

“Plans for dalit welfare have remained static, mostly believing only in amelioration rather than in self-assurance....

They have not recognized the strengths, potentials, excellence and intellectual quality within the dalit community...

They believe in protectionism and not pro-activism; Dalits are not being cultivated to defend themselves, but only to seek protection in the avowed security of the governments and in the condescending tolerance of the exploiting sections of the society.”

- Christudoss Gandhi IAS

7a. DALITS IN TAMILNADU

The recent caste clashes in the Southern part of Tamilnadu have once again brought to the centre of stage the continued societal discriminations against dalits in Tamilnadu. Heavy disparities in access to services and resources like jobs, credit, land entitlement and ownership as well as denial of basic human rights have forced the dalits of Tamilnadu to mobilize themselves and demand their rights and due share in the development of Tamilnadu.

In spite of decades of reservations and the Govt. claiming to have spent crores of rupees for dalit welfare, Tamilnadu has a poor record of empowerment of dalit communities. Most of the caste clashes involving dalits, in the recent past in Tamilnadu are linked to visible disparities in terms of access to productive resources like land and credit, to the disadvantage of the dalits.

Dalits, a significant section of Tamilnadu

Dalits, as per the 1991 census, form 19.18 % of the total Tamilnadu population, much higher than the national average of 16.48%. In the whole country, the only States that have greater percentage of their population as dalits are Punjab (28.31%), Himachal Pradesh (25.34%), West Bengal (23.62%), Uttar Pradesh (21.05%), and Haryana (19.75%).

Dalits in Tamilnadu are, even numerically, a significant section of the people of Tamilnadu.

The ever-present and widening gap

Leaving aside the general achievements of Tamilnadu in the field of social development, what is striking is the increasingly tragic situation of the dalits in Tamilnadu as well as the continuing gaps of standards of social development between dalit and non-dalit sections of the Tamilnadu population.

Dalits, disproportionately a Rural Mass

Tamilnadu claims to be the 3rd most urbanised State in the Country, next only to Maharashtra and Gujarat. As per the 1991 Census, nearly 35% of the population in Tamilnadu live in towns of various categories.

Heavy disparities in access to services and resources like jobs, credit, land entitlement and ownership as well as denial of basic human rights have forced the dalits of Tamilnadu to mobilize themselves and demand their rights and due share in the development of Tamilnadu

The dalit population in Tamilnadu, as per the 1991 Census, is as follows. And, as can be seen below, nearly 80% of the dalit population in Tamilnadu still live in villages.

Nearly 80% of dalits in Tamilnadu still live in villages

	Males	Females	Total	%
Rural	42,59,370	41,68,670	84,28,040	(78.68)
Urban	11,55,229	11,28,997	22,84,226	(21.32)
Total	54,14,599	52,97,667	1,07,12,266	(100)

Again, a dis-aggregation of the figures in terms of dalit and non-dalit sections is revealing.

Percentage of Urban Population (%)			
	1971	1981	1991
Dalits (SC)	17.30	20.16	21.32
Non-SC/ST	33.31	36.18	37.52

(Thangaraj, MIDS)

While 37.52% of non- SC/ST population enjoy the benefits of urbanisation in Tamilnadu, only 21.32% of dalits do so

This means, only 21.32% of dalits in Tamilnadu (compared to 37.52% of non-SC/STs) enjoy the benefits of urbanisation in Tamilnadu.

DALITS AND LAND IN TAMILNADU

“The recent struggles of dalits have all been about control over land and other common village resources”.

- Tamilnadu Peoples’ Manifesto, 1996

The data, below, on operational holdings owned by dalits (and tribals) vis-à-vis other sections of the population in Tamilnadu are indeed very revealing.

Number of Operational Holdings 1990-91
(Area in Hectares in the brackets)

Size class	Dalits	Tribals	Others	Total
Marginal (below 1 acre)	7,54,526 (2,50,598)	36,703 (16,600)	50,56,867 (18,50,628)	58,48,096 (21,17,826)
Small (below 2 acres)	1,07,578 (1,48,169)	17,370 (24,275)	11,49,567 (16,22,027)	12,74,515 (17,94,471)
Semi Medium (below 4 acres)	34,042 (89,788)	9,415 (25,657)	74,146 (15,71,069)	17,605 (16,86,514)
Medium (below 10 acres)	6,958 (38,217)	2,548 (16,477)	2,17,688 (12,46,430)	2,27,594 (13,01,124)
Large (above 10 acres)	480 (7,222)	240 (3,685)	30,402 (5,62,835)	31,122 (5,73,742)
TOTAL	9,03,584 (5,33,994)	66,677 (86,694)	70,28,671 (68,52,989)	79,98,932 (74,73,677)

(Statistical Handbook of Tamilnadu 1998)

A deeper look at the different sized farms makes the inequalities and gaps even more striking. To articulate some of the major truths hidden in the above statistics:

- **Out of all those who own land of all sizes in Tamilnadu (79,98,932 units) dalits owning land (9,03,584 units) constitute only 11.3%.**
- **Of all the land owned in Tamilnadu, lands owned by dalits form only 7.1% of the total area**
- **Out of all those who own large farms (10 acres and above) in Tamilnadu, a mere 1.5% are dalits.**
- **Among the dalits who own land (i.e. 9,03,584 units), nearly 45% (3,98,767) own lands, less than 2 acres each, which is highly non-economical and non-profitable.**

Dalits have been consistently denied their due share in ownership of land in Tamilnadu. 50 years of independence and decades of Dravidian rule have been no different from the traditional Brahminic order

District-wise studies of ownership of land by dalits are even more revealing. For example,

In Periyar district, dalits constitute 17.16% of the population, but the land owned by them is 1.85%

In Nilgiris district, dalits constitute 30.22% of the population, but the land owned by them is a mere 0.90%

In Coimbatore district, dalits constitute 16.40% of the population, but the land owned by them is just 1.38%

(Thangaraj, MIDS)

It is more than clear that the vast majority of dalits in Tamilnadu have been consistently denied their due share in ownership of land in Tamilnadu. 50 years of independence and decades of Dravidian rule have been no different from the traditional Brahminic order, which had always denied dalits the right to own land.

Meanwhile, micro studies have shown that Panchami lands, lands that legally belong to dalits but have been taken away from them, would be no less than a few lakhs of acres, spread all over Tamilnadu. Though most of the manifestos (including that of the ruling DMK) highlighted the issue, no genuine efforts have been taken up.

“Government should take all efforts to undertake a study to identify panchami lands in all the districts of Tamilnadu and to hand over the lands to the dalits. Government must provide all facilities including finance, to the dalits, to cultivate these lands”

- Tamilnadu Peoples' Manifesto, 1996

Micro studies have shown that panchami lands, that belong to dalits but taken away, would be not less than 2 lakhs of acres

The State Conference on Panchami Land Restoration at Tiruvannamalai, in March 2000, demanded effective govt. action to restore all the Panchami lands in the hands of non-dalits. Quoting govt. figures, the conference claimed that out of the 12 lakhs acres of Panchami lands given to dalits, about 2.5 lakhs acres have been grabbed by non-dalits.

Quoting the Chennai High Court judgement No. 824/1988 dated 22.1.1991 and various G.Os passed, the conference demanded quick action.

Agricultural Labourers

The combining of the two above factors (80% of dalits in Tamilnadu live in villages and the vast majority of them do not own land) results obviously in most of the dalits being involved in agriculture and leading a precarious life as landless agricultural labourers.

The following table is self-explanatory:

Percentage of primary sector to total main workers		
	1971	1991
Dalits (SCs)	85.40	81.58
Non-Sc/STs	59.03	55.89

Even though generally there is a marginal decline in the percentage of those involved in agriculture, the dalit / non-dalit differences are striking. While it is more than 80% in the case of dalits, it is just about 55% for others.

Similarly, as revealed in the following table, in Tamilnadu, as at the national level, the proportion of dalit agricultural workers to the total main workers is higher than the non-dalit sections.

Percentage of agr.labourers to total main workers		
	1971	1991
Dalits (SCs)	63.80	64.29
Non-SC/ST	21.59	26.21

(Thangaraj, MIDS)

Most agricultural labourers live below the poverty line due to very low income. Their employment is seasonal and for nearly half of the days in a year they are unemployed. Their wages are too low, compared to workers in the secondary and tertiary sectors.

As per the Rural Labour Enquiry Report (1993-94), Tamilnadu has the highest percentage of incidence of rural wage labour households among dalits. 83% of dalits in rural areas in the State were earning their livelihood through employment (compared to the national average of 59.45%)

More than 80% of dalit workers are agricultural labourers. And the proportion of dalit agricultural workers to the total main workers in the State is much higher than the non-dalits

Construction Workers

Percentage of Construction workers to total Main workers		
	1971	1991
Dalits (SCs)	0.81	1.64
Non-SCs/STs	1.81	2.31

(Thangaraj, MIDS)

The trends over the 20 years (1971-91) are very striking. Even though the percentage of construction workers to total main workers for dalits is smaller than for non-dalits, the differential rates of growth are striking. The construction workers among dalits have more than doubled. The situation in Tamilnadu is fast approaching the national situation, where the % of construction workers is higher than among non-dalit sections.

The main reason for the higher percentage of dalit labourers in construction is due to the fact that they depend more on manual labour. Their growing number also suggests a growing trend towards displacement from villages, unable to provide jobs.

DALITS & EDUCATION IN TAMILNADU

Right to education for dalits (like the right to own land) has been another basic denial in the traditional caste system, over the centuries. Tamilnadu, in spite of its great strides in general literacy, have yet to solve the basic problem of the dalits' right to education.

The following table contrasts the literacy levels of dalits Vs Non-dalits in Tamilnadu:

Percentage of literacy Rates in Tamilnadu			
	1971	1981	1991
Dalits(SC)	21.82	29.67	39.47
Non-SC/ST	43.58	51.01	58.27

(Thangaraj, MIDS)

While, overall, in Tamilnadu about 40% remain illiterate, as high as 60% of dalits remain illiterate. The dalits in Tamilnadu in 1991 had still to reach the literacy levels achieved by other sections of Tamilnadu, way back in 1971.

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The situation is even more tragic in the case of dalit women, vis-à-vis non-dalit women:

	1971	1981	1991
Dalit(SC) women	11.32%	18.47%	29.50%
Non-SC/ST women	30.47%	39.04%	48.57%
Non-SC/ST men	56.40%	62.69%	67.72%

Compared to a nearly 50% literacy rate for non-dalit women in Tamilnadu, not even 30% of dalit women have become literate.

Dropouts

Tamilnadu has, of late, been recognized for having achieved near total enrolment of all children of school going age. And, Tamilnadu has been hailed as holding the second rank in the whole country, in terms of enrolment at the primary level.

“In recent times, the percentage of children enrolled is near complete. The percentage of enrolment of girls and boys in Standard I is 94.43% and 98.50% respectively. It is gratifying to note that the trend continues to progress towards near full enrolment of children.”

- Policy Note on Education 2000-2001, GOTN

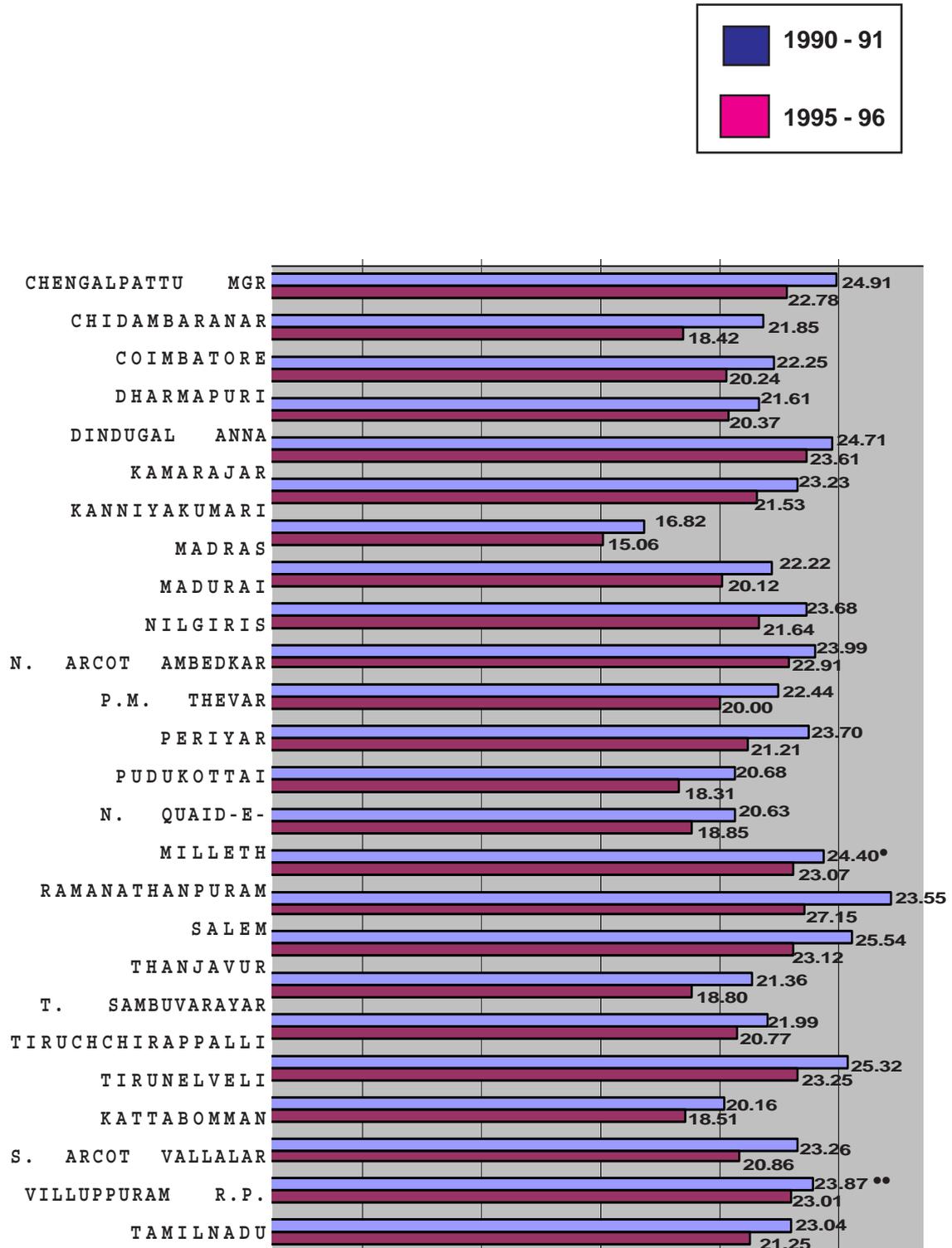
While this can lead to legitimate pride, a serious look at the enrolment of dalit children, even at the primary level, has become the need of the hour.

A recent sample survey, undertaken in the districts of Virudhunagar and Toothukudi, has raised the clear possibility of manipulation of figures, by headmasters and school teachers, even in terms of enrolment at the primary level. It was noted that, even though names were found in the attendance register, the corresponding students did not attend school. It is a clear instance where Govt. data need to be checked by actual grassroots data.

Anyway, more than the problem of enrolment, the issue of children dropping out of school, at various levels, is taking serious proportions. Poor enrolment rates at middle and high school levels (about 39-40%) clearly show that almost 50% of those who qualify for a particular stage drop out before completing the stage.

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DROPOUT RATES OF SC/ST BOYS (6-11 YRS) 1990-91 & 1995 - 96

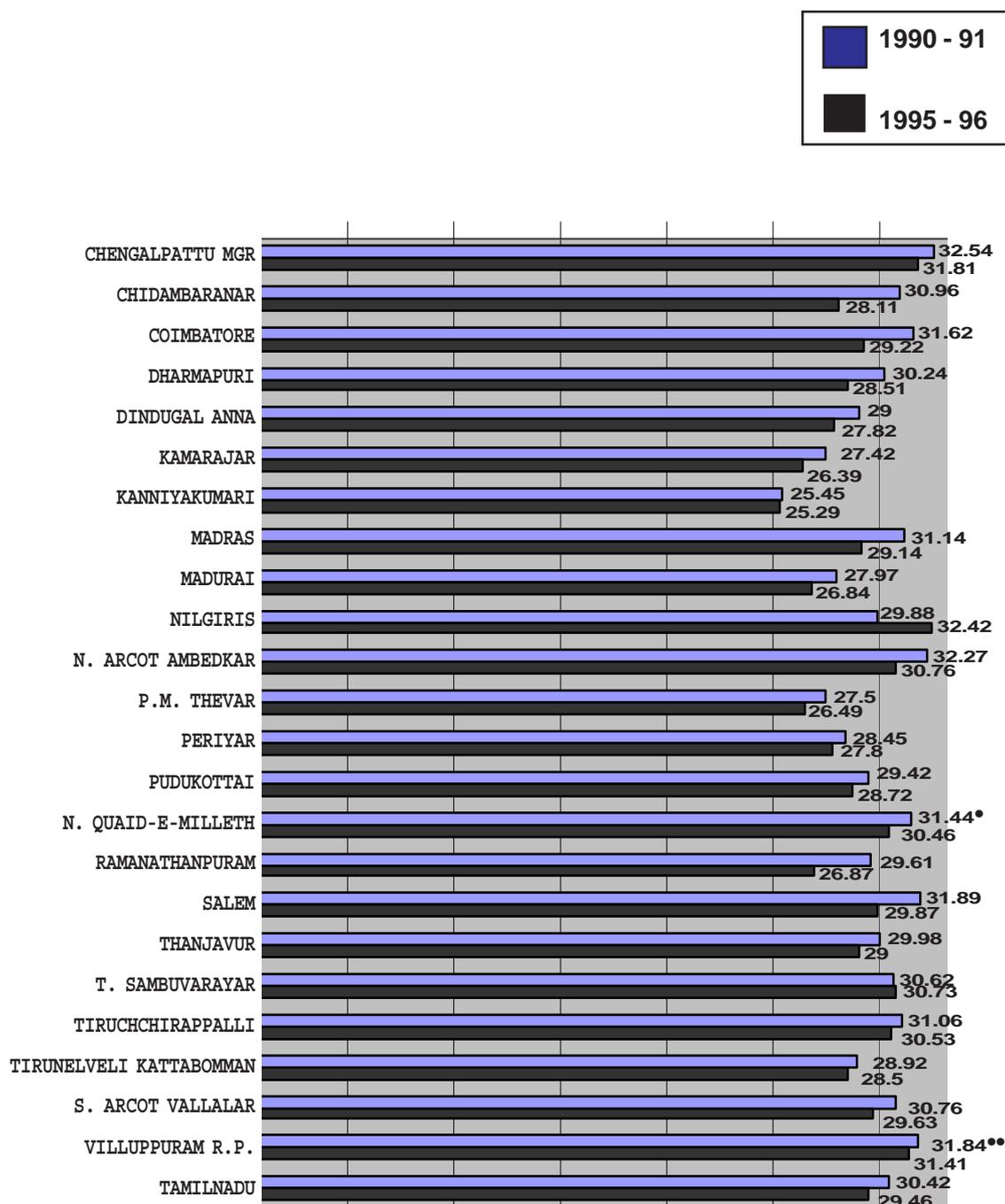


*Data for 1992-93

**Data for 1993-94

(UNICEF, Profile of Districts in Tamilnadu, 1996)

DROPOUT RATES OF SC/ST GIRLS (6-11 YRS) 1990-91 & 1995 - 96



•Data for 1992-93 **Data for 1993-94

(UNICEF, Profile of Districts in Tamilnadu, 1996)

“ As per (the available) statistics, in the year 1995-96 alone, 25,29,816 children from standards 1 to 8 have dropped out. Most of them end up as child labourers!..”

-IWID Report

Even though there are signs to show that the dropout rate of SC/ST has decreased during 1990/91 to 1994/95, still the drop out rates, both among dalits and tribals, are much higher than those of non-SC/ST students.

Technical Education

Dalit students do seem to manage to get their due share of 513 seats out of a total of 2700 in the Government and Government-aided engineering colleges in Tamilnadu. But, in self-financing colleges with a total seat availability of 18900, the enrolment of dalit students is negligible. The reason is obvious: vast majority of dalits can afford neither the capitation fees (ranging between Rs 1 to 1.5 lakhs per seat) nor the free seats (costing more than Rs.40000/- per seat).

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Secondary & Higher Education

As per Government statement given to the Assembly in May 2000, 1017 Adi dravida schools (806 primary schools, 110 middle schools, 47 high schools and 54 higher secondary schools) function in Tamilnadu. 2,19,000 boys and girls study in these schools. But the quality of education in these schools as well as facilities for stay and study have been so deplorable, that the suggestion to close all these schools and merge them with the general school system has been raised.

Plight of Adidravida schools in Tamilnadu (A case study)

“The school at Maraneri village in Tanjavur district (32 kms away from Tanjavur town), has been running for the last 6 months without teachers. Number of students early in the year was 93, but now has come down to about 80. There were 50 boys and 30 girls on the register. Two teachers went on a transfer and no replacement for last 6 months.”

In Arts and Science colleges in Tamilnadu, the total seats available was 3,16,299. Out of this, the dalit share of 19% should be 59000. The actual number is 50500.

In general, as per the 1991 Census figures, the percentage of dalits in the various courses of higher education is much below their due share as per their populational proportion.

There have been recent accusations that the scholarship amounts allocated to SC/ST students are either not properly utilized or even diverted. The Student Federation of India had accused, in March 2000, "Funds allocated to SC/ST students has not been properly utilized. Especially, the grants for the year 1999-2000 have not been distributed to students in the districts of Chennai, Thoothukudi, Virudhunagar and Cuddalore. (Theekathir, 27 March 2000)

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DALITS & HEALTH IN TAMILNADU

Infant Mortality Rate		
	Rural	Urban
Dalits(SC)	104.2	74.5
Non-SC/ST	86.7	50.5

(Mortality differentials in India, 1984
Vital Statistics division, GOI, 1989)

The main reason for the high mortality rate among dalits and in rural areas is due to lack of health care and under-nutrition. Low rate of literacy in the rural areas and among the dalits must have also contributed for the high and relatively higher mortality rates.

Death Rate		
	Rural	Urban
Dalits(SC)	15.50	12.90
Non-SC/ST	11.20	8.40

(Mortality Differentials in India, 1984
Vital Statistics Division, GOI, 1989)

The high death rate among dalits is also presumably because of lack of health care, low levels of health consciousness (due to literacy) and under-nutrition.

The high differentials between dalits and non-dalits in Tamilnadu, in terms of infant mortality rates and death rates are very striking

Basic Amenities

With regard to availability of basic amenities too, the plight of the dalits, compared to non-dalit sections, is indeed shocking (though the figures regarding drinking water is baffling!)

Percentage of households having the amenities			
	Dr. Water	Electricity	Sanitation
Dalits(SC)	70.85	30.91	9.84
Non-SC/ST	66.81	61.31	26.76

(Ninth Five Year Plan Tamilnadu : 1997-2000)

Calculations done by the State planning Commission are revealing too: In rural areas of Tamilnadu, while the percentage of households of all communities electrified stood at 44.5%, only 27.5% of the dalit households were electrified. In urban areas, the figure for all communities was as high as 76.8%, while the figure for dalit households was a lowly 44.8%.

Consumer Expenditure

Consumer expenditure is another index, which measures the standard of living of people. Low levels of consumer expenditure for dalits indicate that most of them live below poverty line in rural areas. It is a clear sign that the benefit of processes like urbanisation, industrialisation and economic growth has not been shared by the dalits. (Refer the vast difference especially in urban areas)

Average monthly per capita consumer expenditure (Total consumption per person for 30 days)		
	Rural	Urban
Dalits (Scs)	Rs 87.83	Rs 113.50
Non-SCs/STs	Rs 119.74	Rs 170.30

(Thangaraj, MIDS)

DALITS & EMPLOYMENT IN TAMILNADU

Representation in State Services

The shockingly low levels of representation of dalits in State Government's services and jobs have become a serious point of contention of late. The higher the levels, the lower and insignificant are their shares, vis-à-vis their rightful due.

In the Government services alone, in Tamilnadu, there are about 13 lakhs employees. Given the 19% share of the dalits, there should be more than 2.5 lakhs dalit employees at all the levels and services of the Government.

The actual positions occupied by dalits, as per the 1981 Census, was much lower:

Class I:	6.0%
Class II:	13.5%
Class III:	11.9%
Class IV:	15.7%

In 1987, for the All India Services like the prestigious IAS, IPS, only 8.23% dalits were selected through the competitive examinations. For Class II posts, 10.4% of dalits were selected. It was only at the lowest category (Class IV) the quota of about 20% is filled.

From 1987 to 1991, the position has improved only slightly:

Class I	from 8.23 % to 9.09 %;
Class II	from 10.40 % to 11.82 %;
Class III	from 14.40 % to 15.65 %
Class IV	from 20.00 % to 21.24 %.

Even these levels refer only to direct government employment. In the case of State public sector undertakings, and in Municipalities, the scheduled caste employees are very marginal.

It is generally an accepted fact that about 80% of the revenue budget of any particular year is spent on salaries. Out of a total revenue budget Rs 18000 crores, salaries come to almost Rs 14400 crores. Of this amount, about 2736 crores will reach dalits, if all their posts are held by them.

The Shockingly low levels of representation of dalits in State Government's services and jobs have become a serious point of contention of late. Higher the levels, the lower and insignificant are the shares of dalits, vis-a-vis their rightful share

Given the fact that not more than one-third of their legitimate posts are claimed by dalits, a vast amount of about Rs 1600 crores per year, which is their statutory entitlement, is denied to the dalits, purely on the salaries front.

Dalits and College Teachers

The total number of posts of teachers in the Government Colleges, in Tamilnadu alone, is about 6000. Out of this, a minimum of 1000 teachers should have been recruited from the dalits. But the actual number of dalit teachers in Tamilnadu Govt colleges is just 350. Only recently, the Government has now come out with a policy decision of recruiting 595 college teachers from among the dalits in the course of next 4 years.

The total number of college teachers in Government, Government-aided and self-financing colleges in Tamilnadu for the year 1997-98 was 20133. Of this, the dalits, as per their proportional right, should get at least 4000 seats. In practice, the number was not even 500.

Meanwhile forging of dalit certificates to grab jobs have gone on in a big way. Dalit Panthers movement has demanded a white paper on 'the incidence of forgery of medical, engineering and agricultural course Certificates' (Indian Express, 15 April 2000)

Often, the argument, "Eligible candidates for promotions have not been found" has been used to block dalits from claiming their legitimate rights especially at higher levels. But these arguments are no more viable or legitimate.

White Paper controversy

Dalit movements in the State have been raising the demand for a White Paper on the actual situation of dalits in government jobs and the remedying actions contemplated.

Due to persistent pressures, the Tamilnadu Government appointed a 9-member high power committee, headed by Mr Selvaraj, SC/ST Welfare Minister. The Committee submitted a Report giving details about vacancies in each department and at every level. It also recommended that in case of lack of qualified candidates to fill the vacancies, the govt. should select the candidates, give them adequate training and appoint them.

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The Report was shelved by the government. So the dalit movements went ahead and published their own “White Paper”. The came up with the following findings regarding dalit vacancies in the 144 departments of Tamilnadu Government:

Grade	Total Employees	Dalit Employees	Percentage
A	5,019	374	7.45% (vs 18% due)
B	1,10,148	13,657	12.40% (vs 18% due)
C	1,20,235	17,645	14.68% (vs 18% due)
D	4,36,440	87,420	20.00% (vs 18% due)

(“White Paper”, Dalit Information Centre)

The Govt tabled in the Assembly in May 2000, an alternate White Paper on “Reservation in Government Employment for the Adi dravidars (SC), Scheduled Tribes, Most Backward Classes and Denotified Communities”.

Taking 1 April 1989 as the basis to reckon the quantum of reservation of appointments, the Govt came up with the following statistics (as of 1 January 1999):

The present backlog of vacancies		
Group	SCs	STs
A	168	5
B	1545	130
C	2537	825
D	657	134
Total	4907	1094

Conceding that it will be difficult to fill up the “carried forward backlog vacancies” from 1989, the Govt. promised to clear the backlog by making commensurate “entry level appointments” in the concerned departments “in a phased programme within 5 years”.

This has been severely criticised by most movements and organisations who have accused the Govt. of insincerity in filling the vacancies for dalits in the State and have claimed that the White paper was not a full-fledged one. New ‘entry level appointments’ cannot be equated with backlogs to be filled, they have claimed.

And, for example, the Democratic Youth Federation of India (DYFI) has urged the govt. to immediately appoint the 210 dalit candidates to the various state cooperative banks, to fill whose vacancies, they had been selected way back in 1998 and trained, but not appointed.

It is crucial that justice be done to dalits and past injustices undone.

The recent White paper has been severely criticised by most movements and organisations, who have accused the Govt. of insincerity in filling the vacancies for dalits in the State and have claimed that the White paper was not doing justice to dalits’ rights

DALITS & COMMON PROPERTY RESOURCES IN TAMILNADU

Dalits are rarely allowed to, and even positively forbidden to take part in the Government auctions. Upper castes forcibly get the public auctions at ridiculously low rates and privately re-auction them for exorbitant rates

Over the last few years, there have been increasing number of instances of dalits and dalit movements forcefully demanding that they should be given their due share in common and village resources owned or auctioned by the government.

Various departments of the Tamilnadu Govt., such as Revenue, Rural Development, Hindu Religious Endowments, Forests etc, auction regularly vast amount of government and public properties.

Especially, the Revenue Department regularly auctions vast amount of trees, grazing lands, ponds and lakhs for fishing etc. Even though these are supposed to be “open” auctions, where everyone has equal rights, dalits are rarely allowed, to exercise their rights to get these properties in auctions. In Tamilnadu, an institutionalised corrupt system of auctioning has come to stay, whereby the upper castes manage to get these auctions at ridiculously low rates, and privately re-auction them at exorbitant rates.

Besides the fact that dalits are positively forbidden in most places to take part in the auctions, the huge profits obtained by the system of re-auctioning is often kept by groups of higher caste groups and are even used against the dalits in the area. Recently, the clashes between dalits and others at Narasingapatti, Madurai in 1992 and at Vazhudavur, Villupuram recently have been around these issues of dalits’ right to auction tamarind trees etc.

Similarly, as per Government statistics, there are 4,91,417 acres of land, coming under the purview of the Hindu Religious Endowment Department. Of these, almost 4 lakhs acres are said to be in illegal possession and only about 1 lakh of land come into the public auction process. In 1992, dalits were fatally attacked at Sennagarampatti, Madurai – for having raised their right to auction temple lands.

Again, lakhs of acres of land, of Cashew, Mango, Guava and Eucalyptus trees, belonging to the Forest Department come into the process of public auctioning. Here again, there is a cleverly designed system, which keeps dalits out of the process.

Finally, the many Contracts given out by the Public Works Department, auctioning of liquor shops by the Revenue Department etc are grabbed by those with political clout and influence, thereby effectively shutting dalits out of the process.

There is a serious and urgent need to devise methods to ensure dalits their due share in such common public property sources.

Recently, there has been a demand that similar to quotas in education, public employment and Government, minimal quotas need to be worked out, in the auctioning processes - specifically marked for dalits. This suggestion merits the serious attention of the Government.

SPECIAL COMPONENT PLAN FOR DALITS

Special Component Plan (SCP) is the result of the conviction of the Central Govt. of India that neither 50 years of planning nor thousands of crores of rupees allocated for SC/ST Welfare has substantially changed the lives of majority of dalits in India. It is an effort to radically rework the whole strategy of dalit welfare.

The Plan was introduced by the Central Govt. of India in 1980-81. The Central Govt. has made it obligatory for all the State Governments as well as all the Central Govt. ministries to take up the Special Component Plan.

Detailed studies done by us on the implementation of SCP by Tamilnadu Government have clearly brought out the following truths:

Funds allocations have been wrong and inadequate

The basic approach to SCP in the State has been faulty

Implementation of SCP by the Departments in Tamilnadu has been lax and cynical

(For details, refer our publication, "Social Development of Dalits and Tamilnadu Govt. Budget – A critique")

In June 1999, at a review meeting with the Chief Secretary and other officials of the State Gov., Mr. Dileep Singh Bhuria, chairman of the National Commission for SC/STs, has taken a serious note of the under-utilisation of funds by the Tamilnadu Govt. with regard to the welfare of SC/STs.

**Fund allocations have been wrong and inadequate.
Basic approach to SCP has been faulty.
Implementation of SCP by the departments has been lax and cynical**

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