Can a pointed pickaxe pierce a pearl?[i]

Challenges Experienced by the Government in Reaching Welfare to Scattered and Disenfranchised Groups: A synthesis

SJ Phansalkar, RV Jayapadma and Kailas Kokare[1]

I.   Introduction

A sustained duality seems to uniquely characterise Indian polity and governance relating to the voiceless and the weak people in the country. On the one hand, the policies and programs announced and adopted by the Governments on a whole range of subjects are grandiloquent and magnanimous; reflecting possibly the most progressive and humane approaches to problems of the people. On the other hand, the implementation of these policies leaves a lot to be desired, and the deficit in implementation continues unabetted for decades. Possibly the pithiest and hence archetypal instance of this is regarding the conservancy workers. Ever since the Mahatma took their causes, the State (Central, State and Municipal Governments) has been pronouncing that the practice of manual scavenging is banned and that it is committed to the humane working conditions and well being of the conservancy workers. Yet repeatedly and almost with unfailing regularity, one hears instance of gross injustice including the death of conservancy workers in city drains even till this day. The conservancy workers are just one among the category of scattered and disenfranchised or voiceless groups (S&DG) of people; whose welfare needs no Government administration has been able to manage effectively. Many other categories of S&DG exist as noted later. Possibly in each case, the same pattern of grandiloquent policy pronouncement and poor implementation coexist.

A study done by VAF regarding the situation of the particularly vulnerable tribal groups (PVTG) illustrates the nature of challenges which the bureaucracy faces. Upon the recommendation of the high-powered National Advisory Committee (NAC), Government of India mounted a program titled "Conservation cum development" program for the PVTG in the country. When seen in relation to the number of individuals belonging to the three groups classified as PVTG in MP; the budget is substantial. The difficulty is that PVTG in MP as elsewhere are very small in number compared to other people among whom they live, and they are scattered in over a dozen districts of the State. No elected representative advocates for them. The Government has numerous schemes, including creation of amenities such as roads, water supply, electricity supply etc. for them; as well as schemes of benefit to students, entrepreneurs from these communities. There is also a scheme for recruitment of the persons from PVTG to appropriate positions in the State. However, the PVTG remain largely untouched as the bureaucracy can not reach them. The task of their welfare lies in the office of Tribal Welfare Department. Actual delivery of services such as creation of amenities is done by line

departments, who have no specific understanding or interest in PVTG. The staff on the ground to look after the PVTG is limited, often carrying additional charge of work, and almost invariably without any transport facility. They have no means of reaching out to the remotely located and sparsely populated individuals of the PVTG. The amenities created out of their budget benefit them as well as the dominant people and the PVTG are edged out. Preferential recruitment of PVTG persons does not happen as that reduces the total seats allotted to the ST category and some of those communities are far more numerous and dominant. (Phansalkar et al., 2017). These then are some of the challenges faced by the administration in reaching to a scattered group.

It is argued here that neither intent nor sincerity or even inadequacy of budgets; but simply the complexity and convolution in administrative structure and processes leads to such a lasting failure on the part of the State to effectively protect the rights of and reach welfare services to the S&DG people. Administrative apparatus of the State operates through a well-understood pattern of actions. Categories of beneficiaries are defined, criteria for deciding whether a particular case fits in a category are fixed, subject matter specialists carry out the assessment of incoming cases on the specified criteria, selected cases are provided pre-defined benefits, actions are undertaken as per standard operating procedures meant for those actions, discretion at operating levels is minimal, authority is concentrated and flows through well-defined structures and the entire system runs within the parameters and using administrative processes laid down for the entire State apparatus. In verity, the State apparatus is like a strong pickaxe capable of breaking a hard and huge mountain. The task of serving individuals in a group that is both scattered across wide geography and is voiceless and unable to navigate its way needs sensitivity and finely honed use of discretion tinged with compassion. Hence our title: can a pointed pickaxe even pierce a pearl?

The set of studies being synthesised here are focused on challenges experienced by the administration in delivering welfare services to such S&DG. Consistent with the overall emphasis of Vikasanvesh Foundation, which supported these studies, attention was given to scattered and voiceless people in rural areas. The studies focused on three classes of such people, namely; persons with disability (PwD), the PVTG and victims of accidents. Jayapadma, Kailas Kokare and Nikhil Tripathy have worked on the challenges experienced by the State in engaging with PwD. Tasneem Raja has worked on the issue of welfare of persons with mental disorders. Shaswati Ghosh has worked on the problems in reaching out to accident victims. Finally, Mihir Sahana has worked on the issue of PVTG.

II The domain and the people

S&DG are characterised by the following attributes:

- They are scattered widely across habitations in the territory of any State. Thus the number of people in that group at any given habitation is very small to the population of that habitation. As a result, in a democratic setup, they are in woeful minority everywhere.

- Their small numbers in each locale and wide dispersion makes it difficult for them to be mobilised in any collective that can work as a pressure group.
- Their small numbers make them insignificant from the point of view of candidates and elected representatives, and as such, no one in active politics is motivated to take up their cause.
- When groups are conceptualised on any specific parameter, there are good chances that almost every individual will be part of some scattered group. An able-bodied man from a rich and powerful but numerically small group can also be said to belong to a scattered group. *The interest of this paper is in those people who are S&DG and in addition suffer from some pronounced physical, cultural or social infirmity and hence need the assistance of the State as they are weak, ill-trained or otherwise incapable of navigating in the competitive mainstream of the economy and the polity.*

Persons with disability; persons with mental disorders, rural elderly, particularly vulnerable tribal groups, nomadic occupational or kinship groups, survivors of victims of violence, rural elderly, destitute women and widows in need of support, victims of accidents, children without adult protection, transgender persons etc. are some prominent categories of S&DG whose welfare is squarely the responsibility of the Government. The welfare State has taken upon itself the task of working towards helping such weak S&DG to live a life of dignity and free of want. In several cases, such mandate is assumed out of a sense of benevolence towards the unfortunate and the needy. For instance, the State feels morally responsible to look after the well-being of destitute women and widows without anyone to support them and mounts schemes to look after them.

In many other cases, this task of the well-being of the S&DG is taken up as a matter of legal mandate. The State has, for instance, signed the Declaration of the United Nations Convention on Rights of Persons with Disability (UNCRPD) and consequently enacted the Rights of Persons with Disability Act in 2016. Under this Act, the State has recognised specific rights and associated entitlements of the PwD and committed honour them. There is a legal mandate here.

The common features of the way the State tries to meet its legal or self-assumed obligations seem to be:

National level laws or policies and schemes have been put in place, and are the stated mandate of national-level ministries and departments. The role at the national level is largely to oversee planning processes at the state level, implementation and to provide support where necessary, to collate information and prepare reports.

Typically bureaucratic systems are put in place at the State level, which has implementation responsibility of welfare of these groups. Most programmes and schemes for such people are the responsibility of the departments typically named "Social Welfare" or, more to the current trend "Social Justice". The welfare of PVTG is with the Tribal Development Departments. Implementation and supervision lies in the Offices of Commissioner and Director of these

Departments. Depending upon the size of the population of each category and the budgets, States appoint officers looking after and focussing on one or more such categories. Usually, the same office may be charged with the welfare of multiple categories of S&DG.

Discharge of responsibilities requires close coordination across Ministries and Departments. For instance, the implementation of the Conservation Cum Development Plan for PVTGs, one of the recommendation is "*Under agriculture, PVTG funds should be used for activities like the revival of traditional nutritious crops, crop planning to ensure multiple crops and crop rotation to ensure periodic replenishment of soil nutrients. Funds and manpower should be accessed from schemes of line Ministries. For example under irrigation management, tanks should be taken under MGNREGA, solar pump from Ministry of New and Renewable Energy, Watershed management from the Department of Land Resources*".[2]

Within States, the implementation mechanism and responsibilities at the District, Block and Panchayat level show great variations. Panchayati Raj Institutions are leveraged sporadically and to a limited extent in most states.

Responsibilities are not clearly allocated and in places where they are, the numbers of personnel appointed, and their capacities are not commensurate with the mandate they are charged with. Support for travel, as well as capacity building of designated persons, is not done in a systematic manner.

The biggest challenge, however, is there is no reliable count of persons of different S&DGs, records on their location and the specific disadvantage they suffer from, making any targeted intervention or follow-up difficult.

III Summary inferences from the papers

S&DG is a conceptual category. Real-world action or inaction concerns concrete category of people defined on specific and verifiable parameters. These concrete categories, therefore, differ from each other, and the specific manifestation of challenges faced by the bureaucracy in reaching out to them also differ from each other. The commonality in the processes of reaching welfare measures to them arises from similar basic features of the administering structures as well as of formulation of policies and programs by the State. This paper focuses on identifying these common features. Based on the research in this theme that has seen seven papers and field notes; the recurring features of the process that pose challenges to the administration reaching welfare services to S&DG are identified and elaborated below.

Unverified count of the number of individuals in the S&DG

The number of S&DG meriting State assistance is sizeable. The number of individuals in each category varies across categories. The ease with which they can be identified, counted and reached also varies. It appears that in most cases, for planning development assistance, these

---

[2] Revised scheme of "Development of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups" issued by Ministry of Tribal Affairs on 20 March 2015, effective from 1 April 2015.

numbers are arrived at from rules of thumb or guestimates. The exact count of such individuals in a category is not available. For instance, some survey-based methods have estimated the number of individuals suffering from mental disorders at 13% of the population, or about 150 million in India (Raja, 2019). Within this broad category, there are those who suffer from severe disorders and are simply unable to live with dignity on their own. But their numbers, identities and locations are not precisely known. The Census of India 2011, and therefore the Department of Empowerment of PwD estimate the PwD population at 26.8 million. However, the number of PwD who are actually issued a Disability Certificate is way smaller (Jayapadma, 2019). As a senior Government functionary in MP remarked "Census is conducted by ground staff who has been trained essentially in recording obvious and gross facts. They simply record that an individual is a PwD if the responding family says so. They do not have the technical capacity to discern if the individual in question has a degree of disability that needs external assistance". Thus while the number of people with some apparent disability is 26.8 million, the number that needs assistance, as well as the nature of assistance needed, is not precisely known. Also, the social compulsions of stigma or getting a bad name which requires a family to deny a member as belonging to a category (e.g. with a mental disorder or an unsupported elderly) complicates the counting task. Finally, a certification that a person belongs to a category may require complicated legal-administrative processes as in the case of motor accident victims (Ghosh and Ghosh 2019) or survivors of insurgent violence (personal discussion with Deka et al.).

Government taking too large a task on itself

Government policies appear to be framed as much by a desire to appear to be progressive and caring as by actual, internalised sense of duty towards the concerned people. Out of such concerns, the State agrees to international conventions such as the UNCRPD and once having done that, is forced to frame laws and policies to align with the international convention. This may be done with near-total disregard to the State capacity to the potential number of people who may fall in the concerned category. The cases of both PwD and people with mental disorders aptly illustrate the point. The deficit incapacity of ensuring acceptable care to persons with mental disorders; assuming that the numbers are actually as estimated, is so large as to require decades in making up to the need even if budget allocated to the task were to be multiplied several fold (Raja, 2019). When the actual capacity to provide services and meet legal obligations is so limited what can only result is nominal, symbolic and demonstrative acts showing the caring nature of the State with severe rationing on actual provision of services.

Logistic difficulties

Scattered locations and remoteness pose problems in even first time reaching an individual in the S&DG. The social attributes common to individuals of a category such as shyness and diffidence born out of long experience of being exploited as well as, and in particular, the spoken language of those individuals pose large barriers in reaching them. Reaching out to

individuals from Bonda, Asur or Saber tribes (members of the PVTG), is difficult because their habitations are remote, because they tend to avoid social contacts with outsiders and because their spoken language is not understood by others (Sahana, 2019, Phansalkar et al., 2018). For the administrator located in the District or at best a sub-district Centre with absent or inadequate transport, the task is nearly impossible.

<u>Disseminating information about schemes, eligibility etc</u>.

Government formulates schemes for the benefit of individuals of S&DG and notifies them. These notifications include criteria which make an individual eligible for assistance as well as the procedure that she needs to follow to apply and be considered for it. Such information is available in Government offices connected with the task. It may be made available through the offices of Gram Panchayats, which act as the State outposts in rural areas. In several instances made public through the offices of Directorate of Audio-Visual Publicity (DAVP). It appears that these dissemination mechanisms are not adequate and do not reach a number of individuals belonging to the S&DG in question. (Kokare 2019; Sahana, 2019; Kokare and Jayapadma, 2019)

<u>The complicated and long documentation process</u>

Kokare (2019) documents the long procedure needing a number of documents from the person belonging to PwD category in order to be considered eligible for a simple benefit such as concessional travel in State-run buses. Many of the documents (e.g. Birth Certificate, Aadhar Card,) needed have to be prepared once for all by an individual while some others (proof of residence, caste, income etc.) may be needed for a specific purpose. The administration needs these documents as a matter of due diligence to ensure that schemes are not misused and resources not misdirected. However, individuals with motor vision or disabilities, located in far-flung villages away from offices which issue such documents, may face significant problems in completing these procedures. As expected, middlemen come into picture merely to complete the procedures. Some may be benevolent individuals or organisations focusing on welfare of the S&DG in question. Others may be touts seeking to exploit the need for their own income. Another limitation is that most such documents are valid within the boundaries of the state, and applicable for specific schemes, requiring multiple application processes. Only the UDID Swavalamban Card for PwD makes an attempt to make the identity universal and applicable across state boundaries and departments, but its availability and application is limited (Jayapadma, 2019).

<u>Multiple departments involved</u>

In several cases, the task of reaching benefits and welfare services to the individuals in S&DG involves several administrative wings and departments of the Government. In every case, there is the vertical division of authority and responsibility from State through district to sub-district level. In states like Maharashtra where most development and welfare delivery is one through the three-tier PRI system, there is also the involvement of the Zilla Parishad or the

Panchayat Samity as the case may be. This is understandable. The actual task of verifying genuineness of an individual being a PwD is done by the office of Civil Surgeon through a Medical Board, all working under Ministry of Health of the Government (Kokare, 2019; Jayapadma, 2019). In most states, the task of creating amenities for the well being of PVTG is delegated to the relevant line departments (Phansalkar et al. 2018). Each Department has its own standard operating procedure and its own priorities in accordance to which it allocates manpower and material resources. Thus, it is never certain that they will accord to the task necessary for the S&DG the priority which the "nodal" officer dealing with the S&DG desire.

Staff inadequacy

Kokare (2019) records that the staff available at the cutting edge is woefully inadequate to engage with the target with even a minimum level of efficacy. He reports that there are barely 2 persons in the Welfare Department in a Zilla Parishad which may need to provide services to 40000 PwD. As a result, they are forced to commandeer the services of persons working in institutions such as Special Schools run or financially supported by the Government. These later may need to travel from their place of work to the office of the Zilla Parishad at their own cost and offer services beyond their normal call of duty. They are forced to offer their services as volunteers because the grants to these institutes come from the Zilla Parishad. This issue of inadequacy of staff persists in most of the States. The senior functionary in MP contacted said that in a fourth of the districts of the State, the charge of welfare of the PwD was being handled as an additional charge by an officer whose main task was something else. "We are trying our best to recruit personnel at these levels, but we have to contend with the difficulties inherent in all Government recruitment processes," he said. Staffing at higher levels is also inadequate. Most states do not have a State Commissioner for PwD, though the position is mandated in government[3]. During a visit to the SSEPD in Odisha, it was found that there was no Coordinator for the UDID project, and all tasks were relegated to the person in charge of IT in the department.

Missing Orientation and sensitisation

Members of most of the S&DG are considered worthy of compassion by people who are "normal"; meaning who suffer none of the physical, social or cultural infirmity which the former suffer. It appears this compassion is minimalistic in its scope. A respondent commented "A State officer considers it a duty to help a vision-impaired person to cross a street or get into the right Bus. But when it comes to recruiting her for a job under the scheme of reservations meant for the PwD, he has many reservations." Such reluctance and avoidance arise because of a lack of orientation as to what is needed in the inclusion of the PwD (or transgender or a person from the PVTG etc.) in the usual process and flow of work in the office. Some degree of awareness has come for the modifications in hardware facilities (pathways, toilets) needed for the PwD, but the changes required in work procedures are not fully appreciated. Changes needed in work patterns for categories like the persons affected

---

[3] 65th Report of the Standing Committee on Social Justice and Empowerment (2018-19), 16th Lok Sabha

with mental disorders are not even discussed due to deep bias in the mind of decision-makers. Prejudices and fixed mindsets regarding the stereotypes of each of these categories hinder a more conducive ethos for inclusion, which has become such an important measure for the integration of the S&DG in the mainstream.

Cascading imbalance in dominance

Phansalkar et al. (2018) note that while the welfare of the PVTG is the responsibility of the office of the tribal welfare department, the political head of that department comes from a numerically dominant and powerful tribe. As a collective, the so-called dominant tribe itself suffers from the deprivation at the hands of non-tribal people. The same power play operates within the tribal formations, and the political head from the dominant tribe strives hard to garner all the benefits meant for the tribal community for his own tribe. Thus even when provision for recruitment of candidates from PVTG to appropriate posts but without any selection tests exist, none is recruited because such recruitment would reduce the overall number of seats available to tribal people as a whole, a loss which the dominant tribe is unwilling to accept. Within the PwD, possibly the vision and mobility impaired individuals are dominant and garner most of the budget and benefits leaving only crumbs for the 19 other categories of disability. This cascading dominance and power play appears to be inevitable and affects the efficacy of delivery of services to the S&DG. As far as recruitments of PwD in government are concerned, most departments for PwD are themselves not staffed by PwD. Odisha has a unique case of a PwD who had to fight a legal battle to be appointed even after clearing the OAS examination.

It is suggested by our informal interaction with people connected with the well being of diverse S&DG that the officers charged with the responsibility of protecting the legal rights and providing the committed welfare services to the S&DG also face the following challenges:

- By very definition, individuals in the S&DG are "invisible". They are difficult to reach and engage with even when the officers charged with the responsibility have both the will and the facilities to do so.
- Identification challenges persist for most S&DG categories. Groups recognised in PVTG in one state are not considered PVTG in another. There are variations within states as well on recognition of PVTG and benefits available. PwD have the additional complication of temporary and permanent disability, while single women and older persons are a continually changing group.
- A majority of S&DG persons are illiterate, women's literacy being worse, and this places them at a greater disadvantage in terms of awareness of welfare schemes and services, and ability access and utilise them.
- Relative to the S&DG, other groups of people are better organised, articulate and in a position to press for their demands. This makes attending to these others a priority at each point in time.

- In most instances of resource crunch, resource flows to the S&DG welfare tasks are among the first to be cut.
- Since S&DG are voiceless, their deprivation is not a matter of concern for the political masters and hence administrative supervisors, and thus the performance of the tasks does not earn positive points for the officers charged with the tasks.
- Structural arrangements for regulating the flow of information and resources as well as distrust based processes make the task of the delivery complex.

IV. Discussion

The chief attribute for an individual in S&DG to qualify for State assistance is an infirmity, either social or cultural or physical. Such an infirmity often attracts contempt or bullying of the individuals of the S&DG from more powerful groups of people. Therefore, the S&DG tend to shy away from the administration and the general public. Some infirmities are seen to be attached with a stigma, either for the individuals in question or for their families. For instance, families of PwD whose infirmity is caused due to leprosy or families of persons with mental disorders tend to hide these individuals from the public eye. They see them as liabilities bringing in stigma and making marriage of their other "normal" daughters more difficult. At the other extreme, there is the ego of the family. Families of high social standing consider it a slur on their standing if an elderly or a widow of the family is seen to approach Government for compassionate assistance. Individuals from the PVTG or occupations like conservancy workers have to face a great deal of social exclusion to the point of ostracisation. They tend to remain in their own kinship groups. Their scattered habitation makes any consolidation at one location difficult. Nothing short of a concerted campaign will be needed to identify each individual of even a relatively stigma-free PwD class in a district. Even such a concerted campaign may not be able to identify and reach to all persons with mental disorders or leprosy induced disabilities due to stigma. In some instances such as nomadic groups or PVTG, sheer physical difficulty in reaching the individuals poses a major challenge. As a result of such factors, individuals belonging to the S&DG are difficult to reach.

On the other hand, only infrequently if ever, do the relevant arms of the Government make any publicity or public relations effort to make their welfare schemes known to these individuals. It may be noted that on a number of occasions, even the Government functionaries themselves are not aware of the scheme. (Kokare and Jayapadma 2019, Tripathi 2019). For instance, the four-year-old Swavalamban Card scheme is not a matter of common knowledge with all State functionaries connected with the task of delivering welfare to PwD. The schemes are notified and remain on the files of the departments or in the website of concerned departments and are thus the information regarding them is in the public domain. This does not help much as one is dealing with individuals with diverse types of infirmities and consequent poor access to resources, connecting devices or savvy to access and use information in public domain.

Arguably, many of the challenges discussed above can be overcome by an administration committed to the welfare of the S&DG. The issue of orientation and sensitisation as noted by the senior Government functionary is relevant here. In the absence of this right orientation and sensitivity, functionaries view the task of engaging with the S&DG as another chore, the consequences of undertaking which often may militate against their closely held beliefs. For instance, a district administrator not properly oriented may consider recruiting and accommodating a PwD in her office as a liability if she has a possibly exaggerated apprehensions about the ability of the recruit to perform the task properly. The administrators are most likely to attempt sincere implementation of those schemes which do not entail continued or closer interaction with the individuals. Hence they are likely to be supportive of tasks such as doling of pensions to the elderly, scholarships to students of the PVTG or providing mobility devices to the PwD than the tasks which require close, frequent and long term association with the S&DG.

V.   Conclusions and way forward

Bureaucracy functions on the basis of rules as made and impersonally applied to various categories of people and permits little discretion to the officer fronting any function. All deviations from the defined rules need to be approved by superiors, and at times these approvals need to be taken from levels way above the operational level. Development administration in India has attempted to evolve out of classical "iron frame" of impersonal and rule bureaucracy into a blend of responsive yet predictable and rule-governed operating structure. Yet it has not been able to shake off all the aspects which make bureaucracy inflexible. Catering to the needs of individuals in the S&DG requires an evolved development administration to become sensitive to the very specific needs of these individuals who croak under the burden of their physical, social or cultural infirmities. The challenges experienced by the administration in administering welfare measures for the individuals of the S&DG appear to be caused substantially by the nature of the operating structure of the bureaucracy compounded by the paucity of budget. These challenges are real and do lead to significant underperformance in delivering welfare effectively.

Addressing S&DG requires a shift from business as usual approaches in bureaucratic systems and processes. The following steps would contribute to reducing the impact of challenges.

1. **Orientation about the specific needs and capacities of the individuals in S&DG** needs to be given to senior officers in State administration so that they would cause workplace modifications and training for changing attitudes among the staff.

2. **Design and implement a special time-bound census of different S&DG categories** is an essential starting point. This needs to be done separately from the general population census, in a campaign mode, with accompanying camps for information dissemination at the Panchayat and hamlet levels. Teams for data collection need to be trained on the various parameters of data collection for the different S&DG

categories. The information thus collected needs to be digitised, with quick verification mechanisms.[4]

3. **Creation of cadres of staff (paid piece-rate basis) specifically to assist the individuals in the S&DG complete the procedures as needed for their welfare** is worth considering. This could be done on the same lines as the ASHA workers. They would have a mandate of early identification of individuals belonging to diverse categories in the S&DG, linking them to the correct department of a unit of the Government and completing the necessary procedures for the scheme appropriate to their welfare. Incentive to such cadre may be based on number of cases successfully completed by them.

4. **Sustained and on-going capacity building** across all levels of cadres and officers who are designated to implement programs and schemes to support S&DGs is necessary. Engagement with persons from respective S&DG categories, and civil society organisations working with them will help to better understand issues related to specific S&DG categories.

5. **Develop a life-cycle approach for support of different S&DG categories**. This would ensure that the needs of S&DG are addressed in an ongoing manner, including education, health, and livelihood needs. The issues related to inter-departmental coordination needs to be addressed, minimising bureaucratic hurdles in the process.

6. **A well-designed information system specifically including the geo-coordinates and contact number of the individual belonging to the S&DG herself or her guardian may be created and regularly updated**. This needs to be coupled with a periodically but regularly scheduled review of reach of the services to these individuals using the information system, conducted by an officer sufficiently high in the structure.

7. **Inter-state portability of welfare schemes availed by S&DGs and synchronisation across different departments** is also necessary so that S&DGs do not have to obtain multiple permissions to access different benefits.

8. **Periodic Social Audit of different S&DG categories** needs to be conducted to ensure intended persons receive relevant benefits, and there is an ongoing assessment of their needs.

Re**ferences**

Ghose, S. and Ghose, SV. *Stakeholder Consultation to understand issues of persons who become disabled due to motor accidents*. Paper prepared for the Conference of Vikasanvesh Foundation, Pune October 2019

---

[4] Experience of Bhima Bhoi Bhinnakshyama Samarthya Sibir conducted by Government of Odisha to reach PwD, is worth understanding in this regard. Government of Tamil Nadu has undertaken census of disabled persons in certain districts through anganwadi workers. In Kerala, *ayalkootams* (neighbourhood groups) collate information on PwD in the Panchayat in an ongoing basis.

Kokare, K. *How can the crippled Government process serve persons with disability*. A note prepared for Vikasanvesh Foundation, December 2018

Kokare K. *Understanding Government Mechanisms and Challenges faced by the Administration in providing welfare services to persons with disabilities in Maharashtra.* Paper prepared for Vikasanvesh Foundation, July 2019

Phansalkar, S., Sinha, M., Sule, N. Gupta, N., Bajpai, P., Banerji, S. and Kundu S. *Addressing Symptoms and Perpetuating Reality*. Studies in Development Process, issue 3, 2018, Vikasanvesh Foundation, Pune.

Raja, T. *Mental Healthcare in India Today-Challenges in Scaling up services.* Paper presented for the Conference of Vikasanvesh Foundation, October, 2019

RV, Jayapadma. *Counting persons with disabilities, a prerequisite to "making them count"*. Paper prepared for the Conference of Vikasanvesh Foundation, Pune October 2019

RV, Jayapadma. and Kokare K. *A Care-less State: Status of Persons with Disabilities and Access to Benefits in rural Rajasthan*. Paper prepared for the Conference of Vikasanvesh Foundation, Pune October 2019

Sahana, M. *Challenges experienced by bureaucracy in reaching welfare to scattered and disenfranchised groups (S&DG): A cross-sectional study in Jharkhand specific to Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs)*. Paper prepared for Vikasanvesh Foundation, October 2019

Tripathi, N. *Challenges faced in the implementation of UDID (Unique ID for Persons with Disabilities) scheme of Department of Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities.* Paper prepared for Vikasanvesh Foundation, October 2019

---

[i] Adopted from Marathi, "patharwatachi taki, jail paan tikhi niki; tathapi karo na ye maulktiki randhrashalaka", VivekSindhu, by Mukundraj (Prologue, 3:3)