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Addressing Vulnerability: The Role of Welfare Initiatives for Tribal Groups in India

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ABSTRACT

There are certain peculiarities of the social and economic organisation of India which creates certain difficulties for the PVTGs and other tribes in the country. This paper examines steps that have been made in the process of responding to the problems which these populations face in terms of social well-being with the help of provisions of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act and the National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation. Using the findings derived from the study, the roles of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in complementing gaps between the existing policies and the needs of the people through participatory development are explored. By having an appraisal of these welfare programs it has been found that the excluded sections in both Odisha, Andhra Pradesh states lack adequate services and intake of Welfare services and substandard physical structures and institutional support. Steps have been made in education, health and status of the people through development of skills and specializations but problems such as corruption and poor infrastructure poses a a challenge. However, the conflict between cultural identity and economic development has always been contentious, many welfare initiatives being a major concern, undermining indigenous people's cultural practices. In line with the identified effective welfare models and interventions the paper highlights on the extended and more effective approach of treating the SC needs of PVTGs. The role played by Non Governmental organizations, community based organizations and the role played by technology and the government in enhancing the lives of these groups of people cannot go without being mentioned. Final words and ideas of the paper are focused on the statement that addressing the systemic and historical dimensions cannot be reduced to policy change but entails supporting tribes in their development.

Keywords: Tribal welfare, PVTGs, participatory development, socio-economic empowerment, government policies.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The social and economic organization of India creates certain unique challenges for the PVTGs and other tribal in the country. This paper examines the steps that have been made with an aim of overcoming the issues that these communities encounter in relation to their well-being such as the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act and the National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation. Based on the analysis of the study, NGO participation in implementing gaps between policies and needs of the people through participatory development is presented. This paper finds that a critical evaluation of these welfare programs means that there are gaps regarding the availability of services, physical facilities and institutional support more so for the marginalized population in Odisha and Andhra Pradesh. Some instances have therefore been made towards education, health and or economic status through skills development but issues such as corruption and poor infrastructure slows quite a deal. This complex structure of soci-economic organization has the difficulty as in case of Indian for most of its tribes who continue to suffer from social exclusion and denial of resources. This analysis aims at discuss the different welfare activities that have been conducted, in an effort to address these continued problems, and the extent of their success in developing sustainable solutions for the affected communities. In an analysis of programmes like the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, and schemes under the National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporations, the complex measures being adopted by the Indian government can be explained. In addition, an evaluation will also look into the drawbacks as well as the positives of such programs, as well as the impact of those programs when it comes to reformation and assimilation of the tribes into society. Finally, the discusssion tries to make a small but constructive bibliography in the context of extant welfare state debate in India towards an alleged paradigm of social justice and equity.

(A) Definition of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs)

Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) represent a distinct classification within Indias tribal population, characterized by their unique social, economic, and cultural challenges. These tribes often exhibit traits such as limited contact with the mainstream population, reliance on traditional subsistence lifestyles, and significant disadvantages in health and education. The complexity of defining PVTGs lies in recognizing the historical contexts that shape their inequities, as evidenced by comprehensive studies that highlight the diverse

experiences of tribal communities throughout India³. This simply means that the Indian government's recognition entails lip-digest assessments done by committees which include the High Level Committee set in 2014 with an apparent intention of tracing the socio-economic interferences dealt by such groups. . In the final analysis, therefore, the best way to promote the welfare of the PVTGs is to understand the relevance and applicability of the word 'PVTGs' clearly so that their developmental policies and programmes can be properly anatomised and their execution planned with a view to directly cater to the requirements of such tribes and factors that enable them to successfully merge with the rest of the society and economy.

(B) Historical context of tribal welfare in India

A brief history of tribal welfare in India is reminiscence of socio-political map of the country embodying both structural abandonment and exclusion. Tribal populations historically have been vulnerable to displacement human rights abuses and denial of basic needs fulfilling activities. This is why the experience of such states as Orissa and Kerala differentiated in their approaches to these questions. Ecologically and economically degrading conditions compounded in Orissa contributed in aggravating the prospects of insecurity in tribal groups.⁴. Conversely, Kerala's approach has emphasized participatory development, characterized by the mobilization of marginalized groups for collective advocacy, thus fostering a more secure socio-economic environment⁵. This divergence highlights the critical importance of state responsiveness and the mobilization of tribal communities in shaping effective welfare initiatives throughout India. Addressing historical context is thus essential for understanding current strategies and designing future interventions.

(C) Importance of welfare initiatives for PVTGs

Welfare initiatives play a crucial role in addressing the multifaceted challenges faced by Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) in India. These marginalized communities endure significant health disparities and economic hardships due to their unique cultural and geographical contexts. Effective welfare programs can mitigate the dual burden of malnutrition and chronic diseases, as highlighted by the findings that demonstrate a significant gap in health status between PVTGs and other population groups in Odisha⁶. Furthermore, comprehensive welfare strategies must be grounded in an understanding of historical inequities that have

³ K P, Kannan and Pillai N., Vijayamohan "In the Vacuum of Public Action Social Security in Orissa: A Long Way to Go" [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/7296536.pdf>

⁴ Supra at 3

⁵ Reddy, V. & Mandala, Srinivasa & Saravanan, Velayutham & Bandhii, Madhuusudana & Springate-Baginski, Oliver. (2004). PARTICIPATORY FOREST MANAGEMENT IN ANDHRA PRADESH: A Review. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6257207.pdf>

⁶ Supra at 5

perpetuated disadvantage among these communities. The research underscores how the health system often fails to address the needs of PVTGs, highlighting the necessity of targeted interventions that prioritize both health care access and socio-economic upliftment⁷. Overall, a committed approach to welfare can empower PVTGs, fostering greater health equity and improved quality of life.

II. OVERVIEW OF WELFARE INITIATIVES IN INDIA

This paper has observed that India has over the years transformed its welfare strategies especially in its effort to meet the welfare needs of its vulnerable groups that include The Tribal Groups. This is illustrated in the Units on Orissa and Kerala to show how different attitudes to social security advanced by political authorities pose enormous challenges in the formulation of successful welfare policies. This paper finds that although Kerala has effectively incorporated participatory developed frameworks of rights and security, Orissa's historical and geographical issues have hampered such advancements culminating into higher insecurity among its population.⁸ Notably, the emphasis on basic and contingent social security systems has become crucial in determining outcomes for these marginalized communities. This bifurcation allows for targeted assistance while simultaneously addressing structural inequalities. Ultimately, the effectiveness of these welfare initiatives rests upon the ability of local governance structures to foster inclusivity and empowerment among the particularly vulnerable Tribal Groups, ensuring that their unique needs are met comprehensively and sustainably⁹

(A) Government policies targeting tribal welfare

The effectiveness of government policies targeting tribal welfare is a multifaceted issue that requires careful evaluation. The Scheduled Tribes (STs) in India are historically marginalized, facing severe socio-economic challenges despite constitutional protections.¹⁰ As indicated in the analysis of tribal development in Andhra Pradesh, "no significant economic, social and political mobility has taken place across this community"¹¹. Although various welfare initiatives have been implemented, such as the Forest Rights Act of 2006, the results have been mixed. While this act aimed to secure legal rights over land and resources for tribal populations,

⁷ Bishnu Prasad Mohapatra "Decentralised governance and planning in India: case study of a tribal district" 2015, [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/213626779.pdf>

⁸ "Asset Building for Social Change: Pathways to Large-Scale Impact" 2004, [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/71347226.pdf>

⁹ "To the Very Last Mile: Improving maternal and child health in tribal communities - Part 2" 2016, [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/480180585.pdf>

¹⁰ Supra at 7

¹¹ Supra at 10

its practical implementation has often fallen short, leaving many tribal groups still grappling with economic vulnerability. Moreover, without addressing deeper societal inequities and the ideological underpinnings of casteism and discrimination, these welfare policies risk being superficial and ineffectual. A comprehensive approach that incorporates both economic support and social reform is essential for meaningful tribal welfare outcomes.

(B) Role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

The welfare of specially enumerated tribes of India is described here in relation to their living conditions and the role played by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in supplementing the government efforts. Through participatory development, NGOs help build grass root support and advocacy for causes as a way of giving a voice to the marginalized. For example, in regards to the Andhra Pradesh participatory forest management programs, the efforts of local NGOs have been critical to influencing policy and guaranteeing the engagement of all tribal citizens in the management of their resources¹². Furthermore, NGOs can address the unique social and cultural nuances of these communities, often overlooked by bureaucratic frameworks. They provide essential services that complement government efforts and advocate for the rights of marginalized groups, thus playing a transformative role in enhancing social security and paving the way for sustainable development¹³. Ultimately, the efficacy of welfare initiatives targeting tribal populations greatly depends on the collaborative efforts between NGOs and local communities, ensuring that strategies are tailored to their specific needs.

(C) Funding sources for welfare initiatives

Effective funding sources are paramount to the successful implementation of welfare initiatives aimed at aiding particularly vulnerable tribal groups in India. Government allocations often constitute the primary source of financial support; however, the challenges of bureaucratic inefficiencies and delayed fiscal transfers can hinder timely access to essential resources. Additionally, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international funding bodies play a critical role in supplementing these efforts. For instance, projects centered around rural development and social protection, as explored in¹⁴, indicate that external funding can facilitate more agile responses to community needs. Furthermore, collaborative funding models, such as

¹² K P, Kannan and Pillai N., Vijayamohan, "Social Security in India: The Long Lane Treaded and the Longer Road Ahead Towards Universalization" [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/7300006.pdf>

¹³ Gopinath, M & Kumar, Reddy. (2010). Political Economy of Tribal Development: A Case Study of Andhra Pradesh. [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6256628.pdf>

¹⁴ Bhattamishra, Ruchira & Barrett, Christopher. (2008). Community-Based Risk Management Arrangements: An Overview and Implications for Social Fund Program Design. SSRN Electronic Journal. 10.2139/ssrn.1141878. [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6314329.pdf>

those outlined in ¹⁵, demonstrate how multi-stakeholder approaches can enhance resource mobilization, allowing for a more holistic evaluation and allocation of funding. Ultimately, a diversified funding strategy that incorporates both public and private resources is essential for the sustainability and scalability of welfare initiatives targeting these vulnerable populations.

(D) Evaluation of existing welfare programs

A critical analysis of available welfare schemes suggests that there are severe lacunae in implementing these initiatives and that access to these programs by tribal people is almost non-existent in India. While the services delivered to the poor in health and education sectors have since been increased there remains a continued and unequal provision of these and other services.. As articulated in ¹⁶, the limited utilization of social services by marginalized communities stems from systemic biases and inadequate targeting of resources. Moreover, political affirmative action—such as the reservation of political offices for Scheduled Tribes—has demonstrated potential to enhance development outcomes for these groups without compromising overall progress¹⁷. These findings underscore the need for a more inclusive approach to welfare programs that prioritizes resource allocation to the marginalized while ensuring that larger developmental goals are met, ultimately fostering a more equitable socio-economic landscape for India's tribal communities.

(E) Challenges in Implementing Welfare Initiatives

The effective implementation of welfare initiatives in India, especially concerning particularly vulnerable tribal groups, faces multifaceted challenges. One significant hurdle is the inadequate infrastructure and unstable institutional frameworks that hinder program accessibility and delivery. This is exacerbated by socio-economic disparities, as seen in states like Orissa, where historical challenges have led to high insecurity levels, thereby impeding the development of participatory processes vital for effective welfare delivery ¹⁸. Moreover, issues such as corruption within public distribution systems undermine the intended impact of welfare

¹⁵ Kar, Jyotirmayee & Herani, Gobind. (2008). Improving Economic Position of Women through Microfinance: Case of a Backward Area, Mayurbhanj-Orissa, India. Department of Business Administration, Indus Journal of Management & Social Science (IJMSS) 1992 8319. 2. 15-28. [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6473674.pdf>

¹⁶ Murthy, Nirmala; Hirway, Indira; Panchmukhi, P. R..How well do India's social service programs serve the poor (English). Policy, Research, and External Affairs working paper,no. WPS 491 Washington, D.C. : World Bank Group. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/660161468774915307/How-well-do-Indias-social-service-programs-serve-the-poor>

¹⁷ GULZAR S, HAAS N, PASQUALE B. Does Political Affirmative Action Work, and for Whom? Theory and Evidence on India's Scheduled Areas. *American Political Science Review*. 2020;114(4):1230-1246. doi:10.1017/S0003055420000532 [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/287622462.pdf>

¹⁸ Sanjaya Ghadai "Inclusive & Quality Education for Tribals: Case Study Kiss (Odisha)" 2016, [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/234639348.pdf>

programs. Targeting inefficiencies can also exacerbate poverty among marginalized groups, an outcome seen in various regions where food security initiatives falter due to systemic flaws¹⁹. Consequently, without addressing these structural and operational barriers, welfare initiatives will struggle to achieve their goals of providing equitable support to tribal communities.

III. SOCIOECONOMIC IMPACT OF WELFARE INITIATIVES

The socioeconomic impact of welfare initiatives on vulnerable tribal groups in India is multifaceted, revealing both opportunities for advancement and challenges associated with cultural erosion. Legal frameworks established post-independence aimed to facilitate socioeconomic development while preserving essential cultural identities of tribal communities; however, many adivasis have experienced economic growth at the potential cost of their cultural integrity²⁰. This duality illustrates the complexities inherent in welfare programs designed to assist these populations. Moreover, the adequacy of resettlement policies requires scrutiny, as conventional compensation mechanisms often fail to address the multifarious experiences of affected individuals, leading to increased impoverishment post-displacement²¹. Therefore, comprehensive welfare initiatives must not only provide economic assistance but also consider the broader implications for cultural identity and community cohesion, ensuring that social transformation aligns with the needs and values of tribal groups.

(A) Changes in educational attainment and literacy rates

The dynamics of educational attainment and literacy rates among vulnerable tribal groups in India epitomize the intersection of social policy and grassroots mobilization. Historical patterns indicate significant regional disparities and highlight systemic barriers that hinder educational access. For instance, while schemes aimed at enhancing social security have emerged, as argued in²², they often fail to catalyze effective organization and community engagement necessary for sustainable development. This disconnect is particularly pronounced in states like Orissa, where adverse economic and ecological factors impede progress. Similarly, as noted in²³, various groups of marginalized children face exclusion from schooling, resulting in low

¹⁹ Dr. K. Anil Kumar, Dr. M. Gopinath Reddy "Political Economy of Tribal Development : A Case Study of Andhra Pradesh" [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6256628.pdf> [Accessed: 2024-10-13]

²⁰ Supra at 7

²¹ Supra at 10

²² Reddy, V. & Mandala, Srinivasa & Saravanan, Velayutham & Bandhii, Madhuusudana & Springate-Baginski, Oliver. (2004). PARTICIPATORY FOREST MANAGEMENT IN ANDHRA PRADESH: A Review. [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6257207.pdf>

²³ Kanrar, Priyanka & Goswami, Monali & Roy, Subho. (2023). Health issues of the indigenous communities with special reference to the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) of Odisha: a review. *Papers on Anthropology*. 32. 45-80. 10.12697/poa.2023.32.1.05. [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/590295350.pdf>

enrollment and high dropout rates. A critical examination of these factors unveils not only the challenges but also the potential strategies for improving educational outcomes. Addressing these disparities requires an inclusive approach that merges welfare initiatives with participatory development to ensure that at-risk populations are not left behind in the pursuit of educational equity.

(B) Economic empowerment through skill development

Skill development represents a crucial pathway toward economic empowerment, particularly for marginalized groups such as the tribal communities in India. The emphasis on vocational training and skill-based education aligns with the Sustainable Development Goals and is necessary for increasing employability in a competitive job market. As highlighted in ²⁴, while the Right to Education (RTE) Act has improved gross enrollment ratios, the outcomes remain disheartening, indicating an urgent need for quality skills training. Furthermore, the tribal population, as discussed in ²⁵, suffers from severe economic exclusion, facing barriers that hinder social and political mobility. Initiatives like the Skill India program can bridge this gap, fostering an environment where tribal youth can acquire essential skills and secure sustainable livelihoods. Ultimately, through targeted skill development programs, these vulnerable communities can gain dignity, self-reliance, and improve their socio-economic standing, thus paving the way for inclusive growth.

(C) Long-term sustainability of socioeconomic benefits

Long-term sustainability of socioeconomic benefits for vulnerable tribal groups in India hinges on the careful balance between cultural preservation and economic advancement. While legal frameworks established post-independence have provided avenues for economic growth, such advancements often threaten the cultural identities of adivasis, as highlighted by the recognition that external policies may sideline traditional values essential to their dignity ²⁶. Furthermore, the effectiveness of resettlement and compensation strategies remains contentious, as evidenced by studies indicating that conventional policies frequently overlook the complex realities faced by displaced communities. A critical examination reveals that compensation

²⁴ Kanrar, Priyanka & Goswami, Monali & Roy, Subho. (2023). Health issues of the indigenous communities with special reference to the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) of Odisha: a review. *Papers on Anthropology*. 32. 45-80. 10.12697/poa.2023.32.1.05. [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/590295350.pdf>

²⁵ B. R. H. A. K. R. L. J. M. H. M. G. N. N. N. S. P. V. R. T. S. S. A. "Historical exclusion, conflict, health systems and ill-health among tribal communities in India : a synthesis of three studies" 2018, [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/388599891.pdf>

²⁶ K. A. K. M. G. R. "Political Economy of Tribal Development : A Case Study of Andhra Pradesh" [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6256628.pdf>

mechanisms, such as cash-for-land or land-for-land exchanges, may fail to address the underlying impoverishment experienced during the transition phase ²⁷. Thus, for socioeconomic benefits to be genuinely sustainable, interventions must incorporate the voices of tribal communities and prioritize holistic strategies that support both their economic and cultural needs.

IV. SUCCESSFUL WELFARE INITIATIVES

Examining successful welfare initiatives reveals critical lessons for improving support for particularly vulnerable tribal groups in India. One prominent example is the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), which has effectively provided guaranteed employment and enhanced income security for marginalized communities. This initiative not only uplifts tribal populations economically but also promotes the social inclusion of these groups, fostering a sense of agency and empowerment. Moreover, case studies from northern France highlight how structural inequalities can be exacerbated in border zones, as seen in the treatment of displaced people [32]. Such instances underscore the necessity of implementing welfare programs that prioritize humane treatment and access to essential services for marginalized groups. Additionally, vigilance against the misuse of aid, as seen in the complexities of US-Pakistan assistance dynamics [31], is vital for ensuring that resources genuinely benefit those in need. Ultimately, these successful initiatives and critical insights from global contexts offer invaluable guidance for crafting effective welfare policies for India's tribal groups.

(A) Comparative study of successful NGO interventions

Successful NGO interventions play a pivotal role in alleviating the challenges faced by particularly vulnerable tribal groups in India. By employing a comprehensive advocacy, communication, and social mobilization strategy, NGOs can effectively enhance awareness and improve health outcomes within these communities. The collaborative approach between Interface NGOs and local community groups, including women's self-help groups and village health committees, demonstrates the essential impact of grassroots engagement. Evidence from Odisha reveals that these partnerships not only fostered improved knowledge about tuberculosis but also helped combat stigma and discrimination associated with the disease ²⁸. Furthermore, training frontline health workers bolstered community efficacy and facilitated

²⁷ K. P. K. P. N. V. "Evolution of Social Security in the Lap of Public Action: Recounting the Experience of Kerala" [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/7299565.pdf>

²⁸ H. I. M. N. P. P. R. S. J. K. "How well do India's social service programs serve the poor?" [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6615672.pdf> [Accessed: 2024-10-13]

better treatment adherence, highlighting the importance of tailored messages aimed at addressing specific local issues²⁹. A comparative analysis of various interventions underscores the necessity for integrated and context-specific strategies that can drive sustained change and empower vulnerable populations.

(B) Community-led initiatives

Such field-based projects have provided valuable Understanding of the role of organic endeavours to improve the standard of living of fragile societies such as the Adivasi in India. Such efforts typically show when people understand that projects that come from them are best handled since it ensures result delivery and sustainability. For instance, the self-development of various agricultural based programs by the community members has described enhanced food security by noting the achievements of economic stability in those particular regions as opposed to other blanket solutions. Additionally, the risk management strategies adopted by such communities demonstrate the benefits of a community endeavor at managing issues attributable to poverty and frailty. As the various works analyzing community-based risk management have also observed, the capacity of such groups to mobilize and co-govern and self-organize around socioeconomic risks shows that when people are able to take charge of community development, the outcomes are more resilient.. Ultimately, these lessons highlight that tailoring welfare initiatives to community dynamics can significantly enhance their effectiveness and impact on marginalized groups^{30,31}.

(C) Role of technology in enhancing welfare delivery

Technological advancements are increasingly recognized as vital instruments in improving welfare delivery, particularly for vulnerable populations. By leveraging mobile applications and digital platforms, welfare initiatives can streamline processes, enhance accessibility, and facilitate better communication between service providers and communities. For instance, community-based risk management arrangements have gained traction as they utilize technology to gather real-time data on local needs and risks, thereby allowing for tailor-made solutions³². In the context of Andhra Pradesh tribal groups, the integration of technology in participatory forest management has shown promise, allowing the formation of Vana Samrakshana Samithies (VSS) to efficiently manage forest resources while promoting local

²⁹ D. S. N. C. V. R. "Why feminist dissent?" 2016, [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/77038144.pdf>

³⁰ A. K. N. D. N. M. "Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook" 2009, [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/75780700.pdf>

³¹ B. C. B. B. R. "Community-based risk management arrangements : an overview and implications for social fund programs" [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6314329.pdf>

³² B. C. B. B. R. "Community-based risk management arrangements : an overview and implications for social fund programs" [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6314329.pdf>

involvement³³. Such technological interventions not only empower communities, but they also ensure that welfare delivery is more responsive to the unique challenges faced by marginalized groups, ultimately enhancing their socio-economic stability and resilience.

V. CONCLUSION

In scrutinizing the welfare programs for particularly vulnerable tribal groups of India, such factors as historical and structural place bar tremendous impediment to the improvement of the lot of the targeted subjects. This actually came out clearly in the discussion on social security schemes in Orissa indicating that lack of organisation and mobilisation has compounded insecurity status among these groups underlining the importance of active participation in development processes.³⁴ Furthermore, the implementation of decentralized planning in Odisha reveals the inadequacies of local governance structures in effectively addressing developmental needs. Structural impediments and functional incapacity hinder the capability of local governments to draft and execute relevant plans, a consequence of the Provisions of Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act³⁵. Ultimately, without addressing these systemic issues, welfare initiatives will struggle to reach their intended goals, necessitating comprehensive policy measures that prioritize the empowerment and representation of tribal populations in development discussions.

³³ A. J. "Advancement of the Adivasis: The Effect of Development on the Culture of the Adivasis" 2009, [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/70967698.pdf>

³⁴ *Supra* at 23

³⁵ B. J. J. C. R. J. D. "Centre Commissioned External Review (CCER) of the IWMI-TATA Water Policy Research Program" [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/7115755.pdf>