandurbar district. Very few tribal women (only 15%) in the district had institutional delivery. In fact, only a third of the tribal women in the State have institutional deliveries and about 40% have safe deliveries, i.e. they either have institutional delivery or have the help of either

paramedic or a trained Dai (midwife). Studies have pointed out that inadequate care of women during pre- and post-pregnancy, and of the child during the growth period have an adverse impact on the mental and physical development of the child. This also has an impact on the future abilities of the child. There is thus a need for substantial and purposive investments to improve access to preventive medical care. While NRHM has a number of such activities but, because of the poor access to a health centre and limited mobility of ASHA worker, ANM or an AWW, women and children living in remote areas are unable to benefit from these facilities and services. The funds from the TSP, therefore, can be used for improving access and for initiating activities/facilities that have not been hitherto covered under existing schemes.

Considering the remoteness of tribal settlements, geographical challenges, and local social situation, more schemes designed to supplement the NRHM or address specific situations are necessary. There is also a need to examine whether, despite the fiscal flexibility that the large health budget allows (the allocation for health in TSP plus the allocation from NRHM), the health system is providing for support in the form of additional human resources, more health care institutions and facilities, and reduced “time to care”. It also needs to be examined how the health-seeking behaviours of expectant mothers and adolescent girls can be improved with suitable incentives.

Nutrition

It is mandated that at least 3 % of the district TSP should be set aside for the nutrition components. The problem of malnutrition is a significant cause for worry in the areas. However, on examining the budgets of most districts we found only two heads – Nutrition and Mahila Bal Kalyan Samiti– tried to address the matter. The nutrition component at present does not provide for additional food in high burden areas. We were told that Anganwadi construction was the only activity being carried out with TSP funds. Considering the extent of the problem, a range of interventions to take care of additional nutritional needs could have been undertaken such as provision for at least one daily meal to expectant mothers and adolescent girls, crèches, provision for extra helpers for immunization drives, and for early child care education, BCC/IEC campaigns, etc. Moreover, we found that the districts often provide less than the minimum 3 % that is mandated for nutrition. Nandurbar, an area that is particularly nutrition-deficient was allocated less than 2 % of its entire district TSP in the year 2014-15.

Fisheries

TSP districts, especially in Eastern Vidarbha, have great potential for decentralized fishery activities. Considering that PESA vests ownership of minor water bodies with the Gram Panchayats, there is scope to support fishery activities through the TSP. However, for the year 2014-15, the total allocation for fisheries under TSP in Gondia was only Rs. 5 lakhs. For the district of Gadchiroli the

amount allocated was just Rs. 50,000. We learnt that the issue of limited allocation is also linked to weak departmental structures wherein staffing patterns and less manpower ensure that the department has little interest in seeking funds. Clearly, such a situation is not conducive to the generation of livelihood in tribal areas. A similar case of few schemes and poor absorption was also seen in the allied field of animal husbandry.

Rural Development

A similar lack of diversity was seen in the RDD schemes for TSP. There are just 4 schemes in the RDD for district TSP. From these, a portion of the funds is set aside for IAY to provide for matching grant to the central housing scheme. Some funds are reserved for developing pilgrimage centres and crematoriums. Clearly, the department needs to envisage a broader role for itself, especially since a number of rights under the PESA (for the implementation of which it is the nodal department) have been given to scheduled areas. A number of interventions aimed at livelihood creation, village improvement, reforestation, etc. can be initiated by the department.

Agriculture

Agriculture in the district TSP plan is also a neglected area. Thus, Thane, a district with vast patches of degraded land has only 2 schemes for agricultural development.

Similar failures to achieve depth and diversity, and to strictly apply additional funds, play out in many other schemes such as those for water resources, forests, etc. As pointed out elsewhere in this report, there is hardly an attempt to align the TSP with such Rights-based legislations as PESA, FRA, MGNREGA, etc.

Issues and suggestions

1. Towards a "Problem-Share" Approach

We have seen in the earlier sections that there remains a significant gap between the developmental indicators of the STs vis-à-vis the general population. This gap is likely to remain if more resources are not committed towards bridging it. Hence, this report strongly recommends that funding for TSP at state level should be based not on the "population-share" approach as is the present practice, but on a "problem-share" approach, which was recommended by the National Commission of Scheduled Tribes to the Planning Commission. The extent of the problem-share can be calculated from the extent to which the STs lag behind the non-ST population for a given indicator (malnutrition, to give an example). The extent of lag can be given a suitable weight. A combination of such weights can be used to help arrive at a problem-share which, in the present situation, will have more weight than population-share.

The need for a think tank to examine and suggest schemes

There is a need for TSP to expand its scope and related interventions. Regular points of interaction between the TDD and other departments need to be established, and supplemented by inputs from a think-tank to ensure that the TSP schemes confirm and address to the variety of additional needs. The back-end of this think tank needs to be with the TDD, but should include experts from all those sectors which the TSP covers. The think-tank should be able to provide to the districts and to the departments suggestions by the June of the ensuing Financial Year. District development Reports/Yearly reviews of TSP districts will be helpful for this. Also, Tribal Department may consider establishing District Planning and Monitoring Units as a back-end to help the Collector and the DPC in Planning and monitoring the TSP.

2. A legal framework for TSP

It also needs to be pointed out that the present allocations to TSP (in proportion to the ST population) are not based on any legal mandate but merely a consensus. In order to ensure that this consensus is not disturbed, it has to be backed by suitable laws. Legislation is necessary to protect budgetary allocations for STs and to make them non-divertible and non-lapsable. There is already in existence such legislation. Andhra Pradesh has implemented an Act called the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes sub-plan and Tribal sub-plan (Planning, Allocation and Utilisation of Financial Resources) Act, 2013, which has a number of such provisions. The Maharashtra Government must also consider introducing a similar legislation to protect the budgetary allocations in TSP.

Feedback from the field indicate that the ceilings and floors are rather rigid as they do not take into account the diversity in the TSP districts. The one-size-fits-all approach has serious shortcomings and needs to be addressed. It is recommended that the core and non-core differentiation be retained, but the present system of floors and ceilings should be done away with.

3. Ceilings given for preparation of District TSP Plan

There has been a continuous feedback from the districts that the ceilings and floors given by the Tribal Development Department, which are applied in the formulation of district TSP plans, are rigid. The formula is repeated almost every year and does not take into account the diversity among the TSP districts. Thus, while districts in Eastern Vidarbha may have need for larger budgetary resources for fisheries and for ensuring better access to natural resources, Nandurbar district may have a greater need of strategies for land improvement, halting migration, and ensuring livelihood support. The one-size-fits-all approach has serious shortcomings and needs to be addressed. It is, therefore, recommended that while the core and non-core differentiation (as is present in the district general plan) should be retained, the present system of floors and ceilings should be done away with. This will help the districts to choose their (optimum) path to

Who really “Owns” the TSP?

The lack of depth and breadth of scope of the programs seems to arise partially out of an unwillingness of the departments to own the Tribal sub-Plan and which they have to focus on. This arises out of the fact that for most departments TSP is a very small part of their entire outlay, which is made up from various sources such as the general plan, CSS, etc. Hence, while the TSP has been successful in creating a non-divertible structure “owned” by the TDD, its success in involving departments into doing a greater gap analysis with special focus on tribal areas, and consequent Planning has been limited. One of the weaknesses of TSP has also to do with the fact that there is no professional Planning and Management Unit which can help the State Unit and the District units to plan for the TSP based on relevant inputs.

development. Considering that the DPC is chaired by a minister, ensuring flexibility in decision making should not be a difficult task. Considering also that TSP was intended to be a plan that is based on participation, strict application of percentages result in a system of command and control rather than one of need-based planning, which should be avoided .

Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes sub-plan and Tribal sub-plan (Planning, Allocation and Utilisation of Financial Resources) Act, 2013

Salient features of the Act:

1. Earmarking of funds in proportion to the ST population.
2. Lays down guidelines for processes for Appraisal, Allocation, and Approval of the sub-Plans
3. Lays down the guidelines for Processes of Budget Release
4. Provides for Institutional arrangements for Planning and Monitoring including a State Council to advise the State Government on the TSP and to approve the TSP
5. Mandates Analysis of Outcomes and of improvements in HDI by the Nodal agency (Tribal Welfare Department)
6. Administrative support including a Sub-Plan Support Unit.
7. Provision for incentives and penalties for discharge of responsibilities under the Act
8. Placing of Annual report before the legislature.

TSP, PESA and Gram Sabha

In Maharashtra State there are 59 Talukas in 13 Districts that are in the Scheduled Areas, The Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas Act was passed in 1996 and was intended to give to the Gram Panchayats in Scheduled Areas a large measure of self-governance, decentralisation and devolution. A number of its provisions regarding the powers of Gram Sabhas and Panchayats over minor minerals, prevent land alienation, power to regulate intoxicants, etc. are significant. However, for the purpose of this paper certain specific

provisions of PESA are relevant. These provisions are related to Sections 4 (m) (vi) and 4(m) (vii) of the Act which empower Gram Sabhas and appropriate Panchayats to have control over institutions and functionaries in all social sectors and over local Plans and resources including the Tribal Sub-Plan. PESA was legislated in 1996, and state governments were given the mandate to customize the rules and regulations on their own for the scheduled areas. In Maharashtra, the rules and regulations were issued in March 2014. TSP must be examined vis-a-vis PESA on the following benchmarks:-

1. Is the planning process for TSP in accordance with Section 4(m) vii of the Act, i.e., does TSP provide for control of the Panchayati Raj structure and the Gram Sabhas over the planning process?

It was observed that the present planning process for the district TSP does not involve the Gram Sabhas, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis. Even at the level of the apex Panchayat, which is the Zilla Parishad, the demands are made through the ZP departments and not arrived at through a deliberative exercise done with the participation of the Zilla Parishad General Body. This lack of participative planning at all levels is one of the main reasons of the gap between the aspirations of STs and service delivery. The schemes need to address these aspirations.

2. Are the schemes of the TSP being largely run by the Panchayati Raj structure as required by PESA?

The answer to this is largely no. As of now most of the Tribal Development Department programs are being implemented by either the PO ITDP structure, or through the line departments. (A number of schemes in health, education, nutrition, housing, and, water conservation are run by the Zilla Parishad as an agency.)

Considering that both PO ITDP structure and line departments are not directly responsible to the people, the goal Panchayati Raj control over resources and institutions, as envisaged in PESA, is largely defeated.

3. Are schemes/projects being approved by the Gram Sabhas and are beneficiaries being selected by the Gram Sabhas?

Here, the picture is mixed. Selection of beneficiaries by the Gram Sabha is done mostly for TSP schemes which are run by the Zilla Parishad and which have provisions for beneficiary selection within the guidelines. However, for most of the TDD schemes, and schemes being operated by other line departments, this was not seen. Nor were the schemes/projects being approved by the Gram Sabhas. We learnt that, in a recent GR, the TDD has mandated

Participatory Micro-Planning

Participatory micro-planning is one way to ensure that the ultimate beneficiaries — the grassroots participants in democracy — have a stake in deciding what development intervention is appropriate for them. The village/ hamlet would be the ideal unit to decide what its priorities are and the weight that must be attached to each priority. The final budgeting and outlays should be decided based on this feedback. While structures such as DPC and ZP have representative voices that may convey the needs of the people to the planning authorities, these representative voices may not be close enough to the grassroots to articulate local needs. Hence, through various participative and mobilisation exercises, the village itself can choose what it feels is good for them. Since tribal areas are often remote, and characterised by cultural diversity, it is all the more necessary to take into account what the people want.

that the Gram Sabha should select beneficiaries for all individual beneficiary schemes. It is yet to be seen whether this GR is translated into practice in letter and in spirit.

In view of the above, it is necessary to initiate ownership of the plans in the following manner:

- a) Initiate micro-planning in each village so as to ensure that the district TSP plans incorporate the felt needs of the Gram Sabhas.
- b) Bring about greater involvement of representatives of all three layers of Panchayati Raj in the TSP approval process.
- c) Allow greater devolution from the TSP budget to the four layers of Panchayati Raj (Gram Sabha included), including untied funds.

Participation of people and officials

The FGD participants (male and female) from the selected villages were near-unanimous in their assertion that they had not participated in the Gram Sabha meetings and were not aware of

Some important provisions of State PESA Rules with regard to TSP and delivery of schemes of TDD

1. The scattered hamlets can become villages and have their own Gram Sabhas.
2. Provision of an independent “own fund” of the Gram Sabha called the Gram Sabha Kosh with full control of the Gram Sabha over financial decisions.
3. Identification of beneficiaries by the Gram Sabha.
4. Approval of programs and projects to be executed by the Panchayat by the Gram Sabha.
5. Review of all social sector institutions by the Gram Sabha.
6. Social audit by the Gram Sabha.

the special powers given under PESA to the Gram Sabhas. Most women FGD participants from all sample villages reiterated that they had not attended any Gram Sabha meetings and also that they did not get any information or message regarding the Gram Sabha meetings and the decisions taken in them. The field teams have seen that many tribal villages/hamlets/*padas* were at some distance from the Gram Panchayat offices and it was not convenient for them to attend the Gram Sabha meetings unless they were directly useful to them. They (the respondents) felt that even if they were informed or invited, they would prefer not to lose a work day to attend the meeting. Women participants said that no special Mahila Gram Sabha had been organized in the recent past. When the Sarpanch and Gram Sevak were asked about this, they said that though they did call the villagers to the Gram Sabha meetings, very few attended. Most community leaders insisted that Gram Sabhas were organized on a regular basis, but villagers do not attend, especially women.

On being asked about the involvement of ITDP functionaries in the Gram Sabha activities, the villagers as well as the Gram Sabha functionaries asserted that these officials were rarely involved. Discussions with ITDP functionaries also confirmed this. As such, to the extent the study team's investigations could gather, the linkage of the TSP to the requirements of PESA, and the administrative and financial arrangements for achieving the mandate of PESA has not happened in the study areas

Is the TSP responsive to ensuring delivery of Rights based interventions to the STs?

The past two decades have seen the enactment of several Rights-based legislation to ensure justice to the backward segments of society. The MGNREGA (guaranteeing Right to Work), PESA

As far as the TSP budgetary perspective is concerned TSP does not provide for control of the Panchayati Raj structure and the Gram Sabhas over the planning process. However, there are certain transfers for certain schemes in which Zilla Parishad are the administrative and implementing departments. It is necessary to initiate ownership of the plans in the following fashions: (i) Initiating micro-planning in each village to ensure that the district TSP plans incorporate the felt needs of the Gram Sabhas, (ii) Greater involvement of representatives of all three layers of Panchayati Raj in approval of TSP and (iii) Greater devolution to the four layers of Panchayati Raj (Gram Sabha included) from the TSP budget including provisions for untied funds.

(the Right to self-governance of Panchayats in Scheduled Areas), and the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights Act), 2006 (which recognizes the right to access forests and other natural resources) are widely regarded as the three most important rights-based legislations which have the potential to impact positively the livelihood concerns of the tribal population. These rights-based legislations address the three issues which

A few possible TSP interventions for Rights based legislations

1. Providing credit and other support to IFR beneficiaries for land improvement.
2. Provision of seed capital to Communities for value-added structures, market linkages, operation purposes, etc.
3. Supporting Gram sabhas for identifying of land alienation, training in forestry, for communitisation of institutions (not clear what this means), establishment of fisher-ies, and management of natural resources as identified in PESA.
4. Provision of additional wages, and administrative support for easier payment (payment of what) options.

have long affected STs adversely – a high migration rate in many areas, denial of access to forest and other resources, and lack of a decentralized structure of governance which would allow for self – governance through customary structures that have been in existence for a long period of time.

We observed from field interactions that though these rights have been claimed by the people, budgetary support still needed to ensure that these rights do not remain on paper. Thus, for example, there is no scheme as yet to ensure funding for Individual Forest Rights beneficiaries under the Forest Rights Act. Similarly, once Community Forest Rights are granted under the FRA, there would be a need to develop value-added and hand-holding structures such as localized food processing units, and to develop market linkages for disposal of produce. However, the TSP budget at both district and state level does not provide for such needs despite the Act being in operation for more than 8 years.

Appendix 4.1: Sub-sector-wise TSP Outlay for State and District Plans, Maharashtra, 2013-14

S. No.	Sector and Sub-sector	(Figures in lakh)			% distribution			% outlay to district
		State	District	Total	State	District	Total	
1	Agriculture & Allied Services	7202.00	19316.28	26518.28	4.06	8.04	6.35	72.8
	Crop Husbandry	1500.00	6098.99	7598.99	0.85	2.54	1.82	80.3
	Horticulture	0.00	304.11	304.11	0.00	0.13	0.07	100.0
	Soil and Water Conservation (Rural Development)	595.00	4655.92	5250.92	0.34	1.94	1.26	88.7
	Total Soil and Water Conservation	595.00	4655.92	5250.92	0.34	1.94	1.26	88.7
	Animal Husbandry	1100.00	1605.34	2705.34	0.62	0.67	0.65	59.3
	Fisheries	0.00	114.51	114.51	0.00	0.05	0.03	100.0
	Forest	4000.00	5808.94	9808.94	2.25	2.42	2.35	59.2
	Co-operation	7.00	728.47	735.47	0.00	0.30	0.18	99.0
	Rural Development	2176.51	26378.87	28555.38	1.23	10.98	6.84	92.4
2	Swarna Jayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana	2176.51	81.70	2258.21	1.23	0.03	0.54	3.6
	Drought Prone Area Programme	0.00	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.0
	Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (Indira Awaas Yojana)	0.00	24887.95	24887.95	0.00	10.36	5.96	100.0
	Community Development (Rural Development)	0.00	897.13	897.13	0.00	0.37	0.21	100.0
	Rural Sanitation Programme	0.00	510.09	510.09	0.00	0.21	0.12	100.0
	Irrigation and Flood Control	9500.00	14042.31	23542.31	5.35	5.84	5.64	59.6
	Minor Irrigation (Corporation)	2010.11	0.00	2010.11	1.13	0.00	0.48	0.0
	Irrigation (Irrigation Department)	6489.89	1969.00	8458.89	3.66	0.82	2.02	23.3
	Minor Irrigation Project (Local Sector) (R.D.D)	500.00	8883.46	9383.46	0.28	3.70	2.25	94.7
	Minor Irrigation Project (Local Sector) (Water Conservation Dept)	500.00	3189.85	3689.85	0.28	1.33	0.88	86.4
4	Power Development	800.00	7489.06	8289.06	0.45	3.12	1.98	90.3
	Rural Electrification	300.00	7489.06	7789.06	0.17	3.12	1.86	96.1
	Non-Conservation Energy	500.00	0.00	500.00	0.28	0.00	0.12	0.0
5	Industry & Minerals	0.00	117.31	117.31	0.00	0.05	0.03	100.0
	Villages & Small Industries (Industries)	0.00	117.31	117.31	0.00	0.05	0.03	100.0

S. No.	Sector and Sub-sector	(Figures in lakh)			% distribution			% outlay to district
		State	District	Total	State	District	Total	
6	Transport	20500.00	24200.28	44700.28	11.55	10.07	10.70	54.1
	Roads and Bridges	20000.00	24200.28	44200.08	11.27	10.07	10.58	54.8
	Home-Transport	500.00	0.00	500.00	0.28	0.00	0.12	0.0
7	General Economic Services	0.00	797.47	797.47	0.00	0.33	0.19	100.0
	Forest Tourism	0.00	797.47	797.47	0.00	0.33	0.19	100.0
	Social & Community Services	127269.49	147958.42	275227.91	71.72	61.57	65.88	53.8
8	General Education	3403.93	26.33	3430.26	1.92	0.01	0.82	0.8
	Technical Education	0.00	2033.84	2033.84	0.00	0.85	0.49	100.0
	Sports & Youth Welfare	0.00	1720.66	1720.66	0.00	0.72	0.41	100.0
	Medical Education	0.00	160.00	160.00	0.00	0.07	0.04	100.0
	Higher Education	1500.00	0.00	1500.00	0.85	0.00	0.36	0.0
	Public Health	1500.00	22933.10	24433.10	0.85	9.54	5.85	93.9
	Rural Water Supply & Sanitation	0.00	5292.79	5292.79	0.00	2.20	1.27	100.0
	Urban Development	600.00	424.27	1024.27	0.34	0.18	0.25	41.4
	Information & Publicity	0.00	10.02	10.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.0
	Tribal Development Department	114465.56	104061.23	218526.79	64.51	43.30	52.31	47.6
	Labour & Labour Welfare (Higher Education Dept)	800.00	6484.75	7284.75	0.45	2.70	1.74	89.0
	Total Labour & Labour Welfare	800.00	6484.75	7284.75	0.45	2.70	1.74	89.0
	Women & Child Development	5000.00	4811.43	9811.43	2.82	2.00	2.35	49.0
A. Social Welfare Department (WCD)	0.00	1020.74	1020.74	0.00	0.42	0.24	100.0	
B. Nutrition	3500.00	358.11	3858.11	1.97	0.15	0.92	9.3	
C. Construction of Anganwadis	1500.00	3432.58	4932.58	0.85	1.43	1.18	69.6	
Lump sum Budgeted Outlay	10000.00	0.00	10000.00	5.64	0.00	2.39	0.0	
Total Tribal Sub-Plan		177448.0	240300.0	417748.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	57.5

Appendix 4.2: Development Board-wise and District-wise break-up of District Plan Outlay (for Sectors 1-8 combined) for TSP and OTSP Areas, 2013-14

Board/District	Sectors 1-8 (in crores)			% distribution sectors 1-8			%TSP to Total	TSP Population*	
	TSP	OTSP	Total	TSP	OTSP	Total		% distribution	Factor
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Maharashtra	1855.5	547.5	2403.0	100.00	100.00	100.00	77.2	100.0	1.00
Rest of Maha.	1279.4	224.5	1503.9	68.95	41.01	62.58	85.1	71.1	0.97
Mumbai City	-	1.0	1.0	-	0.19	0.04	-		
Mumbai	-	3.5	3.5	-	0.63	0.14	-		
Thane	427.8	24.1	451.8	23.05	4.39	18.80	94.7	16.8	1.37
Raigarh	9.8	37.2	47.0	0.53	6.79	1.96	20.9	3.3	0.16
Ratnagiri	-	1.0	1.0	-	0.18	0.04	-		
Sindhudurg	-	0.2	0.2	-	0.04	0.01	-		
Nashik	319.0	51.1	370.1	17.19	9.33	15.40	86.2	17.0	1.01
Dhule	92.7	19.6	112.2	4.99	3.57	4.67	82.6	7.0	0.71
Nandurbar	331.5	6.2	337.8	17.87	1.13	14.06	98.2	12.4	1.44
Jalgaon	17.5	33.5	51.0	0.94	6.13	2.12	34.3	6.6	0.14
Ahmednagar	40.9	20.4	61.4	2.21	3.73	2.55	66.7	4.1	0.54
Pune	40.1	20.3	60.4	2.16	3.72	2.51	66.3	3.8	0.57
Satara	-	1.1	1.1	-	0.20	0.04	-		
Sangli	-	0.9	0.9	-	0.16	0.04	-		
Solapur	-	3.4	3.4	-	0.62	0.14	-		
Kolhapur	-	1.1	1.1	-	0.19	0.04	-		
Vidarbha	543.9	259.3	803.2	29.31	47.36	33.42	67.7	25.8	1.13
Buldhana	-	20.1	20.1	-	3.67	0.84	-		
Akola	-	17.8	17.8	-	3.24	0.74	-		
Washim	-	13.8	13.8	-	2.52	0.57	-		
Amravati	83.4	25.9	109.3	4.49	4.73	4.55	76.3	4.4	1.02
Yavatmal	99.7	44.4	144.2	5.38	8.12	6.00	69.2	5.6	0.96
Nagpur	17.7	49.9	67.6	0.95	9.12	2.81	26.1	4.8	0.20
Wardha	-	22.2	22.2	-	4.06	0.93	-		
Bhandara	-	13.7	13.7	-	2.51	0.57	-		
Gondia	53.2	14.0	67.3	2.87	2.56	2.80	79.2	2.3	1.23
Chandrapur	91.6	34.5	126.1	4.94	6.30	5.25	72.6	4.2	1.17
Gadchiroli	198.2	2.9	201.1	10.68	0.53	8.37	98.6	4.5	2.36
Marathwada	32.2	63.7	95.9	1.74	11.63	3.99	33.6	3.1	0.56
Aurangabad	-	4.9	4.9	-	0.90	0.21	-		
Jalna	-	1.6	1.6	-	0.29	0.07	-		
Beed	-	1.2	1.2	-	0.22	0.05	-		
Parbhani	-	1.7	1.7	-	0.32	0.07	-		
Hingoli	-	21.5	21.5	-	3.93	0.89	-		
Nanded	32.2	29.0	61.3	1.74	5.30	2.55	52.6	3.1	0.57
Osmanabad	-	1.4	1.4	-	0.25	0.06	-		
Latur	-	2.4	2.4	-	0.43	0.10	-		

Notes: % distribution of TSP area tribal population as per 2011 census and 'Factor' refers to the ratio of percentage of TSP outlay by percentage of TSP area tribal population, i.e., col (5)/col (9).

Appendix 4.3: Sub-sector-wise Percentage Expenditure out of TSP State Plan, District Plan and Total Outlay, Maharashtra, 2012-13

Head of Development and Sub head	2012-13		
	State Plan	District Plan	Total (State)
Agriculture & Allied Services	-	-	82.0
1. Crop Husbandry (Agriculture Department)	80.0	80.0	80.0
2. Horticulture (Agriculture Department)	-	80.0	80.0
3. Soil & Water Conservation (Water Conservation, Forest Department)	80.0	96.7	95.1
4. Animal husbandry (Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Dairy & Fisheries Dept)	80.0	79.3	79.6
5. Fisheries (Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Dairy & Fisheries Department)	-	80.0	80.0
6. Forest (Revenue and Forest Department)	-	-	77.3
7. Co-operation	-	-	79.2
Rural Development	-	-	95.9
1. Integrated Rural Development Programme (Rural Development Dept)	-	80.0	80.0
2. Drought Prone Area Programme (Rural Development Department)	-	80.0	80.0
3. Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (Rural Development Department)	-	-	100.0
4. Rural Sanitation Programme	-	80.0	80.0
5. Community Development	-	43.0	43.0
Irrigation and Flood Control	-	-	80.0
1. Medium Irrigation Project (Irrigation Department)	80.0	-	80.0
2. Minor Irrigation (Local Sector) (Rural Development Department)	-	-	81.7
3. Minor Irrigation- Irrigation Department (State Sector)	-	-	80.0
4. Minor Irrigation (Water Conservation department)	-	-	74.2
Power Development/Non Conservation Energy	-	-	80.0
Industry and Minerals: Village & Small Industries	-	88.4	88.4
Transport	-	-	88.4
1. Road Transport	-	-	88.3
2. Home Transport	95.0	-	95.0
Gen. Economic Services	-	80.0	80.0
Social & Community Services	-	-	85.3
1. General Education	99.8	-	96.9
2. Technical Education	80.0	17.5	44.0
3. Sports & Youth Welfare	-	77.6	77.6
4. Medical Education	-	80.0	80.0
5. Public Health	-	-	75.2
6. Water Supply & Sanitation	-	80.0	80.0
7. Housing	80.0	-	80.0
8. Urban Development	80.0	80.0	80.0
9. Information & Publicity	-	70.0	70.0
10. Welfare of Backward Class (T.D.D.)	-	-	87.7
11. Social Welfare (Mahila & Bal Vikas)	-	80.0	80.0
12. Labour & Labour Welfare	-	-	69.4
13. Nutrition	-	-	80.0
Grand Total	-	-	85.1

Appendix 4.4a: Nucleus Budget, (2013-14) ITDP Taloda (Nandurbar District)

Name of Schemes	Target	Completed	Expenditure
Division A: Income generation schemes	478	478	5094593
Supply of kitchen utensils to tribal self-help groups (with 85% subsidy)	100	100	1275000
Supply of Weaving machines to tribal beneficiary (with 85% subsidy)	158	158	1274428
Supply of Flour mills to tribal beneficiary (with 85% subsidy)	65	65	634790
Supply of tarpaulin to tribal beneficiary (with 85% subsidy)	155	155	1910375
Division B: Skill development programmes (2012-13 pending plan)	537	537	3470885
Light vehicle and heavy vehicle driver or conductor training for tribal youth	121	121	420335
Medical and engineering entrance exam training to 12th pass science students	141	141	1029300
Medical and engineering entrance exam training to 12th pass science students	275	275	2021250
Division C: Human resource development property schemes	1031	1031	1817736
Analysis of training requirement of unemployed tribal girls and boys	1000	1000	1415736
Allowance to the I.T.I tribal students during apprenticeship	31	31	402000
Total: Amount Received = Rs 1,04,00,000; Expenditure = Rs 1,03,83,214; Balance : Rs 16,786 (surrendered to BDS)			

Appendix 4.4b: Nucleus Budget, (2013-14) ITDP Dharni (Amravati District)

Name of Schemes	Budget	Expenditure	Target
<i>Division A: Income generation schemes</i>			
Supply of sewing machines and Pico Fall machines to tribal women (with 85% subsidy)	500000	425000	50
Supply of tin plate to tribal beneficiary farmers(with 85% subsidy)	450000	382500	30
Three wheeler-Katala supply to the tribal beneficiary (with 85% subsidy)	748200	635970	58
Supply of Thresher machines and pumps to tribal beneficiary (with 85% subsidy)	735000	624750	14
Supply of spray sprinklers to tribal beneficiaries (with 85% subsidy)	1200000	1008168	40
Supply Drip sprinkler set to tribal beneficiaries (with 85% subsidy)	480000	392016	12
Total Expenditure: Division A	4113200	3468404	314
<i>Division B: Skill development programmes</i>			
Medical and engineering entrance exam training to 12th pass science students	1800000	1800000	120
Beautician course and supply of related tools kit to tribal women	250000	250000	25
Marathi and English typing course with stipend for commuting	270000	270000	30
Training tribal self-help group of making a leaf plate	550000	550000	55
For conducting sports proficiency tests for students	250000	250000	100
Total Expenditure B Division	3120000	3120000	305
<i>Division C: Human resource development property schemes</i>			
Awareness Melava for tribal people	120000	120000	6 (Melava)
To issue caste certificate and revenue documents e.g. Form 7/12	150000	150000	1000
Supply of solar lamps to Ashram schools where electricity is not available(one lamp for five students)	1983000	1983000	1750
Financial assistance to the victims of disasters	450000	450000	30
Financial aid to cooperative organizations for purchasing fishing boats and other material	300000	300000	6
Financial aid for advanced training to award-winning wrestler Mr Anil KaluramTordak	50000	50000	1
To stage play "Mahanayak Birsa" to create awareness among tribal people	170000	170000	1
Financial aid to supply three wheeler cycle to disabled individuals, (100% subsidy)	750000	567600	64
Total C Division	3973000	3790600	2852
TOTAL A. B. C. Division	11206200	10379004	3471

Appendix 4.4c: Nucleus Budget 2013-14, Chandrapur District

Name of Scheme	Proposed number of beneficiaries	Estimated cost of schemes	Received budget BDS	Expenditure
Division A: Income generation schemes	821	6410500	5833105	1359200
Supply of light trap and farm trap for crop protection (85% or100% subsidy)	196	1020000	10999984	1019200
Sewing machine training and supply of Pico fall and sewing machine (85% or100% subsidy)	148	997500	844873	0
Sewing machine training and supply of Pico fall and sewing machine (85% or100% subsidy)	176	945000	820068	0
Supply Tarpaulin to tribal farmer on subsidy (85% or100% subsidy)	165	1000000	865000	0
Supply plotter machine to tribal groups (85% or100% subsidy)	10 Groups	1750000	1592000	0
Biomass charring and smokeless fuel production training and supply of instruments	80	400000	340000	340000
Honey collection training and supply of instruments to unemployed youth in Jiwati block (85% or100% subsidy)	20	298000	271180	0
Division B: Skill development programmes	560	3870000	3845000	1625000
Training tribal youth for Police exams and heavy/light motor driving	100	600000	600000	600000
MS-CIT coaching for tribal youth	200	640000	640000	
Coaching for medical, engineering, PMT, PIT, AIEEE exams to 12th class pass science pass student.	50	600000	600000	
MPSC/UPSC coaching for tribal youth	30	750000	750000	
Training for Wildlife conservation and wildlife crimes investigation	50	900000	900000	900000
Tourist guide training for Tadoba Andhari tiger project	30	150000	125000	125000
Marathi and English language training to tribal men and women(total 30 beneficiaries)	100	230000	230000	
Division C: Human resource development schemes	1336	4247374	4453584	2241668
Awareness programmes and social gatherings	19 (Melava)	600000	600000	600000

Name of Scheme	Proposed number of beneficiaries	Estimated cost of schemes	Received budget BDS	Expenditure
Workshop for sharing information on various schemes and programme of TDD for Sarpanch, member, Secretary.(Gram Sevak)	914	700000	700000	518716
To prepare a Micro-Plan for collective forest rights	10 (Villages)	500000	500000	500000
Distribution cost e.g. transportation during implementation, monitoring, evaluation, awareness, etc.(at 2% of total cost)		320000	171580	171580
Services of skilled individuals for short period to complete public construction works	2	218000	216630	151372
Urgent assistance to tribes during disasters or atrocities	60	300000	300000	
Supply of cycles to hostel students (100% subsidy)	Men 119	379134	697374	
	Women 104	318240		
Empowerment and leadership training to tribal women	1 (workshop)	300000	300000	
Supply of Lokrajya magazine to tribal youth	120	12000	12000	
Training teachers of Government Ashram Schools		300000	300000	150000
To organize sports' camps for tribal students		300000	300000	150000
To organize motivational and career counselling workshops for hostel students	17	356000	356000	
Total Divisions A,B,C (Provision Rs. 17800000; Received Rs. 14240000 (BDS)	2717	14527874	14131689	5225868

Appendix 4.4d: Nucleus Budget 2013-14, Jawhar ITDP (Thane District)

Name of Scheme	Budget	Benefits
Division A: Income generating schemes		
Financial aid for the handicraft manufacturing to the Scheduled Tribes beneficiaries	68000	4
Financial aid for Nursery	216750	15
Financial aid for kitchen utensils business	191250	15
Financial aid to Katkari tribals for brick making business	500000	10
Financial aid to Scheduled Tribes for brick manufacturing	419900	13
Financial aid for floriculture	552500	52
Financial aid for dry fish business	637449	66
Financial aid for to farmers for vegetable plantations and floriculture	170000	10
Financial aid to Scheduled Tribe beneficiaries for starting Dhabas	212500	20
Financial aid for Agriculture Centre	327250	11
Financial aid for Floriculture	249900	21
Financial aid to the tribal beneficiaries for D.J. (music player) business	255000	12
Financial aid to tribal beneficiaries for poultry business	426360	22
Financial aid to the tribal beneficiaries for fishing business	1292000	38
Financial aid to the tribal beneficiaries (through NGO) for poultry	627300	18
Training for tribal beneficiary of building work and supply of instrument through the NGO	544000	50
Training for tribal beneficiary of carpenter work and supply of instrument through the NGO	544000	50
Financial aid for Dhaba Business to the Katkari through NGO	250000	20
Financial aid for kitchen utensils Business to the Katkari beneficiary through the NGO	300000	15
Financial aid for floriculture to the tribal beneficiary supply through NGO	297500	20
Financial aid for speakers and vegetables plantations for self-employment	119000	3
Division B: Skill development programme		
Personality Improvement programme for tribal youth (2012-13 schemes)	750000	50
Training in Bamboo crafts and supply of tools and equipment	500000	50
MS-CIT Training for tribal youth (Pragati Computer Jawhar, Thane)	747600	267
MS-CIT Training for tribal youth (Adarsha Computer Jawhar Dist., Thane)	747600	267

Name of Scheme	Budget	Benefits
Marathi/ English typing coaching (2012 -13, Adarsh typing class)	748200	129
Training for tribal students in Marathi/ English typing (2012 -13, Pragati typing class)	748200	129
Financial aid for training in Warli Painting (Shri Ganesh NGO Jawhar)	102450	75
Financial aid for training in Warli Painting (Jagdamba Mitramandal Jawhar)	132675	156
Building supervisor's training for tribal beneficiaries	528000	55
Financial aid for training in Warli painting (Gram Chaitanya NGO Jawhar,Dist.Thane)	298130	120
Training 12th standard pass science students for Medical and engineering entrance exam	528000	44
Training 12th standard pass science students for Medical and engineering entrance exam	540000	45
Training 12th standard pass science students for Medical and engineering entrance exam	750000	50
Training 12th standard pass science students for Medical and engineering entrance exam	720000	48
Training 12th standard pass science students for Medical and engineering entrance exam	750000	50
Training 12th standard pass science students for Medical and engineering entrance exam	1224000	102
Division C: Human resource development property schemes		
Financial aid for tribal victims of disasters	40000	3
Financial aid for art and sport festival in tribal area	225000	500
English- speaking course for personality development of tribal youth	348000	60
To organize a cultural festival at Jawhar	400000	500
Training of MS-CIT to the tribal students	373625	245
financial aid to educated unemployed youth for distribution of Lokrajya magazine	50000	500
Training for CCC (computer coaching class) to the tribal students	240361	9
Financial aid for children's science workshop and council (G. T Thane)	14500	65
Medical and engineering entrance exam training for 12th standard pass science students (S A Nashik)	1980000	150
Medical and engineering entrance exam training to 12th science pass students (S A Nashik)	1980000	150
2013 -2014 Total Budget A.B.C	23667000	4304

Appendix 4.5: Expenditure Shortfall in TSP from 1993-94 to 2010-11 as Calculated by Kelkar Committee

<i>(Rs. In Crore)</i>								
Year	State Plan Outlay	State Plan Actual Expenditure	Expected Provision for TSP at 8.9%	Operational Provision for TSP	Actual Expenditure under TSP	Shortfall (4-6)	% of TSP Exp. To Annual State Exp.	% TSP Exp. to Operational Provision
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1993-94	3804	3781	342	265	266	76	7.0	100.4
1994-95	4400	5122	396	330	275	121	5.4	83.3
1995-96	6069	6627	546	413	412	134	6.2	99.8
1996-97	8284	6848	746	589	535	211	7.8	90.8
1997-98	8325	7938	749	550	498	251	6.3	90.5
1998-99	11601	8187	1044	561	520	524	6.4	92.7
1999-00	12162	10419	1095	581	467	628	4.5	80.4
2000-01	12330	9586	1110	525	444	666	4.6	84.6
2001-02	11721	8526	1055	567	367	688	4.3	64.7
2002-03	11135	7539	1002	585	323	679	4.3	55.2
2003-04	12650	8188	1139	556	450	689	5.5	80.9
2004-05	9447	9817	850	530	376	474	3.8	70.9
2005-06	11000	14674	990	990	929	61	6.3	93.8
2006-07	14829	15681	1335	1389	1323	12	8.4	95.2
2007-08	20200	19422	1818	1798	1659	159	8.5	92.3
2008-09	25000	22861	2250	1942	2027	223	8.9	104.4
2009-10	37915	27731	3412	2314	2130	1282	7.7	92.0
2010-11	33935	32577	3054	3374	2323	731	7.1	68.9
Total	254807	225524	22933	17859	15324	7609	6.8	85.8
(Ref: State Annual Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan 1993-94 to 2010-11)								
Source: Reproduced from Annexure 7.4 in Kelkar Committee Report on balanced Regional Development								

Chapter 5

FUNCTIONAL ASSESSMENT OF TDD/ITDPs

In the earlier chapters, we analysed the socioeconomic characteristics of the ST population vis-à-vis total population, and the TSP budget and expenditure over a period. We will now examine the PO ITDP structure and the changes necessary for ensuring more efficient functioning. The conclusions drawn in this section are based on interactions with the field level functionaries and officers, and the community as well as desk review of the various GRs on the financial and administrative powers in the department.

To assess the issues related to TDD, the field team looked at the structure of ITDPs including staff position and vacancies, roles and responsibilities of POs, APOs and other programme functionaries, programme planning and implementation processes, funds flow (timeliness, adequacy, hierarchical level, and transparency of functioning), and monitoring and evaluation. Also included in the study are Information Education Communication (IEC) activities that the department conducts to create awareness about the schemes and benefits that the tribal people can claim, involvement of panchayats in the selection of beneficiaries (mainly for individual financial benefits). The study also examines the vision and mission of the department, and makes recommendations for improving the functioning of the department.

The Study found in its interaction that some of the biggest problems that beset the PO ITDP structure are:

1. Limited manpower.
2. Uncoordinated delivery of schemes by multiple departments.
3. The present system of service delivery, scheme design, and institutional mechanisms are not in line with the mandate of PESA
4. Lack of delegation of powers.
5. Excessive centralisation of decision making at the Commissionerate and ATC levels.
6. Little administrative control on departments

Project Officers of ITDPs

According to the Government Regulation (GR) issued by TDD, Maharashtra, on November 9, 1993, the eleven sensitive ITDPs were supposed to have IAS or Indian Forest Service (IFS) officers as POs. We found that, of the four Project Officers (POs) interviewed, two were from the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) cadre and the other two were from the state cadre. According to sources, earlier, IAS officers were posted as Project Officer in many ITDPs to ensure better control over tribal welfare programmes. However, at present, only a few IAS officers are posted as PO, ITDP. A likely reason is the reluctance of the officers to work in remote tribal areas. The quality of cadre for PO, ITDP is crucial for the proper functioning of ITDPs. It is generally believed that,

if the PO is an IAS officer with powers of additional District Collector as in Andhra Pradesh, he/she would exercise more effective control over the functioning of ITDP and other Administrative departments there by improving performance.

Roles and Responsibilities of Project Officer

The Project Officer is responsible for the overall planning and implementation of TSP programmes at the ITDP level. The PO is directly responsible for the implementation of the schemes under “Welfare of Backward classes” for which 40 percent of the district TSP plan is earmarked. The major portion of the ITDP budget (Welfare of Backward classes) is utilized for running Ashram Schools. In districts with more than one ITDP, one of the POs is appointed as the nodal PO and only he interacts with the DPC and administrative departments. The nodal Project Officer coordinates the functions of the ITDPs and Administrative departments in the district. He/she is a member of the District Planning Committee where the programmes and budget are discussed and finalized.

Nearly 56 percent of the posts at different levels are vacant in the TDC, ATCs and ITDPs combined. At least one-third of the posts are vacant at every level in the TDD, including ITDPs and Ashram schools.

The POs receive proposals from administrative departments and after scrutiny at their level (assessment of financial needs/requirements and fitting it within the given ceiling), they forward them to the District Planning Committee (DPC) for further consideration and finalization. The PO's office prepares the MPR (Monthly Progress Report). Financial statements received from administrative departments are also compiled and forwarded it to the higher authorities.

Staff Position and Training of Officers

Statistics gathered from the Tribal Development Commissionerate (TDC) revealed that **nearly 56 percent of the posts at different levels are vacant in the TDC, ATCs and ITDPs combined. The situation is the same for the four selected ITDPs as well.** At least one-third of the posts are vacant at every level in the TDD (see Table 5.1). It was reported that, due to shortage of staff, many of the Ashram School junior clerks were also working as clerks in the ATCs and ITDPs. Such a high number of vacancies adversely impact the functioning of TDD at all levels as well as the Ashram Schools. Besides government apathy over filling the positions, one reason for the high number of vacant posts in the TDC hierarchy was the unwillingness of the staff to be posted in ITDPs as they are located in rural areas and small towns where housing, shopping, recreational and educational facilities are minimal.

Designation	Approved	Filled	Vacant	No. of posts vacant as % of approved posts
Senior level (Commissioner, Addl. Commissioner, Asst. Commissioner, Dep. Commissioner, PO, Asst. Officers, SRO)	63	41	22	34.92
Middle level (APO, Planning Officer, Documentation Officer, PA)	225	101	124	55.11
Junior level (Asst. Douc. Officer, Office Superintendent, SEO, JEO, RA, STD Inspector, clerks, Accountant, Typists, Driver)	1580	590	990	62.66
Peon level (Pump operator, Barber, Guard, gardener, sweeper)	278	138	140	50.36
Total	2146	939	1207	56.24

Constraints of Manpower and Technical Competence in ITDPs

While the TDD carries out many functions through the Zilla Parishad structure or the line departments, a large number of TSP schemes involving large expenditure are implemented by the PO ITDP structure. Due to limited availability of manpower and lack of appropriate skills and technical competence, many schemes involving substantial expenditure (distribution of diesel pumps, construction of houses, land improvement schemes, livelihood schemes, nucleus budgets, Thakkar Bappa Yojana) are adversely affected. The limitations become evident at three levels-

Selection of beneficiaries- There is not enough staff to oversee the process of selection and endorsement of beneficiaries by the GP.

Implementation- Manpower with technical expertise to carry out schemes which require good domain knowledge (engineers, agriculture officers, etc.) is not available in adequate numbers.

Monitoring- There is limited staff available to monitor the progress of works, and to perform the paper work.

(The GP or PS should be empowered to source technically qualified local people on an adhoc basis from carry out specific functions.)

Most of the POs reported that they do not have the required expertise in the technical aspects of the programmes (such as determining the quality of construction of roads and buildings). There is also a lack of technical manpower such as experts in agriculture, engineering and animal husbandry. This, they said, hindered proper monitoring and verification of the quality and completeness of schemes not only by their own department, but also by the administrative departments. There are certain schemes run by ITDPs for which they do not have expertise because of which the quality of work could neither be ensured nor verified. For example, the construction of buildings and link roads under Thakkar Bappa scheme is under the ITDP's

control, but they have to get it done through PWD because of the lack of technical competence and manpower. The POs suggested that schemes should be given to the departments that have the technical knowledge and expertise in that area. Schemes like providing diesel pump sets/electric pumps, milch animals, PVC pipes and digging wells for tribal farmers are run by TDD which, according to the POs, can be better implemented by departments like agriculture, animal husbandry and rural development.

This problem can be addressed by one of the following interventions:

Option I: Provide adequate staff with the required technical and supervisory competencies, which will function under the control of the PO ITDP.

Option II: Transfer the schemes to the Zilla Parishad system and the line departments and ensure accountability for their effective implementation.

Option I may not be a particularly feasible one to adopt in view of the administrative structure that prevails in Maharashtra where the ZP structure and line department have been traditionally provided with a large number of staff right down to the village level. Hence, any additional staff at the PO ITDP level would only result in unnecessary financial expenditure and duplication, which is also against the requirements of PESA. (See the Section above on TSP and PESA)

Hence, it is strongly recommended that schemes for which Zilla Parishads have the competence and manpower to implement should be transferred to them. Subjects not transferred to the Zilla Parishads can be addressed by the respective line departments (We recommend that this should be an exceptional occurrence in the context of the requirements of PESA, and also in view of the lukewarm response of the line agencies to TDD schemes). The function of the PO ITDP, then can be one of a link officer between the funding (Tribal development Department) and the implementing agencies. Such arrangements already exist between the Zilla Parishads and other departments in which the ZP provides agency functions for handling the schemes of the parent department (health, education, Women Child Development, etc.).

Programme Planning

At the state level, the planning department allocates funds for TSP in proportion to the share of the ST population in the state and communicates this to the Tribal Development Department. It is clear that the Planning Department and also the Finance Department have no (significant) role in the planning of TSP activities except in the allocation and release of funds respectively.

The TDD in turn distributes the funds to ITDPs and state-level and district-level Administrative departments as per laid down norms. Based on the allocation, each administrative department has to submit proposals to the TDD about programmes they wish to undertake with the TSP

funds and send it to TDD for approval. The Tribal Development Department officials at Mantralaya said that the Tribal Development Department rarely scrutinizes the proposals received from the state administrative departments or comments on them except for checking the total amount. If the total amount exceeded the allocated amount, the proposal is sent back for revision. The TDD does not make any changes in the proposals on its own. The study teams do not know if other officials have a different view, but it may be mentioned here that the team did not have access to any documents related to this issue.

However, it does appear that the TDD *does not* interact much with the other administrative departments of the State Government for reviewing schemes or making suggestions for making them more relevant to tribal communities and their development, or even seeking clarifications on the proposal about the relevance or usefulness of the schemes and activities proposed in them. Thus, though a percentage of outlay is set aside for TDD, its role in designing or taking ownership of interventions is limited.

District Level Planning

According to the Sukthankar Committee's recommendations and GR of 1992, PO is supposed to be the planning officer. Planning of TSP schemes starts in the month of September-October of the previous year when the state level officials from the Tribal Development Departments send guidelines and allocations to the ITDPs and Administrative departments. In turn, the nodal POs send letters to the administrative departments seeking proposals for the following financial year. The administrative departments send in their proposals to the concerned ITDP (Nodal

The POs reported that they do not have expertise in technical aspects of the programmes. There is lack of technical man-power such as experts in agriculture, engineering and animal husbandry. The POs suggested that schemes should be given to the departments that have technical knowledge and expertise in that area.

PO, ITDP of the district). The POs, after scrutiny and consolidation, present the proposals (plans) to the District Planning Committee (DPC). The DPC usually meets in December, discusses the district plan and finalizes it. It must be noted here that the DPC discusses not only the TDP plan proposals, but also the general plan proposals of all the administrative departments and hence, attendance and time devoted for discussing the TSP plan proposals is likely to be limited. Thereafter, with the signature of the District Collector and Guardian Minister, the plan is sent to the Tribal Development Department at Mantralaya, Mumbai for further consideration and approval. Probably, a separate structure is needed to discuss the proposals and schemes, along with the monitoring mechanisms, in greater detail before decisions and approvals are given. (However, the DPC itself can be mandated to meet separately before the main planning discussion so that TSP issues can be merged into the main District Plan.)

Simultaneously, the ITDPs plan their own activities and present their proposals to the Project Level Implementation Committee. The committee decides which projects/programmes have to be prioritized and then finalizes the plan by end-November or December. The plan is then sent to the ATC (*without routing through the DPC*) and from there a detailed consolidated plan is submitted to the Commissionerate at Nashik. A detailed plan for the welfare of backward classes in all districts is submitted to the TDD (Mantralaya) by the Commissionerate for approval. The department functionaries maintained that, like any other scheme, the Nucleus Budget also has to be planned in advance alongside the plan for the welfare of backward classes and submitted to the ATC. As such, the Nucleus Budget is not for meeting short-notice requirements or as and when needed; it has to be planned in the preceding year like the other schemes. As the budget sub-heads of the Nucleus Budget are more or less the same across the four study ITDPs, it is not clear how the Nucleus Budget is different from the overall budget in its objectives of meeting the local needs of the tribal communities of the ITDPs.

At the state level, the planning department allocates funds for TSP in proportion to the share of the ST population in the state. At the TDD level, the TSP funds are divided into two parts, state plan and district plan, roughly in the ratio 40 percent and 60 percent. Similarly, the district plan funds are also divided into two parts with approximately 40 percent for the direct schemes of ITDPs and the remaining 60 percent for the direct schemes of the administrative departments at district level. The Tribal Development Department distributes the funds directly to the administrative departments at the state level, and the district plan funds for the individual Administrative departments are routed through the District Collector at the district level.

The main schemes that actually benefit the tribal people and are popular in the tribal community are distribution of diesel/electric pumps, PVC pipes, Gharkul, Thakkar Bappa, Ashram Schools, etc. It was reported by some officials that some schemes are good in principle, but very difficult to implement (like the Swabhiman Yojana in which the approved rate for land acquisition is very low and at which good quality land cannot be purchased) and they wanted such schemes be scrapped. On the other hand, the Janjagran Melawa, a training programme for Sarpanches, and Training of ST youth for Competitive Exam have had good impact on the people. Increasing numbers of tribal youths are preparing for Union Public Service Commission (UPSC)/ Maharashtra Public Service Commission (MPSC) exams. There is more awareness among people the schemes and programmes that they can benefit from. There are also several programmes on the priority list of ITDPs (bicycle distribution to tribal students, Dhan Distribution Scheme, Tailoring Scheme, MSCIT Training, MPSC/UPSC Training Programme, IIT/PMT coaching classes and Women Empowerment Programmes for Tribal Women, etc.).

Flow of Funds

According to the Sukthankar Committee's recommendations, 60 percent of the total funds should be allocated for district-level and the remaining 40 percent for state-level schemes. Of the 60 percent meant for the districts, a minimum of 40 percent is used for the welfare of backward classes (under the TDD) and the remaining 60 percent by the administrative departments with a ceiling (explained in Chapter 4) fixed for a particular department under the TSP. The total outlay is disbursed to state and district departments by TDD (Mantralaya).

The state funds are disbursed directly by the TDD while the district funds are routed through the District Collector. From the District Collector, the ITDPs get funds for the "welfare of backward classes" schemes and the administrative departments for their respective schemes. Out of the 40 percent of the state plan funds retained by the TDD, a portion of it is given to the ITDPs through the Tribal Development Commissionerate. The flow of funds is described in the paragraphs that follow.

At state level, the planning department allocates funds for TSP in proportion to the share of the ST population in the state. As discussed in the previous chapter, in recent years the TSP allocation was about 8-9 percent of the total plan outlay of the state. For 2014-15, allocation was 9.4 percent, which matches with the 9.35 percent of ST population in the state as per the 2011 census.

At TDD level, the TSP funds are divided into two parts namely, 40 percent for the state plan and 60 percent for the district plan. The state plan funds are further divided into two parts with approximately 50 percent earmarked for the direct schemes of TDD and the remaining 50 percent for the state-level direct schemes of the administrative departments. Similarly, the district plan funds are also divided into two parts with approximately 40 percent for the direct schemes of ITDPs and the remaining 60 percent for the direct schemes of the administrative departments at district-level. Overall, 40-45 percent of the TSP funds are used by the TDD and the ITDPs for their direct activities and the remaining 55-60 percent of the TSP funds go to the state-level and district-level administrative departments, which includes the Zilla Parishads and Rural Development Agencies of the respective districts.

In reality, however, the percentages may vary slightly from year to year as we have seen in the previous chapter. The Tribal Development Department distributes the funds directly to the Administrative departments at the state level, and the district plan funds for the individual administrative departments are routed through the District Collector at district-level.

The budgetary process also involved non-plan categories for funds. The Planning Officers and one of the Deputy Commissioners mentioned in the interview that any institutional scheme like a new ashram school that is planned under the Five Year Plan remains in the plan category for five years and is then moved to the non-plan category. Only routine heads such as salaries

of personnel including teachers and staff of Ashram Schools, and maintenance of offices come under the non-plan heads of expenditure. The schemes aimed at benefiting the people's remain within the plan category.

The non-plan heads receive separate funds from the Social Welfare Department (the State). The TSP Plan budget is only about one-third of the total budget (plan and non-plan funds combined) of the TDD. The funds for social welfare programmes are received relatively earlier, which include salaries for staff, maintenance of offices and Ashram School infrastructure, stationery, travelling allowances, maintenance of vehicles and so on.

The release of budget funds is done through the Budget Distribution System (BDS), which is maintained by the Finance Department. ITDP officials we spoke to reported that the money for Ashram Schools and related activities comes in May or June, whereas the funds for developmental activities are released a little later. Therefore, these schemes are implemented after the rainy season. State officials reported that a token amount (33 percent of the budgeted amount) is released through the BDS for the first four months at the beginning (in May or June); a further 27 percent of the amount is released once the budget is approved by the Governor. In November or December, the Collector undertakes a review of the expenditure from the 60 percent of the amount already released based on which a re-appropriation of funds is recommended and approved by TDD. The final instalment of the remaining 40 percent of the amount is released in December or January depending on the availability of funds with the Finance Department.

Core and non-core areas are decided under TSP. As per the GR of TDD, Maharashtra, dated December 5, 2011, at the time of re-appropriation of funds the amount budgeted for non-core activities/areas can be transferred and used for core activities/areas within TSP but funds cannot be diverted from core to non-core areas. The core and non-core areas are given in the Table 5.2.

Core Areas	Non-core Areas
Welfare of Backward Class	Sports and Youth Development
Agriculture and Allied Services (Watershed, Animal Husbandry, Dairy Development etc.)	Public Health Service
Transportation and Communication (District Road)	Rural Water Supply and Sanitation
Women and Child Development, Anganwadi Construction, Nutrition	Rural Development Schemes (SGSY, Jawahar Employment Scheme, Rural Sanitation Programme)
Common and Technical Education	Rural Electrification
Small Dam Construction	IEC Activities
	Forest Tourism
	Other Development Areas

The Problem of Centralisation of powers in the administrative and financial structure of the Tribal Development Department

One of the biggest reasons for the lack of efficiency of the ITDP structure lies in – what we perceive as – excessive centralization of powers in the TDD structure. The decision-making processes (on financial as well as administrative matters) are not conducive to effective implementation. We learnt from our interactions that, in the present scheme of things, the heads of institutions (e.g., the warden or headmaster of an Ashramshala) as well as the PO ITDP have to refer to at least the ATC or the Tribal Commissioner for most decisions. Tenders, procurement, etc. are concentrated at the Commissionerate level. In fact, it is interesting to note that the CEO of ZPs (whose jurisdiction is within the district) has more powers of administrative sanctions than even the Tribal Commissionerate, much less the PO, ITDP, who has very few independent powers, whether administrative or financial.

Therefore, one of the reasons for the poor maintenance and upkeep of Ashramshalas, a problem that is frequently commented upon by officials as well as civil society members, is that the structure at institutional level has not been given adequate administrative powers. In this regard, one can draw comparisons with a similar situation that existed in health institutions before the NRHM introduced decentralization of funds, and brought in accountability for their utilization through institutions such as the Rugna Kalyan Samiti (RKS). A similar decentralized structure is possible in the present context also and need to be built into the field-level institutions of tribal development department.

Selection of Beneficiaries

The TDD's GR of Nov 26, 2013 mandates that, under the PESA Act, selection of Scheduled Tribe beneficiaries should be done by Gram Sabhas for individual benefits schemes being implemented by the Tribal Development Department. But, in practice, as ascertained by the study teams, the selection for the individual benefit schemes of ITDP is still being done directly by ITDP. The Gram Sabhas are not involved in the selection of beneficiaries. In some ITDPs, however, Gram Sabhas are only used to announce the schemes, distribute application forms, collect applications and pass them on to ITDPs through ITDP's inspectors. For community development schemes like Thakkar Bappa Yojana, the community is consulted through the Gram Sabha. For individual benefits such as diesel/electric pumps or Kanyadaan Yojana, applicants approach the respective ITDPs directly. However, they have to get their documents attested by the Gram Sewak. These documents are submitted to the ITDP and then verified by ITDP officers and inspectors.

The field teams were informed that benefits are offered on first-come first-served basis. This method of beneficiary selection is not a very transparent one, and is vulnerable to manipulation at various levels. This is especially likely as most ITDPs do not rely on computerised/automated systems of receiving and recording applications. Whenever there is a call for application by the

ITDP, villages within a short distance of the ITDPs are immediately made aware of the schemes and they are the first ones to file their applications. The ITDPs stop receiving applications when they receive enough numbers. As a result, people who reside in remote areas – and are consequently late in applying – are often deprived of the possibility of even being considered for the benefits.

Even within Gram Panchayat's jurisdiction, the main village gets the lion's share as compared to peripheral hamlets. This is because the reach of IEC activities to interiors areas/hamlets is limited. As a consequence, those who are needy but living in remote or interior areas are deprived of many benefits. It is suggested that the number of beneficiaries should be equally distributed in proportion to the tribal population of each village within a Gram Panchayat's jurisdiction. Thus, the lowest unit of selection of beneficiaries should be the individual village/hamlet rather than the Gram Panchayat. This is also in keeping with the requirements of PESA which mandates beneficiary selection by the Gram Sabha. The TDD should ensure that similar processes operate for schemes being implemented by ZP/line departments for all its schemes.

It must also be noted here that, through a recent GR, the TDD has mandated that beneficiary selection should be done by Gram Sabha. However, we found that there was limited knowledge about the GR in the field. Also, it can be seen from the GR that, while it specifies that selection should be done by the Gram Sabha, more clarity is required through an additional set of guidelines.

It was also noticed that ITDPs do not really play any significant role in the selection of beneficiaries by the administrative departments, even when the PO is present at the time of selection, which is very rare. During our visits, we observed that ITDPs did not have a list of beneficiaries selected by administrative departments.

IEC Activities

It was reported by the ITDPs and higher officials that 2 percent of the budget is allocated for IEC activities. According to the interviewed officers, the ITDPs conduct awareness programmes in tribal areas. With the help of other departments like Revenue and Police Departments, *Melavas* are organized by the ITDPs to create awareness about the schemes and benefits for the tribal community. *Kalapathak* was also used by ITDPs for spreading information to villages through songs and plays in the villages. They also distribute

ITDP level review meetings are mainly restricted to reviewing the functioning of Ashram Schools. Otherwise, ITDP or District level re-view meetings are not conducted to review the activities of Administrative departments. Also ITDP officials do not participate in the re-view meetings of Administrative departments. The PO, ITDPs also do not have performance statistics of the administrative departments and there is no system in place for the exchange of information between them.

booklets containing details of schemes and programmes of Tribal Development Department and put up banners in public places. There are advertisements on State Transport buses also. ITDP also prepares material for IEC activities, but IEC material are prepared and distributed by the state government as a centralized activity. Parent meetings are conducted in Ashram Schools to disseminate information related to tribal welfare schemes and programmes.

In some areas, the tribal people are aware of the schemes and their rights as they are now better educated and communication facilities have improved. Another reason is that a number of tribal families are now in an economically better condition. Gram Sabhas have become a popular source of information about tribal welfare schemes because of their involvement in the selection of beneficiaries or, at least in receiving applications. Whenever schemes are notified to the Gram Sabha, they in turn disseminate the information and the application requirements in the community. This motivates more and more people to come forward to claim the benefits. Community radio is also used in some areas for IEC activities.

In spite of the various approaches to spread awareness and disseminate information, the field teams' assessment was that they are not uniformly adopted in all ITDPs. Nor are they used regularly. They officers were evasive in their replies when asked further. To a question about their presence when the last such activity was conducted, the officers replied that "the inspectors are conducting (the activities)" or that "Administrative departments are doing" or a vague "a month...long ago" or that "they are yet to organize one this year", and so on. It must be mentioned here that these interviews were conducted towards the end of the Financial Year. The responses show that, although IEC activities are conducted, ITDPs are rarely involved in them. Community feedback also revealed that the IEC activities were conducted in town areas because of which participation by tribals living in remote areas was limited. However, it does appear that the Gram Sabhas are the chief source of reliable information about the tribal development schemes and programmes for the tribal communities.

Monitoring and Evaluation

A crucial issue that was raised in most of the discussions was that there was no proper reporting system for the administrative departments about their performance related to TSP. The only report that was submitted regularly was the financial statements. The need for MIS to assess the monthly progress and to prevent duplication of beneficiaries under different schemes was highlighted. One of the POs said that it was very difficult to check the name of the beneficiaries manually but if it was in a soft copy it is very easy to trace the name. Therefore, we suggest that the Tribal Development Department develop and implement a proper MIS for monitoring and reporting.

The ITDPs conduct monthly review meeting for the Ashram Schools which are attended by the head masters and teachers. No such review takes place with the Inspectors and other ITDP

officials about the TSP activities. However, the POs claimed that they discuss TSP matters with the concerned individuals whenever and as often as is needed. The fact remains that at the ITDP level, review meetings for the activities of administrative departments are not conducted. The ITDP officials also do not participate in the review meetings of administrative departments. Therefore, it is clear that the review at the ITDP level is mainly restricted to the functioning of Ashram Schools and their activities. The ATCs conduct meetings of POs and other senior staff every month in which progress is reviewed. Even here, reviews are mainly centred on utilization of funds instead of the performance of departments receiving TSP funds.

The field teams were also informed that the (District) Guardian Ministers and Tribal Development minister conduct one meeting every three months at district- and state-level respectively. Once in three months, the Tribal Minister, minister of state, and the Secretary review with the Commissioner, ATCs and POs. However, it was learned that in most of the meetings only the financial statements and the expenditures are reviewed instead of the actual performance of different programs. In fact, the POs did not have the statistics of the administrative departments. According to the ITDP officers, they are supposed to go on field visits, meet with the officials of the administrative departments and monitor their activities. In reality, however, this occurs rarely.

The interactions of the field teams with ITDP, Additional Tribal Commissionerate (ATC) and Tribal Development Commissionerate (TDC) officials revealed that the ITDPs, the ATCs and the TDC do not have any performance statistics of the administrative departments and there is no system in place for the exchange of information between them. Unfortunately, it is assumed that spending hundred percent of the allocated funds is assessed as good performance. It was felt that the monitoring was mainly based on reviewing expenditures for which financial statements was sufficient. Evaluating the (qualitative) performance and progress of development activities in the community was considered less of a priority.

The study team also look at the Programmes and Budget Estimate Report for 2014-15 (TDD 2014) in which the previous years' performance was expected to be reviewed; but it found that, except for financial statements and a few performance statistics about the Ashram Schools, there was no information about many of the direct activities of the ITDPs and administrative departments such as health, agriculture, rural development, housing schemes, diesel/electric pumps, *khavati* loan beneficiaries, training programmes and number of beneficiaries, for which information could be easily compiled and presented.

According to ITDP officials, financial statements and utilization certificates (UCs) need to be submitted to the ITDP by the administrative departments. Often, this is not done on time and, sometimes, the UCs are not received at all. It was reported that ITDPs have to send several

Plan for Outcomes, not Expenditure

It was seen that spending hundred percent of the allocated funds is assessed as good performance. The monitoring of TDD schemes is mainly based on reviewing expenditures and financial statements rather than evaluating their performance and resultant development in the community. How a particular scheme leads to improvement in outcomes is something which is not evaluated. In fact, the entire Planning process is not linked to the various social indicators. Nor is there any detailed and specific vision about where the district or state sees itself 5 years from now with reference to various social indicators.

There is a need for detailed and dynamic processes and MIS in place, not just for the TDD, but for all departments which are responsible for or have a stake in tribal development. It was also found that there was no coordination or interaction between the Tribal Development Department and the administrative departments including Zilla Parishad except for the nodal PO participating in the DPC. It was said that there was no GR in place to seek performance statistics or monitor the activities of Administrative departments

reminders to administrative for submission of UCs. In such a situation, the POs said that *they cannot even think of seeking performance reports* from administrative departments. They also said that there is no GR that mandates compilation of performance statistics monitoring of the activities of the administrative departments. In the light of these findings, it is all the more important for the government to develop a suitable MIS to monitor and review the activities and performance of the administrative departments (including the TDD), especially on the impact of TSP activities. Focus should not be restricted to financial statements alone.

Involvement of NGOs

Though there are NGOs located in the Taluka/District places, their involvement in the TSP programme implementation process is limited to organizing some training programmes under the Nucleus Budget of the ITDPs. There are a number of programmes under the Nucleus Budget that are outsourced to NGOs such as Skill Development programmes like carpentry, pottery work and tailoring, Computer Literacy Programmes and other Income Generation activities.

Functioning of Ashram Schools

Table 2.3a in Chapter 2 reveals that, as per the 2011 Census, there exists a literacy gap of 16 to 20 percentage points between the STs and general population. But at the same time it is also revealed that literacy and educational levels of tribal people, both males and females, are rising at a faster pace than that of the general population. The Tribal Development Department runs a major scheme in the form of Ashram Schools to improve the educational levels of the tribal population. Ashram Schools are residential schools imparting primary, middle and secondary education to ST boys and girls. The scheme is in operation since 1952. The broad objective of

the scheme, as specified in the GR, was to establish Ashram School complexes for the social, educational and economic advancement of the inhabitants in scheduled and remote areas.

As per the Tribal Development Department's Report on the Programmes and Budget Estimate for 2014-15, there were 552 Ashram Schools for tribal students in Maharashtra and of which 429 were located in TSP areas and the remaining 123 in OTSP areas (Table 5.3). As many as 2,07,503 (1,08,813 boys and 98,690 girls) students from tribal communities were enrolled Ashramshalas. The average number of students per school worked out to 375 and the sex-ratio of students to 907. The sex-ratio of the students is an indication of a fairly a good sign of more and more girls getting an education that is almost at par with boys. In addition to Ashram Schools, the ITDPs were running or financing as many as 482 hostels (279 for boys and 203 for girls) for the tribal students. The number of students in hostels was 44,427 (boys and girls combined), an average of 92 students per hostel. The statistical information compiled on ashram schools and hostels from the Tribal Development Department Performance budget Report 2014-15 is presented below.

S. No.	Item	No.
1	Total Ashram School/Central Ashram Schools	552
2	Number of Ashram Schools in TSP Area	429
3	Number of Ashram Schools in OTSP Area	123
4	Total tribal students	2,07,503
5	Number of Boys	1,08,813
6	Number of Girls	98,690
7	Number of Hostels	482
8	Number of Hostels for Boys	279
9	Number of Hostels for Girls	203
10	Total number of Boys & Girls	44,427

Every Ashram School is expected to have a Principal/Head master, school teachers (primary and secondary), male and female hostel superintendents, office attendants, librarian, lab assistants, peons and cooks. Ashram School teachers are expected to reside within a radius of 5 km from the school, whereas the head master and superintendents are given accommodation within the premises. It was observed during our visit to Ashram Schools that the number of teachers from Schedule tribe was negligible. Both teachers and principals of Ashram Schools asserted that there is a need of teachers from ST community to help the younger students overcome language

barriers. The secondary data (presented earlier) show that many posts at Ashram Schools are vacant, especially for teachers.

Ashram School staff and APOs told the study teams that drop-out rates of students in the Ashram Schools is low since the parents are aware of the importance of education. However, their concern was that the students do not return from vacations on time and remain absent for long durations when they go home. Very few tribal students pursue a higher education after schooling. The reason may be lack of employment opportunities.

The Tribal Development Department has a major scheme in the form of Ashram Schools to improve the educational level of tribal population. Ashram Schools are residential schools imparting primary, middle and secondary level education to ST boys and girls. There were 552 Ashram Schools for tribal students in Maharashtra. The average number of students per school worked out to 375 and the sex-ratio of students was 907 females per 1000 males which is an indication of a fairly a good sign of more and more girls getting education almost at par with boys.

Many Ashram Schools are located deep inside forest areas. Mishaps or encounters with wild animals are likely to happen. Most Ashram Schools are not equipped with even basic amenities like toilets, bathrooms, safe drinking water, etc. The study teams found the Ashram School infrastructure be in a dilapidated condition. Most schools are unable to maintain even basic hygienic conditions. These schools face several problems during the rainy season. In fact, the study teams observed that most of the Ashram Schools looked like traditional tribal huts and many schools did not have even benches/desks for the students. Even high school students had to sit on *kachcha* (earthen) floor in the classrooms. There were no tables and chairs for studying and cots to sleep on. Facilities like TV which would help students to learn about the world outside were absent. As a result, there is very little opportunity for the students to develop a modern worldview.

The Ashram Schools staff claimed that the indifferent response of the Public works Department resulted in delays in maintenance and repairs as well as construction of new facilities. We recommend that a separate department be created in the PWD that will be made responsible for maintaining the Ashram School infrastructure and carry out good quality repairs on time. The Panchayat Samiti can also be made responsible for maintenance and upgrade of Ashram shalas for which funds can be provided from the untied funds or any other scheme.

Some Observations made by the Study Teams

1. ITDP officers are not adequately informed about what is happening in the administrative departments and how TSP funds are being utilized. There were no suggestions from the POs for a monitoring system or even gathering information. The TDD/ITDPs need to have greater powers to monitor or at least to assess the programmes of Administrative

departments and report to TDD for improvements and corrective measures; otherwise the very purpose of TDD taking the TSP on hand is defeated.

2. There should be a mechanism for exchanging information and performance statistics between TDD and the administrative departments. Thirdly, there should be a mechanism for monitoring the technical aspects of implementation of tribal development programmes.
3. Fourthly, as the field teams observed, in many villages the facilities provided are sub-standard because of which they are often unused or underutilized, resulting in wastage of resources. For example, in one village, the Anganwadi centre built under TSP funds is dilapidated and remains unused.
4. Fifth, the planning is not based on local needs of the community, and in fact, the TDD or ITDPs do not have any statistical information, specifically performance statistics, beyond the census-based population statistics, about the tribal communities, based on which future planning could be made in realistic and efficacious manner.
5. Sixth, so, there should be an in-built mechanism to generate statistical information to assess the status of the tribal communities periodically and to fine tune plans and strategies.
6. Seventh, the field teams felt that, like the Chandrapur ITDP, other areas should also try the "Yojana Labh Card" to prevent duplication of benefits to the same beneficiary or family. ITDP should digitize the existing data, for the creation of a database of beneficiaries, including the beneficiaries of administrative departments.
7. TDD officials also felt that it is necessary to recruit personnel in the Tribal Development Department (at all levels) in a time-bound manner to fill the vacancies and increase motivation and capacities of existing staff. At the same time, deputing officers from other departments should be discouraged.
8. Some schemes are duplicated and run by more than one department. It serves no useful purpose to run the same programme under different names by different departments and with different budgetary allocations and subsidies. Examples of such schemes are: Indira Awaas Yojana, Adivasi Gharkul Yojana, Shabari Gharkul Yojana, Pardhi Gharkul Yojana, Gharkul for PTGs, etc. The performance and impact can be significantly improved if such schemes are merged and run by a single department on a regular basis.
9. Considering the present state of affairs in the Ashram Schools, it is suggested that some of the poorly performing and low student strength Ashram Schools be merged with the bigger or nearby Ashram Schools to make them viable and effective.

10. There are some TSP schemes which are practically not feasible to implement or expensive for a beneficiary to sustain once benefits are received. For example, in Swabhiman Yojana, Government cannot obtain fertile lands at such a low rate (as specified by the government). In the scheme by Animal Husbandry of distribution of milch animal, six cows are given to one BPL beneficiary and the family cannot afford to take good care of the animals. Thus, it is suggested that there should be enough flexibility in the schemes so that depending on local situation the schemes can be implemented effectively and beneficiaries can reap economic benefits.
11. There are some TSP schemes whose implementation is not feasible, or the benefits they deliver cannot be maintained by the receivers. Under the Swabhiman Yojana scheme, for example, the Government cannot obtain fertile land at the low rates specified by the government. In the Animal Husbandry Department's scheme for distribution of milch animal, six cows are given to each BPL beneficiary family. The families cannot afford to take proper care of the animals. Therefore, it is suggested that there should be sufficient flexibility in the schemes so that, depending on the local situation, the schemes can be implemented effectively and beneficiaries can reap the economic benefits.
12. There were also complaints from a few officials in TDD about inhibiting factors like the lack of facilities like intercom, phone, internet, computers, and shortage of vehicles (or suitable vehicles) to reach inaccessible tribal and hilly areas for field visits. To mitigate such problems, fund allocations and arrangements must be made to provide better facilities in offices and field visits.
13. To run a large system with multiple levels and remote units (tribal areas), it is necessary that administrative and financial powers are sufficiently delegated. Delegations must be backed by appropriate monitoring, MIS and reporting structures. For example, in Ashramshalas there are very few administrative and financial powers at the institution level. This leads to delays even for minor interventions. Most tenders for supplies are concentrated at the ATC level. Similarly, the warden or principals have to make reference to the PO, ITDPs and sometimes to the ATCs for minor repairs.
14. But the financial powers at the PO, ITDP levels are also inadequate. Most powers of tenders and purchases are also concentrated at the Commissionerate and ATC levels. This results

Delegation of powers to the institutions and the POs and District Collectors will result in flexible and quick response of the administration to the needs of tribals. The present centralization of powers leads to delay, arbitrariness, and can potentially cause rent-seeking practices.

not only in corruption and malpractices, but also to delays in supply, and a one-size-fits-all approach. While the powers of administrative sanction have been delegated to the District Collector, there is still a tendency by the department to send project proposals to the ATC for approval. Not only does this reduce the authority of both the DPC and the District Collector, it also leads to unnecessary delays in approvals.

15. A direct impact is on the low rates of expenditure in the first half of the Financial Year. It was noticed that in TSP, most of the expenditure takes place in the last quarter of the financial year.
16. Manpower available for implementing and monitoring schemes is limited. Implementation issues often arise from the lack of capacity of the system. The PO, ITDP system is often called to deliver services (agriculture, infrastructure, individual benefits), which are being simultaneously delivered in other schemes by other departments working in parallel. This leads to duplication.
17. The POs lack seniority and senior IAS officials are not present to head all projects. The present structure of service delivery, scheme design, and institutional mechanisms is not at all in line with the legal mandate of PESA. Thus, the tribal sub-plan is controlled, if at all, only partially by the appropriate levels of Panchayati Raj. There is also very limited control by the Gram Sabhas and the appropriate Panchayats over the institutions of the tribal department.

Chapter 6

TSP AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS

The Tribal Sub-Plan is broadly divided into two categories namely State Plan and District Plan. The government guidelines say that the state plan will be planned at the state level and the district plan will be planned at the district level as per the recommendations of the Sukthankar Committee. District Administrative departments are entrusted with the responsibility of identifying priority areas and recommending TSP schemes. Accordingly, the District level Tribal Sub-Plan is planned separately as per the requirements of the local community, and funds are allotted to Administrative departments at the district level for the effective implementation of TSP schemes. As per the GR of December 16, 2009, changes have been brought into the planning of District Tribal Sub-Plan. According to these guidelines, the DPC should consider certain aspects such as human development indicators, fundamental requirements of district, social needs, social and physical growth of district, while framing the annual district tribal plan.

There are more than 15 departments which are directly involved in the implementation of TSP schemes at district level. Some Administrative departments get funds directly from the state for large scale community programmes such as the Irrigation department, Public Works Department (PWD), Maharashtra State Electricity Board (MSEB). On the other hand, most of the departments, which run individual family or village level schemes, receive funds at the district level. Some of the departments that receive funds from the state plan also receive funds from the district plan for small scale programmes at village level. The planning and implementation of district schemes is more or less similar to the usual implementation of programmes by the administrative departments with slight variations. For example, the subsidy for some programmes under TSP is higher than if it were offered otherwise.

Planning for Funds

The Administrative departments are provided with a certain share of TSP funds. Their minimum and maximum ceilings are defined in terms of percentage of total allocation to TSP. Every year, the TDD asks each department to submit its demand. All the administrative departments at block level send in their proposals and requirements for the following year to their respective departments at district level where they are consolidated and sent to the nodal ITDP.

Interviews with Administrative departments revealed that often planning for annual fund are made on the basis of population size and the demand of the previous year. In case of DRDA, an arbitrary target is set for Indira AwaasYojana and, accordingly, the department demands a certain amount of funds. Some agricultural officers mentioned that they review the demand for a particular scheme and based on the waiting list for the scheme, they plan for potential demand. As such, there is no standard for making demand for funds.

The demands from different administrative departments are consolidated at ITDP level and presented to the DPC. The DPC, earlier known as DPDC, reviews the demands and formulates it as a district Tribal Sub-Plan and forwards it to the Tribal Development Department with the administrative sanction of the District Collector and other signatories. The DPC has the responsibility of finalizing the draft district annual tribal plan. The Collector holds the power of administrative sanction at the district level as per the new guidelines provided in the GR issued on December 16, 2009. The district Tribal Sub-Plan for all the districts will be finalized in a meeting conducted at the state level by the TDD, based on the allocation of funds for the TSP by the state planning department.

Interviews with different officers of Administrative departments revealed that often planning for annual funds/demands are made on the basis of population size and the demand of the preceding year. Some officers mentioned that they review the demand for a particular scheme, and based on the waiting list for the scheme, they plan for potential demand. On this basis they decide the number of beneficiaries for the following year and demand funds accordingly.

There is a slight variation in the planning process for departments like PWD, Irrigation or MSEB. At block level, these departments are supposed to carry out only small scale projects. Their proportion of share of funds in TSP is predetermined they receive their share on this basis. From the discussions we had with the officials of Administrative departments, we learned that, generally, the proportion of funds for each department is predetermined irrespective of the demands made in the proposals sent to the ITDPs. However, it was also observed that the demands of the departments are more or less in line with the minimum or maximum ceiling given to them. This means that, often, planning is not based on community requirements but on the predetermined amount of funds. This practice need to change urgently so that funds and schemes are made to fit in people's plans and not the other way round. The process of planning should not be influenced by availability of funds.

Most of the CEOs, Collectors and other district level officers mentioned that they had a minimal role when it came to TSP planning. The officers maintained that the TSP planning that takes place at state level determines the schemes and quantum of funds. Their role is just to send demands for funds as indicated to them. They felt that they are mainly implementing agencies and not planning agencies. One CEO maintained, "CEOs and Collectors are positioned in the middle of the hierarchy and there are multiple agencies above and below them. Our major responsibility is to act as a bridge

The District Collectors, Zilla Parishad CEOs, and other district level officers interviewed mentioned that they had a minimal role when it came to TSP planning. The officers maintained that the TSP planning that takes place at the state level determines the schemes and quantum of funds and their role is just to send demand for funds as indicated to them. They felt that they are mainly implementing agencies and not planning agencies.

between TDD and other administrative departments, and ensure their smooth functioning at the district level.”

Discussions with Block Development Offices showed that they play an important role in implementing the programmes but their role in planning was limited to sending proposals (demand for funds) to respective ITDPs and to district head offices. Most of the officials said that they are implementing agencies of various schemes of which the TSP is only a small part. Therefore, according to them, TSP does not attract special attention and is just any other scheme they implement. They also said that, for each program, say, for example free or subsidized housing, they pool resources under different sub-plans for a particular scheme. They fulfil the targets for the scheme and account the expenditure under different sub-plans. Thus, the departments are not implementing the schemes separately; they only maintain separate performance statistics for each sub-plan.

Flow of Funds to the Administrative departments

As discussed above, according to the Administrative departments, it is the responsibility of TDD to finalize the plan. Once the amount for TSP is budgeted at the state level, it is channelized according to the guidelines. By the end of June-July of the current financial year, a proportion of the budgeted funds (about 30 percent) is made available through the budget distribution system (BDS) under various heads. In some cases, the funds are allocated in instalments, while in others lump sum funds are distributed. In Chikhaldara block, it was observed that, generally, the first instalment of funds is received only by end of July-August. The second instalment is released by January-February (next year), *but only after* 60 percent of the first instalment has been spent.

Funds are made available to district administrative departments through BDS as per demand. The cash does not flow below district level. The block level offices receive goods, or equipment and not cash. Only the departments which offer cash incentives/ rewards to the beneficiaries can issue cheques. Alternatively, the amount is directly deposited into the beneficiary's account. Block level Administrative departments do not deal with cash.

Re-appropriation of funds happens in the second half of the financial year. As per the GR of December 5, 2011, the core and non-core sectors are defined under TSP, while re-appropriation of funds from non-core sector to core sector can be made but the reverse is not permitted. Likewise OTSP funds can be diverted to TSP area, but TSP area funds are to be spent within the TSP area only and cannot be diverted to OTSP areas. Further, the TSP funds are non-divertible, which means that funds for TSP area cannot be diverted to non-TSP areas. Even within TSP areas funds cannot be diverted from one district to another. Discussions with state officials revealed that re-appropriation of funds are made only with the consent of the TDD.

When asked if there were instances of fund diversion, the officers replied in the negative and claimed that the guidelines are being followed strictly. However, it is a common practice that funds are transferred from one department to another after re-appropriation, but they remain in TSP's domain.

Most of the officers said that the funds were sufficient and received on time. One of the CEOs, who were earlier Project Officer in an ITDP, mentioned that Administrative departments receive funds on time but funds to ITDPs from TDD often get delayed. Therefore, he felt that the problem lay in the TDD's system. One Collector said that there was a gap between demand and availability of funds. Demand is generally on the higher side but budgetary provisions are made within ceilings.

Selection of Beneficiaries by Administrative departments

Benefits of TSP fall in three categories: individual benefits, family benefits and community benefits. The selection procedure is in accordance with the nature of benefits. While community benefits are determined more by the department and less by the community (through representations), the selection of beneficiaries for individual benefits are characterized by the criteria laid down, such as BPL family, student and so on. However, the usual procedure is as mentioned below.

For the selection of individual/family beneficiaries, the respective departments inform villagers about the schemes and call for applications. Programme/ scheme publicity is given through various Information, Education and Communication (IEC) activities with the help of the Gram Sevak and the Gram Panchayat. The applications are collected by the Gram Sevak and scrutinized by the Gram Panchayat office and then sent to the respective administrative departments at the Block Development Office. These applications and accompanying documents are verified again at the BDO level. In case of agriculture and animal husbandry departments, field inspectors are expected to visit applicants, verify their socioeconomic status and submit a report to the department. The BPL list is referred in order to determine the economic status of the applicants. The list of selected beneficiaries is then forwarded to the district level office. At the district level the list may be further shortened and beneficiary list is finalized. Those not in the final list is kept on a waiting list for the following year.

The reach of information about the benefits depends on the coverage of villages by the GramSevak. The reach of information to remote villages, and receipt of applications from them is limited. In many cases, the deadline is over by the time information reaches remote villages. Even within the panchayats, the information is disseminated more in the main village where the panchayat office is located than in the hamlets located some distance away. With the adoption of a concept similar to 'first come first served basis', people from the villages that surround the taluka and panchayat

villages are the ones who apply first and receive the benefits, and tribal people from remote areas largely remain deprived of the benefits.

The distribution of benefits is generally done at the block level. Some departments such as the Agricultural and Allied departments distribute the benefits in the villages. Other departments ask the selected beneficiaries to collect their goods from the office. Cash rewards are deposited into the individual's bank/post office account.

To prevent duplication of beneficiaries, the names of all applicants are crosschecked with a database of beneficiaries of the previous years. One BDO maintained that "We use all means to confirm that the benefits reach those in most need." Another BDO mentioned that the protocol was followed strictly and all documents scrutinized thoroughly. However, they admitted that there were cases of duplication. An officer from the Animal Husbandry Department stated, "Although we go by the rules and regulations, there are cases of duplication or misuse of benefits such as the selling of goods or animals received by beneficiaries to a third party."

Monitoring and Evaluation of/by Administrative departments

One of the many important points that came up repeatedly during the interviews is that the administrative departments are the implementing agencies and ITDPs are expected to monitor their work at different levels. Administrative departments are expected to monitor their programmes at the field level. It is the responsibility of the departments to send fund utilization certificates (UC) and other progress reports to ITDP. An audit is conducted in every department, and the list of beneficiaries and monthly progress reports are forwarded to the ITDPs. Contradicting this, while interviewing ITDP officers, we were informed that ITDPs have to send reminders to the administrative departments to submit the UCs. It was also reported that, sometimes, ITDPs receive neither UCs nor the list of beneficiaries; but they themselves seldom call for such reports, the only exception being the expenditure statement.

The performance of the Administrative departments has not been evaluated or monitored by the Tribal Development Department. The monitoring and evaluation, if any, is restricted within the administrative department itself. Though occasionally the district collector and CEO, Zilla-Parishad review the activities of administrative departments, they do not attach special attention to TSP pro-grams as the number of programs reviewed is often large.

Unfortunately, the performance of the Administrative departments has not been evaluated or monitored by the Tribal Development Department. The monitoring and evaluation, if any, is restricted to within the department itself. Though the CEO of the Zilla Parishad and BDO often conduct review meetings of their departments, the reviews often included all schemes and

programmes and were not specific to the TSP. According to the officers, as they have to look into many schemes, they are unable to give special attention to every scheme. However, they did admit that they sometimes give particular attention to a few programmes/schemes if they receive specific instructions to do so. All departments reported that they conducted monthly meetings to review progress.

IEC Activities by Administrative departments

According to the officers of the Administrative departments, IEC activities are conducted through the print media, Gram Sabhas, *Melavas* and public announcements. However, the field teams noticed that there were very few IEC activities or awareness campaigns being conducted in villages, especially by the administrative departments. The reach of IEC activities is very limited. Some BDOs said that they do not conduct IEC activities; instead they only send information letters (about the schemes) to Gram Panchayats who are then expected to conduct awareness campaigns.

One District Agricultural Officer said that people are generally aware of the schemes because the departments send flyers to the villages and also call for applications. A Block Development Officer also voiced a similar opinion saying that tribal people are more aware and knowledgeable now than they were earlier. Various departments provide information through the Gram Sabha, posters, banners and people's representatives.

The general observation from the field visits was that, besides distributing flyers, sending information about their schemes and informing the Gram Sabha, the administrative departments are not actively involved in conducting IEC activities in villages.

Issues and Suggestions

During the study, many officers highlighted the issues they were facing and suggested some changes for the effective implementation of TSP schemes and programmes.

The officers felt that the planning process is not goal/outcome oriented and that it was based only on the size of the population. There are local variations in TSP areas and it is necessary to understand the requirements and expectations of the community before planning. Schemes and programmes are designed by the higher authorities and it was suggested by the officers that the administrative departments at the block level also be consulted before finalizing the TSP schemes and programmes.

Most officers from the Administrative departments also said that although the Tribal Development Department has delegated the work connected to various schemes and programmes to the administrative departments, the TDD lacked coordination with the departments track the progress and performance.

Many officers were of the opinion that, over the years, the a few schemes that are being implemented by the TSP have become irrelevant to today's needs. Examples of such schemes are tailoring courses and the distribution of sewing machines. They suggested that schemes for benefiting individuals should focus on employment generation and job opportunities.

Tribal societies are primarily agrarian societies and, therefore, there should be more agriculture-related schemes(as examples, dairy farming, fish farms, animal husbandry, irrigation, levelling of land, horticulture, guidance on good farming practices, easy access to credit, water facilities, etc.). As a matter of practice, the Gram Sabha/Gram Panchayat should be supported and mentored so that they are able to identify areas which require skills building of tribals according to their need, and which will enable them to access better employment opportunities or become better entrepreneurs. The focus should be on arresting forced migration.

A few officers who were POs earlier also expressed the belief that the Project Officer's position is a weak link because he/she has only nominal powers. The POs are not in a position to exercise their authority over other stakeholders. For this reason, they should be given more powers and the autonomy to directly deal with administrative departments.

Chapter 7

COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS

This study also attempted to understand the perceptions of the tribal community about the tribal welfare schemes/programmes and the working of the Tribal Development Department. For this purpose, one block from each ITDP was selected from the four ITDPs that were chosen for this study. From the selected blocks, two panchayats were selected, and from each of panchayat, two villages were selected. Thus, a total of sixteen villages were visited for the purpose of data collection. Community leaders were interviewed and in every village, one FGD was conducted separately with women and men.

Verification of Sample Beneficiaries

The field teams sought the list of individual and/or village beneficiaries from the ITDP Office (PO), Block Development Office (BDO), Forest Department, Taluka Agriculture Office and other Administrative departments for the preceding one or two years, either for their entire area or at least for the selected panchayats/villages. However, the field teams could obtain the list of beneficiaries from the ITDPs and from a few Administrative departments only. The ITDPs provided data for beneficiaries of schemes like Kanyadan Yojana, Diesel/Electric Pump sets, Ashram school scholarships and beneficiaries under the Nucleus Budget. For individual benefit schemes, lists of beneficiaries of Indira Awaas Yojana, Diesel/Electricity pump sets, Distribution of PVC Pipes, consumption loans, Matrutwa Anudaan Yojana and NREGA were obtained from the respective departments.

After obtaining the lists, the field teams verified a few cases in the field/villages, which were found largely genuine. Here, 'Genuine' meant that the beneficiaries mentioned in the lists were traceable. In a few cases, the beneficiaries admitted that they sold the diesel or electric pump sets to other farmers for various reasons such as not being able to afford the cost of diesel, poor electricity supply in the area, lack of water sources nearby, etc. In the case of village benefits such as link roads and street lights, it was found that they existed in the villages the teams visited, but the quality of the work was poor. The field teams also looked into the lists of beneficiaries of Indira Awaas Yojana provided by the Block Development Office, and NREGA and LPG beneficiaries of the Forest Department. In general, beneficiaries in the lists given to the field teams were largely traceable and found to be genuine.

Perceptions of FGD Participants

The FGD participants from all the villages were able to list a few or many schemes/programmes run by the ITDPs and Administrative departments. The schemes that the most FGD participants were aware of were: Shabari Gharkul Yojana, Indira Aawas Yojana, *Khavati* loan (consumption

loan), Thakkar Bappa, diesel/electric pump sets, spray pump, pair of oxen, LPG supply and NREGA work (by the Forest Department) and Janani Surkasha Yojana (by the Health Department). These schemes were recalled easily and often. However, in a few villages the participants were not aware of the tribal welfare schemes. People from villages of Itwai and Bodhu, which are deep inside the forests and not connected with *pucca* roads, did not know much about the tribal welfare programmes and they listed only four to five schemes. The FGD participants in most of the villages were not aware of the name or concept of TSP.

The people of the villages reported that the Gramsevak and other field officers from the ITDPs rarely visited the villages, especially remote villages. It would be a good idea to have separate Gram Sevak for such remote villages/panchayats so that they are bound to cover the remote areas. This will ensure that there will be greater number of Gram sevaks and other staff in areas which are remote, harder to reach, and need greater commitment of time from the staff. The population norm and distance norms of all institutions should be revised in response to the geographical challenges that such places pose.

As regards gender-wise awareness, more men than women were aware of the schemes. However, more women participants than men were aware of supplementary nutrition, immunization,

There is a need of not only creating capital assets but also ensuring that these assets are maintained. For this, larger administrative costs, and a percentage of the Plan for recurrent expenditure will have to be set aside.

health check-up, Janani Surkasha Yojana, Matrutva Yojana, Kanyadan Yojana and sewing machine training schemes. In all the 16 sample villages, *Khavti* loan, Indira Aawas Yojana, diesel/electric pump set schemes were availed by many families and the people were largely in favour of them. The people from the villages which did not have proper road connectivity (example, Dahedri village) and interior villages (example, Bharugvhan village) said that they did not have transport facilities to go to the taluka or PO office or district offices. They reported that the Gram Sevak and other field officers from the PO office rarely visited their villages. It would be a good idea to have a

Gram Sevak for every Panchayat so that they may cover all the villages coming under the panchayat. This will ensure that there will be a greater number of Gram Sevaks and other staff in areas which are remote, harder to reach, and need greater commitment of time from the staff. The population and distance norms of all institutions should be revised in response to the geographical challenges that such places pose.

With respect to IEC activities, only a few FGD participants reported that they came to know about the schemes/programmes through *Melavas* and books/pamphlets distributed by the TDD (project office) or administrative departments. In a few FGDs, some participants reported that the department made public announcements and/or distributed pamphlets about specific schemes and programmes in the weekly markets, which they found informative and convenient.

Interface of the beneficiaries with the system is arbitrary, lacks certainty, and leads to distrust. The use of Information technology to resolve this issue is necessary.

However, this was not a routine practice and was done only in a few villages. However, the interviewed officials did not mention about the announcements in weekly markets.

Regarding the officials' visit to the villages, participants of some FGDs (Kotmi, Thanavihir, Chargaon, Khedi) reported that the Gram Sevak, ANM and ASHA visited villages on a regular basis, but the agriculture extension officer, personnel from the BDO office, field officers from ITDPs visited the villages only when they had to distribute benefits diesel pumps, *Khavati* loan etc. to the villagers. There were no routine or periodic visits from these officials. Most of the women FGD participants also admitted that the health worker, ASHA workers, Anganwadi workers generally visited their villages, but officers of the Panchayat Samiti or BDO office hardly made an appearance. The main takeaway from most FGDs was that the villagers were unhappy with the programme functionaries.

Development Activities in Villages

In nearly all the sample villages, the field teams found evidence of a number of developmental activities. It was also observed that the tribal communities in the villages were using the benefits. The developmental activities included road construction under Thakkar Bappa Scheme, construction of overhead water tanks (in a few villages only), stand-post or public water taps, hand pumps, community wells, houses under Indira Awaas Yojana, community halls, drainage and sanitation facilities, electrification and Anganwadi Centres. In some villages, however, the facilities were underutilized or unused because of the poor quality of work. For example, the hand pumps in some villages were non-operational, in others the water supplied through stand-posts was not potable (the water was usually drawn from an open well and piped to the taps without filtration or treatment). In some villages, the Anganwadi centre and other buildings constructed under various schemes were in a dilapidated condition and were not usable. The examples described here have not delivered benefits to the community and point to an avoidable wastage of resources. Therefore, creating capital assets is not enough; they must also be properly used and maintained. For this purpose, a percentage of the Plan amount for recurrent expenditure needs to be set aside and allocated to the departments concerned.

People's Experience in applying for TSP Schemes

The FGD participants complained that they are never made aware of their applications (for benefits under various schemes). Many said that they apply for the same schemes every year without a positive result. The women participants were particularly vocal on this point. They said that they live far away from the ITDP or BDO offices and it was not possible for them to

make frequent visits to follow-up on their applications. Even when they did visit the offices, the officers do not guide them properly or provide the right information. In fact, the participants also said that they were badly treated and denied appointments. Those who received the benefits said that they had to apply several times and wait for at least two to three years.

A greater concern was that many of the FGD participants had not received any benefit (or informed about the status of their applications by ITDP or the administrative departments in spite of applying several times). They expected that, after their applications are submitted, the respective must convey the status to the applicants. Alternatively, there should be system for tracking their status. The participants also stressed that it was not possible or affordable for the poor people to apply repeatedly and visit the offices to follow-up on their applications. One participant expressed his disappointment thus,

Many FGD participants complained that they did not receive a single benefit nor did they hear a word from ITDP or Administrative departments about the status of their applications, even after applying several times. The heavy documentation involved was very difficult for villagers and they often approached agents, who were not trustworthy. It is suggested that facilitation centres involving educated youth from within the community may be setup at Gram Panchayat offices.

“We waste so much money, energy and time to apply for benefits but at the end we don’t get anything. We have been waiting for years but they don’t *even* tell us if our application has been accepted or whether more documents are needed”. They lamented that it was very difficult for them to get benefits from tribal welfare schemes and programmes, something that is theirs by right.

We recommend the implementation of an online tracking system that can be set up at all ITDP offices for keeping records of applications received, action taken and, in case of a delay or denial, the reasons for action/ non-action.

Many FGD participants also said that in spite of being eligible for the benefits, they often chose not to apply because the process involved a lot of documentation, which makes it difficult for them. Participants stated that they were often asked to submit what they felt are “unnecessary documents”. The documentation needs compel the villagers to take the help of ‘agents’, who are not trustworthy. Therefore, we suggest that facilitation centres operated by the educated youth of the community be setup. For the convenience of all this facility can be established at the Gram Panchayat office.

Participants living in the interiors said that many schemes or programmes do not reach them. In fact, they claimed that they rarely witnessed any IEC activities in their villages. If and when they do come to know of schemes that they could apply for, the deadline for submission of

the application would be over. In effect, the needy and deserving remain deprived of benefits because of their remoteness, and people living at convenient distances from the ITDP/BDO office/Gram Panchayat benefit the most. It needs to mention here that many of the beneficiaries received information about the schemes from agents or mediators. On occasion, villagers visiting ITDP offices would share the information gained with other community members. Otherwise, the IEC activities themselves seem to play a very small role in creating awareness. Very few people from the selected villages reported attending *melavas* or other awareness campaigns organized by ITDP.

Health Services

In almost all the villages, women participants expressed the opinion that medical services were not easily accessible. They felt that, for health and medical services, they had to travel to the taluka or district place and, for that, they have to incur travel expenses and often forgo a day's wages. For this reason, the women visit unqualified practitioners and, sometimes, even the *Bhundo* (witch doctor). Consequently, the health status of the people remains poor. Even for antenatal check-up and delivery, women often avoid going to hospital.

In many FGDs, the women participants admitted that the ANMs visited their villages, but also complained that the services were very poor and restricted to immunization (TT injection, IFA tablets and child immunization), which, too, did not happen regularly. In one FGD (Barugavhan), women participants said that whenever they call for the hospital's ambulance, it would invariably arrive late and worse, they would be charged for it. During the course of the study, the field teams visited a number of Anganwadi centres. In some places, it was noticed that the measurement methods used by the health worker and/or Anganwadi worker were inappropriate and also that registers were not maintained (Barugavhan). But in some FGDs, the women participants expressed were satisfied with the services of the ANMs and Anganwadis.

Selection of Beneficiaries

Male participants in some FGDs said that they did not know the criteria and process of selection of beneficiaries by the Tribal Development Department or by the administrative departments. They said that whenever there was an announcement seeking application, they applied if they felt so inclined.

The villagers were asked to explain the process of selection of beneficiaries. The described the process as follows:

After the villagers receive information (from various sources) about ITDP schemes, the applicants directly approach the ITDP to submit their applications. They have to get copies of the

accompanying documents attested by the Gram Sevak. Due to the perception that the process involved heavy documentation (as mentioned earlier), which was beyond their capacity, they preferred agents to fill the application form and compile the documents. After submission of the documents, the field inspectors visit the applicants personally for verification. For claiming benefits from administrative departments, the procedure is slightly different. Here, the Gram Sabha is consulted and a tentative list of beneficiaries is read out in the Sabha. However, this happens rarely.

The participants believe that there is considerable political interference in the selection of beneficiaries. They said that those who hold political power or have money to influence, have easy access to the schemes and that they received the benefits preferentially. One BPL cardholder, who admitted that he was well-off, said that he wanted to access the benefits offered by government schemes for which he bribed the BPL survey staff and received a BPL card. The participants felt that the selection of beneficiaries should be done at the Gram Panchayat level so that people come to know about the process of selection of beneficiaries. They said that as of now, the Gram Panchayats have no role in the selection of beneficiaries except for receiving, and sometimes checking the documents and forwarding the applications.

Usefulness of Benefits

In most FGDs, participants reported that those who received diesel pumps and electric pump sets for agricultural purposes were using them. But some beneficiaries had sold their benefits in the market or to other farmers. Beneficiaries of Shabari Gharkul Yojana or Indira Awaas Yojana said that they were more comfortable in living in *pucca* houses. Those who got the diesel/ electric pump sets, spray pumps, or oxen said that they were using them regularly. In most of the villages, the beneficiaries of *khavati* loans (consumption loan) reported that it helped them with their household expenditure. Very few had applied for cooking gas connections; some received them from the Forest Department and were using them. A significant observation was that very few participants reported that NREGA work carried out by the Forest Department helped them earn daily wages.

When asked about development activities in their villages, the participants responded positively. They said that their villages are much better places with proper resources and facilities. Elderly participants expressed that life was more difficult earlier; but now, due to all the programmes, schemes and facilities, it has become easier for the current generation. They were pleased to be witnesses such changes. Elderly women expressed satisfaction over facilities like electricity, hand pumps, wells and internal roads; they recalled that they had to walk long distances for water or there were no schools close by during their childhood. Due to the Thakkar Bappa scheme, they now have *pucca* roads; and some villages even had community halls built under the scheme.

Overall, the participants appeared to be happy with the development interventions in their villages but they also felt that the available facilities were still inadequate and/or the quality of benefits/facilities provided was poor. For example, FGD participants from Malghar (Pada) complained that road construction work was sanctioned for 1000 meters under the Thakkar Bappa scheme, but the contractor constructed only 500 metres of road, which too was of very poor quality. In other villages we were told that the roads constructed got damaged within a year of its construction.

Migration for Livelihood

Many tribal villages/hamlets are located in remote areas near the boundaries with adjoining states. The study teams learned that villagers migrate to nearby districts or the neighbouring states in search of livelihoods. During the agricultural season, they work on their fields or in the fields belonging to co-villagers. In the off-season, they migrate to earn a livelihood. Madhya Pradesh and Telangana (earlier Andhra Pradesh) are the nearest states to which people migrate. The migrants travel in groups and find work in building construction sites, road construction projects, coal-making, wood cutting, etc. Migration one of the reasons why many tribal people are not aware of the schemes and programmes run by various departments. Participants in some FGDs reported that the villagers preferred agricultural or non-agricultural work to NREGA work because of the low wages and the difficulty in getting the wages on time. In only one FGD (Chikhaldara) the participants reported that they received good wages for the work they did for the Forest Department under NREGA.

Participants in FGDs, who migrate to other places in search of work, said the Ashram school/hostel schemes are very useful as they could leave their children there without much worrying about disrupting their education. This arrangement also allows all working family members to migrate in search of livelihood elsewhere.

However, the point of concern here was that such families are often excluded from the BPL and other enumeration exercises if they were away during the survey. Migration is a reality in the tribal communities. The TSP does not have separate provisions that offer people opportunities that can prevent them from migrating. Going beyond the MGNREGA, some of the additional measures that could be considered are more rural credit before the distress months, greater financial incentives for school going children and their families, and also to women who chose to stay back in the village.

Expectations of the Community

We asked community members of their expectations in our FGDs. The participants said that they were satisfied with the changes that had taken place in their villages due to the

efforts of the Tribal Development Department and Administrative departments, but they felt that they were insufficient and wanted better facilities. Many villagers complained that although they figured in the BPL list, they had not received *pucca* houses under the Indira Awaas Yojana. Women expressed their concern over sanitation and tap water. In many villages there was no tap water connection, women wanted tap connection because it was cumbersome and time consuming to carry pots of water on their heads from the hand pumps, which were often located at a distance from their homes; and besides, every summer, they faced scarcity of water. While young mothers desired that health facilities should improve, ANM, ASHA and Anganwadi workers felt that the community women were reluctant to use the health facilities that were already available. But the women complained that the facilities provided at the PHC/Rural hospitals were not of good quality, that doctors were not available, and also that they did not take good care of patients and therefore, they did not prefer institutional deliveries.

The FGD participants also wanted to a school in their villages or at least an Ashramshala close by; they would prefer to enrol their children in the villages instead of admitting them in some distant place. The FGDs also revealed that NREGA was not doing well in their villages. In some places, no employment was created under NREGA, or it was made available only in a few villages and that too for a few days only. The Participants expressed their disappointment over the matter. That wanted the MNREGA to provide employment throughout the year. Transportation was another issue raised in the FGDs.

Evidently, there are many issues ranging from education, employment and health to infrastructure, and access that need to be addressed.

The investigation suggests a number of steps by which TSP can serve the tribal community:

Housing: Analysis of the perceptions of the community and the census data indicate that there exists a gap in housing. At present, multiple agencies implement housing schemes. The DRDA carries out IAY and the PO, ITDP monitors the TSP component of tribal houses. The report suggests the merger of these two schemes with the TSP as a funding agency, and focus on removing homelessness in an achievable period of time. At the same time one of the issues that the system is faced with is the lack of manpower for monitoring the processes.

The analysis of the perceptions of the community and the census data indicate that there exists a gap in housing, left out habitations not getting access to institutional sources of water, and the like. There appears to be a need for interventions below the lowest facility levels (sub-centres and Anganwadis) and to have village specific plans in high mortality, morbidity areas. Further malnutrition is one of the prime problems in tribal areas and there is enough scope to expand funding under TSP and expanding the food basket for children, adolescent girls, and expectant mothers.

Water Supply: The report identifies two important issues. There are excluded habitations that do not have access to institutional sources of water because of definitional issues. Here, TSP can serve as an additional component to cover the excluded and sparsely populated habitation. The norms of expenditure for remote, geographically challenging tribal hamlets also need to be revised and more provisioning done in TSP. This will help to avoid the one-size-fits-all approach that is presently in existence.

Health: Since tribal areas are remote the per unit norms of institutions, funds, and manpower need to be made flexible to account for the difficulties in services delivery in such areas. There also a need for interventions those go beyond the lowest facility levels (sub-centres and Anganwadis) and to have village-specific plans for high mortality, morbidity areas.

Nutrition, ICDS and PDS: It is mandated that at least 3% of the district TSP should be spent on nutritional interventions. This is not happening in many districts. Considering that malnutrition is one of the prime problems in tribal areas there is enough scope to expand funding under TSP and expanding the food basket for children, adolescent girls, and expectant mothers. Similarly, under PDS there are no TSP commitments. It is necessary that TSP is used to expand the TSP components to ensure food security.

Chapter 8

GOOD PRACTICES

Many improvements were effected in the wake of TSP and the field teams felt that is important to record good practices. The teams found that at no level - Tribal Development Department, administrative departments, or in any other office - there existed a system by which good practices were documented and shared. Very few instances of good practices were recorded during the first round of field visit. This was because the field teams visited only a few villages and the good practices that prevailed in other areas could not be recorded. The matter came up in a meeting with the Principal Secretary, Tribal Development Department and it was decided to depute some students, who had graduated from TISS, in different ITDPs to capture evidence of good practices. However, the programme did not materialize. The field teams recorded a few good practices that are presented below.

Sampurna Bamboo Kendra, Lawada, Dharni

Sampurna Bamboo Kendra (SBK) was started in 1993 by Dr.Nirupama and Sunil Deshpande. Melghat was notorious for malnutrition and the death rate was high. The main objective of Sampurna Bamboo Kendra was to provide livelihood opportunities to tribal people with the help of bamboo handicrafts.

The project is located at Lavada, Taluka Dharni is constantly making conscious efforts to implement and run various programmes for tribal youth to generate sustainable employment. There is a staff of 11 personnel and 100 handicraft artists are employed in the workshop. The tribal people are encouraged to cultivate bamboo and make bamboo handicrafts in Melghat. Under this initiative, bamboo plants are distributed for cultivation. The tribal youth are provided training in making bamboo handicrafts as well as bamboo houses. The organization has facilitated formation of 210 self-help groups till today. Loans have been made available to these groups. They are also part of *Pasabag* programme (Backyard gardens).



Bamboo Products

Since September 15, 2012, the organization has been providing training to tribal people. The financial aid for this programme has been offered by the Forest Department. The Project Office, Dharni has made provisions for financial assistance to this organization under a Nucleus Budget. Besides, they also receive funds from NABARD. SBK has also collaborated with DRDA for bamboo housing

and the CEO had sanctioned bamboo infrastructure for houses, built under Indira Awaas Yojana. However, it was never implemented as there were many issues and various stakeholders in Indira Awaas Yojana were not happy with this proposal.

SBK has also tied up with TRIFED for buying and selling their handicrafts. They also participate in various exhibitions and have started their independent handicraft outlets at Chikhaldara and Amravati. A few of the people who were trained at SBK are now self-employed and run their own bamboo handicraft ventures.



Bamboo House

Study Tour to ITDP, Dharni

The study tour of ITDP office is meant for the villagers. The objective was to help them to know what the ITDP does, how it functions, the roles and responsibilities of the various officials, and the procedures involved in applying for tribal welfare schemes. In one of the FGDs conducted in Barughavan village in Dharni ITDP area, the participants informed the field team that they were taken on a Study Tour to the ITDP, Dharni and the tour was arranged by an NGO named Eficore.

Eficore, with the co-operation of PO, ITDP, Dharni has arranged several 'Knowhow Visits' to the ITDP Project Office. The objective of the tour was to make the tribal population aware of the tribal welfare schemes, working of Project Office and procedures involved in applying for benefits. Most of the villagers were not familiar with procedures. During their visits, the participants were taken to every officer's table and briefed about their roles and responsibilities and also the procedures for applying. This has helped the villagers in learning about the tribal welfare schemes, removing their negative opinion about the department and the officials and building confidence in applying for welfare schemes. The villagers opined that this kind of study tour to ITDPs and Administrative departments, especially the BDO office, would be helpful to them in applying for these schemes with ease and confidence. This also reduces the people's dependence on agents for applying for benefits.

Beneficiary Card, ITDP, Chandrapur

The Beneficiary card is one innovative initiative of Chimur Integrated Tribal Development Project. The main objective of the card is to avoid duplication of benefits to the same household offered by different departments. It helped a large number of households to receive different benefits without duplication. Whatever benefits are extended to the household by various government departments are recorded in this card. The working of this card could not be



Beneficiary Card

assessed by the field team as it was introduced recently. If the households maintain the card properly and government agencies cooperate by making entries of whatever benefits they have provided to the family, the scheme will be a success. **However, a caveat needs to be introduced here: to avoid duplication of beneficiaries and to ensure transparency there is no substitute for proper use of information technology and mobilisation of strong social audit measures. The Beneficiary Card system must, at best, be seen as a stop-gap arrangement between manual verification and digitization.**

Individual Farming, Chandrapur

Mr. Suresh Gawade is a farmer from Thergaon village of Chandrapur District. He benefited from the Tribal Development Department and Panchayat Samiti and that has positively impacted his economic situation. He constructed a well with assistance from the Panchayat Samiti. He also got a diesel pump in 2008 from ITDP. The diesel pump has positively impacted his economic



Well and Oil Engine

condition. He now cultivates fruits, vegetables and rice. Earlier, he could grow only one crop; now he has multiple crops. He sells the vegetables in the nearby market. The ITDP of Chandrapur is proud of this farmer because he used the benefits in a proper manner and set an ideal example for other people in that area.

Group Farming, Thane district

Mr. Kashinath Gavit and Mr. Ram Gavit are brothers belonging to the Konkana Tribe. The brothers said that they used to work as labourers mining sand at Bhivandi. In 1997, BAIF introduced Vadi Vikas Project. Twenty farmers participated in the training workshop including the two brothers. As part of the workshop, they visited a farm at Pimpalshet. In the village open grazing is a



Mango Plantation

common practice and therefore crops could not survive. After the training workshop, three of the farmers took up horticulture and cultivated mangoes. By 1998, seven more farmers from their village joined in the group farming either horticulture or floriculture. By 2000, there were 47 group-*vadis* (Farms). Today, most of the farmers grow mangoes, cashew nuts, guavas, pineapples and jasmine.

In the initial years, they faced the problem of rodents. BAIF suggested that they fence their farms. They received diesel pumps under TSP schemes. In 2005, they also

conducted a workshop on mango saplings. The farmers made saplings and sold them. Recently they started cultivating bananas, egg-plants, bitter gourd and tomatoes. Earlier, the farmers had to arrange transport of vegetables to the market, but now they bid on the phone or transport their produce in their vehicle to the city market. The two brothers said that with their success in farming has brought them prosperity; they have also bought more land, motorcycles and a tractor.

Besides this, BAIF also provided them 100 jasmine saplings. For marketing jasmine flowers, the village farmers are registered at Jagruti Farming Cooperative at Vada Office. Presently, there are 22-25 farmers in the village who are involved in group cultivation of jasmine. A daily record of every farmer and a count of jasmine buds are maintained at each collection centre. There are seven different collection centres in Jawhar. Approximately 900kg of jasmine flowers are collected every day. These flowers are sent to the Dadar flower market. Marigolds and pink roses are also cultivated.

The two brothers deliver lectures and seminars on their farming experiences. They are happy that "Our lectures



Jasmine Plantation

are appreciated by officials, because we speak from first hand experiences. After the session participants do ask lot of questions”.

Individual Efforts, Jawhar

Mr. Desai is APO, ITDP, Jawhar. He was concerned with the high levels of malnutrition in his area and decided that he would focus on this issue.

Mr Desai adopted two villages and is involved in their overall development.

Under the guidance of the Additional Collector, he Mr Desai took up a project two years ago. BDO, ADO, PWD, Collector, ICDS in charge, Forest Controller and APO of Jawhar are the members of the Government Officers’ Club. The Club adopted one family and provided them saris, spray pump, solar lights, stationery, books, arranged health check-ups, met their specific needs. His efforts were published in a newspaper. The initiative was extended one pocket. Many Sarpanchs have since contacted Mr. Desai with a request for similar initiatives in their Panchayat villages.

Gram Panchayat Hatheri: In the Hatheri Gram Panchayat a ‘Tanta mukti committee’ has been formed. The Tanta mukti committee works towards prohibition of alcohol and Hatheri Gram Panchayat has been declared Tanta Mukh Gram.

Mr. Shekhar Sawant (BDO): Mr. Sawant and his acquaintances collected Rs. 27,000 and donated the amount to BAIF for providing 226 solar lamps to students of standards 7 to 12 at a price of Rs. 120/- per solar lamp. The lamps will be supplied very soon with the help of IIT, Mumbai. In villages not being served by the power grid, the solar lamp will be a boon for the students.

Agriculture Block Level Officer, Mr. Dhumada: He took the lead in coordinating with Sijenta beneficiaries. Sijenta is an NGO that provides technical support for servicing and maintaining diesel pumps and also provides a unit for trainees to practice on for a few days. After a month, the organization takes back the pump. Mr. Dhumada contacted the candidates and encouraged them to apply for the TSP diesel pump scheme. He also prepared a list of beneficiaries and gave it to the Gram Sewak. He also wrote to the individuals. This has helped to prevent the enrolment of false beneficiaries and saved villagers the cost of vehicle and transportation to take the benefit.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSION

The developmental gap between the STs and non-STs is not only large, it also has been widening over the years. While the TSP strategy was supposed to address this situation, it has been only partially successful. The TSP strategy of Maharashtra, which is markedly different from most states has the advantage of being owned and guided by the TDD. However, the lack of depth and diversity of schemes, and the lack of linkage to the outcomes to be achieved, leads to poor results. The TSP is beset by poor expenditure percentages, lack of flexibility in planning, and the denial of ownership of the plan to the people. Despite the mandate of PESA, the TSP does not incorporate its provisions. The TSP also does not adequately provision for rights-based interventions, and for livelihood. The schemes also do not ensure that adequate strategies are formulated through the Plans to combat malnutrition, and ensure superior health outcomes.

The service delivery structure of TSP, i.e., the ITDP, is characterised by lack of human resources, and poor monitoring structures. The TDD has not been able to decentralise administrative and financial powers to its far flung various units. Despite, the absence of a technical, implementing structure, and despite manpower constraints, the Tribal Development schemes are often chosen to be carried out by the department itself. However, the report suggests that it is possible to carry out the same through the Panchayati Raj Institutions wherein both reach and accountability, through public representatives, are inbuilt in its structure. The Report recommends that powers need to be delegated at each level. Beneficiary selection is one of the weak links of the system, and often can be arbitrary or non-transparent. There is need to involve the Gram Sabhas in selection, as also to use IT tools to ensure that duplication, or corruption, do not occur. The role of Collector in coordinating between departments and in giving leadership to TDD schemes has also been brought to the fore in this report.

We have given a number of recommendations in the Summary and Recommendations part of the report as also across the breadth of the Report which derives largely from the principles of people's participation and subsidiarity. The report recommends building on the rights-based approach, and in trusting local communities to effectively govern themselves. Devolution, decentralisation, and effective social audit are the pillars of such interventions. The damage to the delivery mechanisms of the tribal development department through excessive centralisation, and the distance of the planner from those he plans for, are very evident. We are optimistic that the report will contribute in converting the TSP into a more people-centric, responsive, and efficient tool of tribal welfare.

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