

**Social Development
of Dalits
and
Tamil Nadu Govt. Budget**

A CRITIQUE

Tamil Nadu
Peoples' Forum
for Social
Development

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF DALITS & TAMILNADU GOVT BUDGET (A Critique)

There have been, in the recent years, increasing number of struggles by dalits, demanding their due share in the resources of Tamilnadu. Most of these struggles, as well as the clashes between dalits and other castes, have centered on questions of land, jobs, share in common village resources etc.

The Tamilnadu Peoples' Forum for Social Development has been involved, over the last three years, in the task of analysing and monitoring the Budgets of the Tamilnadu Govt., from a Social Development perspective.

The present effort is an attempt to analyse Tamilnadu Govt.'s public policy and priorities in the field of Social Development – more, specifically its Budget Dynamics - in a specific and crucial area, namely the social development of dalits in Tamilnadu. The analysis is based on our understanding and experience of the grassroots reality of dalits in Tamilnadu.

We have given special consideration to the Special Component Plans for dalit welfare and have made alternate proposals.

We sincerely hope that this small effort of ours will help towards changing the Tamilnadu Government's public policy on dalits, more in tune with the long-lasting and newly emerging demands of the dalit movements in Tamilnadu.

A sincere thanks to all our friends who substantially helped in bringing out this booklet – Mr. Christudoss Gandhi IAS, Mr. John Kumar, Mr. Fatimson, Mr. Michael Nayagam and all those who critically commented on the earlier draft. Mr. Marimuthu and Mr. Cyril Alexander of the Forum Secretariate deserve special appreciation for their generous and committed work.

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PART I
BUDGET ANALYSIS

1. Budget Analysis - a tool for Social Auditing of public Policy
2. Need for a radically new approach in Budgeting
3. Crucial need for dis-aggregated statistics

BUDGET ANALYSIS

(A TOOL FOR SOCIAL AUDITING OF PUBLIC POLICY)

The Govt. Budget, a pointer...

The annual Budget (i.e., the “Annual Financial Statement”) of a government is a major instrument, by which the Government balances its intentions with available resources.

The Budget is an important pointer to the government’s priorities, performances, decisions and intentions.

Successive budgets of a particular government (or the ruling party) reveal the hidden interests and thrusts as well as the long-term vision of those in power.

The Budget is an articulation of the existing power relations in the society. It has an immediate and measurable impact on the lives of the people of various sectors of economy and society, especially the poor and the powerless. Budget allocations, in the long run, can and do change the power relations between the different sections of the economy and society.

Need to de-mystify the Budget....

Annual budgets are constitutional requirements for the government. Even the most authoritarian government cannot ignore the relatively rigorous process of budget - making and presenting it to the peoples’ representatives.

Yet, Budget-making is a highly specialised and technical exercise, handled by bureaucrats. It is due to this reason that govt. budgets usually remain highly mystified - far from the reach of the masses for whom they are intended.

But, the budget is too powerful an instrument to be left completely in the hands of bureaucrats and politicians.

Budget Analysis, the base for peoples' lobbies

It is the responsibility of the Govt. budgeting agencies themselves to invite and involve citizen groups in the exercise of Budget making and priority setting. But it rarely happens.

Often it is the lobbies - of business and trade, big institutions... - that influence and get their programmes pushed into the Budget. Ordinary people have hardly any say in it. The annual budget, as soon as it is announced, attracts comments from the industrialists and scholars, and the general public too. And that is the end of it.

And, usually, it is the media images of the budgets, projected by the vested media and the lobbies of the rich and the powerful, that determine the public perception about budget, rather than perceptive analysis and understanding of its inner dynamics.

There is a great need today for people to let their elected leaders know what they think about the way the leaders achieve their stated party objectives through the allocation of money. People need to actively influence the budgetary allocations when the budget is in formation as well as to ensure proper use of the allocated resources after the budget.

Budget Analysis and peoples' lobbies based on it, by focusing on the end result, can seriously influence the elected body to discuss the budget in a more informed and pro-poor manner.

The greatest strength of budget analysis and policy priority studies is that they give strong signals for change. The signals that come out of budget analysis are neither academic nor merely emotional or partisan. The signals are towards concrete responses. Hence Budget analysis is geared towards making government agencies to perform better and in a more accountable manner.

Budget analysis changes the very focus of search, from routine budget provisions and allocations to questions of priorities and social outcomes of the budget. Why is a particular allocation made? Does it really achieve its purpose? Whom does it actually and ultimately benefit? ...

NEED FOR A RADICALLY NEW METHOD OF BUDGETING

“ The `Change factor` which is central to any dynamic strategy is conspicuous by its absence in social sectors.”

- Christudoss Gandhi IAS

The booklet “An Introduction to Budget 1998-99”, issued by the Finance department of the Tamilnadu Government, accepts that the State has been basically following the `Incremental System of Budgeting`, though the `Zero Base Budgeting` is said to used in recent times. This surely needs some looking into.

The Incremental System of Budgeting is, by definition, anti-change. It means “ that the first charge on available resources is that of the expenditure relating to ongoing programmes, and only if resources are available after meeting the expenditure on all the ongoing schemes, the Govt. will think of new schemes”.

The document itself accepts that this system is “not very conducive to a developing country like ours, because the requirements of the people and the role of the Government are always evolving and there is a persistent need to have new schemes.”

The document also claims that the **Zero Base Budgeting (ZBB)**, which “continuously reviews all departments to identify wasteful schemes and surplus staff, so that the resources can be used more effectively” is slowly coming into use.

Dalits and Budget Dynamics

In the case of Budgeting for dalits, more than in any other sphere, there is a serious need for fresh thinking and a radical departure from orthodox budgeting and financial practices, followed so far.

“ A cursory look at successive budgets of the scheduled caste sector in the Centre as well as in any constituent State of the country will reveal that `change` is an arena, planners and programme executives still fear to tread upon. They feel safe wearing the mantle of a status-quoist. They profess in “exercising extreme caution before putting one step forward”. `Change` is a most dreaded word in SC budgeting process. At the same time `change` is the only turn of leaf that SCs have been aspiring for centuries together.”

- Christudoss Gandhi IAS

**CRUCIAL NEED
FOR
DIS-AGGREGATED AND RELEVANT STATISTICS**

“Lack of data on SCs and STs with regard to their socio-economic and education status is the main incentive for pilferage and ultimate failure of the projects / scheme... Lack of database on the Socio-economic status of the SCs and STs and lack of a bench mark for evaluating the impact of the programmes and projects is the main reason for lack of accountability, which in turn results in leakage and failure of the plans and programmes.”

**- Report of the Working group on Development of
SCs and STs (IX Five Year Plan)**

Statistics can be a help both for revealing and hiding truth. Even while reliable, Govt. statistics are often not available, mainly at the lower and disaggregated levels, especially with regard to specific areas of social development of dalits. Demands for more and more transparent and relevant data from the different levels of Government need to become a serious component of any public policy advocacy initiative.

“By plugging this major loophole, it is proposed for the setting up of a computer data bank at the district level and at the State level.... This will serve as the foundation for the socio-economic upliftment of SCs and STs, including education, planning and implementing various programmes”

- Working Group Report

Government Statistics are often helpful; but they can also be deceptive. Often, Government Statistics can be very different from results of private research as well as grassroots experience. There is a serious need to create mechanisms by which the 3 types of Statistics can be effectively used as counter-checks to one another:

- Government Statistics
- Statistics from private non-government research
- Data obtained from actual grassroots experience and analysis

PART II
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4. Dalits & Social Development in Tamilnadu

5. A Survey of Social Development of

dalits Vs non-dalits in Tamilnadu

a. Dalits and Land in Tamilnadu

b. Dalits and Common Property Resources

c. Dalits and Urbanisation

d. Dalits and Employment in Tamilnadu

e. Dalits and Education in Tamilnadu

f. Dalits and Health in Tamilnadu

g. Dalits and Basic Amenities

h. Dalits and Government schemes in Tamilnadu

DALITS & SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN TAMILNADU

Dalits, a significant section of Tamilnadu:

Dalits, as per the 1991 census, form 19.18 % of the total Tamilnadu population. This is surely 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 surely a significant section of the people of Tamilnadu.

Compared to the State average of 19.18 % in 1991, the districts which have greater than State average (of dalits as % of total population) are Nilgiris -30.22%, South Arcot (inclusive of Viluppuram & Cuddalore districts) -27.13%, Chengalpattu (inclusive of Tiruvallur & Kanchipuram) -25.97%, Thanjavur (inclusive of Thanjavur, Tiruvarur & Nagappattinam) -24.17%, Tiruvannamalai -21.46%, North Arcot -20.73% and Dindigul - 19.41%. Kanyakumari District has the lowest (4.80 %) proportion of its population as dalits.

The ever present and widening gap:

Tamilnadu usually takes pride that it stands very high in the field of Social Development, vis-à-vis other States of the country. And, often, figures are cited to show how Tamilnadu is far better, in the field of social development, than many other States in the country.

Leaving aside the legitimacy of such claims, what is significant 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.

A SURVEY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF DALITS Vs NON-DALITS IN TAMILNADU

The following survey takes stock of the social development of dalits vis-à-vis non-dalits in Tamilnadu.

a) 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

Number (and Area in hectares) of Operational Holdings 1990-91				
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)	9,416 (25,657)	5,74,147 (15,71,069)	6,17,605 (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)
ALL SIZES	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, 1997 (pp. 94-101)

The above data on operational holdings owned by dalits (and tribals) vis-à-vis other sections of the population in Tamilnadu are indeed very revealing. And 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 persons), dalits owning land (9,03,584 persons) 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 (9,03,584 persons), nearly 45% (3,98,767 persons) own lands, less than 2 acres each, which is highly non-economical and non-profitable

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 a small 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%
(rf Thangaraj, "Land and Caste in Tamilnadu, 1998)

Panchami Lands

With the death in police firing of two dalit youth, the issue of Panchami lands erupted in Tamilnadu. Though most of the manifestoes (including that of the ruling DMK) highlighted the issue, no genuine efforts have been taken up, even to identify such lands, much less to make sure that these lands are returned to their rightful owners, the dalits. Certain micro-studies have shown that the lands in question would be no less than a few lakhs of acres, spread all over Tamilnadu.

“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

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.

b) DALITS & COMMON PROPERTY RESOURCES IN TAMILNADU

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.

Revenue Department

Especially, the Revenue Department regularly leases out, under auction, vast amount of trees, grazing lands, ponds and lakes 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 higher 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.

The violent clashes between dalits and others at Narasingapatti, Madurai in 1992 and at Vazhudavur, Villupuram recently have been around the issue of dalits’ right to take part in the auctioning of tamarind trees etc.

Hindu Religious Endowment Department

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.

Forest Department

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.

Public Works Department

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 and public employment, minimal quotas need to be worked out, in the auctioning processes - specifically marked for dalits. This suggestion merits the serious attention of the Government.

c) DALITS AND URBANISATION

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.

But, it is a sad fact that benefits of urbanisation have not reached the dalits in Tamilnadu as much as for others, as clearly shown by the following table.

Urbanisation in Tamilnadu (%)

	1971	1981	1991
Dalits (SCs)	17.30	20.16	21.32
Tribals (STs)	5.50	12.01	17.30
Non-SC/ST	33.31	36.18	37.52

(Thangaraj, p 8)

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

Even 50 years after India's Independence, 80% of the dalit population in Tamilnadu still live in villages, bereft of basic facilities for sustenance and growth.

Dalits in Tamilnadu - predominantly landless 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:

%age of primary sector workers to total main workers

	1971	1991
Dalits (SCs)	85.40	81.58
Tribals (STs)	93.06	87.10
Non-SC/STs	59.03	55.89

- Thangaraj, pp 7,8

Even today, the percentage of agricultural labourers among all dalit workers is as high as 81.58. The same percentage in the case of non-SC/STs has diminished to a low of 55.89%.

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.

d) DALITS & EMPLOYMENT IN TAMILNADU

Added to the already heavy burden of unemployment and underemployment among vast sections of dalits in Tamilnadu, the recent phenomenon of globalisation, liberalisation and the dis-investment policies announced by the Government in the name of privatisation has imparted a severe blow to the employment opportunities of the members of SC and ST.

“The members of the group were of the unanimous view that the recent phenomenon of globalisation, liberalisation and the dis-investment policies announced by the Government in the name of privatisation has imparted a severe blow to the employment opportunities of the members of SC and ST. Statistics prove that there would be considerable reduction in the employment opportunities in general and very steep decrease of jobs to be filled for the reserved category in particular”

- TN Working group on SCs & STs (9th plan)

Representation in State Services:

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

The annual reports of Service Commissions have been regularly acknowledging at the Parliament that the reservation quota of 15% for dalits is never filled in higher categories, for one reason or other.

In the Government services alone, in Tamilnadu, there are about 13 lakh 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 position, 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 % and

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 dalit employees are very marginal.

It is generally an accepted fact that about 80% of the revenue budget of any particular year are 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.

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 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 is not even 500.

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.

Dalit movements in the State have raised the demand for a White Paper on the actual situation and the remedying actions contemplated. This demand merits serious consideration.

e) 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, has 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
Tribals (ST)	9.02	20.46	23.35
Non-SC/ST	43.58	51.01	58.27

(Thangaraj, p.6)

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

The situation is even more tragic in the case of dalit women, vis-a-vis non-dalit women. The situation can be even more acutely fully if one were to compare dalit women with non-dalit men:

Literacy Rates (%)

	1971	1981	1991
Dalit(SC) women	11.32	18.47	29.50
Tribal(ST) women	4.48	14.00	16.94
Non-SC/ST women	30.47	39.04	48.57
Non-SC/ST men	56.40	62.69	67.72

Compared to a literacy rate of nearly 70% for non-SC/ST men and nearly 50% for non-SC/ST women in Tamilnadu, not even 30% of dalit women have become literate.

Drop-outs:

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.

“.... More or less all school going age children are enrolled in the first standard. The percentage of enrolment in schools in Tamilnadu is about 94%. Among girls, 93.35% are admitted in first standard in primary schools. 82.13% among Adi Dravidar are admitted in schools. Enrolment in schools is at a fairly satisfactory level”

- Policy Note on Education, 1998-99

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 Tuticorin, 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.

“ 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 among dalits are much higher than those of non-SC/ST students.

It is important that clear statistics, dis-aggregated district-wise, are a must if proper strategies need to be worked out, to ensure that the dalits of Tamilnadu too reach standards of literacy and education achieved by other sections in Tamilnadu.

DISTRICT-WISE DROPOUT RATES OF SC/ST (%)

DISTRICT	DROPOUT RATES OF SC/ST BOYS		DROPOUT RATES OF SC\ST GIRLS	
	1990-91	1995-96	1990-91	1995-96
CHEGALPATTU	24.91	22.78	32.54	31.81
CHENNAI	22.22	20.12	31.14	29.14
CHIDAMBARANAR	21.85	18.42	30.96	28.11
COIMBATORE	22.25	20.24	31.62	29.22
DHARMAPURI	21.61	20.37	30.24	28.51
DINDUGAL ANNA	24.71	23.51	29.00	27.82
KAMARAJAR	23.23	21.53	27.42	26.39
KANNIYAKUMARI	16.82	15.06	25.45	25.29
MADURAI	23.68	21.64	27.97	26.84
QUAID-E-MILLETH	24.40	23.07	31.44	30.46
N.A. AMBEDKAR	22.44	20.00	32.27	30.87
NILGIRIS	23.99	22.91	29.88	32.42
PASUMPON	23.70	21.21	27.50	26.49
PERIYAR	20.68	18.31	28.45	27.80
PUDUKKOTTAI	20.63	18.85	29.42	28.72
RAMANATHPURAM	27.15	23.55	29.61	26.87
S.A. VALLALAR	23.26	20.85	30.76	29.63
SALEM	25.54	23.12	31.89	29.87
SAMBUVARAYAR	21.99	20.77	30.62	30.73
THANJAVUR	21.36	18.80	29.98	29.0
TIRUCHIRAPPALLI	25.32	20.16	31.06	30.53
TIRUNELVELI	20.16	18.51	28.92	28.50
VILUPPURAM	23.87	23.01	31.84	31.41
TAMILNADU	23.04	21.25	30.42	29.46

Source : Shantha (Profile of districts of Tamilnadu, UNICEF, 1996, p15)

Technical Education

Dalit students do 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).

Higher Education

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.

f) DALITS & HEALTH IN INDIA:

Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 births)

	Rural	Urban
Dalits(SC)	104.2	74.5
Tribals(ST)	23.8	-
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 particularly its pronounced rates in rural areas, is due to lack of proper health care and under-nutrition. Low rate of literacy among the dalits in the rural areas must have also contributed to the high and relatively higher infant mortality rates.

Death Rate (%)

	Rural	Urban
Dalits(SC)	15.50	12.90
Tribals(ST)	5.70	3.10
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.

g) DALITS AND BASIC AMENITIES:

The availability of basic amenities such as drinking water, electricity and sanitation facilities indicates the quality of life of the people. Even after 50 years of Independence, a majority of Indian people have been deprived of such facilities. And compared to non-dalit sections, the plight of the dalits is indeed shocking (though the figures regarding drinking water are baffling!)

Percentage of households having the amenities

	Dr. Water	Electricity	Sanitation
Dalits (SC)	70.85	30.91	9.84
Tribals (ST)	48.69	30.91	11.37
Non-SC/ST	66.81	61.31	26.76

- Thangaraj, p. 6

Consumer Expenditure

Consumer expenditure is an index, which measures the standard of living of people. Low levels 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 (Rs value of total consumption per person for 30 days)

	Rural	Urban
Dalits (SC)	87.83	113.50
Tribals (ST)	-	
Non-SC/ST	119.74	170.30

Thangaraj, pp. 10-11

h) DALITS & GOVT SCHEMES IN TAMILNADU

Just as in other States of India, in Tamilnadu too hundreds of schemes are announced every year – meant for the social development of dalits. And in the State Budgets of every year, lakhs and crores of rupees are set apart for these schemes.

Yet, over the last 50 years, there has been no substantial improvement in the socio-economic status of the majority of dalits in Tamilnadu. If so, what is the use of all these schemes? Where does all the money allocated for these schemes end up?...

There is a serious need for a total overhaul of all the schemes – their approach and their implementation – meant for the social development of Dalits.

Some Case Studies

Purchase of Milch animals:

Under this scheme the Government provides Rs.3000/- as subsidy and Rs.3000/- as loan in the normal course. This Rs.6000/- should normally be enough to buy a reasonably good cow with a young calf and with a milk yield of 6 to 8 litres of milk a day for a period of 10 months. Given the average milk price today of Rs.10 per litre, the beneficiary would get Rs.60 to 80 per day.

To get this amount of milk the animal needs to be fed with about 10 kgs of green matter or grass and 15 kg of dry feed along with an animal food concentrate of 3 to 4 kgs. In all, if the total expenses come to about Rs 20-25 per animal per day, the beneficiary can easily get a net income of Rs 40-50 per day. This will enable him to maintain himself and also pay off the loan without much difficulty.

But what happens really is that in many a case the dalit is forced to become a binami for some one else.

In most cases, he has to bribe his way through – about Rs.150-200 to get the certificate, Rs 300-500 to the doctor who assesses the health and value of the animal, to the bank manager, the registration officials etc. After meeting all these

expenses, he can only buy a draught cow, which would give just about 2 to 3 litres a day. Even this will happen only for a period of 2 to 3 months, after which the cow would go dry. To get the next calf he will have no income and he has to wait for nearly one to 1 1/2 years.

During this period he has no real income, but he has to maintain the animal by spending whatever little he earns. In almost all cases he sells away the animal for slaughter. The entire loan becomes infructuous and the man is left high and dry and he becomes defaulter. Even though the programme provides for a second animal, the possibility does not arise, because of his defaulting on the first.

There are several other schemes like purchase of a pair of plough bulls, tyre cart and bulls, construction of tube wells, purchase of oil engine and electric motor.. Jeevan Dhara or Million Wells scheme, Group Housing, Employment Assurance programmes etc.

All these programmes are envisaged to bring up people below poverty line to a higher level. But in actuality, those who continue to suffer in poverty and misery continue to swell in number.

In all these cases, the beneficiary has to part with the subsidy portion as well even major part of the loan amount with the official machinery and local political leaders. He gets only a small portion of the subsidy and loan. With this small amount, he is often unable to get really remunerative assets. So he becomes a defaulter, and the asset created is sold for a throwaway price.

Unless these schemes are implemented by really dedicated official machinery, the usefulness of these programmes will be next to nothing.

PART III
TOWARDS A NEW BUDGET DYNAMICS
FOR DALITS

6. Dalits and Budget Dynamics
7. Dalits and Budget Allocations
8. Special Component Plans for Dalits - The Concept
9. Special Component Plans in Tamilnadu - A Critique
10. Towards a new Budgeting for dalits in Tamilnadu
 - A Concrete Proposal
 - a. Agriculture
 - b. Education
 - c. Industries / Trades

DALITS & BUDGET DYNAMICS

The basic problem with budgeting for dalits is not merely the amounts allocated, but the very approach to dalit welfare. Stereotyped and heavily casteist perceptions of the capabilities of dalits are, more often, the most tragic element. The following points raised by a well-qualified person in the field of dalit welfare need serious attention.

The Dynamics of Budgeting and its impact On Social Development of Dalits

(Christudoss Gandhi IAS, former Secretary, SC/ST Welfare Dept, GOTN)

Budgets for Scheduled castes (dalits) in independent India have been marked by certain distinct characteristics:

1. They have remained static in exploring growth perspectives and lack in ambience.
2. They believe only in amelioration rather than in self-assurance.
3. They are founded on certain negative (and quite wrong) assumptions, e.g., “ all SCs are poor”, “all are illiterates”, “all are inefficient and not adequately competent”, “all are weak”, and so on and so forth. Therefore, only spoon-feeding schemes have been conceived and are being continued ceaselessly all these 50 years of independence, without much of a change.
4. They have not recognised the strengths, potentials, excellence and intellectual quality within the SC community. Thereby they have failed to plan for exploiting the same qualities for the growth of the community. The continuing perception is that “By what they are, SCs are being exploited; otherwise inherently they have no qualities that can be exploited profitably”.
5. They believe in protectionism and not pro-activism; SCs 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.

6. Totally in the planning process, and largely in the execution of schemes, there is no berth for SCs either for consultation or participation. Resultantly, plans are not what are aspired by the beneficiary group, but are what are imposed on them.
7. Till date, budgetary allocations to SC sector have not been fully made as promised or as mandated.
8. In their strategic planning, it is anathema to provide scope for SCs to frog-leap others. Frog-leaping SCs, in the covert opinion of planners and bureaucrats, will lead to chaotic social upheavals.
9. None of these Budgets did consciously provide for integration of SCs in the mainstream. On the contrary, the modus operandi of programmes has been to strengthen SC's isolation and sustain their segregation.

DALITS & BUDGET ALLOCATION

Successive governments have always highlighted their “achievements” in the field of SC/ST welfare. Often the criterion is simply an increase in the amount spent for the welfare of dalits. Even the Performance Budget 1998-99 of the SC/ST welfare Department takes pride in saying, “the amount earmarked for the welfare of Adi Dravidars and tribals is steadily on the increase”. And statistics are paraded to show how the allocation for SC/ST welfare has grown from Rs. 115 crores in 1992-93 to Rs.325 crores in 1998-99.

Similarly, in today’s context of sharpened caste conflicts, views such as, “There is too much money being allocated to dalits. Due to their inefficiency and backwardness, much of the money is simply wasted”, are held by persons belonging to other castes. At times such views, even when known to be wrong, are consciously propagated by some vested interests.

How do we respond to such statistics and such views?

Two questions need to be asked:

1. Given the actual conditions and legitimate rights of the dalits, is the amount allocated, even if it is on the increase, adequate? And is it just?
2. Where does all the money that is allocated to dalits ultimately end up? How far does it really reach the dalit beneficiaries?

In a serious effort to find genuine answers to the above questions, the next section attempts a detailed analysis of the Special Component Plan of the Indian Central Government. Such an exercise clearly reveals the actual picture (and the injustice of it!) of State allocation of funds for dalit welfare.

SPECIAL COMPONENT PLANS for DALITS

- The Concept

“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 the 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.

Objective:

The objective of the Special Component Plan is to ensure not only that sufficient funds are allocated for the welfare of dalits, but also to make sure that the funds are properly used and that effective and practical programmes towards clear goals and targets are initiated.

Main Elements:

The main elements of SCP are the following:

1. Out of the total plan outlay, funds allocated for the welfare of Scheduled castes should be at least as much as the percentage of their populational representation in the particular State. (That means, given the fact that dalits constitute 19.18% of the total population of Tamilnadu, at least 19.18% of the total plan outlay of Tamilnadu budget should be allocated for the welfare of dalits.)
2. Separate Budget Heads have to be shown in the Budget Link Book, clearly mentioning the receipts-expenditures details of the SCP.
3. Every department of the State Govt. should initiate concrete steps to evolve separate programmes under the SCP.
4. Only those programmes specifically meant for dalits and the percentage amount of funds allocated, as per specific G.O.s, can be included in the SCP.

Special Component Plan in Tamilnadu – The Approach

In Tamilnadu, the plan has been in implementation since 1980-81 with the following objectives:

1. To assist SC families to cross above the poverty line and
2. To provide basic amenities and facilities in their habitations

“ With a view to achieving these objectives, the resources of more than 20 departments are pooled, and the schemes are implemented by fixing targets for each scheme. As far as possible, targets are fixed only for divisible schemes. Wherever necessary and possible higher targets are fixed to ensure greater flow of benefits to SCs. The schemes implemented by these departments include educational advancement and socio-economic development of the SCs.”

- Tamilnadu Govt.

SPECIAL COMPONENT PLAN IN TAMILNADU

– A Critique

The Special Component Plan for dalits has been in operation, both at the Central and Tamilnadu State level for almost twenty years. What have been the concrete achievements of the programme? What have been the experiences in the implementation of the programme?

The Tamilnadu Working group on SC & ST (9th Five Year Plan) gives a very clear answer:

“(A) major area of failure is in the implementation of the Special Component Plans (S.C.P.).... While, in principle it has been agreed to allocate funds for the schemes, the observation of the Ministry of Welfare, Govt. of India, “It is disheartening to note that out of total 62 union ministries / departments, only 11 had actually formulated SCP so far”, speaks about the status of the implementation of SCP. It is needless to mention further about the performance of the State Government departments of various States in this regard. This only establishes the fact that the finance is available and what is required is to activate the government agencies and departments to properly plan and channelise the resources for the welfare of SCs & STs”

- TN Working Group on SC/ST (9th Five Year Plan)

The ideas given below are based on the insights provided by the Tamilnadu Working Group on SC/ST (9th Five Year Plan), as well as serious analysis done by us and others.

1. Fund Allocations – Wrong and Inadequate:

As per the requirements of the Special Component Plan (i.e., 19.18% of the plan funds to be allocated to dalit welfare), in 1997-98, Tamilnadu should have allocated Rs 729.46 crores. But the amount mentioned in the Budget Plan Link Book of 1997-98 is only Rs 168.46 crores; in 1998-99, the amount should have been Rs 810.22 crores, while the actual amount mentioned is only Rs 267.83 crores; in 1999-2000, the amount should have been Rs 933.00 crores, while the actual amount mentioned is only Rs 348 crores.

At a time when false impressions such as, “There is too much money allocated for dalit welfare”, “Money allotted to dalits are increasing in a big way”, etc., are widely prevalent, the above figures raise, indeed very serious questions!

2. Approach – Faulty

As mentioned above, the Special Component Plan, as operative in Tamilnadu, is built around the two basic aims of helping dalits to rise above the poverty line and to provide basic needs for them. It is obvious that this limited perspective is not only contrary to the very spirit of the Special Component Plan, as envisaged originally; it is also very faulty. Such an approach can never pave the way for the integrated social development of the dalit community.

The ideas hidden behind the approach of the Tamilnadu Government are that all dalits are below poverty line; that dalits are not capable of finding ways to meet their basic needs, given the needed support; that the dalits are not capable of taking up big challenges on their road to social development etc. etc. Even sociologically, these views are not based on facts.

3. Implementation by Departments – Lax and Cynical

Even though the Special Component Plan demands strict criteria for working out the schemes under it, many departments simply claim that due benefits reach scheduled castes and tribes from out of their general programmes. Apart from such **notional allocations** and explanations, they have failed to work out special plans under the SCP.

It is demanded that all the departments of the Government incorporate the Special Component Plan in their budget proposals. But, few sectors take note of this demand. A study of the budget proposals reveal that only five sectors of the Government have special component plan for dalits in their budget proposals; these sectors include Education, Welfare of SC, ST and OBC, Roads and Bridges, Agriculture and Family Welfare. Even these sectors show mere symbolic allocation rather a substantial one.

Some departments like those of Energy and Drinking Water have claimed inability to develop special programmes under SCP for dalits. By using simple percentages, they claim that more than due share has reached the dalits. This surely is not acceptable.

The following simple exercise, using the entries in the Budget link Book of the Tamilnadu Govt. Budget 1998-99, has been undertaken by the State Adi Dravida Welfare Study Group. The group brings out clearly the scale of discrepancy between what is allocated versus the due right of scheduled castes in Tamilnadu. The difference between the figures in column 3 and those in column 4 is the difference between the amount that is claimed to be allocated and the amount that has been actually allocated.

Annual Plan 1998-99 – Special Component Plan
(Rs in lakhs)

Department (1)	Plan Allocation (2)	Due as per SCP (3)	As per Budget Link (4)
Agriculture & Related fields			
1. Crop Husbandry	1,20,87.00	36,26.10	11,58.60
2. Research & Education	40,10.00	----	----
3. Food, Storage & Warehousing	2,19.00	----	----
4. Soil & Water Conservation	40,15.00	10,03.75	94.74
5. Animal Husbandry	14,54.00	2,91.00	57.14
6. Dairy Development	26.00	----	----
7. Fisheries	21,07.00	----	----
8. Forests	1,25,29.00	37,58.70	----
9. Investment in Agri. Fin. Institutions	8,75.00	----	----
10. Cooperation	18,90.00	9.45	----
	3,92,12.00	84,00.91	13,10.48
11. Special Program for Rural development	4,68,89.00	1,17,22.25	43,00.87
12. Land Reforms	25.00	7.50	----
13. Community Devt.	36,83.00	7.36	----
	5,05,97.00	1,17,37.11	43,00.87

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Irrigation & Flood Control			
14. Minor Irrigation	72,42.00	----	----
15. Command Area Devt.	18,11.00	----	----
16. Major & Minor Irrigatn & Flood Control	2,50,10.00	----	----
	3,40,63.00	----	----
17. Power Development	9,03,41.00	1,71,64.79	14,42.00
18. Non-conventional Sources of Energy	51.00	----	----
	9,03,92.00	1,71,64.79	14,42.00
Industry & Minerals			
19. Industries – Medium & Large	10,91.00	----	----
20. Village & Small Industries	92,80.00	16.70	----
21. Weights & Measures	58.00	----	----
22. Mining & Metallur- gical Industries	41.00	----	----
	1,04,70.00	16.70	----
Transport & Communications			
23. Ports, Lighthouses & Shipping	----	----	----
24. Roads & Bridges	4,92,55.00	88,65.90	16,20.50
25. Road & Inland Water Transport	2,02,08.00	----	----
	6,94,63.00	88,65.90	16,20.50
Science, Technology & Environment			
26. Scientific Services & Research	1,94.00	----	----
27. Ecology & Environment	4,67.00	----	----
	6,61.00	----	----

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
General Economic Services			
28. Secretariat			
– Economic Services	3,26.00	----	----
29. Tourism	2,18.00	----	----
30. Economic Advice & Statistics	80.00	----	----
31. Civil Supplies	1,65.00	----	----
	7,89.00	----	----
Education, Sports, Arts			
32. General Education	1,69,51.00	38,32.38	14,70.91
33. Technical Education	26,70.00	----	----
34. Arts & Culture	6,62.00	----	----
35. Sports & Youth Services	10,08.00	----	----
	2,12,91.00	38,32.38	14,70.91
Health			
36. Medical	76,70.00	----	----
37. Public Health	39,81.00	----	----
	1,16,51.00	----	----
Water Supply, Housing & Urban Development			
38. Water Supply & Sanitation	5,58,68.00	1,06,14.92	36,66.67
39. Housing	90,77.00	17,24.63	2,13.00
40. Urban Development	2,04,89.00	38,92.91	54.01
	8,64,34.00	1,62,32.46	39,33.68
Information & Publicity			
41. Information & Publicity	1,39.00	----	----
	1,39.00	----	----
Welfare of SC, ST & other Backward classes			
42. Welfare of SC, ST & OBCs	1,60,34.00	----	1,00,96.00
	1,60,34.00	1,00,96.00	1,00,96.00

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Labour and Labour Welfare			
43. Labour & Labour Welfare	9,41.00	-----	-----
	9,41.00		
Social Welfare & Nutrition			
44. Social Welfare			
45. Nutrition	33,35.00	7,63.05	83.02
	1,02,20.00	21,46.20	----
	1,35,55.00	29,13.25	83.02
Other Social and Community Services			
46. Other Social & Com. Services	4,17.00	-----	-----
	4,17.00	-----	-----
General Services			
47. Stationery & Printing	15.00	-----	-----
48. Public Works	48,85.00	-----	-----
	49,00.00	-----	-----
GRAND TOTAL	45,00,09.00	8,21,72.91	2,42,83.12

TOWARDS A NEW BUDGETING FOR DALITS

(A concrete proposal)

After 50 years of failure of planning, and as even well designed programmes like the Special Component Plan have not made any major impact on the socio-economic status of dalits, it is obvious that very fundamental and radical changes need to be brought about in the approach of budgeting for dalits.

To bring about such a basic approach, what is needed is political will, and a perspective that is based on the creative skills and abilities of dalits.

It is in such a background, we present, here below, a concrete proposal towards a new budgeting for dalits. The proposal is consciously ambitious and is intended to bring about major changes. This proposal is based on suggestions and exercises undertaken by committed civil servants and bureaucrats, grassroots groups long involved in the social development of dalits and prominent leaders.

We earnestly request that the proposal be discussed and debated seriously by peoples' representatives and every one concerned about the social development of dalits. Such discussions can pave the way for truly meaningful changes in Tamilnadu Government's perspectives and approach towards budgeting for dalits.

Basic Approach:

1. The proposal is based on the creative capabilities of dalits. Thus it runs counter to cruel, but widely prevalent, myths such as, "Dalits are not intelligent, not capable of handling big initiatives", etc.
2. Views such as, "Dalits are not capable of handling big projects," lie hidden behind much of the budgeting for dalits today. This can be seen by the type of projects proposed for dalits: loans to get minor implements in agriculture; programmes of not more than Rs 1 lakh in industry; only non-formal education etc...

Such an approach, by default, makes sure that dalits continue to hold the last rungs in the society. Unless, at least a section of dalits become big farmers, big industrialists, scientists and research workers etc., dalit community can never aim to get liberated from the vicious circle of poverty.

“Only those programmes to ensure that dalits will frog leap over others in socio-economic status can lead to their total development”

- Christudoss Gandhi IAS

The Proposal:

As per the stipulations of the Special Component Plan for dalits in Tamilnadu, a minimum of Rs. 800 crores per year will be allocated.

This Rs 800 crores can be effectively and creatively used to evolve programmes for the development of dalits, if two additional objectives are built-in:

1. Using the government funds as deposits for further mobilization of funds from private and other financial institutions.
2. By encouraging a spirit of entrepreneurship among the scheduled castes, to strengthen the serious involvement of private parties in the projects envisaged and to raise private savings as capital for further investment

The minimum Rs 800 crores, available per year, can be divided into the various sectors in the following manner. According the plan below, Rs 100 crores for Agriculture, Rs 400 crores for Education, Rs 200 crores for Industrial development, and Rs 100 crores for all the other sectors are allocated.

a. AGRICULTURE: (Annual Allocation – Rs 100 crores)

Objective:

To develop small farmers, wetland farms with suffering water resources as well as big landlords among dalits.

Programme:

A. 4000 small farmers

3 acres of land will be bought per head, at today's price level, for Rs 1 lakh and given.. Of these Rs 25000 will be the personal contribution, Rs 25000 as Govt grant and Rs 50,000 as Government loan. Thus by using a total amount of just Rs 30 crores (Rs 10 crores as grant and Rs 20 as loans), 4000 small farmers can be developed per year.

B. 2000 wetland farms (with water resources)

3 acres per person of ayacut lands irrigated by dams or lakes can be bought and given. At today's market rate, 3 acres can be bought for Rs 3 lakhs, contributed in the proportion of Rs 1 lakh as Govt. loan, Rs 1 lakh as Govt. grant and Rs 1 lakh as private contribution. Thus 2000 wetland farms can be developed every year. The total expense involved on the part of the government will be just Rs 40 crores (20 crores as grant and 20 crores as loan).

C. 400 big farmers

Not less than 20 acres, at the rate of Rs 10 lakhs per head, can be bought and supplied. The total expense can be divided in the proportion of Rs 5 lakhs as Govt. loan, Rs 2.5 lakhs as Govt. grant and Rs 2.5 as private contribution. Thus the Government can develop 400 big farmers per year, at a total expense of merely Rs 30 crores (Rs 10 crores as grants and Rs 20 crores as loan).

Thus, the overall annual allocation of Rs 100 crores for agriculture is as follows:

	(in Rs crores)	
	Grants	Loans
4000 small farmers	10	20
2000 wetland farms	20	20
400 big farmers	10	20
	-----	-----
	40	60
	-----	-----

It is even possible to obtain the Rs 60 crores of loan amount, from purely private financial institutions. Or the Govt. can allocate the Rs 60 crores as money deposited in banks and other private financial institutions – for the development of scheduled castes.

Results achieved:

The multitudes of programmes over the last 50 years have not been able to develop any small or big farmers among the scheduled castes. But through the above alternative programme, about 6400 scheduled caste persons can become landowners over just one year.

In that case, there will really be no need to segregate them as scheduled in the general agricultural programmes. This will also enable them to function with others on an equal footing, without the pollution and stamp of caste.

b. EDUCATION: (Annual Allocation – Rs 400 crores)

At present, the total State budget for education is around Rs 3000 crores. If one assumes that 20% of this is available for dalits, we get a minimum of Rs 600 crores per year. Besides this, more than Rs 200 crores is being spent at present through the department of SC/ST welfare, towards the education of this section.

Given the fact that education upto 12th standard is free in the State and since the Education department is fully in charge, no separate allocation for education upto 12th standard needs to be made separately for the scheduled castes.

On the other hand, the programme here is planned towards enabling about 40,000 dalit students who have completed their 12th standard, to take up higher studies. At every level and stage, the programme needs to be planned and executed in a detailed and effective manner. Here below is just a general framework of the programme.

Objective

To enable all dalit students who have completed their school studies to take up higher studies and become adequately employable.

Programme

To evolve programmes worth Rs 400 crores with the aim of creating, in one year, 10000 engineers, 10000 accountants, 15000 arts & science graduates, 2500 doctors and 2500 graduates in other fields, from among the scheduled castes.

The following table shows the main categories of all the educational expenses towards the above. The expenses have been rounded up, with the ceilings at Rs 100000, 40000, 20000, 10000 etc.

Sl. No.	Course	Number of Students	Annual Exp. per head	Expense x years of study (in crores)	Total Exp (in crores)
1	Engineering	10,000	40,000	40 x 4	160
2	Accountancy	10,000	20,000	20 x 2	40
3	Arts/Science	15,000	10,000	15 x 3	45
4	Medicine	2,500	1,00,000	25 x 5	12
5	Others	2,500	20,000	5 x 2	10
6	Research / Study abroad				20
Total					400

Results achieved

The present situation of lack of availability of qualified scheduled caste persons will disappear.

There will be a sense of pride and satisfaction among the dalits that they are no less than others in intelligence or capabilities.

The scheduled castes will be able to find themselves in various professions, beside the ones ascribed to them by the caste system. This will liberate them from the cruel chains of traditional and hereditary occupations.

c) INDUSTRIES – TRADE: (Annual allocation – Rs 200 crores)

Objective

To do away with the present practice of restricting economic programmes to only those who opt for investments in small industries for less than Rs 10 lakhs, and to create opportunities for investments in big industries too.

Programme

Industrial projects worth Rs 90 crores per year can be devised at the proportion of 10% private contribution, 30% grants and 60% loans.

Another series of industrial projects worth Rs 90 crores can be devised at the proportion of 25% private contribution, 30% grants and 45% loans.

At the remaining Rs 20 crores, various other investments and trade projects can be worked out.

OTHER PROJECTS: (Annual Allocation – Rs 100 crores)

PART IV

11. Recommendations

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that the Tamilnadu Govt. constitutes a high level committee, to review the working of the Special Component Plan in Tamilnadu – especially on the issues of sufficient allocation of funds and proper formulation of programmes by all the departments.
2. As per the Special Component Plan, every State department is obliged to work out specific programmes for the welfare of dalits. We recommend that the Minister in charge of the SC/ST welfare Department be given the powers to supervise the programmes of various departments coming under the Special Component Plan.
3. Lack of proper and relevant Statistics, about actual socio-economic and educational status of dalits, has often been at the base of the failure of many of the Government schemes. We recommend, to overcome this lacuna, that computerised data banks, at the State and districts level be established, in close collaboration with groups working closely with dalits at the grassroots level.
4. We demand that an urgent initiative is taken to ensure that all the Panchami lands in Tamilnadu, owned by non-dalits, be identified and returned to the rightful owners, the dalits. Besides, it is also important that the Government evolve concrete programmes of loans etc, so that such returned lands can properly developed.
5. We recommend that the Tamilnadu Government pass the needed G.O.s to ensure that dalits too will have their rightful share in all the public auctions of public resources, conducted by the Revenue Department, Public Works Department, Forest Department, the Hindu Religious Endowments Department and others.
6. Similarly, dalits should be ensured of their due share in the various Contracts and Tenders issued by the various State Departments, Govt. Corporations as well as various local governments. Given the fact that in many places the dalits are physically prohibited from taking part in these contracts, the idea of

a certain reservation for dalits in auctions and contracts, as in education and job opportunities, needs to be seriously explored.

7. We strongly recommend that the Tamilnadu Government issue immediately a White Paper on the situation regarding the job representation of dalits in the various departments, ministries and all levels of government – the number of seats, due for dalits, that have been denied to them, the action proposed to be taken by the government etc.
8. As in Government colleges, so too, in private, Government-aided and self-financed colleges and institutions of higher learning, the Government has to declare the actual position with regard to appointment of dalit professors. Similarly, efforts should be made that dalit students get their due share in self-financed colleges and institutions too.
9. Similar to the M.P. and M.L.A. Special development funds, special funds can be allocated to dalit constituencies. This scheme can also be extended to corporations, municipalities and panchayats where dalits are in majority.
10. Given the fact that education upto 12th standard is free in the State, and given the miserable level of quality of education in SC/ST schools, we recommend that the State Government completely review its whole programme of education for dalits, in line with the principles of the Special Component Plan and give stress on higher education of dalits too.

ANNEXURES

1. Social Development of dalits related to land
 - A grassroots experience
2. Scheduled Castes in Tamilnadu
 - List by Indian Government
3. References

ANNEXURE 1

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF DALITS RELATED TO LAND (A Grassroots Experience)

In 1974, dalit farmers of the villages in Vadugapatti block of Periyakulam Taluk in Theni district, received from the Government of Tamilnadu 500 acres of dry and fallow lands on a free patta basis. Soil erosion, land degradation, low profitability, lack of economic help to take up cultivation, lack of crop insurance, problems of cattle... these and many other factors made sure that the lands continued to remain fallow and uncultivated. Till 1988, only hopelessness prevailed among these dalit farmers.

Collective Effort and New Hope

Gradually, the farmers who owned land took up a series of efforts collectively in the spheres of stopping soil erosion, building check dam across rivulets, increasing ground water level etc.

Making use of their traditional knowledge of crops and seasons, they planned a correct crop pattern to suit the conditions prevailing.

Along with the crops, a variety of fruit trees and other high-breed trees were planted. About 2000 trees, at the rate of 40 trees per acre and about 50,000 high-breed trees at the rate of 100 per acre were planted. Since the land were all in one block, it was also easy for the farmers to save the trees from anti-social elements.

They were able to benefit by all the new employment opportunities that arose by way of increasing the quality of land and water, nurturing trees, bringing up cattle etc. etc. There was no loss due to these activities, nor was their income affected.

Constructive help of Government Departments

The various professional advice and support of programmes such as the Western Ghats Development Scheme, the Forest Department, Horticultural Farms etc proved to be a great source of strength to the efforts of the dalit farmers.

Collective Use of Water Resources

In a dry land situation, it is impossible to sustain agriculture, purely depending on the vagaries of rainwater. Hence a community well and 7 borewells were dug. The Farmers learned to use the water economically. Given the assurance of water, fruit trees could be developed in a short time.

The Successes

- Land that was considered unfit for cultivation appears today as a fertile sholai. The value of land that was Rs 2000-3000 per acre has risen to Rs 40,000-50,000. Every farming family possesses assets worth Rs 1-5 lakhs each.
- A variety of foodgrain crops, cash crops, fruit trees and high-breed trees have been developed and flourish. Every farmer is able to harvest 1-3 tonnes of fruits alone per year. And it keeps increasing year after year.
- The farmers are able to raise all the foodgrains for their personal use, for 6 months in the year.
- Since 1991, lacks of acres of land have been alienated in different villages all over Tamilnadu by private companies and contractors. And among such people who sold of lands, 80% seem to be dalits, as per our studies. But, in the area of our study, the companies have not been successful. There has been organised resistance to such land alienation in these parts.
- Today, these village have become models for other dalit farmers in the art of raising income from land-based activities.

Special Component Plan and Land Development for Dalits

As per the concrete proposal given in this booklet, allocating Rs 100 crores for agricultural developments among dalits can do wonders. It can guarantee the socio-economic development of numberless dalits who exclusively depend on land for their lives. Planning specific schemes with priority to increasing land-based resources, proper budgeting of money, passing needed legislative and government orders, proper implementation of the schemes till the end... all these can easily become part of the Special Component Plan.

Annexure 2**SCHEDULED CASTES IN TAMILNADU****(List by Ministry of Welfare, Govt. of India, April 1990)**

1. Adi Andhra
2. Adi Dravida
3. Adi Karnataka
4. Ajila
5. Arunthathiar
6. Ayyanavar (in K.K.Dt and Sengottai Taluk of Tirunelveli Dt.)
7. Baira
8. Bakuda
9. Bandi
10. Bellara
11. Bharatar (in K.K.Dt and Sengottai Taluk of Tirunelveli Dt)
12. Chakkiliar
13. Chalavadi
14. Chamar, Muchi
15. Chandala
16. Cheruman
17. Devendrakulathan
18. Dom, Dombara, Paidi, Pano
19. Domban
20. Godagali
21. Godda
22. Gosangi
23. Holeyá
24. Jaggali
25. Jambuvulu
26. Kadaiyan
27. Kakkalan (in K.K.Dt and Sengottai Taluk of Tirunelveli Dt)
28. Kalladi
29. Kanakkan, Padanna (in Nilgiris Dt)
30. Karimpalan
31. Kavara (in K.K.Dt and Sengottai Taluk of Tirunelveli Dt)
32. Koliyan
33. Koosa
34. Kootan, Koodan (in K.K.Dt and Sengottai Taluk of Tirunelveli Dt.)
35. Kudumban
36. Kuravan, Sidhanar
37. Madari
38. Madiga
39. Maila
40. Mala
41. Mannan (in K.K.Dt and Sengottai Taluk of Tirunelveli Dt)
42. Mavilan
43. Mogur
44. Mundala
45. Nalakeyava
46. Nayadi
47. Padannan (in K.K.Dt and Sengottai Taluk of Tirunelveli Dt)
48. Pagadai
49. Pallan
50. Palluvan
51. Pambada
52. Panan (in K.K.Dt and Sengottai Taluk of Tirunelveli Dt)
53. Panchama
54. Pannadi
55. Panniandi
56. Pariyan, Parayan, Sambavar
57. Paravan (in K.K.Dt and Sengottai Taluk of Tirunelveli Dt)

58. Pathiyar (in K.K.Dt and Sengottai Taluk of Tirunelveli Dt)
59. Pulayan, Cheramar
60. Puthirai Vannan
61. Raneyar
62. Samagara
63. Samban
64. Sapari
65. Semman
66. Thandan (in K.K.Dt and Sengottai Taluk of Tirunelveli Dt)
67. Thoti
68. Tiruvalluvar
69. Vallon
70. Valluvan
71. Vannan (in K.K.Dt and Sengottai Taluk of Tirunelveli Dt)
72. Vathiriyar
73. Velan
74. Vetan (in K.K.Dt and Sengottai Taluk of Tirunelveli Dt)
75. Vettiyan
76. Vettuvan (in K.K.Dt and Sengottai Taluk of Tirunelveli Dt)

Annexure 3

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The last decade in Tamilnadu has witnessed the rise of numerous voices from below – people’s movements and campaigns for basic needs, for the right to land, food, living wages, housing, work, education and health care; protests against shrimp farms and deep sea fishing vessels; against destruction of forests, commercial exploitation of natural resources and common village resources, environment pollution and alienation of lands.

The Dalit movement and women’s movement have forcefully fought oppression and have put forward a new politics of empowerment. In various places activists and grass roots organization have opposed corruption, the new economic policies, WTO and the imposition of social clauses as part of the Multilateral Trade Agreement. Increasingly unorganized labour is getting organized and the campaign for eradication of child labour has forced society and government to work for the abolition of child labour and the recognition of the rights of children.

The Tamilnadu Peoples’ Forum for Social Development is an effort to sum up these various demands and struggles into effective peoples’ lobbies – towards monitoring and changing public policy in the field of social development.

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