

Human Resources Development of the Weaker Sections

Introduction

The first seven goals of the UN Millennium Declaration adopted in 2000, namely, to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal education, promote gender equality and empower women, reduce child mortality and improve maternal health, combat AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensure access to safe drinking water and ensure environmental sustainability form the first axis of the frame of this chapter. Amartya Sen's proposition on development is the second. Sen argues that development must be seen as a process of expanding the real freedom that people enjoy and acuminate the major sources of lack of freedom, viz., poverty, dominance, poor economic opportunities and systemic deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance. What people can positively achieve is influenced by economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers and the enabling conditions of good health, basic education and the encouragement and cultivation of initiatives. The concept of human resources is the third. While the understanding is often limited to seeing human beings as a unit of economic production, human resources are involved not just in the production of goods and services, but more importantly contribute to the quality of individual and collective living, generate social capital, ensure freedom, liberty and foster civic engagement. Hence, while human resource development cannot be disassociated from the process of accelerating economic growth, it cannot be disengaged from equity either. The definition of weaker sections is the fourth axis, and brings within its ambit those who suffer from physical, economic and social deprivation, discrimination on basis of caste, creed and patriarchy namely the STs, SCs, women and differently abled. With the four sides (axes) of the frame of this chapter clarified, the challenge of human resource development of the weaker sections is to combine acceleration of economic growth while strengthening

equity, generate wealth ensuring distributive justice and enhance opportunity while engendering freedom.

Maharashtra – A Study in Contrasts

Maharashtra, with a per capita income of Rs. 24,736 in 2001-02, is the third richest state in India after Punjab and Haryana among 15 major states. In contrast to Punjab and Haryana's rich alluvial plains, Maharashtra has to be content with a narrow coastal plain and a vast parched plateau. Maharashtra's prosperity comes from Mumbai, the industrial and commercial capital of the nation. Maharashtra has also a long history of social reform.

Dnyaneshwar, Tukaram, Sahu Maharaj, Phule and Ambedkar are the more prominent among numerous reformers who advocated social equity. Movements of dalits, adivasi and peasants, movements for rehabilitation, water and land re-distribution, against corruption are interwoven in Maharashtra's history. But behind the facade of prosperity and movements for equity, the lives of the majority of its people, particularly the SCs, STs and other disadvantaged groups, is less than enviable. Despite a glorious past and a prosperous present, the state has a quarter of its population below the poverty line.

Maharashtra – The Great Rural Urban Divide

It would not be an exaggeration to depict the state as islands of urban prosperity in a sea of rural poverty. Nowhere in the country is the divide so sharp as the comparison between the per capita product of Mumbai, which is consistently 2 to 2.5 times that of the rest of Maharashtra as mentioned in table 8.1. The ratio would be significantly higher if the per capita product of other highly industrialised cities of Thane, Pune, Nagpur, Nashik, Aurangabad and Rasayani-Nagothne, rated at 1 to 6 after Mumbai, were deducted from that of the rest of Maharashtra. This fact is reflected in the HDI constructed for 312 Indian districts for the year 1981. The ranks of districts ranged between 16

for Pune (No. 2 in Maharashtra) and 210 for Chandrapur (No. 10 in Maharashtra) (Prabhu, 1992).

Table 8.1: Net National Product Per Capita (in Rs.) Mumbai, Maharashtra excluding Mumbai and India, 1970-71 to 1990-91

Year	Mumbai	Rest of Maharashtra	India
1970-71	1786	632	675
1980-81	4683	1858	1630
1990-91	8784	4105	3852

Note: NNP is at current prices

Source: Mungekar, B., The Economy of Maharashtra: Changing Structure and Emerging Issues, Mumbai, 2003

Maharashtra's prosperity is concentrated in Mumbai and other industrial and commercial cities like Thane, Pune, Nagpur and Nashik, while her villages, where the overwhelming majority of her disadvantaged communities live, have no share in the prosperity but eke out a living on the fringes. While examining the relative position of agricultural, industrial, human resource and infrastructure development of the four regions of Konkan, Marathwada, Vidharbha and Western Maharashtra, Prabhu et al identify 11 districts as high, 3 districts in the middle and 15 districts as low on development. Significantly 7 of the 11 highly developed districts fall in the western Maharashtra region. The developed districts are built around a strong manufacturing centre, generally the district capital, while the hinterland and in most cases the adjoining districts are low on the development index. While on the whole the state stands 3rd among 17 states when the Human Development Index (HDI) was computed for the rural areas (Vyas & Vidyasagar, 1993) in 1981, the HDI value of 0.16 was near the bottom with only U.P. below it and 15 major states including poor states like Bihar and Orissa above. Table 8.2 gives a comprehensive picture of development status of districts using the parameters of agriculture, industry, human resources and infrastructure.

Maharashtra attracted maximum foreign direct investment (FDI) between 1991 and 2001, but its share of Indian industry slipped down during the 1990s and its performance with respect to industrial employment is inferior vis-à-vis the national average. Burenge (2003) suggests that rising capital intensity, fall in employment, substitution of capital

for labour, low growth rate of value of output reflect unsatisfactory performance of the state in industrial activity. The FDI, ICT-led growth, however, resulted in an emphasis on urban areas development, uneven infrastructure, accentuated and worsened the regional and rural-urban disparities in the state. Push factors in the villages led to migration to high growth areas, resulting in decline in the quality of life in both rural and urban areas.

The Weaker Sections in Maharashtra- Facts Belie Presumptions

The relative prosperity levels of Maharashtra lead the undiscerning to presume that the weaker sections enjoy a measure of welfare security. But facts belie presumptions. The prosperity is ephemeral. Hard poverty is the fact for large sections of Maharashtra's rural population. This section explores ground realities by analysing six areas, namely, poverty, food security, health, employment, education and expenditure in the social sector.

Poverty

While poverty, indicated as percentage of people living below the poverty line, has steadily declined from 53.24 per cent in 1973-74 to 25.02 per cent in 2000, what is surprising is the decline in Maharashtra, even with its prosperity, is not better than the all India percentage of 26.1 per cent. When compared with states with a similar per capita income like Punjab (6.16 per cent) and Haryana (8.74 per cent), the achievement of Maharashtra is poor. Karnataka and Kerala, with the same incidence of poverty in 1973-74, have done far better. The data of 1999-2000 is harsher on Maharashtra; 10 of 16 states having a population of more than 10 million have lower levels of poverty than Maharashtra.

Food and Nutrition Security

Malnutrition of children is a fact of life in Maharashtra. Few districts can boast of being free of malnutrition deaths. It is disturbing that, going by the age-weight ratio, 58 per cent of all rural children under four suffer from malnutrition, and the number of malnourished children exceeds the national average.

Table 8.2: Ranking of Districts According to Sectoral Development

Sr. No.	District	Agriculture Ranking	Industry Ranking	Human Resources Ranking	Infrastructure Total Ranking
1	Ahmednagar	3	16	11	5
2	Akola	22	13	7	8
3	Amravati	12	13	2	15
4	Aurangabad	7	6	15	14
5	Beed	28	22	24	27
6	Bhandara	13	18	19	23
7	Buldhana	10	23	25	25
8	Chandrapur	23	9	23	18
9	Dhule	9	20	21	21
10	Gadchiroli	26	29	28	28
11	Jalgaon	5	7	22	10
12	Jalna	18	25	26	29
13	Kolhapur	1	7	8	9
14	Latur	23	28	17	22
15	Nagpur	11	3	3	7
16	Nanded	20	19	20	17
17	Nashik	2	5	12	12
18	Osmanabad	20	26	27	20
19	Parbhani	25	27	29	24
20	Pune	8	2	15	3
21	Raigad	18	10	9	2
22	Ratnagiri	29	17	9	11
23	Sangli	4	10	6	1
24	Satara	6	12	3	5
25	Sindhudurg	16	21	5	13
26	Solapur	15	4	18	4
27	Thane	17	1	14	16
28	Wardha	14	13	1	19
29	Yavatmal	27	24	13	26

Source: Mungekar, B. 2003, The Economy of Maharashtra: Changing Structure and Emerging Issues, Dr. Ambedkar Institute of Social & economic Change, Mumbai

Using quantity of cereal consumption and calorie intake values, MHDR (2002) shows that 57.4 per cent of rural and 54.8 per cent of urban households consume less than the standard 2700 calories per day, a clear sign of undernourishment. This can be seen in table 8.3. Only external inputs like ICDS have met with some success in addressing malnourishment among poverty groups. The problem for the weaker sections is compounded by the urban-bias in the PDS (Dev, 2003). The system is characterised by the fact that more than 50 per cent of the poor are not covered, bogus entries, and leakages particularly in rural areas and weak delivery systems in tribal tracts. PDS does not provide food security for the rural poor.

Resources and Livelihoods

While examining access to land and land-based resources, data shows 57 per cent of SC households are landless and near landless. If marginal farmers were included, the share goes over 75 per cent. SC and ST households constitute nearly 40 per cent of

the landless households and 37 per cent of the near landless households in the state. Table 8.4 indicates that only 20 per cent of the SCs survive on their land, and most depend almost exclusively by their labour though the number of ST households depending on the land is marginally higher. What is observed is a slow but progressive decrease of dependence on land and growing dependence on wage labour due to falling land productivity and vagaries of the monsoon. Agriculture is losing ground as a livelihood, and, without stability of employment or social security, migration is the only alternative. Public works programmes such as EGS have been considered as solution to unemployment problem. But though government claims that 12.22 crore man days were created in 2002 compared to 11.16 in 2001, employment created under EGS in the post economic reform period has stagnated, adversely affecting the rural poor.

The census 2001 notes that the Work Participation Rate (WPR) in Maharashtra was at

Table 8.3: Undernourished Children upto 4 Years of Age: Maharashtra and All India, 1992-93

Item	Rural		Urban		Total	
	Maharashtra	All India	Maharashtra	All India	Maharashtra	All India
Weight for Age						
% below- 3 S.D.	24.1	22.4	14.6	14.8	20.2	20.6
% below- 2 S.D.	57.5	55.9	45.5	45.2	52.6	53.4
Height for Age						
% below- 3 S.D.	26.2	30.9	15.7	22.0	21.9	28.9
% below- 2 S.D.	50.8	54.1	39.1	44.8	46.0	52.0
Weight for Height						
% below- 3 S.D.	4.3	3.2	3.8	2.9	4.1	3.2
% below- 2 S.D.	21.5	18.0	18.3	15.8	20.2	17.5

Source: Family Health Survey for Maharashtra, IIPS, Mumbai, 1995

43.5 per cent, a mere 0.5 per cent more than the 1991 level. The proportion of main workers to total workers declined to 84.8 per cent from 91.4, while their proportion to total population decreased from 39.3 per cent to 36.8 in the decade ending 2001. The organised sector started outsourcing to remain competitive, using casual contractual labour and expertise from the 1990s. Marginal workers, increased from 3.7 per cent to 6.7 in the same period with the incidence of female marginal workers being higher than males. Incidence of marginal workers was comparatively higher in rural areas. The growth rate of labour, with 93 per cent of workers in the unorganised sector, has been higher than the organised sector, which remained constant at around 7 per cent. 90 per cent of total women workers are in the informal sector. In a milieu with no radical reforms and with benefits of growth flowing mainly to the rural and urban elite, the inadequate attention paid to basic education and health by state government blunted the only tools that were available to the disadvantaged sections to ensure their social mobility.

Health of the Poor

Maharashtra's achievements in the health sector are better compared to those in the education sector. Life expectancy increased from 53.3 years in 1970-75 to 63 in 1989-93 for males, and from 54.4 years to 65.4 years for females, slightly better than all-

India averages. Maharashtra's achievement is, however, overshadowed by Kerala's, a far poorer state as indicated in table 8.5, IMR came down from 119 to 74 per 1000 live births in 1991. However, gender bias is apparent - female IMR remained higher at 76 than the male IMR at 72. The decline in IMR is in proportion to rising education of women, standing at 72 for illiterate women and a low of 24 for women with high school education. (NFHS, 1994). The rural-urban divide was also apparent; the rural IMR at 58 was higher than the urban rate of 31 in 1996. Female IMR was particularly high in Yavatmal (126), Chandrapur (101) and Ghadchiroli (117). The IMR was also higher in Ratnagiri, Nashik, Jalna, Buldana, Amravati, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chandrapur. Attention is drawn to the IMR in excess of 100 in Akola, Yavatmal and Ghadchiroli. Importantly, these districts have a higher proportion of Scheduled Tribes. (Prabhu and Kamdar 1996, p 345). While extensive data on maternal mortality is not available, available estimates indicate that the rate is higher than Kerala, and Tamil Nadu, relatively high proportion of non-institutional births being a contributing factor.

The prevalence rate of illness in Maharashtra, according to NCEAR study in 1990, was 54.82 in urban and 70.46 per 1000 in rural areas, lower than corresponding all-India figures. Incidence of diseases due to poor living conditions was 1042 and

Table 8.4: Distribution of Rural SC and ST Population – Economic Activity

Item	1981			1991			2001		
	SC	ST	Others	SC	ST	Others	SC	ST	Others
Cultivators	20.05	42.31	51.77	19.27	41.01	51.67	12.9	30.6	28.7
Agri. Labour	58.30	47.24	30.47	62.30	49.80	29.79	46.1	50.7	26.3
Others	21.65	10.45	17.76	18.43	9.19	18.54	41.	18.8	45.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Population Census 1981 & 1991 and Economic Survey of Maharashtra, 2003

Table 8.5: Trends in Education and Health attainment: 1961-1991

Education	Maharashtra				Kerala				All India			
	1961	1991	2001	% Change	1961	1991	2001	% Change	1961	1991	2001	% Change
Literates Total (%)	14.67	53.77	77.27	266.53	31.90	77.96	90.92	144.39	15.13	42.84	65.20	183.15
Literates Female (%)	9.04	43.30	67.51	378.98	27.03	75.25	87.86	178.39	8.53	32.17	54.03	277.14
Literates Rural (%)	12.65	45.43	70.84	259.13	31.97	76.96	90.05	140.73	13.29	36.31	59.21	173.21
Literates Urban (%)	19.81	66.99	85.76	238.16	31.49	80.78	93.38	156.53	23.54	61.70	80.06	162.11
Health	Maharashtra				Kerala				All India			
	1951-61	1989-93	1992-96	% Change	1951-61	1989-93	1992-96	% Change	1951-61	1989-93	1992-96	% Change
Life Expectancy (Years)	45.2	64.2	65.2	44.24	48.3	72.0	73.1	51.34	41.2	59.4	60.7	47.33
Literates	Maharashtra				Kerala				All India			
	1981	1991	1996	% Change	1981	1991	1996	% Change	1981	1991	1996	% Change
Infant Mortality Rate	119	74	48	-59.66	54	42	14	-74.07	115	77	72	-37.39

Note: (a) Literacy rates have been calculated as literates to total population

(b) Life expectancy has been calculated without adjustment due to decline in mortality

(c) Infant Mortality Rate refers to number of deaths from birth to age one per thousand live births

* excludes Jammu & Kashmir

Source: (1) Mungekar, B. 2003, *The Economy of Maharashtra: Changing Structure and Emerging Issues*, Dr. Ambedkar Institute of Social and economic Change, Mumbai, (2) Primary Census Abstract, Census of India, 2001, (3) National Human Development Report, Planning Commission, GoI, March 2001

immunisation for preventable diseases was 18.86 per lakh population in 1992 as compared to all India level of 1431 and 21.55 (Prabhu and Kamdar, 1996). Attention is drawn to the increasing proportion of deaths due to circulatory disorders, injuries, accidents, bronchitis, asthma and heart attacks, indicative of diet/nutrition deficiencies, fast life, pollution, environmental degradation. Reasons of restricted access to hospitals and chronic ailments due to lack of purchasing power are indicated in reportage of higher morbidity rates of disadvantaged sections. Availability of infrastructure facilities remains skewed as in the education sector with poor primary health facilities and better higher level tertiary facilities located in urban areas adding to the sharp rural-urban and inter-regional disparities. As against 0.62 PHCs per 100 sq. kms at all-India level, the number was only 0.53 in Maharashtra. Besides, only 53 per cent of the state's villages are approachable by all weather roads affecting levels of access.

While leprosy eradication is a success story due to multi-drug therapy, TB resists eradication due to late detection and incapability of the health sector despite an elaborate control machinery. Malaria has staged a comeback due to delay and failure in treatment, sub-standard drugs and insecticides, lack of entomological surveys and staff shortage. While Maharashtra has highest HIV/AIDS incidence with

a higher ratio of female victims, campaigns remain limited to surveillance of high-risk groups. The NFHS-I survey reports prevalence of partial blindness at 32 and complete blindness at 3 per 1000 and higher incidence among rural women. Though safe drinking water and sanitation are important determinants of health, only 54 per cent rural and 91 urban households had safe drinking water in 1991. None of the rural areas had underground drainage in 1993. Only 32 per cent in rural and 74 per cent in urban areas had garbage disposal facility in the state in 1993. To compound the situation, public expenditure on health and disease control is declining, while demand for health services has increased. Even then, a large proportion of health expenditure is on salaries with a negligible portion on medical supplies.

Education of the Weaker Sections

While Maharashtra ranks second in literacy rate among the major states in India, the picture is not heartening. 44 per cent of all workers (NSSO, 55th Round) in the state are illiterate while 22.7 per cent received primary education level, the situation of the weaker sections is far worse. Only 33.3 per cent of the labour force can be termed as adequately qualified. While the state has well-developed infrastructure for education, rural-urban disparities are highest in Nandurbar, Ghadchiroli, and Thane, which have high proportion of tribal population.

Free bus-pass, vasti shala for migrant workers children, Jyotiba Phule Sikshan Hami Yojana, school within a kilometer, free text-books, uniforms, stationary, pre/post matric scholarships for special social groups, Ashramshalas, hostels for backward class students, attendance allowance for disadvantaged girl children, mid-day meals, night schools for working children, special schemes such as DPEP and PEEP are some of the special attempts to increase school enrolment, retention, reduce dropout rates, improve access, and child participation. As a result, the state has achieved considerable progress in increasing literacy rate, enhancing enrolment and reducing dropout rate, but dropout rates remain high among the weaker sections, particularly among girl children. Dropout rates in 2000-01 show that of 100 enrolments, only 80 complete primary education, 60 complete upper primary and only 40 complete secondary education. Overall passing percentages for the secondary school level examination are not impressive. Only 57 of every 100 students pass the SSC exam and only 32 appear for HSC exam. This shows that schooling opportunities do not get effectively translated into educational attainment in the state. In terms of technical education, the rate of increase of technical, vocational educational infrastructure neither has kept pace with the demand nor has it kept pace with the advancement of technology as shown in table 8.6.

Table 8.6: Educational Infrastructure in Maharashtra 2002-2003

Item	Infrastructure (in No.)	Enrolment
Primary school	68736	117.09 lakh
Secondary schools	16647	83.97 lakh
Higher secondary schools/ junior colleges	3904	16.97 lakh
Colleges	1195	10.35 lakh

Privatisation of technical, vocational, professional and higher education has put these beyond the reach of the weaker sections. The region wise trends, provided in table 8.7, throws some surprising results: primary schools are on the decline while secondary schools are on the rise across all the regions, exposing a serious flaw in the education sector which provides for higher education in urban areas rather than primary education. Primary

schools per lakh population had declined in the state as a whole except Vidarbha in 1959-60 to 1990-91 period. The increase in schools, across regions except Mumbai, points out to increased privatisation of education in Mumbai. But when economic factors and lack of interest are given as the main reasons for non-enrolment and dropout rates, the disadvantaged sections of the population whose reliance on publicly provided infrastructure facilities is greater are punished with poor quality of schools and no schools.

Expenditure in the Social Sector

In the final analysis, commitment to the cause of the weaker sections is seen not in policies but in actual practice, which begins with resource allocation for the development of the weaker groups. Despite the reduction in public spending on social security, poverty alleviation and welfare programmes by Maharashtra in the 1990s, surprisingly poverty declined from 36.86 per cent in 1993-94 to 25.02 per cent in 1999-2000, which was lower than the all-India level of 26.10 per cent as per the NSSO 55th round conducted in 1999-2000. But the incidence and severity of rural poverty in the state are higher than all India levels. In absolute terms, more than 2.5 crore people in the state lived below poverty line, of which about 1.4 crore lived in rural areas. Further despite decline in incidence of poverty, a majority of rural and urban population is undernourished (MHDR, 2002).

The table 8.8 clearly indicates a withdrawal of the state from its responsibilities to the poor. Public sector spending was subjected to cuts, often ranging from 30-40 per cent during the last decade.

Due to inadequate provision made in the budget for matching funds in the social sectors, the state could not access its share of the funds provided by the central government for the centrally sponsored anti-poverty schemes. Provision for the programmes for the weaker sections declined. The share of elementary education in total education expenditure was 47.6 per cent in 1988-86, which declined to 41.3 per cent in 1990-91 (Prabhu and Chatterjee, 1993). This is in contrast to the situation in Kerala where, despite already high levels of primary education, the relevant figures were 51.9 per cent and 53.1 per cent. Expenditure on primary education per child aged 5-9 years in Maharashtra,

Table 8.7: Region-wise Trends in Education Infrastructure: 1960-1991

No.	Region	Institutions Per Lakh Population					
		Primary Institutions		Secondary Institutions		% Change	
		1959-60	1990-91	1959-60	1990-91	Primary	Secondary
1	Greater Bombay	26.32	21.95	9.63	8.92	-16.60	-7.37
2	Konkan	123.47	102.16	4.19	9.49	-17.26	126.49
3	Western Maharashtra	87.48	73.67	4.72	9.93	-15.79	110.38
4	Marathwada	83.67	77.96	3.64	11.08	-6.82	204.40
5	Vidarbha	81.83	82.19	6.06	11.97	0.44	97.52
	Maharashtra	83.26	73.15	5.33	10.39	-12.14	94.93

Source: Mungekar, B. 2003, The Economy of Maharashtra: Changing Structure and Emerging Issues, Dr. Ambedkar Institute of Social & economic Change, Mumbai

Kerala and all-India when compared, Kerala is far ahead in this respect. The predominance of revenue expenditure on education and health, the negligible capital component, the inadequate allocation to lower level services, and a deceleration in the revenue expenditure on education and health since mid 1980s indicate low priority attached to human development concerns in the state (Prabhu and Sarkar, 1998). This can be seen in the table 8.8.

A long history of social reform in Maharashtra is the bed rock of its widespread social capital, like two sides of a coin. The spirit of voluntarism, in the form of giving in cash/kind (PRIA) imbued an estimated 8.4 per cent of the rural and 19 per cent of the urban adult population to contribute Rs. 50.2 crores in 2000-01. Rural donors with an average contribution of Rs. 1384 outdid their urban counterparts at Rs. 625. What is significant is 91 per cent of the donors has an income below Rs. 1 lakh per year. About 80 per cent gave to varied organisations, 6.4 to religious causes, 5 to community associations, 2.7 for education and 4.5 per cent to government and related purposes. The spirit of voluntarism also motivated an estimated 8,47,350 persons. 1.7 per cent of the adult population to contribute 25.35 hours every month. About 94 per cent of the volunteers were males; 72 per cent in the 18-45 age group; 69 per cent were under-graduates and 95.1 per cent had incomes less than Rs.1 lakh. About 89 per cent were volunteers while 11 per cent (2.43 lakh) were paid employees. Around 95 per cent of rural Non-Profit Organisation (NPO) workers were men. The urban NPOs had the opposite, with 93 per cent women associated with them.

Maharashtra, with an estimated 96002 NPOs, previously known as NGOs, has 52 per cent of the nation's estimated 1.2 million NPOs, engaged in

welfare and development activities. NPOs accounted for 11.6 per cent of the nation's non-agricultural work force. About 51 per cent of Maharashtra's NPOs are rural based, the rest urban. Around 34 per cent are involved in religious activities, 25 in community service, 14 in sports and culture, 11 in education, 5 in health and 11 per cent in other activities. In 1999-2000, the NPO sector generated an estimated Rs. 502.6 crores in the state. The social capital of the NPO sector, though less visible, is widespread. With the strength of social and human capital at its command, the involvement of the NPO movement in both planning, implementation and monitoring of the government campaigns and programs for the welfare of the weaker sections is a challenge that Maharashtra can ignore at its own peril.

Table 8.8: Per Capita Expenditure (in Rs.) in Social Sector in Maharashtra

Item	Per Capita Expenditure in Rs. at 1993/94 Prices		
	1980/81	1990/91	1999/00
Per Capita Expenditure			
Education			
Revenue	429.86	397.51	548.93
Capital	1.86	1.35	1.94
Total	431.72	398.86	550.87
Health			
Revenue	178.71	156.86	102.20
Capital	10.12	5.93	2.90
Total	188.83	162.79	105.10
Other Social Sectors			
Revenue	115.43	155.47	192.35
Capital	10.30	7.59	8.83
Total	125.73	163.06	201.17
Total Expenditure on Social Sectors			
Revenue	724.00	709.85	843.48
Capital	22.28	14.87	13.66
Total	746.28	724.72	857.14

Note: Based on data collected from the Directorate of Economics & Statistics, GoM, Mumbai

Source: Mungekar, B., The Economy of Maharashtra: Changing Structure and Emerging Issues, Mumbai, 2003.

Scheduled Tribes

Introduction

With a population of 85.77 lakhs, the scheduled tribes account for 8.9 per cent of the population of Maharashtra (Census, 2001). A benchmark survey was conducted by the Tribal Research and Training Institute, (TRTI) Pune (1997) covering a population of 34.15 lakhs. The survey placed 91.11 per cent of the population below the poverty line (Rs. 11,000 per annum). Given the scenario of relative prosperity in the state, the issue of widespread tribal poverty cannot be dismissed.

While attempting to explain this situation, the first core issue to be examined is the intended and unintended effects of state policies and practices towards the tribal people. Though Maharashtra followed the general principles of equality of cultures and respect for diversity regarding tribal development, it operated on the premise that tribal cultures were backward and that tribals had to be modernised by bringing them into the mainstream. In chalking out a Vision for 2020, the role and relevance of the development thrust, the nature and impact of state intervention to develop tribals, and its impact on their access to resources for a life with dignity have to be kept in mind.

A. Welfare

1. Health

With the disintegration of the traditional system of health care and well being on the one hand and an inappropriate “modern” system superimposed on the other, the tribal health scenario is not encouraging. The IMR for tribal households is 73.6 per 1000, which is almost one and a half times higher than the state figure of 53.2. In the tribal areas of Yavatmal, the IMR is as high as 124. Child Mortality Rates are also much higher (e.g., 143 in Yavatmal, 144 in Gadchiroli and 137 in Chandrapur) than the state average of 58.1 per 1000.

Apart from the common water borne diseases (eg. gastrointestinal dysentery), parasitic infections and malaria, genetic disorders like G6 PD deficiency, thalassaemia and sickle cell anaemia are highly prevalent among the tribals. Maternal Mortality Rates are high. According to the RCH Project Survey (1998-99), 30 per cent of tribal women had at least one symptom of reproductive

tract or sexually transmitted infection. As per NFHS-2 data, 64.2 per cent of tribal women have anaemia, 35.4 per cent of children are severely underweight for their age and 19 per cent are severely stunted. Weaning practices, nutritional deficiencies and excessive alcohol consumption lead to further health complications.

State-run healthcare infrastructure in tribal areas is inadequate. There are on an average 3 PHCs per one lakh population, while the actual requirement as per norms is 5 PHCs. Sub-centres are meant to serve a population of 3,000 but in reality serve 7-8,000 persons. In Thane district, as against population norms of 64 PHCs, only 48 are in existence. Similarly, instead of 431 sub-centres only 324 are existing. Further, 194 of these sub-centres have not been constructed. Many sub-centres are non-functional, with no resident medical functionary. More than 36 per cent of the multi-purpose worker (MPW) posts are vacant in Thane district alone. Stock of drugs in all health centres is inadequate. Less than 50 per cent women receive complete antenatal care. Immunisation coverage is around 70 per cent.

The traditional healers and healing techniques based on a close understanding of nature and her healing powers have been de-legitimised by “modern medicine”. However, the “*Bhagat*” or “*Vaidi*”, who combines dispensing of herbal medicine along with the occult to effectively handle many ailments still continues to be the first choice for most tribal patients. Their involvement in the public health system would have given health praxis a strong foundation. Forest degradation and consequent unavailability of herbs is contributing to the ineffectiveness of the traditional tribal health practices. The situation is further confounded with the mushrooming of unqualified practitioners of allopathy, indulging in unethical medical practices.

The three districts with the highest levels of Grade III and IV malnutrition are tribal dominated (Gadchiroli (0.96), Nandurbar (0.84), Amravati (0.78). (*Office Note: Commissionerate of ICDS, 2002-03*). Within these districts there are certain pockets, where the malnourishment levels are alarming, e.g., Dharni in Amravati District (2.01), Taloda in Nandurbar District (1.76), Mokhada in Thane District (1.47).

2. Food Security

There has been a spate of malnutrition related deaths in Melghat, Nandurbar, Thane, Gadchiroli and other tribal districts. Four thousand Korku children died in Melghat between 1993 and 1996. In the 143 families surveyed in Nandurbar District, 158 children died, of which 42 per cent were in the age group of 1-6 years (IRTI, 2001). Table 8.9 shows malnutrition and mortality of tribal children.

Table 8.9: Indicators of Malnutrition in Maharashtra

Indicators	Entire state
Percentage Death 0 to 1 year	3.08
Percentage death 1 to 6 years	1.18
Infant Mortality Rate	32
Still Birth rate	19
Percentage of children in Grade III malnutrition	0.29
Percentage of children in Grade IV malnutrition	0.03

Source: Office of ICDS, Konkan Division, Konkan Bhavan

Box 8.1: Various Welfare Schemes

Report by Dr. N.C Saxena, former Planning Secretary, GoI, Commissioner appointed by the Supreme Court in WP 196/2001, submitted on 27.1.2003 has these salient features:

“In many schemes, such as TPDS (Targeted Public Distribution System), SGRY, NMDS and Annapurna, the performance of the state is poor and the quota given to the state by GoI is not fully utilised.....It is quite likely that these schemes are not functioning smoothly in village that has led to starvation or malnutrition deaths.”

TPDS (Targeted Public Distribution System): 63 lakh BPL card holders identified, but a large number of the poor (including) migrant population have been left out. About 30 per cent to 40 per cent of the state entitlement not being lifted from the FCI. Forest dwellers are not given ration cards.

Antyodaya Yojana: Identification (of Antyodaya beneficiaries) not completed in 50.5 per cent villages; in 27.5 per cent villages, grain not being distributed.

Annapurna Yojana: Only 8,000 beneficiaries identified in this category against a target of 60,000 set by GOI.

Sampoorna Gramin Rozgar Yojana: Distribution of foodgrains is much below the norm. Against the allocation of 3.74 lakh tonnes of foodgrains during the period 1.1.02 to 13.1.03, actual lifting was only 2.42 lakh tonnes.

Integrated Child Development Scheme: District data shows that only 0.74 per cent of tribal children suffered from grade III and IV malnutrition, while NFHS data for 1998-99 showed that 34.5 per cent of tribal children were malnourished. The State government must not allow such a degree of bogus reporting.

Mid-day Meal Scheme: Cooked meals are being given in less than one-third of the villages. Only 70 out of 1324 schools in Nandurbar and 15 out of 564 schools in Yavatmal were supplying cooked food.

The problem of food security is largely one of “distribution” and “the lack of purchasing power.” The Navsanjeevan Yojana, launched in 1995, attempted to redress the problem of food security by clubbing EGS and SGRY, revamping PDS, establishing grain banks, improving nutrition levels through anganwadis, kitchen gardens, and focussed health interventions like Rescue camps, pada swayamsevak scheme etc. However, the functioning of many of these schemes has come in for serious criticism. While the need for intervention persists, the GoI has stopped the extension of the Anganwadi scheme to 700 new centres across five tribal districts alone.

B. Resources and Livelihoods

1. Land

41.8 per cent of tribals in the state are landless, compared to 28 per cent of the general population. Landlessness is even higher among the Primitive Tribal Groups (PTG) – 83 per cent (Katkaris) and 63 per cent (Kolam). Besides, tribal landholdings are small; 70.1 per cent are below 2 hectares compared to 58.9 per cent of non-tribals. The problem of non-recorded tenancies is widespread. Large-scale alienation of tribal lands without effective redress has pushed the tribals into the forest where they began to cultivate degraded forestlands. The cultivation has been treated as encroachment and attempts have been made from time to time to evict the encroachers. Government passed orders to regularise encroachments on fallow lands, grazing lands and forestlands in 1978, Dali cultivations in 1971, and eksali lands in 1969. All these orders are yet to be implemented fully.

The Draft Tenth Five Year Plan observes that “Taking note of the most devastating impact of the growing incidence of tribal land alienation, high priority is accorded to prevent the same and restore the alienated lands to the tribals and if possible to put a total ban on the transfer of tribal land to non tribals or even to the government in accordance with the SC order in the Samatha Case.” However, Maharashtra’s efforts to restore alienated tribal lands have met with limited success. 45,634 cases of alienation of tribal land and restoration were filed in the state till 2001. In more than 56 per cent of the cases, the land has not been restored to the tribals (Study to Determine Extent of Tribal Land

Alienation in Maharashtra State, 1987-88, TRTI, Pune).

The Expert Committee on Tribal Land Alienation (GoI) in its report states that in the course of its visits in 2001–2002, it came across “sufficient evidence of official apathy and criminal neglect in respect to vital issues like the detection and filing of cases relating to the alienated tribal lands, their timely disposal, putting the tribal in possession of the alienated land and invoking the penal provisions of law against persons in illegal and forcible possession of the tribal lands”. Action against defaulting revenue officers is recommended. There is a need for a Special Land Restoration Campaign through the active involvement of the Gram Sabha.

2. Forests

As forest dwellers, with an intimate understanding of and a symbiotic relationship with the forests, tribals were perhaps best suited to fulfil the role of effective stewards of the forests, managing and using the forest wealth sustainably. But interests of industry and commerce have prevailed and tribals have been reduced to being labourers, who are employed to clear, fell, and re-plant the forest with commercial varieties. While 7.3 per cent (46,143 sq. kms.) of the total forest area of the country is in Maharashtra, only 3.2 per cent of the total number of Joint Forestry Management Committees is in the state. Further, in many JFM areas, the tribals feel that their actual involvement in decision-making and forest protection is much less than what the policy promises. There is a need to reorient JFM to ensure greater stakes for the community, involvement of gram sabha, inclusion of agro forestry within its framework and greater flexibility in rules.

The National Forest Policy 1988, recognising their symbiotic relationship with the forest, specified that the forest dwellers’ domestic requirements of fuel-wood, fodder, minor forest produce and construction timber should be the first charge on forest produce. The Draft Tenth Five-Year Plan (2002–2007) specifies that the protection of rights of the tribals in forests is key to the amelioration of their conditions. But today, viewing the tribals as an impediment to the scientific and economic exploitation of the forest resources, their rights and

privileges have been converted into concessions and rigid restrictions have been imposed on them. The settlement of rights especially in former princely states is an issue that needs to be addressed.

The locus of the resolution of the forest encroachment issue lies in the concept of reciprocal rights. The Right to Cultivate must be intimately linked with Responsibility to Care for the forest. Hence, a policy, whereby the cultivator will be required to plant fruit and medicinal plants and care for adjoining forest area, needs to be put in place.

Suitable amendments are necessary to reclassify bamboo and tendu as Minor Forest Produce, given the fact that they were removed from the classification in 1997 to bypass the requirements of the PESA Act, thereby denying tribals the access and benefits they would have otherwise received.

3. Displacement

Natural resources in tribal areas are being harnessed at the expense of the tribals. The colonial axiom that resources belonged exclusively to the state has continued. State policy has also encouraged migration of non-tribals into tribal areas. There is no credible data from both government and non-government sources giving the exact number of tribal households displaced due to construction of dams, power projects, highways, natural parks and sanctuaries, etc. Violation of traditional tribal rights over livelihood resources has subsidised the needs and luxuries of the urban dwellers. Rehabilitation of project displaced persons prior to displacement on land-for-land basis, has been possible only to a limited extent. Rehabilitation is further complicated because land records are yet to be updated, and land rights in forest areas are yet to be settled.

The Maharashtra Project Affected Persons Resettlement and Rehabilitation Act is being invoked mainly for irrigation projects, even though the Act suggests that the state government may apply the provisions of the Act for all projects that displace people. Neither are the guidelines for rehabilitation of the Ministry for Rural Development being followed.

4. Agriculture

Traditional tribal knowledge and agricultural practices lent themselves to organic agriculture,

using bio-mass as a primary resource, multiplicity of seed types and crop varieties (of the coarser variety like highland paddy, nachni, jowar and bajra) to suit specific agro-climatic conditions and pest attacks. The traditional agricultural techniques were appropriate both in terms of the knowledge and skill base of the people and in terms of their independence.

The main thrust of the state has been on green revolution technology. Poor extension work, inadequate training and capacity building of tribal farmers to absorb technology, poor follow-up and remedial action have also contributed to inappropriate use of this technology. Further since most tribal lands are of poor quality, non-irrigated (95.66 per cent (BMS, 1997)), and are located on slopes and hilltops, use of green revolution technology has been ineffective. This mainstream technology is routinely used, unmindful of the soil quality, drainage, climatic conditions, water availability and other social and economic infrastructure to absorb it.

About 94 per cent of the tribal population depends on agriculture either directly or as agricultural labourers accounting for 79 per cent of the total tribal income. 274 Adivasi Cooperative Societies, affiliated to the Adivasi Vikas Mahamandal have been formed. Foodgrains (and MFP) are purchased through the Adivasi Vikas Mahamandal in the TSP Areas.

Animal husbandry is critical given the fact that tribals in Maharashtra possess 27 per cent of the cattle stock, 19 per cent of buffalo stock, 11 per cent of sheep, 22 per cent of goat population and 25 per cent of poultry stock. There is a need to strengthen animal husbandry technology based on resources, skills and competence already available.

5. Employment and Migrant Labour

The ranks of tribal educated unemployed are swelling. The following information from the Employment Exchange in Thane district tells the story (as in table 8.10).

In other words, only 4 per cent of all those registered in the employment exchanges obtain government jobs. Shockingly, only 1 per cent of ITI students are able to obtain government jobs.

Expenditure on EGS has declined despite the availability of funds (Planning Department (EGS),

GoM, 2000–01). The Report of the 8th state EGS committee 2002-2003 has highlighted the delays in payment of wages and grain despite prevailing drought conditions. As a result, the committee observed that the rural/tribal population could not depend on the EGS. Since the average wage per day on EGS works in 2001–2002 was Rs. 45.28, while the average daily wage for unskilled labour in the market was between Rs. 70-80 for similar work, EGS is not acting as an effective mechanism to prevent seasonal out migration. This has largely been responsible for the poor standard of living in the regions so the problem of mal nutrition has aggravated. Various indicators of malnutrition and mortality are listed in the table 8.11. It is therefore imperative that the scheme is implemented as a supply driven programme rather than demand driven.

Table 8.10: Registration and Selection of Candidates in Employment Exchange in Thane district

Faculty	Total No. of registrations as on 30.11.03	Total No. of candidates selected	Candidates selected as percentage of registrations
Master's Degree	62	14	22%
Graduate	1510	50	33%
Medical	71	43	60%
Engg. Graduate	12	0	0%
Engg. Diploma	115	10	10%
D. Ed./B. Ed./B.Ped/M.Ped	856	662	78%
ITI	1392	14	1%
Total	30,017	1309	4%

Table 8.11: Indicators on Malnutrition and Mortality in Maharashtra

Indicators	Entire State	Entire Tribal Area	Sensitive Tribal Area (Navsajeevani Program Area)
Percentage death 0 to 1 year	3.08	4.07	4.07
Percentage death 1 to 6 years	1.18	2.08	2.53
Infant Mortality Rate	32	41	43
Still Birth rate	19	21	22
Percentage of children in Grade III malnutrition	0.29	0.60	0.81
Percentage of children in Grade IV malnutrition	0.03	0.09	0.13

Source: Office of ICDS, Konkan Division, Konkan Bhavan

There has been an unprecedented growth in adivasi participation in the ranks of disaggregated casual labour. Entire families with small children abandon their villages simply to survive. Many are engaged by sub-contractors who double as commission agents for the contractors of large corporations and government undertakings for works as diverse as laying telephone cables, pipelines, working on the railways, on highways, construction work, etc. Others migrate under conditions of seasonal bondage to salt pans, brick kilns, on fishing boats, and for sugarcane cutting to repay consumption loans taken during the cultivation season.

These workers are often transported to far-off places, and are made to work under poor working conditions, with no provision of shelter or potable drinking water, and are subjected to physical assault and sexual harassment. According to a recent survey conducted by the Labour Department in 51 salt pans in Raigad district, as per orders of the Mumbai High Court in WP 343/2002, 88 per cent of employers did not issue appointment letters, identity cards, attendance cards or supply safety gear. In a large number of cases, when the work is completed, the subcontractor simply disappears without paying the workers leaving them stranded. The law and the labour department have proved inadequate to protect the rights of adivasi migrant labour who are being reduced to a modern version of slave labour in the new economy subsidising the cost of globalisation and liberalisation.

C. Empowerment and Development

1. Education

The level of literacy among tribals was only 55.2 per cent as against the state average of 77.27 per cent (Census, 2001). In some districts, e.g., Dhule, Thane and Raigad, the tribal literacy is as low as 25 per cent, while in some ITDP areas of Gadchiroli, e.g., Bhamragad and Aheri, the rate was only 15 per cent and 20 per cent respectively.

From the 5th standard onwards there is a steady decrease in enrolment. (Dept. of Education: GoM, 2002–03) While there are 975 Ashram Shalas in the state (422 government and 553 private) and 294 hostels (government), the lack of sufficient Ashram Shalas leads to a significant drop in enrolment at the 8th standard level (approx. 22 per cent). Even

incentives (Rs. 500/- for Std. V to VII and Rs. 1,000/- for Std. VIII to X,) have failed to stem the alarming dropout rate of girl students.

The 74 per cent drop-out rate at Xth. Standard level is indicative of the quality of teaching in the Ashram Shalas. The level of teaching in the Zilla Parishad primary schools leaves much to be desired. The Mahatma Phule Sikshan Hami Yojana is no different, as the contracted teachers are unqualified and poorly paid. The generally poor conditions, poor quality meals, sexual abuse of girl students by teachers and employees contribute to the poor quality of education in Ashram Shalas.

The percentage of educated persons up to 12th Standard among males is 5.23, and among females it is only 2.40, while those holding professional degrees varies between 0.01 and 0.04 (TRTI Benchmark Survey, 1997). The Enrolment of STs in technical institutes is not commensurate with their population and their quota remains unfilled or filled by non-ST candidates. Further, there is a high dependence on Government institutions, implying that the privatisation of education with no quotas portends a disaster for ST students as the table 8.12 indicates.

Table 8.12: Admission of STs for the academic year 2004-2005 in degree programmes

Type of Institute	Percentage of admission			
	Govt.	Govt. aided	Unaided	Total
Engineering & Technology	4.25	4.46	0.32	0.74
Pharmacy	4.40	3.92	0.60	0.91
Hotel Management & Catering Technology	-	9.52	1.24	1.65
Architecture	-	4.96	0.69	1.15
Total	4.3	4.5	0.36	0.77

Source: Director of Technical Education, 2004-05

The content, form, methods and techniques of schooling are identical to municipal schools with nothing to make them meaningful, relevant or contextual to tribal life and their needs. Further, with the quality of education being inferior, tribal children face a double jeopardy - they are implicitly forced to compete but inherently forced out of competition. The policy of mainstreaming in education has resulted in alienation of the tribal

student from his/her culture, ethos and life. When the students return to their villages as school dropouts, they are neither equipped to work at home on their fields nor do they get any employment outside agriculture. The few, who have “succeeded”, have landed employment in government jobs, mostly at the lowest rung due to reservation policy.

2. Self Governance

The tribals were traditionally self-governing communities based on a consensus driven system of maintaining community harmony, a strength recognised by the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act of 1996 (PESA). The traditional councils were transparent, independent, self-defining and accessible bodies that managed the community’s resources, adjudicated on social issues and disputes through the involvement and participation of the “face to face” community. PESA “legitimises the involvement of tribals in their own empowerment process not only as active participants, but also as effective decision makers, implementers, monitors, supervisors and evaluators.”

However, this traditional bedrock of self-governance has been replaced by a formalised, compartmentalised, non-transparent, state-sponsored Panchayati Raj system, based on a fractured polity and the rule of the majority. Maharashtra has passed a law as mandated by PESA. But there is wide discrepancy between the central and the state legislations, resulting in the dilution of the essence of the Central Act. The rules are yet to be formulated.

Today, the Gram Sabha is rarely being involved in decision-making. Knowledge of and participation in Gram Sabhas is low among the tribals. As a recent study by the National Institute of Rural Development notes, “The Gram Sabha, instead of being a sovereign, self-directing, all pervasive village institution, has been reduced to becoming a caricature of itself...that the Gram Panchayat endures to fulfil legal obligations.”

The state government has published material and organised training programmes on Panchayati Raj; however, training programmes specifically on PESA are yet to be conducted.

3. Administration and Development Policy

While Reservation policy has offered opportunity where there was none, it has created pressures on the state government to grant scheduled tribe status to other sections, which do not strictly fall in the scheduled tribe category. The large number who have fraudulently obtained scheduled tribe certificates and jobs reserved for ST groups further complicate the problem. As a result of the inclusion of “bogus” tribals, the tribal population has jumped from 23.97 lakhs (1961) to 29.54 lakhs (1971) to 57.72 lakhs (1981) to 73.18 lakhs (1991) – a more than 300 per cent increase in just 3 decades! (Census, 1991; Report of Working Group on Development of STs during Seventh Five-Year Plan, GoI, 1984).

The Sukthankar Committee recommended that the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) be formulated by the Tribal Welfare Department upto a ceiling indicated by the Planning Department. The Committee also recommended that the budgetary allocation for tribal welfare is to correspond to population share and therefore 9 per cent is to be allocated for Tribal Welfare. However, while the percentage share allocated to TSP peaked in 1997–98 at 8.51 per cent, it has been steadily declining in both percentage and actual terms since 1999–00 and has touched a low of 5 per cent in 2003–04. It is also necessary to assess the developmental backlog in tribal areas and provide additional funds to remove the backlog in a phased manner.

The TSP Area, MADA Pockets, Mini MADA pockets and ATSP Areas collectively cover 8487 villages in 123 talukas of 21 Districts. These are covered by the 24 Integrated Tribal Development Project Areas, including 11 sensitive ITDP Areas, where special emphasis is laid. The Nav Sanjeevani Yojana was begun in 1995 for coordinated and effective implementation of all-important schemes. However, the programmes under TSP have neither been reducing poverty nor promoting growth as the schemes and plans are not related to the real needs of the tribals but instead are programmes meant for the general population, which are replicated under a separate Tribal Welfare budget head. Investment on infrastructure is as high as 78-80 per cent of TSP, to the detriment of development of scheduled tribes themselves.

4. Special needs of Primitive Tribal Groups

As per the Annual Tribal Sub Plan 2002-2003, there are 3.66 lakh persons from the Primitive Tribal Group comprising of the Katkaris (1.75 lakh); Kolams (1.18 lakh) and Madia Gond (0.67 lakh). However, the term PTG itself is a misnomer because it is a variant of the term 'backward' and does little to clarify the specificities of these communities and their special requirements. In fact, there is a need to change the nomenclature from PTG to Special Tribal Groups (STG). The conditions of the Kolams and Madia Gonds have deteriorated through the suppression of their traditional means of livelihood viz. shifting cultivation, while the Katkaris are predominantly landless. Uprooted from their traditional livelihoods, the PTGs are forced to migrate for survival; hence, their numbers and actual living conditions are not accurately reflected in census and other records. Most of them become easy target for harassment and exploitation, and face continuous threats of eviction from their homes and lands. They live with high food insecurity and face continuous health threats. Any development plan must be based on a realistic appreciation of their special needs and not simplistic extension of plans and programmes made for other groups or tribes. There is a need to include groups like the *Barda* and *Korku* in the PTG category.

5. Special needs of Nomadic Tribes

These tribes, for example, Dhangars, Pardhis, Lamans, Vasudevs, Gondhalis, Vanjaras have never been properly enumerated in the census. While the State government maintains a list of 42 Nomadic Tribes (NTs), they are not listed in any of the constitutional Schedules. With changing times—improvements in communications and markets, growth of the entertainment industry, emergence of new and sophisticated spiritual leaders, NTs have lost their occupations. Their education levels are very low. Being constantly on the move, both police and local people view them with suspicion and treat them as petty criminals. Many of them have begun to lead settled lives but face problems, as they have no land even to set up house. It is therefore necessary to provide them with assistance and basic infrastructure if they desire to lead a settled life.

6. Special needs of De-notified Tribes

Although they are supposed to be free from stigma after denotification, in practice the former criminal tribes (e.g. Berad, Paradhi, Ramoshi, Waghari etc.) are still harassed by the coercive arm of the State. There is a need to sensitise police, revenue and other officials so that both NT and DTs can lead their lives with dignity. Providing them protection by covering them under the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989, would be useful. While the Social Justice Department has been entrusted with the implementation of schemes for their welfare, development and education, approximately 89 per cent of adults are still illiterate and are engaged in low earning economic activities. The absence of census data and exclusion from constitutional schedules is a severe handicap to developmental efforts.

Vision for 2020

The World Human Development Report 2000, for the first time, introduced the enjoyment of human rights as an integral part and a necessary condition for human development. Three corollaries follow from this significant departure in defining human development viz., the recognition that there is an organic relationship between the enjoyment of human rights and development. Further, the link between economic or material prosperity and human development is neither automatic nor obvious. And thirdly, human development has more to do with the quality of life than mere acquisition of material goods.

These corollaries are of particular significance to tribal communities who have been demanding recognition and access to land and land based survival resources. Conversely they challenge the development process being laid out before them as an essential part of their 'main streaming' without recognition of their traditional culture and rights. There is a serious flaw in categorising these communities as 'backward and primitive', while equating advancement with mainstreaming and development with 'modernity'. It is true that tribal 'tradition' is unable to negotiate an external modernity and is forced to be subsumed under the

Table 8.13: Incidence of Poverty by Social Groups

Category	1983-1984		1987-1988		1993-1994	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Persons						
S.C.	59.22	64.96	53.60	62.50	51.64	52.56
S.T.	61.18	N.A.	54.59	61.60	50.58	61.06
N.B.	N.A.	N.A.	61.50	67.70	N.A.	35.50
All	45.23 (ALL)	40.57 (ALL)	39.90 (ALL) 35.72 (OI)	138.20 (ALL) 34.00 (OI)	37.97 (ALL) 33.00 (OI)	35.50 (ALL)
Households						
S.C.	51.95	58.54	45.00	53.30	N.A.	-
S.T.	55.38	N.A.	45.50	55.56	N.A.	-
N.B.	(N.A.)	N.A.	56.00	61.10	N.A.	-

Note: N.B.=Neo Buddhist; N.A.= Not Available

Source: Mungekar, B., The Economy of Maharashtra: Changing Structure and Emerging Issues, Mumbai, 2003

traditions of the mainstream and under the aegis of development. At the same time there is an inadvertent continuation of the colonial practices concerning their resources and an inadequacy of policy initiatives and practices that introduce external unsustainable inputs but fail to build on local strengths and resources. The strategies employed to date have at best created a minuscule elite in a morass of poverty. The incidence of poverty in the state under various sub sections is mentioned in table 8.13.

Therefore, the thrust of tribal development should be to strengthen tribal communities to address the mainstream and negotiate modernity. PESA Act of 1996 has put in place a legal and constitutional frame for tribal communities to reengage with their traditions, culture, common property resources, community management, development and exploitative processes through democratic processes which are founded on mechanisms of internal solidarity and equity, strengthen community and enhance participation. More specifically, strategies would include:

A. Eradication of poverty, ensuring food security and good health

Health

1. Formulation of a specific "Tribal Health Policy", that seeks to integrate traditional healing, alternative herbal medicine systems and allopathy.
2. Strengthening of the Public Health Delivery Systems by increasing PHCs and sub-centres, filling up vacancies, upgrading existing health

infrastructure, increased budgetary allocation for drugs.

3. Strengthening local involvement by replacing existing Pada Swayamsevak Scheme with a trained Hamlet level woman health worker and strengthening community monitoring of health services and functionaries.

Food Security

1. Formulation of a nutritional policy with holistic cultural specific approach.
2. Formulation of a Near-universal PDS Policy allowing for regional variations.
3. Promotion of bio-diverse cropping patterns.

B. Redistribution and Protection of resources while ensuring sustainable livelihoods

Land

1. Restoration of all alienated tribal lands.
2. Settlement of and implementation of all GRs regarding Land and Housing Rights in Forests.
3. Reduction of landlessness by granting of 2 hectares to all landless tribal families.

Forests

1. Reaffirmation of symbiosis of survival by involving tribals in forest stewardship through necessary reorientation of JFM.
2. Creation of legal framework for recognition of tribal customary rights and traditional privileges.
3. Creation of framework of reciprocal rights, linking regularisation of encroachments with forest protection.

Displacement

1. Ensuring no displacement without proper prior rehabilitation.
2. Ensuring completion of rehabilitation backlog prior to initiation of new projects.

Agriculture

1. Increasing productivity through popularisation of intensive biomass based sustainable agricultural practices.
2. Thrust on water harvesting and equity based water management systems.
3. Strengthening of animal husbandry technology based on available skills and technology.
4. Capacity building of tribal farmers to adopt technology.

Employment and Migrant Labour

1. Provision of security to Migrant Labour through ITDP sponsored regulatory structure that ensures compulsory registration, payment of wages, and portable social security benefits.
2. Utilisation of surplus EGS funds to build community resources for sustained income generation.

C. Strengthening tribal communities to address the mainstream and negotiate modernity.*Education*

1. Strengthening the system of Ashram Shalas and Reorientation of Ashram Shala syllabus to focus on Natural Resource Development, sustainable agriculture, animal husbandry, agro based industries, upgradation of traditional skills, introduction of modern technology and service sector skills.
2. Qualitative improvement of teaching methods with special focus on English and Mathematics.

Self-Governance

1. Ensuring that Gram Sabha becomes a sovereign, self-directing, all pervasive village institution.
2. Imparting skills of accounting, development management, natural resource management, monitoring, prioritisation of scarce resources, conflict resolution and negotiation to gram sabha members and PRI representatives.

Development Planning

1. Focus on micro-watershed centered development planning with gram sabha participation.
2. Compilation of correct census and other database specifically on Scheduled tribes to assist in development planning.
3. Strengthening the role of ITDP in development planning.

Administrative Reform

1. Continuation of Reservation policy and extension of the same to private sector with proviso that reservation in jobs be limited to first generation beneficiaries.
2. Reorganisation of Scheduled Areas to include all MADA, mini-MADA and ATSP Areas.
3. Reorganisation of all administrative boundaries in tribal areas (including Revenue, PWD, Soil Conservation, Police etc.) to correspond to TSP boundaries.
4. Creation of Autonomous Councils in accordance with Bhuria Committee recommendations.
5. Setting up mechanism to identify and revoke benefits allotted to bogus tribals.
6. Ensure allotment of 9 per cent of state budget for Tribal Development.

Primitive Tribal Groups

1. Inclusion of groups like the Barda, Bhil, Korku and others in PTG category.
2. Special programmes to assist these communities to render their traditional agricultural practices sustainable, upgrade skills and ensure food and health security.

Scheduled Castes

The Scheduled Castes (SCs) comprise an important section of the population of Maharashtra, not only demographically but also socially and politically. Facilitating development in general and of *dalits* in particular in caste-based society having grave economic inequities is a complex task. Deeper transformation in social and economic spheres can ensure participation of the SCs in the development process. Besides recognising the specificity of the barriers to their development, it is necessary to focus on empowering *dalits* economically and educationally. Development interventions in a caste-

based society need not only to question caste-based discrimination vehemently, but also need to raise issues of redistribution.

At present, 59 castes are included in the list of Scheduled Castes for Maharashtra. The Nav Baudhas were included in the list in the 1991. Four main castes namely Mahar, Mang, Bhambi, Bhangi formed the majority. The table 8.14 gives the population distribution of scheduled caste vis-à-vis the total population.

A. Welfare

1. Stigma and Human Rights

The SCs' struggles against untouchable status/stigma have brought about considerable measure of freedom and dignity at the subjective level. Occupational change and economic independence has been possible in regions of commercial expansion. As the products such as leather goods, hand-made cleaning tools (such as broom), etc., have become redundant with the introduction of plastic items, they have taken to other menial jobs. The *Chambbars* (prefer to be known as '*Charmakars*'), for instance, have shifted to agricultural labour in rural areas. The SCs, in general, have found acquisition of agricultural land difficult, but following the implementation of government orders regularising encroachments on village grazing and waste land, some have acquired land. This is reflected in the increase in ownership of land by SCs. Nevertheless, migration to towns has been most attractive option for securing newer choices and higher social status.

Table 8.14: Total Population and Scheduled Castes Population in Maharashtra from 1961 to 1991

Year	Total Population (in lakhs)	Scheduled Caste Population (in lakhs)	Percentage of Scheduled castes Total Population
1961	395.53	22.26	5.63
1971	504.12	30.25	6.00
1981	627.84	44.79	7.13
1991	789.37	87.57	11.09
2001	968.79	98.81	10.20

Source: Census: 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001

Irrespective of their economic standing, inhuman treatment in the form of untouchability meted out upon the SCs due to their low status in the caste hierarchy distinguishes them from other

marginalised sections and makes them vulnerable. Despite the existing laws, viz Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955 and Prevention of Atrocities Act 1989, the SCs continue to suffer from various forms of oppression ranging from the crudest forms of social ostracisation and denial of access practiced in the rural areas to the sophisticated forms of discrimination encountered even in the modern sectors in the urban areas. It is pertinent to remember that due to the economic dependency of the SCs on the perpetrators of atrocities, not every incident is registered. The number of registered cases of atrocities is on the rise, which is indicative of growing awareness and assertiveness on the part of the victims.

The *Mahars*, most assertive and politically organised community are often targets of discrimination. Even *Matangs* who have been targets of discrimination have organised themselves in recent times by iconising a revolutionary poet Shahir Annabhau Sathe. It is noteworthy that most of the atrocities occur around the issue of access to water and public hand pumps (Teltumbde et al; 2003), which could be easily curbed by stern state action.

Persistence of caste-based prejudices and denial of access to land, education and political power has contributed to their increasing intolerance and militancy to claim their rights. These claims are increasingly met with coercive authority of the state, which further contributes to their economic marginalisation.

2. Poverty, Food Security and Nutrition

Average annual household income of the rural poor in Maharashtra was pegged at Rs. 5754 in 1991. In comparison, the average SC family enjoyed an income of only Rs. 3557 (NCAER/HDI Survey, 1991). But 71.6 per cent of the SC households earned less than an average income for the SCs and their per capita annual expenditure was less than Rs. 3000. A staggering 91 per cent of the SC households in the state was below the state average for the rural poor.

Poverty for the SCs is not limited to their low incomes and calorie intakes, but it also impacts on their access to land, credit, health, longevity, education, safe drinking water, sanitation and other

infrastructural facilities. In essence, the SCs are not only poor but are also victims of structural deprivation and social oppression.

The state government has taken steps to extend various welfare measures for the economic upliftment of the SCs ranging from reservation in educational and employment opportunities to scholarships and different types of financial assistance.

Despite the efforts of the state government, less than 10 per cent of the rural SC poor were able to rise above poverty line in a decade. What is important to note is that the SC community's hope that migration to the urban areas was an important choice to improve their living conditions is not supported by data. While their move to the urban areas might have assisted them to break out from social oppression, it did not free them from grinding poverty. Hence, a larger percentage of SCs in the urban areas is below poverty line than their rural counterparts. In terms of households, the difference is significant at nearly 15 per cent. It is also important to note that in the 1987-88 to 1993-94 period, the rate of decline in poverty of the SCs was 3.65 per cent while it was 4.93 per cent for 'others' in the state. While the incidence of rural poverty among SCs is high compared to the general population, there is an in-built urban-bias in the existing Public Distribution System.

More than 50 per cent of the SCs are not covered by the PDS with respect to most of the commodities (Dev, 2003). Delivery system in rural areas is poor. Extent of bogus entries by non-SCs and leakages is greater in rural areas. The overall functioning of the PDS is unsatisfactory in terms of food security for the poor in general and for the SCs in particular.

3. Health

Nutrition and health status attained are better indicators of overall well being than merely income levels, although it cannot be denied that income levels do seriously impact on the nutrition and health status of the SCs. The limited evidence available for 1972 -1983 period indicates that more than 80 per cent of the SCs both in rural and urban areas suffered from a shortfall in calorie intake, which has prompted analysts to call for appropriate

(Suryanarayana, 2003) public action to ensure nutrition security.

Despite special efforts like the Child Survival and Safe Motherhood (NFHS, 1998-99), 81.4 per cent of SC children were suffering from anaemia; of them, 6.5 per cent suffered from severe anaemia. Neonatal mortality was at a high 40.2 per 1000 live births. Postnatal mortality was also high at 12.5 per 1000 live births, implying that one of twenty SC children born have a chance of survival. With a high 52.5 infant mortality, only one in twenty SC children will live upto the age of 5 years. With child mortality of 14.2, only one in sixty SC children will grow to adulthood. This is a matter of grave concern for policy makers. Table 8.15 gives a break up of various ailments prevalent in the social groups.

The SCs in the urban areas, by virtue of access to health facilities enjoy a greater measure of health security in comparison to their rural counterparts. In the rural areas, the SCs have a larger degree of suppressed morbidity, which is not reflected in the statistics due to lack or denial of access to public health facilities. This remains a matter of concern.

Table 8.15: Prevalence of Ailments and Hospitalisation by Social Group, Maharashtra (Percentage) 1995-96

Item	Social Group		
	ST*	SC*	Others
Rural			
Acute ailment	32	33	39
Chronic ailment	7	16	16
Any ailment	40	49	55
Hospitalisation	15	20	20
Urban			
Acute ailment	26	40	35
Chronic ailment	7	10	13
Any ailment	33	49	48
Hospitalisation	29	28	26

Note: ST=Scheduled Tribes; SC= Scheduled Castes

Source: Human Development Report Maharashtra, 2002

In the case of preventive care, the public health services continue to play a lead role (MHDR, 2002). Inadequate and declining investment on public health and the regional disparity have accentuated SCs' access to health services in Vidarbha, Marathwada and north Maharashtra.

According to Human Development Profile of SC/ST in selected states (2000), only 50 per cent of

the SC villages had a sub-centre and 50 per cent of the SC villages had a sub-centre/hospital beyond 5 kms in the state.

B. Resources and Livelihoods

Work participation and land ownership

The most worrying issue now, besides untouchability, however, is the economic future of the SCs. Their low levels of literacy, lack of marketable skills to compete in the labour market ensures that economic liberalisation does not offer early advantages to marginalised groups. The existing structures of inequity are left intact and have become compounded with the disadvantages of marketisation.

Generally, given their highly deprived economic situation, the SCs are economically more active than the general population, Urbanisation, severe poverty, limited access to basic civic amenities, difficult living conditions, iniquitous structure of employment market, segmentation of labour market force them to work largely as casual workers in agriculture in rural areas and in the informal unorganised sectors in urban areas, as they have very little choice in terms of the sector of the economy where they could find work. The unorganised sector is plagued by job insecurity, low wages, and exploitative relations. Hence, notwithstanding their efforts, the SCs are forced into difficult and demeaning employments.

More SC men in the rural areas and women in the urban areas work as casual labour. Lack of access to land, unavailability of jobs in non-farm sectors and low literacy levels prevent SC's access to better paid secure jobs outside agriculture in rural areas.

The implementation of the orders of Government of Maharashtra in 1990 regularising encroachment by members of the SC on revenue waste and village grazing lands made a fair number of SCs as land owners. The ownership, however, is ephemeral as the land holdings are marginal to sub-marginal, soil quality is low and hence, productive use of these lands requires considerable investments. The new land owning SCs are not in a position to raise the financial resources personally, and hence the land remains effectively unproductive. There is apprehension that, the market forces, under liberalised economic

conditions, may make land alienation inevitable, as there are no laws to check alienation of lands held by the SC farmers. Table 8.16 indicates the distribution of land holding among the SCs and others.

Rapid mechanisation in agriculture is displacing agricultural labour. Introduction of harvester combines and cane-cutting machines threaten to make more than half a million workers redundant creating massive unemployment. Labour displacing appliances in homes and offices have already reduced the need for domestic and conservancy labour in the informal sector. Restrictions on access to use of common lands, forest and water bodies have also had a deleterious effect on rural SC households to satisfy their need for fuel, food and fodder. The combined effect of the above change in their conditions has had an impact on the employment status of the SC women. Previously a considerable number of SC women, in urban areas, worked in 'other services', and in 'manufacturing other than household industry'. Household and construction industry together absorbed about 11 per cent. We now note an alarming change wherein of the SC women working in 'services', 50 per cent of them are employed as scavengers. Over 25 per cent of the SC women in the urban areas work as marginal workers.

Table 8.16: Ownership of Agricultural Land Among SCs
(Figures in per cent)

Category (In Acres)	Households Belonging to			
	Scheduled Caste		Others	
	1982	1992	1982	1992
Landless	26.39	24.31	19.15	17.15
Sub-marginal (<0.49)	32.04	32.13	16.50	22.18
Marginal (up to 2.5)	17.00	17.49	15.20	18.06
Small (2.5-5.0)	11.38	12.9	16.06	14.82
Medium (5.0-10.0)	9.15	6.61	15.66	17.56
Large (above 10.0)	4.06	6.48	17.23	13.30

Source: Mungekar, B., The Economy of Maharashtra: Changing Structure and Emerging Issues, Mumbai, 2003

A considerable number of SC women and men are also employed in the 'service' of operating dry latrines. Despite concerted efforts, only 14.3 per cent in rural areas and 85.7 per cent in urban areas have latrine facility (Economic Survey of Maharashtra, 2002-03). Hence, dry latrines requiring manual disposal continues to be prevalent.

Introduction of pay-and-use public toilets are also operated by SCs only.

SCs continue to perform the 'service' of garbage collection and disposal in rural and urban areas. Solid waste management has not reduced the dependence on the SCs. In Mumbai city alone, more than one lakh contract labour who are SC men are engaged in solid waste collection and dumping. Privatisation of garbage collection has reduced regular permanent employment in the municipalities and has created a new category of exploited, low-paid, no-social security, contract labour, the majority of whom happen to be SCs. A gender division of labour among the SCs shows that waste disposal and menial task in hospitals is performed by SC women while garbage collection is performed by SC men. In the absence of data, it is difficult to estimate the magnitude of this phenomenon.

Notwithstanding the economic and technological advances that Maharashtra boasts of in its quest for modernity, traditional 'unclean' occupations such as disposal of the dead, handling bodies in the public morgues besides removal of dead animals, skinning them, and the like are performed by SC men as one of their traditional roles and are being carried over into the 21st century. Their wages are still determined by traditions that regarded these 'services' to be gratis or near gratis. This group, which performs critical function in society, is marginalised both economically and socially precisely because their caste predetermines their occupational status. Other than paying lip service to discrimination and indignity that is attached to such calling, no sustainable alternate livelihood opportunities are available to the '*safai kamgar*', which could make a difference to their lives and quest for dignity.

'*Dalit*' Muslims have been excluded from all protection and assistance, which technically should have accrued to them under the Constitution. Though some are listed as OBCs and STs, they are victims of faith-based discrimination. Without any protective mechanism, assured access to employment or social security, under-privileged among the minorities, especially '*Dalit*' Muslim women continue to be victims thrice over - of poverty, gender-based oppression and faith-based discrimination. Their oppressive economic and

social condition has pushed these workers into informal sector and the margins of Maharashtra society today is not much different from if not worse than *dalits* and *adivasis*.

New employment opportunities in the IT sector remain out of reach of the '*Dalit*' poor. Their economic deprivation is a major deterrent to their social emancipation that this sector offers. Entry for the SC youth into this sector is highly unlikely without express supportive policies.

In a highly segmented urban labour market, 10.39 per cent unemployment among SCs has been reported. High levels of unemployment among the educated SC youth is indicated by the fact that thousands apply and appear for interview for the few posts of conservancy workers in railways, municipalities and other public sector organisations. Rural SC women reported highest levels of unemployment. Though a fourth of the SC non-workers actively sought work, social/economic disability, difficult living conditions were barriers to seek work. (NSSO 55th Round, 1999).

C. Empowerment and Development

1. Education

The SCs have been particularly keen to acquire education seeing its emancipatory possibilities. Table 8.17 supports this argument. Education has also been seen as an important step for social advancement. The improvement in literacy rate between 1961 and 1991 among SCs has been impressive. The growth in literacy among the SCs, though relatively high internally, and when compared to the national SC literacy level at 37.41 per cent, even at 56.5 per cent in the state in 1991, is lower than that of the general population. The low literacy levels in Marathwada have affected the overall picture.

Three patterns in achievements in literacy are observable in Maharashtra (Velaskar, 2000). Table 8.18 shows the literacy rate among SCs in the state. In the first category are the districts (Mumbai, Pune, and Kolhapur), where the SCs have made impressive gains but their literacy levels are still lower than the general population of the region. The second category consists of districts (Jalna, Osmanabad Latur, and Parbhani) where literacy

Table 8.17: Admission of SCs in Technical Institutes in Degree Programmes for academic year 2004-2005

Technical Institutes	Government		Government-aided		Unaided		All	
	SC	Total	SC	Total	SC	Total	SC	Total
Engineering & Technology	230 (13.57%)	1695 (100%)	212 (12.60%)	1683 (100%)	2208 (6.23%)	35440 (100%)	2650 (6.82%)	38818 (100%)
Pharmacy	14 (15.38%)	91 (100%)	15 (9.8%)	153 (100%)	202 (6.1%)	3308 (100%)	231 (6.5%)	3552 (100%)
Hotel Management & Catering Technology	-	-	5 (23.80%)	21 (100%)	60 (14.85%)	404 (100%)	65 (15.29%)	425 (100%)
Architecture	-	-	19 (15.70%)	121 (100%)	38 (3.75%)	1013 (100%)	57 (42.54%)	1134 (100%)

Source: Director of Technical Education, 2004-05

levels of both SCs and general population are lower than the state average. In the third category are the districts (Thane, Wardha and Nagpur), where literacy levels of both general and SCs population are above the state average.

Table 8.18: Literacy Rate Among SCs in Maharashtra, 1991

Year	Total			Rural			Urban		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
2001	71.9	83.3	60.0	67.9	80.6	54.7	78.3	87.6	68.4
1991	56.46	70.45	41.59	50.27	65.86	35.99	67.07	78.17	54.94
1981	35.55	48.85	21.53	30.21	44.00	16.01	47.13	59.02	33.96
1971	25.27	37.02	12.85	21.02	32.35	9.26	38.25	50.78	24.25
1961	15.78	25.46	5.70	12.15	20.62	3.51	28.77	42.17	13.93

Source: Census, 1991, 2001

The rural-urban disparity in literacy was 6.5 per cent points higher for SCs when compared to the general population; Urban-based SCs have done better than their rural counterparts.

There are inter-caste variations as well among SCs themselves. Middle castes among the SCs like *chambhar*, *dbor*, *bhang*, *khatik* and *lingader* enjoy high literacy levels. The same is the case for minor SCs, *mahayavanshi* and *meghal*. The Chambars, for example, enjoy literacy rate of 57.33 per cent, the *Mahars* are a little lower at 54.5 per cent. The overall SC literacy rate is, however, pulled down by the literacy rate among *Mangs*, which stands at a low 32.99 per cent.

Higher enrolment of SC boys and girls in primary school is offset by a high drop-out rate of

SC girls. In most cases, the reasons for dropping out were economic compulsions. SC boys and girls continue to drop-out interminantly with the inevitable fallout of only 12-14 SC children finally reaching the matriculate level. The dependence of the rural SC child on the government school for her/his social advancement and emancipation is a critical issue that should be kept in mind at all time. The table 8.19 below gives the percentage of students completing matric education.

Table 8. 19: Students Aged 17 and Above in Rural Areas Completing Matric Level Education (IX & X) 1994

(Per cent)

SCs			STs			All		
Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
4.2	7.0	1.4	2.3	3.4	1.2	6.7	9.8	3.5

Source: NCAER/HDI Survey, 1994

Percentage of SC enrolment to total enrolment in BE/BSc (Tech.)/B. Arch during 1995-97, for instance, increased from 4.2 per cent in 1995-96 to 4.46 per cent in 1996-97 (Chatterjee S.K., 2000). The enrolment of the SC and *Nav Baudha* students in law colleges was 11.02 per cent in 1994-95 (Education at a Glance, 1994-95, Directorate of Education, Maharashtra State, Pune). Not only are the gender disparities in the higher education of SCs an issue that requires serious consideration, the fact that even the 15 per cent reservation is not fully utilised remains worrisome. Inequality cannot be removed by enrolment alone (Wankhede, 2001) as continuing in institutions of higher education is impossible without scholarship. Though the number

of SC beneficiaries of post-matric scholarship increased from 2,19,672 (boys 1,54,935 and girls 64,737) in 1995–96 to 2,66,084 (boys 1,88,528 and girls 77,556) in 1996–97 (Wankhede, 1999), it is difficult to accurately confirm what proportion of SC students who enrolled for higher education got post-matric scholarships. The table 8.20 indicates their enrolment in ITIs.

Table 8.20: Enrolment in ITIs in Maharashtra

Year	SC	Total
2000	7677 (17.62%)	43580 (100%)
2001	7455 (17.14%)	43490 (100%)
2002	7801 (18.42%)	42340 (100%)
2003	11631 (18.99%)	61233 (100%)
2004	12357 (18.75%)	65887 (100%)

Source: Directorate of Vocational Training, GoM

In rapidly changing employment market, SC youth out of school, have to make quick decisions about educational courses to be pursued and move towards appropriate career options. But, state institutions and courses for which post-matric scholarships are available remain outdated. Private institutions where market oriented courses are available are not included in the list. Autonomous private colleges where such courses are offered are prohibitively expensive. SC youth are in a double bind; institutions that provide scholarship don't have market-oriented courses and vice versa. This complex situation effectively denies access to higher/technical/professional education to SC youth.

Those who manage to get enrolled discover that support services to help them cope up with the demands of higher education are not available. As a result SC youth dropout or stagnate in professional courses. The lack of mechanisms that allow smooth transition from schools to appropriate career options had the inevitable result wherein SC students enrol late, enrol into less prestigious institutions, perform poorly, and take longer to complete (Chatterjee, S.K., 2000).

The combination of poverty, lack of easy access to schooling, unattractiveness of education system, relative neglect of elementary/primary education, practice of untouchability, discrimination in schools, inequality of opportunities among the SCs

themselves and patriarchy together result in educational backwardness of the SC (Aikara, 1996; Wankhede, 2001).

2. Self-governance

Currently, there is reservation for the SCs in the local self-government institutions. But in the discussion of issues related to participation of SCs, STs, women and minorities in local self government, the crying need for their capacity building that would ensure effective participation have been sidelined. For instance, if a SC person gets elected as a Sarpanch, issues about his/her livelihood are not discussed; so much so, even though he/she is the Sarpanch, his/her family experiences extreme economic hardships. As a result, the SC Sarpanch is forced to make decisions whether to pursue the political options or to give in to economic compulsions. The inevitable result is the ineffectiveness of the Sarpanch and the imminent threat of being over thrown. The recent government directions that three-fourths majority is needed to pass a no confidence motion against a dalit Sarpanch is a good move. Despite having numerical strength at the Gram Sabha levels, the SCs generally have not been able to convert their numerical strength into concrete political/economic benefits (Jare and Kumar, 2001). As a result, the implementation of the 73rd and the 74th Amendments have not benefited the SCs much in getting rid of the shackles of social stigma or facilitating their participation in local self-governance and empowering them.

3. Administration and Development policy

There is no doubt that the reservation policy and development programmes specially meant for them have catalysed the little change in the quality of living of the SCs in the state and provided them some opportunity to enter the modern sectors of the economy in the 1980s.

Just when the SCs were beginning to carve out some space of their own in society, a crisis driven programme of economic reforms was introduced. Macro policies introduced in the 1990s, especially new policies relating to population, health, women, education, industry, agriculture, information, communications, science and technology in particular, had differential impact because of

prevailing gender and caste relations in the state. The relative distance between the SCs and others has remained the same or has worsened; out of the total population of 138 million *dalits*, the number of reservations in services that the SCs have effectively access did not exceed 0.8 per cent (Teltumbde, 2000).

While the secular nature of the economic reforms challenged the traditional hierarchies to an extent, the 'creamy layer' among the SCs benefited to some extent leaving large sections of the SCs and the *dalit* Muslims out of the reform process in the state. The 'development' has enabled those with political, economic and social power to reinforce their position at the expense of those without such power.

Recommendations Specific to Scheduled Castes

1. Effectively implement existing laws pertaining to protection and promotion of civil rights, human rights and atrocities against the SCs by

- a) Undertaking a massive public awareness campaign with the help of NGOs.
- b) Enlisting the NGOs in the community for the effective implementation of the existing laws.
- c) Sensitising the government functionaries to the constitutional provisions to uphold human right and dignity.

2. Humanise livelihoods, provide health protection, promote dignity of labour and eliminate all forms of forced undignified occupations by

- a) Intensifying campaigns to eradicate scavenging and to promote dignity of labour.
- b) Making water and sanitation available in rural and urban slum areas.
- c) Providing health safety net for all the 'safai kamgar' regardless of whether they are working independently or with a contractor or with private company.

3. Facilitate equal access to technical, professional and higher education in private aided and non-aided colleges by

- a) Extending reservation policy to the private aided/unaided colleges with the help of suitable amendments to the existing statutory provisions

so that access to technical/professional/higher education/vocational education can be assured.

- b) Including *dalit* Muslims in the list of SCs so that access to education and vocational education can be assured.
- c) Updating the list of educational institutions in which SC students are enrolled to pursue technical, professional and higher education so that they can avail post-matric scholarships.
- d) Extending adequate post-matric scholarships covering all expenses connected with the educational programme.

4. Ensure livelihood security by

- a) Enacting laws to prevent alienation of land held by the SCs.
- b) Extending reservation to the private sector employment.

5. Create more political space for SCs by

- a) Recognising the SC habitat (*dalit bastis*) as the smallest unit for self-governance in the respective legislations pertaining to PRI (currently they are clubbed with other revenue villages/habitats).

Women

In the light of women's multiple roles – their productive and reproductive labour and contribution towards the overall maintenance of the social fabric, changes in the economic policies have impacted women at two levels. Firstly, at the immediate experiential level, they continue to face lowered wages, less food and greater workload. Secondly, at a more structural or strategic level, informalisation of labour (Krishnaraj, 2003) has resulted in constricting the economic space available to the working class as a whole to negotiate from a position of strength. Further, while all sections of women were affected by the new development policies, the impact on *dalit*, *adivasi* and underprivileged minority women was greater.

Marginalised women such as the women working in the unorganised sector, women who are main bread winners of their families, widowed, divorced, deserted women, women in institutions, victims of violence, mentally ill/challenged women,

women ostracised as being 'possessed', sex workers, eunuchs and others are leading a precarious life. Female foeticide, female IMR, falling child sex ratio, unequal wages, violence perpetrated against them tell how precarious women's lives are in the state.

A. Welfare

1. Human rights

Falling sharply from 934 in 1991 to 922 in 2001, sex ratio is as low as 908 in rural areas in the state. The declining sex ratio is the combined effect of increased migration of men, early marriage, teenage and repeated pregnancies. The Child Sex Ratio was 917 in 1991 indicating worsening of the chances of survival for females in the state. Konkan, tribal eastern Maharashtra, most of the districts in Vidarbha have child sex ratio lower than the state average.

Compared to Kerala, as seen in table 8.21, Maharashtra has a long way to go as far as female IMR is concerned.

Table 8.21: IMR in the Three Indian States of High, Medium and Low Literacy Rates

State	1991			2001			2002		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Kerala	45	41	42	14	9	11	9	12	10
Maharashtra	72	76	74	43	48	45	48	42	45
Bihar	62	89	75	57	68	62	56	66	61

Source: Datar, C., 2003, Status of women in Maharashtra and update, Srs Bulletin, Vol. 38, No.1, April 2004 (Supplement) & Vol.36, No.2, October 2002

MHDR (2002) notes the regional variations in the female IMR, indicating the fact that, though the aggregate picture appears to be satisfactory, there are pockets where women's chances of survival is at risk.

Violence against women takes many forms ranging from the medical termination of the female foetus, a denial of nutrition, health and education to the girl child, domestic violence, sexual abuse, sexual harassment at work, and forcible sale of commercial sex workers. Witch hunting continues to be prevalent in the tribal areas (e.g. Nandurbar and Thane districts). Establishment of Women's Vigilance Committees, establishment of Women's Police Stations, Special Cells in Police Stations and other steps taken by the state government to prevent and protect women from violence has had some effect. At least some crimes against women

get reported and there is some decline (MHDR, 2002) in the reported incidence. However, the fact is, most of the crimes go unreported due to various reasons. Alarming, 'accidents' is the second highest killer among women. With a view to curb domestic violence, a Domestic Violence Bill was drafted in 2002, but many have expressed reservations about the implementability of the proposed law.

Following the Supreme Court judgement in 1997, it has now become mandatory to have rules regarding action to be taken against perpetrators of sexual harassment at work. These steps may be of some assistance to the women employed in the organised sector. However, majority of the women employed in the unorganised sector suffer these indignities in silence.

Sexual harassment and abuse are the outcomes of poverty and harsh living conditions. Many women are pushed into prostitution as a result of poverty. There are no official estimates of the number of women trafficked for sex work or of the number of women engaged in sex work. Of those working as sex workers, around 30 per cent are minor girls (MHDR, 2002). Of these, 90 per cent were kidnapped and raped. Even though there is a law against trafficking in women, there has rarely been any conviction.

Growing urbanisation across the state and swelling urban population create pressures on housing, living and working conditions. Seasonal migrant women workers living in spontaneously sprung up shanties are the most vulnerable. Hardly 45.9 per cent of the households in the state have toilet or latrine facilities.

Victims of domestic violence, deserted women, divorced women, women who lose their mental balance temporarily due to various pressures, single women who work out of necessity, young women who have to acquire qualifications to be able to be economically independent, women with disability, elderly women without economic support require short/long term safe affordable shelter. Currently, such facilities are few and far between.

2. Poverty and food security

Marginalised sections of women have to stretch themselves due to casualisation and informalisation of labour. They work for longer hours for less pay.

More members from a household have to offer themselves in the labour market to be able to maintain their family's consumption levels. And, due to the insecurity of casual labour their incomes fluctuate. Women labourers in the unorganised sector often are not recorded or are merged in the *Jodi or Gang*. They do not get paid separately, and when they do, they have no control over their incomes.

In poverty conditions, food security becomes a special need for women who have less mobility. Women access such programmes as Food for Work Programme, the EGS and the SGRY. Due to lack of coordination between implementing departments and lengthy procedures, convergence of benefits under these programmes does not take place at the cutting edge (Dev, 2003).

Given the hegemonic patriarchal family dynamics, the brunt of poverty and difficult living conditions is borne by women in the households. They are malnourished and suffer ill health, which, in turn leads to low productivity and earnings, trapping women in the vicious cycle of poverty.

3. Health

Health status of women is determined by the interplay of a complex set of social, economic, cultural and political factors. This is indicated in table 8.22. For instance, the main focus of women's health has always been their reproductive role. And as such, they are viewed as agents of human reproduction and as mothers rather than as individuals requiring health care. Health policy, within it, the population policy and family planning programmes have reduced women's bodies to targets for birth control at the cost of their health and well being.

MHDR (2002) notes that, because female-based contraceptives are inserted without paying attention to reproductive tract infections, there are side effects. As it is difficult to negotiate safe sex, many women avoid contraceptives. 92 per cent of women studied suffered from gynaecological diseases. Given the unequal status of women in society, women are more prone to sexually transmitted diseases and HIV infection. With the rural-urban gap in availability of public health infrastructure, limited access to affordable private health care

services adds to their woes. With rising costs of private health care services, often their own health needs are neglected (MHDR, 2002) in the household.

Table 8.22: Health Status of Women: At a Glance

Pointers	Maharashtra Percentage/figure	India Percentage/figure
Life expectancy at birth	66.2 years (female), 63.8 (male)	61.8 (female), 60.4 (male)
Sex ratio	922 women for 1000 men	933 for 1000 men
Child sex ratio (0-6 years)	917 girls for 1000 boys	927 girls for 1000 boys
Anaemia	49 per cent women, 76 per cent children (6-36 months)	51.8 per cent women, 74.3 per cent children
Female sterilisation	52 per cent (of currently married women)	34 per cent (of currently married women)
Male sterilisation	5 per cent (of currently married men)	2 per cent (of currently married men)
Age at marriage	30 per cent between 15 and 19 years	34 per cent between 15-19 years
Institutional deliveries	57.1 per cent	33.6 per cent
Total unmet need for contraception	13 per cent	16 per cent
Current users of contraception	60.4 per cent	48.2 per cent
Using spacing methods (pill, condom, IUD)	7.7 per cent	6.8 per cent

Source: Datar, C., 2003, Status of women in Maharashtra an update

Apart from gender bias in child nutrition, nutritional status of children is an outcome of maternal health. Nutrition status of 42 per cent of women in the state is poor (NFHS, 2002).

Occupational health, mental health, unique health needs of disabled women, nutritional status, sexual abuse and violence and their impact on health of women remain unaddressed (Datar, 2003).

B. Resources and Livelihoods

1. Access to Resources

Women's participation was built into initiatives such as Joint Forest Management, Farmer Managed Irrigation Systems, Water Policy 2002, Water Resources Planning and Regulatory Authority 2002,

Watershed Development and such other programmes only under the insistence of external funding agencies. However, water harvested through watershed development programmes and water users' associations promoted by government do not award water rights to women; and equitable sharing of the costs of water shortages has also been overlooked.

EGS implemented in drought-prone areas has not resulted in creation and regeneration of adequate water, forest and other common natural resources crucial to the survival of the weaker sections in rural areas, particularly the women, the SCs and the STs.

Women access land in three ways namely, through inheritance, purchase and as beneficiaries of land reforms. The state's women's policies have consistently promised amendment of appropriate personal and succession laws to confer land rights to women. So far, Hindu laws have been amended to confer equal share in the husband's/father's immovable assets. In the absence of data, it is not possible to say how much the marginalised women have benefited from these reforms. The state has implemented the rules pertaining to land transactions where women are now able to be joint owners of immovable property. Further, culturally, tenancy is not conferred to women cultivators.

2. Work Participation

The proportion of women's participation in work force, comparatively, has always been high in the state. Table 8.23 indicates the same. However,

entitlement to employment largely depends on endowments - of education, skills, assets such as land ownership and mobility, which resulted in a growing disparity among women themselves.

In rural areas, agriculture is the largest employer of women in the state (MHDR, 2002). While 48 per cent are agricultural labourers, 41 per cent are cultivators (MHDR, 2002: 117). The proportion of women cultivators is increasing; the Konkan region has a predominance of women cultivators.

Table 8.23: Labour Force Participation by Education

Labour Force by	Male		Female	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Illiterate	9.28	28.54	31.10	62.61
Primary	12.31	16.22	11.55	12.25
Middle	23.67	21.44	15.07	11.33
Graduate & above	15.13	4.37	18.08	0.63

Source: NSS 55th Round, Computation by Prof. Sarathi Acharya, TISS

Horticulture, dairy, and poultry received a boost in the 1970s and the 1980s and has become the main source of income for some households. It is important to note that, though these are considered household activities, most of the work falls on women while the earnings are appropriated by men.

The 1990s saw an increase in the proportion of rural women engaged in subsidiary and marginal work as casual labourers. The MHDR (2002) observes that there is greater shift towards casual work of women in the state compared to the national trend.

The urban labour market for women is characterised by those with low skills, in dire need of employment on one end, and those with high

Box 8. 2: Urban Environment and Solid Waste Management with a Human face

Municipal authorities have the daunting task of disposal of solid waste generated in cities. Till recently, two ways of solid waste disposal — dumping and incinerating have been practiced. Rag pickers have shown us a more sustainable third way — recycling. Recycling was considered to be infeasible in our country because of people's attitude, habits, difficulty in enforcing and enormity of the task.

'Parisar Vikas' — the project was launched by an NGO — Stree Mukti Sanghatna in 1998 on an experimental basis. The unique feature was that livelihood of poor, low skilled, low educated dalit women engaged in rag picking would be protected while solid waste would be disposed off in environment-friendly and sustainable way. As it was a small-scale initiative, the Mumbai Municipal Corporation authorities responded positively on an experimental basis.

Today, more than 2000 women are engaged in collecting garbage from houses, separating dry and wet garbage, selling the dry garbage (plastic, glass, metal), converting wet garbage into vermi-fertiliser and earn a living. Besides, they extend advisory services and training.

Considering the fact that employment opportunities in conservancy work are fully reserved for the SCs, the state government and the Municipal Corporation have facilitating role to play. A policy to segregate dry and wet garbage and rules for implementing it on a wide scale in all the big cities in the state have to be adopted. Besides saving the cost of transporting garbage to the dumping grounds, it will become possible to prevent pollution and generate resources by recycling the solid waste. Development of entrepreneurship in this area with a variety of policy support seems to be the direction for the future.

levels of professional/technical education and skills at the other end. In the job market of production related activities, where some expansion took place, women lost out since their jobs were at the lower end in manufacturing and industrial activities (Datar, 2003). As per the NSS 55th round, urban women are concentrated in manufacture, trade, hotel/hospitality, public administration, education, and commercial services. Of these, less than 1 per cent is in occupations with better pay scales requiring high levels of skill and education.

Weaker sections are self-employed as rag pickers, hawkers, and domestic workers fisher women, washerwomen, childcare workers, personal care providers on a regular basis in urban areas. In garment manufacturing, construction industry, embroidery work, beedi rolling also a large number of women find employment. Though brick making is skilled, women are subsumed in the unskilled category. Women are completely left out of the purview of development planning because their work is invisible. Despite having Equal Remuneration Act, women continue to be paid less than men for same work.

Sub-contracting relationships allow expansion and contraction of production and shift costs of fluctuation to the vulnerable home-based units in which women and children are employed in large numbers. Employers have been taking advantage of legal loopholes and exploit women workers in rural and urban areas. No scientific or equitable procedure exists to determine payment in piece-rate system, widely prevalent in the home-based work. With the increasing informalisation and casualisation, the need to plug the gaps and to implement the labour laws diligently has assumed urgency. There is a scope for involving women's organisations, trade unions to inspect and file complaints against errant employers. There is a need to extend ESIS and other social security to these workers.

In urban areas, the proportion of women in professional occupations increased from 2.93 per cent in 1987-88 to 10.3 per cent 1999-2000. Of the women in the organised sector, more than 16 per cent are in government employment. Of these, 49 per cent are in local government and the rest in state, central and quasi-government organisations. Generally, when women take to work either as

contract workers or in government/organised sectors, they are found to crowd gender-stereotyped jobs implying little scope for upward mobility. Outsourcing, call centres require women to work at nights, which is proving to be detrimental to women's health and safety.

Efficiency of development functionaries working in rural areas such as the primary school teachers, ANMs and Anganwadi workers, majority of whom are women, would be much more if the child-care, transport, convenient timings of water/electricity/bank, market, housing, school and physical safety support systems were available (Murdia, 1984).

With meagre support such as access to credit, extension services, input subsidies, marketing, and health coverage for the self-employed, the prospects of self-employment for women are not bright.

C. Empowerment and development

1. Education

Maharashtra ranks 8th among India's states in terms of male literacy rate (86.27 per cent), but 11th in terms of female literacy rate (67.51 per cent). Despite enabling policies and programmes, about 13 million women remain illiterate. There has been a consistent effort by the state government to improve literacy among women in general, especially among women from marginalised sections. The literacy levels are shown in table 8.24 (MHDR, 2002).

Table 8.24: Male and Female Literacy Levels 1951-2001

Year	Persons (%)	Males (%)	Females (%)
1951	27.91	40.49	15.56
1961	35.08	49.26	19.80
1971	45.77	49.40	31.00
1981	57.24	70.06	43.50
1991	64.87	76.56	52.32
2001	77.27	86.27	67.51

Source: Census, 2001

Despite these efforts, in twenty-two districts of Maharashtra, women's literacy rates were below the state average in 1991. Osmanabad, Beed, Nanded, Parbhani, Hingoli, Gadchiroli, Jalna and Nandurbar have the lowest rates at 45.55 per cent (MHDR, 2002). In some districts, feudal history, social hierarchies, caste polarisation and isolation of tribal people have acted as inhibiting factors to literacy (Maharashtra State Commission for Women, 1997:43).

At the state level, the gap between SC men and women stands at 28.6 percentage points. The gap between total female literacy and SC female literacy is smaller (10.7 percentage points) indicating the general backwardness of all women but also the greater backwardness of SC women (Velaskar, 2000). Literacy among SC women is very low in Jalna, Parbhani and Nanded (around 20 per cent) and higher in Wardha, Nagpur and Konkan (above 50 per cent). Literacy among ST women was 1.75 per cent in 1961 and in 1991, it had increased to 24.03 per cent. The percentage of girls enrolled in primary, secondary and higher secondary schools in the state is given in table 8.25.

Table 8.25: Girls' Enrolment

School	2000-01	2001-02
Primary	49	48
Secondary	45	45
Higher secondary	42	41

Source: Datar, C., 2003, Status of women in Maharashtra an update

A variety of indicators show that dropout rates at the upper primary grades are high for girls despite concerted government efforts. Girls fare better than boys – in 2000, 47.45 per cent of the boys who appeared passed; while the percentage of girls passed was 53.34 per cent. Though girls fare better, only 64.5 per cent girls appeared for Std X exam for every 100 boys in 1999. Girls' participation in higher education has considerably increased. Yet, more

girls (77.33 per cent) go for Under Graduate level vocational education (Education At a Glance, 1994-95, Directorate of Education, Maharashtra State, Pune). Table 8.26 gives an idea of the enrolment of girls at degree level.

At degree level, girls go for gender-stereotypical degree programmes. The enrolment is very low for ST/SC women due to language, cost barriers, and lack of hostel facilities.

Table 8.26: Girls Enrolment at the Degree Level

Institutions	Girls Enrolled in 1994-95	Girls Enrolled in 1998-99
Law	24.03	20.42
Agriculture	06.79	02.41
Veterinary Science	11.99	04.33
Engineering/Technical	-	07.47
Business Management	10.66	-
Library Science	44.44	-
Fisheries	08.06	-
Medicine	45.97	40.59
Social Work	33.22	-
Arts	37.69	-
Science	38.15	-
Commerce	40.81	-
Graduate	-	39.97
Post Graduate	-	
Research	-	
Diploma/Certificate	-	
Others	-	23.88

Source: Education At a Glance, 1994-95, Directorate of Education, Maharashtra State, Pune, Statistical Abstract India, 2000, General Statistical Organisation, New Delhi

Table 8.27: Schemes for Girls' Education in Maharashtra

Scheme	Entitlement
Ahalyabai Holkar Scheme (started in 1996-97)	Girls in rural areas studying in Std. V to X are provided free travel in Maharashtra State Road Transport Corporation buses. Achievement: In 2001-02, about 4.5 lakh girls availed of this scheme.
Primary school students of educationally backward areas in 103 blocks	Free text books, uniforms and writing material
1 st and 2 nd Std. students of 103 backward groups of Zilla Parishad primary schools	Free uniforms and stationery
Government B.Ed colleges in 9 districts having low literacy level namely Aurangabad, Jalna, Beed, Latur, Nanded, Osmanabad, Parbhani, Dhule and Gadchiroli	50 % reservation for girls and education to be provided free of cost
Education in technical institutions	25% reservation for girls
Education in all universities and colleges	30% reservation for girls
Daughters of devdasis	Free education
Adarsha Stree Shikshan Puraskar	Encourage women teachers so as to check the dropout rates among girls
Attendance allowance (implemented from 1992)	For girls (Std I-IV) BPL families in tribal sub plan areas and SCs, one rupee per day. During 2001-02 4.75 lakh girl students were benefited. (HDR Maharashtra: 2002:84)
Military school for girls in Pune	
Free education for girls upto 12 th Std (and for boys upto the 10 th Std)	

Source: Datar, C., 2003, Status of women in Maharashtra an update

There are many special schemes to promote education of girl students as mentioned in the Table 8.27.

However, despite these schemes, many benefits do not reach the girl students as is apparent from the Table 8.28.

Table 8.28: Percentage of Girl Students Availing Benefit of Stipend Offered to Check the Rate of Dropouts

Sr. No.	District	Per cent of beneficiaries to total SC/ST
1.	Thane	31.77
2.	Dhule	18.40
3.	Ahemadnagar	57.67
4.	Pune	26.20
5.	Satara	31.59
6.	Kolhapur	21.34
7.	Nanded	5.48
8.	Buldhana	83.97
9.	Bhandara	26.43
10.	Gadchiroli	86.90
11.	Chandrapur	46.45
12.	Jalana	41.00
13.	Beed	86.80
14.	Parbhani	21.72

Source: Programme Budget, Overview on Education, 1998

The government is running 42 hostels for SC girls to facilitate access to and retention in school in the state. There are 110 hostels for tribal girls. The Priyadarshini Vasathigrih Yojana was introduced in 1996-97 for girl students from rural areas for their college education. Currently, 13 hostels with a capacity of 650 girl college students are functioning. Though girls enrol in polytechnics, info-tech educational institutes and engineering colleges, most being run by private managements, do not have hostel facilities. Income criterion for seeking accommodation in the working women's hostels is too restrictive that most women who work while learning and those who are in difficult family situation find it impossible to avail this facility.

2. Empowerment through SHGs

In urban areas, where literacy is high, supportive policies regarding finance/credit, marketing etc. reportedly (MAVIM, 2002) have contributed to women's economic empowerment to some extent. Current strategy of entrepreneurship development adopted by Maharashtra Centre for Entrepreneurship Development consists mainly of sponsored programmes. With better coordination

between the District Industrial Centres, Mahila Arthik Vikas Mahamandal, banks, backward classes finance and development corporations, state marketing federations, community polytechnics and state cooperative union, there is scope for increasing women's entrepreneurship. Special courses on micro-credit, micro-finance and micro-enterprise offered as part of existing polytechnic, vocational courses and B.Com degree programmes would facilitate bringing out women's potential.

Mahila Arthik Vikas Mahamandal Ltd. (MAVIM) established in 1975 is currently working in 12 districts. A total of 10,438 SHGs organised by the MAVIM and the NGOs with a membership of 1,35,212 had distributed Rs. 28.88 crores and saved Rs. 14.72 crores till September 2003. The issue of how savings and credit can be linked to human development is critical. The decision to link sex ratio, teenage pregnancies, early marriage, low literacy levels with the activities of the SHGs on an experimental basis is a forward-looking step. The Annapurna Mahila Mandal an NGO has successfully linked training for self-employment, credit linked with savings, old-age security for women.

Such efforts to link SHGs to human development goals of the state would be a worthwhile avenue for the government to explore.

3. Local Self Governance

All round empowerment of women is a prerequisite for women's participation in politics (Table 8.29). Women have had a presence in local self-government bodies in the state ever since the state formation. Initially, women with some exposure to public spaces, and belonging to political families contested elections as independent candidates. Now, their participation through political party membership is not insignificant. However, their integration into formal political structure has been slow. Surprisingly, their presence as voters and candidates has been declining in the state (Maharashtra State Commission for Women, 1997). Apart from lack of financial independence, low participation is attributed to fear of criminalisation of politics. Currently, the gender gap is 5.32 per cent though it is higher in some of the parliamentary constituencies.

Women's representation in the local self-governing bodies is lower than 33 per cent reserved by law.

However, it is a matter of concern that only 1.5 per cent of Zilla Parishads, 9.6 per cent of Panchayat Samitis and 29.4 per cent of Gram Panchayats were chaired by women. The three MCs of Thane, Nashik and Nagpur have had women Mayors.

Table 8.29: Women in Politics- At a Glance

Elected Women Representatives	In per cent
Assembly	
1957	12.87
1972	10.33
1990	2.08
1995	3.81
Municipal Corporations (2000)	
All Municipal Corporations	33.1
Greater Mumbai and Pune (highest)	34.0
Sangli (lowest)	30.0
Municipal Councils	
All Municipal Councils	30.0
Nanded (Lowest)	5.2
Sholapur (Highest)	36.8
Zilla Parishad	33.0
Panchayat Samiti	32.7
Gram Panchayat	29.2

Source: Datar, C., 2003, Status of women in Maharashtra an update

While substantial gains have been made by women in gaining representation in governance, both in rural and urban areas, Singh et. al (1992) found that dominant castes and classes ensure that their women gain entry into the local self-governments so that they can retain control. Effectiveness of women-elected-representatives has not been adequately researched. Women's representation in statutory committees, though ensured, remains mere tokenism.

Most women, especially first timers, and the SC/ST women are not aware of the list of development schemes being implemented at their level nor are they clear about their role and functions. By the time they familiarise themselves, their term comes to an end. Much capacity building work remains to be done.

There are three or four prominent NGOs engaged in the task of building capacities of elected women representatives, especially the Gram

Panchayat and Panchayat Samiti members. Yet, capacity building of women-elected-representatives by both government and NGOs remains episodic.

Women's participation in cooperatives has also increased over the years. The number of exclusively SC/ST women's cooperatives has also gone up. Except for the recent strategy to organise self-help groups of poor women, there are almost no specific schemes of financial assistance or other incentives to motivate women to form cooperatives. There is no reservation of seats for women in the managing committees, and boards of directors of cooperatives. Cooperatives in traditional occupations like dairy, animal husbandry, and fish vending could be explored. Mid-day Meal Scheme, supply of cooked food to ICDS also can be entrusted to women's cooperatives. In the formation and registration of urban cooperative banks, there is scope to provide 25 per cent of membership to women.

Women Belonging to Under-privileged Among Minorities

The under-privileged Muslim women are the most educationally backward. Literacy levels are particularly low, although only a smattering of empirical evidence is available. Some of them are included in the OBC and ST lists in the state. These women get left out from benefits due to covert faith-based discrimination. Having neither assured employment nor any kind of social security, the under-privileged among the minority women are simultaneously victims of poor material circumstances, patriarchy and faith-based discrimination. Those who work for wages and those who are own account workers in the informal sector find themselves pushed to the margins of Maharashtrian society today. With strident liberalism, patriarchy and communalism, they share the same fate as their counterparts – dalits and adivasis.

Persons with Disability

The right of a disabled beggar is a direct link between the chosen model of development and disability. With sex determination tests and legalised abortion, the differently abled do not even have right to life. Nearly half of all disabilities are preventable. People develop preventable disabilities because of i) malnutrition, ii) low birth weight, iii)

low resistance to diseases, iv) lack of awareness about immunisation, v) lack of access to immunisation and primitive health services vi) hazardous working condition vii) misuse of sex determination tests and abortion, viii) poverty, ix) negligence, x) patriarchy and caste hierarchies. The road to new paradigm of development centring around life, dignity and livelihood security of the disabled includes opportunities and support for education, employment and access to public places.

Disabled, falling into five main categories namely locomotor disabled, vision impaired, hearing impaired, speech impaired and mentally challenged, are generally treated as a liability on society. Their ability and contribution is overlooked so much so that they were not enumerated in the census separately till a decade ago. It has been estimated that 1.1 per cent of the rural and 1.3 per cent of the urban population are reported having one or more disability, according to a special survey conducted in the state. In 2001, there were 2,61,276 persons with disability in the state. The estimated proportion of persons with different types of disability is given in table 8.30.

Table 8.30: Per cent of Disabled Persons in Total Population

Type of Disability	Rural	Urban
Mental	0.15	0.17
Vision Impaired	0.16	0.14
Hearing Impaired	0.15	0.15
Speech Impaired	0.12	0.11
Locomotor	0.67	0.80
Any	1.13	1.25

Source: Economic of Maharashtra, 2002-2003

A. Welfare

1. Human Rights

The persons with disability are not aware that their human rights are protected. Due to lack of awareness and lengthy procedure involved, the persons with disability have not sought redressal for the violation of their human rights in the state. For instance, they are not aware that simple right of mobility and access to public facilities is a human right.

Recently, Datrange (2003) conducted an audit on access of public places for the persons with disability in the state. A sample of public places like

the state transport bus-stands, collectors/tehsildar's office, police stations, and public hospitals in both rural and urban areas were covered in the audit. The state came out poorly. The government offices were not disabled-friendly. Following the findings of this audit, the state government has issued instructions to the Public Works Department to adopt suitable rules and standards to be observed while constructing the public facilities. But, there is no visible improvement in the situation. Without mobility and access, persons with disability are treated as liability rather than as a productive human resource.

2. Poverty

There is no data on the persons with disability who are below poverty line. The state government implements a pension scheme for destituted persons with disability. This social security is not only inadequate and intermittent, but it is availed by few, mainly due to procedural difficulty.

There is an entire official machinery and a set of laws for the welfare and development of the persons with disability in the state - the Commissionerate for the Welfare of the Persons with Disability, Finance and Development Corporation for the Persons with Disability, the Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act 1995, and the National Trust For Welfare of Persons with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disabilities. The state government's welfare schemes for the development of the disabled fall into three categories: i) education, ii) financial assistance, and iii) personalised welfare services. In addition, there is provision for grants-in-aid for NGOs.

The Disabled Person's Finance and Development Corporation has been extending financial assistance to the disabled in the state. In addition, if the persons with disability happened to be SCs, STs, women or persons belonging to minority communities, respective finance and development corporations extend financial assistance. There is no data about the number of persons with disability who have benefited from the financial assistance extended by these corporations. In 1999-2000, the Disabled Person's Finance and

Development Corporation extended financial assistance to about 351 persons in the entire state.

In addition, there are several concessions/relaxations in age, physical fitness, qualifications, travel by railways/roadways/air, income tax, custom duty, and in the cooperative sector.

There are three or four different grants-in-aid schemes to encourage voluntary organisations to establish special schools, sheltered training-cum-employment, counselling services, residential multipurpose institutions, vocational training, publication of reading material in Braille, production of mobility aids, etc.

Currently, more than 588 voluntary organisations are working for the rehabilitation of various categories of the disabled in the state. A good proportion of them work with children with disability, and are concentrated in urban areas. Comparatively, there are fewer NGOs working with adults, women and in rural areas. There are three or four national level voluntary organisations head quartered in the state.

The state government plans to encourage formation of cooperatives of disabled by providing financial assistance in the form of share-capital, grant, subsidy, loan, land, equipment in the coming years.

An enormous mass of uncared aged, orphaned, homeless, substance abusers, destitutes, beggars, delinquents, sex workers, families of under trials, who are persons with disability subsist at the fringes of Maharashtra society. With a little support, they will not only be able to lead a life in dignity but also will be able to contribute to human development. As they are voiceless and without political clout that would require the state to respond to their needs, their needs are largely not met. NGOs are currently meeting some of their needs, but the NGO response is patchy and scattered.

Reaching out to these groups would require joint intervention by government and NGOs, for, the chances are that exclusively state-centered action would in time render the interventions soulless and mechanical. And, NGOs may not be able to scale up.

On the whole, the approach has been in charity and welfare mode. This has to change. Ultimate aim

is to ensure that interventions lead to their dignity and self-reliance. It is necessary to understand the distinct nature of their problems, vulnerabilities, needs and potential. A careful and innovative convergence of a range of existing poverty alleviation and welfare schemes, of the government, identification of do-able local community-based solutions with local resources and local leadership is required.

B. Employment and Livelihood

1. Work participation

Despite 3 per cent reservation in educational institutions and government employment, due to social, economic, psychological, institutional and physical barriers, majority of the disabled are unable to avail this provision even through a Special Employment Exchange is in place. Table 8.31 indicates the percentage of disabled by age group.

Table 8.31: Per cent of Disabled by Age Group

Age Group (Years)	Rural	Urban
0-4	2.8	3.1
5-14	16.4	15.6
15-59	57.4	58.9
60 and above	23.4	22.4

Source: Economic of Maharashtra, 2002-2003

Of the total disabled persons in the rural areas in the working age group (see table 8.32), about 41 per cent were employed. 57.4 per cent in rural and 58.9 per cent of the disabled are in the productive age group of 15–59 years. This percentage was 35.04 per cent in urban areas.

Large proportion of the disabled persons (about 60 per cent) in both rural and urban areas was neither willing nor available for work due to difficulty in access – physical, psychological, institutional and attitudinal barriers.

Table 8.32: Per cent of Disabled Persons in Total Population

Type of Disability	Rural	Urban
Employed	40.6	35.4
Unemployed	1.1	2.9
Neither willing nor available for work	58.3	61.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Economic of Maharashtra, 2002-2003

C. Empowerment and Development

1. Education

There is no data about literacy levels among persons with disability. There is no data on the number private schools and the number of children with disability completing matriculation in the state.

With a view to provide access to school education, the state government extended pre-matric scholarships to 36900 disabled school-going children and to 15955 students enrolled in vocational training institutions in 1999-2000.

Every year, more than 2000 persons are trained as special teachers. Table 8.33 provides data on educational institutions for the disabled. They are employed in special schools. The NGOs like the National Association of the Blind produce textbooks, reading material in Braille with the financial support of the government of Maharashtra and other national/inter-national non-government funding agencies.

Table 8.33: Residential Institutions for the Adult Differently Aabled (18-40 years)

	Government	Aided
Blind	4	49
Hearing Impaired	3	152
Physically Handicapped	8	111
Mentally Challenged	-	125
Mixed	7	-
Total	22	437

Source: Performance Budget: Social Welfare, Culture and Sports Department, GoM, 2000-2001

Currently, residential facilities are available catering to nearly 20,707 persons. Often special schools cater to children upto eighth standard. Due to lack of special schools offering education beyond class eight, older children continue to attend the same school till they become old enough to attend vocational training institutions. Many a time, though teachers are trained in special education, due to lack of human, community and material support, the quality of education leaves much to be desired. There are several similar problems regarding access to education. As such, the full potential of persons with disability is not developed.

2. Local Self-Governance

There is much talk of community-based rehabilitation of the persons with disability. Except

for few NGOs in urban areas, this approach has not gained support. *Dilasa*, an NGO based in Kolhapur has been one of the few successful innovative initiatives. No effort has been made in the state to give effect to the National Trust Act in which the role of PRIs is significant. Despite progressive changes at the national levels, currently, the situation at the local levels continues to deny persons with disability their citizenship rights. The rules giving effect to the 73rd and 74th Amendments have not created public space for the participation of the persons with disability in local governance, especially pertaining to disabled-friendly infrastructure.

Recommendations specific to the persons with disability

1. Eradicate beggary, destitution, homelessness and all forms of forced undignified occupations by

- a. recognising them as citizen and by giving them voter ID cards.
- b. meeting access and mobility needs vis-à-vis public places, public transport.
- c. ensuring that children with disability will be able to complete primary education.
- d. eliminating gender disparity in access to education.

2. Effectively implement existing laws pertaining to violation of civil rights, human rights and atrocities by

- a. undertaking a massive public awareness campaign with the help of NGOs.
- b. enlisting NGOs in the community to facilitate community based rehabilitation and micro-planning.
- c. sensitising government functionaries to the special needs of the persons with disability

3. Facilitate equal access to technical, professional and high education where job opportunities are opening up by

- a. extending adequate post-matric scholarships covering all expenses connected with the educational programme.
- b. making suitable amendments to the existing reservation policy so that persons with disability can avail educational opportunities in private unaided schools/colleges.
- c. extending special support services required by students with disability to complete respective educational/ vocational training programmes.

4. *Extend livelihood security to persons with disability by*

- a. expanding opportunities for vocational training
- b. integrating entrepreneurship development with school education and vocational training.
- c. achieving better coordination between NGOs, vocational training institutions, entrepreneurship development programmes, employers, financial institutions, and marketing agencies.
- d. making credit available on soft terms.
- e. giving industrial galas on concessional basis.

5. *Empower persons with disabilities to participate in the local self-governance by*

- a. building capacities of the persons with disabilities to participate in the local self-government bodies.
- b. making rules to facilitate their participation.
- c. setting up a redressal mechanism to settle issues concerning their participation in the local self-governance.

Recommendations

The Way Ahead

In 2000 for the first time, the World Human Development Report affirmed that the enjoyment of human rights is an integral part and a necessary condition for human development. Three corollaries flow from this significant understanding of human development. First, there is an organic relationship between the enjoyment of human rights and development. Next, development is co-terminus with enjoyment of human rights and vice versa and the link between economic or material prosperity and human development is neither automatic nor obvious. Third, human development goes beyond mere acquisition of material goods to include enhancement of the quality of life. The development of the weaker sections, co-terminus with their emancipation, will pose major challenges in Maharashtra in the coming decades.

The approach for human resource development must be a judicious blend of several perspectives. First among them stresses that security of life and livelihood is a condition precedent to development though development can on rare occasions result in security. The second perspective focuses on building on consolidating present strengths while

stressing on special needs. In the rural areas, the approach will be strengthening capacities for sustainable increase in productivity of land and land-based resources to ensure food security and livelihood stability. The third concentrates on engaging in consolidation of literacy, functional and entrepreneurial skills to address present and future challenges effectively. The fourth concerns creating convergence in present policies and schemes to create productive skills and assets for cultivators, enable value addition in agriculture even while conserving the natural environment. The fifth relates to strengthening human and social capital to generate initiatives in governance that dovetail development with local conditions and emancipate people. The sixth stresses on building technical capacities that equip people to create employment opportunities in their local environment. The seventh calls for diversifying skills enhancement to ensure wider employment choices and opportunities in the region. The eighth calls for integrating the process in the present school curricula. The challenge of the exercise is to infuse choices and opportunities for development with dignity. With these perspectives in mind we recommend the following goals and tasks:

Goal 1 - Security of Food and Nutrition for All by 2010

Formulation of a Statutorily Enforceable Time Bound Universal Food and Nutrition Security Action Plan, which ensures

- a) Committed resource allocation for near universal PDS.
- b) Revised BPL categories to include Single Mother, Deserted and Widowed Women headed families, homeless, pavement dwellers.
- c) Revised APL categories to allow the urban & rural poor, marginally above the Poverty Line, access to PDS at BPL rates.
- d) Modified PDS providing for access to migrant workers at place of employment, regional specificities in cereal choice, seasonal demand variations.
- e) Targeted Antyodaya for all BPL families for next decade.
- f) Establish convergence of ICDS, Mid-day Meal, Annapoorna Schemes into Integrated Nutrition Program (Tamil Nadu pattern).

Goal 2 – Security of Resources and Sustainable Livelihoods

Targeted Comprehensive Resources and Sustainable Livelihoods Action Plan with Specified Actionable Programmes to ensure

- a) One guaranteed dignified year long livelihood for every family.
- b) Vigorous promotion of micro-enterprises through comprehensive package of training in entrepreneurial skills, financial and technical inputs and development support.
- c) Effective and time-bound implementation of land grant and restoration laws and schemes to provide inalienable land rights to STs and SCs.
- d) Policy support and lab to land linkage for watershed development, sustainable agriculture, balanced cropping and appropriate agro-technology.
- e) Re-oriented EGS, using generated employment to create productive assets, while strengthening capacities to induct new agro-technology and alternative livelihoods for the rural poor.
- f) Easily Accessible Cluster Resource Centers focused on promoting appropriate technology, building necessary capacities, providing seed capital and resources and development assistance.
- g) Strengthening tribal-forest interface by recognising tribal customary rights in forests and integrating livelihoods with forest conservation following guidelines of MoEF (GoI) of 20/12/1990.
- h) Sheltered workshops for disabled in conjunction with industry and NGOs.
- i) Introduction of 'livelihood stream' in school education with supervised apprenticeships with local professionals. Special incentives for girl students to develop entrepreneurial and micro-enterprise competencies.
- b) Comprehensive and universal health insurance with state and employer contribution for all BPL and Antodaya families, migrant workers and workers in unorganised and informal sectors.
- c) Strengthening and extension of primary health care with assured medical personnel and budget allocations for medicines and supplies.
- d) Formulating a special 'tribal health policy' which integrates traditional healers and local knowledge and health traditions with current practices.
- e) Strengthening of women volunteers as year round trained pada swayamsevakas to reach health to women and children, manage deliveries, combined with women-friendly policies and programs for family planning.
- f) Provision of safe drinking water and sanitation for all ST/SC villages or hamlets.
- g) Comprehensive social security with state contribution for health insurance and old age pension for SCs, STs, aged, disabled, widow and deserted women headed families.
- h) Social Audit of public and private health clinics by Ward/Gram Sabhas.

Goal 4 – Education for All - A Literate State by 2010

Education Assurance and Action Program Linked to Livelihoods with the following components

- a) Preferential admission for children of BPL, Antodaya and migrant labour families and disabled children in Ashram/ residential schools.
- b) Inclusion of additional education stream from the VIII Standard, which incorporates necessary local livelihood, vocational and entrepreneurial skills in collaboration with relevant institutions. Provision of vocational guidance from VII Standard and preferential admissions to institutes of higher learning for livelihood skill competencies and frontier and sunrise technologies.
- c) Open schools cum community polytechnics in co-operation with industries are combining academic, technical and entrepreneurial education at cluster level, with forward linkages.

Goal 3 – Security of Health and Healing

Comprehensive Health Assurance Program, which includes

- a) Time bound implementation of recommendations of MHDR (2002) with special focus on SCs, STs, women and children.

- d) Provision for multiple entry points in academic/technical institutions with bridge examinations.
- e) Progressive incentive scholarships for PTGs/STs/SCs with selection examinations at IV, VII and X standards and special incentives for girl children.
- f) Qualitative improvement of teaching methods in healthy and safe school environment by

linking teacher incentives in state-run schools with 100 per cent of success at IV, VII and X standards.

- g) Extension of reservation to private aided/non-aided technical and professional training institutes, particularly for first generation learners.
- h) Special coaching for CET/MCET/CAT and entrance tests for IITs, IIMs, IAS, medical, and management institutes.

Goal 5 – Empowerment and Governance

Strengthening community participation and leadership in local self governance

- a) Extension of the provisions of Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996 to SC hamlets.
- b) Capacity building for effective participation in Gram/Ward Sabhas, awareness training on rights, policies, programs, procedures, benefits and skill development for management of natural resource and development.
- c) Capacity building of PR functionaries and GS members to implement PESA effectively.
- d) Empowerment of women's panchayats through statutory entitlements.
- e) Transfer financial and functional powers concerning development programs to Panchayat Samitis and gram panchayats
- f) Gender audit of all development/welfare programs.

Goal 6 – Administrative Reforms

Ensuring Implementation through Supportive Rules, Regulations and Procedures

- a) Adoption of cluster approach with Beneficiary/ Gram Sabha Monitoring of functionaries and

implementation of all Welfare Schemes, assisted by a District Committee constituted of representatives of beneficiaries, NGOs and Implementing bodies.

- b) Continuation of Reservation Policy and extension of the reservation policy to the Private Sector. Preference should be given to first generation beneficiaries. Extend reservation provisions also to underprivileged among minorities.
- c) Continuation of Subsidies (with provision for inflation) for the Social Sectors.
- d) Extension of the provisions of PCR to other marginalised groups like NTs, DNTs, underprivileged among minorities.
- e) Administrative re-organisation of tribal areas into compact areas with Autonomous District Councils combined with re-organisation of Schedule V areas to merge MADA, Mini-Mada and OTSP areas.
- f) Reorganisation of administrative boundaries of all departments with a view to provide a unified structure.
- g) Statutory empowerment of POs (ITDP) to implement decisions of GS, administer all Schemes and take legal steps to enforce protection of SCs/STs/NTs/ DNTs.
- h) Empower State Womens' Commission, State Human Rights Commission, State Minorities Commission, and State Commission for Persons with Disability with statutory powers to protect rights and facilitate development.
- i) Maintain budgetary provisions for tribal development as per Sukthankar Committee recommendations with district-wise allocations in proportion to population. Introduce similar budgetary provision system for SC/Minorities development.
- j) Establishment of Fast Track Courts to expedite disposal of land alienation, restoration, atrocities cases.
- k) Participatory planning and implementation with beneficiaries and representative NGOs for welfare schemes.

